THE ROLE OF MIGRATION AND DIVERSITY IN BUILDING

DISASTER RESILIENCE: A CASE STUDY OF BIRMINGHAM (UK)

AND TOYAMA (JAPAN)

by

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ABSTRACT

The study explores the role of migration and diversity in building disaster resilience in Birmingham (UK) and Toyama (Japan). The conceptual framework developed in the thesis is informed by critical examination of the approaches to theorising social processes in resilience and draws from the intersections between migration (diversity) and disaster (resilience) literature focusing on complexity governance. Through the qualitative analysis of semi-structured interviews, ethnographic observations and policy documents conducted between March 2017 and May 2018, I map the efforts taken by public servants and practitioners to develop new or adjust the existing local practices in disaster resilience building to the changing new realities inherent to migration. My original contribution to knowledge is the application of superdiversity lens to analyse migration-driven diversity in disaster resilience. The central claim is that due to the increasing role that superdiversity plays locally, enabling all community members to reduce vulnerabilities, prepare and respond collectively to disasters becomes increasingly difficult. To elucidate this argument, I show that the previous forms of accommodating diversity are not sufficiently effective in addressing the growing complexity in disaster resilience building at the individual, community, and city levels. I argue that the findings highlight a need to move beyond simple and technical approaches to resilience policymaking by including diverse populations in resilience building, accommodating the efforts coming from a wider range of actors and new initiatives emerging locally. In addition, the analysis raises wider questions about how migration-driven diversities are conceptualized, perceived and responded to differently by different actors; the changing meaning of 'community resilience' and 'community' in general; and their implications for building resilient communities of the future.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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ABBREVIATIONS

100RC	100 Resilient Cities
AES	Advanced Encryption Standard
ARJ	Association for Resilience Japan
BCC	Birmingham City Council
BRG	Birmingham Resilience Group
BRIC	Baseline Resilience Index for Communities
BRT	Birmingham Resilience Team
CCA	Civil Contingencies Act
CLAIR	Council of Local Authorities for International Relations
CRR	Community Risk Register
DM	Disaster Management
DRM	Disaster Risk Management
DROP	Disaster Resilience of Place
DRR	Disaster Risk Reduction
EU	European Union
FBO	Faith Based Organisation
FPNR	Fundamental Plan for National Resilience
GCM	Global Compact for Safe, Orderly and Regular Migration
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
HFA	Hyogo Framework for Action
IOM	International Organisation for Migration
JASSO	Japan Student Services Organisation
JETRO	Japan External Trade Organization
JNTO	Japan National Tourism Organisation
JST	Japan Standard Time
JTA	Japan Tourist Agency
MDS	Multi-Dimensional Scaling
MDSV	Multilingual Disaster Support Volunteer
NDPA	Neighbourhood Disaster Prevention Association
NRPH	National Resilience Promotion Headquarters
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation

NHA	Neighbourhood Household Association
NHS	National Health Service
NINO	National Insurance Number
NPO	Non-Profit Organisation
OECD	Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development
OTIT	Organization for Technical Intern Training
PE	Policy Entrepreneur
RD	Response Diversity
SCN	Strong Cities Network
SDG	Sustainable Development Goal
SES	Social-Ecological Systems
SFDRR	Sendai Framework for Disaster Risk Reduction
TCA	Toyama Cosmopolitan Association
TIC	Toyama International Centre
TITP	Technical Intern Training Programme
UK	United Kingdom
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNISDR (currently UNDRR)	United Nations secretariat of the International Strategy for Disaster Risk Reduction (The United Nations Office for Disaster Risk Reduction)
WMCLRF	West Midlands Conurbation Local Resilience Forum
WMFS	West Midlands Fire Service
WMP	West Midlands Police

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

It is 3:08 a.m. JST on the 6th of September 2018 when an 6.7. magnitude earthquake on the 7 maximum seismic intensity *shindo* scale[1] strikes the Iburi subprefecture of Hokkaido, Japan. Following the earthquake many hotels in Sapporo were shut down due to cuts in water and power supplies. This was yet another event causing disruption when many foreign nationals were found wandering hopelessly around a city center or were stranded at the airports. Many were anxious, frustrated, worried and unable to obtain crucial information (Kawasaki, 2018). Although less frequent, disasters involving migrants also happen in the UK. Just before 1:00 am on the 14th of June 2017 a fire broke out in Grenfell Tower, North Kensington, West London. It caused the death of 72 people and injury of more than 70 others. Among the victims were people of 19 nationalities and only seven identified as 'White British' (Rice-Oxley, 2018). These tragic events highlight the clear need for extensive academic and policy debates about the needs of migrants[2] when dealing with disasters[3]. Japan is often referred to internationally

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[1] The seismic intensity scale measures the degree of shaking at a certain point of earth's surface. Whereas the earthquake's magnitude scale is a numerical value reflecting the size or energy of the temblor at its source (epicentre). For a detailed table explaining the seismic intensity scale (see JMA, 2020).

[2] I am using primarily the term 'migrants', a term that might be problematic as it is often replaced by 'alien', 'foreigner' or 'foreign resident' in the Japanese policy documents and discussions, but generic enough to represent a wide spectrum of individuals. The problematisation of the use of the term 'foreigner' in immigrant incorporation efforts in Japan has been discussed in length elsewhere (see Kashiwazaki, 2011 for overview).

[3] I recognise the fact that that it can be problematic to set a clear distinction between what constitutes a 'disaster', 'crisis' or 'emergency' as all three terms are used differently (and sometimes interchangeably) by various stakeholders (including among others local officials, scholars, practitioners, local private actors). However, there is a general understanding among scholars that disasters should be treated differently from emergencies (such as car accidents), primarily because they "*disrupt our routines*" and "*require more extensive responses than just first responders, and involve a wider range of people, agencies, and organisations, including emergency managers and volunteer organisations*" (Phillips, 2014: 6). I am referring to 'disaster' defined as "*a serious disruption of the functioning of a community or a society at any scale due to hazardous events interacting with conditions of exposure, vulnerability and capacity, leading to one or more of the following: human, material, economic and environmental losses and impacts*" (UNGA, 2016b). Disasters can be divided into: a) 'slow-onset disaster' – one that emerges gradually over time and that could be associated with, for example draught, desertification, sea-level rise or epidemic disease; b) 'sudden-onset disaster' – triggered by a hazardous event that emerges quickly and unexpectedly and could be associated with, e.g., earthquake, volcanic eruption, flush flood, chemical explosion, critical infrastructure failure or transport accident. Slow-onset disaster and sudden-onset disaster can occur at the same time or following one another complicating response or recovery strategies.

as one of the leading nations in terms of disaster preparedness and response, but (compared to other countries) has relatively limited experience in addressing challenges associated with migration and diversity. On the other hand, the UK has much more 'experience' in dealing with the new levels and kind of migration-related complexity, but relatively low (compared to other countries) exposure to hazards[4] and disaster risk[5]. Therefore, approaches that can facilitate exchange of local experiences, practices and mechanisms[6] between the UK and Japan are of crucial importance.

In studying disaster[7] resilience, it is increasingly recognised that social complexities play a more and more important role in disaster prevention and response. However, the role and implications of such complexities in resilience context are still not sufficiently understood. Yet, what does migration-driven diversity mean for local disaster resilience building[8] efforts and can it be described by inquiring into the ways in which local practitioners and public servants respond to such diversities? Such concerns form the key research focus[9] explored in this study through looking at the case studies of Birmingham (UK) and Toyama (Japan). For the purpose of this research I define resilience as: the capacity of local community, shaped by various forms

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[4] A 'hazard' can be defined as is a "*a process, phenomenon or human activity that may cause loss of life, injury or other health impacts, property damage, social and economic disruption or environmental degradation*" (UNGA, 2016b).

[5] 'Disaster risk' can be defined as "*a potential loss of life, injury, or destroyed or damaged assets which could occur to a system, society or a community in a specific period of time, determined probabilistically as a function of hazard, exposure, vulnerability and capacity*" (UNGA, 2016b).

[6] As it is highlighted in the thesis, the role of migration and diversity in resilience building efforts is often driven by the changing local context. The analysis is predominantly based on the situation in the UK and Japan between the summer of 2016 and 2019, which is highly-relevant to, but does not take fully into account changes resulting from the impact or nature of response to events such as the COVID-19 pandemic.

[7] 'Disaster studies' can hardly be identified as a homogenous research field. Methods and approaches can very greatly dependent on academic traditions and (increasingly interdisciplinary) research engagements characterised by (often conflicting) interests, understandings and values (see Masterson et al., 2014: 41).

[8] Studies looking into insights and experiences of people whose work contributes towards 'disaster resilience building' initiatives have been very limited to date (Miller et al., 2010; Keating and Hanger-Kopp, 2020).

[9] The focus of the thesis is not limited to resilience policymaking, it is not only looking at strategies in planning for resilience by local governments or city departments, but also independent resilience-building initiatives carried out locally by a range of private and non-profit actors. As the analysis in the different chapters will show there are areas of disagreement and varieties of interpretations among different actors that often go beyond the simple and technical approach to disaster risk reduction (DRR), as the policy objective of disaster risk management (DRM), and its goals and objectives being defined in disaster risk reduction strategies and plans. Here I am referring to the work conducted by the intergovernmental expert working group on indicators and terminology relating to disaster risk reduction (established based on the United Nations General Assembly's resolution A/RES/69/284) (see UNGA, 2016a).

of diversity, to achieve extensive levels of adaptiveness and inclusiveness; respond in an appropriate manner and continue performing its objectives over time; thus swiftly dealing with hazardous experiences[10]. Through the course of fieldwork in both Birmingham and Toyama, I interviewed two main groups of experts: emergency planners and public servants active in the field of resilience; and international cooperation and local 'practitioners' with vast experience in working for Non-profit Organisations (NPOs) and Non-governmental Organisations (NGOs) that help migrants. The interviews and associated observations allowed me to explore the different (sometimes competing) logics that shape resilience building in different geographical locations and decision-making cultures.

1.1 Cities in disaster resilience

The global population living in urban areas is projected to reach approximately 68 per cent by 2050. In 2015 there were 29 megacities and by 2030 there will be a further 12. By 2050 approximately 70 per cent of world's population will live in cities (UN DESA, 2018) making them critical platforms for resilience policymaking, responding to crisis and external shocks. In many cities, in developed and developing countries, shifting economic opportunities, demographic patterns, social stability, terrorism, gentrification, pollution, congestion, social inequality and limited access to social services present imminent threats to lives and livelihoods. In an event of a major emergency or disaster some cities appear to be less vulnerable and better prepared to respond swiftly and withstand the destabilising shocks than others. Resilience thinking offers important insights into how cities conceptualize and implement their emergency preparedness plans by at the same time providing for all diverse groups (both recently arrived and long-term residents) living in the city.

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[10] The following operational definition of resilience comes as a result of an extensive literature review highlighted in § 2.2.2.

The urgency of developing effective local resilience strategies is often intensified by international processes such as global migration, adding to the complexity for decision-makers in their quest to support and enable prosperity of urban communities. In increasingly globalised societies, human mobility is mirrored in an array of different forms of migration, regular, irregular, human trafficking, labour migration, people fleeing war and persecution seeking asylum, people from various national, ethnic and religious backgrounds increasingly shape the fabric of urban spaces and modern cities. In the last two decades the world has observed unprecedented urbanisation and rapidly increasing internal and external migration to cities. The UN Habitat in 2009 estimated that 3 million people were moving to cities every week and according to the 2016 World Cities report the top 600 cities, with 1/5th of the world's population, produce 60 per cent of global GDP (UN-HABITAT, 2016), especially in the developing countries. Cities have become important actors in building resilience and ensuring adequate disaster response strategies. Yet, the significance of global migration to cities is often seen by policymakers and hosting communities as a burden (Collyer and King, 2015). In recent geopolitical representations of migration, the arrival of large numbers of refugees has been often depicted as a 'disaster' (Franck, 2018; Dempsey and McDowell, 2019). Positioning specific groups of individuals as part of the problem can potentially undermine migrant agency and hinder the opportunities for inclusion.

Making cities a safe and welcoming place should be the "*everyday business and the collective responsibility of all who live in them*" (Wamsler, 2014: 286). Furthermore, in recent years there

has been a growing public and political debate[11] about the role of climate change and climate-induced disasters leading to an increase in displacement, 'environmental migrants'[12] and 'environmental refugees', with the estimated 1.2 billion people that could be displaced globally by 2050 (IEP, 2020)[13]. Building resilience to emergencies and disasters requires political will, mobilisation of resources, and effective engagement strategies of the different actors responsible for resilience and coordination. Integrating and empowering the potentially most vulnerable has become one of the key prerequisites to effective resilience strategies. For instance, researchers have worked on applying disaster risk reduction (DRR)[14] principles in responding to environmental migration (Collins, 2013). However, the broader theoretical and applied challenges regarding the role of migration and diversity in disaster context remain unresolved. Ultimately the objective of this thesis is to promote new way of thinking about building resilience at the city and community level, one that is more responsive to the challenges and opportunities that superdiversity and migration can bring into emergency and DRR. There is a clear need to advance resilience research and practice in ways that take account of increasing diversity (Acosta et al., 2017). A better understanding of dynamic social changes can contribute towards academic literature on growing social complexity in disaster resilience and potentially contribute towards a shift in professional attitudes about resilience policymaking in increasingly complex communities.

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[11] Kelman, (2019) argues that labelling, counting, and calculating 'migrants' and 'non-migrants' depend on political choices. A critique of 'mass migration threat' and 'alarmist rhetoric' has been further discussed elsewhere (see de Haas et al., 2020).
[12] "*Persons or groups of persons who, for compelling reasons of sudden or progressive changes in the environment that adversely affect their lives or living conditions, are obliged to leave their habitual homes, or choose to do so, either temporarily or permanently, and who move either within their country or abroad*" (IOM, 2011: 33).
[13] I recognise the fact that those labels and numbers are only estimates and the actual numbers are uncertain and debated.
[14] "*Disaster risk reduction is aimed at preventing new and reducing existing disaster risk and managing residual risk, all of which contribute to strengthening resilience and therefore to the achievement of sustainable development*" (UNGA, 2016b).

1.2   Disaster resilience and superdiversity in the global context

The globalised world in which we live is shaped by a plethora of conflicting political interests, policy priorities, moral and ethical judgements. However, the complex processes are experienced and mediated differently in different locations, highlighting the need to restructure and reconfigure existing approaches in cities with long experience in dealing with diversity (Birmingham), as well as adjusting to the 'new normal' in cities experiencing intensified patterns of migration (Toyama). It is important to point to two distinct but intertwined dynamic trends that have a clear impact on the character and prosperity of various communities across the globe. Firstly, the international community of states remains largely unprepared to minimise risks, respond to and mitigate the consequences of disasters. Less than 0.5 per cent of the global aid budget is dedicated to mitigate the risks posed by floods, earthquakes, tsunamis, heatwaves and landslides (UNISDR, 2019b). Experts warn that the intensification of cumulative climate hazards is highly likely to lead to the increase in the number of disasters happening simultaneously in different geographical locations and severely disrupting human lives (Mora et al., 2018). We not only see development of disasters in different parts on the world but layering of various complexities that hinder peoples' ability to migrate or make migrant journeys extremely hazardous. People displaced as a result of a disaster cannot recover faced by new adversities, such as the spread of coronavirus (COVID-19) disease or the restricted international mobility as part of the prevention and mitigation efforts can result in migrants facing precarious situations (Guadagno, 2020). Furthermore, disasters can bring a new landscape where social divisions are intensified, racial tensions are on a rise and new challenges emerge. Evidence shows that racially and ethnically diverse communities [15] suffer a

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[15] Although research presented in this thesis is not limited to 'community' as a single unit of analysis, I refer to local 'diverse communities' or 'superdiverse communities' throughout the thesis in an open sense by highlighting the need to move beyond its homogenous and bounded understandings (see in particular § 2.3.3 and Chapter Six).

disproportionate burden of adverse outcomes before, during and after a disaster (Andrulis et al., 2011).

Secondly, the changing character and nature of global migration in previous decades bring levels of social complexity that many countries have not experienced to date. Since the early 1990s both the UK and Japan have marked a rise in net immigration and increasing diversification of countries of origin [16]. The growing complexities associated with new migration have lead, in some places, to the emergence of superdiversity [17], which can be characterised by a dynamic interplay of variables among an increased number of "*new, small and scattered, multiple-origin, transnationally connected, socio-economically differentiated and legally stratified immigrants*" (Vertovec, 2007: 1025). To date, many areas of social science research and policymaking in both countries still have not found adequate solutions to respond to the multi-dimensional conditions and processes affecting immigrants in contemporary society. The character of national or local responses to challenges deriving from migration-driven diversity is often determined by outdated conceptualisations about the nature of human mobility, that often do not correspond with the realities within communities in superdiverse and newly diversifying cities.

The two international trends outlined above put more pressure on public servants and practitioners to adjust the existing and search for new response mechanisms. The global failure to prepare for future challenges will lead to further vulnerability of those already at risk. In the

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[16] The complexity of migration patterns in Japan (often conceptualised within restricted channels of migration) is expressed in the conflicting use of different terminology. In addition to 'foreign resident' and 'immigrant' to differentiate the migration or residence status of different individuals. Including for instance the distinction between 'oldcomer' (a group consisting mostly of Koreans) and 'newcomer' (referring to people of many other nationalities). Another term '*Zainichi*' refers to 'residents', primarily 'oldcomer' Koreans (also including Chinese and others) whose families have been in Japan for three to five (or even six) generations.
[17] I discuss the processes of superdiversification in more detail in section § 3.3.2.

last few decades, local disaster response initiatives across the world showed that potential barriers that migrants face in accessing information, services and support can make them particularly vulnerable. Many migrants proved to be remarkably skilful and resourceful individuals, able to contribute greatly to building response capacities and resilience of hosting communities. This thesis is based on the premise that responding to migration and diversity in disaster resilience initiatives is key to achieve just and ethical social relationships enabling all community members to reduce vulnerabilities, prepare and respond collectively to disasters. Thus, the context of the research undertaken is substantially shaped by highlighting the different approaches, mechanisms and practices that emerge locally in order to respond to the new and changing realities.

1.3   Research aims and objectives

How can superdiverse communities in the 21st century be more resilient? The argument here is that resilience is one of the key forces determining cities' capacities and vision to shape safe futures of its superdiverse populations. The aim of this research is to develop a greater understanding of the role of migration and diversity in disaster resilience.

Within this overall aim the specific objectives of the research are:

- To map, examine and compare local resilience building activities around migration and diversity in two decision-making contexts in different cultural settings;

- To explore the strategies, objectives and influences of public servants and practitioners on building resilience to disasters among migrants;

- To contribute empirically to social sciences literature by advancing new ideas and approaches in understanding the current forms of social complexification;

- To build interdisciplinary links between migration (diversity) and disaster (resilience) scholarship.

1.4 The research questions

The main research question of the thesis is:

What is the role of migration and diversity in building disaster resilience in Birmingham (UK) and Toyama (Japan)?

The research question is answered by the following sub-questions guiding the analysis:

> **What are the contemporary challenges to building migrants' resilience to disasters in Birmingham (UK) and Toyama (Japan)?**

> **What is the role of community engagement and voluntarism in resilience building among migrants in Birmingham (UK) and Toyama (Japan)?**

> **How can superdiverse (Birmingham) and newly diversifying cities (Toyama) respond to the disaster resilience needs of their local population?**

The next section explores the two case studies. Then I set the argument in the global context of migration and disaster work and review how it is built throughout the thesis.

1.5   Case study summary

The fieldwork on which this thesis is based took place in Birmingham (UK) and Toyama (Japan), cities differing in many ways (see Table 1.1 for overview). The methodological framework used in this research (Chapter Four) recognises the key role that cities play in resilience building and treats them as vital entities in addressing the challenges deriving from disasters. In this thesis, I explicitly choose to focus on two cities that play an important role in their respective regions: Birmingham (West Midlands), Toyama (Hokuriku), and are active members of international city networks: Birmingham (Strong Cities Network – SCN), Toyama (100 Resilient Cities – 100RC), but do not have the status of a metropolis or a global city, such as London, Osaka or Tokyo. Both in Birmingham and Toyama the administrative city as an entity encapsulates a large geographical area. Outcomes from resilience building activities within the administrative area translate towards information and experience sharing with neighbouring cities. For instance, the public engagement activities around resilience taking place in the nearby city of Coventry are coordinated with the resilience planners and advisors in Birmingham. In Japan, the neighbouring city of Takaoka, which has a larger community of Brazilian residents is in direct contact with local organisations supporting migrants in Toyama. The cities were selected as case studies based on two key characteristics[18]. First, despite the very different demographic structure, Birmingham (a young, superdiverse population) and Toyama (rapidly ageing society), both locations are shaped by new forms of migration but at different scales.

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[18] I explain further the methodological considerations regarding case study selection and the use of case study approach in § 4.5.

Table 1.1: The case study comparison – city characteristics

	Birmingham	Toyama
GENERAL RISKS, DISASTER AND EMERGENCY THREATS	Terrorism; Influenza type desease; Stroms and floods; Heatwave; Major railway network disruption;	Earthquake; Tsunami; Storms and floods; Heatwave; Snowstrom; Major railway network disruption; Nuclear accidents
LOCATION OF SPECIFIC THREATS	Flash flooding in urban areas; Terrorist threat; Hate motivated crime, civil unrest; HMP Birmingham riots; Heysham nuclear plant emergency	Earthquake High waves (Yorminawari-nami); Snowstorm; Foehn wind
DISASTER OR MAJOR EMERGENCY PAST EXPERIENCES	2005 Tornado; 2005 civil unrest and riots in Lozells area; 1974 pub bombings	2007 Nanto Earthquake; 2008 Yorminawari-nami; 1981 Snowstorm; 1950s and 1960s Cadmium poisoning from industrial waste in Toyama Prefecture
CITY POPULATION	1,101,360	420,000
POPULATION CHARACTERISTCS	Young population	Ageing population
FOREIGN BORN POPULATION	app. 240,000	app. 13,500 (Toyama Prefecture area)
LEVEL OF DIVERSITY	Very high	Very low
DIVERSITY CONCENTRATION	Urban areas	Urban and rural areas
RESILIENCE APPROACH TO INTEGRATING DIVERSE COMMUNITIES IN RESILIENCE BUILDING POLICIES/PRACTICES	Inclusive city resilience approach for disaster and emergency planning	Specific policies and approaches to integrate migrants
SELECTED BEST PRACTICES FOR MIGRANT INTEGRATION AND RESILIENCE	WMFS Community Volunteers	MDSV Training
CITY DEMOGRAPHIC PROSPECTS	A growing city with youthful population – 45.7 per cent of its residents are estimated to be under 30	A dying city with rapidly ageing population
INTERNATIONAL CITY NETWORK MEMBERSHIP	SCN	100 RC
RESILIENCE IN URBAN MOBILITY INITIATIVES	Midland Metro tram line	Loop Line tram line

(source: author).

The newly emerging diversies are currently scaled down or underrepresented in resilience building efforts as a result of being either generalised in the superdiverse character of the city (Birmingham) or contained to specific locations across the city – 'islets of diversity' (Toyama). Second, both case studies are characterised by different levels of exposure to risk, past disasters, demographic structure and superdiversity. Threats in Birmingham include those based around localised social risks such as health emergency, terrorism or race riot, and localised environmental problems such as storm, flash flood and disruption of key infrastructures. On the other hand, in Toyama the main risks are environmental coming from: earthquake, tsunami, storm and snowstorm, and heatwaves. Both cities share similarities in resilience building around increasing mobility, improving connectivity between the different diverse parts in the city and revitalising central urban areas of the city through the introduction of an energy efficient tram line system. Birmingham being home to more than 187 nationalities is potentially one of the most diverse cities in the UK, but has relatively limited experience in preparing to different hazards. Whereas in Toyama, a city only recently experiencing growing migration and diversity levels, disaster resilience efforts can be traced back to 16th century (UNDRR, 2015). The crucial characteristics speak for Birmingham and Toyama as appropriate mutually informing locations to research the role of migration and diversity in disaster resilience building.

1.6   The case studies overview

My aim at the outset of this research was to focus on bridging the gap between migration and resilience research. Recent research shows that there is a clear need for a diversity-sensitive resilience policymaking that is responsive to change (Marlowe et al., 2018; Humphris, 2019). National and regional resilience policy structures in the UK and Japan (further explored in Chapter Two) are primarily tasked to accommodate a range of hazards that can lead to a disaster.

However, there are also newly emerging opportunities coming from the uncertain and constantly changing landscape of migration in the UK and Japan. Policymakers seek to minimize the risk and uncertainty associated with migration by designing immigration policy regulations that reflect the actual needs of the labour market. Building resilient and responsive communities requires understanding of the nature and dynamics of change. Migration and superdiversity bring new opportunities to reorganise the social dimensions of resilience policy and bring in a more outward thinking into resilience building efforts. In response to the new conditions, policymakers might consider more the growing social complexity, so that the approaches under which we respond to uncertainty; integrate different forms of diversity into the resilience practice in the UK and Japan, would not cause deeper roots of exclusion.

1.6.1 UK

(i) The nature of immigration and recent trends

Since 1945, there has been a steady increase in immigration into the UK. Between 1993 and 2015 the size of the foreign-born population in the UK more than doubled from 3.3 million to nearly 8.7 million, reaching 9.4 million in 2017 (Rienzo and Vergas-Silva, 2017). In 2017 foreign-born individuals constituted approximately 14.4 per cent of the population and foreign citizens 9.6 per cent of the total population. The increase in EU immigration to the UK after 2004 enlargement resulted in much larger levels of immigration than the government anticipated. The UK, together with Ireland and Sweden opened its borders to migrant workers from eight new member states (A8 – Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Slovakia, Slovenia) member states. As a result of this decision (and the subsequent 2007 enlargement including Romania and Bulgaria), the number of EU-born migrants in the UK tripled from about 1.2 million in 2003 to more than 3.3 million in 2016. Such increases

contributed to the impression, fuelled by the media and politicians, including the then leader of the UK Independence Party Nigel Farage, that immigration was 'out of control'. Heated public and political debates about the role that migration and diversity (should) play in the UK society were one of the decisive factors that contributed towards the outcome of the 2016 United Kingdom European Union membership referendum. Discussions about the future of UK's migration system continued parallel to the UK-EU negotiation process. Since the Home Office published in December 2018 a White Paper titled: 'The UK's future skills-based immigration system' (UK Cabinet Office, 2018c), much has been debated and at the time of writing the thesis many questions remain unclear about the post-Brexit approach to immigration policy. What is clear is that Britain similarly as Japan experience a range of internal and external tensions expressed on the one hand in the ongoing effort to control immigration, but on the other hand in the growing need to attract global talent.

(ii) Policy goals and objectives

The overarching idea underpinning the Coalition Government's immigration policy was to reduce net migration to the 'tens of thousands', a target which remained important for the Conservative government elected in 2015. Before the Brexit referendum and currently (the 2020 transition period), as the UK Government negotiates its way out of the European Union, migration remained one of the most important political issues. However, the migration landscape in the UK since June 2016 has been changed considerably. According to the data issued by the Office for National Statistics EU migration to the UK post 2016 Brexit referendum dropped to the six-year low, whereas the non-EU migration is currently at the highest level in more than a decade. The reduction of the labour force coming from the EU can have severe consequences on several sectors of the economy relying heavily on non-skilled manual labour.

The changing landscape of migration policy adds an important additional layer of complexity to resilience building efforts in communities with different levels of diversity. With the reorganisation of migration patterns (a substantial shift from EU-centred towards international migration) in post-Brexit Britain will require new ways of thinking and dealing with diversity in resilience building. Diverse communities might experience deeper lines of social division and exclusion, much different to what has been in the recent years accepted as an indication for a grounded policy around diversity.

(iii) Birmingham: population and recent trends

Birmingham is the UK's second city and is located in the West Midlands region of England. It is the largest and most populous British city outside London, with a population in 2014 of 1,101,360 within 80sq miles. Birmingham is a growing city, since 2004 the population has increased by almost 100,000. It is a youthful city: 45.7 per cent of its residents are estimated to be under 30, compared to estimates of 39.4 per cent for England. The city is of strategic and economic importance, accommodating some national financial and transport hubs. Birmingham has a small centralized city centre with approximately 5000 businesses. It is also a very vibrant area with 500,000 daily inward journeys (120,000 to the finance district alone). The city is composed of 80 neighbourhoods and diverse communities being home to more than 120,000 foreign born residents and many others from minority ethnic backgrounds who were born to immigrant parents. Birmingham's residents are from a wide range of national, ethnic, and religious groups. Diverse communities are scattered across the city forming a superdiverse mosaic, which brings about a range of challenges in terms of planning and coordinating emergency and disaster response activities. There is no comprehensive system to determine the net migration to Birmingham, therefore one needs to rely on estimates. One of the indicators is

the issue of National Insurance Number (NINO), which are required by migrants looking for work or to claim benefits/tax credits in the UK, this would also include students working part-time and the self-employed. While the NINOs offer an insight into changes of immigration patterns, they do not explore the whole picture of international migration in and out of the city. Table 1.2 shows that since 2014 most NINO registrations were from the European Union.

Table 1.2: National insurance numbers issued in Birmingham to foreign nationals by world region

Year	European Union	Other Europe	Asia	Rest of the World
2014	11006	273	3097	1732
2015	12948	297	3741	1859
2016	13636	325	3620	1892
2017	10517	377	3500	1685
2018	8509	432	3681	1846

(source: ONS, 2019).

However, since 2016 there is a considerable decrease trend in the number of NINO registrations to migrants from the European Union, a situation that can be associated with the impact of the Brexit referendum. Registrations for EU nationals dropped from 13636 to 8509 in December 2018 (see Figure 1.1). In all the other categories, the number of registrations remained on a stable level, with 'Other Europe' – 432; 'Asia' – 3681 and 'Rest of the World' – 1846 respectively in 2018. The effects of the COVID-19 pandemic have further intensified the overall trend and as of June 2020 the registrations to EU nationals were the lowest they have been since the year ending December 2010 (ONS, 2020).

Figure 1.1: Overall trend in National Insurance Numbers issued in Birmingham to foreign nationals
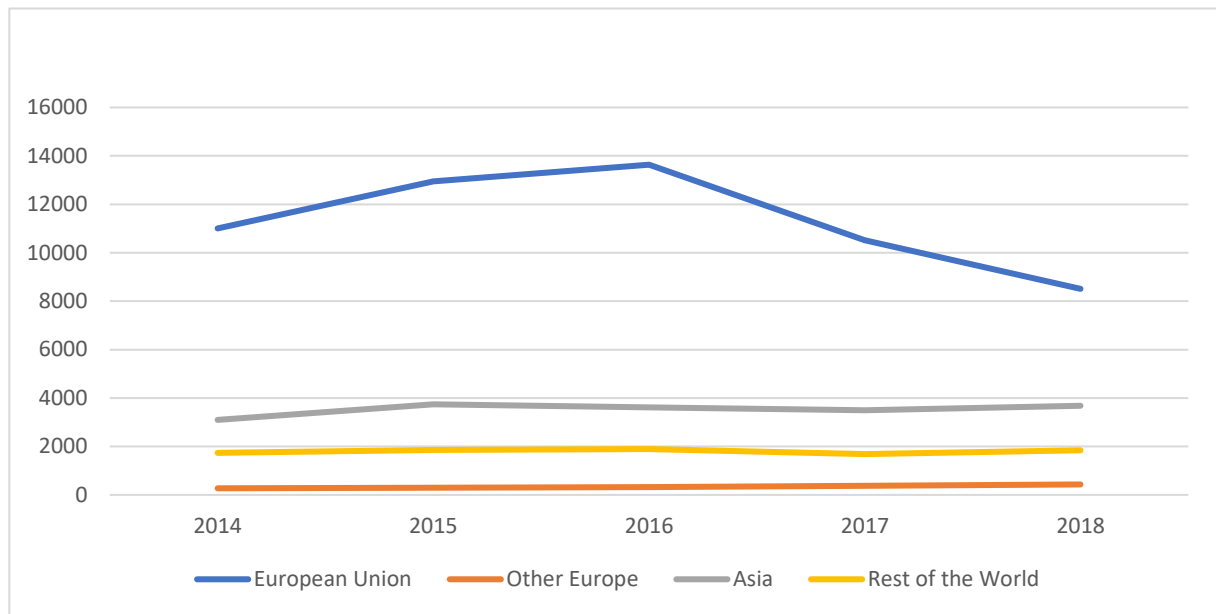
(source: ONS, 2019).

(iv) The nature of risk

The danger of overreliance on a risk based approach in local policymaking is that priorities in the implementation of resilience building objectives can shift considerably as a result of an issue that starts to dominate the public and policy discourse, like for instance the specific and intensified focus on hate crimes after the results of 2016 Brexit referendum or the Muslim communities being disproportionately affected by the COVID-19 pandemic (Yeginsu, 2020). The Birmingham case suggest that risks can be dealt with on a selective, case-by-case basis, even though only loosely related to the overall city resilience strategy. The role of risk for local communities is further explored in Chapter Six. Although Birmingham is considered a safe place to be, there have been some emergencies over the last decade which include major fires and explosions causing building collapse or closure of major highways; terrorist related incidents: city centre evacuation; arrest of suspects from failed 21st July 2005 bombings, flash flooding in some neighbourhoods; the 2005 Birmingham tornado; 2005 civil unrest and riots in

Lozells most of which have been highly localised events. In particular, the COVID-19 situation showed that cities facing low risk from natural hazards can suffer from large shocks requiring rapid response.

1.6.2 Japan

(i) The nature of immigration and recent trends

The issue of immigration in Japan is one that resonates across a much broader spectrum of factors than the migration debates in the last few years in Europe. The ability and approach of the Japanese Government in responding to immigration (both skilled and unskilled) will determine the future of increasingly diverse communities across Japan and influence resilience building strategies at the city level. Internal demographic pressure – "*between 2010 and 2030, the Japanese labour force is already projected to decline by approximately 10 million*" (Abella, 2012: 1145), and the external pressure of global economic competitiveness are key drivers for the desire for new approach to immigration policy in Japan. Since 2007 Chinese migrants constitute the biggest group of foreign nationals in Japan as a whole, reaching 700,000 in 2015 (Zhang, 2015: 716). Historically the primary policy focus has been on the most prominent groups: Brazilian, Filipino, Korean and Chinese, but recent patterns indicate growing complexity among migrant groups dependent on geographical location. In Japan, immigration only started to be recognised as a political issue in the 1980s (Asakawa and Sakanaka, 2007: 12), when the country experienced the 'bubble era' related to the rapid development of post-war economy and associated unskilled labour shortages[19].

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[19] In Japan manual labour is referred to as the 'three Ks': *kiken* (dangerous), *kitanai* (dirty) and *kitsui* (demanding), which is similarly referred to in English as '3D labour'.

Immigration rose as a result of economic disparity between Japan and neighbour countries, but foreign workers entering the country could not address the underlying desire for cheap manual labour. As a solution, the Japanese administration decided to open the country to Latin Americans of Japanese heritage (primarily from Brazil) and their families through a revision to the Immigration Control Act in 1990. It was believed their shared ethnic heritage can lead to easier assimilation (Linger, 2001). One of the key programs included return migration to Japan of *Nikkeijin* (a Japanese descendant born and raised outside Japan). With the population of over 300,000, it is now the second largest group of migrants in Japan, after Korean Japanese (Tsuda, 2003: 289). The Revised Immigration Law gave a rise to increases in the numbers of migrant workers coming to Japan in 1990s. Those were mostly temporary workers granted renewable visas ranging between six months to three years (Yamanaka, 2000). Following the introduction of this policy the migrant level in Japan almost doubled, mostly due to the "*semi-official avenues to Japan's labour market*" (Vogt and Achenbach, 2012). Those migrants often faced 'double marginalisation' and became "*vagrants trapped in a transnational migrant circuit between Brazil and Japan*" (Tsuda, 1999: 714). The 2008 economic crisis had a far greater impact on migrants than Japanese workers, with unemployment levels among Brazilian workers around 40 per cent (Higuchi, 2010).

(ii) Policy goals and objectives

Since the beginning of 2000s there has been more focus on incorporating migrants in local community life, but official programs targeting social cohesion of diverse communities are still rather limited. Kashiwazaki (2013: 31) notes that "*immigrants who bear different ethnicities and cultures are expected to be incorporated into the host society as foreigners rather than by becoming Japanese nationals*". The debate about the potential for incorporating migrants in

Japan covers multiple topics such as: voting rights (*sanseiken*), naturalisation (*kika*), identity and racial discrimination (Kremers, 2014: 722). Debate oscillates around all the challenges that immigrants bring to the functioning of the Japanese society and the democratic system (Shipper, 2008). With the increase of migrant population in Japan there might be a clear need for expansion and reorganisation of the mechanisms responsible for social dimensions of response in an emergency or disaster. The use of the current framework based on resilience policies in DRR that target groups of migrants based on ethnic, linguistic or national indicators might not be able to adjust to the new form of Japanese society in the years to come post (the postponed) 2020 Tokyo Olympics. One that is potentially more embracing, inclusive and diverse (Liu-Farrer, 2020b). Inclusiveness is particularly important in implementation of the 5th Science and Technology Basic Plan, adopted by the Japanese Cabinet in January 2016 and introducing the 'Society 5.0' as a guiding vision for the 'super smart society' of the future (Mavrodieva and Shaw, 2020).

Unskilled migrants have been differentiated in various ways dependent on sector and occupation, but also geographical dispersal (Iguchi, 2012). The labour shortages debate in Japan, is well summed up by Bartram: "*The extent to which a wealthy country uses low-level foreign labour depends in part on whether the mode of economic governance supports alternative responses to labour shortages*" (2004: 162). To date, the Japanese government has been avoiding a major immigration policy change. However, in the latest (December 2018) amendment of the Immigration Control Act (Immigration Law), introduced a redefinition of 'skills' and 'skilled migrants', and in turn eased some of the labour market restrictions for migrants (Oishi, 2020). "*Although the government had no concrete plans of turning Japan into an immigration country, unskilled temporary migrants became uninvited denizens*" (Komine,

2014: 216). The way in which Japan is unhurriedly opening its borders to unskilled migrants through smaller migration channels and 'backdoor' or 'side doors'[20] migration can have a direct impact on resilience building efforts. The selective use of visitor programs to boost specific sectors of the economy in a short- or medium-term perspective with avoidance a long-term commitment to social costs of assimilation is very unlikely to bring an ease to the demographic pressure (Milly, 2018). On the contrary, it can further complicate the social and legal status of a range of foreign individuals potentially pushed to choose precarious ways in accessing basic services.

(iii) Toyama: population and recent trends

Toyama is the capital city of Toyama Prefecture, Japan, with the population of 420,000 being one of the core cities on the Japan Sea Coast. The city gained its current administrative boundaries in 2005 as a result of national reorganisation plan which merged surrounding towns and villages into Toyama city. Compared to Birmingham that has a young population structure, population growth in Toyama has entered a period of serious decline with city demographics changing significantly over the last 30 years and rapid aging expected in the next three decades (OECD, 2015). The population of foreign residents in Toyama Prefecture increased from 1,956 persons in 1980 to 11,002 persons in 2010 growing at an average annual rate of 37.38 per cent. In 2016 the number of foreign nationals registered in Toyama Prefecture was estimated at 13,475 persons, with 5,156 Chinese, 2,107 Philippine and 1,973 Korean nationals accounting for around 90 per cent of foreign population. Less than a half of all foreign nationals living in Toyama Prefecture are based in the Toyama City area. Between 2016 and 2017 there has been

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[20] 'Backdoor' schemes represent the tendency for the less strict treatment of unauthorised migrants who overstay their visas or work in breach of their visa conditions. 'Side door' schemes fall outside its formal scope, referring to student and working holiday visas (see Hosogaya, 2020).

an increase in registered foreign nationals of 845 people. As of November 2017, the overall number of registered foreign nationals in the Toyama City area is 6,663 people, which amounts to around 1.59 per cent of the overall population of 418,024 (see Figure 1.2).

Figure 1.2: Overall number of registered foreign nationals in Toyama City area between 2014 and 2017
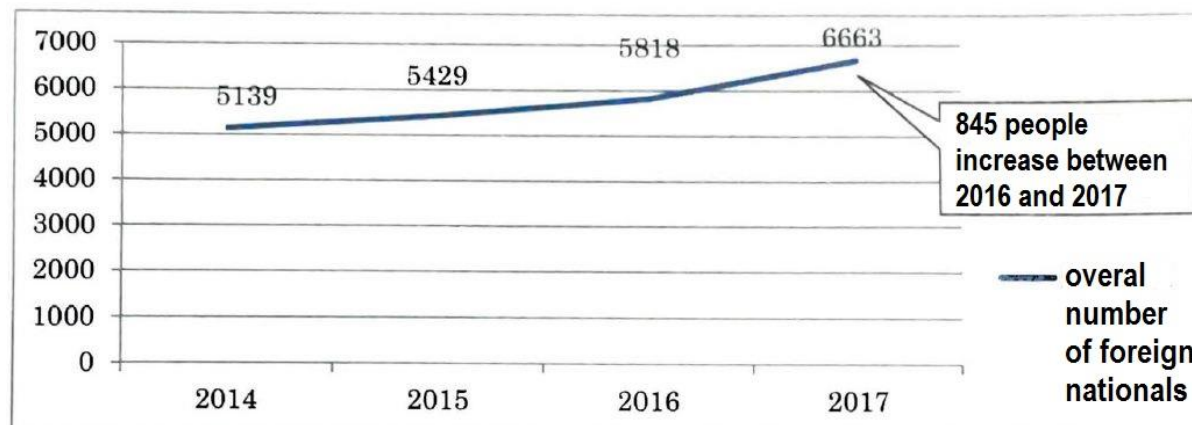
(source: official statistics obtained from the local authority).

In 2017 the six major groups of nationals living in Toyama City area include: China (2,448 (36.7 per cent); Vietnam 1,114 (16.7 per cent); Philippines 730 (11.0); Korea 641 (9.6); Brazil 511 (7.7 per cent); Russia 249 (3.7 per cent) (see Table 1.3).

Table 1.3: Six major groups of foreign nationals living in Toyama City area

	1	2	3	4	5	6
Nationality	China	Vietnam	Philippines	Korea	Brazil	Russia
Nr. of people	2,448	1,114	730	641	511	249
Percentage	36.7	16.7	11.0	9.6	7.7	3.7

(source: official statistics obtained from the local authority).

In recent years we can observe a clear new trend in increase of Vietnamese nationals, mainly joining the Technical Intern Training Program (TITP) (*Ginou Jisshuu Seido*). In three years

between 2014 and 2017 there has been an increase in 839 people, which makes Vietnamese the

second largest group after Chinese (see Figure 1.3).

Figure 1.3: Foreign national registered in Toyama City area: trends between 2014 and 2017
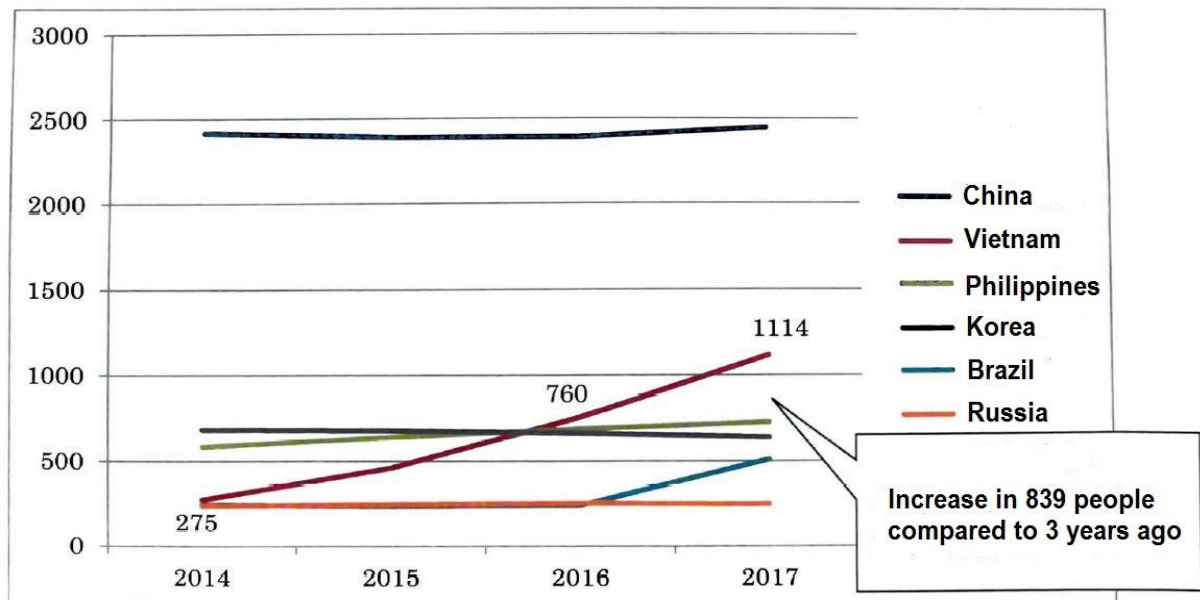
(source: official statistics obtained from the local authority).

(iv) The nature of risk

In comparison to Birmingham where risks are primarily constricted to urban areas and specific

events, Toyama faces a range of environmental risks. Toyama Prefecture has many active

tectonic faults, which have the potential to cause large earthquakes. Areas located along the

Kurehayama and Tonami-heiya tectonic fault zones represent the highest earthquake

probability within the next 30 years. Kurehayama tectonic fault zone, which includes large parts

of the Toyama City urban area with migrant population, represents the expected damage up to

shindo 7 on the Japanese intensity scale. In the past Toyama experienced up to *shindo* 5 when

the 2007 Noto Earthquake struck, which was the most shaking witnessed in this area in 77 years

since the 1930 earthquake off western Ishikawa Prefecture in Fushiki, Takaoka. In addition,

due to the geographical location of the city some disasters can occur that are Toyama-specific. For instance, the high waves called *Yorimawari-nami*, which affected several areas in 2008 and caused serious damage in and around the Toyama Bay and in spring and autumn there is a danger of *Foehn Wind*[21] increasing the likelihood of wildfires, avalanches, and floods caused by fast melting snow.

1.7 Research rationale

In the last two decades there has been a constant rise in resilience-related research in among others the areas of: urban, community, family, economic, cultural, security and disaster prevention. Both in academic and policy circles there has been a rising interest in the role of policymaking on building city resilience and effective response to emergencies. However, given the role of migration in modern societies there is a limited empirical social research on the role of migration and diversity in disaster resilience, which means that a greater understanding of the contemporary features of local resilience building efforts is required. Only through qualitative social research comparing UK and Japan can the cultural differences in decision-making and 'resilience thinking' be better understood. Insights from the study can help local service providers to understand the processes underway and to consider (potentially new) ways of ensuring city resilience under conditions of diversity. The project also grants a rare opportunity for those involved in the city- and community-level implementation of disaster resilience policies on a day-to-day basis to voice their perceptions, challenges, and concerns. In doing so the research reappraises the meaning of diversity and draws attention to the validity of prevailing academic and policy discourses of community resilience, superdiversity and migration in the light of empirical evidence.

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[21] Moist air becomes dry air when it rises over mountains and blows down the mountain causing a temperature rise.

1.8 Thesis structure

The structure of the thesis is divided into nine chapters in order to achieve the objectives stated in § 1.3. The subsequent two chapters position the study within the broader academic and policy literature on resilience (Chapter Two), set out conceptual linkages between resilience and superdiversity (Chapter Three). In Chapter Two I present a detailed exploration of a vast body of resilience literature, with the clear outline of three main approaches to disaster resilience that emerge from it: resilience as a process; resilience as an outcome and resilience as an indefinite continuity. In the second part of the chapter, I present the different policy debates shaping disaster resilience policymaking in the UK and Japan, with a specific focus on the role of human and social response. In Chapter Three I offer a theoretical underpinning for the analytical chapters of the thesis. I examine the approaches to theorising social processes in resilience, identifying the intersections between migration, diversity and resilience literature focusing on resilience measures under the conditions of demographic complexity. By bridging the resilience and superdiversity approaches, I propose a conceptual framework helping policymakers and practitioners to move towards diversity-responsive disaster resilience.

In Chapter Four I explore in detail considerations leading to final research design and methodology used. In the first part of the chapter I present graphically the different phases of theoretical and empirical investigation, the main components of the research framework and how it has been formulated based on the pilot study work in Japan. Issues including potential biases, management of power imbalances, positionality, the role of language and emotions during the fieldwork are reflected upon critically. Ethical procedures of gaining consent, ontological and epistemological considerations are also highlighted in this chapter. In the second part of the chapter I detail the initial stages of data analysis, including the process that

led to the formulation of a final coding scheme. Chapters Five, Six and Seven constitute the core of my empirical analysis. The structure and analytical work presented in the following chapters is largely defined by the key themes (see § 3.8) aiming at answering the research questions.

In Chapter Five I analyse the data collected through the prism of migrants' disaster resilience needs and I want to generate a better conceptual understanding of local resilience building initiatives in relation to the relevant policy areas in the UK and Japan. The chapter starts by contextualizing the meaning of 'local resilience building' based on findings from interviews with public civil servants and practitioners in Birmingham and Toyama (see § 5.2). I analyse the challenges associated with superdiversity in reference to four areas of action by local authorities: delivery of disaster prevention information; building daily resilience; opportunities for engagement and addressing migrants' welfare needs in disaster situations. In addition, by setting reference to the Birmingham's data I show how new migration can constitute a 'resilience issue'. In the second part of the chapter I propose a framework to better understand resilience building for migrants across resilience and integration policy domains in the UK and Japan.

In Chapter Six I explore the meaning of community resilience and community engagement for disaster resilience under the conditions of increased diversification (Toyama) and new patterns of superdiversity (Birmingham). I do so by examining how local public servants and practitioners reflect on the objectives, implementation, and impact of selected local strategies. Findings in this chapter provide a better understanding of the practices in community engagement for resilience by analysing three main aspects: culturally and socially embedded

community practices; engagement and resilience thinking; and cross-community voluntarism (see § 6.3). Challenges in community engagement for resilience are further analysed in relation to issues around social 'othering' and the role of community representation (see § 6.4).

In Chapter Seven I focus on how cities as key actors in local resilience building can respond to the changing and new realities coming as a result of increasing role of migration and superdiversity. I make a distinction in relation to the perceived and real challenges associated with migration (see § 7.3). I analyse the interview data from Birmingham and Toyama in relation to external factors, such as previous experiences in disaster response and internal conditions (administrative structures, staffing and funding issues), that shape the way the role of superdiversity is reflected in local resilience building efforts (see § 7.4). The emerging approaches and mechanisms that cities develop point to the interaction of a range of stakeholders and efficient use of available resources. In the chapter's final section (see § 7.5.2) I highlight specifically the linkages between resilience and policy entrepreneurship and examines why policy entrepreneurship has been more successful in driving local resilience building efforts in Toyama compared to Birmingham.

My main findings on disaster resilience building in superdiverse and newly diversifying local contexts are integrated within a critical reflection and discussion on the study's objectives (Chapter Eight). The contributions to social science disciplines, which can inform among others disaster (resilience) and migration (diversity) bodies of scholarship, are summarised in Chapter Nine under three broader areas: the nexus between disaster resilience and superdiversity; the gap between community resilience and migration-driven diversity; and understanding 'building disaster resilience' from the perspective of complexity and growing challenges for inclusion.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW:

RESILIENCE IN ACADEMIC AND POLICY DEBATES

2.1 Introduction

The literature review chapter situates the study of migration and diversity in local disaster resilience building in Birmingham (UK) and Toyama (Japan) within the broader scholarship on resilience. The chapter is divided into two parts. In the first part, I show how the concept of resilience has developed over time and identify three main streams of its understanding within the disaster literature: resilience as a process; resilience as an outcome and resilience as an indefinite continuity. In the second part, I identify the role of the 'social' within disaster resilience literature by looking at three paradigms: vulnerability and resilience; social capital theory and community resilience. In the subsequent analysis of national and local disaster resilience policy structures in the UK and Japan, I show how the social components of resilience have increasingly gained in importance. In the final section, I summarise the findings of academic and policy debates, arguing that an analysis of local resilience building efforts under the changing conditions shaped by migration-driven diversity requires an integrative framework. However, a framework that can bridge interdisciplinary boundaries and pave a way towards diversity-responsive disaster resilience is still missing. My determination to address this research gap conceptually (Chapter Three) and methodologically (Chapter Four) is further summarized.

2.2 Defining resilience

2.2.1 How resilience as a concept developed over time

"'*Resilience' has shifted from being a property of the biosphere*
to being a property of the humanity"
[Reid, 2013: 360].

The term 'resilience' seems to be present everywhere and as a modern 'buzzword' everywhere it seems to mean something a little different. Resilience is framed in the academic literature in multiple ways, including: 'ethos', 'programme', 'ideology', 'concept', 'term', 'governing rationality', 'doctrine', 'discourse', 'epistemic field', 'logic', 'buzzword', 'normative or ideal concept', 'strategy of power' (Anderson, 2015: 60). The integrative body of literature on resilience emerged from a variety of intellectual traditions as illustrated in Figure 2.1.

Figure 2.1: Schematic diagram of the development of the concept of resilience over time
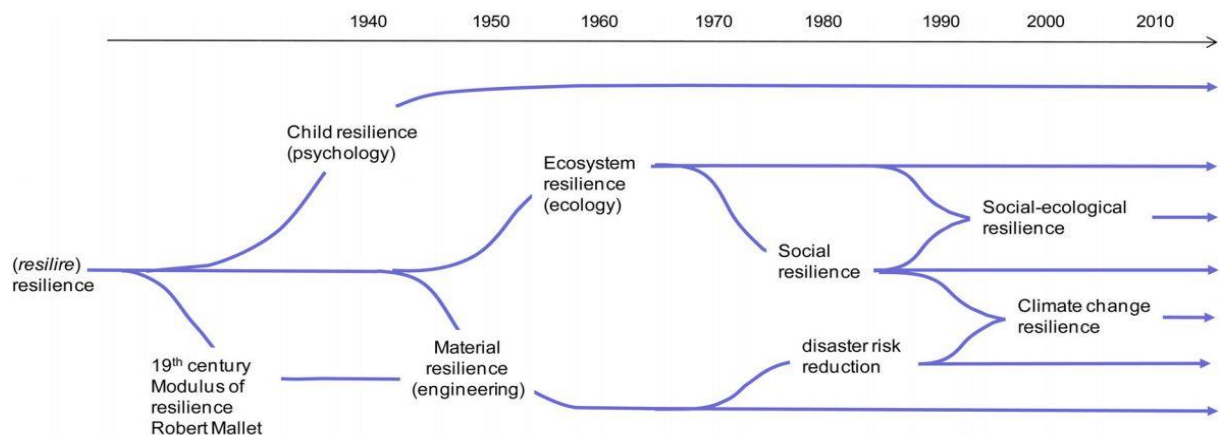
(source: Béné et al., 2018: 119).

The different streams and sub-fields of research represent epistemic groups of thought that lead to an increase in the scale of resilience literature in early 2000s[22]. Despite opening innovative

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[22] The detailed definitional development of disaster resilience has been presented elsewhere (see Manyena, 2006; Norris et al., 2008).

research frontiers, the concept is not free from critique. Researchers note that resilience has limitations (Durodie, 2005; Coles and Quintero-Angel, 2018). In certain understandings, resilience has been criticised for overemphasizing the role of resources that an individual or group should possess (Tierney, 2014) or shifting too much responsibility to people most affected by disasters, without paying sufficient attention to the structural inequalities that they might be a subject to (Hayward, 2013; Vilcan, 2017). The diversity of understandings highlights problems in measurement (Cutter, 2016) and the inherent complexity of resilience also poses a range of challenges to practitioners (Tiernan et al., 2019). Despite the fact that resilience cannot be operationalised easily, it has nonetheless become present at different levels of policy and practice. In particular, the careful examination of practices, mechanisms and measures introduced locally has increasingly become an indication of the conditionalities under which resilience operates or ceased to operate. In the next section, I highlight how the research on resilience has gradually evolved from a static individualistic conceptualization to complex contextual and relational aspects that influence preparedness and effective response in case of adversity[23]. The three dimensions of resilience that emerged from the literature review are discussed in more detail.

2.2.2 Disaster resilience: a process, an outcome or indefinite continuity

> "*Resilience always involves choices and demands, even if the choice is to continue on current paths, perhaps perversely*"
> [Simon and Randalls, 2016: 15].

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[23] The complexity of disaster prevention in the Japanese context is expressed through the context-specific use of terms conveying the different meanings of disaster resilience: *shukusai* (resilience); *bosairyoku* (capacity for disaster prevention); *kyojinsei* or *kyōjinka* (strength, toughness and flexibility); *kaifukuryoku* (strength or capacity in recovery) and more recently *rejiriensu* (resilience). Heimburger (2018) offers a detailed, contextual account of prevention and risk management practices in Japan.

Definitions of disaster resilience are diverse and reflect social complexity and variety of approaches in dealing with risks and emergencies. However, in some instances definitions of resilience might be less culturally sensitive as the concept is primarily shaped and re-shaped by the 'Western', white, middle-aged, males[24]. Böschen et al. (2019: 14-15) identify four core elements in definitions of resilience: continuity of existence; preservation of core properties; event that acts or is interpreted as a disturbance; situation-related management reaction, further development and reorganisation to create new options. I introduce the variety of definitional aspects of resilience in Table 2.1. Here I want to reference several common components, roots of which can be traced back to research on ecology and ecosystems. Highly influential to many fields of research was the work by Holling (1973: 14), defining ecological resilience as "*a measure of the persistence of systems and of their ability to absorb change and disturbance and still maintain the same relationships between populations or state variables*".

First, resilience is referred to in the context of a 'system' or 'system analysis'. An approach that implies the existence of many parts or components whose interaction determines the overall resilience of a system or sub-systems[25]. Second, many definitions describe resilience as an 'ability' or 'capacity' of either the individual, community or broader society. An indication of closeness of the concept to mitigation, which focuses more on 'lessening' or 'reducing', but also distinguishes resilience in its potentially greater reach and 'adjusting' power (Parker, 2020). Third, in defining resilience researchers refer to various forms of adaptability, fostering the development or implementation of different resources in response to adversity.

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[24] Wandji (2019) explores in more detail the role of new efforts to colonialism and post-coloniality in the structuring of resilience.
[25] I explore further the critique of the consensual view of social structures and relationships in systems perspective in § 3.2.

Table 2.1: Definitions of resilience in disaster research[26]

Author and Year	Definition
Adger (2000)	*"The ability of communities to withstand external shocks to their social infrastructure."*
Asian Development Bank (ADB) (2013)	*"The ability of countries, communities, businesses, and individual households to resist, absorb, recover from, and reorganise in response to natural hazard events, without jeopardizing their sustained socioeconomic advancement and development."*
Bruneau et al. (2003)	*"The ability of social units (e.g. organisations, communities) to mitigate hazards, contain the effects of disasters when they occur, and carry out recovery activities in ways that minimise social disruption and mitigate the effects of future earthquakes."*
Coles and Buckle (2004)	*"A community's capacities, skills, and knowledge that allow it to participate fully in recovery from disasters."*
Comfort (1999)	*"The capacity to adapt existing resources and skills to new systems and operating conditions."*
Cutter et al. (2008)	*"Resilience is the ability of a social system to respond and recover from disasters and includes those inherent conditions that allow the system to absorb impacts and cope with an event, as well as post-event, adaptive processes that facilitate the ability of the social system to re-organise, change, and learn in response to a threat."*
Department for International Development (UK) (DFID) (2011)	*"The ability of countries, communities and households to manage change, by maintain or transforming living standards in the face of shocks or stresses – such as earthquakes, drought or violent conflict – without compromising their long-term prospects."*
Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific (ESCAP) (2013)	*"The capacity of countries to withstand, adapt to, and recover from national disasters and major economic crises – so that their people can continue to lead the kind of life they value."*
Godschalk (2003)	*"The capacity to manage extreme events; during disaster; must be able to survive and function under extreme stress."*
Handmer and Dovers (1996)	*"From the three types of resilience defined by these authors, resilience as "openness and adaptability" is understood as an approach that has a high degree of flexibility. Preparedness is key in order to adopt new operating assumptions and institutional structures, and to adapt to the consequences of change and uncertainty rather than resist them."*
International Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) (2012)	*"The ability of a system and its component parts to anticipate, absorb, accommodate, or recover from the effects of a hazardous event in a timely and efficient manner, including through ensuring the preservation, restoration, or improvement of its essential basic structures and functions."*
Kendra and Wachtendorf (2003)	*"The ability to respond to singular or unique events."*

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[26] In this table I present just a brief overview. The different epistemological perspectives and plethora of contexts in which disaster resilience is conceptualised make it very difficult to reach a unified approach. The broader literature review for the thesis involved a scoping exercise of major areas and research streams in resilience research relevant to the objectives of the study. For extended overview table of resilience definitions (as of December 2016) see Appendix 1.

Klein et al. (2003)	*"Facilitates and contributes to the process of recovery [y] describes specific system attributes concerning the amount of disturbance a system can absorb and still remain within the same state or domain of attraction and the degree to which the system is capable of self-organisation."*
Longstaff (2005)	*"The ability by an individual, group, or organisation to continue its existence (or remain more or less stable) in the face of some sort of surprise [y] Resilience is found in systems that are highly adaptable (not locked into specific strategies) and have diverse resources."*
Manyena (2006)	*"Disaster resilience could be viewed as the intrinsic capacity of a system, community or society predisposed to a shock or stress to adapt and survive by changing its non-essential attributes and rebuilding itself."*
Mileti (1999)	*"Local resilience with regard to disasters means that a locale is able to withstand an extreme natural event without suffering devastating losses, damage, diminished productivity, or quality of life without a large amount of assistance from outside the community."*
National Research Council (NRC) (2012)	*"The ability to prepare and plan for, absorb, recover from, and more successfully adapt to adverse events."*
Pasteur (2011)	*"The ability of a system, community or society to resist, absorb, cope with and recover from the effects of hazards and to adapt to longer term changes in a timely and efficient manner without enduring detriment to food security or wellbeing."*
Paton (2006)	*"The measure of how well people and societies can adapt to a changed reality and capitalise on the new possibilities offered."*
Pelling (2003)	*"The ability of an actor to cope with or adapt to hazard stress."*
The International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies (IFRC) (2012)	*"The ability of individuals, communities, organisations, or countries exposed to disasters and crises and underlying vulnerabilities to: anticipate, reduce the impact of, cope with, and recover from the effects of adversity without compromising their long-term prospects."*
Timmerman (1981)	*"The capacity of a system to absorb and recover from the occurrence of a hazardous event."*
Twigg (2009)	*"System or community resilience can be understood as the capacity to: anticipate, minimize and absorb potential stresses or destructive forces through adaptation or resistance; manage or maintain certain basic functions and structures during disastrous events; recover or 'bounce back' after an event."*
United Nations International Strategy for Disaster Reduction (UNISDR) (2005)	*"The capacity of a system, community, or society potentially exposed to hazards to adapt, by resisting or changing, in order to reach and maintain an acceptable level of functioning and structure; determined by the degree to which the social system is capable of organizing itself to increase this capacity for learning from past disasters for better future protection and to improve risk reduction measures."*
United Nations General Assembly (UNGA) (2016b)	*"The ability of a system, community or society exposed to hazards to resist, absorb, accommodate, adapt to, transform and recover from the effects of a hazard in a timely and efficient manner, including through the preservation and restoration of its essential basic structures and functions through risk management."*
Wildavsky (1991)	*"Resilience is the capacity to cope with unanticipated dangers after they have become manifest, learning to bounce back."*

(source: author, informed by Meyer, 2013: 15-16).

The search for different forms of adjusting to change can be facilitated by processes like transformative learning allowing communities to swiftly adapt to disaster risks (Sharpe, 2016). A broad literature review of the disaster literature shows that three main streams shaping the understanding of resilience can be identified: resilience as prevention; resilience as 'bouncing back' capacity and transformative resilience. Below I provide an explanation of all three approaches as well as the justification for 'transformative' understanding of resilience to guide my analysis throughout the thesis.

First, resilience has been defined in the literature as a capacity to prevent hazards, risks and disasters. A way of thinking that has already shifted towards considering how we can learn from failures. Even communities with high level of resources may not be able to protect themselves from every hazard. However, providing necessary infrastructure and building a 'culture of preparedness'[27] contributes towards minimization of the risks (Kapucu, 2008). Resilience can be a vital concept in building anticipation strategies for known and unknown hazards. Flexible planning processes offer the potential to respond to changing conditions where the greater the level of risk uncertainty, the greater need for flexibility. The main aspects of 'resilience as prevention' can be summarised as follows:

- Understanding the differences between natural system and social system resilience can help to improve community adaptation and preparedness to climate induced hazards;

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[27] The role of culture in disaster risk reduction has been discussed elsewhere (see Mercer et al., 2012 and Krüger et al., 2015 for overview).

- Individuals and communities can prepare and plan for hazards through implementing a range of technical measures before and during disaster;

- Planning for resilience can have diverse forms dependent on risk assessment and resource investment to counter specific or general hazards.

Second, resilience has been viewed as capacity to 'bounce back' understood as a swift return to the pre-emergency status quo (Bruneau et al., 2003; Klein et al., 2003; Longstaff et al., 2010). Over the last two decades a range of terms have been coined in the academic and policy debates referring to reactive stances on resilience including: 'respond to adversity', 'withstand', 'absorb negative impacts', 'return to normal'. Researchers point out that 'bouncing back' is more than resistance (Adger, 2006; Manyena, 2006) and that a return to the situation prior to the event (including the ways of being and the ways of acting) would not help to address the root causes of the problem. Aldunce et al. (2014: 263) propose a 'disaster resilience spiral' (re-)conceptualisation of bouncing back helps to strengthen the understanding and "*frame disasters as opportunities not only to better prepare, to do it better, adapt and be proactive, but also to radically innovate*". The 'bouncing back' logic can address poor forms of governing and thinking that perhaps enabled the disaster to happen, which if appropriately handled would instead be a 'managed crisis'. Increasingly, it has been argued that people and communities need to 'bounce forward' (Manyena et al., 2011). The main aspects of 'resilience as bouncing back' can be summarised as follows:

- Self-reliance to counter vulnerabilities can drive resilience building in communities;

- 'Bouncing back' capacity differentiates resilient communities from their more vulnerable counterparts;

- Resilience can strengthen the pre-disaster structures and institutions to prepare better for future disasters.

Third, more recently researchers have considered resilience as a transformation, which is sustainable over time, perhaps as 'ongoing adaptability', a new policy episteme that introduces a new 'post-classical' approach to policymaking and governance (Chandler, 2014b). Transformability enables new paths to be explored and helping communities adjust to the new realities (Béné et al., 2012). Therefore, resilience emerges is a continuum, a process, an out-rolling relationship of adaptation. In this understanding of resilience an individual, community or nation would be aware of an upcoming threat. Furthermore, resilience acts as a continuum that slows down events and enables adaptation levels that prevent crisis from happening. Norris et al. (2008: 134) focus on distinctive categories of transformational resilience and defines them within three categories of network adaptive capacities that shape it. These are: robustness – "*the ability to withstand stress without suffering degradation*"; redundancy – "*the extent to which elements are substitutable in the event of disruption or degradation*"; rapidity – "*the capacity to achieve goals in a timely manner to contain losses and avoid disruption*". The main aspects of 'transformative' understandings of resilience can be summarised as follows:

- Resilient individuals and communities do not exist in a vacuum. They are continuously and frequently exposed to the dynamics of the environment in which they operate, which is increasingly diverse, transnational and translocal;

- The continuum of understanding processes that influence resilience building is becoming increasingly complex and can be conceived as an ongoing shift, leading to challenges in cooperation among multiplicity of actors;

- There tends to be a growing focus on new forms of governing and policymaking expressed in the search for forms of acquiring knowledge and interacting collectively in resilience building.

Furthermore, a transformative understanding of resilience advocates a move beyond the 'Act of God' or 'natural disaster' narrative[28]. The argument here is at least twofold. First, modes of resilience building and governance should be more reflective about their relationship with the environment in order to avoid discrimination against vulnerable groups (including migrants, ethnic minorities, children and elderly). Second, modes of governance should help communities to build their resilience in economic, political and social terms that enables a continual process

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[28] Researchers note that very often in the public, media or even policy discourses disasters are mistakenly treated as phenomena that are not part of the regular social fabric of a city or community (Gaillard et al., 2007; Gould et al., 2016). The '#NoNaturalDisasters' campaign aims at changing the discourse of disaster reporting and move the focus towards human-induced decisions that can turn a hazard (earthquake, typhoon, tsunami, flood) into a disaster. The discursive construction of 'natural' disaster (Aragon-Durand, 2009) and the implications for the disaster studies research community (Chmutina and von Meding, 2019) have been analysed elsewhere. Furthermore, Kelman (2020) argues that true disasters are not caused by natural phenomena, but human choices leaving people unprepared to face risk.

of self-reflection and incremental adjustment on micro, meso and macro levels (Béné et al., 2012; Chandler, 2014b). Thus, transformative understanding of resilience in a way challenges existing modes of politics and policymaking and advocates for a more dynamic, increasingly participatory and less hierarchical forms of policymaking.

A transformative approach to resilience challenges earlier ideas of disaster as an "*abnormality or aberration from the linear path of progress*" (Frerks et al., 2011: 108). Furthermore, attributes of transformability detectable in the socio-ecological systems (SES)[29] share common features with those of resilience, focusing among others on the role of various forms of capital, institutions, governing bodies, actors, groups, social structures, networks, learning platforms, and collective action (Folke et al., 2010). Thus, in a transformative understanding of resilience a critical role is played by processes of learning and re-learning that enable continuous consciousness (Sharpe, 2016: 216). Researchers analysing operational and psychological forms of resilience call it a move beyond resilience to a proactive version of resilience – prosilience. Such an understanding that calls for being able to operate through a disruption and anticipating disruption and adapting joint efforts as a community before disastrous events can occur (Fowler, 2017; Hoopes, 2017). Therefore, a transformative understanding highlights the role of social complexity in resilience building. More broadly, within this thesis, and specifically in relation to the focus of the project on migration-driven diversity in communities, I adopt the following working definition of resilience: the capacity of increasingly transnational and superdiverse

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[29] I explain further the role of SES in identifying the 'social' in disaster resilience in § 3.2.

local communities to reach extensive levels of adaptiveness and inclusiveness, respond to hazards in an appropriate manner and continue performing their objectives over time. I argue that taking into account factors deriving from the increasing role of human mobility and local diversity can strengthen existing conceptualisations of resilience in disaster research.

The differences and inconsistencies in defining resilience that I have presented in this section can lead to the impression that disaster resilience is "*not yet being paradigmatic i.e. not possessing a settled definitional, conceptual and theoretical basis which is widely recognised and adhered to*" (Parker, 2020: 4). However, the competing views and unsettled positionalities do not render resilience ineffective in understanding challenges faced by modern societies in relation to emergencies and disasters. The unresolved academic disputes around disaster resilience as a relatively new concept in the wider body of scholarship resonate with the contestation of superdiversity, which I explore further in § 3.3.3. In sum, resilience has increasingly shifted from being a domain of the system towards being a domain of the people (Reid, 2013: 360). The expansion and complexification of the 'social' brings some implications for the understanding of the concept and the different research streams within disaster literature.

2.3 Social components of resilience in disaster context

The recognition of resilience as a concept allowing individuals and societies to adapt to the changing environment (Davidson-Hunt and Berkes, 2003) has encouraged investigations about processes of change, leading to a gradual distinguishing the different aspects of the 'social'

from other domains, including the economic, institutional, built and natural environments. Adger (2000: 347) defined social resilience as "*the ability of groups or communities to cope with external stresses and disturbances as a result of social, political and environmental change*". Such an approach points to different economic, social, spatial dimensions and calls for a more nuanced understanding across disciplines and scales of analysis. In more recent approaches researchers saw social resilience as resilience of the 'social environment' (Kwok et al., 2016) and a focus point contributing towards community preparedness, disaster response, and post-disaster recovery (Saja et al., 2018). Despite a plethora of studies referring to social resilience, existing conceptualisations are characterised by a lack of clarity and consistency in understanding and application. It is not my intention to identify gaps related to representativeness and inclusivity of the existing conceptualisations or models of social resilience[30]. The analysis presented in the next sections takes a rather different direction. By focusing on the streams, major sub-fields, or closely related fields (defined differently dependent on the research standpoint) to the disaster resilience literature, I intend to trace the indices of complexification of social processes in disasters. The following sections focus on three paradigms that have been highly influential to date in shaping the directions of the 'social' within disaster research and the disaster resilience literature in focus, namely: the relationship between vulnerability and resilience; social capital and community resilience.

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[30] The social resilience models and frameworks have been critically reviewed elsewhere (see Saja et al., 2019).

2.3.1 Vulnerability and resilience

The first focus point to understand better the growing complexity around the 'social' within the disaster literature is the complex and convoluted relationship between vulnerability and resilience. Due to the growing role of resilience compared to the more established vulnerability approach researchers argued there was a paradigm shift in disaster research (McEntire et al., 2002). Studies exploring the potential synergies between vulnerability and resilience identified key areas of convergence that generated opportunities for action: exploring from different angles the ecological-biophysical and social-political dimensions of problems; addressing the strengths deriving from systems thinking; investigating the subjective domains of power, values and social differentiation (Miller et al., 2010). In sum, three main schools of thought can be identified within disaster research that explain the uneasy relationship between the two concepts (Fordham et al., 2013: 20): resilience and vulnerability as two opposite notions; resilience as a component of vulnerability; resilience and vulnerability as separate concepts or subcomponents of other studies. The recent work suggests the need to explore in more detail the convoluted implications of the non-linear vulnerability-resilience relationship.

The vulnerability paradigm has been used extensively in the migration and disaster scholarship to identify the socially vulnerable. McGreavy (2016: 115) proposes a systemic understanding of the resilience-vulnerability relationship and explores the consequences of constructing vulnerability within the resilience discourse as a negative. Factors and characteristics thought to be influencing group vulnerability in case of an emergency or disaster have been explored in

several earlier studies. Researchers have primarily taken into account demographic factors (including age, ethnic minority status, education) (Longstaff et al., 2010; Pongponrat and Ishii, 2018) and social factors (economic situation, political status, social network access) (Bravo et al., 1990; Omer and Alon, 1994; Schwarzer et al., 1994). Paton and Johnston (2001: 272) highlighted the role of the place, where factors such as ethnic background or age can increase or decrease the level of vulnerability dependent on the contingent relationship with the environment. Others advocated for decision-making and policy-setting approaches that integrate the most vulnerable groups, including migrants and minority groups during disaster (Lovell and le Masson, 2014).

However, researchers noted that factors used to predict migrant vulnerability often depend on the ways in which vulnerability is measured (Busetta et al., 2019) and that the traditional applications of the concept of vulnerability might lead to oversimplification of the diverse individual experiences of the affected (Arsenijević et al., 2018). New understanding among researchers and policymakers has started to emerge that questioned the deterministic classification of certain social groups (primarily based on age, gender, ethnic or religious background, sexual orientation or disasbility) as 'vulnerable' or 'high risk' and more focus has been placed on the contextual factors contributing towards 'vulnerable situations' that put certain groups 'at risk'. For instance, a number of empirical studies started to appear that challenged the dichotomous relationship between resilience and vulnerability or social vulnerability and social resilience. Studies looking at the Māori minority groups in Christchurch

(Phibbs et al., 2015), Latino communities during 1995 heatwaves in Chicago (Klinenberg, 2002) and Vietnamese Americans and African Americans after Hurricane Katrina (Li et al., 2008; Li et al., 2010), showed that socially marginalized, income and resource deprived and therefore more vulnerable groups can display remarkable levels of social agency, and resilience when compared to other ethnic or socio-economic groups. Furthermore, research looking into disaster preparedness of the elderly in the context of costal flood risk found that the individual preparedness combined with the preparedness of a community could contribute to a 'delusion of resilience' (Shaw et al., 2014), a situation where individuals act with greater resilience than the actual capacities and modes of resilience they have at hand. Finally, studies looking into experiences of immigrants and refugees in disasters call for a better understanding of the lived experiences of the socially vulnerable. The fact that migrants live through 'everyday disasters' makes them vulnerable and resilient at the same time (Uekusa and Matthewman, 2017). Therefore, my research focusing on the role of migration and diversity aligns with the call to understand better social vulnerabilities to disaster and re-think resilience building efforts.

2.3.2 Social capital

Another important shift can be identified in relation to social capital and the ways in which it is argued to shape pre- and post-disaster social contexts. Bourdieu (1986: 248) defines social capital as: "*the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition – or in other words, to membership in a group*". Whereas Putnam (2000) focuses

more on personal relationships among members of a network by refering to the bridging and bonding function of social capital. Due to space limitation, I will not offer here a detailed discussion on the origins of the different types of social capital (Portes, 1998), as the concept has been extensively applied in migration (Cheung and Phillimore, 2013) and disaster (Hawkins and Maurer, 2010) scholarship. Nonetheless, studies looking into community-level characteristics show that social capital is associated with increased preparedness, disaster survival, recovery and future concern about potential threats (Hausman et al., 2007; Aldrich and Meyer, 2014). The nature and character of how social capital was believed to be generated and operate has changed. Recent studies shine more light on the reasons why marginalised populations build or avoid certain forms of social capital such as neighbourhood ties or social networks (Uekusa, 2020). The implications of creation and use of social capital in increasingly transnational social contexts have been recognised in migration studies (Levy et al., 2013; Nowicka, 2013), but are still rather scarce in disaster research (Boin, 2019). For instance, there is a growing body of work on transnational ties of ethnic minorities with their home countries, having a positive impact on post-disaster recovery (Rytter, 2010; Sapat and Esnard, 2012; Yila et al., 2014; Esnard and Sapat, 2016). Yet, very few studies have focused on different components of social capital in building disaster preparedness among immigrants and ethnic minorities (Reininger et al., 2013; Yong et al., 2019). The need to understand better the contextual and situational spaces where social capital operates is also evident in relation to community resilience.

2.3.3 Community resilience

The tensions around the 'social' can be also traced within the major body of work on 'community' and 'community resilience' as central concepts in disaster research and practice[31]. Despite its wide use community resilience faces similar challenges as resilience *per se* (Norris et al., 2008) and can be hardly reduced to a single precise definition (Patel et al., 2017; Mayer, 2019). Many community resilience applications concentrate on the role of the place (Shimpo et al., 2019) or interactions among actors, for instance by analysing the role of social networks (Misra et al., 2017). In addition, efforts have been made to come up with an integrated approach to community resilience[32] (Berkes and Ross, 2012) and design a toolkit or set of indicators that would allow for assessing, measuring and comparing communities' resilience to natural hazards (Cutter et al., 2016; Chuang et al., 2018; Clark-Ginsberg et al., 2020). The most prominent include the Disaster Resilience of Place (DROP) model (Cutter et al., 2008) and the recently updated Baseline Resilience Index for Communities (BRIC) aiming to account for spatial and temporal changes in resilience (Cutter and Derakhshan, 2020). However, conceptualisations of community within those models have been somewhat unclear and deterministic. Discussions of community complexity central to social science research for decades are hardly visible in disaster risk management (DRM)[33] literature (Räsänen et al., 2020). Situations where

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[31] Within this section I focus on community resilience primarily in relation to migration-driven diversities. The inconsistencies and implications for interdisciplinary engagement in community resilience research have been discussed elsewhere (see Robinson and Carson, 2016).

[32] For a systemic review of community disaster resilience models and tools (see Ostadtaghizadeh et al., 2015).

[33] "*Disaster risk management is the application of disaster risk reduction policies and strategies to prevent new disaster risk, reduce existing disaster risk and manage residual risk, contributing to the strengthening of resilience and reduction of disaster losses*" (UNGA, 2016b).

practitioners and emergency services are dealing with a homogenous group of people within a particular location or space have become rather an exception to the norm. Disaster research shows that communities often act as arenas for a range of interests and (increasingly transnational) actors, leading to complex and continuous processes of formation and reformation, highlighting the role of transformative resilience. Even in communities which are very well prepared for natural hazards and external shocks there are still sub-groups that are not directly involved and integrated in the preparedness process (Tompkins et al., 2009). For instance, recent research calls for approaches that take into account the contextual micro-processes of group mobilization in disasters (Ntontis et al., 2020). Therefore, the reading of 'community' must be balanced by the need to "*avoid homogenising communities, recognising that their inherent social diversity leads inevitably to inequalities of experience and access to resources*" (Deeming, 2019: 2). There is a clear need to tap into the unique experiences, capacities and skills (Mort et al., 2020) in order to move beyond preparedness structures, emergency planning and response strategies that tend to homogenise affected populations. The implications of superdiversity for community resilience are explored in detail in § 3.6.1.

One of the main areas where the growing need to respond to social complexity in disaster resilience has been addressed is in disaster communication. Research into the role of ethnic differences in risk communication stresses the need for targeted strategies for dissemination of disaster information (Mullins and Soetanto, 2013). Multicultural approaches to crisis communication have been long neglected in the literature (Falkheimer and Heide, 2006).

Researchers stress the importance of effective communication in building community resilience (Spialek and Houston, 2019) as well as interpreting and translation in disaster situations (Sutherlin, 2013). The crisis communications literature points to a range of issues that help to better understand the relationship between migration and disaster response. Researchers emphasise the importance of getting the right message through during an emergency as reactions to different sources of information and their credibility differ dependent of respondents' ethnic or cultural background (Quinn, 2008; Olofsson, 2011). Thus, communication and dissemination of information represent important areas to improve the human and social response mechanisms to disasters, aspects that I explore further in Chapter Five.

The above sections have shown that common and widespread paradigms in disaster research and practice face more and more challenges in responding to the changing new realities. While researchers have tried to move beyond the linear and uniform conceptualisations of the role of the 'social' in the disaster context by referring to: 'paradox of resilience' (Uekusa and Matthewman, 2017), 'paradox of social resilience' (Shaw et al., 2014), 'paradox of social capital' (Uekusa, 2020), or 'paradox of community' (Titz et al., 2018), I instead refer to these collectively as complexification of social processes in disaster context. Shifts that are most visible within localised approaches are also considered to be central for the efficacy of a particular disaster risk reduction (DRR) approach to migration and diversity (Andrew, 2017: 128). The aim of the thesis is to generate a better understanding of building disaster resilience

under these circumstances of diversification. The argument here is that responding to social complexity in disaster resilience increasingly highlights the need to incorporate different analytical and administrative scales. Creating the right conditions for disaster resilience is possible by focusing on the three levels: individual, community and the city by bringing closer insights from practice and policymaking (Gal, 2014). Thus, unifying the academic and policy debates on resilience can contribute towards better disaster preparedness in various social configurations and realise broader policy objectives. In the next § 2.4 and § 2.5, I analyse the disaster resilience policymaking in the UK and Japan by focusing in particular on resilience building initiatives for human and social response.

2.4   Disaster resilience policymaking in the UK

The term 'resilience' was first used to mirror institutional changes enacted through the 2004 Civil Contingencies Act (CCA) which aimed to establish "*a modern framework for civil protection capable of meeting the challenges of the 21st century*" (UK Cabinet Office, 2004). A range of institutional changes were enacted after the 2001 general election in the UK, when the responsibility for civil protection moved from the Home Office to the newly established Civil Contingencies Secretariat in the Cabinet Office. Through the CCA, the UK Government attempted to provide a central strategic direction for developing resilience[34]. Civil Contingency planning is heavily driven by the logic of resilience understood as the ability "*at every relevant*

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[34] In July 2004 the Home Office launched 'Preparing for Emergencies' public information campaign, including a 22-page booklet advising on a range of topics related to health and safety in disaster situations.

level to detect, prevent, and, if necessary, to handle and recover from disruptive challenges"

(UK Cabinet Office, 2003: 1). Prior to 2000 'resilience' was a term seldom heard within the

UK policymaking circles. In recent years the concept has begun to dominate many social and

economic policies given the desire to work towards more connected and inclusive communities

under the 'Big Society' agenda (UK Cabinet Office, 2010). Despite disaster response

frameworks developed at city and constituency level policymakers often struggle to provide

effective response strategies for diverse communities. In response to this challenge, the UK

Government issued in 2011 a 'Strategic National Framework on Community Resilience'[35] (UK

Cabinet Office, 2011). It also included a 'Preparing for Emergencies' guide for communities,

updated consecutively in September 2016 (UK Cabinet Office, 2016) and November 2018 (UK

Cabinet Office, 2018a). The document provides practical guidance on how to carry out

assessments of communities in relation to supporting resilience-building activities. The

complexity in constructions of 'community resilience' in the UK guidance documents can

complicate the work of local authorities and practitioners as primary actors in disaster resilience

efforts (Ntontis et al., 2019).

Birmingham is part of the West Midlands Conurbation (WMC) Local Resilience Forum (LRF),

which is the regional statutory multi agency partnership organisation[36] (WMCLRF, 2016). The

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[35] The later updated versions include the 'Community Resilience Framework for Practitioners' (2016) and the 'Community Resilience Development Framework' (UK Cabinet Office, 2019).

[36] As indicated by (Adedeji et al., 2019) the role and responsibilities of the statutory Local Resilience Forum coordinated by the City Council and the City Council Resilience Team are not easy to determine. Here I am presenting the general organisational structure, without looking into detail of the practical implications of complex dependencies (in-)between individual bodies.

forum coordinates resilience activities and exchange of information across seven metropolitan councils, with Local Authority Resilience Teams based in each council respectively (Birmingham, Coventry, Dudley, Sandwell, Solihull, Walsall and Wolverhampton), covering an area of 348 square miles. The LRF normally meets three times a year to discuss emergency planning. In the event of an emergency the LRF forms a Strategic Coordinating Group to ensure a swift multi-agency response. Dependent on the nature of the event the LRF coordinates and prepares for causes and consequences by engaging with Category 1 (local authorities, government agencies, emergency services and health services), or Category 2 (utilities, transport) of 'responders' (see Figure 2.2).

Figure 2.2: Emergency planning and engagement structure based on CCA
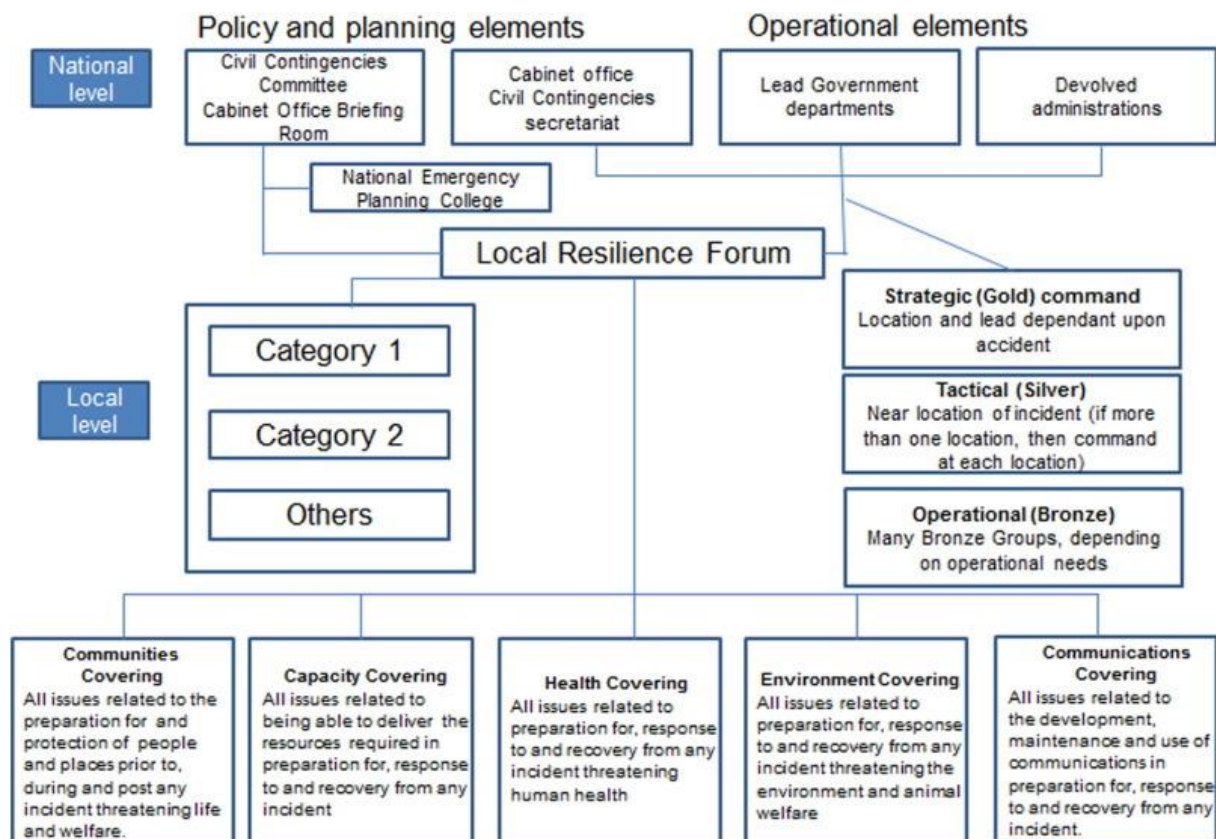
(source: Chmutina et al., 2016: 73).

As part of this wider framework, the Birmingham Resilience Group (BRG) works to strengthen both community and agency resilience. It includes officers from Birmingham City Council (BCC), the Emergency Services, key agencies within the National Health Service (NHS) and a range of other agencies named under the CCA. As a primary reference point for resilience planning the BCC has a Birmingham Resilience Team (BRT), established to enable council-wide compliance with the CCA 2004. The team is responsible for ensuring appropriate emergency management procedures and divided into two elements. Firstly, the BCC emergency planning team has the primary objective of developing, implementing and ensuring that the City Council emergency planning, and business continuity plans and arrangements are in place. Secondly, the BCC established a partnership emergency planning with the aim of enhancing and accelerating the development of Birmingham multi-agency emergency plans and arrangements through a multi-agency team, consisting of full-time officers from the police, fire services and NHS. The focus on building preparedness to strengthen local disaster response capacities has gained prominence in recent years. In particular, there has been a rising focus on human and social responses during disaster (Hilhorst, 2013); and societal crisis management (Linnell, 2014).

2.4.1 Resilience building initiatives for human and social response

In Birmingham, the BRT is the main focal point for coordinating activities related to the human and social response in case of a major emergency. The BRT is responsible for preparing emergency plans and necessary arrangements for the City Council and the multi-agency work

in case of disaster. However, due to budgetary and staffing restrictions the role of BRT in facilitating resilience-building within the communities has been diminishing in recent years[37]. For instance, programs like the Birmingham Resilience Champions or the Birmingham Communities and Neighbourhood Resilience Group[38] have seen gradual reduction in terms of scope and impact. Several practices contributing towards integrating migrants into resilience building and disaster awareness are worth mentioning. First, as part of its legal obligations the WMCLRF has to produce a Community Risk Register (CRR) which puts the national risks into local context based on the geographic, demographic and economic factors (WMCLRF, 2014). The 2014-2017 CRR can be accessed online with an updated version published in autumn 2017, following an internal BCC audit recognising the role of risk management in the management of the Council and leading to the formulation of Risk Management Toolkit (BCC, 2017).

Second, for more than a decade the BRT has been using the Community Alert Notification System based on the HTK Horizon software[39] operated by BRT's 24-hour duty officers. Diverse communities, residents and businesses can sign up to receive emergency alerts through a secure online web page and by SMS text message. The system allows to monitor areas in the city that are at specific risk, including the flood warning areas, ward, and constituency boundaries, plus maps of areas around major industrial sites. Messages in English can be sent

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[37] In § 7.4 I explore in more detail the external and internal factors shaping resilience building efforts at the city level.

[38] An exemplary program established in 2008 and set to facilitate dialogue between community, disability and faith groups together with the emergency services and voluntary organisations.

[39] For further description about the service (see Digital Marketplace, 2020).

to people in affected areas based on their post code. In addition to the ongoing efforts of the BRT to ensure city resilience, a range of other agencies and organisations across the city implement programs that can indirectly contribute towards resilience at community level. For instance, the West Midlands Fire Service (WMFS) Community Volunteers offer prevention work in local communities including a wide range of events accessible to the public. Volunteers contribute towards work with vulnerable groups, including migrant groups who may not have sufficient English language skills to participate fully. There are also a range of migrant engagement activities in local resilience building, which I further explore in § 6.3.

However, it has to be noted that many of the above-mentioned structures and programs are currently not used to their full capacity so their impact on local communities has been substantially reduced. Due to the UK Government's austerity program and substantial budget cuts to local authorities in recent years, disaster prevention and emergency response in the UK has focussed upon only the most immediate needs of communities. Cities and local communities are expected to search for new approaches and response strategies to emergencies and disasters. Resilience approaches are now central to ongoing policy responses which aim to deliver 'more for less' (Goodson et al., 2011: 4). In addition, cuts to government funding for communities can impair 'persistent resilience', which is often formed in the semiformal or informal spaces of everyday life (Andres and Round, 2015: 687). In the context of austerity resilience measures for diverse communities can be best identified as in a sense 'cherry on top', an added value to the overall objectives deriving from integration policy. It can therefore prove

challenging to gain support among policymakers for resilience measures empowering diverse populations for local emergency and disaster responses.

In sum, Birmingham and the wider West Midlands area does not differ substantially from cases reported in other countries, where despite challenges in disaster resilience building, its local dimension (communities) can generate collective action (Ross, 2013). Research looking at institutional resilience shows that local governments in the UK have a capacity to adopt to the new realities and creatively redesign their service provision (Lowndes and Mccaughie, 2013). Evidence indicates proactive engagement in the emergency management community in the UK to reach out locally and work collaboratively with different stakeholders (O'Brien, 2008). However, some of the barriers to organisational resilience can only be addressed by "'*digging deep*', *drawing upon existing resources and capabilities, and exhibiting greater ambition and imagination*" (Shaw, 2012: 297). A rather different picture emerges from the Japanese case, where among other factors such as the nature of risk, previous disaster experience and decision-making culture result in a distinct approach disaster resilience building. In the next two sections I briefly present the structure of disaster resilience policymaking and the local initiatives for human and social response in Toyama.

2.5 Disaster resilience policymaking in Japan

Though little known, even in specialist circles, "*Japan's deeply institutionalized and well-funded programme of 'National Resilience' (kokudo kyōjinka)*[40] *is far more advanced than its counterpart initiatives in North America, the EU and elsewhere*" (DeWit, 2016: 1). Japan's disaster resilience planning is based on National Resilience Law and national and international evidence. It evaluates vulnerabilities and risks, prioritises countermeasures and monitors progress (DeWit, 2016: 10). In December 2013, Japan adopted the Basic Act for National Resilience Contributing to Preventing and Mitigating Disasters for Developing Resilience in the Lives of the Citizenry (abbreviated to the Basic Act for National Resilience and referred to as the 'Basic Act'). The Basic Act stipulates the creation of the Fundamental Plan for National Resilience (Article 10) and the creation of a National Resilience Promotion Headquarters (NRPH) to promote measures concerning national resilience (Article 15). The NRPH decides on the guidelines for evaluating vulnerability assessments and creates a draft for the Fundamental Plan to Promote Measures for National Resilience (abbreviated to the Fundamental Plan for National Resilience, FPNR) (Seto, 2015), which was approved by the Cabinet decision based on Article 10 of the Basic Act (Cabinet Secretariat, 2018). Subnational governments harmonise their visions with the FPNR and may adopt their own regional versions (see Figure 2.3).

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[40] The programme encompassing the fields of disaster reduction (*gensai*), disaster prevention (*bosai*), and crisis management (*kiki kanri*) emerged in the aftermath of 2011 Great East Japan Earthquake, proposing an agenda for transformation of the nation, and needs to be understood in the global context of disaster prevention (see Koikari, 2019).

Figure 2.3: The relationship between the Fundamental Plan for National Resilience and Fundamental Plans for Regional Resilience
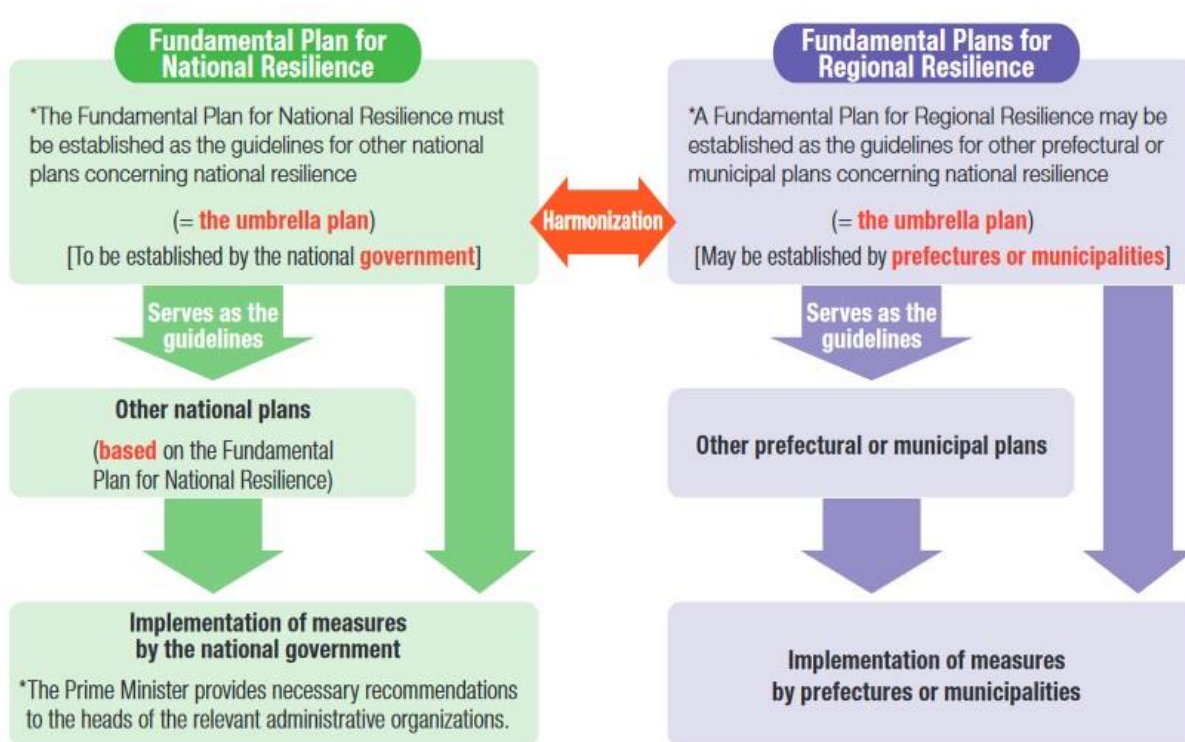
Toyama Prefecture published its Fundamental Plan for Regional Resilience on March 30th, 2016 (Cabinet Office Japan, 2019: 119). In the aftermath of the 2011 Great East Japan Earthquake (*Higashinihon daishinsai*) many actors, including expert groups, urban planners, and engineers became part of the global discourse on resilience. For instance, the Association for Resilience Japan (ARJ) was formally inaugurated on July 1, 2014, and includes 16 working groups in which politicians, bureaucrats, academics, business and representatives from subnational governments collaborate.

2.5.1 Resilience building initiatives for human and social response

In the first instance, Toyama initiated a voluntary Neighbourhood Disaster Prevention Association (NDPA) composed of local support groups. By March 2014 the city had already successfully trained 385 Associations. These Associations are key elements in the city's ability to convey critical information about disaster response and to implement emergency plans during disasters by helping local residents follow official evacuation routes and overseeing the most vulnerable. They embody the strong social bonds and a high degree of volunteerism, which is an essential characteristic of the resilience of Toyama's citizens. Between 2011 and 2017 the NDPAs have carried out 712 drills involving volunteer groups in the city's disaster relief strategies, building a framework for disaster preparedness, and developing strong communal bonds for securing the safety of the most vulnerable (Toyama City Council, 2017). The role of these local associations in resilience building is further explored in Chapter Six. In addition, since 2011 the City of Toyama sponsored 765 disaster awareness lectures involving a range of experts from the fire department and NDPAs (Toyama City Council, 2017: 34). Toyama represents an exemplary case for responding locally to the growing need across Japan in multilingual disaster support (see § 3.6 below). Examples include the regular Multilingual Disaster Support Volunteer (MDSV) training, aimed at building capacities for improved information provision and migrant support in case of a disaster (Parzniewski and Phillimore, 2017).

The above sections outlined the basis policy structures and highlighted spaces within the existing disaster resilience policymaking in the UK and Japan focusing on strengthening the human and social response mechanisms. However, with the rise of migration-driven diversity search for new instruments or adaptation of the existing ones are arguably needed, aspects that I analyse in more detail in the analytical Chapters Five to Seven. In the next section, I show the efforts that have been made within the international policy and academic research to respond to challenges associated with human mobility and growing diversification.

2.6 Addressing migration-driven diversity in building disaster resilience

My primary aim in this section is to engage in sense-making activity about the current developments of widening and deepening of the disaster resilience agenda in academic and internal policy debates characterised by a gradual recognition of the migration and diversity imperative. The section is divided into two parts. In the first part I highlights the process and reflection of migration-driven diversity in international standards (agreements) set to contribute towards disaster resilience. I stresses the need to unite the expertise originating from countries and local case studies based on broader experiences in responding to different forms of diversity (UK) with disaster-related experience, including the more difficult to transfer tacit forms of knowledge (Japan). In the second part I draw from an interdisciplinary body of literature in order see how the role of migrants in disaster resilience as well as resilience building for diverse populations has been reflected in scholarship to date. I sum up by making a case for opening up

the academic and policy debates on disaster resilience to address the new challenges emerging from growing social complexity.

2.6.1 Migration-driven diversity in policy debates

In recent years, resilience and migration policies across the world have been showing signs of stress in response to emergent complex challenges. The post-2015 international DRR dialogue shows that local experiences can have an influence on the global policy reforms. Discussions on a successor framework to the Hyogo Framework for Action 2005-2015 (HFA) covered a range of topics related to human mobility. Experts noted that in the consultation process leading up to the Sendai Framework for Disaster Risk Reduction 2015-2030 (SFDRR) there was a rising understanding of the role of migrants in building resilience in the home and host communities (Guadagno, 2016: 37). As a result, the role of migration and population movements gained a much greater recognition in the final formulation of the SFDRR (see Table 2.2).

Table 2.2: Statements in the Sendai Framework for Disaster Risk Reduction 2015-2030 that address human mobility and migration

Items	Statements
Paragraph 7	governments should engage with relevant stakeholders, including […] migrants […] in the design and implementation of policies, plans and standards (UNISDR 2015: 10).
Paragraph 27(h)	empower local authorities, as appropriate, through regulatory and financial means to work and coordinate with […] migrants in disaster risk management at local level (UNISDR 2015: 18).
Paragraph 36(a)(vi)	Migrants contribute to the resilience of communities and societies and their knowledge, skills and capacities can be useful in the design and implementation of disaster risk reduction (UNISDR 2015: 23).

(source: UNISDR, 2015, cited in Guadagno, 2016: 32).

However, some key mobility-related issues fundamental to DRR were not explicitly articulated, like for instance migration governance mechanisms; the role of remittance transfers and challenges deriving from addressing situations of displacement (Guadagno, 2016: 31-32). The operationalisation and practical implementation of migration-related provisions in disaster resilience already takes place in different parts of the globe. Global practices show the need for advocacy for local level DRR and empowerment of local governments, in particular in the efforts for engagement of a wider group of stakeholders (UNDP, 2010: 63). The practice of resilience building activities shows a direct interaction between the local and national levels of policymaking. Local governments and institutions are the primary actors in addressing the needs of their constituencies.

Thus, local ideas and bottom up initiatives gradually find their way in the broader picture of national resilience policy. Research shows that there is a growing appreciation among local policymakers and managers about the value[41] resilience considerations add to local policy responses as well as the organisational benefits from promoting resilience (Shaw and Maythorne, 2013: 48; Atkinson, 2014: 3). Measures and planning differ based on local capacities and context-specific decision-making. For instance, the role of migration-driven diversity in disaster situations has entered UK policymaking relatively recently, primarily in relation to the challenges faced during the 2017 Grenfell Tower disaster. For instance, the role of faith and minority groups involvement in human aspects and support to those affected has

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[41] The role of 'values' for resilience-led interventions has been discussed elsewhere (see Rogers et al., 2020).

been recognised in the updated version of the Community Resilience Development Framework (UK Cabinet Office, 2019), aspects that I set further reference to in Chapters Six and Seven. However, the following quote expresses well ongoing discussions among the UK's resilience and emergency planning community:

> "*Maintaining the current trend toward including the wider population in resilience building is an admirable aspiration, but it is not a one-shot undertaking. This will require on-going and honest engagement by practitioners with appropriate negotiating skills and resources, and who are able to foster relationships. If facilitated effectively there is no reason why such networks should not be able to continue to develop increasingly ambitious plans and programmes and to deliver clear and quantifiable risk reduction outcomes across a continuum of local to national scales*"
>
> (Deeming, 2017: 16).

Although broader forms of engagement and participation can be beneficial, the widening of disaster resilience agenda advocated in the Sendai Framework may be a long way from entering the resilience practice in the UK.

On the other hand, Japan as a country facing many disasters has been for years now put efforts to adjust its responses to the new realities. The Great Hanshin-Awaji Earthquake of 1995 brought some key lessons about diversity and multiculturalism to Japanese society by exposing the challenge to inform diverse groups in multiple languages and to set up volunteer groups to support migrants in disaster-affected areas. Gradually there has been also a growing recognition of the need to provide the foreign community with information in multiple languages (Okamoto and Sato, 2016). During the 2011 Great East Japan Earthquake in Tohuku region international

students played a key role (Gómez, 2013). In response to this earthquake, the city of Sendai set up a Multilingual Disaster Information Centre (MDIC). During its 51 days of operation between 11 March and 30 April, the MDIC responded to 1,112 inquiries (Japan, Public Relations Office, 2011). Since then, national and local level policymakers in Japan have placed more attention on the role of multilingual disaster communication, including a rising interest in linguistic mediation (Cadwell, 2015) and the roles migrants play in disaster-stricken areas, acting as intercultural mediators by having a more direct access to social minorities (Nishihara and Shiba, 2016). Despite an evidenced increase in attention to migrants' needs in international policies for major risk prevention and management, the complex patterns of migration and emerging specific configurations referred to in § 1.2, have not been sufficiently addressed. In the next section I am drawing on the interdisciplinary academic literature to determine how migration-driven diversities have been reflected in the disaster context.

2.6.2 Migration-driven diversity in academic debates

To date, academic literature focusing on the role of migrants in resilience building or resilience building among the migrant populations has been scattered across various focus points, approaches and disciplines. Researchers have looked into the role of migrant remittances in building resilience and the national and local level (Le De et al., 2013; Bragg et al., 2018; Beauchamp et al., 2019), especially in the Global South (Deshingkar and Aheeyar, 2006; Fagen, 2006; Naudé and Bezuidenhout, 2014; Le De et al., 2015; Bettin and Zazzaro, 2018). Another body of work focused on the psychological resilience and mental health of migrants (Mitha and

Adatia, 2016; Goodman et al., 2017; Wu et al., 2018; White et al., 2019). More recently, resilience has gained prominence in literature on forced migration and displacement (Fingerle and Wink, 2020) in particular the psycho-social wellbeing in the context of humanitarian work (Anholt and Sinatti, 2019; Bargués-Pedreny and de Almagro, 2019), migrant journeys (Giordano et al., 2019), experiences of refugee resettlement (Simich and Andermann, 2014), faith (Ögtem-Young, 2018); sexual- and gender-based violence (Pulvirenti and Mason, 2011).

However, interdisciplinary engagements between migration and disaster scholarship focusing on local resilience building efforts (from a comparative perspective) have been very limited. To the best of my knowledge, this is the first study related to migration-driven diversities in local disaster resilience in the UK and Japan. Previous work indicates that a good way to explore the connection between migration and resilience is through the focus on different levels of society and the positive transformation in local institutions and networks that try to adopt to the new realities (Stenbacka, 2013). When exploring the connections between migration and resilience Bourbeau (2015) stressed the securitization of migration challenging policy responses. Other researchers focused on risk, vulnerabilities, disaster preparedness and coping strategies of immigrants (Tompkins et al., 2009; Maldonado et al., 2016a; Maldonado et al., 2016b; Uekusa and Matthewman, 2017; Bernales et al., 2019); migrant women (Pardee, 2014; Pongponrat and Ishii, 2018; Uekusa and Lee, 2018); ethnic and racial minorities (Elliott and Pais, 2006; Peguero, 2006; Carter-Pokras et al., 2007; Eisenman et al., 2009; Burke et al., 2012; Cherry and Allred, 2012; Messias et al., 2012; Wang et al., 2017; Bolin and Kurtz, 2018); linguistic minorities

(Arlikatti, 2014; Tan and Said, 2015; Uekusa, 2019a); foreign students (Gómez, 2013; Robles and Ichinose, 2017); and refugees (Koike, 2011; Marlowe, 2015). Finally, researchers showed that the (in)visibility of undocumented migrants leads to a range of challenges for emergency services to provide assistance in disaster situations (Wilson and Tiefenbacher, 2012; Délano and Nienass, 2014; Méndez et al., 2020).

To date, a range of challenges and opportunities related to human mobility, migration and diversity have gained their presence in academic and policy debates on disaster resilience. Yet, in this emerging research frontier[42] a range of key questions about the adequate responses to migration-driven complexity in changing social and cultural world, in particular from the perspective of practitioners and public servants, remain open. Furthermore, the dominant understandings and conceptualisations of the role of migration and diversity in the lives of local communities might not be reflective of the realities that public servants and practitioners are currently facing. Exploring the complexity of building disaster resilience locally, under conditions of migration-driven diversity can shed new light upon the social relations, community values, deeper ethical and normative issues about the role of social inclusion that often remain silenced.

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[42] When referring to the 'research frontier' (not to mix with frontier research) across the thesis, I mean an interdisciplinary body of work focusing on the role of (primarily migration-driven) diversities (such as ethnic, cultural, linguistic, religious and other) within disaster risk reduction (DRR), disaster risk management (DRM), as well as more broadly defined disaster resilience building efforts.

2.7 Conclusion: responding to superdiversity in the academic and policy debates on disaster resilience

In the last two decades, researchers have tried to track, explain, formalise and codify the various social and political[43] enactments of resilience in the areas of urban planning, international security, psychology, development, sustainability, financial regulation, organisational performance, disaster prevention, institutional capacity and more. Despite this increase in academic scholarship on resilience, political and social philosophers have "*missed the resilience rush*" (Kolers, 2016: 92) and suitable representations within policy domains are still being sought after. Resilience remains prominent as a key consideration in the academic debates on emergency and disaster prevention. The various debates and conceptualisations of resilience can help one to identify the *Leitfaden* – a set of small clues or hints that point to its role within different community settings. Thus, a better understanding of the role of diversity increasingly plays an important role in local resilience building efforts.

In this chapter, I have outlined the different academic and policy approaches within resilience literature, highlighting the role of the 'social' and the need to respond better locally to growing complexification of social processes in disasters. The literature review considered a range of important components in disaster resilience. Firstly, I outlined the intellectual development of the concept by explaining the three main understandings within disaster resilience. Secondly, I

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[43] The political implications of resilience as a concept and its role within the political system it operates in have been extensively discussed elsewhere. For instance, the Simon and Randall's (2016) article initiated the 'ontological politics of resilience' debate, aimed at exploring the divisions between often polarised academic positions that, on the one hand, deem resilience as a fuzzy and empirically hollow concept and, on the other, an embodiment of the neoliberal thought.

traced the role of the 'social' within the disaster resilience literature by looking at the relationship between vulnerability and resilience, social capital theory and community resilience. Thirdly, I presented the national and local policy structures supporting disaster resilience efforts in the UK and Japan, by paying specific attention to the role of human and social response. The overall learning from academic and policy literature shows that resilience building is not simply a question of being inclusive or not, being resilient and engaged or not, but rather whether in the increasingly globalised and interconnected world we can break with widening class inequality, poverty, institutional and racial violence experienced locally (MacLeod, 2018; Shildrick, 2018; Danewid, 2019). In particular, disastrous events across the world highlight the inequalities, social and cultural divisions hampering the effectiveness of response. For instance, the 2015 Hurricane Katrina acted as a trigger point offering growing critical engagements with structures of social inequality (including racism) in disasters (Brunsma et al., 2010; Shaw, 2018). Furthermore, disastrous events such as the 2017 Hurricane Irma in Florida showed that undocumented migrants are potentially far more vulnerable than the general population as fears about their legal status and the possibility of being detained and deported prevented some from evacuating (Siegel, 2017).

While resilience scholars argue about the role of 'what', 'where', 'when', 'why' and 'for whom' in disaster prevention and response (Sanchez et al., 2018; Meerow and Newell, 2019), migration

scholars mirror these concerns and show that ensuring access to services [44] for mobile populations has become an increasingly challenging task for policy and practice (Phillimore, 2015; Berg, 2019). Various old and new forms of diversity, complexity associated with increasing human mobility and migration have become a vital factor influencing city landscapes (Grzymała-Kazłowska and Phillimore, 2018).The growing importance of relational spaces led researches to apply a 'whole community' approach where superdiverse neighbourhoods are shaping the lives of both migrants and non-migrants (Pemberton, 2020a). Multidimensional shifts in migration patterns finding expression in growing superdiversity among local communities add another layer of complexity to disaster resilience building efforts. In § 3.3.2 I explore in more detail the nature of the superdiversification processes and their implications for policy and practice[45]. Understanding the shifts in social resilience is critical for translating the global targets of the SFDRR to the local realities.

The context outlined above, which has not been sufficiently reflected in resilience scholarship to date, sets a clear rationale for the thesis. In the research I address two specific issues so far neglected in the wider body of knowledge. First, the absence of an in-depth study analysing all the broad and specific literatures that engage critically with various conceptualizations in order

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[44] Furthermore, lessons from the COVID-19 pandemic highlighted a particular role of migrant workers in the provision and resilience of essential services leading to scholars advocating the application of 'systemic resilience' into the analysis of the labour market regulation (see Anderson et al., 2020).

[45] In § 5.4 in develop a conceptual framework as a contribution to a better understanding of the intersection of national and local policies on resilience with those focused on immigration and welfare policy potentially leading to specific outcomes for different groups of migrants.

to learn the dominant interpretations and ways of thinking that shape local disaster resilience building from a comparative case study perspective. Second, the need to search for new theoretical frameworks to research complex social phenomena from an interdisciplinary (or even transdisciplinary) perspective (Chapter Three). The subsequent chapters of the thesis are designed towards filling these gaps and contributing to the empirical social research exploring local disaster resilience building efforts under the conditions of migration-driven diversity.

CHAPTER 3

CONCEPTUAL INTERLINKAGES:
THE NEXUS BETWEEN RESILIENCE AND
SUPERDIVERSITY – TOWARDS DIVERSITY-RESPONSIVE
RESILIENCE

3.1 Introduction

In the introduction to this thesis I proposed the focus on migration and diversity as an important

lens to analyse the growing complexities in local disaster resilience building. As the previous

chapter showed, the assertion for this focus was based on the argument that migration-related

diversities have not been sufficiently addressed in resilience policy and practice. Resilience

building efforts need closer examination in the context of growing superdiversity where

established migrant groups mix with newly arriving immigrants, adding to the already existing

social, ethnic, and cultural diversity. Yet, there is a gap in knowledge about how superdiversity

can be theorized in the context of resilience and almost no empirical work examining disaster

resilience in superdiverse contexts. In this chapter, I critically examine approaches to theorising

social processes in resilience, identifying the intersections between migration, diversity and

resilience literature focusing around governing resilience measures in demographic complexity.

I argue that challenges in resilience building efforts can be investigated by analysing local

responses to superdiversification. Through this exploration I delineate my epistemological

foundations informed by the complexity literature in resilience and migration studies and my

ontological position based on the notions of 'transformative' understanding of resilience and social structures.

The chapter forms a theoretical underpinning for the empirical sections of the thesis. The arguments I make in this chapter offer an entry point, among potentially many other understandings, to growing (migration-driven) social complexities in disaster resilience. My main aim is to initiate discussions about the interdisciplinary applications of superdiversity within the field of disaster resilience and the difficulties associated with this task. The analysis of the case studies that follows contributes to filling a research gap around the implications of superdiversity for local public servants and practitioners working in or with responsibility for resilience building. It also demonstrates the role of cross-cultural comparative research in supporting understanding of migration-related diversities.

3.2 Theorizing social processes of resilience

Resilience as a concept was developed to explain ecological processes and has subsequently been applied to understanding of social problems. As such its theoretical potential to analyse path dependent processes is increasingly recognised (Röhring and Gailing, 2011). As highlighted in Chapter Two, conceptualizations of resilience depend on the theoretical-conceptual background of the respective discipline, but considerable variability exists within and across disciplines. To foster communication across disciplines researchers advocated for rigid conceptualizations of resilience. On the other hand, the dominant preference towards

abstract versions of resilience increases its potential as a unifying concept (Thorén, 2014).

Despite its theoretical foundations not being clearly set, resilience has been used in a plurality

of contexts. Therefore, before making a case for the usefulness of resilience in addressing

complexity, some of the key processes of its conceptual development need to be outlined.

To date, theoretical work on social aspects of resilience [46] has largely focused on the

complementarity of components (variables) identified as characteristic to social and ecological

systems (Lorenz, 2013). Social science approaches within ecological system studies have been

often limited to the notion of resilience as an added value to studying it as a concept originating

from natural sciences[47]. Increasingly 'social change' and 'social resilience' have been discussed

as a property of socio-ecological systems (SES)[48] (Cote and Nightingale, 2012). However,

conceptualizations of social change within SES research made it problematic in the context of

increasing social complexity. Forrester (2019: 66) points to the lack of social transformative

capacity as a fundamental flaw in the SES approach. Furthermore, the differences in

understandings of society highlight the potentially insuperable differences between the two

approaches:

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[46] Here I am tracing the 'social' from application and resilience development in natural sciences. I have already set a reference to the 'social resilience' literature in § 2.3. The role of 'societal resilience' as an emerging field in safety science research has been discussed elsewhere (see Haavik, 2020).

[47] The challenges in research collaborations among social scientists and natural scientists have been further explored elsewhere (see Bennett et al., 2017).

[48] Resilience as a perspective to understand the dynamics of SES has been explored elsewhere (see Folke, 2006).

>"*There is a difference in how resilience theory and the social sciences understand society—in terms of social systems, social relations, and social change. In essence, resilience theory is implicitly based on an understanding of society that resembles consensus theories in sociology, according to which shared norms and values are the foundation of a stable harmonious society in which social change is slow and orderly—and where, in analog, resilience thus becomes the equivalent of stability and harmony or the good norm*"
>
>(Olsson et al., 2015).

The above argument highlights challenges around working collaboratively across disciplines without pursuing openness about the diversity of ontological, epistemological and philosophical perspectives (Stone-Jovicich et al., 2018). The SES resilience framework has limited utility in addressing the dynamics of social change, accounting for factors like conflict or competition and a tendency to "*aggregate or homogenize social complexity, and thereby assume that people's interests, expectations, and experiences are the same*" (Fabinyi et al., 2014: 2). In response, social scientists have been trying to address their concerns regarding socio-ecological resilience concepts and seek theoretical understandings of resilience that consider growing social complexity. To date, there has been a diverse array of meanings of resilience in numerous research contexts, but a theoretical framework that offers a comprehensive and sociologically-viable concept of resilience is still lacking (Endreß et al., 2018). To set the foundations for such an analytical framework capable of capturing the dynamism between resilience policy and practice, this chapter begins by analysing efforts to address social complexity in both resilience and migration (diversity) research fields.

3.3 Understanding complexity

> *"If complexity is assumed from the outset,*
> *complex descriptions necessarily follow,*
> *rather than monocausal explanations*
> *or simplistic generalisations"*
> [Eriksen, 2015: 373].

The trends in theorising social processes of resilience described above coincided with a broader shift related to the rise of complexity theorising in the social sciences (Walby, 2007; Byrne and Callaghan, 2010; Page, 2010). Resilience researchers attributed complexity-thinking in social science to what may be termed as a post-constructionist, materialist turn (Chandler, 2014a). New materialism assumes a theoretical position that deems the polarized positions of a postmodernist constructivism and positivist scientific materialism as untenable for instance, by stressing the negative role linear causalities can play in the work of social scientists (de Landa, 2006). My intention in referring to the complexity shift is not to juxtapose the 'discursive turn' with the 'material turn' in their approaches to decompose social processes. There are indeed important theoretical questions about the role of resilience in the politics of adaptation and whether resilience has exhausted its role as governmental or analytical framing (Chandler, 2019). Instead, my aim is to explore the linkages between two recent and prominent strands within the resilience and migration literature: the development of new conceptual tools that would allow for governance of complexity and better understanding of social complexities in research and policy practice. Based on this analysis, I argue that superdiversity when used as a heuristic tool to understand social complexity can offer valuable insights into disaster resilience.

3.3.1 Governance of complexity

Resilience and migration scholars recognise the need to understand better the broader implications of growing complexity in social relationship and seek new policy responses. Risk governance and environmental governance have always played an important role in resilience scholarship, but more recently disaster governance has undergone a revival as a subfield within the discipline[49] that is concerned with building capacities for DRR and responding to complexity (Chandler, 2014b). In particular, there is a growing interest in new forms of resilience thinking that can address the wider cultural and political implications of climate change and global warming (Baldwin, 2017; Gillson et al., 2019). Furthermore, researchers have been seeking ways to reconsider and reconceptualise the established categories through which modern societies have made sense of the world (time, space, knowledge, race) and how resilience building can help to re-stabilize those categories with their ethnical and political implications (Chandler et al., 2020). Looking at resilience from the governmentality perspective helps to understand the world in a way where the complex and unpredictable character of challenges faced by diverse populations comes to the fore[50]. Resilience as a concept allows problems to be articulated in a nuanced way and legitimises the practices of governance of complex problems (Joseph, 2018: 170).

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[49] The social, political and economic dimensions of this shift have been explored elsewhere (see Tierney, 2012).

[50] Schmidt (2015) by referring to the 'ontologicalisation of complexity' dilemma stresses the limits and possibilities of agency, decision-making and governing in discourses on resilience.

Correspondingly, complexity as an angle to analyse public policy challenges (Geyer and Rihani, 2010) has inspired migration scholars to develop new approaches to understanding governance in migration and diversity (Scholten, 2020a; 2020b). For instance, the notion of mainstreaming has been proposed in migration studies, namely as a mode to understand the changes in policymaking around the governance of migrant integration (Scholten, 2018). The growing focus on complexity governance highlighted a need to search for solutions and cooperation across various policy domains. As Scholten (2020: 111) notes: "*complex (policy) problems cannot be treated as stand-alone topics; rather than pursuing one specific formal problem definition, complexity governance involves a more integral and flexible approach to often highly unpredictable and uncertain problem situations*". Considering the importance of growing complexity allows for intellectual cross-fertilisation across various research and policy areas, including the underexplored potential in bridging disaster resilience and migration scholarship.

The conceptual interlinkages between resilience and superdiversity presented in this chapter are summarised in Figure 3.1 below. To date, both resilience and superdiversity scholarship have opened new avenues for a better understanding of the changing and complex social configurations. Uniting insights from the two areas can contribute towards evidence-informed policymaking. Local evidence from Birmingham and Toyama presented in the analytical Chapters Five to Seven shows that revision of a range of existing approaches, including among

others community engagement, mainstreaming and policy entrepreneurship, can support the work of public servants and practitioners, leading to a diversity-responsive disaster resilience.

Figure 3.1: Diversity-responsive disaster resilience building: conceptual framework
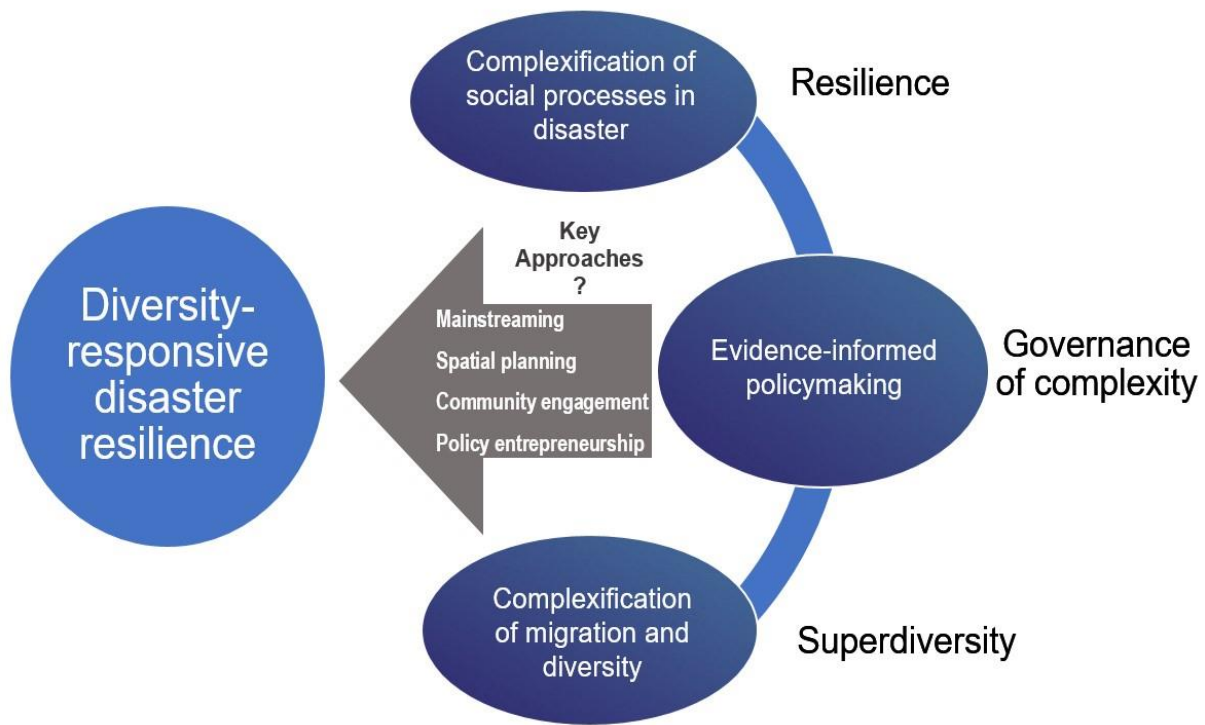
(source: author).

Through the analysis of similarities and differences between resilience and superdiversity scholarship in informing governance of complexity, the following correlations between the concepts can be identified:

- The positive and negative connotations of resilience and superdiversity, capture the dynamic shifts in lives of local communities in different geographical locations and reflected in public, academic and policy debates;

- The possibilities of both concepts in capturing complexity, to bring increased attention to a range of (potentially neglected) aspects and generating opportunities for more evidence-informed policymaking;

- The still underexplored theoretical, methodological and practical potential of both concepts could help public servants and practitioners to better respond to the emerging new challenges.

Another important aspect of complexity governance[51] involves the use of adequate instruments for the analysis of complex social configurations. Following Vertovec's categorisation of superdiversity, as set out below, I distinguish here the general complexification of society as part of broader diversification processes, from migration-driven diversifications as a narrower and more specific field of inquiry (Vertovec, 2019a). The broader spectrum of diversification processes found its reflection in 'complexification' of social categories, identities, intersectionalities, relationships, outcomes, and reactions in different spheres of life. The narrower spectrum of diversification processes, which is explored further below being the primary focus of this study, considers migration-driven diversifications as part of quantitative and demographic transition, accelerated by complex interplay of a multiplicity of factors.

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[51] The ability of local actors to govern complexity can be also impacted by the often problematic division of competences between the local, regional and national authorities in disaster situations. An important focus for further research that I have not been able to address here in more detail due to space limitations.

Increasingly in the academic and policy debates the comprehension and reflection upon such processes has been referred to with the use of the concept of superdiversity.

3.3.2 The nature of superdiversity and superdiversification processes

The term superdiversity was first coined by Steven Vertovec in his 2007 article referring to 'diversification of diversity' in order to capture new migration patterns in London, characterised by the movement of people from multiple countries of origin and entailing multiple ethnicities, languages and religions within the city. An important demographic change, which was also associated with changing migration channels and statuses varying between temporary migrants, labour migrants, family migrants, humanitarian migrants, students, seasonal workers, refugees and others (Vertovec, 2015). Later, based on the analysis of migrant 'stock' in the period from 1960 and 2000 for the USA, Canada and Australia, Vertovec concludes that people are moving from more places to more places than ever before[52]. Therefore, it is argued that superdiversity also marks an important qualitative change in migration flows, a shift from larger groups coming from few destinations to smaller groups of migrants coming from a much larger number of countries (Vertovec, 2019b). New patterns that are not only characterised by the "*dynamic interplay of […] new, small and scattered, multiple-origin, transnationally connected, socio-economically differentiated and legally stratified immigrants*" (Vertovec, 2007: 1025), but also producing new hierarchical social positions, statuses and stratifications. The patterns of

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[52] However, de Haas et al. (2019: 888) argue that the growth in total number of international migrants is mainly driven by the rise of global population.

superdiversification are happening in different speeds in different places, creating new national and urban configurations that must be accounted for. Thus, the emergence of superdiversity should be also contextualised in relation to the challenging of dominant conceptualisations driving policy responses to migration-driven diversity, in particular the growing criticism of multiculturalism (Kundnani, 2012; Murphy, 2012). Migration researchers across the globe posited that we had already entered onto the 'post-multicultural' world (Kymlicka, 2010; Vertovec and Wessendorf, 2009). In that respect superdiversity offered a possibility to address the intellectual vacuum in understanding of the character and implications of the new realities. The recognition of superdiversification processes because of an important demographic change also brings a range of wider implications for practitioners and policy[53]. Superdiversity changes the understanding of how new demographic realities work locally. It shifts the focus of migration scholars from minority groups to everybody living in specific places (Pemberton and Phillimore, 2016; Pemberton et al., 2019). By focusing on the complex relationships between individuals superdiversity helps to understand better complexities growing within and between groups and communities. Diversifications that are taking place among the whole spectrum of individuals living in the city often bring further complexity to the understanding of majority-minority relationships. Superdiversity re-defines the relationship between the 'majority' culture and immigrant 'minority' culture in cities that comprise of majority of different minorities (Crul et al., 2013).

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[53] The widespread of superdiversity is often seen as an articulation of the 'diversity turn' in ethnic and migration studies, giving new impetus for theoretical and methodological lines of enquiry (see Berg and Sigona, 2013).

Secondly, considerations regarding superdiversity trigger a set of new considerations that present themselves as a challenge to the existing processes of policymaking (Vertovec, 2007; Phillimore, 2011). In the period between the end of 2010 and early 2011 heads of states of three major countries in Europe, Germany, UK and France declared that multiculturalism as a state policy (or set of policies and approaches) has failed and a search for new approaches to dealing with diversity is required (Bradley, 2014). The advent of superdiversity put pressure on national and local level policymakers and practitioners to generate adequate responses. However, the identification of specific needs within and between populations has become increasingly difficult (Phillimore, 2015; Lindenmeyer, 2018; Pemberton et al., 2019).

The processes described above led to the recognition and increased implementation of superdiversity as a lens to analyse migration-driven complexity. Superdiversity has brought new focus to the wide range of variables that shape social realities and in so doing has opened new avenues to study how actors make sense of, define their positionality and interact with new complex realities. Furthermore, superdiversity generated new opportunities for the study of broader social processes and non-deterministic approaches regarding models of response by local public servants and practitioners as well as the social organisation of dynamic migration-driven diversifications. New forms of diversity can no longer be understood as encapsulated, contained or restricted to specific localities and interactions within strictly defined social groups (Geldof, 2017), a shift that is also becoming increasingly relevant to societies traditionally

considered as homogenous. The qualitative changes in population complexity that the advent of superdiversity has opened for migration and diversity scholars make its invocation as an analytical lens for this interdisciplinary research project important. The sections below address the major conceptual and methodological challenges of the application of superdiversity as a lens to understand migration-driven complexities in local disaster resilience building.

3.3.3 Critique and limitations of superdiversity

In the last decade superdiversity has been in the focus of heated public and political debates. The concept has been in operation for less than two decades as the processes it is set to capture are also relatively new. The surge of studies addressing superdiversity shows that the concept has already gained its prominence, but also raises vital points of critique. Here, I refer to two broader areas worth of consideration: the way superdiversity developed and has been adopted over time and the relevance of the concept to capture diversification processes in modern societies.

Firstly, the critique associated with the emergence of the concept, what it stands for and the way it has been used to date will be examined. In particular, complexity emerges in relation to potentially conflicting time differentials within which superdiversity is seen to operate. For instance, researchers have been conflictingly referring to superdiversity as a 'new', 'developed over time', 'recently established', or 'emergent phenomenon'. Another dimension involves the blurring spatial boundaries where superdiversity can be identified, which might involve specific

geographical areas, cities, communities, neighbourhoods or mixing of the different focus points.

The descriptive character of the concept does not render it ineffective, but rather requires researchers to be very explicit about the purposefulness and boundaries set for its application. Furthermore, the plurality of ways in which superdiversity has been applied so far and emergence of its subforums suggest that the concept has mutated or at least we are observing a 'diversification of superdiversity' underway. For instance, researchers observe "*new migration-driven superdiversity intersecting with other dimensions of superdiversity*" (Meissner and Vertovec, 2016: 29). The distinction between 'new' and 'old' or 'embedded' forms of superdiversity as well as the problem with identification of a 'tipping point' when superdiversity is applicable to a unit of analysis, represent some of the aspects that have not been clearly addressed in the literature to date. The blurring of conceptual applications and departure from the initial objectives set in its primary use lead to the major criticism of superdiversity, namely the fact that it does not advance theory. However, superdiversity was never intended as a distinct theory, but rather a conceptual tool to understand migration-driven diversities (Vertovec, 2019b). Reducing superdiversity to a social phenomenon reduces its analytical potential, due to its "*potential to unveil and make accessible for study social complexity as it relates to migration but with the possibility to address issues beyond the impacts of migration alone*" (Meissner and Vertovec, 2015: 547). The fact that superdiversity is not a theory, but rather a conceptual framework does not mean that its application cannot generate valuable insights into the complexity shaping modern societies. Thus, superdiversity is not the ultimate conceptual tool, but a useful "*placeholder until we develop enhanced terms,*

theories and perspectives with which to depict and interpret the multiple modes and impacts

of current forms of societal complexification" (Vertovec, 2014: 1).

Secondly, critique associated with the relevance of superdiversity in capturing social complexity and change. With the growing proliferation of the concept a range of debates emerged challenging the new added value in 'superness' of diversity, whether in terms of demographic or social and cultural diversity (Siebers, 2018). Researchers showed that superdiversity is not all-encompassing as many areas in cities might be experiencing a reverse pattern, especially in smaller Eastern European cities becoming less diverse (Pavlenko, 2019). Others noted the overemphasis on cultural and localised difference at the expense of structural inequalities (Sepulveda et al., 2011). In that regard, superdiversity might be suffering from the same aspects as criticised within decolonial approaches by "*reproducing the same single-strand identity categories that it supposedly seeks to challenge*" (Ndhlovu, 2016: 35). The inability of the concept to decompose the different layers of social inequality bounded with its recognition of positive conviviality (Wise and Noble, 2016), fostered the label of superdiversity as a 'happy multiculturalism'. For instance, Schinkel (2018: 9) argues that superdiversity "*constitutes an effort to swing the pendulum so far to the other side that all inequalities, all racism and all domination that precedes 'diversity' again disappear from view in an effort to let demographics do the work of theory*". Others argued that superdiversity contains "*a powerful sense of social romanticism, creating an illusion of equality in a highly asymmetrical world, particularly in the contexts characterized by a search for homogenization*" (Makoni, 2012: 193).

In recognizing the essential critique presented above, I do not intend to engage in the discussions whether it is justifiable to refer to superdiversity as an exclusive representative marker for social and cultural differences triggered by dynamic demographic shifts. Instead, the aim is to set a reference to important (cognitive) changes and intersectionalities that have been vocalized as a result of the 'superdiversity turn', considerations of which justify the empirical value of superdiversity as a lens guiding this study. Namely to understand better the new realities shaping the role of migration and diversity within the local disaster resilience building efforts.

3.4 Debating superdiversity in the context of disaster resilience

The concept of resilience offers a range of ideas around risk, crisis, disaster prevention and sustainability (Endreß, 2015: 537), including the social and societal dimensions of the broader global processes of migration. Yet, while the role of social change shaping community life has been acknowledged in the resilience literature, the potential of superdiversity in understanding migration-driven complexities remains empirically underexplored. Consideration of the added value of the use of superdiversity in disaster resilience context is needed. To do this, I first review the potential of using superdiversity as a lens to analyse the emerging new challenges in local disaster resilience building. Following this discussion, I analyse how the different conceptualizations of superdiversity have been used in empirical studies to date, in particular in the field of migrant integration. By referring to previous research on the role of superdiversity

in social work (Boccagni, 2015) and healthcare provision (Phillimore et al., 2018), I show how the use of a superdiversity lens can help to build local capacities in response accelerated social diversification processes. In the final part of this section I refer to a specific empirical application of the concept in order to set the relevance to the different components of the analysis presented in the thesis (Chapters Five to Seven).

3.4.1 What can be learned from superdiversity?

Superdiversity is certainly not a panacea for addressing all the challenges associated with newly emerging social complexities and configurations. Firstly, superdiversity stresses the need to think beyond ethno-nationalistic conceptualisations, a research agenda characterised by investigations across multiple categories. It involves a process of seeking new ways in addressing, (re-)conceptualising and engaging with representations of diversity. Moreover, superdiversity thinking offers practitioners and policymakers in the field of migrant integration, in the UK and increasingly in other countries, a way to move beyond multiculturalism[54] as a dominant approach in accommodating diversity. Although happening at different speed and scale, diversifications in the UK and Japan seek adequate representation in disaster resilience building practices. Ways of responding may already be adjusting to the new patterns of migration and superdiversity, despite broadly defined multiculturalism often remaining the *leitmotiv* in accommodating diversity (see Chapter Six). Part of the argument here, fostered in

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[54] The crisis/failure of multiculturalism in the UK (and beyond) has been discussed elsewhere (see Chin, 2017; Joppke, 2017; Mathieu, 2017). The understandings and local implications of Japanese style multiculturalism for disaster resilience are further explored in Chapter Six.

the analytical chapters of the thesis, is that local public servants and practitioners identify and try to fill in the growing needs associated with changing migration patterns, despite superdiversity considerations being far from reaching the policy structures aimed at guiding their work. In other words, the new realities and practical implications of experiencing superdiversity locally can trigger progressive responses going beyond the hitherto accepted conceptualisations of dealing with diversity.

Secondly, complexities associated with superdiversity point to a potential inadequacy of existing support structures, policymaking frameworks, and local approaches in responding to new social configurations. Superdiversity can help to understand the nature of change (actual and required) in several policy areas. For instance, researchers found that health social settings are increasingly characterized by transnationalism and heterogeneity (Green et al., 2014) and therefore requiring an effort for radical reconfigurations in service provision (Bradby et al., 2020). In the adaptability of healthcare ecosystems to the new realities a decisive role was played by local service providers, acting as bricoleurs trying to adapt, connect, innovate and resist (Phillimore et al., 2018). Analogous challenges emerge in local disaster resilience efforts. Factors characteristic to superdiversity, such as arrival of large numbers of small groups of migrants from diverse destinations or fluid community membership push public servants and practitioners to reconsider service provision methods, community engagement and city-level planning. The empirical analysis in following chapters does not directly engage with the characteristics and nature of diversification processes *per se*, as it is primarily interested in the

local conscious (or subconscious) responses to those processes by public servants and practitioners within resilience building efforts. The following section lays out the conceptual boundaries used to justify the application of superdiversity in analysing local resilience building.

3.4.2 Using the superdiversity lens

Various general implications and more specific notions of superdiversity have been researched across the social sciences. When talking about empirical applications of superdiversity Meissner distinguished two general approaches: superdiversity as a social scientific concept that can be analysed in more detail by looking at a set of variables and superdiversity as a (new) 'social context' allowing for a better understanding of complex phenomena shaping modern societies (2013: 20). In a more detailed typology of different uses of superdiversity Vertovec identified at least seven types of application (see Figure 3.2). The first three include the use of superdiversity as a term similar to 'diversity' (Svanberg et al., 2011; Baycan and Nijkamp, 2012; Aspinall and Song, 2013), superdiversity as a new condition or setting (Catney et al., 2011; Hawkey, 2012; Burdsey, 2013), or superdiversity as a call to reassess the existing methodologies used in social science but also updating and designing new policy discourses (Arnaut, 2012; Blommaert, 2013). Other categories include studies using superdiversity to show the increased numbers of ethnic groups (Syrett, 2007; Roberts, 2010), approaches calling for multidimensional reconfiguration, studies looking beyond a focus on ethnicity (Vershinina et al., 2009; Richardson and Fulton, 2010), or the use of superdiversity as a representation of new and general complexities (Aspinall, 2009; Schiller and Çağlar, 2009). Within the last

category Vertovec identifies three approaches: globalization and migration (McCabe et al., 2010); ethnic categories and social identities (Leppänen and Häkkinen, 2012); new social formations (Butcher, 2010).

Figure 3.2: An overview of the typology of 325 articles referring to super-diversity, 2008–14: Number of articles by discipline/field and type.

	Synonymous with diversity	As backdrop to a study	As a call to re-assess a field	More ethnicity	As multi-dimensional reconfiguration	As argument vs. ethnicity-only	Means to invoke other complexity
	20	76	79	42	21	24	59
Sociology	5	8	8	3	4	4	5
Anthropology		2	2		2		3
Geography		15	5	6	3	4	4
Ethnic/Migration Studies	4	15	8	5		6	11
Business Studies		2	4				
Education		6	2	3		2	
Economics				6	2		
Socio-Linguistics		9	21	3			20
Political Science/IR		2		3		2	5
Demography				2			
Urban Studies/Planning		3					2
Media/Cultural Studies		2	4				3
Law		2	4				
Religious Education/Studies		2	2				
History					2		
Social Policy/Public Health		2	11	5		4	2
Social Work							
Housing Studies			2				
Landscape Studies							
Social Psychology/Psychology		4	3				
English Literature							

(source: Vertovec, 2019b: 133).

The different uses and applications of superdiversity mark a process of normalisation of diversity, where diversity becomes a norm rather than exception in the daily life of communities and neighbourhoods. The local implications of normalisation of superdiversity have been studied with the application of 'methodological neighbourhoodism' by analysing possibilities

within an area (Berg et al., 2019) or focusing on daily interactions and mixing in superdiverse micro spaces leading to the emergence of 'commonplace superdiversity' (Wessendorf, 2014b; 2013). However, attention should be paid to the field of migrant integration as one of the research fields (in particular in the UK context) where superdiversity has been widely embedded and recognised as a 'new normal'. Grzymała-Kazłowska and Phillimore (2017: 186) highlight the need to rethink existing integration practices and policies in the light of the complexification, acceleration of changes and fluidity in societies as a result of superdiversity. Firstly, migrant integration was predominantly used in relation to 'traditional' migration when people moved to and settled permanently in one country with a 'majority' or 'dominant' culture. However, new patterns of migration show that many migrants do not settle permanently and often maintain connections with more than one country (Vertovec, 2010). The growing role of transnationalism[55] lead to more fluid relationships and different ways of belonging. For instance, transnational contacts across individuals and groups brought rise to social remittances, which can be defined as "*ideas, behaviours, identities, and social capital that flow from receiving to sending country communities and are often reinforced by other forms of global cultural circulation*" (Levitt, 1998: 927).

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[55] In order to position the processes of internationalised social communities within the diversified geographies researchers referred to 'transnational social spaces' (Faist, 1998) or 'translocal social spaces' (Brickell and Datta, 2011; Oakes and Schein, 2006) often characterised by the activity of 'transmigrants' (Glick-Schiller et al., 1995) that can be defined as '*persons who migrate and yet maintain or establish familial, economic, religious, political or social relations in the state from which they moved*'(Glick-Schiller and Fouron, 1999: 344).

Secondly, integration was driven by the structural and functional assumption that migrants represent a 'foreign' or 'alien' element that requires adjustment to the society characterised by a singular, coherent, and well-defined belief and value system. Within this approach integration was often perceived as an individual responsibility dependent on the competence of migrants while at the same time having limited effect on the (often white middleclass) culture of organisations, institutions or politics (Geldof, 2018: 53). However, the impact of a range of intertwined processes, including the role of globalization and transnationalism diminish the role of coherent social systems and traditional institutions in organizing social order. Therefore, superdiversity sheds a new light on the contemporary challenges of migrant integration. It helps us to re-evaluate the factors that impact on settlement processes (Wessendorf, 2018), looking into new spatial (Buhr, 2018) or reciprocal forms of integration (Phillimore et al., 2017), but also problematises the binary relationships between us and them, host and guest within a place (Wessendorf and Phillimore, 2019).

As I have illustrated in this section drawing on Vertovec (2019), the superdiversity lens has been used (and sometimes abused), with its different understandings and misunderstandings shaping social science research. However, the lack of critical public and policy debates exploring the implications of superdiversity for disaster resilience calls for action, because as Messner (2015: 570) argues: "*The 'presence' of multiple axes of differentiation implies that we can speak of differently constituted contexts, where multiple axes of difference interrelate, coexist and play out in processes of continued social change*". Untangling those complexities

is crucial to understand local actors' efforts to adjust and respond to the new realities in disaster resilience, therefore, the thesis uses superdiversity as a lens to understand the implications of new social contexts shaping local resilience building.

3.4.3 Studying local capacity building as a response to superdiversity

Researchers recognise the complexity of factors that can affect people's resilience to hazards, in particular the cultural and linguistic diversity (Marlowe et al., 2018) or the role of gatekeepers in communicating emergency responses to diverse communities (Shepherd and van Vuuren, 2014). As discussed in § 2.3, the implications of the growing complexity of the 'social' can be traced within the different bodies of work and paradigms used in disaster resilience. However, it can be argued, the empirical approaches to study disaster resilience in superdiverse localities, neighborhoods and urban areas remain limited. In addressing the objectives of this thesis, I use an alternative approach that allows for a broader examination of the role of migration and superdiversity in resilience building practice.

Here, I argue that insights from literature looking at superdiversity in migrant integration, health and social work service provision can help to understand the challenges faced by public servants and practitioners in building disaster resilience, by looking at how social actors perceive, make sense of, react to and understand the implications of accelerated societal diversification processes (Phillimore et al., 2019b). Firstly, concerns triggered by superdiversity became a valuable lens to evaluate and rethink the underlying conditions of service provision. The rapidly

changing demography leads to a range of challenges for service delivery and planning. With the demographic changes in the urban societies the context of social work (similarly to resilience) is determined by "*the need to operate in a more inter-cultural way – which requires a profound empathy for the living conditions of all citizens – with respect to the broadening variety of ethnic backgrounds*" (Geldof, 2016: 136). Furthermore, superdiversity shifts the focus of service provision on the 'non-conventional' (to date) needs or challenges faced by individuals and groups, which in a practical nation-specific disaster resilience context may lead to intensified focus on inclusive service provision (UK) or intensified efforts in revising specialized programs to the new realities (Japan). Secondly, a superdiversity focus encourages to understand better the challenges faced by public servants and practitioners in working with local populations. Service providers need to be aware of the challenges associated with over-individualised tailored practices, which while meeting the needs of some groups can simultaneously lead to the exclusion of others (Ciobanu, 2019). Furthermore, the implications and limitations placed by cognitive schemas, fixed categorizations or instrumental approaches can hinder practitioners' efforts to incorporate diversity-oriented approaches (Boccagni, 2015: 614). Therefore, the value of superdiversity lens in underlying and understanding the new complexities in resilience building is apparent.

3.4.4 Empirical uses of superdiversity

To date, superdiversity as a concept has found wide applications in a descriptive sense as a way of capturing and describing the social and demographic transitions in 21st century societies.

Empirically superdiversity has been adopted in a rather selective way, mostly to capture individual and group trajectories (and interactions) of people living in certain parts of the city (Wessendorf, 2014a; Wafer, 2015; Albeda et al., 2018), or more specifically to highlight the inconsistencies and critical gaps in service provision (Phillimore, 2015; Phillimore et al., 2018). Therefore, in this section I examine how the specific empirical applications of the concept find their relevance to the different components of the analysis presented in the thesis and in turn fulfilling research objectives set at the outset of this study. I begin by stressing the underexplored potential of superdiversity in uniting the different levels of analysis. Subsequently, I set a reference to the different areas of social life where the impact of superdiversity is most visible, like for instance language and communication. Finally, I scrutinise the methodological challenges identified across different empirical contributions to the scholarship on superdiversity.

The benefit deriving from the application of a superdiversity lens is the fact that it is not limited to a specific unit of analysis, like for instance selected country or social group. On the contrary, superdiversity has a clear potential to unite and link the different levels of analysis. In this study, research objectives are met by looking at: disaster resilience needs of diverse individuals (practices and approaches), communities (practices and approaches) and cities (practices and approaches). The logic guiding empirical application is well defined by Meissner (2013: 22): "*the ultimate choice of focus is linked to both what the researcher deems to be important in exploring specific superdiverse contexts and how and if the researcher is able to operationalise*

data collection in a way that actually does shed light on those axes of differentiation to be analysed simultaneously". Thus, applying superdiversity as an analytical lens allowed me to deconstruct and bring together the understanding between the individual-, community- and city-level disaster resilience building. In addition, to superdiversity allowing for zooming out from the specific to the broader, it has been a useful tool to penetrate entangled complexities within very local areas or even micro units of analysis such as streets (Hall, 2015). As I have illustrated in § 5.4, drawing from the locally developed practices and approaches helps to better understand the practical implications of national-level policy areas contributing towards disaster resilience of diverse populations.

Another empirical uses of superdiversity centres around its ability to point to the implications of diversification processes in different areas of social life. The empirical uses of superdiversity in sociolinguistics helped in enhancing the understanding of the complexities associated with communication as one of the most vital components of life in local diverse communities (Blommaert and Rampton, 2011; Blommaert, 2013). The complexity of the new environment that public servants and practitioners must face in working with superdiverse communities is well-expressed in the following quote:

> "*communication and interaction are often multimodal, linguistically and discursively heterogenous, such heterogeneity serving participants as a means for indexing identifications which are not organised on the basis of local, ethnic, national or regional categories only, but which are increasingly translocal*"
>
> (Leppänen and Häkkinen, 2012: 18).

The above highlights, superdiversification processes pose a range of practical challenges which are applicable to migrants' needs in the context of disaster, in particular in relation to communication and information provision. I discuss the different channels and instruments used in disaster resilience efforts in Birmingham and Toyama in § 5.3.

Capturing superdiversity within the different aspects of migrants' life is certainly not an easy task and researchers risk potential inconsistencies in their methodological conceptualizations of superdiversity (Goodson and Grzymała-Kazłowska, 2017). Researchers have shown that the use of superdiversity lens combined with the right methodological tools can account for different inequalities (Aptekar, 2019). Discussions about categories, instruments and indicators continue to shape the empirical applications of superdiversity, with researchers advocating a superdiversity index as a way to unify approaches (Yamamura and Lassalle, 2019). Superdiversity has not only been explored in relation to existing concepts, but also spurred the application of new ones, like for instance bricolage as a way to understand how providers respond to healthcare needs of individuals (Phillimore et al., 2019a). Applying superdiversity not only offers a way to move beyond methodological nationalism (Wimmer and Glick-Schiller, 2002), but also uncover the heterogeneity of specific groups of migrants and their encounters with difference (Barber, 2015; Grzymała-Kazłowska and Phillimore, 2019; Jones, 2020). However, further multi-layered comparative insights are needed to identify areas where superdiversity plays a role. Meissner and Vertovec outline only two modes of comparison:

studies looking at different places that indicate similar context within which conditions of superdiversity are met and comparisons of different arguments pertaining to aspects of superdiversity in relation to methods, policy or practice (2015: 546). Superdiversity suffers from the lack of comparative insights that breach cross-cultural boundaries. Even more scarce are studies that integrate comparative insights to superdiversity from 'non-Western' local contexts, especially by taking into account places where superdiversity is an emerging phenomenon[56] (DePalma and Pérez-Caramés, 2018).

3.5   Approaches for evidence-informed policymaking

In Figure 3.1 I presented the conceptual framework uniting the resilience and superdiversity bodies of knowledge in order to generate evidence-informed policy making. In the analysis I have identified four approaches increasingly used in addressing different forms of complexity: mainstreaming, spatial planning, community engagement and policy entrepreneurship. In this section I look at all four approaches to see how those can contribute towards diversity-responsive disaster resilience.

3.5.1 Mainstreaming

Mainstreaming as a concept first found its way into policy fields in the UN development community by focusing on gender issues and was first formally applied in policy documents at

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[56] Research conducted as part of this study and academic initiatives strengthening the UK-Japan cooperation are of vital importance in addressing the clear gap (see NODE, 2019).

the World Conference on Women in 1995. Since then mainstreaming strategies have widely spread into other policy fields including migration (IOM, 2017), children (Freeman et al., 2015; Ronoh et al., 2015), or people with disabilities (Skarstad and Stein, 2018; Twigg et al., 2018; Subramaniam and Villeneuve, 2019) into disaster risk reduction strategies, resilience and urban planning (Yamagata and Sharifi, 2018), or specific forms of resilience (climate resilience) (Moench, 2013). In recent years, following the extensive presence of migration in political discourses we see the mainstreaming of equality and diversity (Scholten, 2018) or mainstreaming of migration into a range of areas, including: resilience building (Hendow et al., 2018) or development planning (UN WOMEN, 2017). More recently mainstreaming has been adopted in the sub-fields of migration research, namely as a mode to understand the changes in policymaking around the governance of migrant integration (Scholten, 2019).

Mainstreaming is always set in a context or problem setting in which it is expected to bring tangible improvements or qualitative changes to the current state of affairs. Those contextualities of mainstreaming can differ substantially dependent on the problem setting, cultures of decision-making or a divergence of interests between actors involved in the process. In some culturally bound policy domains mainstreaming is used as a keyword highlighting specific practices, like for instance global citizenship education (Ibrahim, 2005) or a strategy to adopt to the changing environmental change (Casado-Asensio et al., 2016). Even within the same policy area tools of mainstreaming can differ substantially and the meaning of an ultimate goal can be blurred (Meier and Celis, 2011). Mainstreaming can occur in packages. For instance,

mainstreaming of disaster risk reduction can involve several thematic areas (such as education or health), where migration and diversity might be already mainstreamed separately or as a thematic focus within another mainstreaming package.

In its practical application, mainstreaming can operate in a range of different shapes or forms. National and local governments, international organisations, NPOs and NGOs develop policy guidelines to mainstream concepts or practices that can address problems faced by specific and often more vulnerable groups in society. Those include producing a range of materials for mainstreaming: guidebooks; toolkits; training material; evaluation, monitoring and impact assessment tools. The premises for mainstreaming are often based on awareness raising, sensitizing and incorporating additional values to the existing policymaking frameworks. In the field of migration and resilience scholars have noted that emergent population complexity can make it difficult to target a specific ethno-national group or community (Vertovec, 2007; Faist, 2009). Modern urban spaces are constantly re-defined by migration-related diversity and reciprocity that direct community life (Phillimore et al., 2018; Scholten, 2018). Thus, any form of mainstreaming should pay attention on how to identify, link and integrate emerging practices within the relevant policy field.

In the last decade a proliferation of mainstreaming practices has emerged across a range of policy domains creating a form of discursive lobbyism or rather a market of competing 'logics' recently increasingly amplified by populist rhetoric (Cammaerts, 2018). In this regard, the

proliferation of mainstreaming has created a window of opportunity for a range of actors involved in migration or disaster prevention policymaking in the UK and Japan. Within this study (in particular § 5.4) I use mainstreaming as a tool allowing for scrutiny of the existing policy domains and their interactions, but also as an enabler generating new opportunities for a more responsive policymaking. Considerations regarding mainstreaming have helped underpin my formulation of a conceptual framework across resilience and integration policy domains in the UK and Japan. In addition, the study considers local institutional and adaptive capacities, which are often expected to drive efforts towards building resilient communities.

3.5.2 Spatial planning

Spatial planning offers another important approach[57] to dealing with complexity and evidence-informed policymaking. In the last two decades the different scales, processes and practices of planning have been dynamic, contested and shaped by different actors driving innovation. Thus, spatial planning emerged as '*a mechanism for collaborative visioning, for overseeing implementation of development by a wide range of actors, and ensuring that all this is delivered in ways that meet the diverse and sometimes contradictory expectation of the society*' (Haughton et al., 2009: 1). The re-examining of existing approaches, widening of scope and variety of spatial planning has been also reflected in the need for '*a greater sensitivity to the*

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[57] Due to space limitations the spatial planning approach has not been extensively analysed throughout the thesis. However, research findings summmersised in Chapter 8 offer a range of valuable insights for spatial planning and lead to the formulation of Disaster Resilience Framework for Superdiverse Cities (see Table 8.1).

diverse ways in which the built environment is co-constructed' (Adams et al., 2020: 309). Furthermore, spatial planning can be used as an integrative and holistic tool to facilitate territorial management and working collectively to facilitate disaster resilience across different spatial scales. In particular, disaster recovery phase opens new opportunities for land-use planning as an important factor in enhancing disaster preparedness and response to building back better (Greiving et al., 2017). The vital component that found its reflection in the Priority 4 of the SFDRR: '*Enhancing disaster preparedness for effective response and to "Build Back Better" in recovery, rehabilitation and reconstruction*' (UNISDR, 2015: 21).

The rise of migration reflected in demographic shifts experienced in urban and rural areas prompted planners to understand better the implications of racial and cultural diversity on the planning process: '*Given that interests and preferences differ by social class, race, gender, and cultural background, the responsiveness of urban planning depends on its ability to accommodate citizens' divergent social and cultural needs and to treat individuals and groups equitably in meeting those needs*' (Quadeer, 1997: 482). The responses to diversifying needs of individuals[58] and groups in planning have been increasingly shaped by multiculturalism and informed by the national policies on ethno-specific service provision (Fincher et al., 2014). Multiculturalism scholarship brought advancements into planning in several areas, including among others: the opening up of categories in planning; bringing more sensitivity (in different new ways) to the needs of individuals and groups; re-thinking the scope of citizens involvement

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[58] In § 3.6.1 I further explore the positionality of individuals in increasingly diversifying settings by looking at processes of 'Othering'.

in the planning process (Fincher et al., 2014; Sandercock, 2003). For instance, Fincher and Iveson (2008) developed a normative framework for planning for diversity by looking at: i) '*redistribution*' (how to manage social differences and competing interests); ii) '*recognition*' (how to recognise and address the specific needs of different individuals); iii) '*encounter*' (how to respond to people and build interaction among individuals in increasingly diversifying settings). Nevertheless, recently the concept of multiculturalism[59] has been increasingly criticised and with the growing diversification of forms, functions and population in neighbourhoods the increasing superdiversity needs to be better reflected in planning (Pemberton, 2020b). Spatial planning can become a vital component of the wider strategies and considerations in addressing the needs within superdiverse or increasingly diversifying settings. The nature of how those processes are happening locally is also reflected in the search for adequate forms of participation and engagement at the community level.

3.5.3 Community engagement

Disaster preparedness research is currently experiencing a paradigm shift (Ryan et al., 2020) with an increasing focus on disaster-related community resilience and 'community-centric approaches' (Baudoin et al., 2016). The concept of community resilience has been used in various fields of academic inquiry, including among others psychology (Bonanno et al., 2015; Masten, 2016) and socio-ecological systems (Ostrom, 2008; Buikstra et al., 2010; Wilson, 2013; Heath-Kelly, 2015). Researchers increasingly examine associations between the three levels of

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[59] The challenges associated with multiculturalism I explored already in § 3.3.2.

resilience (individual, community and national) (Kimhi and Shomai, 2004; Kulig and Botey, 2016); the role of societal dimensions in hazard situations (Haque and Etkin, 2007), and the role of social networks (Jones and Faas, 2017). A growing body of literature has investigated factors influencing community resilience in times of an emergency or disaster often aimed at designing frameworks for community resilience (Ainuddin and Routray, 2012; Jurjonas and Seekamp, 2018; Mochizuki et al., 2018; Wilson et al., 2018). Researchers have developed frameworks for measuring disaster resilience in communities (Arbon et al., 2016; Rapaport et al., 2018; Saja et al., 2018; Deeming et al., 2019), assessing capacities (Sherrieb et al., 2010) and employing an 'hybrid evaluation' model (Steiner et al., 2016). However, most approaches to community resilience and disaster community resilience to date have utilised a homogenous conceptualization of community.

Governments and local bodies increasingly recognise the need to understand the challenges and impacts faced by increasingly diverse communities during disasters. In situations where community membership is complex and fluid "*identity markers can intersect across gender, age, linguistics, culture, community size, and length of settlement*" (Marlowe et al., 2018: 508). Conceptualisations of community are debated (Kulig et al., 2013) with scholars using two ways of thinking about communities in the context of resilience. The first, relates to community as context for social action, particularly in relation to the role of local environments influencing resilience of community members (Barr and Devine-Wright, 2012). The second, focuses on communities as agents of change and the extent they exercise resilience (Chaskin, 2008). For

Paton and Johnston (2001: 276) community resilience should be "*conceptualised and managed in a contingent rather than prescriptive manner*". Others argue that resilience should be explored in the context of community's response to change (Chuang et al., 2018; Ensor et al., 2018).

Research into community responses suggests close cooperation between researchers and practitioners, advocating various forms of participatory action research within diverse communities (Madsen and O'Mullan, 2016). Researchers identify ethnic differences in perceptions of social responsibility and its impact on building community resilience (Mullins and Soetanto, 2013; Soetanto et al., 2017). Stevenson and Petrescu (2016: 700) highlight the need for a "*greater use of, action-research, practice-based research and co-research methodologies to help researchers (and others) truly understand the values, mental models and procedures of the communities they are working with*". Furthermore, under the conditions of dynamically changing socioeconomic and demographic composition of local communities, researchers stress the importance of collaborative research (Huggins et al., 2015) and new engagement practices (Kuecker and Hall, 2011) in building community resilience in uncertain futures. However, building strategies for knowledge co-production, ensuring inclusivity and equity in the planning processes requires institutional transformation (Ruiz-Mallén, 2020). Institutions are often characterised by power imbalances, which leads to the fact that new approaches like policy entrepreneurship come more often into question.

3.5.4 Policy entrepreneurship

The concept of 'policy entrepreneur' (PE) has not been systematically integrated into theories of policymaking and policy change. Despite this, the role of PEs has been broadly recognised in the contexts of environmental policymaking (Braun, 2009; Huitema and Meijerink, 2009; Meijerink and Huitema, 2010; Jordan and Huitema 2014). The term PEs can be attributed to Dahl's work *Who Governs?* (2005: 6). Researchers have used the idea in different contexts, but mainly referring to the individuals securing the resources available in a best possible way to generate a policy change (Sætren, 2016; Bakir and Jarvis, 2017; Gunn, 2017). PEs are 'primarily identifiable by the actions they take, rather than by the positions they hold' (Brouwer and Biermann, 2011). Nevertheless, the wide range of PEs includes, public (Edwards et al., 2002; Schnellenbach, 2007), social (Westley and Antadze, 2010; Chalmers, 2012); civic (Etzkowitz, 2014); bureaucratic (Haass, 1999; Teske et al., 2016); and legislative (Weissert, 1991; Wawro, 2001).

The notion of a PE has been widely used in political science. PEs can be broadly defined as individuals who take up a cause and make it part of the political agenda (Mintrom, 2000). PEs can "*develop new and innovative policies and galvanize otherwise difficult-to-organise, dispersed citizens to support their policies*" (Teske and Schneider, 1994: 741). A PE can also be "*an individual who exploited an opportunity to influence policy outcomes in order to maximise his/her self-interests – without having the resources required for achieving this goal alone*" (Cohen, 2011: 2). Those individuals very often "*distinguish themselves through the*

desire to significantly change current ways of doing things in their areas of interest" (Mintrom and Norman, 2009: 650). For instance, the advocacy and calls for immigration policy change in Japan by the former director of the Tokyo Immigration Bureau, Mr. Hidenori Sakanaka have been largely dismissed (Sakanaka, 2009).

PEs stimulate vital public and policy debates, however their strategies, spheres of action and competences can be hard to distinguish. In reference to PEs Sheingate (2003) identified three broader attributes that can guide us towards a more precise definition of the concept. First, PEs shape the terms of the political debate by framing issues, defining problems and influencing agendas. For instance, they might reframe the existing issue in a way that will be more inclusive to a wider range of actors in each policy domain or destabilise a policy subsystem. Second, PEs bring innovation to the political realm introducing new agendas, new coalitions or issue frameworks. The PE operates in a "*political market where profit opportunities are permanently present and where there can be no equilibrium point*" (Christopoulos, 2006: 759). Third, PEs find ways to consolidate agendas into lasting solutions and leave a legacy behind. Christopoulos (2006: 760) notes that the entrepreneurial behaviour is often "*confused with standard elite contest, elite circulation and elite recruitment roles*". What distinguishes the role of PEs is the fact that they can invent new policy domains and generate conditions that lead to the creation of new policy domains (Knoke et al., 1996: 9-11).

When looking at the external (operational) factors impacting entrepreneurial activity Boyett (1996: 49) points to the specifics of "*an uncertain environment, a devolution of power, and at the same time re-allocation of resource ownership, to unit management level*". The limitations in PEs' entrepreneurial actions within the given policymaking system often relate to entry barriers – including legal barriers, 'innocent' and 'strategic' barriers (Wohlgemuth, 2000: 280-284). PEs need to be distinguished from 'policy intellectuals', "*who are only engaged in the generation of innovative ideas; from knowledge brokers, who provide links between different knowledge sources; and from policy advocates, who mainly translate ideas into proposals*" (Brouwer and Biermann, 2011). What also distinguishes a PE from 'knowledge broker' is that the latter is "*generally less interested in lobbying and more interested in translating and communicating more complex aspects of technical policies*" (Koski, 2010: 96).

Policy outcomes or new practices often attract little public attention and may serve to refuel or challenge existing cleavages. In that respect, PEs can also fulfil different roles and engage in different aspects of policymaking processes. Studies that apply various aspects of policy entrepreneurial activities in the migration policymaking have only recently emerged. Based on the study of Canadian provinces Paquet (2015: 1824) proposes three categories of bureaucratic PEs: 'classical entrepreneur'; 'policy puzzler' and 'diagonal innovator'. According to Verduijn (2014: 35), the range of types in which entrepreneurial skills and policy entrepreneurship are embodied in the policymaking process is "*the object of opposed or desired policy change*". Moreover, those individuals can show some added value to the time and resource management

skills, professional abilities intrinsic to the nature of the senior post they hold. Individual capabilities are often manifested in the flexibility of leadership style and responding more smoothly to the dynamic changes in the environment they operate. I explore the relationship between resilience and policy entrepreneurship in more detail in § 3.7. The following two sections set the context for the analysis of areas where superdiversity brings a change: community resilience (see Chapter Six) and the role of cities (see Chapter Seven).

3.6 Superdiverse contexts and implications for community resilience

The ways in which superdiversity brings further complexity in building community resilience can be summarized under two themes. Firstly, engagement practices for community resilience (given the blurring divisions between inclusion and exclusion) are becoming increasingly more complex. Due to diversification processes 'the Other' is no longer easily classifiable of a familiar and recognizable social, cultural or ethnic category. Secondly, the levels of heterogeneity, complexity and fluidity change the meaning of 'community' as a fixed category for resilience building efforts.

3.6.1 Inclusion and exclusion in community resilience

One of the possible ways to understand the efforts aimed at increasing participation of migrants in community resilience building is though contemplating the role of the 'Other'. The notion of 'othering' is present in a range of theoretical and philosophical traditions, including the understanding of the 'self' from Hegel's *Phänomenologie des Geistes*; Beauvoir's 'self' and 'other' in relation to gender dynamics in *The Second Sex* (1997) psychoanalytical studies on

identity and finally the systemic exploration of the concept in colonial studies by Spivak in 1985 (Jensen, 2011: 64). However, 'othering' as a process is far from clear in societies that are shaped by new patterns of superdiversity or facing 'emergent diversities'. Therefore, migration scholarship tends to move the focus from historical or contemporary processes of social othering – in the non-Japanese framing but engage more with 'the Other to be' so to speak, where the 'othering' takes place in anticipation of emerging diversities. Furthermore, the analysis of local mechanisms shaping organisations, activities, human relationships and mentalities contributes towards the overall understanding of current disaster management (DM) perspective (Ochiai, 2014). Those local mechanisms can give a lot of hints to policymakers, especially in situations where it might not always be clear of how the future lines of community attachment will be drawn. In the case of superdiverse communities it might prove very difficult to determine how othering works in resilience building efforts in a mid- to long-term perspective.

To fully understand the potential role 'othering' plays in resilience building one needs to have in mind three areas of critical engagement. Firstly, the need to explore the diverse, often conflicting migrant identities and then determine which identity speaks the most in specific emergency situations. Identities are sometimes challenged and re-examined in response to tragic events (Watson, 2017). Disasters may determine how we dispose of some negative connotations of difference that shape the life of local communities and effectively limit the potential for conflict. Second, the need to understand better the social 'othering' that potentially

shapes the resilience building efforts of practitioners and public servants. For instance, the logic, stereotypes and biases that determine the nature of service provision to diverse populations. Third, a range of non-intentional resilience building activities can lead to the processes of social 'othering' and discursive formulation of certain groups that can foster or hinder local resilience efforts in both the present and the future. The complexities of 'othering' identified in the literature also point to the new ways in which a 'resilient community' is conceptualized, formed and understood.

3.6.2 Changing meaning of community resilience

Looking at community resilience from the perspective of superdiversity points to the fluidity of the concept in its temporal and spatial dimensions. The concept of 'imagined communities' originates from Anderson's 1983 book *Imagined Communities*. Through the process of imagining we feel ourselves bound or feeling a particular sense of communion with others reaching across time and space (Kanno and Norton, 2003: 24). Nations and communities engage in imagining simply because even as members of a smallest nation we cannot see or know all other individual members. Similar notions can be experienced during times of an emergency or disaster, when a community of support often extends across ethnic, national or religious divisions, including coalitions of relief action that can research transnationally or across regions (Hannigan, 2017; Reid, 2017; Dalgas, 2018).

The imagining and re-imagining of what constitutes a resilient community in a particular time and space has been shaped in recent years by a range of factors. Firstly, exogenous factors can include: the nature of interaction with other communities (leading to potential rivalry, merging or fragmentation of two or more communities); the level of support that a community receives locally or from the outside, but also the level of support it offers to others. Second, endogenous factors can include: cultural, historical or other roots of a community within the local area; the nature of identification with the local culture or culture of the country of origin (or both) by its individual members; increases or decreases in the number of community members within a relatively short period of time. There are different ways in which communities go about dealing with complex challenges through exploring competing views, ideas and shaping the desired future(s) (Bagaeen and Uduku, 2010). Moreover, community safety and community resilience has been increasingly shaped by derivative fears, that are so to speak socially and culturally 'recycled' (Bauman, 2006: 3). Those fears contribute towards a constant frame of mind as being vulnerable and susceptible to danger. By breeching the gap in understanding between what we see as local resilient communities of today and the imagined resilient communities of the future we can respond better to migration-driven diversities in DRR and emergency preparedness efforts. Communities able to demonstrate foresight and exercise 'imagineering' experiences can be defined as "*neighbourhoods, cities, regions and countries – possibly even continents – that reinforce or build local character and civic pride, while at the same time captivating outsiders (external publics)*" (Govers, 2018: 17). 'Imaginative' refers to "*members and stakeholders of a community, using their imagination in order to envisage and accomplish*

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creative, unconventional, original, inventive and – most importantly – uniquely local initiatives, projects, events, infrastructures or policies that reinforce the 'community' and the way it is perceived by outsiders" (Govers, 2018: 17).

As I have stressed in § 2.4, community resilience can be well incorporated as a local policy tool (Platts-Fowler and Robinson, 2013). The plasticity of the use of community in different political contexts is exemplified by its potential applications to facilitate "*neoliberal imaginaries of an alternative to state provided welfare*" (Hancock et al., 2012: 354). However, the negative implications might require further consideration from policymakers, public servants and practitioners. Despite the fact that community resilience building is often an endogenous process, actors at the community level can benefit considerably from external support (Wilson, 2013). It is a key challenge to develop new approaches and tools that allow researchers to "*enter into philosophical 'worlds' more easily and to empathize and negotiate different forms of understanding and interpretations of the built environment*"[60] (Stevenson and Petrescu, 2016: 700). Generating a better understanding about disaster resilience building under the conditions of migration-driven complexity points to new realities that must be accommodated at the community and city levels.

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[60] The challenges inherent to built-in resilience have been discussed elsewhere (see Bosher and Chmutina, 2017; Bosher, 2008, 2014).

3.7 City-level resilience and the role of policy entrepreneurship

The changing sociocultural landscapes as a result of superdiversity are most visible in cities (Acosta-García and Martínez-Ortiz, 2015) and often engrained in their deep textures (Knowles, 2012). Cities are the basis of economic activity for citizens in their daily life and essential partners for effective policy action. Cities can also offer examples in building resilience strategies for increasingly superdiverse societies (Scholten et al., 2019; Belabas et al., 2020). Urban systems are particularly vulnerable to foreseen and unforeseen threats. Cities that put their efforts in mitigating key risks are most likely to thrive in the future (de Boer et al., 2016: 11). Building resilience requires a cross-sectoral, multidimensional coordination of diverse interests and groups (OECD, 2016: 3). Modern cities often represent different spatial areas and different social groups, therefore resilience takes place "*across a highly differentiated landscape of risk, and is intimately tied up with deeply political choices that are being made by public and private leaders about how to manage such places*" (Vale, 2014: 194).

The phrase 'resilient cities' has become a buzz word, in particular in the context of environmental change and sustainability (Chelleri, 2012; Raco and Street, 2012). Researchers applied this idea in their work focusing on city planning to fight terrorist threats (Pasman and Kirilov, 2008); social aspects of urban anti-terrorism and other risk strategies (Coaffee et al., 2008; Coaffee and Lee, 2016); recovery of cities from disasters (Vale and Campanella, 2005); or economic consequences of 2001 terrorist attacks (Chernick, 2005). The flexibility of connotations and pairing of 'resilience' with 'city' possibly shows the ambiguity of the concept,

but also its potential in interdisciplinary research by linking concepts and leading to truthful insights (Vale, 2014: 193). The wider body of literature shows that 'resilient cities' is still an emergent but ill-defined framework (Vale, 2014), which is more than an empty signifier and has gained some recognition in disaster research. Scholars started focusing on 'urban disasters' (Wamsler, 2014; Bozza et al., 2017) as specific phenomena that are increasingly likely to happen in fragile cities challenged by poverty, insecurity and violence (Muggah, 2014; de Boer, 2015)[61]. Extensive growth in conceptual applications of resilience has lead scholars to proclaim a 'resilience renaissance' (Bahadur et al., 2010), or a 'resilience turn' (Hynes et al., 2013) globally. However, the extensive use of resilience in urban studies has not been accompanied by a nuanced understanding of how the term shapes different disciplines and sub-fields[62].

In response to the above outlined challenges identified in the literature on urban and city resilience, I argue for a closer focus on the opportunities deriving from policy entrepreneurial initiatives. Only in recent years have scholars started exploring the potential deriving from entrepreneurial spaces where individuals and groups can undertake collective action to address challenges and crisis situations (Miles and Petridou, 2015). When exploring the nexus between political entrepreneurship and resilience several intersections emerge (see Table 3.1).

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[61] A separate body of knowledge focuses explicitly on tackling urban risks (Godschalk, 2003; Kreimer et al., 2003; Dubbeling et al., 2009; Albrito, 2012; Sanderson et al., 2012).

[62] The conceptual tensions within the urban resilience literature have been analysed elsewhere (see Meerow et al., 2016).

Table 3.1: The relationship between resilience and policy entrepreneurship

Resilience Context (Why) (Landford et al. 2010)	Policy Entrepreneurship (How) (Mintrom 2000)
Handling complacency, undertaking change	Policy entrepreneurs as change agents; actors focused on transforming the status quo
Integrating leadership, transition in leadership	Establishing organisational culture
	Coalition formation (cooperation, clear lines of communication)
	Persuasive arguments
	Lead by example
Identifying individuals that matter	Coalition formation/groups
	Identifying opportunities
	Creativity, insightfulness
Negotiating politically arduous territory	Argue persuasively
	Familiarity with settings
	Lead by example
	Taking risks
	Mobilising resources
Setting limitations and boundaries for the doable	Argue persuasively
	Coalition formation/groups
	Reframing problems and/or solutions
	Setting the agenda

(source: Miles and Petridou, 2015 in Bhamra, 2015: 77).

Intersections can be found based on building leadership around resilience; forming coalitions around individuals or groups; setting clear frameworks for action. However, those areas are often heavily constructed around the individual virtues and capabilities of a PE. Little is known about the operational practice of a PE, including factors influencing their ability to respond to crisis and manage risk in a specific policy context. The most recent research in resilience entrepreneurship explores the role of historical precedent and socio-cultural values in addressing exogenous challenges of (Kawharu et al., 2017; Mcinnis-Bowers et al., 2017). Several studies have investigated different forms of entrepreneurship related to post-disaster and community recovery (Bullough and Renko, 2013; Varady et al., 2015; Imperiale and Vanclay, 2016; Linnenluecke and McKnight, 2017); or looked into the role of social

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entrepreneurship (Pan et al., 2019; Rawhouser, 2019; Saebi et al., 2019). Recent work on the interaction between gender[63] roles and entrepreneurial roles in building community resilience found that 'feminine subjectivities of risk-adverseness' make actions more sustainable and contribute to community cohesion (Bakas, 2017). These findings are relevant to the roles PEs can play in migrant communities. Therefore, the PE is a special type of actor, able to seek, find and exploit opportunities in order to put a positive change in place (Petridou et al., 2016). PEs must be well networked in the community and able to move in and out of a variety of social and political settings (Petridou and Olausson, 2017). In the complexity of in-and out-migration as well as intra-urban human mobility, policymakers and planners need to possess the potential to design 'bounce forward trajectories' (Grinberger and Felsenstein, 2014: 123). Researchers distinguish resilience in the policy process at two levels: 'systemic level' (ability to build resilience at the society level); 'process level' (resilience of the procedural aspects of policymaking) (Capano and Woo, 2017). On both levels, there is a clear need for 'opening-up' of the social agenda on resilience by including the social aspects of resilience response, which seem to be neglected in policy circles.

A range of characteristics that PEs possess and actions they take are driven by the nature of the environment in which they operate. Therefore, scholars point to the 'paradox of embedded agency' in institutional entrepreneurship (Seo and Creed, 2002: 226), a challenge that resonates

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[63] The awareness of and responsiveness to gender for risks and disasters constitutes a growing field within disaster research (Enarson and Chakrabarti, 2009). For an overview of the different waves of gender and disaster scholarship (see Shreve et al., 2006).

around the question: "*how actors can change institutions if their actions, intentions, and rationality are all conditioned by the very institution they wish to change?*" (Holm, 1995: 398). Leca and Naccache (2006: 629) try to address this puzzle by outlining a non-conflating model of institutional entrepreneurship, which "*recognises the ontological status of structures and actions – i.e. their distinctive emergent properties, relative autonomies, previous existences and causal efficiency – as well as their permanent interaction, and provides tools to understand how actors can create and change institutions by using existing structures*".

It has to be noted that PEs "*may appear either inside or outside the organisation where an idea is introduced*" (Guldbrandsson and Fossum, 2009: 435). When looking into the institutional environment of entrepreneurial action the policy researcher can choose different focus points. By looking into the structures and specifics of the institutional context a researcher can unfold the policy spaces where entrepreneurial activity can or cannot take place. The outcome of these actions can result in identification of the ways in which policies are adopted and implemented or trigger structural changes within the organisation. Research shows that depoliticised institutions can build resilience to external pressures for politicization. Resilience can manifest itself in the ability to withstand re-politicisation pressures in policy networks (Wood, 2015).

Institutional entrepreneurship "*represents the activities of actors who have an interest in particular institutional arrangements and who leverage resources to create new institutions or to transform existing ones*" (Maguire et al., 2004: 657). Therefore, institutional

entrepreneurship is often intertwined with strategic action (Levy and Scully, 2007: 974). Even though PEs can maintain a high level of autonomy they need to engage with and operate in the existing systems and policymaking cultures. Therefore, they are often exposed to the influence of external factors that they cannot control (Kingdon, 2002: 165). They can overcome these by using certain strategies or taking the advantage of a nuanced understanding of the dynamics of the policymaking process. Positioning themselves in relation to crises, punctuations and other external shocks can potentially change the 'rules of the game' in the policymaking process. In order to ensure success, PEs "*need to do more than aspire toward policy innovation; they have to design feasible working plans and gain support by using proper strategies*" (Zhu and Xiao, 2015: 7). The main function of PE is to attach problems to solutions (Mintrom, 2000: 129). PEs usually undertake a wide range of activities, which can be potentially classified within two streams. Activities oriented towards making a policy change (including various forms of advocacy or coalition building); and agenda setting or agenda building activities aimed at preventing the policy change from happening by sustaining the status quo.

PEs can use multiple strategies, including problem framing, using and expanding networks, working with advocacy coalitions, leading by example or scaling up change processes (Mintrom, 2019). To develop strategies for presenting new policy ideas to others, PEs spend a large amount of time networking. PEs who "*carefully define policy problems and who make good use of networks of contacts will be better placed to make winning arguments in support of their proposed policy innovations*" (Mintrom, 1997: 740). PEs can function well in multi-

level governance systems of agenda setting environments where they develop policy ideas from the restructuring or recombination of established elements. Issue or problem framing strategies can fulfil different roles, but normally include transferring of concrete information into visions of future policy directions. "*Framing is always influenced by the normative belief system and interests of PEs, and is therefore prone to rhetoric, emotion and manipulation*" (Verduijn, 2014: 39). Therefore, PEs can play a vital role in addressing issues related to 'othering', inclusion and exclusion in community resilience (issues highlighted in § 3.6.1).

Another aspect that is particularly relevant to the context of disaster relates to crisis-driven policy change. "*The added value of exploring the political perspective of crisis management and resilience through the lens of policy entrepreneurship is the understanding of exceptional agency in extraordinary contexts*" (Bhamra, 2015: 74). Agency and scale [64] plays an increasingly important role for local level PEs who operate "*reflectively and strategically within the governance structures that frame their actions*" (Catney and Henneberry, 2015: 13). However, PEs can achieve extensive levels of autonomy in integrating the practices developed locally into success stories within international networks. The implications of the increasing role of PEs in local disaster resilience building and the insights from Toyama that can inform the Birmingham case study are further explored in Chapter Seven.

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[64] The nature of practices across different scales has been central to the work of human geograhers. For instance, Nancy Fraser introduced the concept of 'scalecraft' in order to bring a better understanding of how actors skillfully fashion the crafting of scalar practices (see Fraser. 2010).

3.8   The main structure and research themes of the study

The emergence of themes for this study involved a two-way process. First, themes drawn from theoretically driven ideas (theme two and three). Second, themes that emerged inductively from analysing the raw data (theme one). The first type of themes emerged deductively prior to my fieldwork but were further defined following the interviews. Some concepts, such as community engagement, Scholten's conceptualisation of mainstreaming or the application of policy entrepreneurship to resilience (Miles and Petridou, 2015), were integrated within the conceptual framework (see Figure 3.1). Other concepts emerged inductively. Specific concerns and contextualities proving important in participants' work were incorporated within the themes. For example, although the topic of specific disasters (such as the Grenfell Tower fire) or the challenges associated with the so called 'refugee crisis' were not featured in the interview questions, interviewees used the cases and the media discourses that emerged in the aftermath as a reference point to provide context to some of the negative experiences in their work. Overall, the study is defined by three related main themes and as a trinity respond to the research aim set out at the outset of the study: to investigate the role of migration and diversity in disaster resilience building in Birmingham (UK) and Toyama (Japan) (see Figure 3.3). Each theme addresses the research aim by setting the primary focus on a different level of analysis: theme one – Addressing migrants' disaster resilience needs (individual focus); theme two – (Re)imagining disaster resilient communities (community focus); theme three – Disaster resilience in superdiverse and newly diversifying cities (city focus). Below I present a short outline for each of the themes.

Figure 3.3: The relationship between the research themes and objectives

AIM
To investigate the role of migration and diversity in disaster resilience building in Birmingham (UK) and Toyama (Japan)

Theme 1
Addressing migrants' disaster resilience needs

Objective 1: meaning of 'disaster resilience building'

Objective 2: mapping disaster resilience efforts in relation to policy areas

- mapping the evolving disaster resilience of migrants and influences shaping their resilience
- extent to which current policies address migrant resilience needs
- problems of addressing migrant resilience needs
- implications for policy moving forward

Theme 2
(Re-)imagining disaster resilience: the importance of community and engagement

Objective 3: understanding community resilience in superdiverse context

Objective 4: community engagement and voluntarism

- what does community engagement for disaster resilience look like in a superdiverse context
- the importance of community voluntarism in facilitating disaster resilience
- socially and culturally embedded community practices in shaping disaster resilience
- challenges and opportunities for inclusive community engagement

Theme 3
Facilitating disaster resilience in superdiverse cities: city-level governance and leadership

Objective 5: the increasing role of cities

Objective 6: responding to new and changing local contexts

- a city-level perspective on securing disaster resilience in the context of changing migration patterns
- local and extra-local influences shaping the ability of local actors to respond to disaster resilience needs of a diversifying population
- leadership and policy entrepreneurship as a response

(source: author).

3.8.1 Theme 1: Addressing migrants' disaster resilience needs

Theme one fulfils two primary objectives: explore the meaning of 'local resilience building' from the perspective of local public servants and practitioners; and to map the disaster resilience efforts in relation to policy areas in the UK and Japan. The theme considers instruments and mechanisms used in the delivery of disaster prevention information in Birmingham and Toyama. The broader efforts of local authorities and practitioners contributing towards disaster resilience are taken into account by stressing the importance of local engagement initiatives. Within the theme 1, I show how prevention and disaster preparedness among diverse populations are directly linked with addressing migrants' needs in disaster situations. Based on the insights from local resilience building practice I propose a conceptual framework to build disaster resilience across policy domains

3.8.2 Theme 2: (Re-)imagining disaster resilience: the importance of community and engagement

Theme two analyses the changes in community level approaches in Birmingham and Toyama in relation to the rising role of migration-driven superdiversity. I show how public servants and practitioners try to respond to the growing social complexity and accommodate various new forms of diversity. Flexibility in local responses is illustrated by the need to revise engagement practices and integrate better the role of faith and other community actors. Another important objective of the theme resonates around the different aspects of community engagement and voluntarism. At this point, I differentiate between migrant engagement within culturally and socially embedded community practices and cross-community voluntarism originating from

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migrant communities. Challenges to community engagement in disaster resilience are discussed in relation to 'othering' practices and community representation. Here I argue that analysing local engagement strategies can help to understand better the differences in imagining and re-imagining of what constitutes a disaster resilient community.

3.8.3 Theme 3: Facilitating disaster resilience in superdiverse cities: city-level governance and resilience

Theme three explores the role of local disaster resilience building from the city perspective by focusing on two primary objectives: demonstrating the increasing role of cities and analyse using the example of Birmingham and Toyama how cities in the UK and Japan respond to the changing new local contexts. I start analysing the theme by referring to the ways in which imagined and real challenges associated with migration complicate the local approaches to disaster resilience. The main analysis within this theme concentrates on external factors (previous experiences in disaster response) and internal conditions (administrative structures, staffing and funding issues) that determine the ability of cities to address migration-driven diversities in their disaster resilience building. The theme concludes by outlining possibilities presented by leadership around resilience and the ways in which policy entrepreneurship has been increased in Toyama compared to Birmingham.

3.9 Conclusion

In this chapter I have set out on a hazardous journey to build interdisciplinary bridges between the resilience and superdiversity scholarship allowing for migration-related diversities to be

better addressed in resilience policy and practice. I recognise that the conceptual and theoretical concepts informing the research framework are complex and aiming for a unified approach proved to be an onerous task. For this reason, I decided to focus primarily on the goal to understand better the different forms of (primarily social) complexity that has pre-occupied both resilience and superdiversity scholarship. Based on the insights from both the resilience and superdiversity literature, I have proposed a conceptual framework aimed at achieving diversity-responsive disaster resilience building. In the subsequent sections I have argued that the emergence of superdiversity offers a potential instrument for the analysis of complex social configurations and outlined its empirical applications to date and key criticisms of the notion. I have justified the added value of the use of superdiversity lens in analyzing the challenges and opportunities diversity posed in local disaster resilience building. In addition, I have outlined three approaches that are also referred to in the different sections of the thesis and increasingly used in addressing different forms of complexity: mainstreaming, community engagement and policy entrepreneurship. In the summary of the chapter I have presented the main structure and themes guiding the analytical part of the study (Chapters Five to Seven). The methodology chapter that follows explains in more detail the specific research procedures, how they were used to design research instruments and conduct analysis of the data.

CHAPTER 4

METHODOLOGY AND RESEARCH DESIGN

"Qualitative researchers, like surgeons and chefs,
set up carefully to be ready for whatever
reasonably may be expected"
[Richards, 2009: 11].

4.1 Introduction

The preceding two chapters positioned this research within the interdisciplinary bodies of literature on resilience and superdiversity, identified key objectives while setting out the context for themes that emerged as part of the research. In this chapter, I focus explicitly on the research design and methodological approach used. The chapter is divided into three parts: methodological requirements of the research framework; detailed description of data collection procedures; and different stages of analysis of the collected data set. The first part of this chapter outlines the empirical and theoretical phases of the research project as well as considerations that led to the formulation of research design based on the 2016 pilot study. In addition, I provide a broader justification for the selection of Birmingham and Toyama as case studies for this research. The second part details all stages of preparing for the interviews, participant recruitment and gaining consent. In the final part, I present the approaches used in two-stage coding, summarise the strengths and weaknesses of methods and approaches used.

4.2 Methodology

4.2.1 Methods in social research on resilience

The literature focusing on methodological practicalities of resilience research is rather scarce and focuses primarily on health and challenges that youth face in diverse social contexts (McCubbin and Moniz, 2015). These modest insights have the potential to foster our understanding of applied methods in social science in general (Liebenberg and Ungar, 2009). Increasingly resilience studies are moving beyond the study of individuals with researchers tending to focus more on social groups; factors determining adaptive qualities in social systems and the role of transformative community resilience (Wilson et al., 2013).

Two key methodological challenges deriving from the nature of contemporary resilience research should be considered. First, the resilience paradigm is evolving dynamically. In recent years, we can observe rising complexity around resilience as an analytical concept, challenging its theoretical and empirical boundaries (Béné et al., 2018). Second, we observe an increase in interest in grounded cross-cultural resilience research and localised approaches that can generate policy-relevant findings applicable in different decision-making cultures. Researchers note the need to account for cultural sensitivity, bias and equivalence (He and de Vijver, 2015).

Furthermore, resilience researchers need to remain cautious about the diversity of local discourses and avoid "*cultural heterogeneity masked under the guise of the generalizability of results*" (Liebenberg and Ungar, 2009: 12). The next section explores the role of qualitative methods in disaster research.

4.2.2 Methods in researching social aspects of disasters

In her article tracing the origin of American sociological research on disasters, Kathleen Tierney (2007: 519) highlights the fact that "*disaster research can be linked with any number of sociological specialties and theoretical orientations; the possibilities are endless*". An illustration of this plurality can be seen in a growing body of literature on the consequences of disasters in social work practice (Zakour et al., 2004; Dominelli, 2015; Alston et al., 2019). However, what are the methodological implications for exploring social phenomena that resemble or overlap with disasters? The literature looking in-depth into the nature of the use of qualitative methods in disaster research, in particular in its interdisciplinary dimensions, is rather scarce (Sørensen and Albris, 2016). Qualitative disaster research looking into how individuals, communities and organisations prepare for and respond to unexpected events, uses techniques widely recognised by other social science disciplines (Phillips, 2002). The complexity and dynamics of the changing environment during disaster can be best addressed in an open-ended inquiry specific to inductive approaches (Phillips, 2014).

The body of disaster research tends to organise the analysis into four phases: preparedness/planning; response; recovery; and mitigation. The first two phases relate closest to the main objectives of this research, with particular focus on preparedness and planning. In addition, a range of organisational, family, community and local governmental efforts to prepare for a severe emergency or a disaster are also taken into account. Efforts may include planning, education, public exercises, drills and building voluntary capacities for prevention and response. In addition, this research considers the role of social actors (public servants and practitioners), their actions, aspirations and policy entrepreneurial skills. In chapter one I have presented a detailed justification, specific and comparative factors of the case studies. The detailed phases of the research are presented in the Figure 4.1.

4.3 Designing research

4.3.1 Notes on ontology and epistemology

The next sections of this chapter sketch the conduct of the pilot study and considerations that guided the design of my research project. However, before proceeding further, I briefly outline the epistemological and ontological foundations guiding my research. The analytical approach of this study is directed by the transformative ontological assumptions, and vitally my alignment with the belief that perceptions and enactments of reality are socially constructed. My approach used in this thesis hinges on the idea that unpacking the personal, professional, relational and contextual complexities of resilience as well as hearing the voices of public servants and practitioners is central to identifying attributes defining responsiveness to migration-driven diversity in local disaster resilience building.

Figure 4.1: Phases of the research project – including theoretical and empirical investigation.

| THEORETICAL INVESTIGATION | EMPIRICAL INVESTIGATION |

Extensive interdisciplinary review of literature on resilience (focusing on disaster resilience) in academic and policy debates

Theorising social processes of resilience and mapping conceptual interlinkages between resilience and diversity

Analysis of literature on governing (migration-driven) complexity

Understanding disaster resilience building in superdiverse context

Review and planning of research methods

Analysis of interview data through content and narrative analysis including CAQDAS software

Attributes defining responsiveness to migration-driven diversity in local disaster resilience building in Birmingham (UK) and Toyama (Japan).

Pilot research in Japan

Development of research methodology

First case study – Birmingham

Second case study – Toyama

Comparison of case studies findings

(source: author, inspired by Caputo, 2013).

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Therefore, the ontological questions a social scientist guided by a transformative ontological assumption should ask are:

- Whose reality is privileged in the given context?
- What is the mechanism for questioning, transforming or challenging dominant perceived realities?

The ontological basis of transformative ontological assumptions on resilience reflects the desired outcomes of this research project. It was not my interest to re-affirm the prevailing understanding of resilience within the existing neoliberal focus on governmental regimes, but rather to examine the role of resilience as a framework (potentially) informing postmodern forms of governance. As such, it is largely informed by the ontology of emergent complexity, which advocates governance through other nonlinear non-reductionist approaches (Chandler, 2014a: 48). Policymaking is conceptualised as an ongoing process of relational understanding where "*the decision-making process does not take place before policy is implemented, as in the liberal and neoliberal epistemes, but rather as a continual process of self-reflection upon already existing policy entanglements*" (Chandler, 2014a: 57). Furthermore, the above approach challenges the dominant linear understandings of knowledge creation by proposing a continual, self-reflexive approach. My epistemological approach is based on theoretical engagement with a range of literature on resilience, diversification, community preparedness and local

policymaking in different contexts. The epistemological questions a social scientist guided by a transformative ontological assumption should ask are:

- What is the nature of knowing?

- What is the method for knowing the nature of reality and the means for generation of knowledge?

(Mertens et al., 2009: 88).

The transformative ontology of resilience that guides my research takes a critical stance on cultural relativism stressing the role of epistemic knowledge that has to be better integrated with the scientific knowledge (social dimensions of crisis and emergency, trauma, stress, grief and loss); knowledge systems (socio-ecological impact of trauma, disasters and recovery); and constructivist knowledge (meaning and developing a narrative). Conceptually the thesis also took into account the role of bi-directional influences (Thoits, 2010) that are important in integrating migrants in resilience building activities (Stewart, 2007: 93). For instance, coping and resilience strategies developed with and by migrants can provide clues for local public servants and communities about the support needed to better utilise readily available resources. On the other hand, the nature of support and resilience building activities needs to be carefully analysed in terms of increasing migrants' engagement in resilience building efforts.

4.3.2 Pilot study

The main objective of the pilot study was to explore the meaning of policy entrepreneurship in the context of migration at the local level in Japan. Therefore, I did not intend to produce direct results and its goals were set clearly in the outset (Thabane et al., 2010). The objectives of this pilot study included:

- study both the formal (institutionalised) and informal (bottom-up) approaches and practices to migrant counselling[65] developed in Japan;

- identify areas in local migration-policy making that show high prospects of policy entrepreneurial behaviour;

- identify local areas that can serve as focus sites for the study;

- determine potential barriers to the research process;

- identify barriers to operational processes;

- assess the extent of language and other training needed for the fieldwork activities.

The pilot study had an exploratory character based on a range of informal meetings, site visits, and discussions with policymakers, academics, local people and migrants. Pilot studies are particularly useful for novice researchers helping to identify the epistemological and methodological issues specific to the proposed research framework (Kim, 2010: 193). They

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[65] The term 'migrant counselling' in the UK is primarily referred to in the context of psychotherapy, migrant mental and psycho-social wellbeing. In Japan, 'counselling for foreign residents' or sometimes called the 'consultation service' refers to a much broader set of issues and constitutes a vital channel for direct interaction between migrants and the local authority. The role of migrant counselling in building disaster resilience is further explored in § 5.3.2

support rigor and trustworthiness of the proposed research (Secomb and Smith, 2011: 34). In quantitative research it is a "*common practice to perform pilot studies to test instruments and perform sample size calculations, particularly in randomised control trials*" (Secomb and Smith, 2011: 32). Qualitative research designs rarely use a 'pilot study' as a grounded component to inform the study structure and test the methodological approach. However, pilot studies offer a range of benefits, primarily by helping qualitative researchers to adapt to *"the situation on the ground, which is unique and varies for every research*" (Nunes et al., 2010: 75). In addition, pilot studies fulfil a crucial role of demonstrating to oneself the ability to conduct a particular type of research in determined conditions (Sampson, 2004: 392). The pilot study process in itself can prove crucial in situations when "*the researcher lacks confidence or is a novice*" (Holloway, 1997: 121). Silverman and Marvasti (2008: 69) note that "*what happens in the field as you attempt to gather data itself is a source of data*". Nonetheless, the purpose of a pilot study is to determine the 'core' of one's research, where *"everything around a topic"* (Richards, 2009: 35) may seem relevant to the study objectives. The process and outcomes of the pilot study informing this research were broadly discussed with research supervisors and offered valuable insights for the researcher (van Teijlingen and Hundley, 1998). Yet, challenges identified during the pilot study did not ascertain the 'smoothness' of the later fieldwork and final study (van Teijlingen and Hundley, 2001: 2).

4.3.3 Conduct of the pilot study in Japan

My initial motivation to apply for research funding in Japan was primarily driven by two considerations. First, the determination to identify local underrepresented and emerging practices that could inform or re-evaluate the dominant 'Western' conceptualisations of contemporary migration and diversification processes. Secondly, I wanted to broaden my empirical focus beyond multinational states, cases that I was more familiar with such as Russia or the UK, to countries considered as homogenous and much less diverse. The groundwork for this research was laid between June and August 2016 during my experience as a Visiting Research Fellow at the Centre for Far Eastern Studies, University of Toyama. The main work comprised of research field trips to potential case study sites and visits to research institutions. The focus was to learn from the Japanese approach to migration research and establish personal contacts for building international networks of researchers. Activities conducted during this time included meetings and discussions with practitioners and policymakers in the field of migration, visits to city and prefectural level organisations contributing to the wellbeing of migrants in Japan. I explored the role of policy entrepreneurship in migrant support and counselling activities at the local level, with the primary focus on disaster prevention and disaster preparedness.

4.3.4 Design of the main research framework using insights from Japan

The information 'from the field' gathered during the stay in Japan went through my reflective and subjective assessment with regard to which location was most suitable for a practice-relevant investigation of local resilience building efforts. In that effort, I wanted to ensure that

experiences and practices developed could be applied in and inform resilience building approaches in other geographical locations. Throughout the 2016 research stay in Japan it became evident to me that the local practices developed in Toyama showed a lot of relevance to resilience building in the UK context. Informal discussion with local experts suggested that some of the practices, like for instance the breadth of urban resilience planning, have not been seen in other places across Japan. An additional consideration that confirmed the value of my case study selection in terms of unique local knowledge and practical know-how. During the short research stay in Japan I noted two important issues. First, despite the fact that Japan is considered one of the most homogenous societies in the world, a range of local government and 'bottom-up' initiatives could be identified that address the challenges that migrants faced in their daily lives (Flowers, 2012; Morita, 2015). Second, Japan is a global leader in human response to emergencies and disasters, which is reflected in the existence of local effort to integrate migrants into disaster prevention and response. In Chapters Five to Seven I analyse the specific practices, implications and challenges faced by public servants and practitioners in responding to migration-driven diversity in disaster resilience.

4.4 Building an interdisciplinary research framework

In the last decades interdisciplinary research has been increasingly viewed as a mechanism for exploring complex social problems and seek answers that go beyond the dominant modes of thinking within a particular discipline. Scholars in a range of research fields, including disaster (Nateghi et al., 2019), resilience (Faber et al., 2014; Stone-Jovicich et al., 2018) and migration

(Bommes and Morawska 2005; Borkert 2018) have been actively involved in building interdisciplinary bridges across modern academia (Nowotny, 2016). Despite the fact that graduate schools in 'Western' academia put much emphasis on equipping young researchers with a range of research skills and methodological tools, the means for early career researchers to establish interdisciplinary research designs are still rather limited (Kumar and Pattanayak, 2018: 51). Nevertheless, in response to this emerging demand for inter- and cross-disciplinary research, I decided to pursue this novel attempt to look beyond the horizon of my respective (migration studies) discipline. The thesis is one amongst the above-mentioned attempts to negotiate the way through the cognitive differences within and between the extensively evolving research fields exploring the meaning of migration, diversity, and disaster resilience in modern societies. Figure 4.2 summarises some of the underlying considerations that lead to the formulation of a research framework for this thesis. The initial stages of the research were informed by the pilot study and engagement with extensive body of literature, primarily focusing on academic and policy debates on resilience (Chapter Two), and superdiversity as a lens to study migration-driven complexity (Chapter Three) in order to identify key conceptual interlinkages. The analysis of the themes leads to exploration of key similarities and differences in relation to main concepts: local resilience building; community engagement and voluntarism; policy entrepreneurship. The final section of the thesis is designed in a way that allows for further discussion about the research findings and highlighting the key points of disaster resilience in superdiverse contexts that can be channelled back into the research framework.

Figure 4.2: The research framework for the thesis.
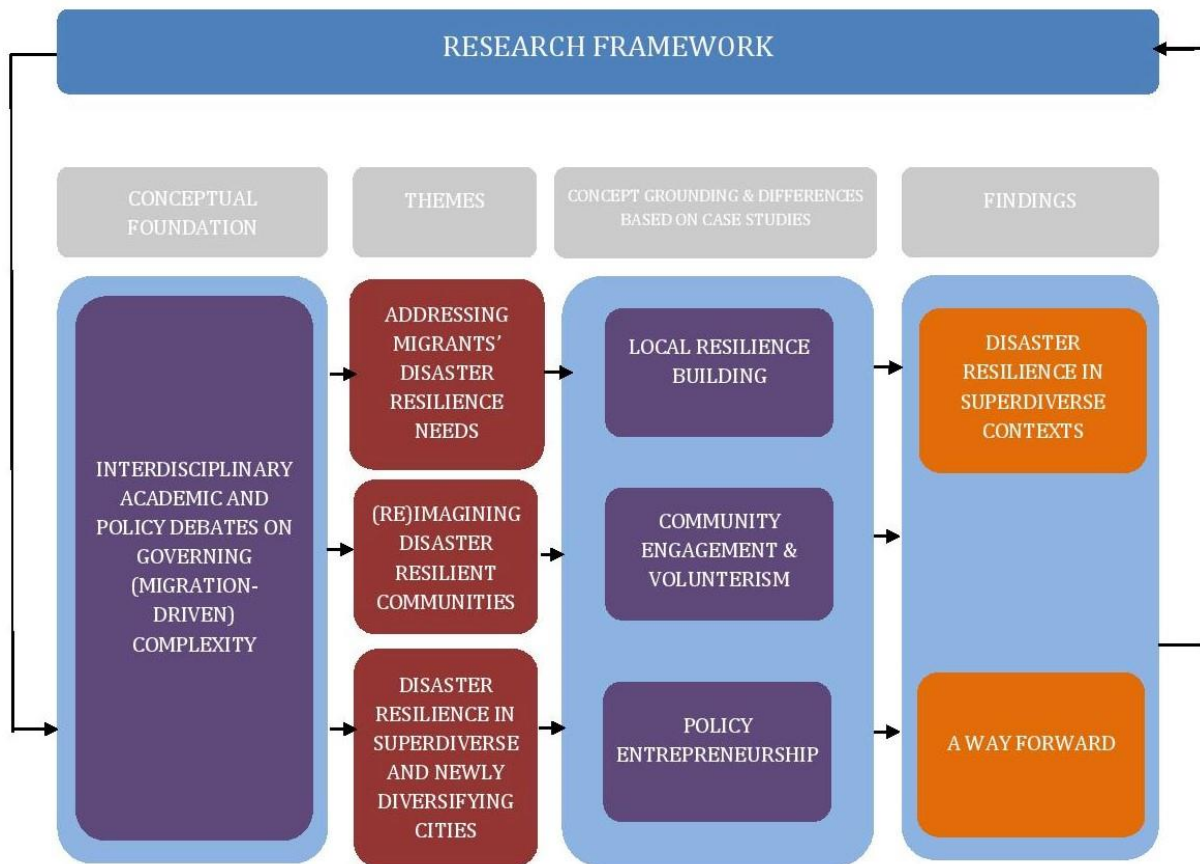
(source: author, inspired by Peres, 2016).

4.5 Case study analysis approach

"Case studies allow the researcher to 'soak and poke' their research subjects
to see if what is observed fits within the theoretical paradigm"
[John, 2005: 8, drawing on Fenno 1973: xiv].

The overall design of the research framework utilised herein can be defined as cross-sectional

with conceptual foundations developed within a case study approach (Bryman, 2008: 53-55).

First, the cross-sectional dimension is explored by looking at a range of differences in resilience

policymaking analysed from a comparative perspective. Second, in this research I also use a

case study approach focusing on selected cities in the UK (Birmingham) and Japan (Toyama), which offer vital insights into local resilience building efforts. However, practitioners and policymakers need to exercise caution in terms of generalisability of the findings. Chapter One of this thesis offers a more detailed exploration of the selected cases.

Qualitative case study research has been selected as a methodological approach due to several strengths that can be summarised as follows (Simons, 2009: 23):

- Case studies enable the experience and complexity of policies to be studied in depth and interpreted in the precise socio-political contexts in which they are enacted;

- Case studies help to document multiple perspectives, explore contested viewpoints, demonstrate the influence of key actors and interactions between them in telling a story of policy in action;

- Case studies help in exploring and understanding the process and dynamics of change;

- Case studies are flexible, not time-bound or constrained by method;

- Case studies have the potential to engage the participants in the research process.

The research strategy for the case study inquiry component as an all-encompassing method is built around the following components:

- Coping with the technically distinctive situation in which there will be many more variables of interest than data points;

- Relying on multiple sources of evidence, with data needing to converge in a triangulating fashion;

- Benefiting from the prior development of theoretical propositions to guide data collection and analysis

(Yin, 1994: 13).

4.5.1 Case study selection

The strategy for case study selection was driven by two considerations: appropriateness and adequacy. Consideration of appropriateness was based on the premises to identify two (manageable within time limitations) mutually-informative cases, allowing for lessons to be drawn on a cross-case basis from the existing and emerging local practices in dealing with the phenomena of inquiry – resilience building and superdiversity. Therefore, I aimed to identify cities extensively referred to (both nationally and internationally) as exemplary and often innovative cases in addressing issues related to superdiversity (UK) and resilience (Japan). As a logical consequence, the city regarding which superdiversity as a term was first coined (London) and the area internationally renowned for disaster risk reduction practices (Sendai) emerged as the first cases for consideration. However, one of the vital determinants for me was to minimise the issue of overstudying and overrepresentation. I tried to avoid the situation where "*respondents may feel besieged by multiple requests for formal interviews and decide to grant none*" (Stallings, 2007: 61). As Clark (2008: 965) notes: "*fatigue and over-researching can often lead to difficulties in initially recruiting people to projects and retaining that*

participation, as well as having an impact on the type and variety of the data that are obtained".

For instance, in reflecting on the challenges faced during data collection process, Uekusa (2019b: 1414) notes the fact that post 2011 disaster in Japan many researchers rushed into diverse communities in the Tohuku area. A situation potentially adding further complexity for other researchers in terms of building trust with respondents, avoiding rehearsed answers in cases when people were interviewed already several times and missing the chance to report on extremely interesting stories that were already published by other researchers.

Consideration of adequacy was based on two determinants (Kuzel, 1999). First, saturation of the existing information, evidence, and alternative explanations of the potential significance of both cases. Second, a 'trade-off' between the breadth and depth of the case study inquiry. Finally, the selection of two cases, Birmingham and Toyama, allowed for a better management and collection of in-depth information in comparison to a larger sample. Despite the relatively small research sample[66] (19 interviews), material collected in each location offered a strong basis for developing each (exploratory) case study within the research framework. As a result, I was able to evaluate and compare findings and ensure validity of the adopted methods. The purpose of the level of evidence from the selected cases was not to build the cases *per se*, by advocating the identified experiences and approaches, but to explore the dominant understandings and approaches at the city level; pointing to the potential ways for improvement

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[66] In understanding the inevitable limitations for generalizability within the given sample size, I stress the need for larger confirmatory studies that can include several locations across the UK and Japan and provide detailed evidence for policy intervention.

and integration of its diverse communities in resilience building. An approach that allows to address at least some of the challenges associated with universality, in particular by generating practical insights into disaster mitigation and management that are not too specific to a disaster or location (Manyena et al., 2011: 420).

4.6 Data collection methods

4.6.1 Research participants

My aim at the outset of the research was to examine the role of migration and diversity in building disaster resilience. As highlighted in Chapter Two, interdisciplinary engagements between migration and disaster scholarship focusing on local resilience building efforts have been very limited to date. Furthermore, voices of those working directly on implementation of 'disaster resilience building' initiatives are largely missing from the disaster resilience discourse (Keating and Hanger-Kopp, 2020). In identifying the most appropriate research angle and selection of participants for the project I wanted to address this clear gap. Therefore, my main research participants are public servants and practitioners in Birmingham and Toyama. The focus on individuals who I describe below as 'elites' allowed investigation of the implications that migration-driven diversity poses locally for policymakers and practitioners involved in disaster resilience building among diverse populations. I chose to focus specifically on elites because my research questions concern the development of policy and practice, and not the impact of that policy and practice. As such I decided not to interview migrants. I do not intend for this thesis specifically to add to the debates concerning the positionality, role and needs of migrants or ethnic minority groups in disaster context (see § 2.6.2). However, despite

this intention, my immersion in and mapping of various initiatives in working with diverse populations, inevitably means that I have provided some insight into the challenges faced by migrants in building resilience to disasters albeit from the perspectives of those[67] charged with building resilient communities.

Throughout the study, I conceive the research participants as 'elites' or 'experts' in a relational sense referring to the position of interviewed bureaucrats, public servants, practitioners and policy entrepreneurs compared to the average person in the society (Stephens, 2007). Given the relative power imbalance, which I further explore in § 4.8.2, I think of the interviewees who participated in this research as 'elites'. There is no clear definition of the term 'elite' as it is referred to in different ways across the social science literature (Smith, 2006; Harvey, 2010). Indeed Smith (2006) has argued the term is problematic because of the difficulty segregating people into 'elites' and 'non-elites'. The reason for this definition is that those individuals have a significant influence on the resilience building initiatives within the municipality and therefore may offer some challenge during the interview process (Harvey, 2011). 'Elite' or 'expert' interviewing can be more challenging in highly politicised and contested policy domains (Lancaster, 2017). The interviews were aimed at exploring the beliefs and modes of practice of local public servants and practitioners. In addition, the purpose was to "*elicit subjective perceptions, and retrospection is used to encourage the interviewees to recall*

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[67] In fact, at least one third of my interviewees (public servants and practitioners) were either foreign born, second- or third-generation migrants living in Toyama or Birmingham.

immediate reactions rather than to reconsider the situation" (Kezar, 2003: 397). For this

purpose, the open-ended questions serve well when researching public servants and

practitioners as they allow respondents to reflect better upon the issue and engage critically

(Aberbach and Rockman, 2002).

4.6.2 Semi-structured qualitative interviews: the choice of the method

Semi-structured interviews are a well-developed method in qualitative social science research.

The primarily reason for interviewing public servants and practitioners is gaining different

forms of institutional knowledge that go beyond the 'official line' (Signal et al., 2016). For

instance, the real-world considerations, challenges and impact of hazardous events that

individuals try to respond to and mitigate. Interviews with people working in-between diverse

communities, local authority and emergency services helped to better understand the

complicated world of disaster resilience, provide access to policy narratives and roles played

by different actors as well as access to information that otherwise would not be possible to

acquire from grey literature or other sources. The choice of semi-structured interviews as a

method was based on my previous experiences in using the method during earlier research work

in Russia. Through interviewing experts in the field of migration, as well as activists and

international officials I learned that personal insights are indispensable to understand the

broader picture of policy implementation and response to newly emerging challenges.

4.6.3 Structure of interview guidebooks

Semi-structured interviewing requires certain preparations from the researcher, which mainly include the conceptualising and drafting of an interview guide. The interview guide was developed based on the insights from the pilot research, previous qualitative interviewing experience, knowledge gleaned from the extensive literature review and practical considerations suggested by Yeo et al., (2013)[68]. The interview guide was structured into four sections[69] (see Appendix 2). The first examined section focused on the role of migration and diversity in building city resilience. The second section looked at city resilience, communication and the role of voluntary sector, explored approaches to incorporating migrants in resilience policy/planning and the implications of increasing numbers of migrants for city resilience. The theme sought to establish the role of different bodies and actors in building city resilience strategies. The third section analysed resilience policymaking and policy entrepreneurship at the city level in order to respond to city diversity and conditions of vulnerability that some residents are facing. The potential challenges and vulnerabilities that migrants face were discussed along the lines of the following themes: preparation, recruiting, disseminating information, coordination, reconstruction, recovery and consultation. The fourth and final theme explored examples of good practice in responding to the needs of migrants in times of an emergency. Through the design and flow of research questions I primarily aimed at

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[68] Since the themes for the qualitative interviews were designed deductively, the initially defined 'key themes' had to be adopted flexibly during the course of the fieldwork and further adjusted in the two-stage coding process (see § 4.9 below).

[69] At this stage of the research process (prior to the fieldwork) I did not create a provisional 'start list' of codes. However, the interview guidebook, formulated based on the conceptual framework, list of research questions and problem areas in question, directly aligns with the code list formation (see § 4.9 below).

addressing research objectives, but also tried to adapt to the participants and leave enough space

for them to provide key insights around the resilience problematics (Rowley, 2012: 263).

In order to allow for flexibility and the possibility of appointments to be re-scheduled, I often

asked for appointments well in advance. In most of the cases the interviews took place in the

working environment of the interviewee. Several interviews were conducted in the presence of

another person, like for instance the work supervisor or secretary. Such a setting potentially

resulted in additional insight into the role of cooperation and teamwork, but also triggered a

more nuanced responses to the questions asked where information could be cross-checked and

complemented. Moreover, it facilitated a form of dialogues between the different members of

the team in order to find the right answer or contact person that can help to address it. On the

negative side, presence of interviewee's supervisor may have resulted in increased caution in

expressing potentially critical opinions regarding the subject matters. In sum, the above outlined

interactions were very insightful, facilitating reflection about current practice and seeking

potential ways of improvement.

4.6.4 Observations

The observation methods I used in this research can be divided in two parts. First, two

unstructured observations (one for each case study), focusing on a specific event and aimed at

improving understanding and interpretation of cultural behaviours and differences in resilience

building activities at local level. The use of an unstructured observation helped me to better

understand the effectiveness of a specific resilience building activity in the natural physical environment. Moreover, I tried to take the advantage of insights generated by spontaneous opportunities, like for instance the day-to-day events that shaped the 'disaster prevention culture' experienced during the fieldwork activities in the city. One of those rare situations included an event targeted at families at the local shopping mall intended to familiarise children with the work of different professionals contributing towards post-disaster reconstruction (see Figure 4.3).

Figure 4.3: 10th Anniversary of the Toyama Construction Association event

(source: author).

Events like this show how the disaster prevention culture is deeply engrained in the DNA of the local communities. Therefore, I also tried to consider the different activities that set an

indirect impact on building resilience among diverse or diversifying communities.In Birmingham, the main activity serving as an example of BRT's community engagement activities with diverse groups was the presence and information campaign during 2017 Birmingham Mela in Cannon Hill Park[70]. Over the course of the event I had the opportunity to immerse myself in the situation from a position of a community member seeking help and advice. Therefore, I had a first-hand opportunity to experience approaches and methods used. During the course of the community engagement activity, I had a chance to speak with various members of the BRT staff as well as local community members. As a general practice, member of the BRT team would ask a range of questions to assess the level of information that individuals possess about resilience. The next stage involved an explanation of activities and precautionary measures that can improve peoples' resilience on a daily basis. As a final stage, individuals would be asked on a voluntary basis to sign up for the community alert.

In Toyama, the main activity recorded during the pilot study work is the Multilingual Disaster Support Volunteer training (Parzniewski and Phillimore, 2017). The training took place at the Ishikawa Prefecture Firefighters Academy in cooperation with the TIC and Fukui Prefecture Structure and its delivery pointed to some important features that go beyond the simple objectives of the training. It is probably the most real and direct scenario building activity that can help someone imagine the potential response in a real disaster. The main activities took place in a large training room. Figure 4.4 represents the specific room configuration on that day.

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[70] For further information see Chapter Five

Figure 4.4: Fieldwork notes drawing 'Disaster Information Centre Room Setup'
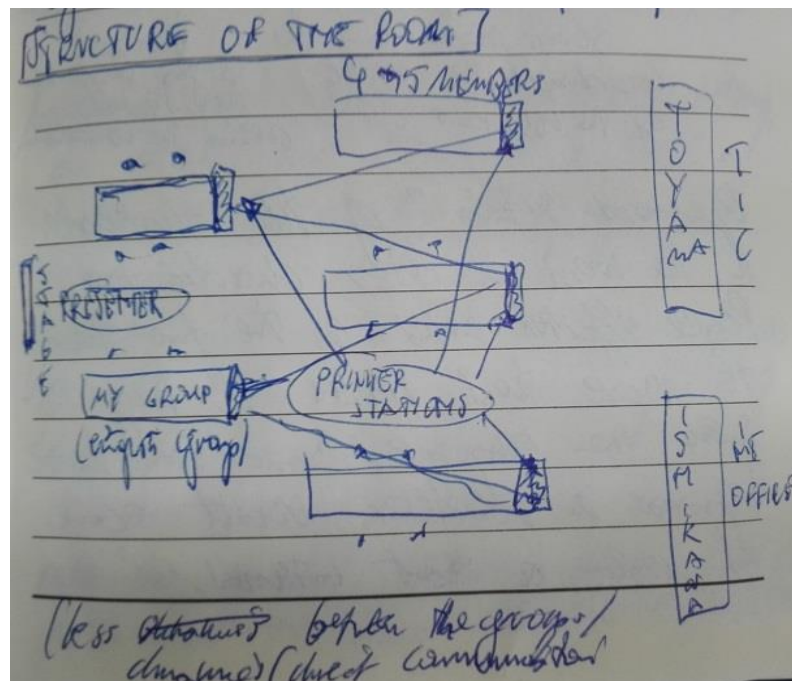
(source: author).

All participants were divided into five groups of four to five people. The respective groups were supposed to respond to the division in information centres operating in five different languages (English, Chinese, Korean, Portuguese and Russian). At the two long tables on the side of the room sat the representatives of the coordinating bodies (International Associations of the Toyama and Ishikawa prefectures). Despite the high formality of the setting, sessions including practical exercises were very interactive. The second part of the training took part in a different room. Figure 4.5 represents a mapping of the room set-up for the training activity. Five individuals (non-Japanese) were selected to act as migrants seeking advice and spreading information across the room. In addition, information sheets in different languages were put on the walls. Each volunteer had to respond to the needs of two to three individuals at a time.

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Figure 4.5: Fieldwork notes drawing 'Emergency Shelter Room Setup'
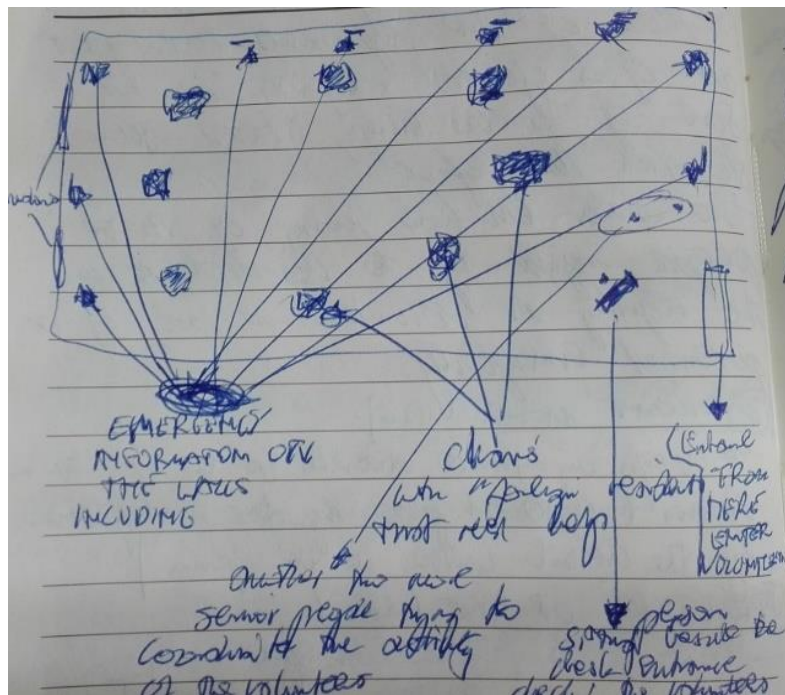
(source: author).

The next stage involved a short assessment interview with each individual. Collection of basic personal information served the purpose to better assess and respond to the specific needs of each individual. For instance, collected information could improve coordination and decision-making regaring the possibility of unification of family members located in different shelters across the city. All activities were observed by the person delivering the training. The coach indicated the importance of body language when collecting information from the migrant. In order to make the migrant feel more comfortable the volunteer should refrain from positions that would indicate superiority and try to act in a more casual, open manner.

4.6.5 Other methods

Throughout the project and during the fieldwork a range of small supportive research tools were used to aid the research process. First, I used an electronic fieldwork diary as a tool to record places, emotions, considerations, facts, encounters, surprises and challenges face in a day-to-day research work. In addition, I took a range of reflective notes during and directly after the interviews. As the work progression during the fieldwork was somewhat dynamic, short reflective notes helped me to understand better the context in which the data collection occurred. It also proved very useful during the data coding process. Secondly, during the course of the fieldwork I had a range of informal and unplanned conversations with members of the local organisations related to my research interests and the studied topic. Most often those conversations occurred after a completed semi-structured interview. On other occasions, informal discussions led to short brainstorming sessions (see Figure 4.6), exemplifying the different dimensions of local work with migrants. The additional information acquired in this way granted key additional insights into the contexts and circumstances under which the interviews took place, helped me to reflect better on the data collected during the interview as well as prepare for a better engagement with future respondents. The informal conversations also helped to understand better the operational characteristics of different formal and informal systems that emerge around migrants both in the UK and Japan. In this manner the research data collection incorporated some ethnographic elements.

Figure 4.6: Brainstorming session about local migration situation with a member of the local organisation in Toyama
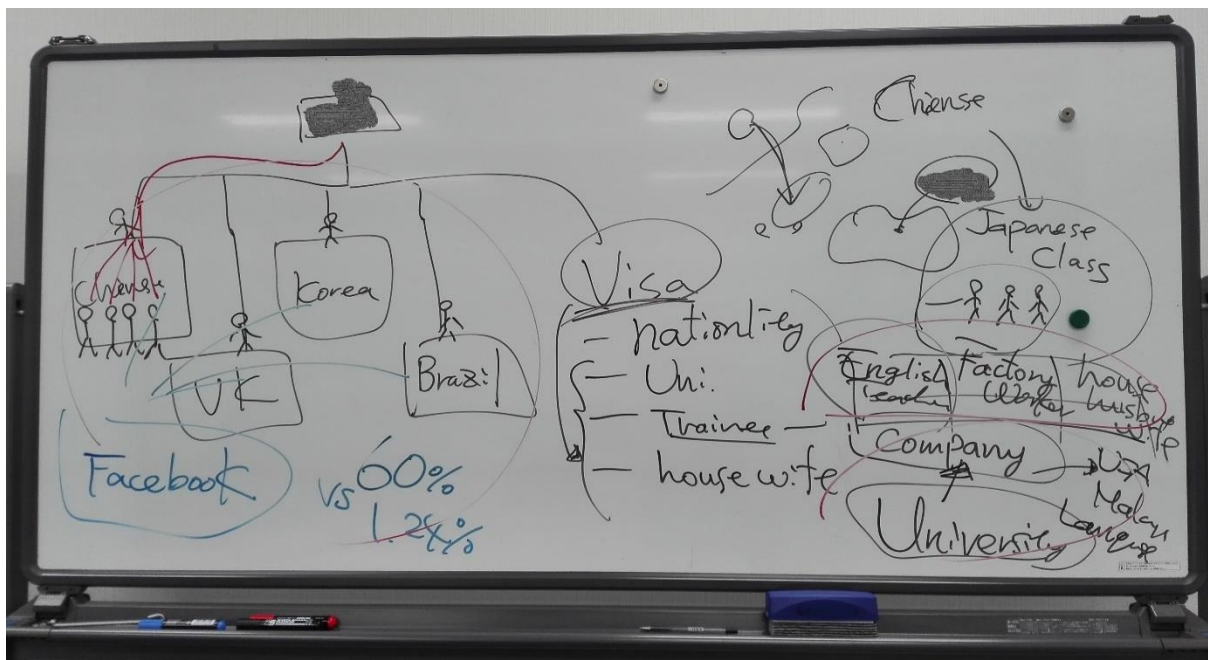
<div align="right">(source: author).</div>

At the same time, I was very conscious about the sensitive nature of such interactions as people, who engage in such informal conversation are very often not aware of that it might provide some additional information for the analysis. Therefore, any information obtained in this way only served me to support the formal research instruments (semi-structured interviews) and stimulate new ideas around the researched topic.

4.6.6 Analysis of visual materials

To support my research, I also analysed visual materials in the form of brochures, maps, evacuation plans. I gained initial familiarity with a range of relevant materials during the pilot study (described above in § 4.3.3). All materials were selected during the fieldwork based on

the geographical distribution of studied areas and their relevance to study objectives (see § 1.3)

informed by the pilot study. Since I treated all visual materials as supplementary to the main

data set, I did not implement an additional selection method or sampling strategy. Seeking

additional reference from other sources implies a more holistic approach to data gathering that

allowed more extensive and in-depth understanding of participants' aspirations, strategies,

objectives, attitudes and daily working environment related to resilience and disaster response.

The visual data sources collected during fieldwork visits to a range of local migrant support

organisations were referred to and incorporated in the analysis (see for instance § 5.2). I also

conducted a range of research trips in both locations to sites which had previously experienced

an emergency. Those visits and informal observations did not serve the purpose of direct data

collection. Nevertheless, visits helped me to understand better city dynamics. In order to

potentially broaden the methodological toolboxes I also sought ways in which digital sources

of information, that are more and more widely used by social and political researchers (Karpf,

2012), can inform the objectives of this study. As a result, I was able to identify the importance

of social media usage in both locations and then set about reading the fast-growing body of

literature on the role of social media in disaster response and management[71]. The role of social

media although not being the primary focus of the thesis emerged within the analysis as a vital

aspect explored in § 5.3.1.

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[71] Including among other studies into the role of social media for crisis communication (Coombs, 2016; Murthy and Gross, 2017; White, 2012); emergency management (Panagiotopoulos et al., 2016; Spielhofer, et al., 2016) and post-disaster reconstruction (Tagliacozzo, 2017).

4.7 Practicalities of data collection process

4.7.1 Access, recruitment and the role of gatekeepers

Riese (2018: 671) defines access as "*the process by which a researcher and the sites and/or individuals he or she studies relate to each other, through which the research in question is enabled*". In this section I am reporting upon a range of aspects related to access as an important factor determining success of the research project. After reflecting upon the broader multidirectional factors that shaped my access to the field, I present the more procedural particularities and the role of contact with gatekeepers. Focused on the need to perform and fulfil a range of research requirements as part of the project, only during the writing up stage I was able to reflect critically upon the decisions and actions that I took as part of the 'access' effort. With the start of my work 'in the field' in Birmingham, I was getting a moderate progress in terms of participant responses and collected data. As the work advanced and I did not secure the number of respondents desired and started to question my engagement strategy. Very soon I realised that in the fast-paced and confined work environment of public servants and practitioners, research access depends highly on the accessibility and instant applicability of ideas presented by the researcher.

Communicating the importance of engagement with an issue that to date has been ascribed only partial importance in the work of local actors, both in the UK and (slightly less so) in Japan, proved to be a difficult task. In order to overcome this challenge, I put considerable work to translate the academic conceptualisations guiding the research into more accessible set of ideas. Perhaps I should have put more effort into 'visualising' the different scenarios where the

prospective project insights could make a positive impact. Of course, at the stage of accessing the field it is impossible to offer clear deliverables. It has to be noted that the challenges of access in the Birmingham case would be difficult to overcome without my supervisor's direct intervention and recognition of the previous research conducted at my academic institution. Overall, I was able to balance this difficult task of ensuring ways to find access and means of data gathering and knowledge production that uphold the academic standard of my research institution.

Prior to entering the field, I formulated a list of prospective participants, primarily based on the field contacts established over the course of the pilot study conducted in Japan. However, given the political dynamics of policymaking at the city level, the recruitment process continued throughout the research project, both when new opportunities arose, and determined by the need for clarification and verification. The recruitment process was based on the premise of encompassing a wide range of participants, based on their roles in resilience and disaster response[72]. In practical terms, gaining access was not always a straightforward process and in several cases I was not able to establish direct contact with respondents.

Therefore, recruitment of respondents often involved contact with gatekeepers understood here as individuals working in the field that have extensive knowledge and access to potential respondents that is rather difficult to get otherwise. Once the gatekeeper had identified initial

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[72] For the structure of the invitation letter see Appendix 5.

participants based on the proposed list, a snowballing technique was used to enhance the variety of the sample (Sixsmith et al., 2003). Overall, gatekeepers played a key, but not a detrimental role in achieving access in both case studies. In one instance the respondent that I have successfully interviewed acted as a gatekeeper, preventing access to another potential informant. Given the expected highly relevant insights, I decided to seek direct contact to the potential informant. In return, not only I have not received any response from the potential informant, but also faced a backlash from the gatekeeper dissatisfied with my efforts to pursue access independently. Only then I realised the gatekeepers' (unclear) personal agenda in trying to overly control the possibility and conditions to my access. In order to mitigate such negative influence, I decided to review carefully any potential interviewees suggested by this gatekeeper. The negative experiences with access proved to be also beneficial for the research process helping me to understand better the power dynamics characteristic to the field.

However, other gatekeepers offered help proactively, by suggesting I speak to potentially relevant informants or arrange contact directly. In the Japanese context, the role of gatekeepers was indivisible, where personal recommendations are crucial in building trust for the researcher and the research project. At different stages of the research gaining access was a process improving over the course of the fieldwork (Duke, 2002). Showing the possession of knowledge in the field (although based primarily on academic insights) proved to be important in gaining and maintaining access. I pre-prepared information about the topic to assert my credibility in front of potential respondents (Beamer, 2002). The quality of the preparation has an impact on

the quality of collected data, but also on the credibility for future interviews (Goldstein, 2002: 671). In addition, printed versions of recent material related to participant's work were frequently brought to the interview. In practice this not only allowed to identify quicker relevant examples during the interview, but also increased participant's enthusiasm for the interview.

Throughout the fieldwork, I invested a considerable time and effort to establish productive relationships with key actors working with migrants and on resilience building activities across the two cities, as these proved crucial to obtaining credible data (Clark, 2010: 488). In establishing this relationship, I tried to avoid constructing the 'research bargain' with the gatekeeper and 'ordering' which can be a structural condition impacting on research (Corra and Willer, 2002). Being too dependent on the propositions and insights offered by the gatekeeper could easily undermine my position as a researcher and lead the whole research process into inappropriate directions. Luckily, I did not have to negotiate a way forward nor was it necessary to enter agreements of such kind.

4.7.2 Consent and ethical considerations

> "*Ethical decision making includes being consciously aware of one's values, principles and allegiance to ethical codes, intuition and feelings, within a context that is characterised by professional and power relationships*"
> [de Laine, 2000: 3].

Ethical issues as stated in the PhD doctoral researcher handbook for the Department of Political Science and International Relations (POLSIS), as well as Codes of Ethics and the Code of

Practice for Research at the University of Birmingham were strictly adhered to. The final design and proposed methodology went through a centralised ethical review process. Under the guidance of my supervisors I went through several reiterations of the research documents. The formal letter of invitation served throughout the fieldwork process as a template and I often adjusted and used it flexibly dependent on the individual I was aiming to recruit. The participant Information Sheet outlined briefly the aims and purposes of the research project and what would happen if a person decided to take part (see Appendix 3). The consent form was also structured as a two-page document (see Appendix 4). Participants were made clear about the possibility of changing their minds about being interviewed and that their data could be destroyed up to six months after the data collection process was finished. A separate consent form was designed for research participants in Japan, reflecting the different final date for withdrawal from the study. In addition to the English version, translations of the interview topic guide, participant information sheet and consent form were made available to all Japanese participants. Materials translated by professional online translation service were further consulted for consistency and relevance with experienced Japanese language teacher during my stay at the language centre in Kansai.

The project received a full and final approval from the Humanities and Social Sciences Ethical Review Committee. Safeguarding procedures put in place at the time of interviews were

rigorous as I tried to make myself accountable for the wellbeing of my participants[73]. Informed consent and avoidance of harm was upheld by implementing measures to ensure confidentiality on the part of the researcher, the anonymization of research materials (wherever possible), in which participants were assigned respondent numbers (for example I1 or I2 and location – Birmingham or Toyama) and any sensitive information about them disguised so that they cannot be directly identified by a third party. Anonymity is not always possible to ensure. However, it plays a key role in qualitative research that goes beyond the purely ethical reasons as it influences the ontological standpoints and angles from which the researcher looks at the data (Vainio, 2013). I took carefully into consideration the anonymization in the representation of data. In several instances, I changed the characteristics of the study participants in order to protect them from any harm, which is a common practice (Wiles et al., 2011). Due the nature of the comparative study, I extended the process of anonymization to the field site in Japan so that respondents from other case study (even if referred to as part of the research comparative) cannot be simply identified by the interviewees. In addition, the groundwork for theoretical practice provided the 'Framework for Research Ethics' established by the Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC, 2015), as well as the Research Councils UK 'Policy and Guidelines on Governance and Good Research Conduct' (RCUK, 2017).

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[73] In the hindsight, while reflecting critically on my fieldwork procedures (at the time of writing up the research) I recognise the benefits of allowing more space for participative negotiations and the co-construction of what is meant by 'safeguarding' (Gatrell, 2009).

4.7.3 Process of gaining consent

Throughout the fieldwork it was not my intention to ask specifically about interviewees' motivation for participation. In most instances my respondents felt that they needed to share with me their opinion about the project and why they decided to take part. Motivation to participate varied with key factors influencing participation including: a sense of pride in helping others, belief and representation of work made by one's organisation; willingness to share experiences, concerns and points of critique about the existing system; the opportunity to learn new perspectives and ideas related to one's work; hope to establish some useful links and networking opportunities. In some cases, participants mentioned that the interview exceeded their expectations. In other cases, participants felt (often in a positive way) that the interview raised more questions rather than the answers that they were hoping to hear.

During the recruitment of interview respondents, most individuals expressed an initial hesitation to participate. Participants expressed a range of concerns whether they would have been able to address the rather specific questions framed in the interview guidebook. Among the interviewees in Toyama the majority had not previously participated in a research interview. Some participants worried that their responses would not be eloquent enough to address the questions set by the research. In comparison, the majority of respondents in Birmingham had some previous experience of speaking to media and researchers about their work and clearly acknowledged the potential benefits of such cooperation. Some participants were concerned whether their responses might contradict those of other respondents.

Once the potential participant expressed the willingness to take part in the study, I sent out the participant information sheet and consent form in advance. Full and valid consent was achieved for every interview. At the start of the interview, I read carefully through the consent form in order to gain verbal consent. When going through the process of gaining informed consent I made clear to each individual that the interview can be postponed or cancelled at any time if he or she feels that respect and consideration has not been paid in relation to the following factors: diversity, ethnicity, gender, disability, religious beliefs, culture, language, and level of understanding. The interview normally started with my self-introduction, my role in the research project, the research affiliation, the nature and purpose of the research. As the next stage, I briefly described the research objectives. In addition, all participants were given detailed information sheets describing in detail the research topic. Interviewees had a chance to familiarise themselves with the consent form which was given to them before the actual interview and sufficient time was given to make the decision of whether to participate. In all cases I set no time restriction for people to decide.

Autonomous and informed decision-making was respected at all stages. The decision to participate (once made by the individual) was fully respected (even if negative). The actual decision-making process differed considerably from case to case. Some individuals preferred to read carefully, in silence all information provided, others relied more on my responses to specific questions. In several cases the decision whether to participate came as a result of a

lengthy email exchange or several attempts to reach a respondent. During the discussions of

participation potential respondents were mostly reluctant to share the reasons for their hesitation.

In the discussions before the interview as well as during the interview a range of participants

sought in a way a confirmation whether they can trust the researcher. Some decisions came in

a rather straightforward manner. Mentioning the fact that other experts working in the field

already agreed to participate considerably increased the chance of a positive response. In

addition, the interview timing played a crucial role in most of the cases. Interviewees signalled

the expectation to arrange the interview in a way that would allow them to fit it within their

tight work schedule. Upon learning that the research results will be published some participants

sought permission from their superiors. In several cases I had to explain more thoroughly the

research context and objectives in order to address some potential reservations and allow for a

fully informed decision.

4.8 Collecting data from interviews

In total as part of the study 7 interviews took place in Birmingham (including 9 participants)

and 12 interviews took place in Toyama (including 15 participants). All interviews were audio-

recorded by me using digital voice recorder. In situations where opportunities for interviewing

arose spontaneously, I have used the audio recorder on my mobile phone and stored the audio

data on a secure drive immediately after the interview. The longest interview lasted

approximately 65 minutes, the shortest 31 minutes, with the average interview time amounting

to 54 minutes. Formulation of the final list of participants in both locations was based on the objective to inform important facets and perspectives related to the phenomenon being studied. Tables 4.1 and 4.2 provide an overview of the list of participants for Birmingham and Toyama respectively.

Table 4.1: List of participants – Birmingham

Code/role held	Interview context and primary focus	Recruitment method
I1 Role: disaster planning and response (planning/policy implementation/leadership)	▪ one-to-two (together with P2) ▪ Location: BCC ▪ Language: English ▪ Interview's primary focus: resilience policy and practice in Birmingham, strategy	direct contact
I2 Role: disaster planning and response (planning/policy implementation)	▪ one-to-two (together with P1) ▪ Location: BCC ▪ Language: English ▪ Interview's primary focus: resilience policy and practice in Birmingham. strategy	direct contact
I3 Role: City Council member (local policymaking)	▪ one-to-one ▪ Location: in the office ▪ Language: English ▪ Interview primary focus: prevent and community action	gatekeeper
I4 Role: community organisation lead (community work/consultative role)	▪ one-to-one ▪ Location: in the office Language: English ▪ Interview's primary focus: community bottom-up resilience, local practices	gatekeeper

I5 Role: community organisation lead (community work/consultative role)	▪ one-to-one ▪ Location: in the office, in Language: English ▪ Interview's primary focus: community work, diversity, local support	gatekeeper
I6 Role: member of the Department of Health (policy implementation/consultative role)	▪ one-to-face ▪ Location: local café ▪ Language: English ▪ Interview's primary focus: policymaking, national/regional/city policy, service provision	gatekeeper
I7 Role: member of the West Midlands Police (policy implementation/consultative role)	▪ per telephone ▪ Location: N/A ▪ Language: English ▪ Interview's primary focus: service provision, planning	gatekeeper

Table 4.2: List of participants – Toyama

Code/role held	Interview context and primary focus	Recruitment method
I1 Role: coordinator local organisation (local policymaking/policy implementation)	▪ one-to-one ▪ Location: local bureau ▪ Language: English ▪ Interview's primary focus: mutual understanding, community activities	direct contact/recommendation
I2 Role: coordinator local organisation (policy implementation/community work/consultative role)	▪ one-to-one ▪ Location: NPO's office ▪ Language: English ▪ Interview's primary focus: everyday work with migrants, cooperation across cities	direct contact/recommendation
I3 Role: resilience expert (local policymaking/leadership)	▪ one-to-three (together with P4 and P5) ▪ Location: local government office ▪ Language: English	direct contact /recommendation

	▪ Interview's primary focus: city resilience strategy	
I4 Role: resilience policy advisor (policy implementation/consultative role)	▪ one-to-three (together with P3 and P5) ▪ Location: local government office ▪ language: English ▪ Interview's primary focus: city resilience strategy	direct contact /recommendation
I5 Role: resilience policy assistant (policy implementation/consultative role)	▪ one-to-three (together with P3 and P4) ▪ Location: local government office ▪ Interview language: English ▪ Interview's primary focus: city resilience strategy	direct contact /recommendation
I6 Role: experienced community worker (policy implementation/community work/consultative role)	▪ one-to-one ▪ Location: local bureau ▪ Interview language: English ▪ Interview's primary focus: migrants support policies in disaster across Japan	gatekeeper
I7 Role: expert in disaster resilience/community support (planner/consultant/trainer/community work)	▪ one-to-one ▪ Location: local café ▪ Interview language: English and some Japanese ▪ Interview's primary focus: current situation, practices and policy developments across Japan	direct contact
I8 Role: former local community coordinator (policy implementation)	▪ one-to-one ▪ Location: local café ▪ Interview language: English ▪ Interview's primary focus: foreigners in Toyama	direct contact
I9 Role: community lead (community work)	▪ one-to-two ▪ Location: NPO's office ▪ Interview language: English and some Japanese (with assistance from P2)	gatekeeper

	▪ Interview's primary focus: policy, migrant communities in Japan	
I10 Role: community teacher (community work)	▪ one-to-one ▪ Location: local school ▪ Interview language: English ▪ Interview's primary focus: communication/diverse communities	recommendation
I11 Role: community lead (community work/consultative role)	▪ one-to-one ▪ Location: local café ▪ Interview language: English, with some Japanese ▪ Interview's primary focus: foreign communities	gatekeeper
I12 Role: foreign academic (advisory role)	▪ one-to-one ▪ Location: university campus ▪ Interview language: English ▪ Interview's primary focus: foreign researchers/diverse communities	gatekeeper

The literature review and preparation for research fieldwork raised the important methodological question whether I was reaching out to individuals *really* involved and responsible for disaster resilience building among diverse populations? The growing role of 'shared-responsibility' between governments, organisations, community groups, businesses and individuals in disaster resilience building and disaster management, reflects the challenges in determining concrete roles and responsibilities. Given the scope and time limitations of this study, I was not able to conduct a preliminary mapping allowing for an assessment of the levels of collaboration among different actors involved in resilience building and disaster management

in Birmingham and Toyama[74]. Ultimately, decisions regarding the selection of interviewees were based on the research questions and evidence informing the study, especially in relation to the broader landscape of disaster resilience. Therefore, I tried to reach a balanced representation of respondents involved in disaster resilience efforts in Birmingham and Toyama, with the primary focus on actors working directly with diverse communities. The fact that I was not able to reach all of the policymakers and emergency planners at the city level constitutes a potential limitation of the study. Consequently, I recognise the fact that the collected data set is not sufficiently robust to offer a fully comprehensive account of the cooperation and challenges faced across the different local levels of policy, planning and community work in Birmingham and Toyama.

In addition, contributions from members of emergency services (policy, fire and health) although informing the study, do not constitute its primary focus. The conscious decision to (re-)direct the focus from emergency services towards various stakeholders building community capacities on ongoing basis, aligns with the logic guiding Whitney's fieldwork in Japan (2018: 79-80). Firstly, a range of resilience- and emergency-related activities are carried out beyond emergency service. Furthermore, overreliance on emergency services by local government and diverse communities can lead to a form of complacency and in-turn undermine resilience. Secondly, advocating for a transformative understanding of disaster resilience, one

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[74] The implications of 'shared responsibility' for community engagement and disaster resilience from an international comparative perspective have been discussed elsewhere (see Mclennan et al., 2019).

that allows communities to (re-)learn and (re-)adjust to disastrous events, indicates engagement of a wider range of (social, community and institutional) actors. Although often playing a vital part in the wider learning process, emergency services are not able to manage all the different complexities and domains of action.

Interviews generally proceeded from a broad description of the situation to explanation of some more specific aspects or situations related to resilience building initiatives in the city. Only one interview was conducted via telephone and the rest took place face-to-face. However, the interview dynamics between the two approaches differed considerably. Several issues and differences are worth mentioning. Here I am reflecting on my personal research experience by structuring the difference between face-to-face and telephone interviews in reference to some of the points from indicative list outlined by Stephens (2007: 209-211):

- Interruption – due to the line drop I had to redial the number again, which caused a several seconds interruption in the interview and another several seconds for the respondent to re-enter the interview situation;

- Topic control – there was very little effort on my side to shape the conversation as interviewee formulated responses to specific question with little divergence and therefore sticking to the topic as it was the case in face-to-face interviews;

- Lack of visual communication – with the lack of visual communication I had the impression of more restricted (task oriented) and specific responses to questions posed. In my impression the lack of access to non-verbal communication limits the answer

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modulation as a result of listener's facial expressions and therefore restricts the avenues for topic divergence. Another positive aspect of visual anonymity involved the reduction of self-consciousness in the process;

- Articulation – in the interview process I did not notice a need for clearer articulation of questions compared to a face-to-face interview. The reason for it might be that interviewees tried to rely more on their reading and understanding of the questions in the interview guidebook so that the flow of the interview would remain uninterrupted;

- Controlling the environment – during the telephone interview I realized a much smaller number of outside factors that might cause the potential to worry about in the aim for best possible answers;

- Bringing preparatory materials – telephone interview diminishes the role of additional attributes (professional dress or research materials), which can create a positive entourage and increase the credibility of the researcher in the eyes of the interviewee;

- Recording interviews – both face-to-face and telephone interviews offered comparable quality of sound recording.

For the majority of respondents, even people working in this field for many years, the interview process and topic focus allowed for new ideas to emerge. However, during the interviews some respondents were rather cautious about sharing their personal views about the issue. There were occasions when the interviewee would ask not to include a certain response or statement and say things 'off the record'. These requests showed that public servants and practitioners who

had experience of being interviewed by the media use a range of terms to indicate their level of consent regarding given information. The term 'off the record' can be misunderstood with 'not for attribution' or 'on background'. The term 'off the record' means that the information cannot be used in any shape or form; 'for background' means that the information can inform the work in a non-attributed form and 'not for attribution' means that the comments or background information can be used as long as they cannot be directly identified with the source (Goldstein, 2002: 671). Although the sensitive information shared with me did not fall within the focus of this research project, it was important to listen as an indication of trust building relationship between the researcher and interviewee.

In response to these concerns, I tried to provide reassurance about the strict procedures and ethical conduct that I am obliged to adhere to throughout the process. In addition, I tried to create the most comfortable environment possible for the interviewee, allowing for instance for breaks anytime when necessary. In most instances, I was hosted at the interviewee's office or workplace when I received warm hospitality (often with water, tea or coffee provided). Another important factor proved to be a factor determining the breadth and depth of responses. Namely, the project labelling in the eyes of the respondent, including a subjective evaluation of projects' relevance to his or her work. In several instances, the positive experience during the interview led the participant to 're-evaluation' and further information update via e-mail. I asked each respondent whether they would like to be notified when the research outcomes are published. Several participants expressed high interest in the research project and asked to be contacted to

get access to findings or share the information though their networks[75]. At the end of the interview the respondents were asked whether they could recommend any person having insight and knowledge about the topic based on the case study and that might be worth interviewing. The above question served as a marker that the interview has finished.

4.8.1 Addressing bias in qualitative interviewing

Two aspects were especially attended to in evaluating and justifying the application of qualitative interviewing as a valid method of sociological inquiry, namely the role of interviewer's bias and participants' bias. In order to mitigate the potential for interviewers' bias, I planned the data collection process well in advance and kept a detailed record of the process, writing informal personal notes about each interview documenting any additional factors that might have influenced the data collection. In order to avoid potential participants' bias[76], I acknowledged information about the perceived disaster resilience situation in the city gained before the start of the actual interview. I treated it as a valuable context-setting rather than information that should drive the analysis. I tried to validate the representativeness of

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[75] Since the outset of the research project I have planned and updated my communication and impact strategy based on the template and guidance available at the ESRC website: https://esrc.ukri.org/research/impact-toolkit/ (Accessed on: 22.07.2020). The primary objectives include the ability to tailor information, develop clear and succinct messages that can benefit the target audiences in the UK and Japan (research participants and their broader networks). Given the interdisciplinary character of the study and potential relevance of research findings to wider audiences, I will be also seeking new possibilities and methods for innovative dissemination.

[76] In response to a specific set of questions determined by the interview guidebook interviewees were more likely to pause, scrutinise their thinking and reflect upon their experiences. As a result, there was a high probability that the depth of responses would contradict the initial unsolicited statements.

information provided by referring to other documentary and publicly available sources, like for instance media reports or case study evaluations by local organisations.

4.8.2 Positionality

One of the methodological challenges derived from my positionality as a foreigner/migrant. Prior to entering the field, during and after the fieldwork, I naturally and unquestionably assumed my positionality as an outsider ('researcher') and never pertained to the role of an 'insider'[77]. Furthermore, throughout the fieldwork I found myself (rather subconsciously) enacting an 'outsider' identity that I potentially would not be pursuing in any other circumstances (Cassell, 2005). In many cases the interviewee assumed that I knew very little about the topic, allowing me to 'dig deeper' and get a richer data than it could be the case otherwise (Ryan, 2015). Due to the space limitations, I am not able here to engage extensively with the ongoing insider/outsider debate (referred to as dichotomy or divide), focusing on researcher positionalities in qualitative migration-related research projects (Nowicka and Ryan, 2015). Instead, I am adapting the life cycle of the research process outlined by Pustulka et al. (2019), in order to present the temporal continuum of 'outsiderness' statuses encountered during my fieldwork in Toyama[78] (see Figure 4.7).

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[77] The reasons might be multifold, primarily pertaining to the social status of my respondents (power imbalances described above) and the effort to build trust with my respondents based on the potentially positive contribution to their work rather than based on language, ethnic or other commonality.

[78] Similar challenges were identified in Birmingham. However, I am drawing here explicitly from the Toyama case, as one that inspired the research and being much more labour- and time-intensive.

Figure 4.7: The passage of time in the life cycle of the research process: perspectives on outsiderness
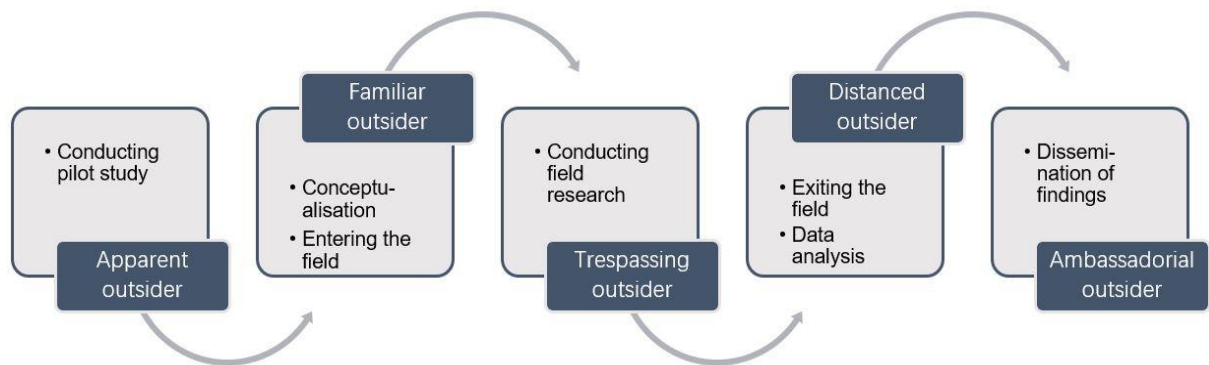
(source: author, adapted from Pustulka et al., 2019: 247).

Stage One involved the pilot study described already in § 4.3.2 and § 4.3.3. Stage Two proved

to be much more problematic as I was entering the field with past experiences and pre-existing

local contacts in Toyama, but the nature of my engagement locally was much more specific,

targeted and structured. Several of my potential interviewees were generally familiar with me

as a person and my research interests. However, they were less familiar with my (perceived)

'new' role as a 'researcher' asking for an interview involving a set of (potentially complicated)

questions. The different type of engagement lead to re-labelling of my outsider position to

(perhaps) a less familiar one. For instance, the impact of initial 'relatedness' to my Japanese

respondents based on their general interest about foreign affairs, languages, cultures and visits

to other countries has almost completely diminished. A range of questions started surfacing,

which suggested an increased effort to understand better my intentions as well as the aims and

objectives of my work. The rather unexpected (at the time of fieldwork) move of my potential

respondents towards ascribing me a somewhat more distant outsider position, I interpret in

retrospect as a sign of respect to my efforts and as a strategy to enable a better mutual understanding.

Stage Three involved my far from straightforward operation within the trespassing form of 'outsiderness', that can be characterised based on two aspects: "*inquiring about issues that participants were not willing to talk about and revealing (not necessarily intentionally) characteristics that differed us from interviewees*" (Pustulka et al., 2019: 249). The practicalities of data collection process characteristic to this stage I have explored already in § 4.7. Stage Four involved the uneasy process of leaving the field, when the intensive and vivid research experience (compared to the Birmingham case) made it difficult for me to move smoothly to interpretation and contextualisation of the collected data. Despite the general lack of sensitive or confidential material in my work, I felt emotionally exhausted and therefore needed several weeks of 'cooling-off' and distancing from the data. The reason for my exhaustion may have related to the fear of failure perpetuated through the known unknowns and unknown unknowns as well as inherently 'messy' process of field research (Harrowell et al., 2018; Salovaara, 2018), but also perhaps living 'out of place' in another culture away from friends and family for many months. When moving to the analysis phase, I wanted to retain sufficient level of detail in order to recognise interesting patterns by at the same time maintaining a professional academic approach preventing my findings from being emotionally tainted. Finally, Stage Five pertains to the challenges of 'outsiderness' that I might be potentially facing in the upcoming writing up phase and therefore I will not explore it here in

more detail. Having briefly outlined above the different stages, I would like to reiterate the role of multi-layered interactions, potentially leading the researcher to operate in the complex 'in-between' space(s), being neither completely insider nor truly outsider (Dwyer and Buckle, 2009).

4.8.3 The role of language and emotions whilst in the field

All interviews were undertaken in English, with the exception of one case in Toyama where the interviewee preferred to speak Russian. To be more precise English was the primary communication instrument in all of the data collection process[79]. Modes of communication with the people researched depends on field objectives, researcher's linguistic skills and determination (Gade, 2001: 376). Language learning for the purpose of fieldwork does not guarantee a membership of a community. However, it can shift the balance of power between the researcher and interviewee, and generate research insights that cannot otherwise be acquired (Watson, 2004: 59). I undertook a language course program, including two integrated periods designated for fieldwork activity, which proved to be very useful in setting up fieldwork.

Research work in the field is a form of experienced reality and my fieldwork was no different, saturated with emotions, unexpected opportunities, challenges, but also hope. Before moving to data analysis, I explicitly searched in the collected material, fieldnotes and personal recollections any evidence for 'negative' or 'deviant' instances or behaviours that might have at the later stage contradicted or modified the analysis. I did not report any situations that might

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[79] I further reflect upon the nuances of communication during the interviews in this section.

have had a dominant effect on data accessibility. Like for instance participants dropping out from the interview or the need to substantially restructure existing research framework. As much as I have reported a range of twists and turns (characteristic to qualitative research fieldwork) the interview process opened new opportunities for me to grow as a person and as a researcher. Keeping a track of the research process in a form of field notes helped me to develop my own style in running a 'reflexive' research journal. By documenting procedural factors and personal impressions after each interview I was able to facilitate internal dialogue, search for ways to improve my research technique and identify areas where further improvements can be made. The interview process in its integrity lays a groundwork to building an understanding and systematising the different components of local disaster resilience building. In that sense, it paves a way for the analytical process described further below.

4.9 Data analysis

The data was coded, categorized and analysed through the use of a range of coding methods building on one another as the analytical process progressed toward higher-level themes, concepts and theoretical assertions.

4.9.1 Transcribing and initial paper-based concept coding

The first 'direct interaction' with the data occurred during interview transcription, which involved material only in English language. In the single case when sections of the interview were conducted in Japanese, the material was directly translated into English 'on site' with the help of qualified native speaker. Involving a colleague of the respondent working, a person

interviewed previously and working in same organisation, helped to reduce the stress and breach the potential gaps of understanding. In the single case when the interview was conducted in Russian, I transcribed the interview first in Russian and did the translation by myself afterwards, as I speak Russian fluently. Transcribing work appeared to be a straightforward technical task, but the representation of audible data into written form is an interpretative process that can be considered as the first stage of data analysis (Bailey, 2008). After transcription was finished, in order to ensure accuracy during the interpretation I listened to the recording while reading the transcriptions (DiCicco-Bloom and Crabtree, 2006: 318).

Designing the right analytical tools for a rigorous and systematic analysis comprised of extensive reflection and an ongoing process of 'testing the fit' between collected data and research objectives. The initial exploration of data collected involved a two-staged approach. First, I worked manually through the interview data (using pens and hardcopy papers). There is something about working with paper and pen that gives you a feeling of more control and ownership of the data. The manual approach helped me to reflect better on the material and work towards developing my own style of coding. Second, I read through all the interviews again and put all the initial codes[80], comments and annotations into a computer-assisted qualitative data analysis software. The use of Nvivo software for the interview analysis proved to be very useful in keeping track of the coding process, identifying emergent trends and

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[80] "*Codes are tags or labels for assigning units of meaning to the descriptive or inferential information compiled during the study. Codes are usually 'attached' to chunks of varying size – words, phases, sentences, or whole paragraphs, connected or unconnected to a specific setting*" (Miles and Huberman, 1994: 56).

patterns. As a result, I came up with a general set of 114 codes. In order to verify the codes and

emerging categories I decided to confront my set of initial codes with the set of codes that came

as a result of automated coding in Nvivo. Based on automated coding 323 codes emerged[81],

divided into the following 17 general categories: 'city', 'city resilience', 'community', 'city

resilience planning'. 'disaster', 'emergency', 'foreign', 'language', 'migrant', 'people',

'planning', 'planning frameworks', 'policies', 'policymaking', 'recovery', 'residents',

'resilience'. In order to see better the connections and potential code overlapping between the

different categories I decided to print all the automated codes on separate paper slips (see Figure

4.8).

Figure 4.8: Matrix of auto-generated codes in Nvivo and printed on separate paper slips.
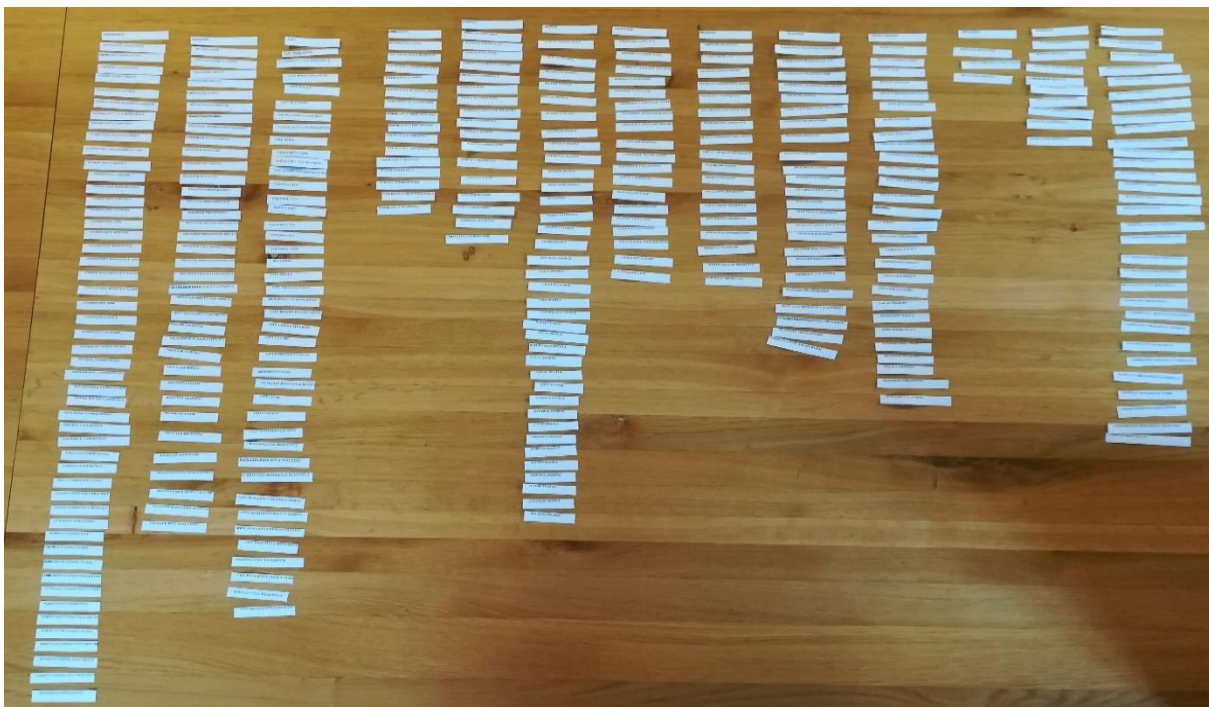
(source: author).

Each line represents the 14 potential theme indications offering an entry point leading to the final broad three themes presented in Table 4.3. The 'paper slip' approach helped me to identify whether any of my 114 codes were too ambiguous, or required amendment, clarification or removal. In this case the use of Nvivo's automated coding served the role of an additional (multiple coder) experience[82], potentially allowing for new and richer codes[83]. Given the time and resource restraints of the project, I had no access to more robust inter-coder verification. In order to safeguard trustworthiness and quality of the research I was guided by two primary principles when generating and structuring the codes. First, I coded the same phrase or sentence with multiple codes (where appropriate) in order to provide more room to explore the complex relationships between the codes during the analysis. Second, when commenting on a code I would try to provide as much context as possible, allowing for the commentary to be extracted (when necessary) or turned to a memo[84]. In sum, I have operated in a cyclical process facilitated by the search of tools allowing for the change of focus from general to specific and back from specific to general. One of the approaches involved graphical distribution of codes described below.

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[82] The balance between technical procedures and broader understanding of rationale and assumptions in qualitative research have been well discussed elsewhere (see Barbour, 2001).

[83] Initially I considered inviting study's participants to be involved in the analytical process. However, I realized that this was not possible due to the tight work schedule of my respondents as well as time and resource constrains of the research project.

[84] Throughout the process I used the memoing function offered by Nvivo only in limited instances when specific contextual information relevant to a passage in the data required further reflection and consideration. The detailed records about emerging key concepts, ideas and their relationships spread across several written research journals.

4.9.2 Code mapping and landscaping

At this exploratory stage of the research, I also sought innovative visual tools to examine and organise the data in order to get directions that lead me to the codes and categories emerging as part of the analysis. The study used KH-Coder, which is a free quantitative discourse analysis package. KH coder fits well with the qualitative data display strategy of this project as it supports a range of text data analysis and visualisation methods. Before moving to the second cycle of coding the interview data was analysed using two levels of context analysis. First, in this study I employed three representative methods of text analysis employed by the means of KH Coder: Multi-Dimensional Scaling (MDS), word association and co-occurrence network analysis for selected key words driving the analysis. Use of the tools characteristic for corpus linguistics methodologies in exploring the interviews enabled me to gain insights into the data set that would not be possible otherwise. It did not pre-determine the analysis itself, but rather served as a merely supportive visual aid. The Multi-Dimensional Scaling (MDS) proved to be the most useful tool, which enabled me to carry out multi-dimensional scaling on the extracted words and to draw the results in a scatter diagram (see Figure 4.9). I used this function for finding combinations or groups of words that have similar appearance patterns. The use of this methods helped me to visualise the level of similarity among individual words in the data set and find some important indices for further analysis. In the Figure 4.9 we can observe 6 main clusters of words, with the largest one marked in green colour. Based on the word clusters I could determine the positionality of keywords in relation to each other and the positionality of words within the selected cases.

Figure 4.9: Multi-Dimensional Scaling (MDS) model of the interview data set.

(source: author).

For instance, the keywords that can be associated with the Toyama case study marked in red include: 'foreign', 'resident', 'foreigner', 'information', 'language', 'Japanese'. Keywords that can be associated with the Birmingham case study marked in yellow include: 'organisation', 'work', 'authority', 'service', 'engage', 'issue', 'way'. Compared to the Japanese cluster, the

Birmingham cluster is far less scattered and more closer linked with the blue cluster that can be associated with policy issues and keywords including: 'planning', 'plan', 'migrant', 'policy', 'resilience', 'emergency', 'response'. While cluster labelling proved to be useful in the pre-analysis phase, I tried to refrain from fixed labels as word clusters emerge as a large number of automatically extracted words.

4.9.3 Second cycle pattern coding

The second cycle of coding involved categorizing qualitative material (semi-structured interviews) according to their content and sense to dissect patterns of meaning. A number of categories (themes) emerged that were "*sufficiently precise to enable different coders to arrive at the same result when the same body of material is examined*" (Silverman, 1993: 65). Conceptually similar codes were merged together and ideas that did not address the aims set in research design were dropped. The purpose was to surface and link key themes that can build a coherent narrative. Thematic analysis is a method of "*identifying, analysing, and reporting of the content and meaning of patterns (themes) within the data*" (Braun and Clarke, 2006: 86). This was a circular process, involving different levels of analysis and re-analysis. The analysis of interviews led to the emergence of a range of conceptualisations and understandings of current disaster resilience building processes in the respective locations. Based on the emerging themes[85] a coding scheme was designed (see Table 4.3), to identify different aspects of the role of migration-driven diversities in resilience building.

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[85] I have discussed the emergence and selection of themes in more detail in § 3.8.

Table 4.3: Coding scheme

I. **Theme: Addressing migrants' disaster resilience needs**
- Access to information
- Capacity building
- Communication tools
- Cooperation
- Demographic change
- External resilience
- Information sharing
- Language support
- Needs assessment
- Public engagement
- Resilience and complexity
- Resilience and integration
- Resilience and welfare
- Resilience infrastructure
- Self-help
- Shifting responsibility
- Specific groups

II. **Theme: (Re-)imagining disaster resilient communities**
- Communicating resilience
- Community diversity
- Community representation
- Community resilience
- Disaster prevention
- Diversity
- Faith groups
- Generational gap
- Meaning of resilience
- Negative globalization
- Resilience and prevention
- Resilience and risk
- Resilience and securitization
- Resilience in media and public discourse
- Response
- Voluntary sector

III. **Theme: Disaster resilience in superdiverse and newly diversifying cities**
- Austerity
- Budget restrictions
- General resilience/'inclusive resilience'

- Policy entrepreneurship
- Reducing scope
- Resilience coordination
- Resilience policy
- Specific policies
- Specific resilience
- The future of resilience
- Workplace resilience

In the process, several additional sub-themes emerged that had to be checked upon their relevance to the research objectives and in reference to the whole data set. The selection process involved cross-checking of specified keywords to ensure whether a sub-theme constitutes a driving (central) narrative within a particular interview or across the whole data set. Sub-theme identified as an outlier would be referred to, but not directly incorporated into the analysis. After closer consideration of the whole coding scheme, I decided to refrain from moving into a more hierarchical classification of the existing codes into fixed subcategories. This decision proved to be very beneficial at the later stages of analysis, allowing me for more flexibility in exploring the complex connections between different codes and emerging concepts within themes.

In doing so, two primary considerations (dilemmas) were taken into account. Firstly, I aimed to strike a balance between 'thick' and 'thin' (manageable) material for analysis. Determining the data that can be processed well and dividing it into analysable units helped me to avoid data overload. Secondly, I wanted to be mindful about the purposes of the study to ensure easy information retrieval in the actual analysis. In other words, ensuring coding efficiency that can

grant easy access to pieces of data that matter the most for the purposes of the study. The strategy to achieved that rested on the idea of "*allowing yourself to be open to and re-educated by things you do not know about or expect to find*" (Miles and Huberman, 1994: 56). Before moving to the interpretation of the data I had further discussions with my supervisors to check the classification and coding framework. The final check of codes took place approximately two-thirds of the process of data analysis for Chapters Five to Seven. The possibility to re-define or disregard codes allowed me to progress the analysis in the light of new insights.

4.10 Data management

Throughout the project I took into consideration a range of issues regarding data management, in particular by paying special attention to the separation of collected data set from personal data. In that regard, I followed the 'Guidance on best practice in the management of research data' (RCUK, 2015). A secure USB Flash drive was used to protect the most sensitive data with 256-bit hardware encryption and an enforced complex password. Advanced Encryption Standard is a block cipher adopted as an encryption standard by the U.S. government. It is one of the most popular algorithms used in symmetric key cryptography. The encryption used by the USB Flash drive is of a level that prevents the data being recovered should the password/key be lost.

4.11 Conclusion: strengths and weaknesses of methods used

A range of considerations and critical decisions regarding project design and methodology used were discussed in this chapter. The choice of qualitative interviewing as a main method for data

collection helped to reduce the 'thick' (detailed) description of participants' feeling, experiences and opinions about migration-driven diversity in resilience building efforts. Diversity of respondents allowed for key voices in resilience building to be heard, including those of public servants, city officials, activists, practitioners and people working with different migrant groups within the city. In simplifying and managing data my primary aim was to avoid destroying complexity and emerging new contexts. Given the practical limitations of the thesis a considerable amount of research material could not be integrated within the analysis. Therefore, a range of practical questions about the future of disaster resilience and migration in different geographical and cultural contexts that emerged as a result of this study still remain unsolved. Despite the clear potential in opening new avenues for further research, qualitative studies also face important challenges of generalizability. The cross-cultural and specific case study selection can potentially make it difficult to extended results to the wider population to the same degree of certainty as quantitative analysis can. Despite the relatively small data sample used in this study, qualitative analysis can take a considerable amount of time. Moreover, in dynamic policy areas like disaster resilience and migration (integration) where things are often shaped by a range of factors, modes of being and modes of acting might shift relatively fast from what has been observed during data collection. My approach in addressing issues around representativeness and receptivity of findings focuses on the growing importance of cross-cultural, cross-sectional and interdisciplinary insights in guiding policy and practice. Each of the next three analytical chapters explores one of key themes that emerged as a result of empirical work.

CHAPTER 5

ADDRESSING MIGRANTS' DISASTER RESILIENCE NEEDS

5.1 Introduction

In the first of three empirical chapters, I examine the contemporary challenges around building

migrants' resilience to disasters in Birmingham (UK) and Toyama (Japan). I begin by outlining

how 'resilience building' is understood from the perspective of public servants and

practitioners.. Subsequently, I map the evolving disaster resilience of migrants and influences

shaping their resilience. In doing so, I look at the extent to which current policies address

migrant resilience needs. I identify key problems of addressing migrants disaster resilience

needs in reference to four areas of action by local authorities: delivery of disaster prevention

information; building daily resilience; opportunities for engagement and addressing migrants'

welfare needs in disaster situations. My findings indicate that the general approaches to

integrating migrants in local resilience efforts, either following initial 'assimilation processes'

(Birmingham) or incentivised as part of 'specialized activities' (Toyama), are by themselves

not sufficient. In the final part, I highlight the differences in approach across the two case studies

and introduce a framework of resilience building for migrants. In the concluding discussion, I

propose renewed focus on three areas for the policy moving forward. First, with the rise of

technology and online communication social media are increasingly seen as key to engage with

migrants to aid their disaster resilience. Secondly, migrant counselling remains important in

responses to new migration and diversity, and building migrant resilience. Thirdly, more bottom-up approaches are needed.

5.2 Characterizing 'resilience building' among migrants from the perspective of local civil servants and practitioners

In the literature review in Chapter Two I showed the various understandings and conceptualizations of resilience that come from distinct academic traditions, often situated within 'Western' epistemologies. The operational definition of resilience that I proposed in the outset of this study refers to: the capacity of local community, shaped by various forms of diversity, to achieve extensive levels of adaptiveness and inclusiveness; respond in an appropriate manner and continue performing its objectives over time; thus swiftly dealing with hazardous experiences. My analysis herein is guided by the term 'local resilience building', relating to the efforts by a range of different stakeholders in DRR which differs from 'resilience policymaking' primarily referring to resilience policies decided by the national and local authorities. For local public servants in Toyama, daily efforts to build resilience are directly interlinked with the ability to respond to unexpected events:

> "*If the daily life bonds are strong at the event of an emergency it becomes much stronger. If in your daily life it is less present, at the time of an emergency it will become more challenging. In the daily life we also need to help each other, we need to help foreign residents. It is an important thing so that people will understand*"
>
> [I1/Toyama/public servant/male].

Furthermore, interview data from Birmingham and Toyama shows that the meaning and context of local resilience building efforts are increasingly shaped by the role of 'space', 'place' and 'scale'. First, the availability of supportive local spaces can shape the success of resilience building efforts. During the interviews local practitioners working with migrants in Toyama and Birmingham expressed the importance of engaging in dialogue and making the local population aware of disaster-related issues. As one of the respondents noted, simple solutions can help people to articulate their needs, fears and expectations:

> *"We do not necessarily need extensive financial support to talk about you know: 'what do you think you can do?'; 'how can you get involved?' or 'what you should be doing if this happened?' We can start that process. As I have mentioned earlier, it can be about having coffee and a conversation, talk to the concerned men and women"*
> [I4/Birmingham/practitioner/male].

Furthermore, practitioners in Birmingham recognised the importance of building resilient spaces that reflect the dynamically changing realities on the ground: "*So, there is often no reality to it [resilience efforts]. Some people see it. Some people get it. They [BCC] understand it. In a way I feel sorry for the City Council because all we do is moan at them to adjust and respond, but a lot of it is true*" [I4/Birmingham/practitioner/male].

Second, local resilience building efforts are determined by and directed towards the role of 'place' in lives of local populations. An important area of resilience building for migrants was the role of local capacities that are central to effective response in the aftermath of a disaster.

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Interview data collected in both cities shows that resilience building is increasingly place-bound. Local communities seek comfort within familiar localities where they can ask others for help. As the head of a local organisation in Birmingham notes: "*What we need to be able to do more of is to provide those structures, those safe places where people can go and take a deep breath, just get a little bit of support around what it is, what they can and cannot do*" [I4/Birmingham/practitioner/male]. The above quote not only sets a reference to the structural conditions that are necessary for migrants to feel included, but also highlights the awareness of potential limitations that can be hard to overcome.

Third, local resilience building requires different 'scales' of action performed by various actors, including individual, community and city levels. Interview findings from Toyama show that even though migrants are legally allowed to use available services, there might be a range of barriers that can make them feel excluded: "*Maybe you can understand [the process] and you will be ok. You are welcome to the evacuation center. However, if there is no information in a foreign language, maybe you will not feel welcome to use such facility*" [I1/Toyama/public servant/male]. Based on experience from previous emergencies happening near the Toyama area, such as heavy snowfall or heatwave, respondents observed that migrants were often not aware of available services, which made them rely on self-help and community support. As one of the respondents notes:

> "*That is why we are supporting to get information out to foreign residents in various languages and for this activity maybe we need some staff, some supporters or volunteer staff to help each other*"

He goes on:

> "*That is also why we have the training every year to make people understand how important it is to help foreign residents in Toyama, as a Japanese or as a foreign resident. Foreign residents deserve support from others, and they can also contribute a lot. So that is why we, how do you say? We encourage different types of people to take part in the training*"
>
> [I1/Toyama/public servant/male].

The above shows that similarly to migrant integration (Ndofor-Tah et al., 2019), resilience building is a two-way process requiring efforts both from local residents and the migrant population.

Data from local observations in Japan illustrated that on different occasions the Local Government and the private sector take leading roles in resilience-building, but the local authority invariably shapes local policy initiatives: "*It is hard to answer this question, but still in the Japanese society the Local Government is the key*" [I6/Toyama/policy-maker/male]. Interviews in Birmingham show a similar picture, where the emerging needs of diverse populations can only be met with the support of local authorities. In this section, I have highlighted the role of local context in resilience building by drawing attention to the connection between everyday resilience and resilient responses to shock events. As such, disaster resilience emerges as a continuous process that cannot be restricted to a specific event or locality.

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5.3 Mapping local disaster resilience building efforts among migrants in Birmingham and Toyama

To date, there are no national policies in the UK and Japan specifically dedicated to building migrants' resilience in disasters. Both in Birmingham and Toyama local authorities together with local organisations have been trying to accommodate the needs of its diverse populations, primarily based on existing disaster prevention and resilience planning, but also migrant integration policies. Given the complexity of factors directly or indirectly shaping local resilience building; in this section I focus on challenges and potential shifts in local *modus operandi* due to new migration [86] in Birmingham and Toyama. In Japan, a range of considerations undertaken by local authorities in addressing migration-related diversity are often broadly defined under the umbrella term of *tabunka kyōsei* ('multicultural coexistence'/'multicultural co-living'/'multicultural community building')[87]. Similar efforts can include various local policies that aim at contributing towards migrant inclusion and deployed differently by local municipalities (Sioson, 2017). Most of the local disaster resilience building activities among migrants in the Toyama area analysed in this thesis can be associated within the *tabunka kyōsei* approach but are not exclusively limited to it. In comparison, in the UK the local disaster resilience building efforts among migrant population can be more (attributed to) the emergency planning and preparedness, rather than the local efforts in migrant integration. The next sections contribute towards an argument for inclusion of various new

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[86] Processes associated with 'new migration' have been signalled in § 1.2 and further explored in the context of superdiversity in § 3.3.2.

[87] In § 6.3 I provide a more detailed description of the concepts and the ways in which *tabunka kyōsei* has an impact on disaster resilience building within diverse communities in Toyama in.

forms of superdiversity and removal of barriers that prevent individuals from building self-resilience.

5.3.1 Delivering disaster prevention information

The first key aspect of building resilience among migrant populations is based on the need to design tools that ensure delivery of disaster prevention information. Both in Birmingham and Toyama a range of general informational material in a form of printed leaflets, booklets, maps or guidelines can be acquired during the visit to the local authority, focusing mainly around specific hazards, risks and ways of mitigation. For many years, the BRT provided 'Preparing for Emergencies' guidance notes in 5 languages (including Arabic, Bengali, Gujarati, Polish, Punjabi, Somali, Urdu); including also a range of guidance posters, self-check preparation list and questionnaire, brochures and other visual material[88] (see Figure 5.1). On the other hand, Toyama also uses a range of standardized material providing general information for non-Japanese residents complemented by very specific maps in different languages highlighting the potentially most affected areas and positioning of local shelter (see Figure 5.2). In addition, similarly to other cities in Japan specific road signs in Japanese, English, Russian and Portuguese inform local residents about the location of a closest shelter.

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[88] During the time of the fieldwork (mid 2017) all materials were available at the BRT website. As of May 2020, most of the information has been moved to the 'Birmingham Prepared' website, which seems to be more restricted and far less accessible (see BCC, 2020).

Figure 5.1: Selected standardized material available as public engagement tool in resilience building in communities across Birmingham
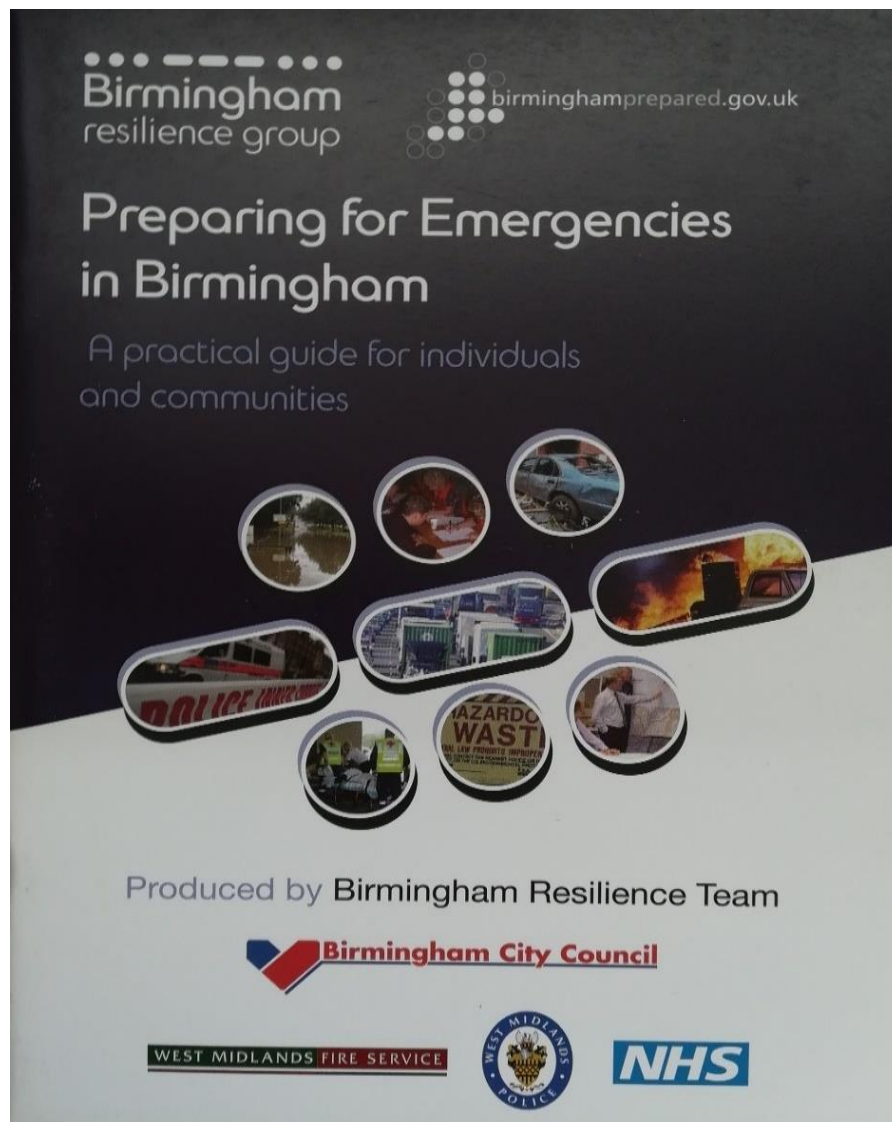
(source: front cover scan of a publicly available brochure).

The major difference between the two cases is that in Japan emergency and disaster prevention issues get more prominence in the general guidance that a new resident can get when moving into the local community.

Figure 5.2: Disaster Prevention Manual for Non-Japanese Residents

(source: front cover scan of a publicly available brochure).

For instance, in the 'Daily Living Guide for Foreign Residents in Japan', standardized across Japan and adopted for Toyama (see Figure 5.3), emergency and disaster prevention constitute an integral section along topics such as rules and obligations; housing or education.

Figure 5.3: Disaster Prevention Manual for Non-Japanese Residents booklet
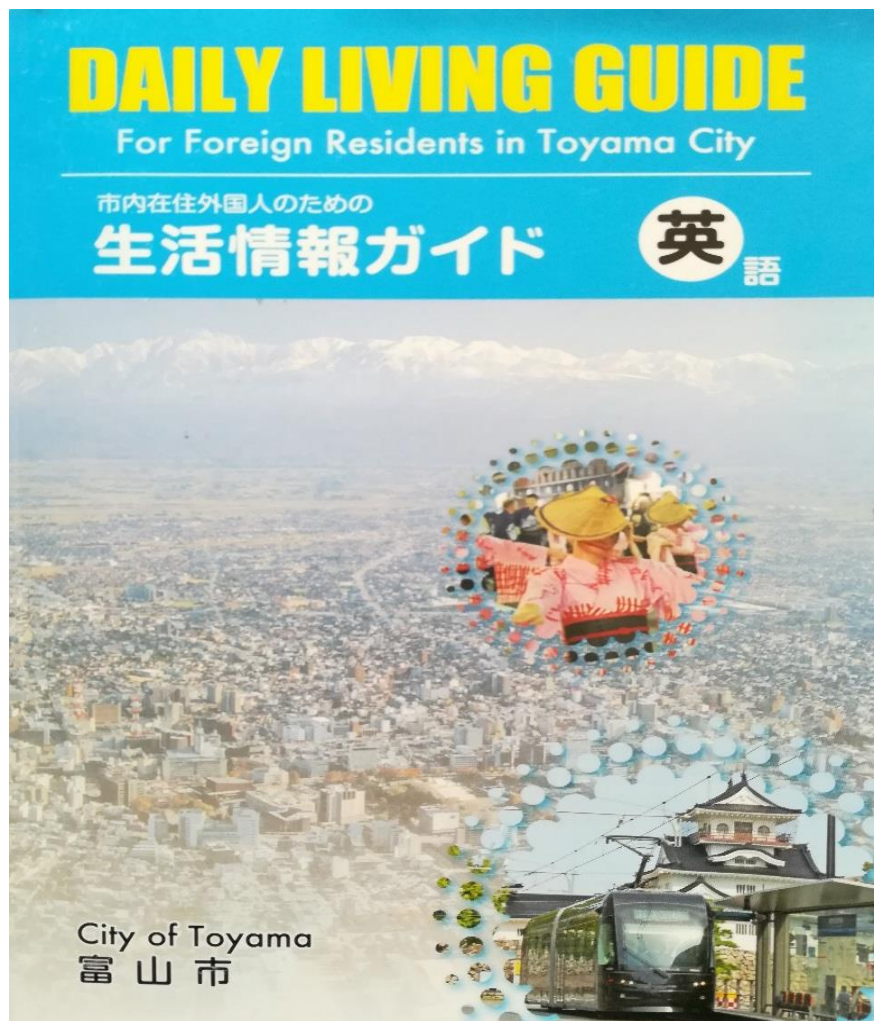
(source: front cover scan of a publicly available brochure).

Due to the limited space, I am not able to explore here in detail the differences in resident registration procedures for newly arrived migrants in Birmingham and Toyama. Nonetheless, migrants in Japan tend to have more opportunities to interact with the local authority and therefore increased chance to get access to disaster-related material. However, problems can arise as the available resources are less relevant and targeted to meet the emergent needs of increasingly mobile and superdiverse populations. Much of the material currently used in

Birmingham was designed more than a decade ago as a form of general informational tool for communities and respondents. More effort has been undertaken by the local authority in Toyama to re-edit the standardized materials or propose simpler snapshots of the information to adapt it to the local specific needs. A special website offers disaster information and preparation material divided into two main sections: 'understanding disasters' (including Toyama-specific disasters) and 'disaster preparation at home' (including emergency supply and evacuation kit checklist, personal information and emergency contacts card, Japanese phrases for emergencies) (TIC, 2013). In addition, the local authority in Toyama is also referring to or building upon material successfully developed and implemented in other cities or prefectures. For instance, the Disaster Prevention Portal coordinated by the Ministry of Land, Infrastructure, Transport and Tourism offers a unique and regularly updated resource for migrants and foreign visitors in five languages (MLIT, 2020). In that regard, local diverse populations in Japan are in a way more privileged than their UK counterparts, by having not only the possibility to access city- or region-specific information resource, but also collective information platforms offering in many instances even more detailed and specific types of advice.

Nevertheless, the interviews with local public servants and practitioners in Birmingham and Toyama pointed to significant changes over the last few years in the socio-demographic structure of the local population. As one of the respondents noted: "*There has been a huge, well a significant change in terms of the demographics in areas around here that has not been sufficiently accounted for*" [I4/Birmingham/practitioner/male]. On the other hand, interviews

with practitioners in Toyama determined the need for action in anticipation of future diversities "*So, I think that more migrants will come to Japan*" [I7/Toyama/practitioner/male]. The perceived (potential or necessity for increased) immigration already generates concerns about adequate responses among practitioners and public servants in Toyama. The next sections outline three areas for improvement in disaster prevention information delivery.

First, there should be less focus placed on word-to-word translation and instead explanation and guidance into what the specific information means in cultural and social contexts. For people not familiar with the Japanese earthquake or tsunami protocol information out-of-context can trigger misconceptions and false rumours. As one of the respondents stated: "*Translation is important, language needs translation, but more important is the language translation*" [I7/Toyama/practitioner/male]. The interview findings suggest that in Toyama there is more awareness of the need to revise material for disaster information provision than in Birmingham. Discussions with local experts suggest that the reason might be twofold. One the one hand, in Toyama there is awareness of the role of human-to-human interactions. Bridging gaps in understanding are often achieved through non language-related aspects, such as positive attitudes, good deeds, appreciation, mutual respect, and curiosity about other cultures and customs. As one of the respondents noted: "*Language is a secondary issue*" [I7/Toyama/practitioner/male]. On the other hand, the role of positive interactions transcends different generations and forms of social engagement: "*Kids are there somehow connected within the social environment and here there is no support from the social environment*"

[I10/Toyama/practitioner/female]. Therefore, a key component of resilience building can focus on delivering a more supportive social environment that could release some of the tensions between service providers and newly arrived migrants while easing access to information.

Secondly, practitioners interviewed in Toyama argued that clear guidelines need to be put in place in order to avoid deliverability and consistency challenges faced in provision of disaster resilience information to superdiverse populations. Findings from Toyama show that a range of local NGOs and NPOs try to breach these gaps by delivering information is a way that is more approachable to migrants: "*So, we catch some crucial information provided by the Government and send messages to migrant population*" [I7/Toyama/practitioner/male]. As a result, actors that manage to build trust with migrant populations by providing online support may be best suited to reach those audiences during an emergency or disaster. Disaster information sharing is increasingly shaped not only by provision of the right content, but more importantly a type of assistance that is highly relevant, easily accessible and responsive to the fast-changing needs of diverse communities: "*The website is in different languages, but only few people visit this website. We have to think of how to deliver the right information*" [I6/Toyama/public servant/male]. At the time I was writing up this research (mid 2020), there was no unified social media strategy for disaster resilience information sharing across national and regional levels in the UK and Japan. However, in the recently proposed approach by the Japanese Ministry of Justice, migrants, primarily foreign technical intern trainees and international students are encouraged to collect relevant disaster information (primarily regarding weather and

transportation) using app 'Safety Tips' and Twitter account Japan Safe Travel operated by the

Japan Tourism Agency (JTA)[89].

Thirdly, a broader recognition of the role that social media can play across the whole spectrum

of disaster management approach, in particular local resilience building. The interview findings

in both locations show that the ways in which migrants get their information during an

emergency or disaster have changed significantly in recent years[90]. The growing intent and

density of content show that the impact of superdiversity on digital communication in disaster

situations is still to be better understood. Furthermore, recent research on the role of

transnational networks in reducing disaster risk found that interactions facilitated by social

media provide "*both opportunities and cautions for improving disaster resilience and the*

transmission of translated information" (Marlowe, 2019: 210). Given the importance of

community cohesion, policymakers aim to find solutions that will not atomise particular groups,

based on gender, age, sexuality, race, religion, by maintaining uniformly structured approach

to resilience building at the same time: "*What you don't want to do is to disperse the community*

and lose that you know community support" [I1/Birmingham/public servant/male]. With the

dynamic changes that technology brings into daily media consumption, communication

strategies need to be updated (or further developed): "*Whether it would be the language line,*

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[89] The idea is based on the premise that the Ministry of Justice forwards this information further to the Immigration Bureau of Japan, which is then further disseminated through partner organisations – the Local Government; Japan Student Services Organisation (JASSO); Organisation for Technical Intern Training (OTIT); Japan External Trade Organisation (JETRO).

[90] Cadwell (2015) offers a detailed inquiry into the ways in which foreign residents communicate and gather disaster information, in particular the role of trust in translation and interpreting.

or whether it would be the multilingual guidebook, or whether it would be the officer that is part of the response and able to speak that person's language" [I7/Birmingham/public servant/female].

Effective resilience communication with diverse communities is becoming more and more dependent on the changing patterns of social media use among migrants and the popularity of certain applications over time. For instance, local NGOs and NPOs run various online groups supporting migrants (with local and national range). In addition, less formal social media groups are run by practitioners and community activists: "*We ask people: 'Which communication do you use – Facebook or LINE, Viber, or other?' Because the Japanese Government only uses the website and sometimes Twitter and recently Facebook. They need LINE, Viber, Chinese WeChat, different types*" [I7/Toyama/practitioner/male]. Based on the 2018 fieldwork in Toyama, there was a growing trend for different aspects of free migrant counselling about visa and immigration, health and disaster resilience to move into a range of internet-based social platforms and groups. Practitioners and public servants working in Toyama already identified changes in the way migrants interact with the local NPOs and NGOs such as the Toyama International Centre (TIC) or the Toyama Cosmopolitan Association (TCA). Therefore, vital to the existence and success of organisations providing counselling services at the local level is the ability to present themselves as credible in social media. Organisations which fail to deliver the right messages face being sidelined. In the interviews, public servants indicated an idea of

designing a Toyama-specific app for future emergency and disaster prevention, which might

offer additional information relevant to the local area.

In Birmingham explaining and clarifying the situation with the local community is particularly

important in situations such as hate crime escalation that might lead to a serious emergency:

> *"They did not feel like all sides of the story have been heard. They felt like*
> *as soon as it became about security all other things like equality, like kind*
> *of you know quality of education in schools, everything kind of went out of*
> *the window in favor of what was seen as security: 'let's stop terrorism' type*
> *of agenda. So, basically what I am saying is that the government kind of*
> *closed down that emergency response very quickly and didn't really involve*
> *the community in explaining it. Why were they in here? What evidence they*
> *have? Didn't sort of engage that much I think"*
>
> [I5/Birmingham/practitioner/male].

Superdiverse communities require a range of solutions that are designed not only to convey

meaning in a foreign language, but to build daily resilience and facilitate communication

through interactive means.

5.3.2 Building daily resilience

The broader efforts in resilience building in Japan include the strengthening of migrants' day-

to-day resilience. One of the main is the main channels is migrant counselling. The service

involves a range of instruments offered by the Japanese authorities at the prefectural, city or

district level and is aimed at supporting the daily life of migrants. Migrant counselling can be

divided into four main groups: 1. Specialized consultation desks – based in the municipal

administrative offices; 2. Multilingual consultation desks – usually based at the municipal

administrative offices (prefectural level) or international exchange organisations (city level)

offering advice in different languages at specific times and specific days of the week; 3. General

consultation desks (international exchange organisations) – offering space for less formal

support for residents in the local areas; 4. Other consultation desks – mainly operating in big

cities and run by local NPOs or NGOs (CLAIR, 2020). For instance, migrants in Toyama can

access face-to-face support and training sessions or 'Foreign Residents Support Desk'

telephone counselling desks in foreign languages (Gottlieb, 2012: 57). Information

opportunities for migrants in Toyama are advertised through a range of visual materials (posters,

leaflets, brochures, monthly and quarterly newsletters) (see Figure 5.4).

Figure 5.4: 'Foreign resident consultation' advertisement in the monthly newsletter leaflet.

**Consultation and Phone Interpretation
for Foreign Residents**

The ▬▬▬▬▬▬▬▬▬▬▬ offers consultation services in the
following languages at the times listed below. Phone interpreting is also
available for people who need to talk with labor bureaus, housing
departments, and other such offices.

Portuguese:	M/T/Th/F	12:30 – 16:30	W 13:00 – 17:00
Chinese:	F	13:00 – 17:00	
English:	W	13:00 – 17:00	
Russian:	F	13:00 – 17:00	
Korean:	M	13:00 – 17:00	

General native language consultations: TEL ▬▬▬▬▬
Phone interpretation: TEL ▬▬▬▬
(To consult with specialty support organizations. *Non-Japanese only)
The staff are sometimes out of the office during these times, so please
call and check before coming to the office.

(source: scan of a publicly available printed newsletter).

There might be sometimes a discrepancy between what local authorities perceive as essential information (for instance prioritizing administrative aspects, including: living-support, services, legal obligations, health and welfare), whereas migrants tend to seek more information on immigration and residential qualifications (Chapman and Long in Gottlieb, 2012: 205). Migrants can also sign up for a monthly online newsletter in English and Russian which introduces a range of cultural and language learning events, some of which are organised in cooperation with local migrant groups[91].

An important section of the newsletter addresses topics related to disaster prevention and disaster risk reduction. Migrants get the opportunity to find out about a range of disaster training events or other opportunities targeting foreign nationals. It might also include a range of practical advice in relation to severe weather conditions – heatwaves in the summer and snowstorms in the winter. Based on a range of discussions with experts working with migrants I identified practical differences in migrant counselling Toyama, which can be of relevance to other locations across Japan (see Table 5.1). The main differences include the formality of service provision, nature of issues addressed and the desired longer-term outcome of such service. Whereas the city-level support allows for more personal interaction and group initiatives, the prefectural-level office offers a platform to address more specialist set to questions (legal or administrative) that migrants face.

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[91] The information content is translated by the Coordinators for International Relations, foreign nationals assisting local government offices in international exchange activities at the local level.

Table 5.1: Differences in migrant counselling between the city level and prefectural level migrant support organisations in Japan.

City Level Migrant Support Organisation	Prefectural Level Migrant Support Organisation
Perceives its role as a migrants' supporting and advisory body	Perceives its role as a mediator between the State level policymaking and migrants' needs
More direct and lower formality of counselling service	Less direct and higher formality of counselling service
Person-to-person counselling and more specific issues deriving from migrants' needs	Focus on bureaucratic and resident problems including: 'only for foreigners' and 'same as Japanese'
Staff has a more nuanced knowledge about migrants' needs and challenges	Staff with background from other field, more focused on the procedural aspects
Key issues: changeable dependent on the current situation and specific needs	Key issues: how to change the registration/visa type due to changed marital status
Perceived key objective: addressing migrants needs/migrants' satisfaction	Perceived key objective: provision of a good quality service
Closer links with informal migrants' networks	Closer links with professionals from local institutions/organisations

(source: author).

In terms of migrant counselling, cities and prefectures across Japan have autonomy in their approach, with coordination and resource support from the Council of Local Authorities for International Relations (CLAIR). In order to keep track of the most needed counselling areas and tailor their service appropriately, multilingual counselling support desks in Toyama keep a record of the face-to-face and telephone consultations. Compared to Toyama, in Birmingham there are many more organisations providing different forms of assistance to migrants,

including specialised support for asylum seekers and refugees, such as charities, faith groups, NPOs and NGOs financed on a voluntary basis. Even though the extent of resilience-related counselling is far more limited compared to the Japanese case, various mechanisms for information sharing with local migrant populations are in evidence in Birmingham. For instance, the WMFS and its experiential learning centres SafeSide run a Community Support Volunteer program where volunteers from various age groups and backgrounds help to ensure better migrant access to information around safety and hazard prevention (WMFS, 2020). Similar efforts are undertaken by the resilience policymaking body at BCC.

5.3.3 Opportunities for engagement

During the fieldwork discussions with local organisations working with migrants in both cities I recognized the need of informational material allowing for more dialogue around resilience issues. Migrants arriving in the city without any access to local social networks or support from family or friends pursued diverse strategies of social anchoring often determined by their personal experiences and background (Grzymała-Kazłowska, 2018). For instance, the way individuals gain access to resilience services (such as the local disaster warning or emergency shelters) in Birmingham is not straightforward. The key finding from the interview data is the need to break with conditionality of engagement. The logic of engagement is perfectly demonstrated in this quote: "*We [the organisation] can only work with people who work with us*" [I1/Birmingham/public servant/male]. Local practice shows that the ability of migrants to participate in local resilience building efforts cannot be made conditional upon their level of

integration in the local community. The fact that migrants are not able or willing to work with the local authority based on established forms of cooperation, might not necessarily mean that certain migrant groups are not interested *per se* in participating local disaster resilience efforts. Similar situations can be seen in Toyama, where the support structures for foreign nationals are also readily available, but from migrant perspective access may often require considerable effort and time investment. Instead, struggling, time- and resource-bound individuals might be trying to find their own way to deal with the emergency system by collecting (and possibly misinterpreting) the different bits and pieces of information. My analysis presented in this section has identified two areas where changes brought by superdiversity in Birmingham and Toyama point to the need for changes in approaches to engagement.

First, community cohesion has a direct impact on local resilience building. The data indicated that newly arrived migrants in Birmingham need to overcome an initial set of challenges related to assimilation, including among others sufficient level of connectedness to the local social networks and familiarity with the local norms and regulations, before they can seek inclusion into resilience building efforts. Therefore, the role of superdiverse neighbourhoods, often referred to in the literature as 'arrival zones' (Robinson et al., 2007), needs to be better understood in relation to disaster resilience. It appeared that the presence of newly arrived individuals and smaller groups was acknowledged by the policymakers working in resilience, but no immediate action had been taken to directly cooperate with those groups. Therefore, before migrants can start facing the barriers associated with integration they have to 'become

established'. As one of the respondents noted: "*If they are newly arrived migrant communities, they first need to get there […]*" [I2/Birmingham/public servant/male]. Communities that do not reach a 'sufficient' level of organisation and representation are far less likely to be fully involved in resilience efforts. Furthermore, interview findings from show that the rules of engagement make it difficult to reach a two-sided process of exchange: "*So, there is a limitation of how we can get to those people and as much as they have got to engage with us*" [I1/Birmingham/public servant/male]. The problem of the above-mentioned approach is that new migrants might not have the necessary standing and resources for engagement.

Second, the effectiveness of existing migrant engagement initiatives is challenged by emerging diversity and inclusiveness issues. The data from observations and interview findings highlighted the notion that historically tested forms of engagement both in Birmingham and Toyama can be used more efficiently to engage a wider range of individuals. In 2017 the BRT as part of its public engagement was present at the Birmingham Mela Festival in Cannon Hill Park. It is a yearly event attracting approximately 70,000 visitors, organised to celebrate cultural diversity, including food and local crafts from different places around the world. The presence of members of the BRT offered an opportunity to discuss issues around safety and emergency response in a friendly and relaxed atmosphere (see Figure 5.5 below). It is one of the unique opportunities when local resilience planners can not only directly engage with diverse local community members, but also get feedback. Engagement work involves distribution of leaflets, brochures and other disaster preparedness material. However, this specific information

campaign primarily focuses on large migrant communities with ethnic and cultural ties to the Indian subcontinent. The fragmented groups that are inherent to the superdiverse character of the city might not be sufficiently included.

Figure 5.5: BRT engagement work during 2017 Birmingham Mela in Cannon Hill Park

(source: author).

In fact, when I conversed with individuals attending the event many of them said that they were not aware of their resilience needs prior to their interaction with BRT at Mela. In comparison, community diversity events are also taking place in Toyama, such as the yearly Toyama International Festival. The preparation for local events targeting migrants in Toyama generates a range of encounters that would not be possible otherwise: "*I think that the most important part of having a festival is not the day of the festival, but beforehand – the processing*" [I6/Toyama/public servant/male]. Local public servants stressed the fact that learning about

disaster resilience issues is one of the 'common ground' topics that enable migrants and local citizens to exchange and breach some of the integration gaps. Local resilience building thus can be seen as a process that emerges over time as a result of a range of different activities that are often less or more loosely connected with the primary goal of preparedness against specific risks.

For instance, another important mechanism that has been employed in Toyama, and across Japan to improve deliverability of key messages is the use of 'Easy Japanese' or 'plain Japanese' (*yasashii nihongo*). In many local communities it has become the integral part of resilience building activities among migrants (Miyazaki, 2007). Easy Japanese was developed in late 1990s by a team of Japanese language researchers. In recent years, this simplified grammatical and vocabulary structure became more and more popular in the context of disaster risk reduction for several reasons. The majority of migrants in Japan come from a non-English speaking background: "*We are trying to enhance now this yasashii nihongo. The foreign people learn at least the easy Japanese [laugh] so we are getting there to shorten the gaps*" [I6/Toyama/public servant/male]. *Yasashii nihongo* as a communication tool is especially successful among participants of the TITP – coming to Japan primarily from China, Korea or Vietnam. Simple wording supported by graphical expressions and tools can attract foreign nationals to engage more freely in resilience activities[92]. In particular, two functions of *yasashi nihongo* are equally

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[92] However, migrants note the problems associated with existence of various types of *yasashii nihongo* used by authorities in different prefectures. For instance, in the wake of the 2019 Typhoon Hagibis the national broadcaster NHK sent out a twitter alert

important during a disaster. First, the role of language as a place of comfort. *Yasashi Nihongo* serving as a safe place/space for migrants (*ibasyo tosite no yasahii nihongo*). Second, *yasashii nihongo* can serve the role of a common language for daily communication in local communities (Iori, 2017).

5.3.4 Addressing migrants' needs in disaster situations

The primary focus of the thesis is on prevention and disaster preparedness, which are directly linked to the local capacity to provide support for migrants in disaster situations. Migration can add an additional layer of stress to welfare provision during disasters. For instance, some constituencies in Birmingham have one of the highest levels of unemployment and poverty in the UK. Therefore, the local resilience-building strategies can work as far as they fit coherently with a range of statutory responsibilities in service provision at the city level.

The problems and solutions that emerge from the need to address increasing diversity are not always straightforward. Providing a 'one size fits all' answer for resilience building among migrants is often not feasible: "*Sometimes the needs are not as obvious as we might think*" [I4/Birmingham/practitioner/male]. Interview data from Birmingham suggests that migrants' role within resilience-building efforts in the city is mostly treated as an additional layer of the policy area of integration: "*I think it is probably unlikely to be a the top of their priority list,*

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addressed to migrants living in Japan, without any use of Chinese characters – *Kanji.* The message caused a heated online debate where some groups of migrants living in Japan found it difficult to understand (Kotobites, 2019).

given some of the other pressures that they are facing around delivering their mainstream public services" [I5/Birmingham/practitioner/male]. Despite the specific set of priorities, there are a range of areas where migrants' resilience needs can be addressed indirectly. Some of the responses require swift and timely action to accommodate the immediate needs: "*Whether a specific need is identified, the City Council will respond to it in the same way as we respond to emergency planning on a city wide basis*" [I1/Birmingham/public servant/male]. However, the interview findings from Birmingham also show that the response to specific needs in welfare situations is often conditional, reactive and time-bound: "*The normal process of providing welfare to those people is that we put a trained person into a welfare situation, [the rest center] and they would process people and if there is an identified specific need they will ask for that specific need*" [I2/Birmingham/public servant/male].

The Birmingham case is different from Toyama in that even though diversity might not necessarily be incorporated in the system it shapes its daily reality. On the other hand, the absence of migration policy in Japan potentially generates a range of additional challenges for migrants: "*In Japan we do not have the migration system. That is why it is difficult for foreign residents to go to the hospital, or to go to school*" [I1/Toyama/public servant/male]. In Birmingham provisions for migrants spread across policy domains aimed at facilitating specific needs without generating extra expenses needed to support the daily infrastructure for resilience. Direct support includes shelter and food provision in case of an emergency or disastrous event in the city: "*Just to make it specific. For example, if we need to open a rest center. If people*

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require a particular type of food, we provide that. People can understand us, we have facilities for translation and interpreting" [I1/Birmingham/public servant/male]. Following the logic presented in the above quote, considerations around migration and diversity are expected to find their way into resilience building efforts through an extended set of goals set by the different departments within the BCC. Critical needs of the situation at the site would determine the necessity and potential level of engagement coming from the different departments. Engagement in resilience is driven by consideration of 'who is responsible?', rather than 'who can contribute?'. A logic of operation that is potentially problematic as it limits the space where diversity can be integrated within and support the emergency response structure. Furthermore, the selected case analysed before shows that new forms of migration and diversity further complicate the situation.

(i) Case study vignette: new migration as a 'resilience issue'

Interview findings from Birmingham indicated that new groups of migrants arriving in the city are perceived by local public servants as a factor destabilizing city resilience. During the fieldwork, there was much debate about the role of the city accommodating newly arrived asylum seekers and refugees. Discussions among policymakers and local experts concerning the role Birmingham should play within the UK City of Sanctuary network[93] focused primarily on potential pressures faced by different service areas. There was much less consideration about the role of newly arrived asylum seekers and refugees in ensuring the resilience of diverse

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[93] On the 15th of January 2019 the BCC approved the new City of Sanctuary statement (see BCC, 2019).

communities. Reflecting upon this a BRT member noted: "*You get that type of thing and suddenly you have got a group of people that you have to deal with, but the plans are there to deal with these sorts of things*" [I1/Birmingham/public servant/male]. Respondents referred to cross agency cooperation in dealing with issues around inclusion and vulnerability of the newly arrived populations. However, the ways in which superdiversity plays its role in accommodating immediate resilience needs still needs to be better understood.

In Birmingham, policymaking efforts around resilience are aimed at accommodating the challenges emerging with new migration within existing response mechanisms. Superdiversity exists as an additional layer of complexity rather than a call for specific policy designs. As one of the BRT members noted: "*We don't necessarily see this as different problems, but additional complexities that we can work through, understand better and then respond better*" [I3/Birmingham/public servant/male]. One of the key challenges faced by the local authorities related to the complexity of routes and diversity of migrating populations. The provision of services to populations that are 'in transit' does fall within the obligations of the CCA: "*We provide welfare for all types of incidents, whether it is that type of incident, which you know what I have just described, the modern-day slavery or human trafficking, that type of thing. Wherever the need is. We have a responsibility under the Civil Contingency Act for the welfare of people in Birmingham*" [I1/Birmingham/public servant/male]. However, each incident was said to offer new ideas for improvement: "*You know, it's kind of like we run away from conflicts much of the time, but actually sometimes it can be quite helpful*"

[I5/Birmingham/practitioner/male]. Therefore, information sharing, cooperation and understanding across a range of departments in BCC contribute significantly towards the overall picture of disaster response in Birmingham. However, attempts at building resilience among migrants as a result of crisis-driven solutions and practices cannot address the challenges that vulnerable populations face in accessing local services.

Local communities in Toyama may be faced with situations of similar nature in the future with growing superdiversity apparent in local contexts. During the interviews practitioners thought that resilience policy is set to undergo dynamic changes in order to be able to adjust to the increasing role of migration and diversity: "*It will change. When migrants reach about 5 or 10 per cent in Japan everything will change. So, in Aichi Prefecture, Nagoya city and the Toyota city, some primary schools already have 60 to 70 per cent of migrant children*" [I7/Toyama/practitioner/male]. The above quote shows high level of awareness about diversity issues among local resilience practitioners and an anticipation of future diversities. In comparison to Birmingham, where the effort is on accommodation of new migration within the already superdiverse character of the city, the emerging 'new diversities' in Toyama are perceived by practitioners as a 'game changer' in resilience building, reinforcing the need for new solutions. Findings from local interviews in Toyama indicate a potential shift from community-based to interest-based strategies for social inclusion of migrants: "*Indeed before there were few of those centers and the whole life of foreign residents was based there. Those were the little islands where the person could go and meet the foreign people*"

[I10/Toyama/practitioner/female]. Practitioners note that the situation has changed and especially individuals that arrived in the recent years tend to avoid association with specific groups or communities within the city. Instead they would rather engage across a range of communities and interest groups (both physical and virtual) in order to network, gain access to information.

The four areas of action in local resilience building analysed in this chapter, show mixed approaches in responding to superdiversity challenges. On the one hand, in the absence of nation-wide specific policies addressing resilience among migrant populations, local authorities in Birmingham and Toyama put considerable effort to facilitate the bottom-up approaches. Both cities are currently moving into new realities where traditional forms of engagement might no longer be effective (see Chapter Six). The interview evidence shows that the general approach to integrating migrants in resilience efforts, either followed by the 'establishing process' (Birmingham) or incentivised specific programs as part of local integration activities (Toyama) might not be able to respond to resilience needs of new migrants arriving into the city. The next section aims to position those efforts within broader policy areas.

5.4   Resilience building efforts across policy domains – a framework proposal

The analysis of the data in this chapter helped to understand better the challenges that each of the sectors contributing to migrant resilience is facing. On the one hand, integration and resilience sectors fulfil their statutory mandate and coordinate activities, on the other hand they

are in constant communication with a range of actors. Here, I argue that resilience does not operate within a single unified framework but extends to and goes beyond different policy structures. The findings from the analysis of interview data obtained have been used to develop a conceptual framework explaining the policy areas (most likely) to be contributing towards disaster resilience building among diverse populations in the UK and Japan (see Figure 5.6).

Figure 5.6: Resilience building for migrants across resilience and integration policy domains in the UK and Japan.
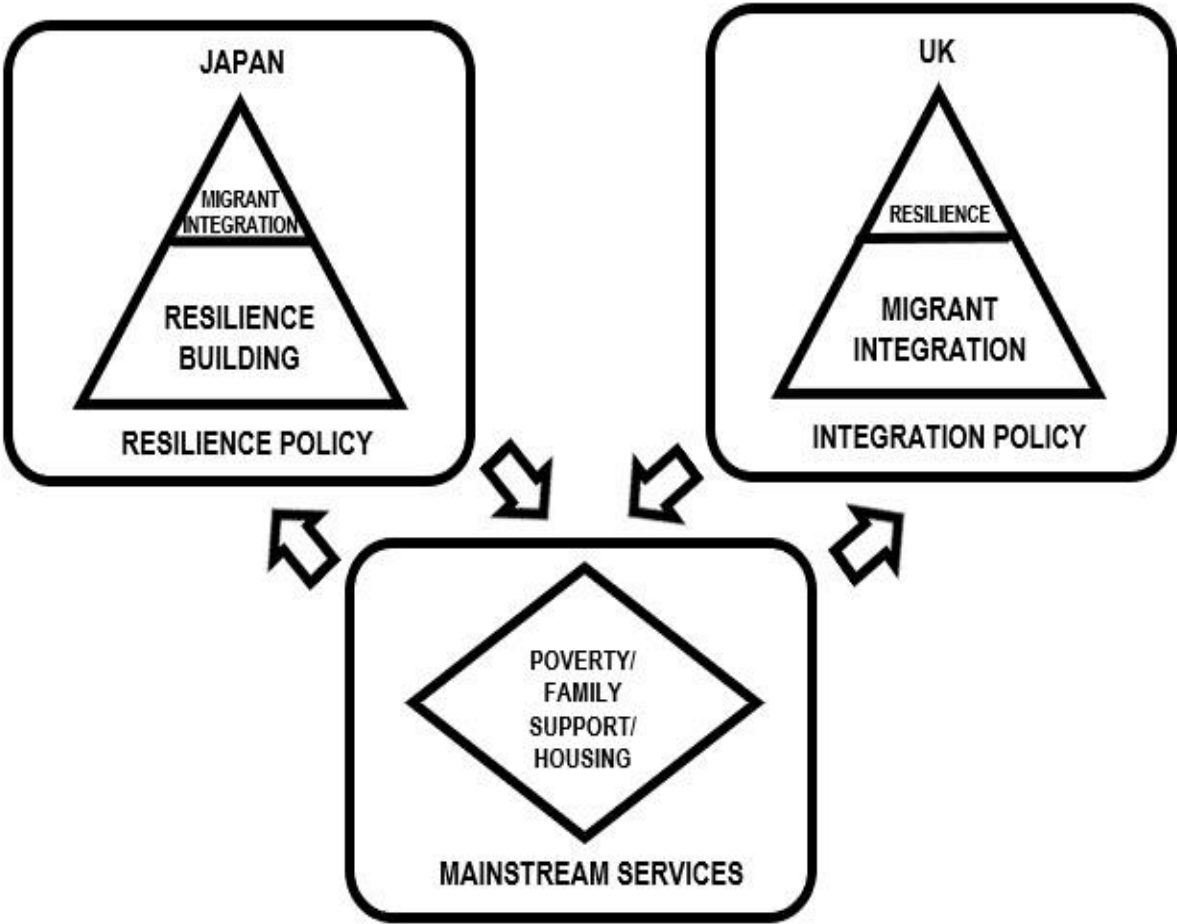
(source: author).

The role of the framework is important in fulfilling two objectives. Firstly, it helps to identify the policy areas that are most 'relevant' or 'promising' in developing new or expanding existing capacities and approaches in addressing migrants' disaster resilience needs. Secondly, it helps to understand better the structural differences and relationships between the policy areas that determine the local disaster resilience building efforts among migrants in the UK and Japan. The above framework highlights the challenges and gaps in service provision that migrants face both in countries with migration policy (UK) and without a migration policy (Japan). The conceptualization highlights the complex ways and potentialities under which migrants can integrate within the different system(s) of service provision. Each of the three squares represents the overarching policy domain in the respective country: top left – resilience policy (Japan), top right – integration policy (UK) and at the bottom – generally defined mainstream services (both cases). The pyramid scheme within each policy domain (square) represents the main area of activity. In Japan there is no national migration or integration policy. As we can see the biggest realm of action can be attributed to resilience. Within resilience-building in Japan this framework identifies migrant integration as an added value, expressed in a set of various practices as well as other very specific activities aimed at migrant populations. Based on this reading of the Japan case study, efforts to address migrants' needs show their presence within the resilience policy domain.

On the other hand, in the UK with its long history of migration, a realm showing the biggest potential for action in addressing migrants' needs is integration. Within the migrant integration

area of activity, the proposed framework identifies resilience-building as an added value that can contribute towards achieving the indicators of integration[94]. Based on the above reading of the UK case study, efforts to mainstream migrants' (disaster) resilience show most traceable presence within the integration policy domain. The third policy domain represents jointly other, relevant policy domains that interact with the resilience and integration domains, having an impact on provision for migrants. The overall structure of the model highlights how resilience building operates across the different policy domains and their interaction bringing together aspects that have received very little attention in the literature on migrant resilience and integration.

5.5 The future of resilience building in superdiverse contexts: a short discussion

The above-explored themes highlight some of the key challenges to building resilience among migrant populations captured within the proposed model. The interview data in the UK and Japan shows the 'scattering' of resilience building efforts in different policy areas. The analysis of local responses to migrants' resilience needs helped to understand potential gaps in service provision, but can we foresee the emergence of a unified and or comprehensive system for addressing the needs of different groups of migrants? If so, then we first need to be able to address the gaps within the relevant policy areas. In this chapter I have shown that resilience cannot fill in all the gaps, but what a resilience-oriented system can do is to point to the weak

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[94] Resilience (or disaster preparedness) has not been recognised in the 3rd edition of the UK Home Office's Indicators of integration framework (Ndofor-Tah et al., 2019).

spots and highlight the potential interactions between the different actors and domains with potential to address them. The analysis of the selected case studies helps us to understand better the national and local differences in resilience building. Interview findings from Toyama indicate that the sensitivity towards addressing migrants' needs is recognizable in countries like Japan that show lower levels of diversity and cautiously embrace the opportunities emerging from migration. In addition, identified findings are also highly relevant for countries like the UK recently facing a range of challenges associated with new migration.

In recent years, the statutory services in the UK and Japan have increasingly acknowledged the need for responsiveness to everyday diversity. However, the picture emerging from analysis of the interview data shows that connecting points between the different diversities; the different new emerging mobility patterns have so far not been sufficiently taken into account in policymaking. The framework proposed in this chapter, by refocusing attention towards the spaces (of potential cooperation) across policy domains in the UK and Japan, generates a better understanding of where the gaps between policymaking and service provision can be most evident. The changing modes and emerging new forms of mobility create a range of potential stress factors challenging both the beneficiaries (newly arrived migrants) and process facilitators (service professionals) to continuously learn and adapt to emerging new realities. Challenges associated with new migration show that migrants neither have the time nor the resources to learn the often hostile, rigid, and increasingly complex structures aimed at managing their encounters with and within the existing system (Phillimore, 2011). Instead, they

try to create their own spaces within service domains that will help them to get access to services whenever needed and wherever possible.

So, what might the future of local resilience building among diverse populations in the UK and Japan look like? Two points are worth further consideration. First, local resilience building efforts are increasingly dependent on the changing social dynamic whether these are the ability to accommodate new emerging diversities (Toyama) or adjusting superdiverse contexts to changing realities (Birmingham). It remains unclear whether Japanese society will be able to go beyond often nested and segmented forms of belonging[95] (Liu-Farrer, 2020a). It is beyond the remit of this thesis to speculate as to the leading approach (nationally and locally) that Japanese society will follow in accommodating migration-driven diversity. However, it is clear that the dynamic of social change brought by migration will have a direct impact on local resilience building efforts. Second, the analysis of resilience building activities in Birmingham and Toyama provides evidence of the dominant role of local-centred rather than state-centred approaches to addressing migrants' needs. Local authorities, communities (Chapter Six) and cities (Chapter Seven) are the primary actors in addressing local diversity needs in resilience. Migrant integration researchers point to the new forms of multilevel governance and mainstreaming of policy strategies in Europe (Scholten et al., 2017). It is yet premature to say whether such processes will take place in resilience policy and practice, enabling migration-

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[95] The 'myth' of cultural and racial homogeneity in Japanese society has been studied elsewhere (see Burgess, 2007; Lie, 2004; Weiner, 1997).

related diversity to be incorporated into all aspects of DRR, emergency prevention and disaster management. However, as the framework in § 5.4 shows, countries can respond better to the resilience needs of migrants through focusing on different policy domains: migrant integration within resilience policy (Japan) and the role of resilience within migrant integration policies (UK).

The existing systems of public service provision in Birmingham and Toyama appear to resist integrating the skills and knowledge of migrants into resilience practice. Responsiveness to challenges deriving from migration and superdiversity is often juxtaposed with static structures prone to push mobile populations out of the resilience building and disaster response structures. By highlighting challenges to strengthening resilience among migrants this chapter advocates a more systemic approach that allows policymakers to coordinate their efforts with other actors across different domains. It has pointed to the gaps in understanding that can be closed, allowing policymakers to respond better to complex and fluid realities. Analysing migrants' positionality in resilience building efforts can shed light on the roles migrants can play in the societies and local communities, aspects that are further explored in Chapter Six.

5.6 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have offered a range of unique comparative insights into the way superdiversity and new diversifications challenge local resilience building efforts in Birmingham and Toyama. Findings from interview data presented in this chapter indicate that migrants face a range of

difficulties when addressing resilience needs and navigating their way through public service provision. Ensuring support structures within the broadly understood local resilience building is more than simply granting access. Resilience is about the daily interaction and exchanges between a range of actors, individuals and communities. Significant change in thinking about the resilience and integration policy domains is required so that local authorities can accommodate the needs of migrant populations. Further, ignoring the challenges associated with new migration in resilience building among migrants may lead to emergency and disaster response measures that are not adequately targeting the populations in need.

The contributions of the chapter are twofold. First, I have offered empirical examples where public servants' understanding of the challenges that migrants are facing has a direct impact on the way migration-driven diversity plays a role in local resilience building. Second, the empirical findings from local resilience building activities that I presented in this chapter led to the formation of a conceptual framework, highlighting the key policy areas for addressing disaster resilience needs of migrants in the UK and Japan. I conclude the chapter by stressing the need for better coordination, coherence and information exchange among the respective policy domains can make their service targeted to address the challenges deriving from the rising role of migration and superdiversity. The way the findings of the thesis are structured suggests that policies facilitating local resilience building in Birmingham and Toyama need to be also analysed in relation to community-based (Chapter Six) and city-level approaches (Chapter Seven).

CHAPTER 6

(RE-)IMAGINING DISASTER RESILIENCE: THE IMPORTANCE OF COMMUNITY AND ENGAGEMENT

6.1 Introduction

> "*Resilience can only remain useful as a concept and as progressive practice if it is explicitly associated with the need to improve the life prospects of disadvantaged groups*"
> [Vale, 2014: 191].

In this chapter I analyse the changing role of community and engagement as a result of migration-driven diversity. Migration researchers have highlighted the rising complexity shaping the lives of local populations and the experiences of those trying to meet the needs of superdiverse communities (Phillimore, 2015; Pemberton et al., 2019). I argue that analysing local engagement strategies can help to understand better the differences in imagining and re-imagining of what constitutes a disaster resilient community. I begin by tracing the meaning of community engagement for disaster resilience in a superdiverse context. Subsequently, I identify practices for engagement by investigating three aspects: engagement and resilience thinking; importance of community voluntarism in facilitating disaster resilience; socially and culturally embedded community practices in shaping disaster resilience. In addtion, when analysing how migration-driven diversities play a role in the case study of Toyama, I integrate the findings within broader academic debates on the role of diversity in Japan. In the final

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section, I analyse the challenges and opportunities for inclusive community engagement and resilience.

6.2   Understanding community engagement for disaster resilience

In the recent years, the changes in local community structures accelerated by new patterns of diversification have complicated disaster resilience engagement efforts. The complication has been observed in two aspects. First, in cities like Birmingham shaped by superdiversity, the dynamic nature of social change makes it increasingly difficult for the statutory emergency service providers to accommodate the increasing need for the diversity-responsive social component of resilience building into their everyday practice. Public servants aware of the work done by the West Midlands Police (WMP) and WMFS observed the rising need for crime and hazard prevention in daily work with local communities.

Interview findings showed that programs launched with the strategic direction at the national level put pressure on local service providers to ensure that the local programs in place are comprehensive and fit with the overall resilience policy objectives at the national level: "*There is a national program with getting people to be more resilient within themselves and within their communities*" [I6/Birmingham/public servant/male]. Whereas there are different small components and programs for building resilience in the city, the overarching approach for embedding migrants and diversity in the emergency industry is still in process: "*We are very good at embedding ourselves with our community groups, particularly in our partnership areas*"

[I7/Birmingham/public servant/female]. Interviews with public servants highlighted the need for a sense of community that is not limited to people of same origin, ethnicity, language or religion, but one that reaches the needs of different groups by building instruments to ensure swift response in an emergency or disaster. In the words of I6/Birmingham a male public servant: "*The British communities tend to be sort of more atomized these days for a number of reasons*".

Second, mid-size Japanese cities like Toyama with a historically relatively small and evenly distributed group of migrants have been experiencing increased immigration into the different places in the larger city area. For instance, as indicated in Chapter One, between 2016 and 2017 there has been an increase in 845 people from Vietnam that brings a new dynamic into how diversity shapes the everyday. In interviews practitioners noted that there tends to be much focus on embedded forms of diversity within the city landscape, as well as the 'new diversities' that might be a potential threat to the dynamics within the established communities. Interview findings in Toyama show that an increase in members of one ethnic group or representatives of certain nationality was largely welcomed by members of the local community. Reflecting on both the previous situation and current changes in the local community, this interviewee from Toyama argues: "*So, I think that we need people [local citizens] to think about our society*" [I1/Toyama/public servant/male]. Based on this understanding of resilience building in the community context, resilience is not an end effect of the policy itself. The interview findings suggest that integrating migration and diversity into resilience efforts often challenges the

responsiveness and foresight of community actors. The reasons for it might be related to a range of internal and external factors that I further explore in § 7.4.

In both locations the diversity of populations that can be affected in disaster situations makes local public servants aware of the needs of the potentially most vulnerable individuals: "*Understanding the demographics of communities and especially migrant communities does shape of how we communicate*" [I3/Birmingham/public servant/male]. The interviews in Birmingham and Toyama showed that major emergencies and disasters provide in a way a 'learning opportunity' during which different old forms of engagement are implemented, verified and improved, but also a range of new practices emerge, some of which might find their way into the system: "*We need to have a process so that migrant communities, settled communities and others are able to get the right information and communication from us*" [I3/Birmingham/public servant/male]. However, there is a considerable disagreement among public servants whether new (separate) processes of working with migrant communities are required or if it is better to expand the existing mechanisms. Effective engagement practices can help to reduce the post-disaster stress and contribute towards a timely recovery. Drawing on the general practice, the public servant from Birmingham stated: "*We have got a plan for that. There is the recovery plan, which includes communications with various groups, whoever those groups are to get them back to what is a normal way of life*" [I1/Birmingham/public servant/male]. The above quote shows that responsiveness to the needs of diverse groups is rather based on standardised approaches, which can potentially lead to a range of challenges.

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For instance, the understanding of what constitutes 'the normal' way of living for public servants might not correspond with the different ways of living and structuring of community life of diverse migrant groups.

Local public servants in Birmingham although lacking the resources for further engagement, have a vast experience in explaining policy design and implementation structures: "*Our ability to talk to our communities from the different sections about what we do in terms of emergency and disaster planning and then we will talk about the impact that it potentially has on the communities*" [I3/Birmingham/public servant/male]. Through the dialogue and interaction with local community participants were asked a range of questions that can help shape their thinking about an emergency or potentially unexpected event. Based on the public engagement observation I described in Chapter Five, it seems that the BRT focused on encounters with individual community members. Members of the BRT team engaged in longer conversations to empower individuals that can then bring this information to their local community and guide their peers:

> "*What is it that you can do as the member of the public through enhance and increase your preparedness and resilience beforehand and during an incident. So, that was one of the key sections that we wanted to put through in our new iteration. We did not want just to inform the public: 'this is the risk'. We wanted to empower them to be able to respond themselves and prepare for themselves. So, that is something that we have put in there as well*"
>
> [I7/Birmingham/public servant/female].

From the public servants' perspective, risk assessments play a crucial role in resilience engagement activities in Birmingham. On the other hand, extensive focus on risk as the primary indicator can reduce the scope for action when national assessments are applied to local realities: "*I think what you have to do is when you plan for resilience, you work on national risk assessments and you look where the risks are. You plan to mitigate the effects of those risks and you take the national risks assessments*" [I1/Birmingham/public servant/male]. Interview findings from Birmingham show that local public servants use a range of community-based tools to try to mitigate identified risks. Some programs come into being as a result of close cooperation with communities at risk, other are more incentive-based, allowing various groups to engage more freely based on the given structure.

6.2.1 Accommodating various diversities in community engagement

Due to differences in disaster preparedness education in their home countries migrants might have different levels of knowledge about disaster prevention. From the public servant's point of view the place of origin is often the primary indicator of the level of preparedness: "*I think again where the communities have come from*" [I2/Birmingham/public servant/male]. Another important indicator for community engagement in resilience is the length of stay in a particular place: "*[recently arrived migrants] obviously tend to have not the same social structure and social arrangements as the more long-term established migrant groups and groups in the city*" [I2/Birmingham/public servant/male]. Resilience community engagement needs to encompass all of the different migrant groups and potentially new diversities. The following quote shows

how this is understood by public servants in Birmingham: "*We are trying to work with a good mixture of different communities, different migrant communities trying to come up with a protocol so that is broadly reflective of the community*" [I3/Birmingham/public servant/male].

Once resilience plans are put in place, they tend to be broadly discussed with emergency planners, emergency services, selected community members, and updated based on the new issues that emerge. As one of the interviewed public servants noted: "*We try to reflect upon the provisions that we have in working with communities and question whether those also reflect the ability to engage and work across a much broader society of individuals*" [I3/Birmingham/public servant/male]. On the other hand, the different diversities in Toyama might be somewhat hidden and not yet fully articulated, but the expected changes that increased diversity will bring in the future need to be understood as part of a complex processes of diversification (Vertovec, 2019a). Public servants state that contrary to the dominant belief, cultural and linguistic barriers are not the primary indicator for a successful formation of community bonds between migrants and local populations: "*Maybe people need to have the opportunity to understand each other, or the opportunity to teach foreign residents the Japanese language or for the Japanese people to try to understand the foreign culture. However, recently I am thinking that the divide [in understanding] is not so important*" [I1/Toyama/public servant/male]. Practitioners in both locations acknowledge that finding the best way toward accommodating various diversities into community resilience can be a long and challenging process.

Nevertheless, local resilience-focused activities, acting as a platform for engagement, offer sufficient spaces for people to participate and breach gaps in understanding of each other: "*So, to find this way maybe we can get close together*" [I1/Toyama/public servant/male]. It is also about how people perceive each other and interact with each other: "*The most important thing I think is that we live together*" [I1/Toyama/public servant/male]. The interview findings show that local communities in Birmingham and Toyama recently are facing similar challenges when it comes to participation in community life: "*It is not like there is one person and everybody will follow him. If all the people agree, that is ok, but some people did not want to go, or did not want to follow others. Because of course we know each other directions*" [I12/Toyama/practitioner/male]. The above quote shows the need for tools of engagement that can de-compose the potential attitudinal biases between migrant communities.

6.2.2 Revising engagement practices

The interviews with public servants in Birmingham and Toyama confirmed the fact that individuals working with migrants often use the tools developed within the voluntary sector, which often has more direct and deeper roots of engagement (Chui et al., 2019; Bassel and Emejulu, 2018; de Jong, 2019). Those can include a range of practical information: disaster training material, language support material, or simple ideas for community activity planning. As one respondent in Birmingham notes:

> "*Just taking slightly out of the Council. The voluntary sector that we work with, like the British Red Cross and St. John's Ambulance, they have probably got in many respects some better relations with some of the*

migrant communities. They are probably engaging more for various reasons and again we have like an in-road to this sector as well in that respect"

<div align="right">[I1/Birmingham/public servant/male].</div>

Managing the prevention and response business according to emergency planning requires coordination with a range of NPOs and NGOs that can provide services, which would not be in place otherwise. Those different actors develop their own modes of action, which can further inform the work of public servants or help foster cooperation in areas like running emergency shelters:

"*If you want my opinion on that, I think that there is more work that we could do in understanding and embed our message both with those that, with the refuge centers, which would have migrants on there and to understand what our preparedness is and what service they could expect from there*"

<div align="right">[I7/Birmingham/public servant/female].</div>

Some of interviewed public servants considered that BCC should take responsibility to stay up-to-date with community level resilience building in the different parts of the city: "*We could do a lot more across communities in general [had we the needed resources]*" [I3/Birmingham/public servant/male]. Other respondents refer to specific approaches that might be done differently in the future:

"*The first one that I can mention from the policing perspective is our reception centers. So, the survival reception center is the first reception area of survivals in instances and so the nature of what that would mean, we have to plan and factor for people that are coming into that reception center would both be traumatized, potentially*"

<div align="center">230</div>

According to public servants in Birmingham, the post-disaster insights from other locations across the country (and abroad) are beneficial for integrating new ideas into resilience planning and engagement: "*Yes they [emergency plans] need to evolve and they need to be constantly evolving, but if you spend too much time on trying to get everybody involved you might potentially put people at risk, because you need to have plans*" [I3/Birmingham/public servant/male]. Ensuring that everyone is involved often requires the use of a range of tools for engagement. "*Roots to engagement with migrant communities are still you know up in the air*" [I3/Birmingham/public servant/male]. Communities change their approaches and the modes in which they want to engage with other organisations or how they communicate their needs to the local authority: "*Some communities may be more reserved and more conservative as opposed to others, being much more open and much more liberal in terms of engagement. So, approaches may change, but the need to engage will always remain a constant factor*" [I3/Birmingham/public servant/male].

Interviews with public servants show that flexibility in addressing issues related to community engagement is the key: "*Let's not assume anything what they would want to know and how they would want to be contacted and how they would want to be engaged in the program*" [I7/Birmingham/public servant/female]. On the contrary, a practitioner from the voluntary sector working with migrants sees the developments differently:

"You need to keep it very basic level. You need to bring people at the community level that is having the right people there and you need to resource it. By resourcing I don't mean you have to be spending thousands of pounds. You need to say ok, once a month what we're going to do in this building for example we're going to talk and have a resilience meeting or a cohesion meeting and you do it"

[I4/Birmingham/practitioner/male].

Interview data from Birmingham and Toyama shows that breaching the information gap between the work within the public and the private sectors could potentially improve the emergency response practice. Contrary to the regular action within the private sector, public activities coordinated during community events are still the primary opportunities to inform and engage despite limited resources: *"We would be able to engage in those windows of opportunity with a strong marketing program that of course it is all supported by a content, which has been fully researched and endorsed by the migrants themselves. So, I do not see that of being a challenge, but a bit more of a consideration to it"* [I7/Birmingham/public servant/female].

6.2.3 The role of faith and other community actors

The interview findings show that both in Birmingham and Toyama faith groups and religious communities offer great opportunity for building capacities around resilience with local migrant populations. The Japanese case shows that very often those might be the only places where almost all members of the ethnic group are present:

"This year it is very busy, but from time to time I prepare to go the church, only in this place the Brazilians are really together and I talk with the directors of this church how to do best, but there is no response. In the

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*Brazilian-Japan association we have to do a list, to go to this place, to
explain about this and to make more relationships with others*"

[I11/Toyama/public servant/male].

In Birmingham for many newly arrived migrants the local Mosque is an important place for
acquiring information and support: "*If you are Muslim, the first thing that you will be doing is
to seek the resources at the local Mosque where you go and again you know the Mosque is a
much better mechanism than us*" [I4/Birmingham/practitioner/male]. The experiences of deadly
earthquakes and tsunami in Japan show that during an emergency the faith-based communities
(and Muslim communities in particular) are often the first to provide support to the affected
local populations. In Toyama, faith groups are also the primary platform for the TIC to engage
directly with local communities: "*How do you say? Church and Mosque is a very important
place [for building disaster resilience]*" [I7/Toyama/practitioner/male]. Faith associations,
religious group meetings and local gatherings offer a great resource for disaster resilience
practitioners. Designing policy for building community resilience is often a planning, designing
and imagining activity (see Chapter Three), ideally bringing together expertise and data from a
broad range of areas directly and indirectly involved in the emergency services industry (Canton,
2006). However, in recent years the emergency services industry is more and more actively
engaged with other service providers (including housing, traffic, community engagement, urban
planning) whose work has a direct impact on effective response during disaster (Heetun et al.,
2018; Power, 2018). Findings from the two case studies indicate that the role of non-state actors
and cross-sectional cooperation are becoming more and more important in local resilience
building.

6.3 Identifying practices for migrant engagement in local resilience building

> "*Social networks are more resilient than buildings.*
> *Buildings crumble, but human resources remain*"
> [Aldrich, 2012: 166].

In this section I explore a range of initiatives, with different levels of formality that are aimed at integrating migrants into building local resilience. The interview and participant observation data shows that the tools and mechanisms for engagement in superdiverse (Birmingham) and diversifying cities (Toyama) are undergoing important changes. The development of inclusive and 'bottom-up' community participation is less clear at the local level. Diverse community engagement in resilience building practices emerges as a result of various programs, initiatives and intersections that are often not primarily focusing on emergency or disaster prevention. Despite the still existing challenges in communication between the different actors, various activities around resilience building in migrant communities are increasingly complementary to each other. Firstly, a range of initiatives in Birmingham and Toyama are coordinated as part of the city engagement around resilience. The interview findings show that emergence of initiatives and activities involving migrants in Toyama to a large extent can be identified as a path-dependent process where new practices emerge based on experiences tested in the previous major disasters and are accommodated into the realities of response to the new disaster. New disasters as 'windows of opportunity' are utilized to various degrees, often leading to forms of

voluntary organisation with different levels of formality[96]. As one respondent notes: "*Last year after the Kumamoto disaster some migrant groups and Japanese groups together established a new NPO*" [I7/Toyama/practitioner/male]. The interview findings show that different levels of individual migrant integration within the existing resilience mechanisms and response structures can be identified. It all very much depends on the level of linguistic and cultural integration within the Japanese context, which means the specific ways of doing and ways of being. As one practitioner with vast experience in multilingual emergency support noted, in most of the cases migrants' skills are being utilized for simple tests involving onsite interpreting and translating pre-edited information that is communicated to the people in the shelters.

Capacity building that orientates itself to assist migrants is achieved through a range of activities that might differ across the different cities and prefectures: "*Usually there is for example a Japanese class, for children they give some support and interpreters groups, but sometimes we together think about how to design best suited activities*" [I7/Toyama/practitioner/male]. Moreover, building resilience at the local level can mean a new and highly innovative use of available spaces for the common good. For instance, in March 2018 the Toyama Prison reached an agreement with the local communities to open its doors to evacuees during disasters. Capacity building for emergency response can prove to be a good example of breaching the gap between penal institutions and local communities, especially when it comes to temporary

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[96] Birkmann et al., (2010) set a distinction between impacts and change associated with disasters, making a case for new approaches for identifying and assessing risks.

shelter services (Asahi Shimbun, 2018). Moreover, initiatives like this contribute towards building social ties in the local community.

Secondly, a range of initiatives in Birmingham and Toyama emerge in the local context and gain formality within the existing socially and culturally embedded forms of engagement. The data from observations in Toyama showed that there is a strong sense of international understanding and awareness among individuals working with diverse populations. For instance, during the interviews local practitioners could relate well to the contemporary events and practices around migration and diversity happening in other countries, as well as drawing lessons for local practices in Japan. Furthermore, practitioners in Toyama acknowledge that the emerging new methods in providing education and health services to foreign nationals can serve in the same way to address challenges faced by local populations (Nakamura, 2016: 113).

Despite the often competing and interchangeable use of different conceptualizations of the meaning of diversity at the community level as well as understandings and ideas around supporting migrants in Toyama, there seems to be a clear agreement among policymakers, academics and practitioners about the needs and challenges that lie ahead. Especially, in terms of updating and uniting the various approaches into a strong and coherent future strategy for social response of diverse populations in disasters. Characteristic to the case of Toyama is also the relatively large number of small local civil society groups rather than professionalized large organisations, a phenomenon that Pekkanen defines as 'dual civil society' (2006: 1). A similar pattern can be observed in Birmingham, where resilience building with migrants (and for

migrants) emerges through the involvement and interaction (or the lack of it) among those different actors and identifying ways in which their activities can be complementary to each other.

6.3.1 Engagement and resilience thinking

New processes of diversification (Toyama) and changing superdiverse local contexts (Birmingham) give a unique opportunity to generate new ideas in local resilience building, especially when thinking about the social aspects of emergency responses. Through better understanding of the collective resilient identities of migrants living in Birmingham and Toyama, policymakers can design mechanisms that could utilise the cultural capital that migrants bring into dealing with an emergency situation. "*The communication is very important to understand each other, the interaction and maybe people will get the good effect from the foreign residents*" [I1/Toyama/public servant/male]. Furthermore, local residents can learn new tools and practices as they interact with diverse groups while local residents can help migrants to explore the social and cultural value of traditional and local knowledge in disaster: "*In Japan we have the Japanese idea. Right? But, you foreign residents, you have many, a variety of ideas about the lifestyle or the value of life. So, you are different, you are diverse. Diverse in thinking*" [I1/Toyama/public servant/male].

Different modes of thinking and interacting emerge and shape the disaster response landscape. Public servants in Toyama noted that the best solutions often come as a result of creative and

responsible thinking that supports the local mechanisms for action: "*I think we need such people who think by themselves and what is the best approach*" [I1/Toyama/public servant/male]. Interview data in both locations shows that people aware of the socio-cultural factors that play a vital role in emergency response are often those most equipped to help others. In certain situations, requiring local resilience building activities particular resources might be readily available, whereas in others they might be scarce: "*So, that is why we want, we need the foreign residents' different cultures*" [I1/Toyama/public servant/male]. Accommodating the cultural capital that foreign residents bring can create a learning environment of mutual support to the local population. "*Yes, so they [local residents] normally do not have an open thinking, but if you have foreign residents around you it is different*" [I1/Toyama/public servant/male]. Older migrants are often among those most affected: "*The older people need to be taken care of, especially migrants that came after the World War II from China and Korea*" [I6/Toyama/public servant/male]. Public servants note that over the life course those individuals might face various challenges dependent on their age, material and health condition: "*We should contribute to such a people [people that have specific needs based on their diverse background] or encourage people to understand each other*" [I1/Toyama/public servant/male/52]. The interviews highlight the fact that the majority of NPO's, NGO's, various individuals and local organisations supporting foreign residents in Japan see the primary aim of their work in breaching the gap between the above groups and the local Japanese population: "*So, it is about connecting better and better*" [I6/Toyama/public servant/male].

Interview data shows that breaching the gaps in understanding and building social ties for disaster resilience is especially important in the areas experiencing fast ageing population. Local observations showed that the ways and approaches towards building lasting social ties are far from being straightforward and similarly as in the case of the administrative procedural requirements longer-term assistance might be needed: "*Especially in Japan, the ageing society needs the help of foreigners. As a labour force, but also to contribute to the community*" [I6/Toyama/public servant/male]. Interview data shows that foreign nationals entering a Japanese community as outsiders might be more sensitive to the resilience needs and challenges faced by its individual members than people already living in the community. Especially in terms of addressing additional factors identified by Kawachi et al., such as social isolation, frailty, producing differential vulnerabilities (2020: 13). For example, foreign exchange students identify areas for action that might be in some cases ignored by the local populations: "*A Russian and a Brazilian girl are helping locally an old Japanese couple. The wife cannot walk. They help her to be more mobile. They are doing voluntary work. I think that Japanese people sometimes ignore such efforts, but as a foreign resident you can be more aware of the needs of vulnerable people, like helping the elderly*" [I1/Toyama/public servant/male]. During an emergency or disaster people with limited mobility are often the most vulnerable groups when it comes to safe evacuation. Therefore, the role of migrants and community-based support systems has to be recognised (Muramatsu and Akiyama, 2011). Furthermore, the above reported practices from Toyama point to the ongoing changes. "*I would like to expect that the closed doors will open in the future*" (Nakamura, 2016: 125). The increasing various forms of

migrant engagement will certainly have an impact on the model that diversifying local communities will follow in the future.

The guiding approach to engagement in diverse local contexts can only be successful with direct migrant involvement. Interviews show that migrants want to feel consulted and asked about the best type of engagement that they can understand and commit to. According to local public servants, information sharing about the programs available in Birmingham is organised along small interest groups where migrants can share their experiences and suggest ideas for improvement: "*So we have always done community resilience with groups, including migrants, where that would help us shape our approaches to community resilience*" [I3/Birmingham/public servant/male]. The above quote suggests that the maintenance of feedback mechanism and communication channels enables migrants to be more actively involved in the actual planning of resilience building activities at the local level. However, given the current limitations (explored further in Chapter Seven) local communities have to increasingly reach out to support of community actors.

6.3.2 Cross-community migrant voluntarism

Interviews with public servants in Toyama confirmed the key role of community voluntarism in local resilience building efforts: "*I cannot tell you how incredible it is in the city. I am always amazed. That means that you have multiplied your city force enormously*" [I3/Toyama/public servant/male]. For instance, until recently migrant participation in volunteer fire fighter groups

across Japan was very limited. However, the demographic changes and local needs have led to the development of a successful practice that is now implemented in Toyama: "*Now they want foreigners to join, but the volunteer fireman system is essentially a Japanese system*" [I7/Toyama/practitioner/male]. The participation by foreign nationals in any form of social engagement that is historically embedded within the Japanese culture involves emergence of new practice through an often-lengthy learning process. Therefore, a vital distinction can be made between the culture of volunteering embedded in Japanese culture[97] (as part of the daily way of living in the community in Japan) and the less socially embedded forms of voluntary work coming from the migrant communities. Interviews in Birmingham indicate that local authorities regularly monitor the resilience situation in the city as well as events occurring in other places that might have an impact locally: "*We as local authorities, how do we build our capacities with the voluntary sector so that they can also meet the challenging environment and the challenges of an increased change in community demographics and how new challenges present themselves*" [I1/Birmingham/public servant/male]. However, research in Toyama suggested that such a response often means a range of intuitive practices and historically embedded modes of behaviour that can foster the right modes of action. For instance, some of the basic principles guiding disaster response in Japan can be traced back to policies implemented by Uesugi Harunori (Yōzan), the lord of Yonezawa in 1767. The concept of mutual assistance can be divided into three stages of action. In a descending order of

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[97] The role of Japanese volunteer groups mobilized to support vulnerable communities, including migrants and ethnic minorities has been discussed elsewhere (see Avenell, 2016).

importance, one should first engage in *jijyo* (self-help – individual), then seek *kyojyo* (mutual help – neighbourhood), and finally turn to *kojyo* (public help – broader society including government). More recently, researchers have built on those ideas by proposing the concept of *tsunami tendenko*[98] – a last fourth stage focusing on reducing the feeling of self-reproach among survivors (Yamori, 2014).

Once a tragic event has occurred, faith and ethnic minority groups are often among the first to address needs of vulnerable populations. Their action can supplement the key provisions addressed through the Japanese system, sometimes in a more timely and direct manner by gathering at the local place of worship. For instance, in September of 2018 the Muslim Community in Toyama organised a voluntary donation around the local Mosque for people affected by Typhoon Jebi. As highlighted by local practitioner [showing me pictures form the event]: "*This is the Mosque in Toyama. They brought the food. They did the delivery to the Japanese community. So, the Local Government did not deliver it*" [I7/Toyama/practitioner/male]. On the other hand, during the Grenfell Tower fire, the local community in Birmingham with the support from BCC and WMP organised donations to help those affected. The timing and nature of help might address needs that are not directly related to impact of an emergency or disaster but can be further exacerbated by unexpected events. An

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[98] The application of *tsunami tendenko* to raise awareness around disaster prevention by emphasizing the role of self-help is not without criticism, as it is often misunderstood for promoting selfish attitudes.

aspect that applied more to the Birmingham case, but in both instances voluntary action in an emergency can bring positive results, by further integrating migrant populations.

Migrants find forms of belonging across a range of different associations or interest groups that might not be formed based on national, ethnic, religious, cultural, or linguistic affiliation. Furthermore, the time investment and level of participation in community life can differ considerably on a case-to-case basis. The interviews in Toyama confirmed the trend for migrants coming from various nationalities and backgrounds: "*I think that most people spend their time with their families, and they do not participate in the community life*" [I8/Toyama/practitioner/female]. Both in Birmingham and Toyama engagement in community support (nationally and internationally) has a lot to do with how a person perceives her or his ethnic or national association. In addition, the impact and recognition of migrant involvement might not always be straightforward. For instance, the interview data suggests that public servants do not pay much attention to the voluntary work originating from migrant communities, mainly due to the scope and level of support of such efforts: "*The voluntary sector does awful a lot around that, but the statutory sector does not see it as a priority*" [I4/Birmingham/practitioner/male]. Public servants in Birmingham are not in the position to account for all the needs that emerge locally, justifying the existence of a range of initiatives organised by the voluntary sector: "*Do we know what services they provide? Because it may be that there are individuals from migrant communities as well as others that need that wider*

support service that maybe the local authority cannot provide and therefore you need that

voluntary sector's contribution" [I3/Birmingham/public servant/male].

During the interviews with local public servants and practitioners the efforts to integrate cross-community initiatives and capacities coming from the voluntary sector attracted further attention: "*For policymakers and people putting together emergency plans it is important to know who may be able to contribute*" [I3/Birmingham/public servant/male]. In addition, another interviewee reiterates the fact that in some areas like emergency shelters, local authorities depend on support from the private sector: "*So they tend to rely now on the partnership with the private sector in terms of facilities*" [I6/Birmingham/public servant/male]. It remains unclear whether the increasing demand for diversity-inclusive emergency response services will be further outsourced to private companies (as it is the case in refugee reception centers), but the increasing reliance on external actors seems to be evident.

6.3.3 Socially and culturally embedded community practices in shaping disaster resilience

In recent years, both in Birmingham and Toyama, new forms of engagement with migrant communities have taken place especially in the areas of improving local social and health service accessibility (Pemberton et al., 2019) or empowering entrepreneurial migrants (Vershinina et al., 2019). However, in the areas of disaster risk reduction and emergency prevention the ways and means of engaging diverse individuals have only recently been identified (Yamashita et al., 2017). The ongoing changes can be best understood through

critically reflecting on the concepts guiding issues around diversity and inclusion, and how their application in disaster resilience building challenges the Japanese approaches to multiculturalism.

The important concepts in resilience building, some of which are culturally, socially or historically embedded in Japan, include: *tabunka kyōsei* ('multiculturalism'/'multicultural co-existence'); *senkaku* ('policy/planning') *sanka* ('participation'); *chonaikai* ('voluntary neighbourhood association'). Due to the rising role of population ageing, diversity, and migration, the socially and culturally embedded forms of understanding of those concepts have experienced some tensions. Given the sensitive nature of their application in the everyday social norms of local communities, the Japanese decision-making culture and policy setting, in this section I will only highlight selected aspects that emerged from the semi-structured interview data. In this section I also shed some light on the challenges in re-imagining migrant participation in resilience building efforts. The purpose is to stimulate new ways of thinking about whether the social structures around resilience building at the local level offer enough space and support for active (participatory) forms of migrant engagement. Two approaches require specific attention: practices aligning with the *tabunka kyōsei* approach and the role of voluntary neighbourhood associations.

In comparison to the UK, Japanese society is still in a search for a guiding nationwide approach to accommodating various new forms of diversity. Burges identifies four discourses as

maintainers of the Japanese (national) identity under the challenges posed by growing numbers of migrants: *kokusaika* [99] (internationalization); *ibunka* [100] (different culture); *kyōsei* (co-existence) and *tabunka* (cultures/multiculturalism) (2004). Although all terms emerge in similar contexts, the last two often referred to together as *tabunka kyōsei* are particularly important as a reflection of the ambiguous Japanese style multiculturalism[101] (*tabunka shugi*) as well as currently serving as the dominant ideological basis for addressing needs of migrants in disaster situations. The term *kyōsei* gained more prominence in the early 2000s and emerged in a range of government documents encouraging 'co-existence with people of different cultures' (*ibunka o motsu hitobito to kyōsei shiteiku*). The idea of 'a new community in symbiosis with foreigners' (*gaikokujin to no kyōsei shakai*) found its reflection in the actions by local governments. The term has been first used in a policy document in Kawasaki City in 1993, but it only gained greater resonance in disaster resilience after the 1995 Great Hansin Awaji Earthquake highlighted the positive role of foreign volunteers. Since then this approach played a key role both in practice and policy circles and shaped the activity of a range of grassroots organisations, international exchange organisations, local governments, NPOs, multicultural centers working with migrants in Japan (Kashiwazaki, 2013).

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[99] A term that emerged in the 1970s in response to the external pressures and the impact of international trade. In contract to the understanding of 'internationalisation' as opening-up, *kokusaika* can be rather characterised by '*the domestication of the foreign and the dissemination of Japanese culture throughout the world*' (Ivy, 1995: 3).

[100] A highly ambiguous term that emerged in the mid-1980s, which can among others refer to something new; group of people different from the group that one belongs to; exchange or conflict within a society.

[101] The nature of attitudes towards multiculturalism operating in the Japanese society is characterised by a strong ethno-national identity that coincides with the acceptance of equal rights for ethnic minorities. Results that represent a significant difference from most European countries (see Nagayoshi, 2011).

In applying this model local actors often try to position migrants' lives within Japanese society as a form of a positive contribution to the local community. Therefore, suggesting a policy shift "*away from a combined differential exclusionary and assimilationist model*" (Flowers, 2012: 520). However, the core of the problem lies in relation to the "*lived reality of the Japanese consciousness about multiculturalism*", which in many cases may actually foster the model of uniform identity of Japanese-ness (Bradley, 2014: 31). In situations when the acceptance of diversity does not go beyond the notions of 'foreign' and 'Japanese', migrants risk being treated as a homogenous group of 'non-Japanese' and potentially being excluded. In particular, indices of homogenising practices have been identified in relation to co-ethnic overseas migrants of Japanese descent (*Nikkeijin*), individuals with often complex identities and forms of belonging (de Carvalho, 2003; Ohno, 2015). For instance, in recent years the rise of racially mixed marriages and people with complex individual backgrounds, often referred to in Japanese as 'half' (*Hāfu)*[102], gained more prominence in the Japanese media and public discourse. The term not only isolates people from full membership in Japanese society, but their social position characterised by hyper-visibility and invisibility at the same time can be a cause for concern in the context of disaster resilience.

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[102] Often used in reference to individuals with one ethnic Japanese parent and one non-Japanese parent. Sometimes also defined as 'bi-ethnic Japanese', 'bi-cultural', and 'multi-cultural'.

Despite the above mentioned, the term *tabunka* faces extensive criticism across Japan as referring primarily to the newly arrived migrants; potentially also seen as non-relevant in the Japanese cultural context or being too progressive in its outset[103]: "*Hmm… Multiculturalism sometimes may be not acceptable*" [I1/Toyama/public servant/male]. The above quote shows that even the 'cosmetic multiculturalism' (Morris-Suzuki 2002 in Nakamatsu, 2013: 3) form that allows diversity to be expressed within a confined acceptable approach might not always be exercised. Practitioners in Toyama note that despite the efforts to reflect better needs identified by local communities, existing approaches still require change: "*Yeah, they [CLAIR] have been updating things. Especially the empowerment of residents, but in practice very little has changed*" [I7/Toyama/practitioner/male]. More recently, the events associated with the 'refugee crisis' in Europe in 2017-2018 contributed towards the somehow negative perception in the local public opinion in Toyama about the effectiveness of multiculturalism as a policy to accommodate new forms of migration and diversity: "*The Japanese media reported that in Germany and in the UK multiculturalism is over*" [I7/Toyama/practitioner/male]. Although very different from the situation in Japan, experiences of other countries raise further questions about the appropriateness of existing approaches and highlights the need to search for potential alternatives.

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[103] Many of the current discussions on the role of 'diversity' in Japanese society have their roots in the 1990s and early 2000s Japan (or actually much earlier than that) where the popular, political and academic discourses on multiculturalism and 'myth' of homogeneity (*tanitsu minzoku no shinwa*) were often juxtaposed by the discourse on Japaneseness (*Nihonjinron*) (Burgess, 2007). *Nihonjinron* is often used as a label and it does not have enough coherence to qualify as a single system of knowledge. Its central premise is that the Japanese are a homogeneous people (*tan'itsu minzoku*) who constitute a racially unified nation (*tan'itsu minzoku kokka*). The historical development of discourses on Japaneseness has been discussed elsewhere (see Lie, 2000).

Whether *tabunka kyōsei* can still serve as a guiding notion in support of migrants in Toyama is increasingly contested by public servants[104]: "*Maybe they think that it is necessary to help foreign residents as a form of multiculturalism policy. This is important, but this is not the total consensus of all the people in government and the local Toyama government*" [I1/Toyama/public servant/male]. On the other hand, practitioners working with migrants highlight the need to discuss, update and push the approach further in the hope that it might solve some of the conceptual and practical lack of clarity related to issues that migrants face in daily life: "*I think that we need to have more discussion about tabunka* kyōsei *with many foreign people. How to make it better*" [I7/Toyama/practitioner/male]. Interview findings show that *tabunka kyōsei* although still very much embedded in the consciousness of the people that work with diverse social groups in Toyama, in many respects has already exhausted its explanatory power[105]. It has evolved toward some form of a common denominator or common space for action, allowing migrants and local residents find the means for mutual support: "*So maybe the multiculturalism system, process or service is not only needed to help diverse residents, but also we want to ask foreign residents to help other foreign residents or other Japanese residents. So, we need and we want change. This is maybe an idealistic way […] maybe […]*" [I1/Toyama/public servant/male]. Practitioners also note that mutual support needs to be achieved through communication and the increased participation of migrants: "*We need*

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[104] The configuration of the (labour) migration discourse surrounding migrant incorporation in Japan has been analysed elsewhere (see Vogt, 2006: 12).

[105] The implications of imagined and real challenges associated with migration are further explored in § 7.3.

communication and support to work towards tabunka kyōsei" [I7/Toyama/practitioner/male].

A range of structural inequalities can prevent immigrants even with historically established ties with Japan from full participation in the social life. For instance, Brazilian migrants in Japan consider themselves as "*target earners rather than permanent settlers*" (Takenoshita et al., 2014: 85). The interviews in Birmingham and Toyama seem to suggest an unfulfilled gap for migrants to be more actively involved not only in the programs that are tailored for their participation, but also in program formulation processes, suggesting a potential shift from consultative towards participatory forms of engagement. Indications of this shift are more actively under way in Birmingham than in Toyama.

Another vital aspect of building more inclusive disaster resilience relates to the fact that certain terms in local policy debates around resilience building in Birmingham and Toyama are often used and understood differently. Their nuanced difference in meaning shows the importance of the nature of migrant participation in resilience activities. For instance, experts working with NPOs highlight the need to encourage local public servants to draw a clearer distinction of what is meant by migrant participation in local resilience building and policy documents："*Yeah, different understanding. They treat 'sankaku' [taking part in the planning] and 'sanka' [a more direct participation] the same. It is a very important [distinction]*" [I7/Toyama/practitioner/male]. The interviews in Toyama seem to suggest that understandings of migrant participation across or even within local authorities can differ substantially, which

makes it very challenging to opt for a unified resilience policy implementation at both the regional and city levels.

In addition to the practices aligning with the *tabunka kyōsei* approach, the neighborhood associations can play a vital role in addressing resilience needs of diverse populations in Birmingham and Toyama. For instance, *chonaikai* (neighbourhood association), often referred to as Neighbourhood Household Association (NHA) is a unique form of community governance specific to Japanese culture (Tanwattana, 2012: 117), which can be defined as a small, geographically bound group engaging in a range of activities mostly bound to a residential area (neighbourhood) (Pekkanen, 2009: 29). Activities are mainly organised around local community centers and can involve various small courses, activity groups or charitable action. NHA's allow local citizens to navigate between individualism and communitarianism (Taniguchi and Marshall, 2016). Migrants living in the local areas also get actively involved in such activities. For instance, foreign language bottom-up initiatives help to narrow down the social gaps between different groups: "*We have made some effective network, I created a group for the Russian speaking community in Toyama*" [I8/Toyama/practitioner/female]. Therefore, interview data from Toyama suggested the multifunctional and cross-sectional use of various networks for resilience building, including: leisure, small business, networking, education and community support.

Potentially the most vital work of *chonaikai* is the help and support of fellow community members in preparing for disasters by organizing fire drills and disaster prevention exercises, but also supporting neighbours and those in need during a disaster or major emergency. In the Toyama area a range of *chonaikai*'s also fulfill the role of *jishubo* (autonomous voluntary-based neighbourhood organisation for disaster prevention)[106] (Paton and Johnston, 2006: 347). Those organisations play a vital role during reconstruction efforts. The NHAs are also a favoured partner for the local authority when it comes to implementation of resilience policies: "*Chonaikai have a strong connection within the city. They can get the information quick when something happens*" [I4Toyama/public servant/male]. The above quote highlights some challenges related to active engagement: "*participation through the chonaikai is really modest. Recently people don't join the meetings in the chonaikai. So that is one of the problems*" [I5Toyama/public servant/male]. The estimates of the overall number of *chonaikai* organisations in the Toyama area are presented in Table 6.1.

Table 6.1: *Chonaikai* statistics for Toyama area as of November 2017

Number of organisations	Population number	Number of participating households	Number of all households	Rate of participation
296	321,468	81,843	140,120	58.4 per cent

(source: estimated numbers obtained from the local authority).

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[106] Please see the *Chonaikai* application form for foreign residents in Appendix 7.

Despite many different organisations in the Toyama city area (296) and a high rate of participation (58.4 per cent), NHAs do not offer further platform for action. A phenomenon described by (Pekkanen, 2006: 86) as 'members without advocates', where relatively strong social capital is generated, but rarely translates to a lasting advocacy in policy circles. In this section I showed a vital spectrum of resilience building activities where considerations around migration and diversity are present and growing. From a practitioner's perspective the level of migrant participation is still far from desired, in turn migrants' needs might go unnoticed by the local authorities within the overall resilience system. Interviews showed that policymaking around diversity and migration, especially involving groups of various backgrounds both in Birmingham and Toyama requires a range of factors to be taken into consideration: "*There are a range of nuances so that they do not get offended and so on. These are some cultural aspects*" [I10/Toyama/practitioner/female]. It is through understanding the cultural complexities around risk and engagement that local communities can strengthen the existing resilience building practices.

6.4   Challenges in inclusive community engagement for resilience

"*But where the danger is, also grows the saving power*"
[Hölderlin, 1998: 231].

6.4.1 Addressing 'othering' processes

Resilience engagement efforts increasingly rely on preventing disruption of the social components of superdiverse and diversifying communities. Local authorities in Birmingham

and Toyama increase efforts to build familiarity with diversification processes, which can be defined as breaching the gap between 'experienced other' and 'imagined other' (Vertovec, 2019a). During data collection in Birmingham BCC did a lot of work across various communities in the city on hate crime prevention: "*Far more akin in terms of risk and disaster is the risk around extremism in this area around civil disturbance*" [I4/Birmingham/practitioner/male]. The extremism mitigation work although not directly linked to disaster prevention efforts in the city, was seen by public servants as an important prerequisite for successful disaster preparedness strategy, especially when it comes to fighting terrorist threats: "*Now, emergency plans do not necessarily deal with the smaller kind of hate crime elements of it, unless it is the extreme form in the light of a terrorist attack*" [I3/Birmingham/public servant/male].

Interview data from Birmingham suggests that riots that can emerge in one part of the city and then spread through the city center have a negative effect on the overall resilience work done by the local authority. The fact that public order disturbances can lead to a range of behaviours destabilizing community structures and undermining the role of local community ties in times of crisis is outlined in the following quote:

> "*Which is a real problem and when we go back to the disturbances you know in 2011 that we had here, where there were riots in places, when there were lots of places were locked down, it was very, very scary. And yeah, there wasn't a great deal of support. There were lots of police around, lots of lots of things going on and we have been actually involved. I know from where we've got our place in East Birmingham we had our staff at the bus*

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stops stopping youngsters from going into town. By saying: 'why are you going into town?'"

[I4/Birmingham/practitioner/male].

A similar picture of inappropriate responses to the unknown can be found in the Toyama data. Day-to-day encounters with various (perhaps unexpected) forms of diversity can pose a challenge to the local communities: "*Xenophobia, yes, yes. So, why is xenophobia happening? Maybe in the daily life people do not have the contact with foreign residents*" [I1/Toyama/public servant/male]. Therefore, the potential challenges related to xenophobia or hate crime indicated in the interview data for Birmingham and Toyama can generate some spillover effects turning prolonged public order event into a major emergency.

The practice in Birmingham shows that emergency prevention and preparedness work go beyond provision of structural conditions for resilience, but even more importantly strengthen both the complementing new and old forms of social engagement and belonging: "*Also around the social elements. Because quite a lot of those attacks are towards the social life of communities*" [I3/Birmingham/public servant/male/40]. Resilience agendas that cannot respond to emerging challenges might fall into an inward-looking policymaking driven by new forms of social othering. An important question is whether the way diverse communities are consulted and receive assistance can be potential source of barriers that are only fully visible during an emergency:

"So, they present different challenges. So how do we get the Polish community and the Muslim community in a position where there might be a

lot of aid coming in here, but how we balance it so that everyone is receiving
support. But also how do we balance it so that they have access to pray
facilities, they have access to halal meat or whatever their situation is"
[I3/Birmingham/public servant/male].

The interview data from Birmingham highlights that public servants are aware of the differentiated needs of superdiverse communities. However, resilience engagement and service provision for superdiverse communities poses a range of challenges related to representation. In the next section, I draw on the interview data from Birmingham to show how public servants increasingly find it difficult to adjust their approaches, identify and work with appropriate partners.

6.4.2 Improving community representation

The ways in which new patterns of superdiversity shape local resilience building have not been reflected in community representation. The interview data from Birmingham suggests that the reliance on established links within a particular community might directly or indirectly contribute towards omitting certain groups or individuals in the broader resilience building efforts: "*So we will still work with the community leaders and with those organisations because they still have the access, and they still will be able to reflect views and positions*" [I3/Birmingham/public servant/male]. The following contradictory quote by the same policymaker suggests the lack of consistency in approaches: "*We will not necessarily use the gatekeeper type scenario, because for the local authorities whilst people might present themselves as gatekeepers, we know that there are other citizens. So, I think it is very important*

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that we keep an open mind and do work through" [I3/Birmingham/public servant/male].

Despite the hesitation to rely on established individual links, those connections can provide the necessary insight that is crucial in any form of community engagement.

Furthermore, interview findings indicate that both in Birmingham and Toyama forms of engagement for disaster resilience based on deterministic, uniformed and homogenous conceptualizations of community structures might not meet the specific needs of its individual members. Some individuals may not engage in resilience building activities and perhaps contribute towards self-othering through non-participation: "*I think that the Russian personality is specific. Many people just do not care [about the resilience building programs and events]*" [I8/Toyama/practitioner/female]. Thus, finding the right approaches to engage different people emerges as a key challenge. Interview findings from Birmingham show that representativeness of engagement efforts may not correspond with the overall numbers of members of a certain nationality or ethnic group: "*We probably have you know fairly good capacity built in the Muslim sector. We might not necessarily have a big capacity around say the Polish community or even the Somali community*" [I3/Birmingham/public servant/male].

From the public servants' point of view the 'channeling' of a new community, or an old community that has not reached sufficient representation throughout the years can happen through the engagement of entrepreneurial individuals acting as intermediaries. Overreliance on such ad-hoc opportunities for engagement might lead to ongoing exclusion of newly arrived

migrants: "*Some of those exist within the community groups and it is a problem because how do you deal with people who are not prepared to compromise or they have got a self-interest?*" [I4/Birmingham/practitioner/male]. New and often individualistic forms of engagement that reach across diverse community groups and social hierarchies are often conceptualized as egocentric disruptions to the existing ways of practicing resilience in the everyday life of a community.

6.5 Conclusion

"*Communities with imagination are beacons of hope*
in a ruthless, competitive and globalised world
in which identities seem lost"
[Govers, 2018: 10].

In this chapter, I have analysed the changing realities in working with diverse communities on disaster resilience in Birmingham and Toyama. I have showed how community engagement for disaster resilience from the perspective of public servants and practitioners has been increasingly challenged by the growing role of migration and superdiversity. Interview data from both locations highlighted the need to accommodate various diversities, seek ways to adjust existing practices and different actors working more collaboratively, in particular by including the growing role of community organisations. In the Japanese case, local representation of *tabunka kyōsei* narrative proved to be highly influential in shaping the efforts for disaster resilience among migrants. However, shifts in community engagement for

resilience associated with migration-driven diversity were identified in three main areas: culturally and socially embedded community practices; engagement and resilience thinking and cross-community migrant voluntarism. Moreover, based on the data presented in this chapter I have been able to position the current changes within the broader debates on the meaning of diversity and multiculturalism in Japan.

Insights from the work of public servants and practitioners in Toyama indicate a potential source of concern, where the inability to adjust the existing or develop new approaches to accommodate migration-driven diversity could lead to the potential exclusion of groups of migrants. In the final sections I have outlined the key challenges for engagement by showing how addressing the 'othering' practices and improving community representation can strengthen disaster resilience efforts. Beyond the points mentioned above, the findings of this chapter have helped to shed a new light on the meaning of 'community resilience' and 'community' in general (aspects indicated in § 3.5.3 and § 3.6). The nature of engagement and imagination of community resilience in disaster situations under the conditions of growing migration-driven diversity can help us to understand better how we want to see the communities of our future. In the next Chapter (Seven), I analyse how the need to adapt resilience building efforts to the new and constantly changing realities is met in Birmingham and Toyama from a city-level perspective.

CHAPTER 7

FACILITATING DISASTER RESILIENCE IN SUPERDIVERSE CITIES: CITY-LEVEL GOVERNANCE AND LEADERSHIP

7.1 Introduction

In this chapter I focus on a city-level perspective on securing disaster resilience in the context of changing migration patterns in Birmingham (UK) and Toyama (Japan). In presenting the findings of this chapter, I highlight the spaces where existing structures of local resilience building are challenged by the new and changing realities. In doing so, I focus on how local and extra-local influences shape the ability of local actors to respond to disaster resilience needs of a diversifying population. My findings presented in this chapter indicate that the ability of cities to respond to diverse needs of their local population is shaped by evolving local contexts, the interaction of a range of stakeholders and efficient use of available resources. In the final section, I stress the importance of leadership and policy entrepreneurship around resilience as a response to the identified challenges..

7.2 The increasing role of cities in local resilience building efforts

The challenges of disaster, and climate change-related human mobility have been recognised in the Global Compact for Safe, Orderly and Regular Migration (GCM) the first agreement negotiated at the intergovernmental level, covering major aspects of human migration (UNGA, 2018). Different forms of migration-related diversity are also gradually gaining more and more

attention in academic and policy debates, and disaster- and climate-induced migration/displacement is receiving an increasing attention among migration scholars [107]. Although migration and mobility have long been outside the focus of DRR efforts, a range of case studies from the developed and developing countries indicated the rising need to provide support mechanisms for people moving across boarders in disaster contexts (Nansen Initiative, 2016).

Previous research analysing the nature of local resilience building efforts in the UK and Japan tends to focus on governmentality, and whether the specific vulnerabilities and strengths of affected population are sufficiently integrated in community responses (Tweed and Walker, 2011; Bulley, 2013; Rogers, 2013; Shaw, 2014). These approaches, although pointing to vital areas for improvement, do not explore the contemporary demographic complexities or consider the full spectrum of local resilience building. Here I argue that the range of opportunities like the increasing diversity (Toyama) and the superdiverse character of the city (Birmingham) have yet to be fully reflected in the local resilience building efforts meaning there are challenges yet to be addressed. However, in recent years there has been more focus on the role that cities and diverse urban areas play in leading resilience building initiatives (UNDRR, 2019; UN-HABITAT, 2017). The challenge for cities in planning and responding to emergencies is to create an environment where people from diverse backgrounds are well informed and prepared

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[107] In particular, the ontological speculations on the Anthropocene that spread in recent years across the humanities and social sciences opened new avenues for both resilience (Grove and Chandler, 2016; Chandler et al., 2020) and migration (Baldwin et al., 2019) scholarship.

for disasters. In other words, cities that cater for everyone. The emergence of new demographic

configurations due to diversifying and superdiverse local contexts make resilience building at

the local level more complex. As expressed in words of a public servant in Birmingham:

> "*Diversity is an important thing to notice and not turning it into a problem. We are a hugely diverse city and we welcome people coming to our city, but it is to look at the complexities that you know migration might bring and turning that into an opportunity. To be able to better integrate people. To be able to better respond to them as well*"
>
> [I3/Birmingham/public servant/male].

Chapter Five examined the policy areas and structures within which migrants can find support

in the context of disaster resilience and how these differ substantially between Birmingham and

Toyama. However, at the local level both cities share some concerns related to responsiveness

and inclusion. As one respondent explains:

> "*It is very difficult. I can understand how people that are isolated find it much more difficult. This leads to all sorts of problems around confidence, resilience, mental health and integration. All of those things are coming into one place. If we link it back to the ability of people to deal with risk and adversity, those sorts of things, where is it? I do not know where it is*"
>
> [I4/Birmingham/practitioner/male].

The above quotation indicates how local resilience structures are interlinked and multifaceted

– and how difficult it is to build individual capacity in unfavourable environments. In this

chapter I show that the very nature of how we respond to migration and diversity in resilience

building has some wider implications on how migration and diversity is conceptualized, perceived and responded to at the local level.

7.3 Imagined and real challenges associated with migration

In this section, I argue that the local perceptions on migration and diversity dominating public and policy circles are undergoing dynamic changes that are not yet fully reflected in resilience building efforts. The changing realities as part of the local migration and diversification processes found a very symbolic reflection in resilience building efforts in Birmingham and Toyama. Positive interactions between migrants and local citizens have been acknowledged to occur in diverse disaster-affected communities (Drolet et al., 2018). Despite examples of success and recognition in international agendas (UNISDR, 2015), the role of migrants in resilience building efforts is often disputed among public servants and practitioners in the UK and Japan. First, public servants point to migrants' lack of language proficiency and local knowledge as factors complicating the fulfilment of objectives defined in local emergency plans. Second, interviews with practitioners show that there is a general scepticism among the local population about the positive roles that migrants can play in disaster situations. As one Birmingham interviewee said: "*The reasons why people feel that can be due to people's ability to digest the reports by the media. For example, the way they frame migrants*" [I5/Birmingham/practitioner/male]. Migrants in disaster situations can be positioned as part of the problem, challenging the effectiveness of emergency services. Analysis of interview data further indicates how the polarized debates on race, ethnicity and migration complicate

resilience building in superdiverse contexts. The focus on disaster resilience efforts from a city perspective helped to identify major differences in the actual and imagined threats associated with migration. In Birmingham, a city with long-term experience with diversity, the primary challenges seem to emerge from a type of complacency around superdiversity.

Layering, mixing, and blurring of the different waves of migration might give the impression of a general mass of diverse populations in the limelight of which the newly arrived migrant groups stand out as potentially most problematic. Reducing the focus to issues around representation and settlement can potentially limit the chances to address the breadth and depth of the problems around resilience that the city faces. A very different picture emerges in the case of Toyama. Interviews and discussions with public servants and practitioners highlight the need to seek policy responses, anticipate and accommodate the (potentially negative) consequences and implications of growing diversification. However, accommodating imagined threats within existing instruments and mechanisms for disaster resilience might prove counterproductive in responding to the reality of disasters.

The Toyama case shows how media discourses become embedded locally and can determine the role migrants can play in resilience efforts. As one of the respondents explains: "*Problems emerge from [local residents] not accepting migrants, foreign people in general*" [I1/Toyama/public servant/male]. The quote shows how resilience building among diverse populations resonates with deeper normative and ethical debates about the position of migrants.

Moreover, analysis of interview data indicates the fragility of resilience building among newly diversifying communities. Favorable structural conditions and evidence of successful practices are not a guarantee of migrant participation in local resilient efforts.

Findings from the two case studies show that perceptions of migration and diversity among local public administrators have an impact on local resilience building efforts. The findings from Birmingham and Toyama align with recent research showing that respondents from newly diversifying cities perceive greater impacts of migration and diversity than respondents from superdiverse localities with long-term experience of migration (Malatinec, 2019). Interviews show that not all local public administrators are fully aware of the new complexities and therefore do not envisage the need to undertake specific actions[108]. The following quote illustrates this point well:

> "*You know the migrant population in Japan is now is about 2,5 million. It is around 1.9 per cent of the general population, but when you ask young people working at the local government, they will say anything between 2000 or 10 million. They will say that they did not learn about migration at the university. These issues are not paid enough attention even at the top universities in Japan*"
>
> [I7/Toyama/practitioner/male].

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[108] Conversations with local practitioners and public servants both in the UK and Japan highlighted the role of personal beliefs and perceptions about the 'self' and 'other' in addressing various forms of diversity. Respondents would often relate to personal experiences or shared stories as a reference point.

Analysis of interview data suggested that migration in Japan remains a peripheral issue for local authorities and, despite increasing diversification, has not yet attracted suitable attention in policy circles. On the other hand, Birmingham as a city driven by migration, seems to struggle with the reality of superdiversity with respondents complacent in addressing local resilience challenges. While equity is important in resilience building, findings from interviews with practitioners indicate that the 'one-fits-all' principle does not address the superdiverse needs of the local population in Birmingham. As this quote shows: "*The problem is that they [public servants] do not really know the breadth of the resilience planning that you are talking about*" [I5/Birmingham/practitioner/male]. While public officials in Birmingham want to respond to its superdiverse characteristics in resilience building, the emerging new complexities have not yet been given enough representation in practice. One guiding principle held by the local authority is that migration is an inherent characteristic of Birmingham and therefore automatically included in resilience planning, providing for all.

Finally, interview findings point to a growing divergence in the relationship between perceived challenges of migration and practical examples of local resilience building initiatives. Examples of migrant voluntary work and cross-community support in Birmingham and Toyama were explored in Chapter Six and pointed to the growing demand for diverse resilience services that cannot always be fulfilled by the local authority. Furthermore, the different set of conceptions and beliefs of public servants and practitioners leads to different agendas across the larger Birmingham area. The dispersal of diverse migrant groups across the city makes it more

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difficult to strike a balance between the resilience needs of local communities in planning and response. As one of the respondents explains: "*I think that there are issues in the planning, which make the response more difficult. I think when the planning has often been a bit fractured, a bit dependent on personal relationships and sometimes a bit forged between local authorities*" [I6/Birmingham/public servant/male]. The above suggests that while the municipality is striving for a broader, more inclusive resilience agenda, the issues around migration and diversity cause a lot of tensions locally. In order to respond effectively to the challenges deriving from the rising emergence of superdiversity, cities need to provide enough space in their resilience building efforts to allow for all the different forms in which migration manifests itself to be addressed. The question is how much space is there to facilitate the rising bottom up demand for diversity-oriented forms of support within existing local resilience building in Birmingham and Toyama. As my findings presented in this section indicate local migration realities are constantly changing and the new complexities of diversity challenge emergency response capabilities.

Despite the fact that migration concerns are shared by local public servants and practitioners, the role of diversity in resilience building efforts in the UK and Japan is primarily addressed through indirect means. In Toyama, this situation can be linked to the lack of migration policy, making it more difficult to provide for diverse local population. A range of programs exist that are aimed at supporting foreign populations, but migrants' role in the local planning is very limited. As local public servant notes: "*They try to make claims to the Local Government about*

what are their problems and they try to put some proposals together with a list of recommendations. It is not possible for changes to happen directly, but many officer working at the Local Government know what the problem is" [I6/Toyama/public servant/male]. The above quote shows that although the problems around diversity become increasingly visible to the local authorities in Japan, the tools for addressing them might not be readily in place. Furthermore, the incentive for change is considerably limited by the lack of local political representation of diverse groups. As one respondent notes: "*Honestly speaking, if the foreign resident has the right to vote, the society will change*" [I6/Toyama/public servant/male]. The quote shows the ongoing quest of local community groups, NGOs, human rights activists and migration experts to sensitize local and national policymakers to the rising role of diversity in Japanese society. In comparison, many migrants living in the UK have a formal opportunity to voice their voices heard. Under Britain's electoral rules, citizens of Commonwealth and EU countries who are resident in the UK are eligible to register to vote in local elections. However, the fact that migration-related issues permeate local political agendas might be the reason why public servants in Birmingham are potentially less sensitive to issues related to superdiversity. Interviews with local practitioners expressed a growing scepticism on whether the complexities that city faces are locally specific and therefore require extraordinary solutions. As one respondent noted: "*I do not buy this idea that somehow it is different in Birmingham, but anywhere else is different and we are talking about diversity*" [I4/Birmingham/practitioner/male]. The above shows a form of complacency around superdiversity issues that is reflected in the city approach to resilience building.

Similarly to the Toyama case, public servants are aware of the need to adapt to the new complexities, but the supporting policy instruments are missing, as this quote shows: "*I am not aware of anything at the policy level that has the breath, has been directly concerned with migration and institutions*" [I6/Birmingham/public servant/male]. Furthermore, interview data shows that the key concern is centered around the idea of equality in service provision and specific needs deriving from diversity are being addressed in a reactive manner. As one of the respondents explained: "*I think there aren't any specific policies for migrant communities. It is essentially the same policy for anybody. Obviously, you need to cater. If people are in particular needs, that we will try to deliver for those needs or difficulties. There isn't anything specific*" [I2/Birmingham/public servant/male]. Given the increasing role of migration and diversity in resilience planning a structural change is required. The next section explores how the changing contexts shape local resilience building in Birmingham and Toyama.

7.4 Local and extra-local influences shaping ability of local actors to respond to disaster resilience needs of a diversifying population

In this section I focus on how migration-related diversity plays a role in the work of public servants and practitioners by highlighting the changing local context. It is divided into two parts. The first part looks at 'external factors' – the role of past events in the UK and Japan that have brought practices and awareness about migration issues that are now reflected in the resilience building practice. The second part focuses on 'internal factors' – the structure of the local authority and resilience budgeting issues that influence local community engagement practice.

Findings show that the range of restrictions deriving among others from planning, funding and engagement priorities highlight the importance of considering diversity in emergency planning and disaster response practice.

7.4.1 External factors

In recent years interest has grown about the ways in which consciousness of past disasters impact on future disaster preparedness (Guo and Li, 2016) and in the role of diversity in emergency management organisations[109]. However, there has been very limited research to date on how reflections around migration and diversity that shaped past disaster responses have been reflected within emergent emergency response practice. In this section I focus on two examples where experiences of diversity in disasters have influenced responses to emergent challenges in the UK and Japan.

First, the establishment and operation of Multilingual Disaster Information Centre (MDIC) immediately as part of disaster response has become a widely implemented practice in major cities across Japan (Parzniewski and Phillimore, 2017). The process leading up to the formulation of this general practice can be traced back to the 1995 Great Hanshin-Awaji Earthquake[110] when local authorities were faced with the need to support and inform migrants

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[109] In August 2018 the Home Office has launched a campaign to help the UK fire and rescue services to be more accessible to recruits from all backgrounds (Home Office, 2018). As highlighted in § 6.3.3 in Japan more and more migrants join the local volunteer fire fighter brigades.

[110] The experiences of diversity have been also recorded and reflected in the Great Hanshin-Awaji Earthquake memorial museum exhibition.

affected by disaster. Local private sector organisations set up the Foreigners' Earthquake Information Centre to provide basic disaster information in foreign languages (Okamoto and Sato, 2016). Lessons regarding migrant access to disaster information were learned from this experience and in 2011 in the aftermath of the Great East Japan Earthquake the city of Sendai set up a MDIC providing information for migrants in different languages and reaching out to migrants by visiting evacuation centres and sharing that information with them.

The importance of MDICs were further highlighted in the 2012 report on improving assistance for migrants during disasters the Council for the Promotion of Multicultural Coexistence and Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications. The importance of this practice lies in the fact that it provided a structured platform for addressing migration and diversity in disaster situations in Japan. In addition, it raised the consciousness among public servants about the diverse needs that need to be accounted for. However, following the 2018 earthquake response in Hokkaido and typhoon in the Kansai area, a new set of challenges to Toyama emerged. These included among others the necessity to coordinate local resident and migrant disaster assistance with responding at the same time to the diverse needs of large numbers of temporary visitors and tourists.

The temporariness of certain populations[111] leads to the formation of 'superdiverse hotspots' – specific locations that include among others urban pedestrian areas and parks; convenience stores or communication hubs (train stations; international airports)[112] where large numbers of individuals seek out resources and information. Following the 2019 Typhoon Hagibis, national level policymakers recognised the complexity of such situations and the need to seek solutions beyond the MDIC in order to ensure disaster prevention information provision among superdiverse populations. At the time of writing up the research findings a range of initiatives have been implemented in preparation for the (postponed) Tokyo 2020 Olympics, including joint consultations of the Japan Tourism Agency, travel agencies, railway companies and disaster prevention specialists. Alongside the efforts at the national level, the Toyama case study shows that cities develop their own instruments of informing and reacting to new challenges. One of the aspects includes the ability to show solidarity, respond to disasters that occur in other areas and mitigate their impacts by providing necessary support. As one of the respondents noted: "*Toyama might be a little bit different than some other cities. I would say that the best thing to look at is the result of a major emergency or disastrous event. I know that we did a lot of things and many families [from Sendai area] came and they were integrated*" [I3/Toyama/public servant/male].

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[111] The role of emergent communities and social-psychological processes in disaster situations has been discussed elsewhere (see Drury et al., 2016).

[112] The current developments in foreign language disaster information provision suggest a potential professionalization in the future, where foreign tourists under the guidance of Japan National Tourism Organisation (JNTO) will be provided with different set of guidance in comparison to migrants living in Japan.

In the UK, the Grenfell Tower fire disaster, solidarity can be identified in the role of migrant-led faith-based organisations (FBOs), operating alongside the emergency response services. Specifically, the immense amount of work provided by the British Muslim charities following the fire not only proved their ability to mobilize resources, but also revealed the gaps in emergency preparedness and response (Muslim Aid, 2018). For instance, FBOs offered burial support to the majority of those who died in Grenfell (Eden Care, 2018). Furthermore, the success of Grenfell Muslim Response Unit highlighted the need to build on the capacities that Muslim charities offer in terms of assets, strategic and contingency planning (APPG, 2017). Findings from interviews suggest that the incompetence of state services in responding to the diverse needs of affected communities was influential on the actions of local public servants in Birmingham. The following quote illustrates the point well: "*The lessons have to be learned because it just completely blew everyone away, didn't it really? No one was expecting something like that to happen and everyone was just completely caught up*" [I4/Birmingham/practitioner/male]. Alongside the reflection of public servants of how to respond to such situations, the Grenfell Tower fire disaster prompted an intensified public debate about the role of race, inequality and diversity in the British society[113]. Interviews with public servants in Birmingham highlighted a rather narrow view on the causes that led to disaster: "*Even though the fires are in London, we are learning here in Birmingham by observing what is happening in Grenfell and as a resort of that we are updating our plans*"

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[113] Mullins and Nakano (2016) analyse the social complexities emerging in the aftermath of disasters in Japan. Morris-Suzuki (2017) explores how the hope of bringing real social, political and economic change lead to various forms of 'disaster utopianism' in post triple disaster of 2011 Japan.

[I3/Birmingham/public servant/male]. Their primary focus was upon updating emergency plans and checking cladding in tower blocks across the city rather than devising strategies to meet the needs of superdiverse populations caught up in such disasters. The above findings align with the recent call by researchers looking into 'racialised capitalism' (Danewid, 2019) or 'disaster capitalism'[114] (Preston, 2019), to seek explanations addressing the full complexity of disaster situations.

The ways in which migration-related diversity has been understood, addressed or neglected in past disasters translates (not necessarily in a path-dependent way) upon the development of future capability and response strategies. Reflections on the disasters discussed above have at least encouraged public servants to consider strengthening social aspects of response and their ability to integrate the various forms of superdiversity into planning has potential to shape future DRR efforts in the UK and Japan. Findings I presented in this section show that there are a range of new indirect practices emerging in response to diversity in disaster situations in Birmingham and Toyama, yet the practical implications and the role of emergency services in adjusting to the new realities still need to be better understood.

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[114] In the 2007 book 'The Shock Doctrine: The Rise of Disaster Capitalism' Klein identifies the concept of 'disaster capitalism', which has been the focus of critique from different perspectives and disciplines. Alexander (2018) offers an insight into the local coping strategies in post-2011 disaster in Japan.

7.4.2 Internal factors

Emergency services in Japan are increasingly paying more attention on how to better address migrants' needs in disaster situations. Similarly, the organisational structure and service delivery of emergency services in the UK have been undergoing considerable changes (Murphy et al., 2019). Events such as the terrorist attacks in London and Manchester or the Grenfell Tower fire put pressure on emergency services to respond better to the needs of a diverse population. Thus, it is important to examine how the growing demand for diversity-responsive emergency services translates to governing the local resilience building efforts in the UK and Japan. Interview findings point to the importance of the operational setting of local administrative structures having a direct influence on local resilience building efforts. Public servants in Birmingham often refer to the size of the local authority and the superdiverse character bringing complexities that are difficult to fully address. The words of private sector activists highlight their discontent with this narrative:

> "*That is what they always tell you. The biggest Council in Europe. That is what they always say. There are two arguments around that. What they are saying it is that it is different over here, so what they have got is all these huge departments in place, because it is very special. At the same time, being the biggest Council in Europe, it has got more resources that any other Council in Europe*"
>
> [I4/Birmingham/practitioner/male].

Second, interview findings show that within a decade Birmingham has lost its position as a role model for disaster resilience building efforts in the UK. As one respondent notes: "*Previously we had regular meetings, workshops, we had sessions, we had speakers presenting and we*

actually engaged with those communities, essentially a lot of community engagement type of work and it used to be much more like a two-way process" [I2/Birmingham/public servant/male]. However, austerity cuts and the requirements for budget reorganisation in the UK and Japan challenge the ability of local authorities to provide for diverse needs in resilience building efforts. According to the 2019 Outlook Report the BCC spending between the budgets of 2009/10 and 2017/18 has fallen by 13 per cent (Centre for Cities, 2019). In face of further cuts in Government funding the BCC is planning to cut more than 1000 jobs in 2020, adding to 12,000 workforce reduction since 2010 (Whitehead, 2019). As one of the respondents points out:

> "*There has been a change… especially for the local authorities. There has been a big change because of budget cuts. It is in terms of risk and capital resources. There is a lot of pressure on Councils. They are under pressure primarily through cuts in staff resources or cuts in services. Every time as soon as they vacate a building, they put that on the market and sell as soon as possible to have the capital*"
>
> [I6/Birmingham/public servant/male].

In Japan where the local authority maintains the statutory role in leading on local resilience building a similar situation was outlined. The response was compounded by mounting pressure to address new complexities alongside limited staff resources resulting in the emergence of potential gaps in resilience service provision. In Toyama, a public servant explains the difficulties faced:

> "*You know in Japan there are many problems too. Especially when you look at the price of healthcare or education. People are now focusing more on*

the expenses related to education. Maybe in the future a part of the disaster prevention budget will move to education, but it is hard to tell. At the moment, disaster prevention is a very high priority because we have many disasters"

[I6/Toyama/public servant/male].

In addition to the above stated, interviews with public servants confirm the link between scope of action in resilience building and allocation of resources to other policy areas. For instance, compared to Toyama, Birmingham is facing increasing poverty levels. As one of the respondents said: "*In Toyama we have this unbelievably low rate for poverty. It is like 0,07 per cent or something. It is just ridiculously low. So, basically you have a stable middle-class society and that helps. You don't have to pour money into poverty issues, you should instead put them into those other issues*" [I3/Toyama/public servant/male]. Interview data from both Birmingham and Toyama pointed to several areas where structural conditions set further limitations on the local authority's ability to support resilience building. These include primarily the reduced capacity of the local authority to reach out to the full range of diverse communities: "*Unfortunately, during the last couple of years mainly due to some funding and staffing we have not been able to engage to the same extent, to the same level with those communities*" [I2/Birmingham/public servant/male]. The current situation was said to directly affect diverse communities, often finding it difficult to connect with the local authority, being left to their own devices and increasingly making the use of cross-community engagement and voluntarism (see Chapter Six). Furthermore, cooperation between the local authority and non-profit organisations has been badly effected: "*With the cut and reduction in services and resources it has become more inward, it has become more entrenched and more self-obsessed*

if you like, as a beast. It has removed itself from the communities"
[I4/Birmingham/practitioner/male].

In Birmingham and Toyama practitioners contributing towards local resilience building said they needed to justify and document the relevance of their work, and alongside that their ability to meet specific needs of diverse communities was compromised. Findings from Birmingham show that essential activities, such as local community training, have been one of the most affected: "*In my world, in a small organisation when you are looking to cut costs the first thing that you are looking at is things like training*" [I4/Birmingham/practitioner/male]. On the other hand, local bodies supporting resilience building are conscious about the different set of services that each can offer to increase resilience within the migrant population. As one respondent noted: "*There is no longer a scramble for resource, it is more like a scramble for an effective use of the resource that all of these communities can then work together*" [I3/Birmingham/public servant/male]. The above quote shows that the rising bottom-up demand for diverse services in disaster situations can be met through joint action.

In this section I have outlined how budget cuts or a failure to invest sufficiently in the development of diversity friendly resilience services puts further pressure on the non-profit organisations and local communities. Perhaps contrary to previous findings, the interview data in Birmingham and Toyama shows that generating required resources to respond to diversity in local resilience building is no longer a primary concern for local actors. The key challenge lies

in the ability to coordinate efforts and build complementary services between the local authority, non-profit organisations, and diverse communities. The key question for future policy development is how Birmingham and Toyama can address the emerging gaps in diversity-sensitive services and adjust to the new realities. The final part of this chapter offers some potential responses by exploring several areas that have an influence on the local resilience building, including the role of leadership around resilience and policy entrepreneurship.

7.5 Leadership and policy entrepreneurship as a response

The different conceptions and understandings of what resilience means locally can shape local resilience preparedness efforts so the role of cooperation between state and private sector actors is of vital importance. The nature of these relationships and interactions needs to be better understood[115]. Interview data from Birmingham and Toyama outline the tension between recognition of superdiversity in resilience building (public servants) and active campaigning for migrant inclusion (practitioners): "*They need an output, but we need a change*" [I7/Toyama/practitioner/male]. Although there seems to be a common goal in resilience building, clear differences in objectives complicate any joint efforts.

A similar situation is reported in Birmingham. The following quote further highlights the central focus on affected individuals: "*It is very much you-to-me, rather than me-to-you, which isn't*

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[115] Interviews in Birmingham and Toyama showed that actors are reluctant to inform about their relationship to other stakeholders involved in resilience building efforts at the city level.

good so the most vulnerable people, the people that are most removed. I am not convinced that they are really supported and approached" [I4/Birmingham/practitioner/male]. The above shows that whereas practitioners in both locations acknowledge the positive changes that are taking place, at the same time they remain critical about the direction of the current developments. I further explore the most pertinent differences across the two cases by looking at resilience leadership and the role of policy entrepreneurship.

7.5.1 Resilience leadership

Several key differences in local resilience leadership between Birmingham and Toyama are worth further exploration. Data collected during interviews indicates different understandings regarding the role of the local authority, influencing the dynamics among the different actors and determining different outcomes. First, the way local authority formulates its resilience agenda shapes the character of local resilience building efforts. The interview data shows that Birmingham has not been able to come up with a consolidated and encompassing approach on resilience leadership. Respondents working with the local communities referred to the difficulty to position their work as part of a thorough vision: "*There is no coherent strategy. There is no integration. Everyone is looking after their own little bit*" [I4/Birmingham/practitioner/male]. On the other hand, Toyama has a dedicated office within the local authority focusing explicitly on resilience leadership, without having a direct influence on the different policy components. As explained by the resilience lead:

"I work directly for the mayor. There is nobody in between and we try to put resilience in everything we do. Resilience is everything. It is meant to be a comprehensive understanding. However, in terms of leadership on a particular issue it goes down to different departments. The leadership has to come inside the right department. If it concerns disaster issues, the leadership that includes immigrant communities has to be in disaster department"

[I3/Toyama/public servant/male].

In that regard, Toyama not only differs from other cities internationally, but it constitutes one of the unique cases among Japanese cities. A designated body is set to maximize use of resources around resilience and exploiting opportunities for cooperation between different departments. The following quote shows this well: *"We do not try to tell the engineers how to do things. Our role is not an oversight role. Our role is leadership and connecting. Connecting what you are doing with other departments. Say our department would say: 'why don't you go talk to them?'"* [I3/Toyama/public servant/male].

Second, compared to Birmingham, Toyama has shown a greater ability to plug into the various community resources and integrate those into resilience efforts. As the head of resilience put it: *"I will make a proposal. I would argue that the city has a strength. The strength is that it does not do everything itself. It does associations, it has corporations that do a lot"* [I3/Toyama/public servant/male]. On the other hand, the interview data from Birmingham suggests that the city has not been able to take the full advantage of its superdiverse character: *"Birmingham has got such a weak community leadership [around resilience] and it crosses the whole of the city"* [I4/Birmingham/practitioner/male].

Third, my research findings of this section align with the issues highlighted in reference to access to service provision (Chapter Five) and voluntarism and cross-community engagement (Chapter Six), namely the way local authority sees its role. In Birmingham, the focus is on providing support and guidance on initiatives initiated by diverse communities. The following quote illustrates this well: "*The communities have to show the leadership and the local authority needs to facilitate that leadership in order to be able to be effective and to have that impact*" [I3/Birmingham/public servant/male]. On the other hand, discussions with local public officials in Toyama indicate a situation where resilience strategy gives signposts to a range of local government and private sector actors in their efforts in local resilience building. Interview data from Toyama and Birmingham shows that the ability to engage and integrate migrants in resilience efforts varies across different groups: "*Generally, the public authority's ability to engage migrants is variable across agencies, across different parts of the city*" [I5/Birmingham/practitioner/male]. A different dynamic has been evidenced in newly diversifying cities like Toyama: "*Unlike Birmingham, which has huge numbers of people coming, you have here smaller groups and then there might be different ways in which the Russian group and the Vietnamese group integrates and so on. In some cases, it is the corporations that help with integration*" [I3/Toyama/public servant/male].

Finally, in recent years we are observing a rise in a range of networks and platforms aimed at supporting cities in their efforts to build resilience. In both case studies cities formulate

differently their engagement in international partner networks, which has an indirect impact on local resilience building. Toyama represents a case where efforts in building resilience among migrant populations align with the overall city strategy for resilience developed based on the 100 Resilient Cities network principles (Toyama Vision 2050). The benefits of such approach include the ability to monitor and compare progress on specific indicators across different member cities. On the other hand, Birmingham is a member of a range of initiatives that are not primarily focusing on resilience. An example of this is the engagement in SCN focusing on hate prevention and public-private partnerships. As indicated in Chapter Five (in relation to addressing migrants' disaster resilience needs) and Chapter Six (community engagement), strengthening leadership is important in order to effectively coordinate the emergency preparedness and response between the statutory services and the voluntary sector. Participation and knowledge sharing across international networks can contribute positively to achieve resilience objectives.

7.5.2 Building policy entrepreneurship around resilience

> "*Making a judgement about the impact of policy entrepreneurs*
> *also involves taking a position on the perennial debate*
> *about the relationship between structure and agency,*
> *the domestic and the international, and whether*
> *it is ideas, institutions and interests*
> *that set policy agendas*"
> [Beeson and Stone, 2013: 11].

In this section I highlight the potential for policy entrepreneurship to contribute towards coordination efforts and bringing new modes of inclusion. Both in Birmingham and Toyama there is a clear need to provide structural conditions that would allow a smooth adjustment to the emerging new realities. The following quote indicates the rising expectations put on the local organisations in Birmingham to come up with solutions for migrant communities: "*I mean this is a fairly new world that we are moving into, but it does not feel like there is a partnership around it. It feels like you are actually a bit on your own*" [I4/Birmingham/practitioner/male]. The ability to build up policy entrepreneurship emerges as a key component in day-to-day work of local actors involved in resilience building. Why is that some cities are more successful in developing policy entrepreneurship around resilience than others?

Research findings point to two aspects that distinguish the Birmingham and Toyama case studies. First, policy entrepreneurship depends on the capacity to create the necessary conditions to consolidate and activate resources that communities across the city possess. In both cases local authorities act based on the long-established links to local communities. However, in Toyama compared to Birmingham there is greater confidence in the bottom-up capacities (see Chapter Six): "*The city is divided up to communities. Like every city in Japan it has more than 400, I forgot exactly how many different associations. So, a lot of our disaster planning is directed towards helping these associations be arms for disaster*" [I3/Toyama/public servant/male]. On the other hand, in Birmingham local public servants are struggling to mitigate the impact of austerity measures and maintain the same level of service:

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"*It is mainly a resourcing challenge at the moment and having to speak more creatively about how we overcome, how we deliver that same service doing it differently*" [I7/Birmingham/public servant/female]. The above quote shows that in the light of the emerging challenges the '21st century public servant' workforce requires a different set of roles than in the past (Needham and Mangan, 2014). For instance, the ability to tell the story, network, commission, navigate and weave resources.

Second, policy entrepreneurship grows from the ability to align efforts in resilience building with those of credibility and sustainability of local businesses. Interview data from Birmingham indicates that engagement of local businesses in resilience building often emerges on a voluntary basis without the direct engagement of the local authority: "*I think in a response to a disaster they do come together. Sometimes this happens naturally, without any interference from the local authority and that is just the resilience within the city that has probably been there over some time*" [I3/Birmingham/public servant/male]. The discussions with local officials in the Toyama area indicate a different model where local businesses want to be seen as contributors to the broader resilience strategy of the city:

> "*This city works closely with corporations. It has a very close relationship with many corporations. Sees itself as aligned with business, not opposed somehow to the business interests*"

He goes on:

> "*Corporations operate here differently than in the US and probably in Britain also. You know they are more comprehensive with their approach to persons life*"
>
> [I3/Toyama/public servant/male].

As we can see from the above, companies in Japan tend to automatically assume more responsibility for workers safety and wellbeing, therefore indirectly putting a structure for resilience in place. Findings show that disaster preparedness of Vietnamese migrants working in Toyama as part of the TITP programme mainly relies on the information provided as part of workforce training. Insights from Toyama show that more can be done in Birmingham in terms of advocacy about the role of businesses in local resilience building efforts.

Finally, policy entrepreneurship rests on developing effective, new forms of engagement and communicating resilience policy objectives across diverse communities and groups. On the one hand, the local authority is increasingly faced with the need to provide conditions that will allow for smart information exchange among the different actors. On the other hand, the means to explain the functioning of the resilience system in the UK and Japan to superdiverse audiences are not readily in place. Interview data from Toyama indicates that explaining the system functioning to local population is an important step to building local resilience: "*I think overall our disaster resilience and communication policies are very strong and it is conceived as a system that covers everybody in the city. So, the question is going to be I think: how well does everybody in the city gets educated about the system?*" [I3/Toyama/public servant/male].

Furthermore, similar challenges are evidenced in Birmingham. Discussions and interviews with local practitioners show that the way local authority communicates its policies and resilience objectives needs transformation: "*You don't need to be standing in front of a 400 pages document. You don't need to be talking in an extremely complex language as those people don't understand, including myself and I work in this sector. You need to have it very simple*" [I4/Birmingham/practitioner/male]. The above presented evidence from two case studies shows that local resilience building in Birmingham and Toyama is increasingly characterised by growing complexity and emerging new pressures.

7.6 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have explored a range of challenges in responding to disaster resilience needs of the local populations from a city-level perspective. I argued that the range of opportunities like the increasing diversity (Toyama) and the superdiverse character of the city (Birmingham) have yet to be fully reflected in the local resilience building efforts. Building on the findings from Chapters Five and Six, this chapter evidenced the relationship between the very nature of how public servants and practitioners respond to migration and diversity in resilience building and wider implications on how migration and diversity is conceptualized, perceived and understood at the city level. The opening section of the chapter referred to the fluidity of real and imagined challenges deriving from migration and how those translate into resilience building practice. To date, a range of public officials in Toyama are not fully aware of the new complexity or might even see ethnic diversity as a problem. In contrast to Birmingham, where

complacency around superdiversity potentially slows down progress in several areas of resilience building, Toyama seems to gradually recognise the added value that migrants bring and shows early attempts to draw from the new potential. However, the lack of a consensus about the position and role that increasing diversity should play in the lives of local communities (Toyama), and the discrepancies in the levels of superdiversity being experienced locally (Birmingham) complicate a uniformed city-wide approach.

Findings of this chapter show that the weight and gravity of all the other priorities shaping resilience policymaking mean issues concerning migration and diversity within the overall city planning in Birmingham and Toyama still have a rather peripheral role. Local authorities shape resilience building efforts, having a lot of influence on the way diversity issues are included or excluded from emergency response. Interview data highlights a complex interplay of internal and external factors. Firstly, internal factors, such as austerity cuts and the requirements for budget reorganisation in the UK and Japan challenge the ability of local authorities to provide for diverse needs in resilience building efforts. Secondly, local public servants and practitioners pay considerable attention to the previous experiences in disaster response observed in other localities across the UK and Japan, exploring their impact and relevance to the local situation in Birmingham and Toyama.

With the increasing need to coordinate efforts and build complementary services between the local authority, non-profit organisations and diverse communities, leadership around resilience

is gaining on importance. The analysis of the role of policy entrepreneurship in resilience (§ 7.5.2) showed that compared to Toyama, Birmingham struggles to develop clear leadership around resilience. Based on the interview data I have identified three points that distinguish Toyama from Birmingham in its ability to build policy entrepreneurship around resilience: engaging the different communities across the city; working closely with local businesses; communicating resilience policy objectives across different audiences. In the next chapter, I discuss the research findings in relation to objectives identified for each analytical chapter and draw further connections across the themes explored in Chapters Five to Seven.

CHAPTER 8

DISCUSSION

In Chapter One I argued that growing social complexity and diversification processes play an increasingly important role in disaster prevention and response. Against this background, the thesis set out to examine the role of migration and diversity in building disaster resilience based on the case studies of Birmingham (UK) and Toyama (Japan). Within those cases I was also interested in the efforts to address migrants' disaster resilience needs; community engagement and voluntarism; city-level resilience building from the perspective of public servants and practitioners. The main argument I made contends that responding to migration and diversity in disaster resilience initiatives is key to achieve just and ethical social relationships enabling all community members to reduce vulnerabilities, prepare and respond collectively to disasters. In both case studies and throughout the thesis, local disaster resilience building has been understood as the capacity of local community, shaped by various forms of diversity, to achieve extensive levels of adaptiveness and inclusiveness; respond in an appropriate manner and continue performing its objectives over time; thus swiftly dealing with hazardous experiences. The thesis has contributed theoretically to the literature on disaster resilience by proposing a conceptual framework for diversity-responsive disaster resilience building. The novel empirical contribution rests on cross-cultural insights into disaster resilience building in the context of growing diversification (Toyama) and more established superdiversity (Birmingham). The following sections of the chapter outline the empirical findings of the thesis in relation to the

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three research objectives set at the outset of the study. Subsequently, I examine the methodological contributions of the selected approach and research limitations. Finally, I outline the wider implications of the findings.

8.1 Summary of empirical findings

The findings of this doctoral study on disaster resilience building under the conditions of migration-driven diversity offer three distinct contributions. The thesis is concerned with how the changing realities of migration and diversity are reflected in local disaster resilience efforts in Birmingham (UK) and Toyama (Japan). Through the use of semi-structured qualitative interviews and ethnographic observations the instruments, mechanisms and initiatives undertaken by practitioners and public servants emerge as a frontline effort to address diversification processes in disaster context. The study focuses on complex and changing realities in addressing migrants' disaster resilience needs at the individual, community, and city levels. My main argument, based on the empirical work in this study, is that existing approaches to migration-driven diversity within disaster resilience efforts do not sufficiently reflect the changing local realities. As such this lack puts pressure on public servants and practitioners to adjust existing and search for new, ways to respond to diverse migrant needs.

Firstly, the growing complexity in local disaster resilience building requires more inclusive approaches that are not restricted to the role of local governments or city departments in emergency planning. Interviews with public servants and practitioners in Birmingham and Toyama highlighted the role of multiple actors, including voluntary groups, NGOs, NPOs and

others, in a joint effort to address diverse migrants' disaster resilience needs. I argue that based on the mapping of different areas, including provision of disaster-relevant information; building daily resilience; public engagement activities; responding to diversity in disaster contexts, that local resilience building efforts are showing signs of stress in response to superdiversity (Birmingham) and new diversifications (Toyama). Insights from the interview data lead to a better understanding of the differences in policy areas responsible for addressing disaster resilience needs of migrants in the UK and Japan. Drawing from the bottom-up insights in local disaster resilience building in Birmingham and Toyama, the proposed framework (§ 5.4) can inform a better coordination, coherence, and information exchange among the respective policy domains, primarily migrant integration (UK) and resilience (Japan) by policymakers, public servants and practitioners.

Secondly, processes associated with diversifications experienced locally challenge community engagement around disaster resilience in Birmingham and Toyama. The implications of migration-driven diversity have been identified along the three areas of (re-)defining community engagement: socially and culturally embedded forms of engagement; engagement and resilience thinking and cross-community migrant voluntarism. In addition, in the Toyama case the increasingly conflictual relationship of public servants and practitioners with the *tabunka kyōsei* narrative as a guiding conceptual *leitmotiv* points to the ongoing and complex processes of (re-)identifying and (re-)locating diversity locally within Japanese society. Moreover, I argue that by renewed focus on 'othering' practices and improving community

representation, public servants and practitioners can offset the potential exclusion of groups of migrants within disaster resilience efforts.

Thirdly, the empirical analysis of the challenges faced by superdiverse (Birmingham) and newly diversifying cities (Toyama) in disaster resilience building illustrates the increasing need to coordinate efforts and build complementary services for diverse groups. Public servants' and practitioners' efforts to build disaster resilience at the city level are influenced by the actual and imagined threats associated with migration. In addition, external factors (previous experiences in disaster response) and internal conditions (administrative structures, staffing and funding issues) play a vital role in changing the local contexts. As a result, policy entrepreneurship and leadership around resilience gain in importance when it comes to addressing potential gaps in service provision. Factors identified as important in determining a city's ability to build policy entrepreneurship around resilience include: the engagement of different communities across the city; working closely with local businesses; communicating resilience policy objectives across different audiences.

Considering how public servants and practitioners respond to different migration-driven diversities moves disaster resilience science into a completely new direction focusing on learning and adaptability of existing practices to the changing new realities rather than designing responses to fixed scenarios. The 'superdiversity lens' sheds a new light on the relationship between the ways in which migration might influence local communities and

associated responses in times of disaster. The thesis contributes towards addressing two conceptual challenges present in the growing bodies of literature on superdiversity and disaster resilience. First, in the same way that superdiversity is a relatively new and as yet underdeveloped concept, disaster resilience science lacks a unifying theory suggesting that among others resilience requires further empirical testing to reach maturity (Parker, 2020). Second, there is still no definitional consensus of resilience, which is widely recognised and adhered to, in particular in relation to the social components of resilience. The situation opens new opportunities for social scientists to build interdisciplinary approaches and test the meaning of resilience in different local contexts. My findings contribute towards developing a more nuanced approaches to addressing migration-driven diversity in disaster resilience context. The specific findings of the thesis are further explored below in reference to the research sub-questions presented in Chapter One and analysed in Chapters Five to Seven.

8.1.1 Sub-question 1: What are the contemporary challenges to build migrants' resilience to disasters in Birmingham (UK) and Toyama (Japan)?

I started responding to the first research sub-question by contextualising the (shifting) meaning of 'local resilience building' from the perspective of civil servants and practitioners. The interviews pointed to three important factors shaping disaster resilience practice: supportive local spaces, the role of 'place' and the complementarity of different scales of action. In the analysis I identified four areas of engagement by local authorities that contribute towards building migrants' resilience to disasters in Birmingham and Toyama and how migration-driven diversity has an impact on those efforts.

Firstly, I showed the strengths and weaknesses of the tools used in providing disaster-relevant information to diverse populations in Birmingham and Toyama; highlighted the role of content formulation and delivery and stressed the different areas where social media have an impact. Findings from Toyama show that perhaps contrary to previous studies language proficiency is not necessarily the primary issue for migrants in building resilience. The specific cultural and social contexts experienced locally require further understanding, a finding which aligns with previous approaches to analyse language, culture, and translation as an ecosystem in disaster setting (Cadwell and O'Brien, 2016). Moreover, the role of local NPOs and NGOs showed clear importance in capturing a range of key information for diverse populations. Content proved to be equally important as providing the right delivery and guidance. To date, both in the UK and Japan there is no unified strategy to utilise social media in local disaster resilience building. In fact, the shifts in social media use among migrants complicate the disaster resilience work of public servants and practitioners in Birmingham and Toyama. Their messages might not always be able to reach the relevant social networks. Capacity identified in previous studies as a prerequisite for better community-based communication and preparation strategies among vulnerable populations (Eisenman et al., 2007). Although the availability and usefulness of different instruments has been recognised in the Toyama case, like for instance the *'Easy Japanese'*, their local implementation and impact is often selective and inconsistent among different migrant groups.

Secondly, the interviews from Birmingham and Toyama confirmed the importance of an inclusive effort to building daily resilience, which translates directly to disaster preparedness of diverse populations. However, the differences in deploying resilience-thinking across the cases has raised questions about what Krüger (2019: 65) calls "*the desirable distributions of responsibilities over scales and the necessary capacities to live up to the assigned responsibilities*". For instance, the analysis of migrant counselling, one of the important pillars in daily resilience building in Japan, points to differences in the type of service provided and delivery between the city and prefectural level organisations in Toyama. The interview findings emphasise the need to offer a variety of forms of resilience-related assistance, leading to an improved overall experience and increasing the chances to accommodate diverse migrants' needs. In comparison, disaster-related guidance within migrant counselling options provided by various organisations in Birmingham is very limited. In order to fill in diversity-gaps, emergency services including the WMP and WMFS take a more targeted approach, utilising the effort of volunteers and local officers to assist selected local communities. However, lessons can be learned from the Japanese experience by expanding the focus to disaster-related issues within the UK Government's effort to address barriers that limit opportunity and undermine integration (UK Cabinet Office, 2018b).

Thirdly, findings indicate that newly arrived migrants face potential barriers in accessing disaster resilience services. In particular, from the perspective of interviewed public servants in Birmingham, the ability of migrants to participate in local resilience building efforts can be

conditional upon community cohesion or integration in the local community. Although the effectiveness of public engagement activities is increasingly challenged by migration-driven diversity, both in Birmingham and Toyama the 'traditional' settings, such as the local multicultural festival presence, help to enable community engagement under conditions of superdiversity. Practitioners and public servants primarily stress the role of event preparation as a process requiring joint effort and increasing chances for exchange by a range of diverse individuals. Furthermore, the above identified conditionalities of engagement bring further complexity in responding to migration-driven diversity when a disaster happens. Through a short research vignette based on the Birmingham case I illustrated how the arrival of new migrant groups within the local superdiverse contexts of the city had an impact on local service provision. Treatment of migration as a 'resilience issue' and challenges faced with the arrival of asylum seekers and refugees in 2017 showed that the needs deriving from migration and diversity are less obvious and clear as previously understood. An important finding from the interviews with public servants is that there appears to be more sensitivity about the local implications of migration-driven diversity in Toyama than in Birmingham. In Toyama diversifications are seen as an emerging and important factor in disaster resilience that requires new solutions, whereas in Birmingham there tends to be less mindfulness among public servants regarding undergoing diversification with a city characterised as superdiverse.

Finally, insights generated from local disaster resilience building efforts contributed towards formulation of a framework to understand better the differences in resilience building across

policy domains of resilience and migrant integration in the UK and Japan (§ 5.4). The proposed framework contributes towards efforts made by the governance of complexity literature (in particular mainstreaming), which stresses the role of addressing complex issues across policy domains (Scholten, 2020b). It shows that a more systemic and inclusive approach is needed in order to minimise the situations where migrants are left to navigate their way through the system in order to address their disaster resilience needs. Insights from the UK case identified the policy area of migrant integration as currently the most 'relevant' or 'promising' in developing new or expanding existing preparedness capacities and approaches in addressing migrants' disaster resilience needs. On the other hand, findings from resilience-building in case of Japan identified migrant integration as an added value, expressed in a set of various practices as well as other very specific activities aimed at migrant populations. It is hard to augur which policy area will bear the main responsibility in building disaster resilience among migrants in Japan, Certainly, the way future (or as some argue already ongoing) processes of 'opening up' will have a substantial impact on reshaping the existing or designing new approaches to addressing migration-driven diversities in disaster resilience.

In sum, findings identified within the first research sub-question highlight a range of new and emerging challenges in building migrants' resilience to disasters in Birmingham and Toyama. The general approach to integrating migrants in resilience efforts, either followed by the 'establishing process' (Birmingham) or incentivised specific programs as part of local integration activities (Toyama) might not be able to respond to disaster resilience needs of new

migrants arriving into the city. Here my findings align with the literature on integration in superdiverse contexts, suggesting greater responsiveness to the shifting dynamics in migrant social relations and forms of association (Phillimore and Wessendorf, 2018). Whereas existing capacities and approaches have been relatively stretched to tailor for emerging needs coming from diverse individuals, those efforts can hardly accommodate the emerging and future challenges associated with superdiversity. For instance, both Birmingham and Toyama seem to be largely unprepared for a hypothetical disaster scenario involving extensive levels of heterogeneity and complex mobility trajectories among affected individuals (involving tourists, temporary workers, foreign residents), and requiring extensive support within a confined space (or several affected areas across the city). Preparing for those emerging new complexities, without a unified systemic approach, puts further pressure on public servants and practitioners to search for new solutions and ways of community engagement locally.

8.1.2 Sub-question 2: What is the role of community engagement and voluntarism in resilience building among migrants in Birmingham (UK) and Toyama (Japan)?

In a similar fashion to responding to the previous research sub-question I have first focused on understanding how the new patterns of diversification (re-)define disaster resilience engagement efforts at the community level. Whereas practitioners and public servants aim to exercise flexibility in adjusting their engagement practices, the increasing role of religious and non-faith-based community actors has been recognised both in Birmingham and Toyama. In the later sections of Chapter Six, I identified the primary engagement channels for disaster resilience and how those are challenged by migration-driven diversification. The broader

initiatives as part of wider city resilience effort have been already extensively explored in previous research (Coaffee and Lee, 2016) and therefore only briefly referred to in this study. In the analysis three categories have been identified: socially and culturally embedded forms of engagement; engagement and resilience thinking and cross-community migrant voluntarism.

Firstly, by drawing primarily from the Toyama case, I exemplified how migrants increasingly play an active role in the socially and culturally embedded forms of community engagement. For instance, the gradually declining participation in neighbourhood associations (*chonaikai*) renders migrant involvement even more noticeable and vital for local resilience building efforts. Secondly, migration and diversity proved to bring new impetus into local resilience thinking in Toyama. Practitioners in Toyama recognise the ability of young people to breach the gaps in understanding and build new social ties in the areas experiencing fast ageing population. Finally, both in Birmingham and Toyama cross-community migrant voluntarism emerged in a spontaneous manner in an effort to accommodate the needs of communities affected by disasters happening in other parts of the UK and Japan. Despite a range of challenges, the new bottom-up migrant initiatives have been finding their way into the disaster resilience work coordinated by local authorities.

Insights I have generated in this section of the thesis indicated that the existing (dominant) concept of *tabunka kyōsei* is losing its explanatory (guiding) power in disaster resilience efforts among increasingly superdiverse populations. The uneasy references to *tabunka kyōsei* in

disaster resilience building in Toyama, constitute a local reflection of what Iwabuchi (2016: 57) calls a government's '*lingering posture to refuse to acknowledge the multicultural question as a national matter*'. Findings concerning local responses to migration-driven diversity in Toyama can serve as an invitation to future research and a broader academic debate about the conflicting relationship between dated conceptual guidelines and realities faced by disaster resilience practitioners working with migrants in Japan. Henceforth, the natural progression from the analysis of data collected in Toyama showed that it is not possible to understand the role of migration-driven diversity in building disaster resilience without engaging with the broader questions on the role of diversity and multiculturalism in Japan. In addition, I identified in both case studies the need to resolve inconsistencies regarding the expected and actual outcomes of migrant participation in resilience efforts. In that regard, Birmingham and Toyama could benefit from developing more standardised and participatory forms of engagement, the benefits of which have been already recognised in other places (Wells et al., 2013). Co-creation of knowledge, processes and practices have not only showed their effectiveness in the hands-on disaster resilience work with local communities (Brown et al., 2019), but increasingly in the broader efforts to operationalise urban city resilience building processes (Baravikova et al., 2020; Marana et al., 2019).

In sum, my findings from interviews with public servants and practitioners addressing this research sub-question showed that diverse communities are willing to understand better the purpose, goals, and vision behind resilience efforts within their communities. A relatively small

fraction of all migrants living in Birmingham and Toyama are directly involved, active and present across the whole spectrum of community resilience building efforts, although (based on the practitioners' perspective) their participation is often less structured and visible than in case of the local population. Findings suggest in both cases an unsurpassed goal of breaching the (growing) 'diversification gap', a discrepancy between the stated and the actual ability to respond to the resilience needs of diverse populations. In practical terms, diversification processes in Birmingham and Toyama translate to complexity identifiable at multiple levels of community engagement, potentially challenging therewith existing structures of support. In many cases we are dealing with a form of 'contained diversity', where exchanges and forms of participation of migrants in the life of local communities are often conditional, stratified, time- and place-bound. Informed by the findings generated within this research objective, I finalised answering sub-question two by emphasizing the importance of an increased effort to address the complexity of 'othering' processes and improving community representation.

8.1.3 Sub-question 3: How can superdiverse (Birmingham) and newly diversifying cities (Toyama) respond to disaster resilience needs of their local population?

As I have previously highlighted in Chapter One, the role of cities in building disaster resilience has increased. Cities in the UK (Birmingham) and Japan (Toyama) became arenas of conflicting visions or ideas on dealing with the real and imagined challenges associated with migration. Debates about the implications of socio-demographic changes and the impact of migration and diversity more broadly discussed in other areas, like for instance labour conditions, health, and education services, have largely been omitted in city-level disaster resilience. Findings

addressing this research sub-question show that the role of migrants in resilience building at the city level is far from clear and often disputed within local authorities. Firstly, migrants are often seen by public servants and practitioners in Birmingham and Toyama as a factor for increased attention or concern. Therefore, the uneasy relationship between structure and agency, as well as the development and exercise of migrant *agency* within disaster resilience efforts, need to be better understood. Secondly, interviewed practitioners noticed persisting scepticism within sections of the local population in Birmingham and Toyama to the role migrants could play in disaster situations. Based on this finding, I argue that further research is needed, looking into trust-building among superdiverse communities in disaster contexts. For instance, by considering the potential for disaster communication in different cultural settings, based on "*non-hierarchical and reciprocal interactions among authorities, traditional and social media, and individuals*" (White and Fu, 2012).

The second part of my analysis within this research objective looked at the changing contexts in building resilience among diverse communities by referring to two set of factors. Firstly, the 'external factors' understood as experiences with diversity in disaster situations, insights generated, and practices shared across cities. Findings from the interviews with public servants and practitioners confirmed the fact that the ways in which migration-related diversity has been recognised, addressed, or neglected in past disasters has an impact on preparations for similar eventualities in Birmingham and Toyama. In particular, the challenges associated with human response to the 2011 Great East Japan Earthquake (Japan) and the 2017 Grenfell Tower fire

(UK) have been broadly debated and raised questions about local response strategies in Toyama and Birmingham respectively. Secondly, the 'internal factors' understood as administrative structures, staffing and funding issues that reduce the capacity of the local authority to reach out to the full range of diverse communities. Interviews with public servants confirmed the link between scope of action in resilience building and current policy priorities or allocation of resources to other policy areas. Therefore, budget cuts related to austerity (Birmingham) and insufficient investment in diversity-friendly resilience services (Toyama), put further pressure on the non-profit organisations and local communities.

Finally, by drawing on the empirical insights for this part of the research question, I have responded to the call for a better understanding of the '*entrepreneurial characteristics of resilience*' (Miles and Petridou, 2015: 76). The importance of leadership around resilience and policy entrepreneurship in driving local resilience building efforts has been identified both in Birmingham and Toyama. However, the success of building leadership around resilience in Toyama compared to Birmingham, can be attributed to several factors: creating the necessary conditions to consolidate and activate community resources; aligning resilience efforts with those of the sustainability of local businesses; and aiming for a coherent communication of resilience policy objectives across diverse communities. Furthermore, my findings confirmed the (often underestimated) role of tacit and informal approaches fostered by PEs in various resilience-building projects (Tanner et al., 2019).

In sum, the above findings for all three research sub-questions show that the growing role of migration-driven diversity in disaster resilience building in Birmingham and Toyama is taking place in different forms, speed and involves the different levels, including the individual, community, and city. Despite the evident efforts by practitioners and public servants to accommodate the impact of diversification processes, the research identified potentially (growing) forms of exclusion in the way migration-driven diversity is responded to locally. In case of Toyama, the responses to diversification are confronted with overreliance on embedded ideas and top-down guiding conceptualisations that lose their explanatory power in responding to the levels of heterogeneity experienced locally. In contrast, in Birmingham complacency around superdiversity potentially hinders entrepreneurship, leadership and effective coordination efforts across the different levels, newly emerging practices, and spaces of resilience building.

8.1.4 Disaster Resilience Framework for Superdiverse Cities

Drawing from the study findings summerised in the above sections and informed by the advancements on responding to diversity in planning practice literature (highlighted in § 3.5.2) (Qadeer, 1997; Qadeer and Agrawal, 2011), I propose a Disaster Resilience Framework for Superdiverse Cities. The framework includes a set of actions that can be integrated within the existing urban planning practice and inform the work of planners, chief resilience officers, organisations and groups involved in providing services for superdiverse communities and

neighbourhoods. The different aspects of the framework are divided into three components (see

Table 8.1).

Table 8.1: Disaster Resilience Framework for Superdiverse Cities

Principle	Policy measure	Scale of action/responsible body
Appreciation of cultural and social contexts	Diversity impact assessments	Local authority
Effective communication	Increasing use of social media	Local authority, local NGOs/NPOs
Bespoke migrant support	Migrant counselling	Local authority; local NGOs/NPOs
Broad strategies of engagement	Moving beyond ethno-national	Local authority
Holistic integrated, systemic policy approach	Spatial planning and connecting local to city	Local authority
Asset based model in migrant support	Using migrants to build social ties	Local authority; local NGOs/NPOs
Inclusivity and addresing different forms of 'othering'	Integration programs	Local authority; local NGOs/NPOs
Flexibility in policymaking	Multi-level approach reflective of national/local context	Local authority; Regional and national policymaking
Resources and resourcing	Use of mainstreaming	Local authority; Regional and national policymaking
Effective leadership and communication	Policy entrepreneurship	Local authority; National and International city networks

(source: author, informed by Qadeer and Agrawal, 2011).

The first component, outlines key principles that can enable a more diversity-inclusive city

landscapes. The majority of proposed principles are either based on improving existing efforts

(such as effective communication), or propose new approaches (flexibility in policymaking). The second component, presents the suggested policy measures that can help to achieve the broader principles outlined in component one. Those include primarily a better use of the resources and opportunities deriving from migration-driven diversity, like for instance diversity impact assessments or the use of migrants to build social ties. The third component, suggests the importance of action action at the appropriate scale, indicating the administrative body best suited to implement the principle outlined in component one. Including actions within the local authority (which might differ dependent on a specific administrative structure, including representations at the city, township or borough level); measures to be solely implemented by NGOs and NPOs (local and national level); or cooperation of both state and non-state actors(sometimes including national or international city-network support). The above framework draws on findings from two culturally and geographically distinct locations. Therefore, it does not offer an exhaustive list of actions conceivable to implement in every city. However, the Disaster Resilience Framework for Superdiverse Cities can serve as a tool that can be tailored to the needs of a specific geographical areas or urban settings, stimulate new ideas and offer a platform for vital discussions around superdiversity that might not be integrated within the existing planning practice. The framework can also serve as a indicative guide for cooperation across various groups including both planners, disaster and emergency reponders. In the next sections, I explore the methodological implications, reflections, and limitations of the study.

8.2 Methodological implications and contributions

The primary methodological contribution of the thesis lies in the novel mutually informing case study approach, focusing on two cities with encompassing experience around superdiversity (Birmingham) and disaster resilience (Toyama). The choice of two case studies at different stages, means that the majority of variables between the two are different except the key factor under examination (local migration-driven processes of diversification) and outcome (local responses to change in resilience building, by looking for ways to adjust the existing practices to respond to the growing needs and search for new solutions). As further explored in Chapter One and Four, both cities can be characterized by very different levels of superdiversity, exposure to risk, urban density, geographical location, policy- and decision-making culture. The key motivation to follow this approach for case study selection was driven by the objective to identify a set of conditions where diversification processes have an impact on resilience building and therefore provide the strongest basis for generalization (within the narrow research focus).

The advantages of case study selection can be summarized in three points. Firstly, researchers studying social implications of disasters tend to either concentrate on emergency services or affected populations. There tends to be little focus on the broader resilience efforts breaching the two focus points. Secondly, the growing body of work on recent diversification processes tends to predominantly focus on specific 'exemplary' cities shaped by 'layering of diversity' through historical patterns of migration. However, there have been very few studies combining

the experiences of superdiverse and newly diversifying cities in responding to a rising need for specific services (in this case disaster resilience). Thirdly, the juxtaposition of a case that has gained theoretical prominence in superdiversity literature (Birmingham), with a case that has been broadly referred to in international policy reports on resilience (Toyama), offered a unique opportunity to narrow the potential gaps between academic and policy approaches on the subject matter. By uniting different dimensionalities: the object of study (diversification processes) with key actors (public servants and practitioners), within the confines of a city (space of inquiry), this research approach offers a multifaceted overview of complexities shaping local resilience building efforts. In sum, the selection of the cases and qualitative research instruments proved affective as it allowed for me to build familiarity and 'empirical intimacy' with the subject matter as well as dive deep into the critical analysis of the issue at focus.

8.3 Superdiversity and disaster resilience: conceptual bridging

In this section I would like to stress how application of the superdiversity lens to disaster resilience makes this research unique, worthwhile and available beyond academia. The use of superdiversity within this study proved its empirical applicability not only in identifying differences in the ways in which migration-driven diversifications take place locally, but more importantly showing their practical implications for public servants and practitioners working in a specific area (disaster resilience). Although, superdiversity offers new opportunities for social scientists to identify and describe change happening locally, broader social theories

addressing root causes of the processes in question are yet to take shape. While researchers discuss the prospects of developing new theories of social complexity in the light of growing problem of conceptualising, understanding, and quantifying the different aspects of diversification, two insights generated by this study are worth further consideration.

Firstly, design and application in the thesis of the diversity-responsive disaster resilience conceptual framework demonstrated a great potential in joint effort across migration (diversity) and disaster (resilience) scholarship towards governance of complexity. Findings showed that research is needed that can look at a range of implications deriving from disaster-related diversification processes. If we are about to construct future joint research agendas between disaster (resilience) and migration (diversity) scholarship we need to:

- draw on the different (potentially conflictual) understandings and applications of conceptual instruments in both areas, (as implied in the thesis by reference to literature outlining paradoxes around social vulnerability, social capital and community resilience);

- stress the appropriate and careful use of concepts operating in the social domain (academic and political) that help us to identify and address the growing complexity around 'the social' in disaster context (for instance by understanding better the shifting contextualities of the 'self-other', 'native-foreign', 'majority-minority' dichotomies);

- seek explanations and responses that are timely, proportionate, and applicable within the

existing geographical, cultural, social and political contexts, because diversifications are not uniform and occur in different places with different speed (Vertovec, 2019a).

Secondly, the empirical insights generated by this study confirm my belief that potential emergence of new theories of social complexity needs to be inductively informed by an intensified effort to understand diversification processes happening locally. The 'super-diversity turn' generated new prospects in exploring the local dimensions and local encounters in understanding difference. As Berg and Sigona (2013: 356) cogently put it: "*diversification of diversity as lived experience helps us understand when, where, how, why and for whom some differences come to make a difference*". Nevertheless, one should always keep an eye on the macro patterns of stratification by taking into account inequalities related to race, class and gender (Aptekar, 2020).

The empirical findings of the thesis show that local actors can exercise foresight and adaptiveness to ongoing diversifications. Public servants and practitioners in Birmingham and Toyama demonstrate efforts to respond (either consciously or subconsciously) to the new realities by generating new instruments or striving to adapt existing ones. The finding aligns with the recent study analysing local migration and diversity policies in 16 Dutch municipalities (van Breugel, 2020). Whereas cities tend to departure from explicit integration policies towards addressing migration-driven diversity indirectly, their policy formation differs between proactive and reactive approaches. For instance, in the Toyama case respondents show foresight

in the need to anticipate and accommodate the (potentially negative) consequences and implications of growing diversification. Therefore, future studies into addressing diversity in disaster resilience could benefit from synergies and insights generated by scholarship looking into anticipatory policymaking (Poli and Valerio, 2019; DeLeo, 2017).

8.4 Reflections and limitations

With having the above-mentioned issues in mind, the best approach was to find workable frames for the practical application of resilience that responds to the emerging needs of policymaking and local practice. By narrowing the focus and designing a framework that brings into account the views of public servants and practitioners it has been easier to explore this research gap and address better the research question. Approaching resilience from the rather pragmatic and 'instrumental' side helped to identify the key domains where existing policymaking frameworks show signs of stress and highlight the potential ways of improvement. In this research, I have identified a range of practices and instruments aiding disaster resilience building among superdiverse (Birmingham) and diversifying (Toyama) local contexts. However, because the field is dynamic, some mechanisms or initiatives in progress were likely not captured here. In addition, due to the intensification of internal and external factors (Chapter Seven), the local disaster resilience efforts at the time of thesis completion could have already changed compared to the situation observed at the time of the fieldwork. Nevertheless, results of my study map a wide range of efforts by generating valuable insights into local resilience

building in Birmingham and Toyama as well as highlighting existing gaps in responding to the needs of superdiverse populations.

While the study focused explicitly on the efforts to contribute to resilience building among diverse communities and newly arrived migrants, a range of identified practices can prove relevant to addressing challenges faced by the non-migrant general population. Further work is needed to establish whether migrant-specific resilience building or expanding the diversity component within existing community engagement practice is a best way forward. It is important to acknowledge a distinction that has not been elaborated in other parts of the thesis. Namely, resilience can exist in the public consciousness as a catchy *leitmotiv* for a range of (often unrelated) initiatives. Another form of resilience relates to a type of embedded logic, consciousness, vision, ethical or moral attitude designed as guiding motive for policy and practice. Therefore, it can prove extensively difficult for resilience scholars to saturate the interlacing meanings of the concept, in particular in the case of comparative research designs exploring local contexts. During the research, some approaches that were perceived as contributing towards general resilience building might have been different from the practices aimed at addressing emerging gaps related to migration-driven diversity. Therefore, my work resonates with the challenges identified in recent research highlighting the role of dual discourse of urban resilience in the context of post-disaster governance (Meriläinen, 2020). Perhaps further research into discursive representations of resilience in the context of growing diversifications could offer an interesting angle in understanding better the growing complexity

in disaster policy and practice. In previous sections, I have reflected critically on potential limitations of the study, resulting among others from case study selection and sample size (see § 4.5.1), power imbalances and my positionality as migrant/outsider (see § 4.8.2), and the role of language in the field (see § 4.8.3). The limitations aside, this study provides a number of wider implications for migration and disaster resilience scholarship. The next section will explore these in detail.

8.5 Wider implications

The thesis provides a nuanced account of how the contemporary challenges associated with migration and diversity play a role in disaster resilience building in Birmingham and Toyama. It highlights the need to go beyond narrow approaches to resilience policymaking and emergency planning by instead looking into including a wider population in local resilience building efforts. Public servants and practitioners have become increasingly aware about the need to develop response mechanisms to the ways in which global disaster- and migration-related processes manifest themselves locally. However, while there has been a growing understanding about the challenges associated with the role of migration-driven diversity in disaster preparedness and response, there are a range of considerations and discussions that need to be addressed. The announcement by the Japanese Policy Agency in June 2020 of a launching of a specialised website where citizens can report upon the local disaster situation by uploading pictures and videos, is but one example where authorities and local citizens can work collaboratively to improve disaster response (Japan Times, 2020). Considerations regarding

inclusivity in the design and implementation phase of newly emerging (technologically advanced) instruments is yet another example of how governments can respond to migration-driven diversity in local disaster resilience efforts. How can the findings of the thesis inform the efforts in other cities across the UK and Japan as well as in other geographical locations as they seek to respond to the new and changing realities?

The empirical findings of the thesis can show wider relevance for addressing the challenges associated with building disaster resilience in superdiverse and newly diversifying local contexts. As highlighted at the outset of the thesis (see § 1.2), the two global and intertwined processes pose an additional set of challenges on local actors and communities in their struggle to build disaster resilience. The initial insights from the COVID-19 global pandemic show that the failure to account for migration-driven diversity may have generated some major inequalities in infection rates and mortality. A range of questions emerged in relation to the ethical and moral implications of the ever-tightening relationship between disaster prevention, risk mitigation and human mobility. In what instance does the objective of building disaster resilience justify hampering mobility as a fundamental human right? Is it justifiable to impede the rights of migrant workers in order to build disaster resilience of others? In a world characterised by transnational migration, how do we deal with disasters when the major risk mitigation and management strategies are predominantly built within national or even local remits? Therefore, comparative longitudinal studies are needed to assess the mitigation effort,

long-term impact and implications of slow-onset disasters in relation to migration-driven diversity.

Furthermore, the thesis opens up questions about how migration and diversity are conceptualized, perceived and responded to at the local level. The findings can shed a new light on the meaning of 'community resilience' and 'community' in general (aspects indicated in § 3.5.3). Imagining community resilience in disaster situations under the conditions of growing migration-driven diversity can help us to understand better the prospective and desired resilient communities of the future. I argue that the nature of engagement and the role of migration in disaster resilience efforts, as perceived by public servants and practitioners, is one of the reflections of the role that diversity plays in the society. A better understanding of the localised (mis-)perceptions, representations, and imaginaries around (ongoing and future) processes of diversification can help to focus better on the real threats associated with migration. However, research conducted as part of this study makes me believe that great caution should be exercised when negotiating the desired resilient futures in superdiverse and newly diversifying local contexts. Perhaps, the application of response diversity in the context of resilience in social-ecological systems (SESs) (Leslie and McCabe, 2013), could prompt future research into the role of heterogeneity in human decisions and actions when responding to migration-driven diversity.

8.6 Conclusion

Throughout the work on the thesis, I have observed a growing recognition about the role of migration-driven diversifications in disaster research and practice. Increasingly efforts have been taken up by researchers across a wide spectrum of social science disciplines to understand better the experiences, needs and problems faced by different groups in disaster situations. For instance, new sets of challenges have been identified in relation to multilingual communication, migrant counselling, community engagement, urban resilience, social work and many other. However, still rather limited progress has been made in breaching the differences across disciplines in order to generate a more informed understanding of where migration-driven diversity plays a role. With the use of superdiversity lens in relation to disaster resilience efforts I have demonstrated that the conceptual rapprochement is possible and needed. I then showed, that despite the clear differences across the two dynamically growing disciplines, migration (diversity) and disaster (resilience), potential new insights can emerge, contributing towards a better governance of complexity. A reflection of which is the complexification of the 'social' traceable in both disciplines. Scholars have been re-examining the existing or searching for new concepts that can better explain social realities and contribute towards more evidence-informed policy making. As part of this research project, I have demonstrated that by learning from migration-driven diversities experienced locally and adjusting the existing concepts such as mainstreaming, community engagement and policy entrepreneurship, progress can be made towards a diversity-responsive disaster resilience. Finally, instead of looking explicitly at a specific unit of analysis (community or neighbourhood), I explored the challenges associated

with superdiversity faced by public servants and practitioners reflected in different aspects of their work: the individual, community and city resilience building. An approach, which provided empirical evidence on how diversifications are shaping disaster resilience efforts at different levels and the nature of response taken by actors locally. The discussion chapter summarised the empirical findings in relation to the research objectives identified in the outset of the study. In the next and final chapter, I will return to the three areas in highlighting the contributions to knowledge, lessons for policy and practice and opportunities for future research.

CHAPTER 9

CONCLUSION

The thesis has made a novel contribution to the literature on disaster resilience and in particular, resilience building in superdiverse and newly diversifying communities. Specifically, it has concentrated on the challenges and opportunities emerging locally as a result of migration-driven diversities, and response mechanisms envisaged by public servants and practitioners. While empirically driven in its focus, the study is to the best of my knowledge the first of its kind set to build interdisciplinary bridges between superdiversity and disaster resilience, two bodies of scholarship that have gained prominence in recent years. The exploratory case study approach focusing on Birmingham (UK) and Toyama (Japan) has been adopted to understand better some of the current tensions and challenges associated with participation, representation, and engagement. In its search for adequate instruments and local policy responses to address resilience of diverse populations, this study sets a reference to mainstreaming, community engagement and political entrepreneurship.

9.1 Contribution to knowledge

The overall contribution to knowledge of this thesis rests on the argument that disaster resilience building (in its local expression in Birmingham and Toyama) is not adequately equipped to respond to the challenges deriving from the growing role of migration-driven diversities. Due to the increasing role that superdiversity plays locally, enabling all community members to

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reduce vulnerabilities and respond collectively to disasters becomes increasingly difficult. To elucidate this argument, I detailed the challenges faced by public servants and practitioners in addressing disaster resilience needs of local populations at the individual, community, and city levels. The empirical findings of the research illustrated the different efforts in adjusting the existing, and emergence of new practices and approaches in response to the changing new realities. The thesis did not argue that we are currently observing reconfiguration of existing approaches to DRR, prevention and preparedness to disasters in the UK and Japan, but rather that previous forms of accommodating diversity are not effective in responding to the new realities. Therefore, I highlighted the need to move beyond simple and technical approaches to resilience policymaking by taking into account a range of resilience-building initiatives carried out locally. Importantly, the thesis charted how different instruments, resources and practices were sometimes re-configured and re-purposed to address (the real and perceived) diversification challenges envisioned by public servants and practitioners. Understanding the role of the public servants and practitioners is vital both theoretically and methodologically to the insights into how migration-driven diversities have an impact on disaster resilience building. The above argument contributes to three areas of knowledge: the nexus between disaster resilience and superdiversity; the gap between community resilience and migration-driven diversity; and understanding 'building disaster resilience' from the perspective of complexity and growing challenges for inclusion.

9.1.1 The nexus between disaster resilience and superdiversity

The key contribution of the thesis is the conceptual framework of 'diversity-responsive disaster resilience building', which brings together the perspectives from disaster (resilience) and migration (diversity) scholarship to account for the growing social complexity. As explained in the introduction and Chapter Three, this is a new approach in the social research on disaster resilience, one that draws on the efforts in disaster and migration scholarship to complexity governance. Previous research in many cases created *a priori* the divide between the general population and socially vulnerable minority groups, and either examined social capital of vulnerable groups or examined the practices and coping strategies developed within those groups in response to specific risks. In contrast, I began this study by identifying the social components of resilience in disaster context and the growing complexity around the 'social' within disaster resilience literature.

Moreover, the previous literature examining social complexity in disaster resilience has often focused on specific units of analysis. For instance, social vulnerability or resilience of individuals and groups; community resilience; city or urban resilience. Such approaches potentially omit the important connections between structural and functional factors outlining the complexities of the different levels of resilience building. In the thesis, I argued that all levels (individual, community and city) are crucial to account for the role of complexity in disaster resilience. By using the qualitative semi-structured interviews and ethnographic observations which focus on the perceptions of practitioners and public servants, I was able to

trace diversifications as they shape the temporal and special dimensions of disaster resilience building. The innovative methodological approach allowed me to generate cross-cultural and comparative insights from superdiverse (Birmingham) and newly diversifying (Toyama) local contexts. Thus, due to the focus of my fieldwork on public servants and practitioners, I had extensive opportunities to understand the contemporary challenges and approaches in accommodating migrants' disaster resilience needs (see Chapter Five and Six).

In addition, important progress has been made in recent research utilizing the insights from migration studies to revise the existing approaches to social capital and resilience (Uekusa, 2018; 2020). However, the analysis of disaster resilience under changing conditions shaped by migration-driven diversity required an integrative framework. I drew on the advances made in exploring the complexification around the 'social' in disaster research but focused on local disaster resilience building. The use of superdiversity lens to investigate migration-driven diversity in disaster resilience is an advance that provided an opportunity to bring together the disaster (resilience) and migration (diversity) scholarship. I have proposed a framework showing that revision of a range of existing approaches in line with the new local realities, including among others mainstreaming, community engagement and policy entrepreneurship, can support the work of public servants and practitioners, leading to a diversity-responsive disaster resilience.

The above argument is relevant to the field of migration studies (diversity) where it has been argued that the complex processes of diversification are happening differently in different places, including different speeds and scales, requiring a search for different ways of response (Vertovec, 2019a). In particular, I have made a case for opening the debate on disaster resilience to respond to the challenges associated with general complexification of society. My research illustrated how the nature of response in disaster resilience to challenges associated with growing superdiversity has wide ranging implications for the role diversity plays at the individual, community, and city level. Thus, by drawing on the advancements made by the 'diversity turn' I opened vital new angles that have broad applicability beyond ethnicity and migration studies. Through the actions of public servants and practitioners aiming at governing various forms of social complexity specific visions of resilient communities of the future can or cannot be enacted. The proposed analytical framework therefore provided the opportunity to bring together disaster resilience and migration scholarship to question what the role of migration-driven diversity is (real and perceived), how it can be negotiated and enacted?

9.1.2 Exploring community resilience through superdiversity lens

In this thesis I also addressed the gap that has been identified between disaster research focusing on community resilience and migration studies (diversity). Disaster experts have questioned the overreliance on community as an embedded concept in research and practice (Titz et al., 2018). The use of community resilience in disaster scholarship has been also informed by efforts to avoid homogenising community (Deeming, 2019). Disaster researchers recognised the growing

complexity not only within community structures, but also other reference points including the 'social', 'civic' or 'public' (Dufty, 2020). Similarly, in migration scholarship researchers started to look for concepts and analytical instruments allowing examination of migration-driven diversity across a broader spectrum of complexification of society. In this context, the articulation of superdiversity can stimulate the ongoing search for adequate instruments to capture and analyse complex social configurations.

Superdiversity proved therefore to be a useful concept in disaster-related social research because it is the prominent lens available to social researchers allowing us to zoom into the local implications of migration-driven diversity. Focus on diversifications in disaster research helps us to understand better the changing meaning of inclusion and exclusion. It is important to look beyond the 'othering' practices and majority-minority divides that might have worked in the past to make sense of and position diversity within disaster prevention and response efforts. However, the 'business as usual' approach cannot respond effectively to the current and growing levels of heterogeneity, complexity, and fluidity. Applying superdiversity in the context of community resilience was a useful analytical approach because it pointed to the agility of the concept. The local responses to superdiversity in disaster resilience efforts proved important for the imagining and re-imagining of what constitutes a resilient community in a particular time and space. As I have illustrated, in many instances the public servants and practitioners themselves are trying to make sense of the dynamic, new and shifting realities.

Other new and emerging forms of migration-driven diversity and their representation must be brought into focus. For instance, tracing the changing meaning of resilience building locally under the conditions of superdiversity can lead to a better conceptual understanding of addressing migrants' disaster resilience needs across policy domains (Chapter Five). The focus on community engagement is the key element that links various forms of community activity, including resilience building within culturally and socially embedded community practices as well as migrant-led cross-community voluntarism. However, as I have shown in Chapter Six, the efforts to accommodate new migration-driven diversities within the prevailing model or understanding of multiculturalism in Japan can potentially also produce new forms of exclusion.

In this theoretical context, my research has shown how migration-driven diversifications can re-define the meaning of community resilience. It detailed an array of instruments, mechanisms and initiatives that are re-shaped and re-enacted in response to diversification processes in disaster resilience. In addition, the policy entrepreneurial skills of public servants and practitioners were pivotal in delivering new adequate responses, in particular under the conditions of austerity. The thesis explained how different practices contribute towards what disaster resilience efforts mean locally. The umbrella term of 'disaster resilience building' can be seen as an invitation to include a wider population in resilience efforts. Thus, helping to bridge the gap between pressures faced in disaster practice and efforts to capture social complexity in migration and disaster research.

9.1.3 'Building disaster resilience', complexity and growing challenges for inclusion

The third contribution of the thesis is based on the analysis of the changing context in 'building disaster resilience'. As explicitly stated in the introduction, it was not my intention to question the existing approaches to Disaster Risk Reduction (DRR) and Disaster Risk Management (DRM). I wanted to look beyond the strategies in planning for resilience by local governments and city departments by taking into account initiatives contributing towards resilience-building among diverse populations. My research provided new empirical insights into the role of migration and diversity in building disaster resilience in the UK and Japan. The findings are very timely in the current situation related to the need in addressing complexity in social responses to the coronavirus (COVID-19) pandemic (Van Bavel et al., 2020) and the ways in which problems of inclusion in disaster resilience emerged along the lines of minority politics, ethnicity and race. Throughout the thesis I identified various processes that highlight the growing complexity in disaster resilience building as a result of migration-driven diversities. In the previous chapter I have reviewed the different strands where superdiversity has an influence on the work of public servants and practitioners, by addressing first the local challenges to disaster resilience, and second the nature of responding to it as part of the disaster resilience building efforts.

Ultimately, this thesis aimed to develop understanding what are the contemporary challenges to build migrants' resilience to disasters; what is the role of community engagement and voluntarism in resilience building; and how can superdiverse and newly diversifying cities

respond to disaster resilience needs of their local population. Migration-driven diversities increasingly play a more and more important role in disaster resilience. The growing social complexity places new challenges and demands on various actors, in particular public servants and practitioners. In turn, the diversification processes themselves (re-)define the meaning of resilience at the individual, community and city level in multiple and complex ways.

9.2 Lessons for policy and practice

A range of policy implications emerge from the empirical findings of this thesis. Focusing upon disaster resilience building efforts from the perspective of public servants and practitioners, this study brings new insights into the ways in which local responses to growing diversity come into being. In particular, my research showed that the ways in which migration-driven diversifications find their reflection in local service provision can be associated with painstaking, complex and non-linear processes. The thesis made a case for new, more holistic approaches in building resilience to disasters that take into account growing ethnic, religious or linguistic diversity. By determining the key areas contributing towards resilience building among migrants, the various approaches in community engagement and complexities associated with city-level responses, this study identified potential for improvement, primarily within two policy domains: resilience (Toyama) and migrant integration (Birmingham). It lies beyond the merit of this thesis to decree about the most suitable national or local policy changes to respond to migration-driven diversity in the UK and Japan. However, findings of the thesis made a strong case for more progressive national and city-level policy responses that would

allow for a more unified approach to growing diversity (Toyama) and a move beyond superdiversity complacency (Birmingham). The rising importance of migrant-led initiatives vis-à-vis a rather limited engagement with superdiverse communities perhaps signals the shortcomings or potentially growing gaps in responding to the resilience needs of local populations.

Before highlighting the broader areas of action emerging from this research, I would like to acknowledge the efforts and progress made to date in the UK, Japan (and globally) in working towards (not only migration-, but also disability- and gender-) inclusive disaster risk reduction (DRR) and disaster risk management (DRM). A wide range of stakeholders, including among others local activists, policymakers, practitioners, public servants, NGOs, NPOs, governments and international organisations invest time and resources to design and implement case study reports, specific community assessment tools, frameworks and toolkits. However, the two intertwined processes highlighted in the thesis: complexification of social processes in disaster context and complexification of migration and diversity, perhaps strengthen the case for a more holistic approaches that can lead to diversity-inclusive disaster resilience. Based on my research and previous findings (e.g. Vertovec, 2007; Phillimore, 2011; Pemberton et al., 2019; Scholten, 2020b), three broader areas for improvement (both in policy and practice) can be identified:

- <u>Recognising difference</u>: as evidenced in this study, although not explicitly articulated in the policy documents, migration-driven diversifications pose a range of implications to the

work of practitioners and public servants involved in building disaster resilience. The overreliance on old conceptualisations, inability or unwillingness to respond to the new realities can potentially lead to further problems associated with exclusion (e.g. community engagement) and inequality. Thus, there is a need to find multiple ways to recognise difference, allowing new ideas to emerge, *inter alia* through inclusion of new migrants and more diverse decision-makers, bringing knowledge and experience from around the world and helping to shape service delivery (Phillimore, 2011). The positive changes can help to account for the complexities associated with ongoing diversifications (Japan) and the role that superdiversity plays locally (UK), which are already in evidence in places such as Birmingham, and on the increase in Toyama. This means moving beyond fixed ideas around ethno-national identity and connecting with communities as they evolve to identify their needs when it comes to resilience building.

- Building a better understanding: challenges associated with growing complexification in resilience building may be reflected in different services/policy areas (resilience or migrant inclusion) or even across policy areas (e.g. mainstreaming). Furthermore, the implications of superdiversity presented in the study require accommodating of disaster resilience efforts coming from a wider range of actors (e.g. emergency services, NGOs, migrant organisations). Therefore, fostering the opportunities for cooperation and information exchange between different partners can improve collective planning and response

strategies, as well as limit the spread of misinformation, potentially leading to exclusion and stigmatisation of certain social groups.

- Adapting to change: the complex processes of diversification are happening differently in different places, including different speeds and scales, requiring a search for different ways of response (e.g. policy entrepreneurship). Each disaster situation or the simultaneous layering of different disasters can bring different ways of coping, different ways of belonging and participation. Therefore, the ability to identify and learn from new sets of challenges to resilience building that emerge locally can prove crucial for effective disaster preparedness and response.

9.3 Opportunities for future research

The ideas I developed in this thesis on local disaster resilience building, community engagement and service provision in superdiverse and newly diversifying communities, offer a range of entry points for further research. In particular, the ideas forwarded are relevant to the academic and policy debates about the role of migration-related diversity in modern societies. Findings that I presented in this thesis offer new ways of thinking about responding to difference, with its changing configurations, representations, and encounters, which are relevant to the growing debates about migration and displacement in the context of disasters. As I was finalising the thesis in the context of the unfolding coronavirus (COVID-19) pandemic, I realised how timely and important the research findings can be to understand better the new and complex realities.

Evidence to date shows that ethnic minority communities in the UK with restricted access to vital resources are among those most affected by the negative impacts (PHE, 2020) and are blamed for the spread of the pandemic. There is still rather limited empirical social research on communities with diverse ethnic, cultural, and religious background responding to slow-onset disasters that emerge over time and their longer-term implications. Events such as the international spread of the coronavirus (COVID-19) disease affect much larger number of people than short, high intensity disasters, as their impacts are wide-raging and complex. The exploration of challenges posed by new social complexities in resilience building and disaster response can serve as a natural progression of the work presented in this thesis. In addition, the subject matter of the thesis has covered only some of the (existing and emerging) challenges in responding to migration and diversity in disaster context. Thus, further studies can support the work of the emergency services sector, policymaking, and practice by working more extensively with diverse populations, and potentially formulating disaster resilience indicators for migrants and their families. In sum, this thesis represents an exploration of what it means to build disaster resilience in increasingly complex local contexts shaped by migration-driven diversity, an overarching agenda offering a range of opportunities for further interdisciplinary research.

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APPENDIX 1

A SUMMARY OF RESILIENCE DEFINITIONS

Publication: author and year	Disciplines	Definition
(Abel and Langston, 2001)	Ecological systems	"*The ability to persist through future disturbances.*"
(Adger, 2000)	Ecological and social systems	"*The ability of communities to withstand external shocks to their social infrastructure. The ability of groups or communities to cope with external stresses and disturbances as a result of social, political and environmental change.*"
(Adger, 2003)	Ecological and social systems	"*The ability to persist (i.e., to absorb shocks and stresses and still maintain the functioning of society and the integrity of ecological systems) and the ability to adapt to change, unforeseen circumstances, and risks.*"
(Adger et al., 2005)	Ecological systems	"*The capacity of linked social-ecological systems to absorb recurrent disturbances such as hurricanes and floods so as to retain essential structures, functions, and feedbacks. Resilience reflects the degree to which a complex adaptive system is capable of self-organisation and the degree to which the system can build capacity for learning and adaptation.*"
(Ahern, 2011)	Urban	"*[...] the capacity of systems to reorganise and recover from change and disturbance without changing to other states [...] systems that are 'safe to fail'.*"
(Ahmed et al., 2004)	Community	"*The development of material, physical, socio-political, socio-cultural, and psychological resources that promote safety of residents and buffer adversity.*"
(Alberti et al., 2003)	Urban	"*[...] the degree to which cities tolerate alteration before reorganizing around a new set of structures and processes.*"
(Allan and Bryant, 2011)		"*Resilience is based on the shifting relationship between scales, and between autonomy on the one hand and connectivity on the other.*"
(Allenby and Fink, 2005)		"*Resiliency is defined as the capability of a system to maintain its functions and structure in the face of internal and external change and to degrade gracefully when it must.*"
(Anderies et al., 2004)	Ecological systems	"*The amount of change or disruption that is required to transform the maintenance of a system from one set of mutually reinforcing processes and structures to a different set of processes and structures.*"
(Asprone and Manfredi, 2015)	Urban and sustainability	"*Resilience represents the sustainability of the HEO phase for all the pre-sent and future actors directly and indirectly involved in the recovery process in terms of their economic, social and environmental well-being.*"

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(Axelband et al., 2007)		*"The attribute of a system of systems that makes it less likely to experience failure, and more likely to recover from failure."*
(Berke and Campanella, 2006)	Urban	*"[...] the capacity of a city to rebound from destruction."*
(Berkes and Folke, 1998)		*"Conditions in which disturbances (or perturbations) can flip a system from one equilibrium state to another. [...] the important measure of resilience is the magnitude or scale of disturbance that can be absorbed before the system changes in structure by the change of variables and processes that control system behaviour."*
(Bodin and Wiman, 2004)		*"The dynamic behaviour of the system as it strives (if at all) to return to equilibrium, i.e. the extent to which, and the speed with which return occurs."(or) "The speed at which a system returns to equilibrium after displacement, irrespective of oscillations indicates the elasticity (resilience)."*
(Boin and van Eeten, 2013)		*"The level of resilience is reflected in how well a community or organisation is able to handle the ongoing crisis situation and prevent it from spiralling even further ('precursor resilience')."*
(Brooks and Goldstein, 2003)		*"Resiliency is the capacity to deal successfully with the obstacles in the road that confront us while maintaining a straight and true path towards life's goals."*
(Brown and Kulig, 1997)		*"The ability to recover from or adjust easily to misfortune or sustained life stress."*
(Brown et al., 2012)	Urban	*"[...] the capacity to dynamically and effectively respond to shifting climate circumstances while continuing to function at an acceptable level. This definition includes the ability to resist or withstand impacts, as well as the ability to recover and re-organise in order to establish the necessary functionality to prevent catastrophic failure at a minimum and the ability to thrive at best."*
(Brugmann, 2012)	Urban	*"The ability of an urban asset, location or system to provide predictable performance – benefits and utility and associated rents and other cash flows – under a wide range of circumstances."*
(Bruneau et al., 2003)	Community	*"The ability of social units to mitigate hazards, contain the effects of disasters when they occur, and carry out recovery activities in ways that minimize social disruption and mitigate the effects of future earthquakes."*
(Butler et al., 2014)		*"The degree to which the system minimises level of service failure magnitude and duration over its design life when subject to exceptional conditions."*
(Carpenter et al., 2001)	Socio-ecological systems	*"The magnitude of disturbance that a system can tolerate before it transitions into a different state that is controlled by a different set of processes." (or) "Resilience is related to self-organisation and adaptive capacity."*

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(Chandler, 2017)		"*Resilience can be understood as an adaptation of a postmodern ontology to the problematic of governing per se, rather than merely to an understanding of its limits.*"
(Chelleri, 2012)	Urban	"*[...] should be framed within the resilience (system persistence), transition (system incremental change) and transformation (system reconfiguration) views.*"
(Chenoweth and Stehlik, 2001)	Community	"*Communities can be considered as being resilient when they respond to crises in ways that strengthen community bonds, resources and the community's capacity to cope.*"
(Coaffee, 2013)	Urban	"*The capacity to withstand and rebound from disruptive challenges.*"
(Coles and Buckle, 2004)	Community	"*A community's capacities, skills, and knowledge that allow it to participate fully in recovery from disasters.*"
(Comfort, 1999)	Community	"*The capacity to adapt existing resources and skills to new systems and operating conditions.*"
(Coutu, 2002)	Individual	"*Resilient individuals' possess three common characteristics. These include an acceptance of reality, a strong belief that life is meaningful and the ability to improvise.*"
(Da Silva and Moench, 2014)	Urban	"*A resilient city is a city where there is or are: 1. Minimal human vulnerability; 2. Diverse livelihoods and employment; 3. Adequate safeguards to human life and health; 4. Collective identity and mutual support; 5. Social stability and security; 6. Availability of financial resources and contingency funds; 7. Reduced physical exposure and vulnerability; 8. Continuity of critical services; 9. Reliable communications and mobility; 10. Effective leadership and management; 11. Empowered stakeholders; 12. Integrated development planning.*"
(Dalziell and Mcmanus, 2004)	Organisational	"*Resilience is the union of two components: vulnerability (measured by the ease that an organisation moves from a steady to an imbalance state when involved in an unpredictable event) and adaptive capacity (measured by the rate of change or recovery achieved by the organisation after happening such events).*"
(Desouza and Flanery, 2013)	Urban	"*The ability to absorb, adapt and respond to changes in urban systems.*"
(Egeland et al., 1993)	Individual	"*The capacity for successful adaptation, positive functioning, or competence, despite high-risk status, chronic stress, or following prolonged or severe trauma.*"
(Ernstson et al., 2010)	Urban	"*To sustain a certain dynamic regime, urban governance also needs to build transformative capacity to face uncertainty and change.*"
(Fiksel, 2003), (2006)		"*Resilience can be defined as the capacity of a system to tolerate disturbances while retaining its structure and function. More specifically, in the business context, enterprise resilience is defined as the capacity for an enterprise to survive, adapt, and grow in the face*"

		of turbulent change." (or) "Resilience is the essence of sustainability [...] the ability to resist disorder."
(Ganor and Ben-Lavy, 2003)		*"The ability of individuals and communities to deal with a state of continuous, long term stress, which causes gaps between environment stimuli and their functional coping behaviour."*
(Gordon, 1978)		*"The ability to store strain energy and deflect elastically under a load without breaking or being deformed."*
(Gunderson, 2000)	Ecological systems	*"The magnitude of disturbance that a system can absorb before its structure is redefined by changing the variables and processes that control behaviour."*
(Gunderson and Folke, 2005)	Ecological systems	*"The return or recovery time of a social-ecological system, determined by (1) that system's capacity for renewal in a dynamic environment and (2) people's ability to learn and change (which, in turn, is partially determined by the institutional context for knowledge sharing, learning, and management, and partially by the social capital among people)."*
(Gunderson and Holling, 2002)	Ecological resilience	*"The magnitude of disturbance that can be absorbed before the system changes its structure by changing the variables and processes that control behaviour."*
(Haimes, 2009)		*"Resilience is defined as the ability of the system to withstand a major disruption within acceptable degradation parameters and to recover within an acceptable time and composite costs and risk."*
(Hale and Heijer, 2006)		*"Resilience is flexibility, ability to cope with unexpected and unplanned situations."*
(Hamel and Välikangas, 2003)	Organisational	*"Resilience refers to the capacity to continuous reconstruction." (or) "An organisation is resilient when it is able to build the future, rather than defending the past."*
(Hamilton, 2009)	Urban	*"The ability to recover and continue to provide their main functions of living, commerce, industry, government and social gathering in the face of calamities and other hazards."*
(Handmer and Dovers, 1996)		*"How a system copes with major perturbations to its operating environment."*
(Hawley and DeHaan, 1996)	Family	*"Family resilience describes the path a family follows as it adapts and prospers in the face of stress, both in the present and over time. Resilient families positively respond to these conditions in unique ways, depending on the context, developmental level, the interactive combination of risk and protective factors, and the family's shared outlook."*
(Henstra, 2012)	Urban	*"A climate-resilient city has the capacity to withstand climate change stresses, to respond effectively to climate-related hazards, and to recover quickly from residual negative impacts."*

(Holling, 1973)	Ecological systems	"*The persistence of relationships within a system and as a measure of the ability of systems to absorb changes of state variables, driving variables, and parameters, and still persist.*" (or) "*The measure of the persistence of systems and of the ability to absorb change and disturbance and still maintain the same relationships between state variables.*"
(Holling and Meffe, 1996)		"*The measurement of resilience is the magnitude of disturbance that can be absorbed or accommodated before the system changes its structure by changing the variables and processes that control system behaviour.*"
(Holling et al., 1995)	Ecological systems	"*It is the buffer capacity or the ability of a system to absorb perturbation, or the magnitude of disturbance that can be absorbed before a system changes its structure.*"
(Hollnagel et al., 2006)	Engineering	"*The essence of resilience is the intrinsic ability of an organisation (system) to maintain or regain a dynamically stable state, which allows it to continue operations after a major mishap or in the presence of a continuous stress*" (or) "*Resilience requires a constant sense of unease that prevents complacency.*"
(Holmgren, 2007)		"*Resilience is the ability of the system to return to a stable condition after a disruption. Distinguishing robustness and resilience, using robustness to imply that the system will remain (nearly) unchanged even in the face of disruption.*"
(Horne and Orr, 1997)	Organisational	"*Resilience is the fundamental quality to respond productively to significant change that disrupts the expected pattern of event without introducing an extended period of regressive behaviour.*"
(Jackson, 2007)		"*System resilience is the ability of organisational, hardware, and software systems to mitigate the severity and likelihood of failures or losses, to adapt to changing conditions, and to respond appropriately after the fact. Resilience is the ability to survive disruptions without a breakdown in performance.*"
(Katz, 2004)	Community	"*Ways in which people adapt to changing circumstances to get by and 'make do' through the exercising of autonomous initiative.*"
(Kendra and Wachtendorf, 2003)		"*Ability to sustain a shock without completely deteriorating; that is, most conceptions of resilience involve some idea of adapting to and 'bouncing back' from a disruption.*"
(Kimhi and Shomai, 2004)	Community	"*Individuals' sense of the ability of their own community to deal successfully with the ongoing political violence.*"
(Klein et al., 2003)	Ecological systems	"*The ability of a system that has undergone stress to recover and return to its original state; more precisely (i) the amount of disturbance a system can absorb and still remain within the same state or domain of attraction and (ii) the degree to which the system is capable of self-organisation.*"

(Lamond and Proverbs, 2009)	Urban	"*[...] encompasses the idea that towns and cities should be able to recover quickly from major and minor disasters.*"
(Leichenko, 2011)	Urban	"*[...] the ability to withstand a wide array of shocks and stresses.*"
(Lengnick-Hall et al., 2011)	Organisational	"*An organisation's capacity for resilience is developed through strategically managing human resources to create competencies among core employees to respond better in case of severe shocks.*"
(Lentzos and Rose, 2009)		"*Resilience implies a systematic, widespread, organisational, structural and personal strengthening of subjective and material arrangements so as to be better able to anticipate and tolerate disturbances in complex worlds without collapse, to withstand shocks, and to rebuild as necessary [...] a logic of resiliency would aspire to create a subjective and systematic state to enable each and all to live freely and with confidence in a world of potential risks.*"
(Lhomme et al., 2012)	Urban	"*[...] the ability of a city to absorb disturbance and recover its functions after a disturbance.*"
(Liao, 2012)	Urban	"*[...] the capacity of the city to tolerate flooding and to reorganise should physical damage and socioeconomic disruption occur, so as to prevent deaths and injuries and maintain current socioeconomic identity.*"
(Lietz, 2007)	Family	"*Resilience is not a process that simply applies to individual development. Instead, the ability to use strengths to overcome risk and maintain functioning was also shown in this study to be an important experience for families.*"
(Linnenluecke et al., 2012)	Organisational resilience	"*The organisational capacity to absorb the impact and recover from the actual occurrence of an extreme weather event.*"
(Longstaff, 2005)	Ecological systems	"*The ability by an individual, group, or organisation to continue its existence (or remain more or less stable) in the face of some sort of surprise....Resilience is found in systems that are highly adaptable (not locked into specific strategies) and have diverse resources.*"
(Lovins and Lovins, 1982 quoted in Wildavsky, 1991)		"*Passive resilience is the mere ability to bounce without breaking and active resilience is a deliberate effort to become better able to cope with surprise.*"
(Lu and Stead, 2013)	Urban	"*[...] the ability of a city to absorb disturbance while maintaining its functions and structures.*"
(Luthans et al., 2006)	Psychology	"*The developable capacity to rebound from adversity.*"
(Luthar et al., 2000)		"*Resilience refers to a dynamic process encompassing positive adaptation within the context of significant adversity.*"
(Madni and Jackson, 2009)		"*The many faces of resilience: avoid (anticipate), withstand (absorption), adapt to (reconfiguration), recover from (restoration); resilient system vision: operational environment, detect/learn,*"

		adapt/act; conceptual framework for resilience engineering: system resilience affected by disruptions, enabled by system attributes, associated with methods and measured by metrics."
(Magis, 2010)	Community	"*The existence, development, and engagement of community resources by community members to thrive in an environment characterised by change, uncertainty, unpredictability, and surprise.*"
(Martin-Breen and Anderies, 2011)		"*In order to get a grip on it, one must be able to relate resilience to other properties that one has some means of ascertaining, through observation.*"
(Masten et al., 1990)	Individual	"*The process of, capacity for, or outcome of successful adaptation despite challenging or threatening circumstances.*"
(Masten, 2001)		"*Resilience appears to be a common phenomenon that results in most cases from the operation of basic human adaptation systems. If those systems are protected and in good working order, development is robust even in the face of severe adversity.*"
(Masten and Obradović, 2008)	Individual	"*Individual resilience refers to the processes of, capacity for, or patterns of positive adaptation during or following exposure to adverse experiences that have the potential to disrupt or destroy the successful functioning or development of the person.*"
(McDonald, 2006)	Organisational	"*Resilience conveys the properties of being able to adapt to the requirements of the environment and being able to manage the environments variability.*"
(McManus et al., 2008)	Organisational	"*Resiliency is a function of an organisation's: situational awareness, management of keystone vulnerabilities, and adaptive capacity, in a complex, dynamic and interconnected environment.*"
(Mileti, 1999)		"*Local resiliency with regard to disasters indicates that a locale is able to withstand an extreme natural event without suffering devastating losses, damage, diminished productivity, or quality of life and without a large amount of assistance from outside the community.*"
(Mitroff, 2005)	Organisational	"*Organisational resilience is a continuously moving target that contributes to performance during business as usual and crisis situations.*"
(Norris et al., 2008)	Community	"*A process of linking a set of adaptive capacities to a positive trajectory of functioning and adaptation after a disturbance.*"
(Ortiz-de-Mandojana and Bansal, 2016)	Organisational	"*The incremental capacity of an organisation to anticipate and adjust to the environment.*"
(Ott and Döring, 2004)	Ecological systems	"*Maintenance of natural capital (as the basis for social systems' functioning) in the long run.*"

(Pariès, 2006)	Organisational	*"Intrinsic capacity of an organisation to recover to a stable state (initial or new), allowing it to continue operations after a major mishap or in presence of continuous stress."*
(Pasteur, 2011); (Barrett and Constas, 2014)	Development	*"Capacity of a person, household or other aggregate unit to avoid poverty in the face of various stressors and in the wake of myriad shocks over time."*
(Paton and Johnston, 2001)	Community	*"The capability to bounce back and to use physical and economic resources effectively to aid recovery following exposure to hazards."*
(Perrings, 2006)	Community	*"The ability of the system to withstand either market or environmental shocks without losing the capacity to allocate resources efficiently."*
(Pfefferbaum et al., 2005)	Psychology and psychiatry	*"The ability of community members to take meaningful, deliberate, collective action to remedy the effect of a problem, including the ability to interpret the environment, intervene, and move on."*
(Pickett et al., 2004)	Urban	*"[...] the ability of a system to adjust in the face of changing conditions."*
(Pimm, 1984)	Engineering	*"System's speed of return to equilibrium following a shock."*
(Reinmoeller and Baardwijk, 2005)		*"The ability to self-renew over time by innovation."*
(Romero-Lankao and Gnatz, 2013)	Urban	*"[...] a capacity of urban populations and systems to endure a wide array of hazards and stresses."*
(Rose, 2007)	Economic	*"(Dynamic) resilience: the speed at which an entity or system recovers from a severe shock to achieve a desired state Static economic resilience: the ability of an entity or system to maintain function (e.g., continue producing) when shocked. (Inherent) resilience: the ability to deal with crises Adaptive resilience: the ability (of an entity or system) in crisis situations to maintain function on the basis of ingenuity or extra effort."*
(Rose and Liao, 2005)	Economic	*"Regional economic resilience is the inherent ability and adaptive response that enables firms and regions to avoid maximum potential losses."*
(Rutter, 1990)	Psychological	*"Resilience cannot be seen as fixed attributes of the individual. If circumstances change, the risk alters."*
(Seville et al., 2006)	Organisational	*"A resilient organisation is still able to achieve its core objectives in the face of adversity."*
(Somers, 2009)	Organisational	*"Resilience is more than mere survival; it involves identifying potential risks and taking proactive steps [...] to ensure that an organisation thrives in the face of adversity."*
(Sonn and Fisher, 1998)	Community	*"The process through which mediating structures (schools, peer groups, family) and activity settings moderate the impact of oppressive systems."*
(Starr et al., 2003)		*"Enterprise resilience is the capacity or ability to withstand system discontinuities and adapt to new risk environments."*

(Sundström and Hollnagel, 2006)	Organisational	"*Resilience is an organisation's ability to adjust effectively to the multifaceted impact of internal and external events over a significant time period and to deal with unexpected and disruptive events and understand their long-term impact.*"
(Sutcliffe and Vogus, 2003)		"*Resilience refers to the maintenance of positive adjustment under challenging conditions.*"
(The Canadian Centre for Community Renewal, 2000)	Community	"*An intentional action to enhance the personal and collective capacity of its citizens and institutions to respond to and influence the course of social and economic change.*"
(Thornbush et al., 2013)	Urban	"*[...] a general quality of the city's social, economic, and natural systems to be sufficiently future-proof.*"
(Tierney and Bruneau, 2007)		"*Resilience is both the inherent strength and ability to be flexible and adaptable after environmental shocks and disruptive events.*"
(Tillement et al., 2009)	Organisational	"*The ability to manage disturbances of the normal workflow and to regain a dynamically stable state that allows the organisation's goals of production and safety to be achieved.*"
(Tilman and Downing, 1994)	Ecological systems	"*The speed at which a system returns to a single equilibrium point following a disruption.*"
(Timmerman, 1981)	Community	"*A system's capacity to absorb and recover from the occurrence of a hazardous event; reflective of a society's ability to cope and to continue to cope in the future.*"
(Tugade et al., 2004)	Psychological	"*An individual's ability to adapt to stress and adversity. Resilience is a process and can be learned by anyone using positive emotions.*"
(Tyler and Moench, 2012)	Urban	"*[...] encourages practitioners to consider innovation and change to aid recovery from stresses and shocks that may or may not be predictable.*"
(Vogus and Sutcliffe, 2007)		"*The maintenance of positive adjustment under challenging conditions such that the organisation emerges from those conditions strengthened and more resourceful.*"
(Vugrin et al., 2010)		"*Given the occurrence of a particular disruptive event (or set of events), the resilience of a system to that event (or events) is the ability to efficiently reduce both the magnitude and duration of the deviation from targeted system performance levels.*"
(Wagner and Breil, 2013)	Urban	"*[...] the general capacity and ability of a community to withstand stress, survive, adapt and bounce back from a crisis or disaster and rapidly move on.*"
(Walker et al., 2002)	Socio-ecological systems	"*The ability to maintain the functionality of a system when it is perturbed or the ability to maintain the elements required to renew or reorganise if a disturbance alters the structure of function of a system.*"

(Walker et al., 2004)	Ecological systems	*"The capacity of a system to absorb a disturbance and reorganise while undergoing change while retaining the same function, structure, identity and feedbacks."*
(Waller, 2001)		*"Positive adaptation in response to adversity; it is not the absence of vulnerability, not an inherent characteristic, and not static."*
(Wamsler, 2014)	Urban	*"A disaster resilient city can be understood as a city that has managed to: (a) reduce or avoid current and future hazards; (b) reduce current and future susceptibility to hazards; (c) establish functioning mechanisms and structures for disaster response; and (d) establish functioning mechanisms and structures for disaster recovery."*
(Wardekker, 2011)	Urban	*"[...] a system that can tolerate disturbances (events and trends) through characteristics or measures that limit their impacts, by reducing or counteracting the damage and disruption, and allow the system to respond, recover, and adapt quickly to such disturbances."*
(Westrum, 2006)		*"Resilience is to (i) prevent something bad from happening (ii) prevent something bad from becoming worse (iii) recover from something bad once it has happened."*
(Woods, 2006)		*"The ability of systems to anticipate and adapt to the potential for surprise and failure."*

APPENDIX 2

INTERVIEW TOPIC GUIDE

Topic Guide

"City resilience – how can cities improve their resilience policy-making and how can they better integrate migrants' into emergency and disaster risk reduction (DRR) planning?"

- Approximately 30 interviews to be undertaken
- Each interview to last around 50 minutes in total

Theme 1: The role of migrants in building city resilience - this theme explores the role of migrants in city resilience planning and decision-making.

1. How has the role of migrants in the social structure of the city been reflected in resilience policy-making over the last ten years?

Probe:
- *Have there been any new resilience policies (changes to the regulatory framework) as a result of a major emergency and/or a disastrous event?*
- *Have there been any consultations with the migrants' and/or community leaders in the city to improve community resilience?*

2. How effective do you feel city resilience policy-making have been in incorporating migrants in emergency planning frameworks (i.e. disaster risk reduction measures, communication and swift response)?

Probe:
- *Planning policies at city level.*

3. How effective are city resilience and emergency planning frameworks in responding to i) ways in which migrants' capacities can be leveraged; and ii) ways in which migrants' specific conditions of vulnerability can be addressed?

Probe:
- *How up to date city resilience planning frameworks are considered to be?*
- *The level of flexibility planning frameworks are considered to have?*

Theme 2: City resilience, communication and the role of voluntary sector – this theme explores approaches to incorporating migrants in resilience policy/planning and the implications of increasing numbers of migrants for city resilience.

1. How can the local city government/city council support the inclusion of migrants in resilience planning strategies?

Probe:
- *Ways in which specific migrants' focused resilience policies should be implemented in the city?*

2. How can the resilience policy-making bodies support the inclusion of migrants in resilience planning strategies?

Probe:
- *Any examples that your own organisation has taken to respond to the resilience needs of migrants over the last ten years? (e.g. disaster prevention guidebooks, manuals and trainings for migrants).*

3. To what degree are recent resilience policy approaches in the city reflective of both local residents and recently arrived migrants? Can you provide any examples?
Explore:
- *New measures*
- *Adaptation of the existing policies*

4. Who do you think should lead on building resilience in the city and its diverse communities?
Explore:
- *Use of available resources in times of austerity*
- *The changing and (potentially rising) role of the voluntary sector*

5. Are there any particular challenges/controversies in introducing resilience measures given the city budget restrictions and the need to provide other imperative services (eg. housing, education, health care)?
Probe:
- *Have there been any changes in resilience policy-making/planning due to other key priorities?*

Theme 3: Resilience policy-making and policy entrepreneurship – this theme explores policy entrepreneurial activities at the city level in order to respond to city diversity and conditions of vulnerability that some residents are facing.

1. What types of changes do you feel are required to existing city resilience planning frameworks to accommodate the vulnerabilities and barriers that migrants are facing in case of an emergency or major disaster (eg. limited proficiency in the local language; lack of local knowledge; marginalization; xenophobia)?
Explore:
***Preparation**, prevention, hazards mitigation and empowering communities*
***Recruiting** foreign nationals for emergency training and volunteering*
***Disseminating information** (awareness messages, early warnings, emergency communication)*
***Coordination** (role of local migrant representatives, groups and associations)*
***Reconstruction** (access to services throughout the recovery process)*
***Recovery** (participation in long-term recovery planning)*
***Consultation** (addressing legal, administrative, practical, cultural and economic barriers)*
Other areas

2. What role(s) could the city resilience decision-making bodies play in implementing such changes?

Theme 4: Good practice – this theme explores example of good practice in responding to the needs of migrants in times of an emergency.

1. Can you identify any examples of good practice in the ways that the city has promoted and incorporated good community resilience and emergency preparedness that have either supported better communication and integration of migrants into resilience policies or responded to the diverse residents' needs in times of an emergency?

Closing questions:
1. Can you recommend anyone else in the city that you think I should contact to interview?
2. Would you like to be notified once the research results will be published?

Thank you very much for your time and participation!

APPENDIX 3

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET

UNIVERSITY OF
BIRMINGHAM

Participant Information Sheet

Study Title: *The role of migration and diversity in building city resilience for emergency response and disaster risk reduction (DRR): a case study of Birmingham (UK) and Toyama (Japan)*

You are being invited to consider taking part in an interview as part of the research study – '**The role of migration and diversity in building city resilience for emergency response and disaster disk reduction (DRR): a case study of Birmingham (UK) and Toyama (Japan)'.** The research is carried out by Szymon Parzniewski, a second-year, Doctoral Researcher in the University of Birmingham.

Before you decide whether or not you wish to take part, it is important for you to understand why this research is being undertaken and what it will involve. Please take time to read this information carefully and discuss it with someone if you wish. Please feel free to ask further questions and discuss anything that is unclear with the researcher.

Aims of the Research
This research will examine the practices and processes of resilience policymaking at the city level in two different cultural and decision-making contexts: Birmingham (UK) and Toyama (Japan). It will explore the ways in which migrants can be better integrated into decision-making, policy-setting and implementation of emergency response and disaster risk reduction (DRR) initiatives, and seek to understand the ways in which the past experience (or lack of it) as well as the perceived feasibility of a major emergency and/or a disastrous event experience shape decision-making and resilience planning at the city level. This research will also explore the ways in which the barriers to well-being which many migrants face in normal times translate into specific conditions of vulnerability to natural and man-made hazards.

While we know that there has been a lot of policymaking on building city resilience and effective response to emergencies in the UK and Japan, there is a lack of knowledge about 'policy entrepreneurship' and 'resilience thinking' that often drive the city level policymaking and how these experiences impact upon building resilience in cities with high and low levels of diversity. The collected information will help local service providers to understand the processes underway and to consider (potentially new) ways of ensuring city resilience under current conditions.

Why have I been chosen?
The research involves city and regional level officials involved in formation or implementation of resilience and emergency response policies in the UK (Birmingham) and Japan (Toyama). You have been invited to participate in this study because you meet one of those criteria.

Do I have to take part?
You are free to decide whether you wish to take part or not. If you do decide to take part you will be asked to sign two consent forms which show that you are willing to get involved, one is for you to keep and the other is for our records. You are free to withdraw from this study at any time and without giving reasons. After you have been interviewed you can ask for the information you shared with us to be destroyed up to one month after participation.

What will happen if I take part?
You will be asked to talk about your work and experiences regarding resilience planning and policymaking and about the challenges. This will take the form of an interview. It is envisaged that the interview will last around fifty minutes. All interviews will be digitally recorded and stored on a password-protected computer. These recordings will be kept for ten years. You are free not to answer any questions that you find inappropriate or too intrusive.

If I take part, what do I have to do?
You will be asked to take part in one interview, at a time and place to suit you.

What are the benefits (if any) of taking part?
There will be no material or monetary benefits that you will receive as a participant in this study. Nevertheless, the information you provide will contribute to the better understanding of resilience policy-making at the city level and will give you an opportunity of talking about your work and efforts to build resilience and how they can improve emergency response and disaster risk reduction (DRR). The researcher will make sure that the research results will be shared with both academic and policymaking audiences working in the fields of migration and resilience. In case of your expressed interest you will be able to obtain an electronic or printed copy of the PhD thesis that will be produced as a result of this research.

What are the risks (if any) of taking part?
There are no perceived risks related to your participation in this research. All information will be anonymised and stored in a secured database.

What if there is a problem?
If you are unhappy about the research and/or wish to raise a complaint about any aspect of the way that you have been approached or treated during the course of the study, please write to:

Szymon Parzniewski, researcher:
Prof. Jenny Phillimore, Doctoral Researcher's Supervisor:

How will information about me be used?
A transcript of the interview will be made, but all personal information will be changed or removed. Each participant will be given a unique 'research code' that is known only by the researchers. The purpose of the code is to ensure that the identity of the respondent remains anonymous and confidential.

Analysis of the data will identify the main themes that emerge in the interviews. Where appropriate quotes will be used to illustrate these findings in the PhD thesis and any subsequent publications.

Who will have access to information about me?
The data collected will be made available to doctoral researcher's supervisor. Any personal information will be removed or changed. These transcripts will be stored securely on a password-protected computer and all original transcripts will be destroyed.

Recordings of interviews will be kept for ten years. The transcripts and any other data generated from the interviews will be stored and archived for a maximum of ten years after the research has been completed, to allow verification of data from external sources (if necessary) and to both inform further research and publication.

Who is funding the research?
The research is being partly funded by the Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC) DTC University of Birmingham, and other additional funding sources.

Contacts for further information

PhD candidate Szymon Parzniewski
Department of Political Science and International Studies
School of Government and Society
University of Birmingham
B15 2TTB Birmingham
Email:

APPENDIX 4

CONSENT FORM

UNIVERSITY OF BIRMINGHAM

CONSENT FORM

Title of Project: 'Migration and city resilience'

Name and contact details of person conducting the research:

Szymon Parzniewski on ▓▓▓▓▓▓▓▓

Please tick box if you agree with the statement

1. I confirm that I have read (or have read to me) and understood the information sheet dated for the above study and have had the opportunity to ask questions. ☐

2. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I can stop at any time during the interview and withdraw my data immediately, or if I decide to withdraw after the interview, I am free to withdraw my data until the 30.06.2018. ☐

3. I agree to take part in this study. ☐

4. I understand that data collected during this study will be anonymised before it is submitted for publication. ☐

5. I agree to the interview being audio recorded. ☐

6. I agree to allow the dataset collected to be used for future research projects. ☐

7. I agree to contact the above investigator if I wish to withdraw my data from the project within 1 month of the interview. ☐

_____ _____ _____
Name of participant   Date   Signature

_____ _____ _____
Researcher   Date   Signature

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UNIVERSITY OF BIRMINGHAM

CONSENT FORM
(for use of quotes)

Title of Project: 'Migration and city resilience'

Please tick box if you agree with the statement

1. I agree for my quotes to be used ☐

2. I do not agree for my quotes to be used ☐

_____ _____ _____
Name of participant   Date   Signature

_____ _____ _____
Researcher   Date   Signature

APPENDIX 5

INTERVIEW INVITATION LETTER

UNIVERSITY OF BIRMINGHAM

LETTER OF INVITATION

Address: ………………………………………

………………………………………………….

Dear ……………………………………..,

My name is Szymon Parzniewski and I am currently a PhD student at the University of Birmingham. My PhD research focuses on the role of migration and diversity in building city resilience for emergency response and disaster risk reduction (DRR).

The study has two main aims: First one is to clarify and compare how disaster resilience policymaking at the city level is made in the UK (Birmingham) and Japan (Toyama). Second one is to examine the ways in which migrants can be better integrated into resilience decision-making, policy-setting and implementation of emergency response and disaster risk reduction (DRR) initiatives.

I would like to invite you to take part in the study and would be very grateful if you would consider being a participant.

Before you decide whether or not you wish to participate, it is important for you to understand why this research is being done and what it will involve.

Please take the time to read the attached information document carefully and discuss it with whoever you like.

My research supervisor is Prof. Jenny Phillimore, who is the Director of the Institute for Research into Superdiversity(IRiS), University of Birmingham.

Please direct any questions you may have to me or my supervisor via ▒▒▒▒▒▒▒▒▒▒▒▒▒▒ if there is anything that is unclear or if you would like more information about the study.

With best wishes,

_____
Szymon Parzniewski

APPENDIX 6

FULL LIST OF AUTO-GENERATED CODES IN NVIVO

city
- big cities
- building city resilience
- city budget restrictions
- city center security
- city centre
- city cohesion experts
- city council
- city disaster planning
- city level
- city office
- city organizations
- city planners
- city policy
- city policy planning
- city resilience communication
- city resilience decision-making
- city resilience policy-making
- city structures
- city work
- community city resilience
- date city resilience planning frameworks
- different cities
- existing city resilience
- local city government
- local city government support

- nagoya city
- partner city
- rotten city
- smart cities platform
- takaoka city
- toyama city
- youthful city

city resilience
- building city resilience
- city resilience communication
- city resilience decision-making
- city resilience policy-making
- community city resilience
- date city resilience planning frameworks
- existing city resilience

community
- brazilian community
- british communities
- chinese community
- communities ability
- communities access
- communities reference groups
- community city resilience
- community cohesion
- community demographics
- community engagement type

- community fallout
- community groups
- community integration
- community japonica
- community leaders
- community life
- community meeting
- community resilience
- community resilience approach
- community resilience element
- community resilience message
- community side
- community space
- community support
- different communities
- diverse communities
- empowering communities
- entire polish community
- established communities
- existing communities
- foreign community
- full community input
- good community practice
- good community resilience
- jewish communities

- korean community
- local communities
- migrant communities
- migrant community leaders
- overall community cohesion
- pakistani community
- pakistani community development network
- particular communities
- previous community risk register
- russian community group
- safety community building
- settled communities
- sizable community
- traveling communities
- youthful community

date city resilience planning
- date city resilience planning frameworks

disaster
- big disaster
- city disaster planning
- disaster aspect
- disaster drills
- disaster event
- disaster experience
- disaster funding

*(highlighted codes bear no significance)

- disaster information sharing
- disaster management
- disaster messages
- disaster occasions
- disaster planning
- disaster preparation
- disaster preparedness
- disaster prevention
- disaster prevention culture
- disaster prevention drills
- disaster prevention guidebook
- disaster prevention section
- disaster prevention seminars
- disaster prevention things
- disaster programs
- disaster recovery
- disaster reduction efforts
- disaster reduction planning
- disaster risk reduction
- disaster risk reduction measures
- disaster risk reduction planning
- disaster support
- disaster system
- disaster things
- disaster training

- major disaster
- maybe disaster
- regarding disaster prevention

emergency
- big emergency response
- emergency case
- emergency communication
- emergency funding
- emergency planning
- emergency planning industry
- emergency planning plans
- emergency planning side
- emergency preparedness
- emergency prevention
- emergency services
- emergency situations
- emergency training
- major emergency
- serious emergencies

foreign
- actually foreigners
- ago foreigners
- cases foreigners
- foreign children

- foreign community
- foreign culture
- foreign exchange centre
- foreign experience
- foreign kids
- foreign language speakers
- foreign languages
- foreign nationals
- foreign people
- foreign residents
- foreign students
- foreign stuff
- wanted foreigners

language
- changed language
- different language context
- different languages
- foreign language speakers
- foreign languages
- japanese language
- japanese language barrier
- japanese language teacher
- language barrier
- language expert
- language line
- language translation

- language volunteers
- local language
- native language
- pakistani language
- russian language
- various languages
- volunteer language classes

migrant
- arrived migrants
- cases migrants
- including migrants
- incorporating migrants
- integrating migrants
- local migrant organization
- local migrant representatives
- maybe migrants
- middle migrant
- migrant communities
- migrant community leaders
- migrant conference
- migrant workers
- migrants information
- supporting migrants
- vietnamese migrants
- whilst migrants

- white collar migrants
- people
  - actual people
  - actual people half
  - brazilian people
  - british people
  - case people
  - chinese people
  - contact people
  - disabled people
  - elderly people
  - european people
  - event people
  - fact people
  - foreign people
  - general people
  - getting people
  - good people
  - helping people
  - housing people
  - japanese people
  - korean people
  - local people
  - maybe people
  - moved people
  - muslim people
  - next time people
  - ok people
  - pakistani people
  - pilipino people
  - shops people
  - speaking people
  - total people
  - vacuum people
  - visa people
  - vulnerable people
  - weak people
  - white people

- planning
  - bespoke planning
  - business planning
  - city disaster planning
  - city planners
  - city policy planning
  - date city resilience planning frameworks
  - disaster planning
  - disaster reduction planning
  - disaster risk reduction planning
  - emergency planning
  - emergency planning industry
  - emergency planning plans
  - emergency planning side
  - flexibility planning frameworks
  - local planners
  - long-term recovery planning
  - planning frameworks
  - planning policies
  - planning society
  - planning strategies
  - scenario planning

- planning frameworks
  - date city resilience planning framework
  - flexibility planning frameworks
  - planning frameworks
  - regulatory framework

- policies
  - city policy
  - city policy planning
  - cohesive policy
  - government policy
  - inclusive policy
  - japanese policies
  - local policies
  - migration policy
  - open door policy
  - overarching policy

- overarching policy
- planning policies
- policy changes
- policy coordination
- policy level
- policy type
- recent policies
- recent resilience policy approaches
- resilience policies
- shape policies
- specific policies
- specific resilience policies

- policy-making
  - city resilience policy-making
  - policy-making areas
  - policy-making bodies
  - resilience policy-making

- recovery
  - disaster recovery
  - long-term recovery planning
  - recovery process

- residents
  - diverse residents
  - foreign residents

- japanese citizen resident
- korean residents
- local residents
- non-japanese resident
- particular resident
- permanent resident
- short term resident
- resilience
  - actually resilience building
  - building city resilience
  - city resilience communication
  - city resilience decision-making
  - city resilience policy-making
  - community city resilience
  - community resilience
  - community resilience approach
  - community resilience element
  - community resilience message
  - date city resilience planning frameworks
  - existing city resilience
  - general resilience work
  - good community resilience
  - introducing resilience measures
  - local resilience
  - local resilience forums
  - particular resilience services
  - persona resilience
  - public health resilience point
  - recent resilience policy approaches
  - resilience building
  - resilience factor
  - resilience needs
  - resilience point
  - resilience policies
  - resilience policy-making
  - resilience response
  - resilience thinking
  - specific resilience policies

APPENDIX 7
CHONAIKAI APPLICATION FORM FOR FOREIGN RESIDENTS

（英語）

TO THOSE RESIDENTS OF OUR COMMUNITY WHO HAVE COME FROM OTHER COUNTRIES

Have you adapted to life in Japan?

Here in Japan there is something called a "Jichikai" or "Chonaikai".

There are about 450 such organizations in Fujisawa and one in our community, as well.

The "Jichikai/Chonaikai" is an organization made up of residents living in the same community. These people manage the organization and organize activities which make the community a better place to live in. For example, everyone cooperates in sorting their garbage for easy recycling, making sure that anti-burglar lights are in place on dark roads, cleaning roads together, discussing and solving problems like local traffic conditions and juvenile delinquency, and distributing information concerning city sponsored recreational events.

Although it is not mandatory that you join the "Jichikai/Chonaikai", we think that your daily life will run more smoothly if you do and highly recommend active participation. Membership is by household and there is a small membership fee which is used to cover meeting fees, office expenses, recreational events, "Undo-kai" (a kind of sports event), anti-burglar systems road maintenance and cleaning systems, etc.

Please consult a neighbor about the details before filling in the application below.

JICHIKAI/CHONAIKAI PRESIDENT

（申込先）

for application please contact with.: _____

****

JICHIKAI/CHONAIKAI MEMBERSHIP APPLICATION （自治(町内)会 申込書）	/ /
NAME OF THE HOUSEHOLD （世帯主氏名）	ADDRESS （住所）

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