

神戸市外国語大学 学術情報リポジトリ

Rethinking Social Cohesion through a Child Lens and Its Implication to Japan

メタデータ	言語: en 出版者: 神戸市外国語大学研究会 公開日: 2023-12-15 キーワード (Ja): キーワード (En): 作成者: 松田 裕美 メールアドレス: 所属: 神戸市外国語大学
URL	https://kobe-cufs.repo.nii.ac.jp/records/2000020

Rethinking Social Cohesion through a Child Lens and Its Implication to Japan

Yumi MATSUDA

1. Introduction

Due to war, climate change and natural disaster, human migration has reached an unprecedented level globally. According to the United Nations' estimate, there were around 281 million international migrants in the world in 2020 (IOM, 2022). “Respect for human rights, social cohesion must guide global efforts to create culture of peace (UN, n.d.-a)”. So was stressed by the UN Secretary-General António Guterres at the High-Level Forum on the Culture of Peace in New York in September, 2020. As hate crimes fueled by injustice and discrimination against people with different religions, ethnicity, ideology, and gender have been increasing, the concept of social cohesion has recently received much attention from states and non-state actors including academics.

In countries which have a long history of receiving many migrants and refugees from other parts of the world, social cohesion has been considered as a key ingredient in maintaining a peaceful society or peace-building especially in times of post-conflict situations, social upheaval or economic turbulence, while accommodating socio-economic and cultural diversity (Mishima, 2016; OECD, 2012; UNDP, 2020). In addition, in contemporary politics, social cohesion discussion has become prominent in the West, the Middle East and other parts of the world due to a response to massive immigration and increased levels of ethnic diversity (Holtug & Mason, 2010; Jenson, 2019). Today, given ever increasing global threats such as pandemic, global warming, massive population move, rising hate crimes and violent extremism, it is not surprising that much attention has turned again to social cohesion. In addition, the COVID-19 pandemic and the war in Ukraine have overturned traditional geo-

political landscapes, which has shaped a complex borderless or diversified world, and one can assume that social cohesion is no longer primarily a concern for the countries with certain socio-economic challenges.

Although Japan has often been portrayed as a “non-immigrant” nation in the past, the country is in a transition to a more diversified society. The government of Japan has placed multicultural coexistence at the centre of the relevant policy discussion in recent years. Especially, how to address education issues for children with foreign roots has become a particular concern for the Japanese society (Hirano & Goto, 2018; Sato, 2017).

This paper addresses the following research questions: Is the social cohesion discussion relevant to Japan? If so, in what way? The paper examines if the social cohesion concept, especially through a child perspective, could offer a potential way forward for facilitating policy dialogues in promoting multicultural coexistence in Japan. The paper addresses those questions based on a review of the relevant literatures, policies, and secondary data. In addition, in order to back up some arguments, a limited amount of primary data was collected through expert interviews.

The first part of this paper explores historical and theoretical understanding of social cohesion. The section also discusses how social cohesion differs from other similar concepts, i.e., social inclusion and social capital. Next, the paper examines a role of school education in fostering social cohesion, and explores what social cohesion means to children by introducing UNICEF’s child social cohesion research which the author took part in while serving for UNICEF in Jordan. The second part of this paper assesses the extent to which social cohesion is incorporated in Japan’s policy discussions. Subsequently, a case study of a non-profit organization (NPO) in Osaka is presented to distill some lessons regarding the mitigation of challenges encountered by children with foreign roots and their parents in their daily lives.

2. Theoretical Ground for Social Cohesion

The question asking what social cohesion is and what it has to do with society have prompted much discussion among scholars and practitioners. Social

cohesion is a popular concept nowadays, but there is little consensus on what it means (Mishima, 2016). This section attempts to address those questions as well as the genesis of social cohesion based on a literature review. The section also deepens the conceptual understanding of social cohesion by examining its conceptual relation to and difference from two other concepts, i.e., social capital and social inclusion which often appear in tandem with social cohesion in the literature.

2.1 Definitions

Scholars argue that social cohesion should be viewed as a collective rather than individual trait, as it is a characteristic of society rather than an individual (Bottoni, 2018; Jenson, 2019; Mulunga & Yazdanifard, 2014; Smith et al., 2020). Social cohesion therefore, refers to the extent of connectedness and solidarity among groups in a society.

The literature on social cohesion has produced many definitions and definitional confusion (Friedkin, N.E., 2004). For example, Foncesca et al. (2018) exhibit a list of seventeen definitions chronologically. Further, OECD (2012) argues that social cohesion serves as a means to achieve an end or could become an end itself. However, one prominent argument that is often quoted in many literature and policy discussions defines social cohesion as:

A state of affairs concerning both the vertical and the horizontal interactions among members of society as characterized by a set of attitudes and norms that includes trust, a sense of belonging and the willingness to participate and help, as well as their behavioral manifestations. (Chan et al., 2006. p.290)

The biggest value of this definition lies in a clarity that social cohesion includes a horizontal dimension – relationships amongst individuals and groups within society – and a vertical dimension – relationships between the state and its citizens. This framework has offered substantial help in understanding and operationalizing social cohesion, and laid a basis for social cohesion dialogues including the one for the United Nations. For example, United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) states that in its related

practice, social cohesion could be described along two dimensions: vertical dimension that illustrates “trust between government and society” (UNDP, 2020, p.19), and horizontal dimension that represents the trust among group of people in a society (UNDP, 2020).

2.2 Social cohesion, social capital and social inclusion

This paper now turns into the discussion on the difference or interaction between social cohesion, social capital and social inclusion. In much of the literature and policy communities, social cohesion often engages with other popular terms, social inclusion, and social capital. For conceptual clarity, it is useful to define these concepts briefly.

To define social inclusion, a holistic approach proposed by Mulunga and Yazdanifard (2014) argues, “social inclusion is the process of opportunity enhancement for building or re-establishing social bonds by facilitating the access of all citizens to social activities, income, public institutions, social protection and programs and services for assistance and care”.

Further, European countries define social inclusion as:

a process which ensures that those at risk of poverty and social exclusion gain the opportunities and resources necessary to participate fully in economic, social, and cultural life and to enjoy a standard of living and well-being that is considered normal in the society in which they live. (EU, 2019, p. 9)

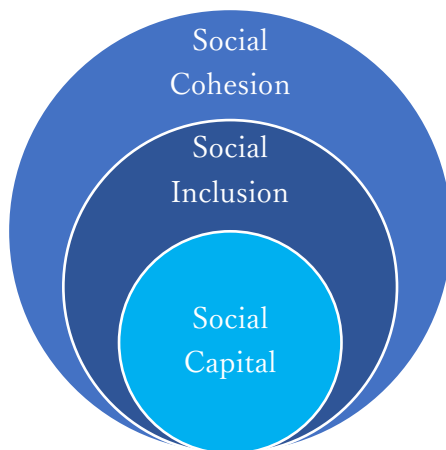
To distinguish social inclusion and social cohesion, the European Union (EU) (2019) suggests that the former is about removing barriers by taking an individual approach so that everyone can fulfill basic human rights, while the latter takes a more societal and relational view.

For social capital, Jenson (2019) and Woolcock and Narayan (2000) attempt to explain the concept in some simple terms: family, friends, and other community or personal networks which are contributing to the groups’ or individual’s wellbeing. Some scholars, however, point out that the social

cohesion discussion is often framed in the context of social capital, or those two terms are used interchangeably (Cloete, 2014; Holtug, 2010).

OECD (2012) argues that social cohesion is a useful conceptual framework which integrates multiple social concerns such as social inclusion and social capital. Going through the body of literature, this section concludes that social cohesion, social capital, and social inclusion cover a broad concept and thus, do not appear to be very different. Nevertheless, it is important to note that those terms do interact significantly as social capital serves as a prerequisite for social cohesion to emerge (Cloete, 2014), and social capital promotes social inclusion (Mulunga & Yazdanifard, 2014) with a caveat that high amounts of social capital do not imply that a high level of social cohesion exists (Chan et al., 2006). In summing up, based on the arguments above, Diagram 1 attempts to visualize an interaction between social cohesion, social capital, and social inclusion.

Diagram 1. An interaction between social cohesion, social capital, and social inclusion



Source: Author

2.3 Genesis of Social Cohesion

The paper proceeds to discuss the historical evolution of the social cohesion concept through examining its genesis and background. Social cohesion is not a new concept. Jenson (1998) traced relevant conversations about social cohesion to Alexis de Tocqueville (French – 1805-1859), Émile Durkheim

(French – 1858-1917) and Talcott Parsons (American – 1902-1979). Further, Larsen (2014) suggests that the conscience collective that was argued by Durkheim in describing the non-material solidarity found among people in pre-modern times is an academic origin of the term “social cohesion”. According to Norton and Haan (2013), its reference can be traced back even earlier in the writing of Ibn Khaldun, the father of sociology, in his concept produced in the 15th century. Khaldun regarded “asabiyah” as the solidarity of small tribes that have the power to promote broader social integration, through a number of stages.

In contemporary times, social cohesion has emerged as a solution to address various issues in transitional society (Jenson 2019; Mishima, 2016). In addition, the social cohesion discussion is strongly linked to the broader aims of post-war and post-crisis recovery to strengthen inclusive, resilient, and responsive state capacities (UNDP, 2020). In Europe, increasing migration and ethnic diversity have become a major concern in society, and social cohesion is placed at the heart of the policy discussions (Holtug, 2010; Holtug and Mayson 2010). Further, Jenson (1998) suggests that growing skepticism for democratic mechanisms in resolving conflict has made some governments turn to foster consensus rather than to resolve conflict.

In 1996, in light with the economic, social and technological turbulence associated with the market forces unleashed by globalization and structural adjustment policies, the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), revived the social cohesion concept for the need to balance attention to economic restructuring with caution about societal cohesion in order to sustain that restructuring (Jenson, 1998 & 2010; Mishima, 2016). Looking back to history, the social cohesion discussion emerged when people faced a newly emerging social order, social restructuring (OECD, 2012), large-scale immigration (Holtug & Mason, 2010), or threats of social changes such as social unrest, social inequality which undermined traditional values (Mishima, 2016).

In recent years, there has been an unprecedented increase in population movement and many affected countries are going through economic and social

transformation (IOM, 2022; UN, n.d.-b). In any society standing at the edge of polarization, hate speech fuels xenophobic attitudes while biased media distorts the image of migrants (IOM 2022). Given that today's world is experiencing social unrest, with the erosion of social cohesion being identified as one of the most pressing threats by global leaders (World Economic Forum, 2022), it is essential to prioritize the restoration of social cohesion, particularly within the context of large-scale migration. It is therefore, important to revive social cohesion conversation within today's massive migration context so that it could facilitate a more balanced approach and help prevent potential conflicts between migrant communities and host communities. In particular, social cohesion should be at the forefront of efforts to recover from the COVID-19 pandemic (UNDP, 2022) that has impacted especially those who are less privileged in many parts of the world.

At this point, however, one must ask if social cohesion always does good for society. Indeed, UNDP (2020) cautions that the term could be highly politicized or manipulated in order to pursue an ideological agenda. By using the name of cohesion, a dominant group may merge or control small groups, minorities, or sub-national identities rather than bridging them. The UNDP's argument alludes that any society which is willing to be engaged in social cohesion dialogues must be aware of its potential risks or threats, rather than blindly applying any particular definition.

To conclude this section, it makes sense to employ a context-specific approach because what social cohesion means to each society may change (OECD 2012), and varies depending on politics and the challenges which each society faces, and the extent to which socio-economic group's cohesion should be pursued.

2.4 Social Cohesion Through a Child Lens

For any society to be sustained for peace from generation to generation, it must be resilient and cohesive (UNICEF, n.d.-a). In view thereof, it is reasonable to argue that it is important to understand what social cohesion means to children because children shape the future generation. Accordingly, UNICEF (2014) recognizes children's critical roles in peacebuilding and social cohesion with an assumption that the process contributing to social cohesion could start in

childhood, and education could play a critical role in this regard.

Over the past two decades, a growing number of policymakers have focused on achieving cohesive societies by reinforcing social cohesion in the educational setting (Veerman & Denesse, 2020). In particular, social and behavioral science literature indicates positive relationships between attending diverse schools and adult life course outcomes. If children can learn happily with other children from different socio-economic groups at school or other learning forums in a cohesive manner, they will develop citizenships which can bring different groups of people together even during hard times by embracing diversity, learning from and helping each other.

Meanwhile, schools have important roles in offering an experience decreasing the distance between individuals of different origins in a classroom and help the interests of many different groups incorporated, through which process human quality needed for the development of cohesive, fair, democratic, and multi-cultural societies with diverse ethnic groups will be fostered (Heyneman, 2003; Mickelson & Nkomo, 2012; Yamano & Yuzawa, 2019).

Although much research exists on social cohesion, it has been conducted largely in an adult context. Thus, there has been a critical knowledge gap as few attempts could be located to define what social cohesion means for children, especially through consulting their own perspective of values, experiences, and practices. It was with this background that an experimental research “Towards a child-led definition of social cohesion” was undertaken by UNICEF (2018). In Jordan, with the unprecedented scale of refugee influx from Syria since 2011, the Jordanian government has been under considerable pressure in fulfilling basic needs such as health and education for both Jordanian and non-Jordanian children alike, pursuing all those children’s social integration at the same time (Jordan Ministry of Planning and International Cooperation, n.d.). This experimental research attempted to understand social cohesion through a child lens, and build a social cohesion definition for children based on the well-grounded theories. The author participated in undertaking this research while serving as a UNICEF staff member in Jordan in 2018.

The research paved a way to understand what social cohesion might mean to children. It analyzed views collected from Jordanian and Syrian refugee children according to different themes such as consultation, freedom of participation and violence/bullying. In the end, children's collective views drew on a fascinating body of social cohesion as defined by children themselves, which helped us understand how social cohesion could be fostered among children. Based on a contents analysis, the research proposed a description of child social cohesion as a cluster of factors as follows.

A child feels an environment is safe, happy, and comfortable, and they can build bridges with other children, when:

- They feel consulted, listened to, and understood;
- They have good relationships with adults;
- They are treated equally;
- Friends are present;
- Trust is present both vertically and horizontally;
- They have and understand clear structures of help;
- There is freedom of expression and participation;
- Everyone is included in activities;
- There is an absence of violence and bullying, both vertical and horizontal. (UNICEF, 2018, p. 8.)

It is, however, important to note that this research had a critical sampling bias. The sample with a total of 250 children between 10 to 24 years old was drawn from the UNICEF beneficiaries' database in Jordan and therefore, data were collected from the most deprived children with particular socio-economic backgrounds only. More importantly, although the Convention on the Rights of the Child defines that children are those who are below the age of eighteen years old (UNICEF, n.d.-b), the sample included those who are older than that age because the primary objective of this research was to define social cohesion from a child perspective for a measurement of the UNICEF supported social cohesion interventions targeting those who are above eighteen years old, too.

The research acknowledged that this sampling bias may have led us to somehow different definitions (UNICEF, 2018, p.9). Nevertheless, it established one way of defining social cohesion for children, or at least, it proved that what social cohesion means for children could be different from that of adult context. In addition, the research found that in the process of analyzing the voices of children, “the vertical and the horizontal interactions” (Chan et al., 2006, p.290) turned out to be a valid analytical framework to define social cohesion for children, too. That is, for child context, vertical interaction applies to the trust between children and adults such as teachers and parents, and horizontal interaction exists between a group of children (in this research context, it refers to the trust between Jordanian children and Syrian refugee children).

Another important contribution of this research lies in its methodological approach and unique data collection tools. The research applied a direct consultation with children as well as observation of group dynamics and individual behaviours. In this research, a direct consultation with children turned out to be instrumental in truly understanding the challenges which they are facing and struggling with day by day. Indeed, Heyneman (2010) pointed out that a consultative approach is highly practical particularly in making complex notions such as social cohesion more understandable to practitioners and policymakers. In addition, from a practitioner’s point of view, it is crucial to factor the voice of the vulnerable or marginalized population in designing any intervention targeting them. Given very few data collection tools exist to explore social cohesion through a child lens, this research show-cased potential methods for future research, which could be considered as a meaningful contribution in filling the existing knowledge gaps. The research also offered a useful hint on how to evoke child social cohesion conversation in Japan.

3. Social Cohesion Context in Japan

This section explores if social cohesion is relevant to Japan through focusing on migrant children’s education and reviewing the relevant policy landscape in Japan. The paper also examines how social cohesion discussion could possibly help policy formulation in promoting multicultural coexistence in learning environments for children by introducing a case study of an NPO in

Osaka.

3.1 Education of children with diverse culture in Japan

According to the official statistics, the number of immigrants in Japan currently stands at about 2.2% of the total population (Statistics Bureau of Japan, 2020). It is still small in comparison to other industrialized countries, but the number has been growing over the past years. In addition, Japan has been facing labour shortages as the society is aging. As a solution, the Japanese government decided to ease the Immigration Control Act in 1990. This prompted many Japanese descendants to come to Japan accompanied by their family members for the purpose of getting employed without planning to stay for a long term or permanently (Ministry of Justice, 2000). Since then, Japan has been experiencing a steady increase in its legal foreign resident population, and the number of children who were accompanied by the families immigrated to Japan, or the children of immigrants born or raised in Japan have been steadily increasing (Green, 2013; Hirano and Goto, 2018; Ishida et al. 2016; Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology, 2021).

As of 2019, a total of 71,611 non-Japanese children were enrolled in primary schools, and the number of pupils who have Japanese nationality but do not speak Japanese is a 2.5 times increase during the last decade (Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology, 2021). An acquisition of a good command of the host community language is crucial in schools in Japan where classrooms and activities predominantly conducted in Japanese (Prasad & Tabata, 2021; Sato, 2017). As a result, the challenges related to the Japanese language are negatively affecting those children's school performance, and thus, resulting in losing their opportunity for receiving higher education and job hunting (Hirano and Goto, 2018).

In addition to the language barriers, culturally diverse children have been facing some other challenges. For example, migrant children often become the target for bullying or exclusion (Prasad & Tabata, 2021). Also, their difference in appearance and ethnic or cultural backgrounds tend to make it hard for them to be blended in to the predominant groups in school, and as a result, they are often not treated equally, or in some cases, are even ignored (Green, 2013;

Ishida et al. 2016).

Meanwhile, immigrant parents are often struggling in educating their children in Japan due to unfamiliar school culture, and a local environment with limited amount of information as communication is often offered in Japanese only in schools (Kato, 2017). A lack of the information make them feel that education institutions in Japan are neither very welcoming (Prasad & Tabata, 2021) nor trusting. As challenges have emerged within the education system for immigrant children, the Japanese government recognizes the importance of fostering multiculturalism and embracing diversity, and some measures have been taken in recent years.

In Japan, the Basic Act on Education that was put into effect in 1947 and revised in 2006 stipulates the aims and principles of education in accordance with the Constitution, the supreme law of Japan (the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology, n.d.). It is the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (MEXT) that is responsible for overseeing various aspects of education such as establishing policies, the national curriculum standards, and providing education related guidelines. Meanwhile, local education board known as “Kyouiku iinkai” implements education policies and overseas school management at local level. The local education board is also responsible for supervising schools’ management in compliance with the MEXT’s policies. Meanwhile, schools, both public and private, are responsible for providing students with quality education in accordance with the national curriculum. Recent increase of migrant children pushed MEXT to establish a policy in 2020 to regulate their schooling status in Japan (Prasad & Tabata, 2021).

In 2006, the Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications (MIC) issued the “Chiiki ni okeru tabunka kyousei plan” [policy for promoting multicultural coexistence locally, and designated prefectural, city and lower administrative governments] (Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications, 2006) in order to adopt the policy for multiculturalism according to local needs and contexts. It was in this document that “Tabunka kyousei” [multicultural coexistence] was mentioned by the Japanese government for the first time

(Sato, 2013). In 2018, the Immigration Service Agencies in Japan established “Gaikoku jinzai no ukeire to kyousei no tameno sougouteki taisaku” [comprehensive strategy for accommodating non-Japanese labour and multiculturalism] (Immigration Service Agencies, 2018). In 2020, in alignment with this strategy, MIC’s policy was updated (Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications, 2020) particularly from the perspective of ‘leaving no one behind’, the principle of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). The updated policy stresses an importance of building a resilient society that can be established through achieving diversity and inclusiveness in preparation for the post COVID-19 pandemic.

The MIC’s updated policy has a dedicated section for supporting education of children who have foreign roots for the following areas: 1) assessment of and support for out-of-school children, 2) information sharing through multi-languages, 3) special language education support, 4) addressing the communication gap between schools and parents, and 5) promoting multiculturalism and international understanding. As per the major revision points, the updated policy flags key points which did not exist in the 2006 policy. Those are for example, the importance of 1) social inclusion, 2) accommodating diversity and 3) non-Japanese residents’ participation in community activities, consultation, and collaboration.

At this point there are two critical issues to be flagged. First, in Japan there is a clear division of responsibilities between the central government and local government in terms of establishing laws, regulations, and policies. The former government is responsible for formulating legal framework and regulations while the latter handles policy formulation and implementation within the local context and the legal framework. However, in case of fostering internationalism or multicultural coexistence, such responsibilities were shifted, and local government took a lead in establishing various precedence prior that the central government introduced regulations (Sato, 2013; Kim, 2011). For example, the term “Tabunka kyousei” [multicultural coexistence] was originated in Kobe City during the reconstruction period after the Great Hanshin Awaji Earthquake in 1995 (Enoi, 2021). Additionally, Hamamatsu City hosted “Gaikokujin Shuujuu Toshi Kaigi” [Council for Cities of Non-

Japanese Residents] in 2001 (Asahi Digital, 2019), much earlier than MIC's "Chiiki ni okeru tabunka kyousei plan" [policy for promoting multicultural coexistence locally, and designated prefectural, city and lower administrative governments] that was established in 2006. Kanagawa prefecture's "Minsai gaikou" [international diplomacy initiative driven by local communities], established by the New Kanagawa Declaration in 1975, was another notable example of bottom-up international exchange efforts driven by the Kanagawa prefectural government (Kanagawa Prefectural Archives, n.d.).

Secondly, although measures have been taken by the government to promote social capital and social inclusion, social cohesion discussion is noticeably missing in official documents. For example, to build a healthy society, the Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare (2014 & 2018) emphasizes social capital and social inclusion as effective measures for improving health, wellbeing, and inclusion within society and businesses. However, the discussion of social cohesion is absent from these documents. A review of the MIC's policy snapshot also confirms that while social capital, referred to implicitly as "local community", "network", "support group", and so on, and social inclusion are promoted as effective measures for fostering multiculturalism, there is no explicit mention of social cohesion. As a result, it could be argued that the discussion of social cohesion has been largely overlooked in Japan's public policy documents.

In Japan, social cohesion discussion could have been somehow alienated in the government's policy dialogues. Mishima (2016) argues that, in reference to the Japanese Association of Certified Social Workers' point of view, such alienation may stem from concerns that social cohesion might involve suppressing minorities through social control for the sake of cohesion. On the other hand, it is noteworthy that "Keidanren" [the Japan Business Federation] places social cohesion at the centre of the 2030 vision, which enables non-Japanese residents to contribute to the Japanese society not only by offering labours, but also serving as a key player in operationalizing social infrastructure in the community where they belong (Keidanren, 2022).

3.2 Japan at the edge of polarization?

Viewing Japan through the lens of social cohesion, which encompasses horizontal and vertical trust, reveals concerning evidence of polarization within Japanese society in recent years.

In Japan, the gap between those who have and have not has been expanding. Although Japan's Gini Coefficient shows a steady improvement in recent years, the country has a higher poverty rate compared to other developed countries. For example, on January 4, 2022, *Yomiuri*, one of the major newspapers in Japan, reported that according to statistics released by OECD, among the seven developed countries, Japan's relative poverty rate, 15.7%, was the second highest after the U.S. in 2018. Concurrently, the number of foreign headed household that receives a welfare financial support from the Japanese government has been increasing (Takaya, 2017a), which implies that poverty has been on a rise among the households headed by foreign residents. Further, the relative poverty rate among female single-headed households went high up to 48.1% according to the Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare (2020). Indeed, the number of foreign national single-headed households, mostly headed by females, has also been increasing in Japan (Takaya, 2017b). This implies that the number of children belonging to such households is also increasing.

UNESCO (n.d.) argues, "education is a basic human right that works to raise men and women out of poverty, level inequalities and ensure sustainable development". Nevertheless, education is one of the areas hit hardest when a household falls into poverty. A nation-wide survey conducted by the Benesse Educational Research and Development Institute (2018), revealed a striking result with regard to parents' attitudes towards the gap in child education in Japan. The survey shows that 52.6% of parents agree with the idea that the wealthier the child's family is, the better education the child receives. The percentage of respondents who accept such an idea has increased from 42.5% in the earlier survey conducted in 2008. In fact, in Japan, education and poverty are closely linked and, the education attainment rate of children tends to be low among the vulnerable households which are receiving the government welfare support (Takaya, 2017a). More importantly, a school plays a pivotal

role in preventing societal divisions as it provides an opportunity for children to interact with their peers, and parents to meet with other parents. When a child loses access to school education, both child and parent lose social connections.

In addition, according to the Edelman Trust Barometer Report (2021), the proportion of Japanese population who believed that the COVID-19 pandemic has been negatively affecting those with less education, less money and fewer resources was just 52% that is the lowest among twenty-seven countries surveyed. This result may imply that Japanese people have a low level of awareness in terms of the challenges which are faced by those who have less resources. Takeda (2009) rightly stresses that understanding the nature of challenges faced by foreign residents help us understand the problems encountered by the vulnerable population in Japan as those challenges are interconnected. This argument insinuates that the foreign residents' challenges should not be seen merely as problems of a minority group, but rather as contributing factors to the widening gap that may lead to societal polarization.

Moreover, viewing the latest survey results from a social cohesion perspective, an alarming situation emerges. From a vertical trust point of view, according to the latest Edelman Trust Barometer Report (2023), among twenty-six countries surveyed for the general population's trust towards the government, Japan was the third lowest following Argentina and South Africa. This survey categorized Japan as one of those countries which are in danger of severe polarization. Further, in Japan, regardless of how long they have resided in a community and the extent of their contributions to the community, many local governments do not grant voting rights to non-Japanese residents, which makes achieving multicultural coexistence difficult (Haruyama, 2022). It is hard to assume those non-Japanese residents placing trust in the Japanese government if they are not given the right to participate in the decision-making processes that directly impact their daily lives and the services which they are entitled to receive as tax payers.

As discussed earlier, social cohesion discussion tends to emerge when the society faces a transition from old value to new value. Given some evidence

of vertical and horizontal trust eroding in the Japanese society, a conclusion can be drawn that the social cohesion discussion is relevant and important to Japan. Further, as the country's future economy much depends on immigrants (Haruyama, 2022; Keidanren, 2022), social cohesion dialogues become crucial to build sustainable society that embraces diversity and multicultural coexistence to shape a future trajectory of Japan.

3.3 In Case of Osaka City

Following the national policy review, this section now focuses on the City of Osaka, in particular, its education policies and learning environment for students with diverse cultural background. This section also touches upon critical roles played by NPOs and citizens in promoting multicultural coexistence.

Osaka City is a city designated by government ordinance. It has a long history of foreign residents. As of 2022, according to the official statistics (Osaka City, n.d.), the city had a 152,560 non-Japanese population, the highest number of foreign residents, among the cities designated by government ordinance. In 2019 the total number of pupils who belonged to primary and secondary education age cohorts reached 3,428, which marked a more than 10% increase compared to 2018. It included a substantial increase of children from Nepal and Vietnam. Meanwhile, regardless of nationality, the number of those pupils who need Japanese language supplemental education, has marked 2.5 times increase between 2014 and 2019 (Osaka City, 2020a).

Hayakawa and Ueyama (2022) argue that Osaka attracts many non-Japanese population partly because of proximity to the Kansai International Airport and partly because it serves as the commercial, business and cultural centre of the southern part of Japan. More importantly, Osaka is known for its strong policies for promoting multiculturalism. Osaka prefectural government is one of the champions that have been promoting human rights based policies for non-Japanese residents (Yamawaki, 2008). Looking back the history of the member of Korean minority living in Japan, Osaka has a unique history of accommodating foreign residents (Hayakawa & Ueyama, 2022) as its civil society has played crucial roles in promoting multicultural coexistence and

protecting their ethnic education. For example, in 2017, an association of citizens in Osaka played critical roles in restoring minority classrooms for Korean children when a notification was issued by the City of Osaka to reorganize ethnic classrooms (Gildenhard, 2021).

In 2020, the Osaka City government updated “Osaka shi tabunka kyousei shishin” [Osaka city policy for multicultural coexistence] (Osaka City, 2020a) in alignment with MIC’s updated national policy. The City’s policy also disclosed some important results of a survey which collected the data from non-Japanese residents who were older than 18 years old and were living in Osaka in 2019 (Osaka City, 2020b). Among the respondents, the highest number were Koreans who accounted for more than one third, followed by Chinese and Philippine nationalities.

School education in Japan has been reinforced by the idea that Japan remains as homogenous society where all the children are assumed to possess similar cultural backgrounds and the same level of the Japanese language competency (Ishida, 2016; Sato, 2017; Enoi, 2021). According to the City’s survey results, among those who expressed a concern for children’s education, 38.6% said that their children are unable to learn their mother tongue or about the culture of their origin, and 35.1% said that children are forced to respect the customs and tradition of the Japanese schools. This result confirms that it has been quite difficult or not even possible for those children to maintain or learn the mother tongue and the cultural values of their origin through school education in Osaka. In order to address such challenges, the City’s updated policy stresses an importance of multicultural education that avails a learning environment where: 1) different values are respected, 2) different cultural identities are preserved, and 3) children can develop a capacity and resilience in surviving globalization and attain greater multicultural understanding.

Although there are notable efforts and improvements made in the City’s updated policy, especially in terms of respecting diversity and different learning needs of foreign rooted children, there seems to be no explicit reference made for social cohesion nor child consultation that is a key ingredient for fostering social cohesion according to UNICEF child social

cohesion research (2018).

Following the policy update in 2020, Osaka City conducted another survey targeting non-Japanese residents with a sample size of 4,000 in 2022 (Osaka City, 2023). According to the results, among those who expressed a concern for children's education, 28.4% said that their children are unable to learn their mother tongue or about the culture of their origin, which is a significant decrease from 38.6% recorded in 2019. Further, 31.3% said that they are forced to respect the customs and tradition of the Japanese schools, which shows only a slight improvement from 35.1% recorded in 2019. Those results show that children's learning environment has been improved in terms of maintaining or learning the mother tongue and the cultural values of their origin since the policy updates, but the culture of Japanese school or traditional Japanese way of teaching still stubbornly remain static. As argued by Shimizu (2017), despite the Japanese government's policies or recent political push for strengthening education support for children with foreign roots, the nature of the challenges which have been faced by those children have remained mostly the same during the past twenty years.

Although it must be flagged that a dedicated research is required to establish any causality or attribution between the City's updated policy and those survey results, a quick skimming of policies for multicultural coexistence issued by the national government and the Osaka City confirmed that social cohesion discussion especially for children in Japan could not be located.

3.4 The Suita International Friendship Association - lessons from the "Halo-Halo" approach

Yamawaki (2008) stresses that multicultural coexistence can be achieved only through building a wholistic partnership by mobilizing different actors such as local government, civil societies, business sectors, schools, and residents. In Japan, critical roles played by NPOs and citizens in promoting multiculturalism is well recognized by the local government. The survey undertaken by Lee and Seta (2014) shows that almost half (41.3%) of local governments are supporting Civil Society Organization (CSOs) and NPOs which are promoting multiculturalism. Also, Takeda (2009) points out that

citizens' willingness to help non-Japanese residents are often triggered by sympathies towards those who are not able to receive much needed support from the government only because of nationality. In this regard, government and civil society can complement each other as the government relies heavily on majority's political wills, while the latter can support the areas where government cannot address or outreach.

The Suita International Friendship Association (SIFA) is an NPO that was established in Suita City, Osaka in 1991. It aims to promote citizen-led international exchange activities to create a peaceful community that respects human rights in cooperation with the Suita City Government (SIFA, n.d.). It is citizens who have been supporting SIFA's activities since its establishment. The Association implements various projects in promoting multicultural coexistence. Those include foreign language classes offering citizens lessons in English, Korean, Chinese, or Vietnamese, which is SIFA's major source of income. Further, SIFA offers a Japanese language class for non-Japanese speaking residents, and cultural exchange events such as a cooking class. In addition, SIFA organizes multi-language training courses for volunteers who are willing to help non-Japanese residents for needed medical or administrative services. The Association, however, does not do a job introduction for non-Japanese residents as such function requires a special license in Japan. In 2022, Suita City awarded SIFA financial resources to start one stop multilingual consultation centre that helps non-Japanese residents with various things related to residential visa, child education, and so on in twelve different languages.

A weekly workshop organized by SIFA is called "Halo-Halo Square", where children with different cultural background gather every Friday. This workshop was named after "halo-halo" meaning "mixture" in Tagalog. Although the workshop was primarily meant to offer learning support or playing space for children, it also intends to provide them with a safe place to meet with other children. Usually, more than twenty children with different cultural background come to the workshop. The workshop opens in the evening so that children who belong to primary school age as well as junior high school can stop by. At the workshop, children read books, play games, or receive

language and other learning support from citizen volunteers such as university students or retirees in the same room. Children can use the service free of charge. Below is a quote from an interview with Ayumi Ohashi, Head, the Suita International Friendship Association (SIFA);

I think that the biggest reason why children come to the workshop every week is to meet other children. When this place was closed due to the COVID-19 pandemic, we offered an online forum so that kids could continue meeting each other. During this period, some children who did not have access to internet at home even went to their relative's place that has internet connection, as they wanted to meet their friends even online desperately. It shows how important it is for children to get connected to others, which gives them a sense of belonging, bonding and being needed.

Ohashi adds that it is relatively easy for non-Japanese children to be admitted at schools as some of the local municipality offices in Osaka are willing to accommodate those kids favorably. According to the list of high school entrance examination special procedures for children with foreign roots in Japan, when taking entrance examination in Osaka, foreign students are allowed to have the tests given in simplified Japanese, use a dictionary, and with extended time for examinations (Miyajima, 2017).

Nevertheless, no matter how brilliant a supporting mechanism the local government has their parents may not be aware of such services. In the past, SIFA has managed to help foreign rooted children to go back to school only because a community-based volunteer group who are teaching Japanese language for those children reported that some kids were always staying at home. Those children are often hidden deep in the pockets of the community and therefore, usually not visible for the eyes of municipality officials. Yamano (2014) stresses that child rearing should be considered as the entire community's responsibility. It is indeed vital for community members to serve as watch dogs keeping eyes on those vulnerable children.

The Osaka City's survey conducted in 2022 disclosed another important

finding. Among those who responded to the survey, asked about an experience in participating in community activities, more than half (60.2%) responded that they have never participated in any community activities in the past, among which, the top three reasons for non-participation were, “not aware of any community activities (40.8%)”, “do not have time (39.5%)” and “never been invited (20.8%)”. This result shows an alarming signal of their “isolation” or “disconnectedness” within a community.

The biggest value of SIFA’s “Halo-Halo” approach lies in connecting children with foreign roots and citizens. While children can benefit from learning support and interacting with peers, volunteer citizens also learn about the challenges which are faced by non-Japanese children and their parents in their daily life. Such awareness harnesses citizen’s understanding that they all are the same human beings who are willing to live in peace and harmony within the same community. A non-Japanese staff who works for SIFA says,

Whether speaking Japanese fluently or not, we can work together. Even if some of us do not speak Japanese, we can still help old people by removing debris and cleaning streets in Osaka when our community is hit by heavy rain or an earthquake.

In fact, as Keidanren (2022) rightly advocates, once non-Japanese residents are truly integrated in the Japanese society, what they can offer is much more than just labour force. A critical lesson that can be drawn from the “Halo-Halo” approach is that it is important to mix different groups. This is because even if different culture could co-exist in the same community, if they exist separately and not interact each other, multicultural coexistence can still result in social fragmentation. This is exactly why the social cohesion concept plays a critical role as it emphasizes about bonding different groups and cultures. It is, therefore, high time to integrate social cohesion dialogues into multicultural coexistence discussion as the latter alone cannot be a sole answer for Japan to pursue.

4. Conclusion

This paper examined the conceptual understanding of social cohesion and its

relevance to Japan within a context of a growing number of foreign immigrants and their children in Japan. Although many efforts have been placed by the government to promote multicultural coexistence in Japan, social cohesion dialogues are largely absent from the current policy discussion. With good evidence of a widening gap and diminishing vertical and horizontal trust in Japanese society, absence of social cohesion discussion stands as an alarming gap. This is because even if different cultures can coexist with the same community, if they remain separate and disconnected from one another, the community will be fragmented.

In this endeavor, well-contextualized social cohesion theory, particularly those focusing on both vertical and horizontal trust through school education, can provide valuable hint for Japan's future policy discussion. Additionally, exploring the concept of child social cohesion in Japan presents a promising avenue for future research, aiming to understand how children with different cultures develop trust with other peers and adults in their own community.

References

- Asahi Digital. (2019). *Gaikokujin syuujyu toshikaigi naze dattai tuzuku*. [Why cities are withdrawing from Council for Cities of Non-Japanese Residents]. Retrieved July 2, 2023, from <http://www.asahi.com/area/gunma/articles/MTW20190215101060001.html>
- Benesse Educational Research and Development Institute. (2018). *Gakkou kyouiku ni taisuru hogosyano ishikityousa digest*. [Survey of parents' awareness on school education, Executive Summary]. https://berd.benesse.jp/up_images/research/Hogosya_2018_web_all.pdf
- Bottoni, G. (2018). A Multilevel Measurement Model of Social Cohesion. *Soc Indic Res* 136, 835–857. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11205-016-1470-7>
- Chan, J., To, H.P. & Chan, E. (2006). Reconsidering Social Cohesion: Developing a Definition and Analytical Framework for Empirical Research. *Soc Indic Res* 75, 273–302 (2006). <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11205-005-2118-1>
- Cloete, A. (2014). Social cohesion and social capital: Possible implications for the common good, *Verbum et Ecclesia* 35(3), Art. #1331, 6 pages.

- <http://dx.doi.org/10.4102/ve.v35i3.1331>
- Edelman. (2021). Edelman Trust Barometer Report 2021.
<https://www.edelman.com/trust/2021-trust-barometer>
- Edelman. (2023). Edelman Trust Barometer Report 2023.
<https://www.edelman.com/sites/g/files/aatuss191/files/2023-03/2023%20Edelman%20Trust%20Barometer%20Global%20Report%20FINAL.pdf>
- Enoi, Y. (2021). *Tabunka kyousei no kyousei ni kansuru kenkyuu doukou*. [Research trend of multicultural coexistence education]
https://www.jstage.jst.go.jp/article/kyoiku/88/3/88_455/_article/-char/ja/
- EU. (2019). From Social Inclusion to Social Cohesion — the Role of Culture Policy: Guidelines for Policy-makers and Cultural Institutions, by the 2017-2019 Working Group of EU Member States' Experts on Fostering the Contribution of Culture to Social Inclusion.
<https://op.europa.eu/en/publication-detail/-/publication/e1b88304-f3b0-11e9-8c1f-01aa75ed71a1/language-en>
- Fonseca, X., Lukosch, S., & Brazier, F. (2018). Social cohesion revisited: a new definition and how to characterize it. *Innovation: the European Journal of Social Sciences*, 1-23.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/13511610.2018.1497480>
- Friedkin, N.E. (2004). Social Cohesion. *Annual Review of Sociology*. 2004, Vol 30, pp.409-425, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/29737700>
- Gildenhard, B. (2021), Contested concepts: internationalisation and multicultural coexistence in Japan – with special focus on ethnic classrooms.
<https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/09555803.2021.1899267>
- Green, D. (2013). Education of Foreign Children in Japan: Local Versus National Initiatives. *Int. Migration & Integration 2014*. 15:387–410.
DOI 10.1007/s12134-013-0299-z
- Haruyama, S. (2022). *Tabunka kyousei no tameno gaikokujin sanseiken*. [Voting rights of foreign residents towards multicultural coexistence]
<https://www.jichiken.jp/article/0280/>
- Hayakawa, R., & Ueyama, H (2022). *Osakashi ni okeru tabunka kyousei seisaku no kadaito konngo no arikata ni kansuru kuousatu*. [Osaka City's challenges in promoting multicultural coexistence and its future]
- Heyneman, S. P. (2003). Education, Social Cohesion, and the Future Role of

- International Organizations. *Peabody Journal of Education*. 78. 25-38.
DOI:10.1207/S15327930PJE7803_03
- Heyneman, S. P. (2010). Social Cohesion and Education. Social Cohesion and Education - Background: Social Cohesion and Development, Social Functions of Education - Schools, Public, School, and Rights - StateUniversity.com
- Hirano, G., & Goto, H. (2018). *Nihongo shidou ga hitsuyou na jidouseito heno kyouiku shien ni kansuru ikkou*. [Thinking of education support for the students who needs the Japanese language learning assistance]. Policy Forum Paper, Osaka
- Holtug, N., & Mason, A. (2010). Introduction: Immigration, Diversity and Social Cohesion, *Ethnicities*, 10(4), 407–414. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1468796810378318>
- Holtug, N. (2010). Immigration and the Politics of Social Cohesion. *Ethnicities*, December 2010, Vol. 10, No. 4, Special issue: Immigration, diversity and social cohesion, pp. 435-451 Sage Publications, Ltd. DOI: 10.1177/1468796810378320
- Immigration Service Agencies. (2018). *Gaikoku jinzai no ukeire to kyousei notameno sougouteki taisaku*. [Comprehensive Strategy for Accommodating Non-Japanese Labour and Multiculturalism]. https://www.moj.go.jp/isa/policies/coexistence/nyuukokukanri01_00140.html
- IOM. (2022). World Migration Report 2022. <https://publications.iom.int/books/world-migration-report-2022>
- Ishida, K. et al. (2016). The Academic Achievement of Immigrant Children in Japan: An Empirical Analysis of the Assimilation Hypothesis. *Educational Studies in Japan: International Yearbook* 93 No. 10, March, 2016. pp. 93–107 <https://doi.org/10.7571/esjkyoiku.10.93>
- Jenson, J. (1998), Mapping the Social Cohesion, The State of Canadian Research. *CPRN Study* No.F / 03. Canadian Policy Research Networks Inc. http://www.cccg.umontreal.ca/pdf/cprn/cprn_f03.pdf
- Jenson, J. (2010). Defining and Measuring Social Cohesion. Commonwealth Secretariat and United Nations Research Institute for Social Development. <https://www.socialcohesion.info/library/publication/defining-an-measuring-social-cohesion>

- Jenson, J. (2019). Intersections of Pluralism and Social Cohesion. The Global Centre for Pluralism. Canada. <https://www.pluralism.ca/wp-content/uploads/2019/01/Jane-Jenson-Social-Cohesion.pdf>
- Jordan Ministry of Planning and International Cooperation. (n.d.). Jordan response plan for Syria crisis 2020-2022. Retrieved July 2, 2023, from <http://www.jrp.gov.jo/>
- Kanagawa Prefectural Archives. (n.d.). *Minsai gaikou no syuppatsu*. [International diplomacy initiative driven by local communities] communities] Retrieved July 2, 2023, from <https://archives.pref.kanagawa.jp/www/contents/1548139883364/index.html>
- Kato, K. (2017). *Kodomo no kyouiku ni oya ha dou kakawaruka*. [How parents should handle children's education]. In Miyajima (Ed). *Gaikokujin no kodomo hakusyo*. [The State of the Children with Foreign Roots in Japan]. (pp. 68-70). Akashi-shoten.
- Keidanren. (2022). *2030 nen ni muketa gaikokujin seisaku no arikata*. [Towards Innovating Migration Policies 2030]. https://www.keidanren.or.jp/policy/2022/016_gaiyo.pdf
- Kim, Y. (2011). *Chiiki syakai ni okeru tabunka kyousei noseiseitotenkai soshite kadai*. [birth, evolution and challenges of multiculturalism coexistence in local community]. <http://jichisoken.jp/publication/monthly/JILGO/2011/06/ykim1106.pdf>
- Larsen, A.C., (2014). Social Cohesion: Definition, Measurement and Developments. Centre for Comparative Welfare Studies (www.ccws.dk), Aalborg University, Denmark
https://vbn.aau.dk/ws/portalfiles/portal/207548602/85_2014_CAL.pdf
- Lee, T., & Seta, F (2014). *Tabunka kyousei wo jyusi shita chiiki zukuri to iu kanten karano jichitai gaikokujin jyumun taisaku ni kansuru kenkyu, Ousyuu hyougikai inter-culture seisaku wo kiso to shite*. [A study on the policy of local government for foreign residents from the view point of "Multicultural Symbiosis" based on "Intellectual Policy" from Council of Europe].
https://www.jstage.jst.go.jp/article/journalcpj/49/3/49_1011/_article/-char/ja/
- Mickelson, R.A., & Nkomo, M.O. (2012). Integrated Schooling, Life Course

- Outcomes, and Social Cohesion in Multiethnic Democratic Societies. *Review of Research in Education*, 36, 197 - 238. <http://dx.doi.org/10.3102/0091732X11422667>
- Mishima, A. (2016). *Social work no global teigi ni okeru syakaiteki kessoku (Social Cohesion) ni kansuru kousatsu – risk kanri ga motarasu dilenmma* [Thinking of social cohesion based on the global definition of social work: A dilemma in the risk management]. *Social Work Journal*. Volume 33. 1–12 2016 https://doi.org/10.20824/jjsssw.33.0_1
- Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology, (2021). *Gaikokujin jidou seito tou kyouikuno genjyou to kadai* [the State and Challenges of the Foreign Children’s Education in Japan]. [PowerPoint slides] https://www.mext.go.jp/content/20210526-mxt_kyokoku-000015284_03.pdf
- Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology. (n.d.). Principles Guide Japan’s Education System, Retrieved July 13, 2023, from <https://www.mext.go.jp/en/policy/education/overview/index.htm>
- Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare. (2014). *Chiiki hoken taisaku no suishin ni kansuru kihonnteki na shishin kaiseian youkou*. [Revised Basic Plan of Local Health Policy]. <https://www.mhlw.go.jp/stf/houdou/2r9852000002dj80-att/2r9852000002dj9h.pdf>
- Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare. (2018). *Housetsu to tayousei ga motarasu jizokutekina syakai no hatten ni mukete*. [Towards a sustainable society by fostering social inclusion and diversity]. Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare White Paper. vol. 1, Chapter 4 <https://www.mhlw.go.jp/wp/hakusyo/kousei/18/dl/1-04.pdf>
- Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare. (2020). *Hitorioya katei no genjyou to siensisaku ni tuite 1*. [the Status of Single-headed Household and Support Policy, vol. 1.]. [PowerPoint slides]. <https://www.mhlw.go.jp/content/11920000/000705274.pdf>
- Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications. (2006). *Chiiki ni okeru tabunnka kyousei shishin*. [Guidelines for Promoting Multiculturalism and Coexistence]. https://www.soumu.go.jp/menu_seisaku/chiho/02gyosei05_03000060.html
- Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications. (2020). *Chiiki ni okeru*

- tabunka kyousei shishin kaitei no pointo*. [Guidelines for Promoting Multiculturalism and Coexistence updated points].
https://www.soumu.go.jp/main_content/000706217.pdf
- Ministry of Justice. (2000). Basic Plan for Immigration Control, the 2ns Edition, Provisional Translation.
<https://www.moj.go.jp/isa/content/001342292.pdf>
- Miyajima, T. (Ed.). (2017). *Gaikokujin no kodomo hakusyo*. [The State of the Children with Foreign Roots in Japan]. Akashi-shoten.
- Mulunga, S. N., & Yazdanifard, R. (2014). Review of Social Inclusion, Social Cohesion and Social Capital in Modern Organization. *Global Journal of Management and Business Research: A Administration and Management* Volume 14 Issue 3 Version 1.0 Year 2014 Online ISSN: 2249-4588 & Print ISSN: 0975-5853. https://globaljournals.org/GJMBR_Volume14/3-Review-of-Social-Inclusion.pdf
- Norton, A & Haan, A. (2013). Social Cohesion: Theoretical Debates and Practical Applications with Respect to Jobs. Background Paper for the World Development Report 2013. World Bank, Washington, DC. <http://hdl.handle.net/10986/12147> License: CC BY 3.0 IGO.
- OECD. (2012). Perspectives on Global Development Social Cohesion in a Shifting World
- Osaka City. (2020a). *Osaka shi tabunka kyousei shishin* [Osaka City Policy for Multiculturalism].
<https://www.city.osaka.lg.jp/shimin/cmsfiles/contents/0000523/523890/01tabunkasisin.pdf>
- Osaka City. (2020b). Reiwa 2 nendo Osaka shi gaikoku jyumin anke-to. [2020 Osaka City Foreign Residents Survey].
<https://www.city.osaka.lg.jp/shimin/cmsfiles/contents/0000495/495529/jyumingaiyou.pdf>
- Osaka City (n.d.). Osakashi no gaikokujin jyumin su tou toukeino page. [Statistics page of Osaka city residents]. Retrieved July 13, 2023, from <https://www.city.osaka.lg.jp/shimin/page/0000431477.html>
- Osaka City. (2022).
<https://www.city.osaka.lg.jp/shimin/page/0000518751.html>
- Osaka City. (2023). Reiwa 4 nendo Osaka shi gaikoku jyumin anke-to. [2022 Osaka City Foreign Residents Survey].

- <https://www.city.osaka.lg.jp/shimin/page/0000594393.html>
- Prasad, J. R. D. & Tabata, S. (2021). Barriers to Education for Migrant Children in Japan at Mainstream Schools: From a Rights-based Perspective. *Journal of Human Security Studies*. Vol.10, No.2 (Special Issue 2021). pp.109-12.
- https://www.jstage.jst.go.jp/article/jahss/10/2/10_109/_pdf/-char/ja
- Sato, K. (2013). Nihon no kokusaika seisaku no sinten ni kansuru chuou seifu to chihoujichitai no henka [Japanese internationalization in action :an overview of the changes in central and local government international imperatives: Moving from an “international exchange perspective” to a “multicultural coexistence” reality. (Part 1)].
<https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/230921553.pdf>
- Sato, G. (2017). Gaikokujin no kodomo ni taisuru gakusyu shidou. [Guidance for foreign children’s learning]. In Miyajima (Ed). *Gaikokujin no kodomo hakusyo*. [The State of the Children with Foreign Roots in Japan]. (pp. 121-123). Akashi-shoten.
- SIFA. (n.d.). Association Overview. Retrieved July 3, 2023, from https://suisa-sifa.org/sifa/about_sifa/
- Shimizu. K. (2017). Nihon no gakkou no naka de. [In schools in Japan]. In Miyajima (Ed). *Gaikokujin no kodomo hakusyo*. [The State of the Children with Foreign Roots in Japan]. (pp. 113-115). Akashi-shoten.
- Smith, W., et al. (2020). School HPE: its mandate, responsibility and role in educating for social cohesion. *Sport, Education and Society*. 26. 1-14. DOI:10.1080/13573322.2020.1742103
- Statistics Bureau of Japan. (2020). Census 2020.
<https://www.stat.go.jp/info/today/pdf/180.pdf>
- Takaya, S. (2017a). *Seikatsuhogo setai to kodomo*. [The government welfare support and children]. In Miyajima (Ed). *Gaikokujin no kodomo hakusyo*. [The State of the Children with Foreign Roots in Japan]. (pp. 88-89). Akashi-shoten.
- Takaya, S. (2017b). *Gaikokuseki hitorioya setai to kodomo*. [The foreign national single-headed household and children]. In Miyajima (Ed). *Gaikokujin no kodomo hakusyo*. [The State of the Children with Foreign Roots in Japan]. (pp. 97-100). Akashi-shoten.
- Takeda, S. (2009). *Kyousei ni muketa sanku to kyoudou* [Participation and

- collaboration towards coexistence: Through supporting children with foreign roots]. <https://cir.nii.ac.jp/crid/1390295658309698432>
- UN. (n.d.-a). Respect for human rights, social cohesion must guide global efforts to create culture of peace, security, Secretary-General Stresses at High-Level Forum. Retrieved July 2, 2023, from <https://www.un.org/press/en/2020/sgsm20241.doc.htm>
- UN. (n.d.-b). Migration. Retrieved July 2, 2023, from <https://www.un.org/en/global-issues/migration>
- UNDP. (2020). Conceptual Framing: Defining and Debating Social Cohesion. <https://www.undp.org/publications/strengthening-social-cohesion-conceptual-framing-and-programming-implications>
- UNDP. (2022). Arab human Development Report: Expanding opportunities for an inclusive and resilient recovery in the Post-Covid era. Executive Summary. <https://www.undp.org/arab-states/publications/arab-human-development-report-2022-expanding-opportunities-inclusive-and-resilient-recovery-post-covid-era>
- UNESCO, (n.d.). The right to education, Retrieved July 14, 2023, from <https://www.unesco.org/en/right-education>
- UNICEF. (2014). Compilation of Tools for Measuring Social Cohesion, Resilience, and Peacebuilding. https://inee.org/sites/default/files/resources/052814_UNICEF-PBEACompilationOfTools_UNICEF_English.pdf
- UNICEF. (2018). Towards a Child-led Definition of Social Cohesion. <https://www.unicef.org/jordan/media/616/file/Towards%20a%20Child-Led%20Definition%20of%20Social%20Cohesion.pdf>
- UNICEF. (n.d.-a). Peace building and social cohesion. Retrieved July 13, 2023, from <https://www.unicef.org/emergencies/peacebuilding-social-cohesion>
- UNICEF. (n.d.-b). Convention of the Rights of the Child. Retrieved July 2, 2023, from <https://www.unicef.org/child-rights-convention>
- Veerman, G., & Denessen, E. (2020). Social cohesion in schools: A non-systematic review of its conceptualization and instruments. *Cogent Education*, 8:1, DOI: 10.1080/2331186X.2021.1940633
- Woolcock, M., & Narayan, D. (2000). Social Capital: Implications for Development Theory, Research, and Policy. *The World Bank Research*

- Observer*, 15(2), 225–249. <https://doi.org/10.1093/wbro/15.2.225>
- World Economic Forum. (2022). *The Global Risks Report 2022*, <https://www.weforum.org/reports/global-risks-report-2022>
- Yamano, R. (2014). *Kodomoni hinkon wo ositsukeru kuni, nippon*. [Japan as a country imposing poverty to children]. (p.p. 219-220). Koubunshya shinsyo.
- Yamano, R & Yuzawa, N. (Ed.). (2019). *Sasaeru tunagaru chiiki jichitai kuni no yakuwari to syakaihosyou*. [Supporting and Belonging, Roles of the national and local governments and Social Protection]. Akashi-shoten.
- Yamawaki, K. (2008). *Nihon ni okeru gaikokujin ukeire to chihoujichitai: Todoufukun no torikumi wo chushin ni* [Local integration of Foreigners in Japan: With a focus on prefectural government]. <https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/59305402.pdf>

Rethinking Social Cohesion through a Child Lens and Its Implication to Japan

Yumi MATSUDA

Kobe City University of Foreign Studies

ABSTRACT

Due to a steady increase in the migrant population, and as the global challenges have overturned traditional geo-political landscapes and shaped a complex borderless world, social cohesion has become an important topic. First, this qualitative study explored social cohesion concept, genesis, and its relation to the concept of social capital and social inclusion, and it also introduced child social cohesion concept. Second, the paper examined the Japan's policy efforts in promoting and fostering multicultural coexistence from social cohesion perspectives by using a case of Osaka. The paper concluded that Japan should factor social cohesion discussion in its policy formulation by applying well-grounded theories, especially fostering vertical and horizontal trust through education in promoting multiculturalism for the future generations.

Keywords: social cohesion, multicultural coexistence, migrants,
education