

Education for Immigrant Children in Japan

A Frame Analysis of the Successful Cases of Hamamatsu and
Kani City

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Abstract

Japan currently faces a rapid increase in labor immigrants due to the decrease of the population. The number of immigrant children is expected to increase because of the open labor immigration policy. Although the education of immigrant children is very complex, Hamamatsu city and Kani city have implemented successful educational policies to solve the problems of out-of-school children. This research aims to determine how immigrant children's education is represented as a problem and how the policymakers are motivated to provide education to immigrant children. The theory of frame and frame analysis are proposed by the different scholars. The inductive frame analysis is conducted on the public documents from the two cities. The results indicate the relevant frames. The policymakers' moral views are highlighted as understanding immigrant children as a part of the local community, enforcing children's education rights, providing opportunities to learn mother language and culture, promoting educational opportunities despite the lack of school information, economical situation and parents' interests. The important findings are the policymakers' value of future benefits from investing in immigrant children's education and the strategic use of frames.

Key words: immigrant children's education, framing devices, reasoning devices, policymakers, Japan

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1 Introduction

1.1 Overview of the topic

Immigration has occurred all over the world, but it often comes with challenges and tensions. Japan is one of the countries that demand immigrants' labor because of the declining birthrate and aging population. The number of labor immigrants has rapidly increased in the last decade due to the open immigration policy. This trend leads to an increase in the number of reunion immigrants' families and their children. However, in terms of immigrant children's education, the Japanese government has not taken adequate measures to include immigrant children in the educational system. Therefore, local governments, for example a city that has a lot of immigrant residents, had to take policy action in order to solve the problem of immigrant children's education. Although the topics related to immigration are controversial in the Japanese politics and the immigrant policies are not always straightforward, some local governments have implemented successful policies and support for inclusive education for immigrant children.

1.2 Research aim and question

The purpose of the research is to examine how immigrant children's education is represented as a problem, how the policymakers understand the meaning of providing education to immigrant children, and how they justify it. This study is motivated by more questions such as how the policymakers have thought about the policy, how they take a step to provide education to immigrant children, why they value immigrant children's education, and what are the challenges to implement it. In order to address these broader motivations, I will apply frame analysis and answer the two research questions. The study looks at the two study cases, which are Hamamatsu and Kani city, that have taken a large step to implement education for immigrant children. When it comes to find frames, I will apply Gamson & Modigliani (1989)'s symbolic devices: 'framing devices' (such as metaphors, catchphrases, and stories) and 'reasoning devices' (causal accounts and moral claims) Thus, the research questions are as follows:

- Which framing devices have been utilized by the policymakers in the *successful* cases of Hamamatsu and Kani city to talk about immigrant children's education?
- Which reasoning devices have been used by the policymakers in Hamamatsu and Kani city in order to understand their justifications, reasons, and values for immigrant children's education?

This case study plays an important role in addressing the issue of immigrant children's education because of two reasons. The first reason is that the case provides new insights into immigration issues which is a controversial topic in Japanese politics. The second reason is that the paper focuses on the frames that show how the issue of education for immigrant children is represented and what should be solved in the *successful* cases at the local governmental level. Therefore, the study is interesting and unique in terms of not only the policy in controversial topics but also the municipal frames to implement *successful* support for immigrant children.

There are three points to mention before reading further sections. First, regarding the term *success* and *successful*, I refer to the local government policies achieved to reduce the number of missing children, send immigrant children to educational institutions, and have been supporting the children constantly. The explanation regarding *success* will be explained later in the case selection paragraph in methodology.

Second, by 'immigrant' children, we refer to the children who moved to Japan from other countries due to family reunion. These children tend to be called 'children who have a background in the foreign countries' or 'foreign children' in the public documents. This is because, in the Japanese politics, to use the term 'immigration' and 'immigrants' is very controversial and sometimes problematic, even if the term has been used commonly outside of Japan.

Third, in terms of actors regarding the research topic, there are five actors that will appear in the analysis. The first main actor is the local government, in this case study, Hamamatsu city and Kani city. The second actor is children who have a foreign nationality or immigrated to Japan. Their parents are the third important actor, for example, deciding their children's school or having responsibility for their children's well being. The fourth actor is the school that provides education for children in the front line. The last actor is the NPO that educates immigrant children such as in Japanese training and counseling the children.

In the following pages, I will describe the six chapters. The first chapter will explain the background of immigration in Japan and the education for non-Japanese children. The second chapter will describe the previous studies in the field. The third chapter will provide the theoretical approaches, which are frame and frame analysis, and the assumptions. The fourth chapter will give methodological accounts such as materials, collecting data processes and limitations. The fifth chapter will show the results of frame analysis in the local government cases. The sixth chapter will discuss the results and give implications. Finally, I will give the conclusion by summarizing the paper and giving suggestions for future work.

2 Background

Japan pursues being a non-immigration country. However, the immigrants' population in Japan has been increasing and the Japanese immigration policies have shifted to be more open for especially low-skilled immigrants from the 2000s (Komine, 2014).

This chapter will first describe the history of immigration policy in Japan. Secondly, the trend of immigration in Japan will be illustrated from the perspectives of population and immigrants' ethnicities. Thirdly, I will introduce the international index regarding immigrants' integration policy and mention where Japan is ranked. Fourthly, I will explain the Japanese compulsory school system and what the educational options for non-Japanese citizen children are. After that, I will remark why the current situation is a problem for immigrant children. Lastly, the background of sample cities such as information on immigration trends in the region and implemented policies is given.

2.1 History of immigration policies in Japan

The first political movement for immigration was the Sixth Basic Plan for Employment Management by the Ministry of Labour in 1988. This identified that "only skilled migration should be permitted" (Komine, 2014, p.198). In the late 1980s to 1990s, the increase of illegal immigration and employment became a problem. Therefore, the second policy change was made. This included an entry restriction for unskilled migrants and strict punishment for employers of illegal workers to solve the problem (Komine, 2014, pp.198-199). In 2009, there was the third policy change that was labeled the Immigration Control Act. The reform was a registration system change from an alien registration card (gaikokujinn tourokusyo) issued by the local government to a new resident card (zairyu- ka-do) issued by the central government (Yasui, 2010). The latest bold policy shift, which we will now turn to, was in 2018.

On November 11th in 2018, the Shinzo Abe administration made a cabinet decision on the immigration control law and immigration policy. Although there were many concerns within his party such as uncertainty on the number of immigrants' intake and a deteriorating condition of public safety caused by immigrants, the decision was made in the cabinet ("Immigration law amendment bills," 2018). The reformed immigration law was enacted in the parliament on December 8th in 2018. The law was promulgated on the same month 14th (ISJA, 2018).

In the reform, the governments opened labor immigration from highly skilled people to more unskilled or semiskilled people. The government expects to adopt 345,000 new immigrants for the next five years (Menju, 2019). High-skilled immigrants can be defined as persons who have a bachelor's degree and a job

offer from a company in Japan (Oishi, 2020). On the other hand, there is not a requirement for academic education for unskilled or semiskilled immigrants. The immigration policy reform in 2018 was the dramatic policy change in terms of openness to low-skilled immigrants.

2.2 Immigration trends by population and nationality

This section describes the immigrants' population and their nationality trends in Japan. According to International Migrant Stock 2019: Country Profile by the United Nations, the number of international migrants increased to 2,498,000 which is the highest point ever in 2019 in Japan. In the recent two decades, the number of international migrants more than doubled. The increase between 2015 and 2019 was already twice as much as the increase of migrants between 2010 and 2015. Thus, the number of international migrants increased more rapidly in the recent five years. The definition of international migrants by the UN is "The midyear (1 July) estimate of the number of people living in a country or area other than that in which they were born" (the UN, 2019).

Regarding the trends on migrants' nationality, according to the Portal Site of Official Statistics of Japan (2020), China is the top origin country of the immigrant population in Japan. In 2020, 786,830 international immigrants were from China. The second top is South Korea and the number was 435,459. China and South Korea are the two countries most immigrants have come from for a long time. However, their rate has been decreasing.

On the other hand, the number of Vietnam immigrants has dramatically increased during the last five years. The number reached 420,415, and it is more than doubled compared to the Vietnamese's number in 2015. In 2020, the immigrants from Vietnam were the third largest ethnic population in Japan and the highest increase rate in all ethnic groups. One of the reasons is that the Technical Intern Training Program (TITP), which is a core program in the current immigration policy, was promoted. The TITP accepts unskilled people from developing countries. The program officially aims to teach technology or knowledge for the future development of their own countries (MHLW, 2020). The fourth ethnic group is from the Philippines. The number of immigrants from there has been slowly increasing for about a decade, 282,023 in 2020. The fifth ethnic group is Brazil, and the number was 211,178. The number of Brazilian immigrants has been flat to up slightly since 2014.

2.3 Migrant Integration Policy Index (MIPEX)

Migrant Integration Policy Index (MIPEX) is a measurement of policies to integrate migrants in 52 countries. This is used to "evaluate and compare what governments are doing to promote the integration of migrants in all the countries analyzed" (MIPEX, 2020). The index measures the countries by eight policy

areas: labor market mobility, family reunion, education, political participation, permanent residence, access to nationality, anti-discrimination, and health.

The index in 2019 concludes that Japan is slightly below the average of MIPEX countries. MIPEX (2020) criticizes that Japanese policies deny that Japan is an immigration country. This refusal causes contradictory policies which become a barrier to immigrants. Foreign residents have favorable access to three categories: family reunification, permanent residence, and the health system. However, the government promotes weak integration policy in basic rights such as anti-discrimination, political participation, and education. Regarding education, they argue that "Immigrant children receive little targeted support in the education system in Japan, similar to the situation of other countries with low numbers of migrant pupils" (MIPEX, 2020). Therefore, they conclude that the Japanese policies do not guarantee immigrants equal basic rights with Japanese citizens.

2.4 Compulsory education in Japan

The Japanese compulsory education includes elementary schools, junior high schools, and schools for special needs education (elementary department and junior high school department). Compulsory education is free of charge. The Japanese schools follow the terms from April to March. For example, the new school grade starts in April. (MEXT, 2015). Elementary school education starts at age 6 and ends at age 12. Students study there for 6 years. After graduating elementary school, they enter junior high school for another 3 years of education, which means it is for ages 13 to 15.

The School curriculum is decided by the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science, and Technology. Normally, school lessons are conducted in Japanese. Japanese schools provide foreign children the same education as Japanese children in principle. In compulsory education, students learn the subjects "Japanese (*kokugo*), social studies (*shakai*), arithmetic (*sansuu*), science (*rika*), life studies (*seikatsu*), music (*ongaku*), drawing and crafts (*zuga kousaku*), home economics (*katei*) and physical education (*taiiku*), moral education (*doutoku*), foreign language activities, integrated studies and special activities" (MEXT, 2015, p.9).

When non-Japanese citizen children desire to enter a compulsory school, they are required to take five steps. First, the parents or guardians need to go to the resident registration counter at the municipal office and submit a notification of transferring into the municipality. Second, the parents inform them that the children want to study at a Japanese school. Then, the municipality will provide the parents with the *Application Form for Enrollment of Non-Japanese Students* or the *Guide for School Enrollment*. Third, the parents fill in the documents and submit them to the municipality. Fourth, the municipality will give the *Enrollment Permit for Non-Japanese Students* to the parents as soon as possible. By conducting the fourth step, the child's school will be decided and confirmed. The last step is that parents and children go to the designated school and talk about the child's school life with teachers. For that occasion, they need to bring the *Application Form for Enrollment of Non-Japanese Students* and documents from the home country's school. At school, they discuss with the parents how to make

the child's school life more successful. Some examples of what is discussed is a date of arrival in Japan, nationality, a period of stay, planned duration of stay, growing up history, educational history at home country, Japanese language study history, medical history and allergies, favorite subjects, strong points, hobbies, and aspirations for the future. At the same time, they will ask the parents questions such as about family structure, contact information and method, way to go to and from the school, family's Japanese language study history, and a need for an interpreter to communicate (MEXT, 2015).

2.5 School options for immigrant children

Japanese citizen children have to receive Japanese compulsory education under the constitution, but what are the options for immigrant children's education?

In the Constitution of Japan, education rights are written in Article 26:

All people shall have the right to receive an equal education corresponding to their ability, as provided by law.

All people shall be obligated to have all boys and girls under their protection receive ordinary education as provided for by law. Such compulsory education shall be free.

The Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science, and Technology (MEXT, 2021) clearly states that:

Since the Constitution and the Basic Education Law stipulate that the Japanese citizens are obliged to have their children receive general education, the obligation to receive general education is imposed on those who have Japanese nationality. It is understood that it cannot be imposed on foreigners.

Therefore, the ministry of education mentions that there is a different responsibility of receiving education between Japanese citizens and non-Japanese citizen children.

There are mainly two education options for immigrant children. The first option is a Japanese compulsory school. According to the MEXT data (MEXT, 2019a), 40,755 children have a background in foreign countries and study at the Japanese compulsory education. The second option for them is international schools or schools for foreign nationals such as Korean schools, Chinese schools, or Brazilian schools. In the second school group, there are three different categories: schools for foreign nationals that are legally permitted by the School Education Act No. 1, schools that are permitted by the School Education Act No. 134, and schools that are not approved by the authorities. (MEXT, 2019b; Hayashizaki, 2015, p.54). These two options are major choices for immigrant children to get an education in Japan.

2.6 Missing immigrant children

The non-Japanese citizen parents do not have a duty to their children to be educated at schools in Japan. The MEXT which is responsible for education policy states that general education is obligatory for Japanese nationality children, but not for non-Japanese citizen's children. Thus, there are the situations that municipalities are difficult to commit to immigrant children's education. This leads to no data about how many immigrant children are not attending the Japanese compulsory school or international school.

However, in 2019, the government assessed the survey of immigrant children's situation throughout the country for the first time. According to MEXT (2019c), 68.7% of municipalities have residents with one or more foreign children, whereas 31.1% of municipalities have no foreign children. When it comes to the number of how many foreign children in a municipality, 62.6% of municipalities have 0-9 students and 18.6% of municipalities have 10-49 students. In summary, the data shows that more than 80% of municipalities have a small number (less than 50) of immigrant children residents.

Regarding missing immigrant children, the data indicates that 7.7 % of immigrant children could not be confirmed and their school attendance. 2.7% of immigrant children could not be reached by the MEXT because they had already departed from Japan, and 0.9% of them were out of school (MEXT, 2019c). Thus, the total number of the foreign children who were not attending Japanese public or international schools is 12,815 (MEXT, 2019c). By looking at the data by a prefecture, Tokyo prefecture was the municipality with the highest number of children who could not confirm their school attendance. The second highest was Osaka prefecture. In contrast, Wakayama, Kochi, Saga, and Kagoshima prefectures could confirm all foreign children's school status. Therefore, in the prefectures that have a large population such as Tokyo and Osaka, it was difficult to reach the immigrant children status, whereas the prefectures that had under 150 foreign children residents were able to grasp the situation of immigrant children's school attendance. Although some part of the data remains uncertain, the survey helps us to understand the status of immigrant children's education.

2.7 Why it is a problem

The section below describes four reasons why the situation of missing immigrant children is a problem. First, because of the lack of obligation for both the government and municipality, they do not assess the educational situation of immigrant children. This is a problem because when the immigrant children do not study at the Japanese compulsory school or international school, the public institutions do not keep track of the children's situation. For example, public institutions do not understand where the immigrant children currently are, whether they are educated or not, and whether they are growing up in healthy and safe conditions or not.

Second, on an international level, the Japanese government does not enforce the implementation of the international human rights agreements for immigrant

children. Japan ratifies the two International human rights agreements: *Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR)* and the *International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR)* (MOFA, 2020). However, given the situation of many immigrant children missing and the lack of obligation of immigrant children being educated, does the government argue that they protect human rights of education for immigrant children?

Third, with regard to education rights, there is discrimination between Japanese citizen children and non-Japanese citizen children such as an obligation to educate children. Besides, education rights for immigrant children relate to other social rights for immigrants. In terms of social rights, does Japan provide the same social rights to immigrants and their families compared to Japanese citizens?

In the last point, if the government or municipalities do not tackle the problem of missing immigrant children now, it would be a large problem later due to the increase of family reunions. As explained earlier in policy history, the Japanese government takes an open approach to low-skilled labor immigrants. When low-skilled immigrants enter the country through the *Technical Intern Training Program (TITP)*, and after the program, if they improve skills and desire to stay in Japan, they can stay as middle-skilled workers. Besides, they can call their family in Japan. Therefore, the government and municipalities should take action immediately to solve the missing immigrant children.

2.8 Background of the sample cities

The sample cities are Hamamatsu city and Kani city. The two cities are exceptional cases in Japan because Japan does not have immigration policies. It is important to take the two cities because they have implemented the policy for immigrant children's education and have achieved to reduce the number of out-of-school children. The study is motivated that other cities can learn a lot from the two *successful* cities. How they think about immigrant children's education is different compared to other cities in Japan. The huge changes in Japan in terms of immigration, but there is also resistance. That's why the two cities took a step to include immigrant children to the educational system. These are very important cases. It is important to identify how the policymakers think about immigrant children's education because it goes against the mainstream of thinking on immigration in Japan.

2.8.1 Hamamatsu city

Table 2.1 Summary of foreigners trends in Hamamatsu city

Total population	Foreigners population (ratio of foreigners' population)	Top 3 countries	The number of foreigners' children in the district
802, 939	24,750 (3.1%)	1. Brasil 2. Filipino 3. Vietnam	2,155

The number of immigrants in Hamamatsu district increased due to the 1990s immigration control reform. However, the number of migrants decreased because of the deterioration in economic conditions in 2008. About half of immigrants in Hamamatsu city are from Latino countries, and the number of Brazilian migrants is the highest number in Japan. At the same time, these days the number of immigrants from Asian countries has been increasing. Regarding the status of residence, the percentage of residence statuses that allow long-term stays exceed 80%, and the situation is that settlement is further progressing (MEXT, 2020).

As regards to *successful* policies and outcomes in Hamamatsu city, there are many responses to immigrant children's education. Hamamatsu city is one of the most advanced local governments in terms of implementing support for immigrant children. As a part of the policies, Hamamatsu city has implemented the strategic policy called *Zero Foreign Children Who Are Not Enrolling in School* (e.g. MEXT, 2020; Hamamatsu city, 2014). This policy was scheduled for a three years period from 2011, and the policy goal was achieved in 2013. The policy specifically targeted immigrant children who do not enroll in educational institutions.

There were three background situations before implementing the policy. Firstly, there were many cases of divergence between registration information and actual living conditions. Secondly, as I mentioned in the background chapter, immigrants' parents do not have a duty to send their children to schools in Japan. Therefore, the municipality took a passive approach to work on the issue of out-of-school immigrant children. Lastly, the Hamamatsu city did not grasp the actual situation about immigrant children enrolling in schools. The estimated number of out of school immigrant children was over 700 in the region. Thus, Hamamatsu city had to start from collecting data about how many children are in the situation by visiting every migrants' house. As a result, the investigation found that over 600 childrens already moved out to other cities or countries, and 16 childrens were in a situation of not being educated (Hamamatsu city, 2014).

The strategic policy set three goals (Mext, 2020, p. 14). The first goal was elimination of out-of-school for foreign children. The second goal was construction of the *Hamamatsu Model*, a mechanism that does not cause out of school, and dissemination nationwide. The third goal was establishing a system to promote the *Hamamatsu Model*. The *Hamamatsu Model* is created in order not to cause out-of-school children. The strategic policy of "zero foreign children who are not enrolling in school" was successfully achieved in 2013 because all children including those who have a background of immigration registered to the

Japanese compulsory schools, international school, the Japanese language school organized by the local NPO, or the introductory class to enter the Japanese compulsory school (Hamamatsu city, 2014).

This model has been pursued after *Zero Foreign Children Who Are Not Enrolling in School* since 2014 (MEXT, 2020, p.14). The model has enforced four types of support: learning guidance when moving in, continuous grasp of school attendance status, detailed support for school attendance, continuous support for becoming established in a school. The first support is handing the paper that is written about school and introducing the educational support center at the city hall, when newcomers move in Hamamatsu city. Second, the local government examines the factual investigation regarding first year students in the compulsory school, newcomers' children, dropout students from the Japanese compulsory school or international school. By doing this data collection, the local government is able to get a picture of the immigrant children situation. Third, Hamamatsu city provides enthusiastic support for enrolling children to educational institutions. The last support is consecutive support after entering schools. For example, language support on Japanese and their mother language, sending out counselors to international schools, and training Japanese volunteers.

The implementing actors of the *Hamamatsu Model* are mainly Hamamatsu city and the Hamamatsu City School Board. Hamamatsu city has conducted mainly the part of giving information for newcomers about schools, collecting datas, sending counselors to schools, and training volunteers for helping the Japanese language. On the other hand, the Hamamatsu City School Board has investigated educational support, educational support before school starts, and counselling sessions with parents. The two institutions have implemented the *Hamamatsu Model* together and shared the information between each other. Further, the two main actors have collaborated with international schools, local communities, various support groups such as NPO, and foreign communities. The network between actors is useful to share information and consult correspondence when estimated out-of-school children are found.

2.8.2 Kani city

Table 2.2 Summary of foreigners trends in Kani city

Total population	Foreigners population (ratio of foreigners' population)	Top 3 countries	The number of foreigners' children in the district
102,245	7,773 (7.6%)	1. Filipino 2. Brazil 3. Vietnam	808

In Kani city, the Brazilian labor migrants increased in the 1990s because of the bubble economy in Japan. Around the 2000s, the number of immigrants from Southeast Asia increased, so the background of immigrants became multinational. However, due to the economic crisis in 2008, the number of Brazilian immigrants

decreased. Since 2010, the number of Filipino migrants has increased. The number of immigrants in Kani city increased due to the increased job offers and family reunions (MEXT, 2020).

Regarding *successful* policies and outcomes, Kani city has implemented five different categories of policies and support in terms of solving children that are in an out-of-school situation (MEXT, 2020). The involved actors to implement policies are Kani city, the Kani City School Board, and the classroom for introduction of Japanese language, and the NPO. The outcome of the policies is, for example, in 2005, the children who studied at basic class for learning Japanese continued attending the public school. This means no children dropped out of school after studying the Japanese classroom (K4). Another example of policy outcome is, for children whose school destination is unknown, Kani city carries out regular fact-finding surveys and home visits. Thus, the number of foreign children and children who are out of school has decreased (K1).

The first support is that the related department will register immigrant children to educational institutions, for example the Japanese compulsory school, international school, or class for learning basic Japanese, when the newcomers' family come to apply for registration in the city hall (MEXT, 2020).

The second support targets first year students from immigrants' families. The main actor here is the Kani City School Board. When they can not see a registration for starting a school, they visit the family to explain about the school system and encourage them to send children to a school. They will constantly visit the family until the parents understand the school institutions and register their children to any educational institutions (MEXT, 2020). Another support is the Kani City School Board sends the letter to all families that have children aged first grade. The letter explains that your children are the age to be educated in schools, asks which educational institution your child is willing to apply to, how parents can register their children to a school, and what are the required documents for that (MEXT, 2020, p.10).

The third support is school transfer from the introductory class to the Japanese compulsory school. If a student does not have a Japanese knowledge to understand the compulsory school level yet, the Kani City School Board sends a student to the classroom to learn basic Japanese. The term of the class is about three months and teaches Japanese school rules, a beginner level of Japanese, and basic mathematics. After this class program, students will be sent to the Japanese compulsory school. However, if the students can not follow the Japanese compulsory curriculum, they are able to take special education for learning more Japanese or getting educational support from tutors.

The fourth support is the arrangement of translators in schools. The 17 translators are available in Portuguese, Filipino, and Chinese language (MEXT, 2020). Sometimes, translators help the Kani City School Board to visit immigrant families to talk about child education.

The last support is the Japanese language school provided by the NPO. The introductory classroom is limited to only 35 students. Due to the increasing

number of newcomer children in Kani city, the NPO's language school is for waiting children to attend the introductory classroom. Additionally, the NPO provides mental counseling for children that become difficult to go to school such as experiencing bullying at school. This mental care is provided in their mother tongue.

To conclude the policies that have been implemented in Kani city, the policy covered a variety of supports to encourage the registration of entering educational institutions for the first year student, to follow up out-of-school students until parents agree to send their children, and to welcome immigrant children at educational institutions by adjusting their Japanese language level. Thus, the policy covers comprehensive needs for immigrant children's education.

3 Literature Review

This chapter aims to inform what is already known about the topic of immigrant children's education and out-of-school immigrant children. The first part will describe the previous studies of Japan's immigration policy in order to give the historical overview on the policies. The second part will explain the importance of immigrant children's education and school and municipality roles in the education. The third part will outline the studies on immigrant children in Japan. This part contains definitions of immigrant and out-of-school children, study trends on immigrant children's education, and related concepts to it.

Overall, in terms of the Japanese context, the literature review highlights how the Japanese immigration policies have been developed, how immigrant children are defined in the Japanese politics, and which concepts have been identified in the studies of immigrant children's education. It is important to describe the previous studies related to Japan for understanding the context because the situation of immigration is very different compared to the western countries.

3.1 Studies of immigration policy in Japan

This part will explain the history of immigration policy in Japan. Previous research has established that the Japanese immigration change has been slow until the prominent immigration policy change in 2018. Peng (2016) examines the causes of slow-developing immigration policies in Japan from the perspective of discursive institutionalism. Peng (2016) finds that the discourse of pro-immigration by the government is contrary to the Japanese public discourse which is ethnic-cultural homogeneity. This is why the development of immigration policy in Japan has been slow. The aging population and low birth rate have been discussed as reasons why Japan needs immigrants (Akashi, 2014; Bradford & Phillips, 2018). Akashi (2014) researches the effects of rapid aging and population decline on Japan's immigration policies. The analysis concludes that Japan has been still on track with the traditional closed policy for immigration because of the lack of a consensus from the main political actors (Akashi, 2014).

However, there was a drastic shift in Japan's immigration policy in 2018. To date, some of the studies have investigated the policy reform in 2018 (Oishi, 2020; Nonaka, 2019). In the reform, the governments opened labor immigration from highly skilled people to more unskilled or semiskilled people. The reform expects to adopt the new 345,000 immigrants for the next five years (Menju, 2019). High-skilled immigrants can be defined as people who have a bachelor's degree and a job offer from a company in Japan (Oishi, 2020). On the other hand, unskilled or semiskilled immigrants do not require academic education. However, unskilled immigrants have more regulations, for example, they need to pass the Japanese language exam and knowledge test five years after entering Japan

(Oishi, 2020). All processes of passing the bill in the parliament were surprisingly fast after the first idea of immigration policy change appeared on the agendas. Nonaka (2019) points out that the lobbying by the Japan Chambers of Commerce and Industry directory affected the policy change in 2018 as regards the lack of labor. Also, the request for immigration policy reform was a useful tool to win the next election (Nonaka, 2019). Oishi (2020) shows how the new immigration policy is suited to global, national, and regional goals. Although previous studies have dealt with how the rapid immigration policy reform occurred, the outcome of the new immigration policy has not been published yet.

3.2 Studies of immigrant children's education and wellbeing

3.2.1 Why education is important for immigrant children

Public education is important in order to reduce "income inequality, facilitate upward mobility, and foster economic growth" because many immigrant families are in disadvantaged socio-economic conditions (Tanaka, Farre, and Ortega, 2018, p. 141; Säävälä 2012). Tanaka et al. (2018) analyze what the impacts of immigration on the size and quality of public education are from a political economy perspective. Education for immigrants should be invested in and taken as the priority. This has been seen in the case of providing policies that reduce the discrimination in the labor market and improving diversity in private schools in order to appeal to immigrant students (Tanaka et al., 2018). Hillmert's (2013, p. 19) empirical study shows that social-economic status and fluency of the language of the immigrated country are significant factors to the immigrants' educational success. However, the analysis reports little about the effects of migration status and the difference between migrants' generations in the deeper case of the sample countries.

3.2.2 School role for immigrant children

Schools play a major role in children's growing up in three aspects. First, schools are the place that children learn and practice to socialize in the world and improve their abilities (Okano & Tsuneyoshi, 2010). The public believes that schools provide children with legitimate knowledge (Okano & Tsuneyoshi, 2010, p. 19). In addition, what is happening in schools mirrors society and social change (Okano & Tsuneyoshi, 2010, p.19). Second, schools are a key actor in capturing and improving children's wellbeing (Säävälä, 2012). Furthermore, the "health-promoting school" approach relates to the central welfare issues such as "democratic practices, participation, and equity" (Säävälä, 2012, p.32). The process of migrating to a new place affects parenting and family relationships. This effect increases the risk for immigrant children's health and wellbeing (Säävälä, 2012). Therefore, tracking of wellbeing by schools is important, especially for children that have an immigration background. Finally, the role of a

school is to provide a place for collaboration with diverse actors. People from minority backgrounds may be separated from the native Japanese people or communities. However, schools create opportunities for discussing children's education through cooperation of people from different backgrounds. For instance, collaboration between schools' educators, minority communities, and children's families (Okano & Tsuneyoshi, 2010).

3.2.3 Municipality role in immigrant children's education

The relationship between the local government and education for newcomer children has two features. The first feature is that educational policy and institutions affect immigrants' performance in society (Hillmert, 2013). Examples of policies that impact immigrant students' successful integrations are "the degree of compulsion and quality of pre-schooling and organized childcare (on both the nursery and the kindergarten level) and schooling policies in general (availability of institutional alternatives, curricula, etc.)" (Hillmert, 2013, p.11). The second feature is that the local government concentrates its effort on managing cultural diversity at the regional level (Okano, 2006).

In regards to integration, Hillmert (2013) explains the immigrants' integration in two ways: system integration and social integration. Firstly, system integration is "the retention of the basic functional capacities of a society experiencing immigration". Secondly, the example of social integration is "the social inclusion of individual actors" (Hillmert, 2013, p.8). Social integration is a necessary condition for a successful education (Hillmert, 2013).

In terms of municipalities' policymaking related to immigration, Spencer & Delvino (2019) argue that the local government has established their own integration policy and philosophies. The reason is that municipalities or cities do not face the same problem with the national level. A study emphasizes that the local policies are shaped by reflecting "a pragmatic need to address particular socio economic problems" (Spencer & Delvino, 2019, p. 29). In contrast, other studies argue that policymakers' awareness of their municipality affects the different pragmatic needs (Spencer & Delvino, 2019).

3.3 Studies on immigrant children in Japan

The immigrant children that are not attending schools find it hard to find the articles in other countries than Japan because the immigrant children's situation of out of school education is a unique case in Japan. For example, the study from Sweden shows the struggle over human rights to education for undocumented youth (Lundberg & Strange, 2017). Although there are studies on the immigrant children in the situation of being undocumented and uneducated, it is difficult to find the case like Japan which has immigrant children documented but not registered to schools. Due to the unique situations, it is important to understand the children's situation in the Japanese policy and social context. Thus, this part will provide how the studies of immigrant children's education have developed in Japan.

3.3.1 Definition of immigrant children and out-of-school children

Haino (2017) summarises that there are three ways of calling the immigrant children. The first term is children with foreign roots. This is defined by the host society and not by the one experiencing it. It is common to analyze the support for children with foreign roots from the perspective of the host country. Haino (2017) outlines that the studies regarding education about children with foreign roots focus on examining educational support. The second term is children crossing borders (e.g. Kawakami, 2006). This term is used in the study of the Japanese language education. The analytical approach is the crossing between different cultures or languages. Kawakami claims that, in practice, the children crossing borders should be understood not only from the viewpoint of resources and economic contribution within the framework of one nation, but the viewpoint of becoming a member of the global community (Haino, 2017, p. 123). The third term is the second generation immigrants. When it comes to the categories of the second generation immigrants, the studies cover large fields such as education, participation in the labor market, integration, identity, and acculturation. Even though the research theme has been expanded, the majority of research regarding migrant children in Japan are considered as children with foreign roots (Haino, 2017).

In the case of out-of-school children, Kojima (2008) defines an unattendance as the children who are not attending, although they are school-age. This includes the children that drop out of school and have been absent from school more than thirty days in a year. In contrast, an attendance status is defined as the children that are attending the Japanese public schools or international schools (Kojima, 2008). Sato (2009) defines unattending children as the gap between the number of foreign registration and the number of the students' registration in the Japanese compulsory schools and international schools. This paper takes the definition by Kojima (2008). I will refer to the immigrant children in the situation of not attending schools as either unattendance, out-of-school, or non attending children in the research.

3.3.2 Study trends on immigrant children's education

In order to give an overview of the development of the studies, this paragraph explains four trends of the studies regarding education for foreign children (Haino 2017; for example, Yamanouchi & Saito, 2016). The first trend identified the reality and teaching method of adjustment education for foreign background children between the middle of 1990s and 1998. The second trend was the increase in studying the newcomers' children from 1999 to 2004. The focus of the studies at that time was about identity, the reason for coming to Japan, language education, and strategy of teaching and supporting the immigrant children because the number of newcomers increased due to the open migration policy. From 2005 till 2008, the third trend was the expansion of the study scope for children before compulsory schools and international schools. The study theme has been diverse in terms of examining career teaching, academic achievement, and educational support. The fourth trend was the research about the foreign children's career path, the inequality of the society and their rights from 2009 to 2015 (Haino, 2017). Therefore, the study of immigrant children's education has been expanded

through the four trends. In this research, we will discuss the immigrant children's education from the justice and value perspectives, which is linked to the latest study trend.

3.3.3 Concepts that are related to immigrant children's education

The research of education for immigrant children from the viewpoint of the Japanese local government level is examined in terms of coexistence society and participation by Takeda (2009), the lack of local budget (Mitsubishi UFJ Research and Consulting, 2013), and intercultural policy (Lee & Seta, 2014). Takeda (2009) applied the five-step hypothesis about coexistence with foreign residents. She argues that there are differences in support depending on the government's policies for foreigners and where they live because the current state of administrative services is divided into those in charge of administrative sites. In addition, her article shows the importance of finding an opportunity to drive collaboration in working to support foreigners such as implementing the Japanese language class by collaborating with a local university. A participation by a third party to support foreigners becomes the opportunity to start the movement of co-production (Takeda, 2009).

Mitsubishi UFJ Research and Consulting (2013) outlines the roles of three different levels: state, prefecture, and city. The city roles, which is this research focus, are to give support when the foreign children enter schools and care for foreign students and parents, and to conduct reality checks on the situation of foreign children' attending schools or school life. However, the city level governance faces the difficulty of budget formulation and policy measures due to a fluctuation in the number of foreign students every year (Mitsubishi UFJ Research and Consulting, 2013).

From the viewpoint of intercultural policy, Lee & Seta (2014) evaluate the Japanese local governments and find the problem. There are five steps of developing the immigrant policies: non-policy, guestworker policy, assimilationist policy, pluralist policy, and intercultural policy (Lee & Seta, 2014; e.g. Alexander, 2004). The most developed two steps of intercultural policy and pluralist policy are highlighted here because it may relate to this research. Intercultural policy is that immigrants and minority people are accepted as permanent residents, and their cultural diversity is also recognized by law and institution. Moreover, policies, systems and activities that create common ground, mutual understanding, empathy and common aspirations are recommended (Lee & Seta, 2014). Pluralist policy is that immigrants are accepted as permanent residents. Its cultural diversity is encouraged and protected by law and institution, but there is a risk of community separation or isolation in some circumstances (Lee & Seta, 2014). As the results of questionnaires from 230 local governments, Lee & Seta (2014) find that one-quarter of local governments created vision plans for foreign residents, and understand foreign residents as 'partners to create communities'. In addition, it is found that many local governments respect the cultural diversity of foreign residents. However, Lee & Seta (2014) criticize the local governments by two points: a lack of the mechanism to reflect the voices of foreign residents in the administration and a lack of support for preserving the culture of foreign residents (Lee & Seta, 2014).

Studies of multicultural education have begun, when the main hegemony is questioned by the minority people in the English-speaking countries. The studies have been developed to other areas of studies, for example, "assimilation and integration" (Okano & Tsuneyoshi, 2010, p.11). There are two main features of multicultural education. The first element is "the celebration of cultural diversity in a society and globally". The second feature is "the pursuit of equity by individuals of diverse cultural backgrounds and the promotion of universal human rights" (Okano & Tsuneyoshi, 2010, p.12).

In the case of Japan, the three categories of terminologies are used to explain multicultural education. The first category is 'international understanding education', which presents understanding between foreigners and the Japanese (Okano & Tsuneyoshi, 2010, p.13). This term has come into wider use in many situations. The framework is related to the idea of Japanese hegemony and foreigners who are visiting Japan as a guest (Okano & Tsuneyoshi, 2010). The second category contains the terminologies of 'egalitarian/equality education', 'emancipation education', 'ethnic education', and 'human rights education' (Okano & Tsuneyoshi, 2010, p.13). These terms emphasize not only the perspective against discrimination but also the human rights protection approach. The third category comprehends 'multicultural coexistence', 'society for multicultural coexistence', and 'education for multicultural coexistence' (Okano & Tsuneyoshi, 2010, pp.13-14). The terms represent "internal diversity and the need to accommodate returnees and foreigners within their schools and communities" (Okano & Tsuneyoshi, 2010, p.14). These terms are especially related to newcomers, for example, foreign workers. The term 'multicultural coexistence' is commonly used by the school, local government and communities with a high number of foreign populations (Okano & Tsuneyoshi, 2010).

The criticism of the studies about immigrant children's education in Japan is that the studies are commonly divided by nationality and what is the problem, for example studies of Korean, Chinese, and Brazilian migrants. Therefore, there is a lack of comprehensive studies of education for immigrant children. The second critical point is although a lot of studies propose the description of the children's situations through interviews or enquetes, the issue has been analysed a little from a theoretical point of view, for example, social constructivist approach or the framing theory. The last criticism is that it is common to research what problems the immigrant children have been facing and the role of school education for solving the issues, while the local government policymakers' impact on immigrant children's education is a little known. Thus, this research contributes to the two research gaps. The first research gap is that there is a lack of analysis on the education for immigrant children which applies a theoretical approach. The second research gap is about the lack of knowledge regarding policymakers' view on justification and value behind implementing the policies.

4 Theory

This chapter goes over frames and frame analysis that have been developed by other scholars. It will give an overview of the theory and help to make assumptions. In the following pages, first, I will present the definitions of frames from different fields such as social movement, communication, and policy. The political frame is highlighted and explained by the three scholars. Second, I will describe assumptions that introduce what is expected to be seen through the research in terms of the theoretical concept. Third, I will explain the definitions of frame analysis. Lastly, I will discuss the relationship between discourse and frame analysis. The comparison between the two analytical approaches shows that they are both positioned in the social constructivist and interpretivist theory, while the two are different in whether the idea or language is strategically used or not.

4.1 Frame

The studies of frames have been conducted by many scholars. For the general sociological scholars, Erving Goffman explains that frames represent a line between "what is important and what is not" in terms of a specific problem or situation (Dekker, 2017, p. 129). Frames help to understand a structure of an acknowledged reality as well as a specific course of action. The theoretical concept of frame is commonly applied to the studies of social movements (Lindekilde, 2014), media (Van Gorp & Vercruysse, 2012), and policy (Molla & Nolan, 2019; Bacchi, 2012).

For social movement scholars, David A. Snow and Robert D. Benford study collective action frames: diagnostic, prognostic, and motivational framing (Lindekilde, 2014). The framing concept by Snow and Benford is strongly connected to "mobilization strategies of social movements and appears less suitable for the policy arena" (Crabbé, Wiering & Liefferink, 2015, p. 57). For media scholars, Robert M. Entman suggests that frame is a selected aspect of a reality perception and framing occurs at different levels (Entman, 1993; Lindekilde, 2014; Van Gorp & Vercruysse, 2012). For example, a social movement organization frames a message in one way, while a journalist frames the same message in a different way (Lindekilde, 2014).

In terms of policy frames, I will introduce three key scholars. First, Carol Bacchi (2012) established the 'what is the problem represented to be' approach. This approach provides a set of questions, and seeks to examine "what is considered to be the 'problem'" and "how the 'problem' is represented within" the policies (Bacchi, 2012, p. 21). An example of this approach is if there is a policy that recommends participating in a language training program for integration, the policy implies that the lack of language skill is the 'problem' (Ercan & Marsh,

2016, p. 12). Bacchi's theoretical approach has been used in policy research (e.g. Encan, 2014; Murray & Powel, 2009). Although Bacchi's approach is well developed for qualitative research to determine the problem definition, it is not suitable for this research because this research aims to study not only how the problem is represented but also why the implementation has occurred. In addition, in order to conduct Bacchi's approach, the clear problem needs to be addressed. However, this research discusses the issue of out-of-school children in the broader topic of immigrant children's education. Therefore, Bacchi's approach is not suitable for the research.

Second, Martin Rein and Donald A. Schön identify that frames provide people with a way to understand reality and to give meaning to it (Dekker, 2017, p. 129). Further, Rein and Schön define that "policy frames are ways of 'selecting, organizing, interpreting and making sense of a complex reality to provide guideposts for knowing, analyzing, persuading and acting'" (Dikker, 2017, p.129, as cited in Rein and Schön, 1993, p. 146). Although Rein and Schön's work on policy frame analysis is not always mentioned, their frame analysis has been used widely in political analysis (Van Hulst and Yanow, 2016, p. 96). The Rein & Schön approach gives a basic idea of the policy frames.

Third, Molla & Nolan (2019, p.324) argues that "frames supply the context for selection, and highlight what is considered relevant that deserves attention". When a policy problem is brought up from a social issue, it needs to go through "selection and prioritization" and to be more noticeable as "public concerns" compared to other issues (Molla & Nolan, 2019, pp. 324-325). The relation between frame and policymakers' view is explained by Molla & Nolan (2019):

"Through purposefully directing public attention to specific concerns, frames represent what is seen as important in the given policy debate, and they reflect the lenses through which policymakers' view the 'reality' they seek to transform." (p. 325)

This research aim is to identify policymakers' view for implementing the education for immigrant children. Therefore, Molla & Nolan (2019)'s policy frame definition will be a basis for interpreting the results.

4.2 Assumption

The frame theory involves four key assumptions: a consistent frame between problem definition and policy action, a detailed policy frame, a single frame for one political power, and a frame of proposing policymakers' view. The first assumption is that the policy frame is coherent between problem definition and policy action that is motivated by the problem definition (Dekker, 2017). The second assumption is that policy frames are expected to be more detailed and clear than, for example, frames in daily communication and media because policy frames have been processed through politics and bureaucracy. The third assumption is that a single frame occupies politics at that time. When there are different political actors in the policy process, a different problem frame is expected to be presented. The policy frame is expected to remain unless a policy

change happens, for example, "political power shifts or to external events that provide new information on the policy issue at hand" (Dekker, 2017, p.130). The last assumption policy frames express the policymakers' view of the "reality", which is what they are trying to change because policy frames highlight "what is seen as important in the given policy debate" (Molla & Nolan, 2019, p. 325). Thus, the reality of policymakers is revealed by examining which frames are presented in a policy.

4.3 Frame analysis

Frame analysis was chosen to study which frames are represented regarding immigrant children's education. I will describe different scholars' definitions of frame analysis to provide an understanding of the frame analysis field.

Björnehed & Erikson (2018) explain that frame analysis is a qualitative method with a constructivist approach that "addresses not only the construction of meaning but also the role of actors in such processes" (p. 109). According to Björnehed & Erikson (2018), frame analysis has been developed and applied in several fields of studies. The approach of frame analysis has been demonstrated as a useful tool to find essential differences in meaning and to identify strategic use of ideas. Matthes (2009) describes that frame analysis examines how a certain issue is selected by seeking "images, stereotypes, metaphors, actors and message" (p. 349).

Frame analysis requires identifying and problematizing 'symbolic devices'. 'Symbolic devices' are used by policymakers to "name and frame policy issues in ways that resonate with priorities and aspirations of the public" (Molla & Nolan, 2019, p. 325). Gamson & Modigliani (1989) define the two symbolic devices: 'framing devices' and 'reasoning devices'. The former contains metaphors, catchphrases, and stories (Molla & Nolan, 2019, p. 325; Van Gorp & Vercruyssen, 2012). The latter includes causal analysis and moral claims (Molla & Nolan, 2019, p. 325). Framing devices lead us to answer the question of "what needs fixing and how it might be fixed", whereas reasoning devices steer our attention towards "why it should be fixed" (Molla & Nolan, 2019, p. 325, as cited in Rein & Schon, 1996, p. 89).

This research will conduct the frame analysis on the documents from *successful* cases of immigrant children's education by applying 'symbolic devices'. This approach is useful to accomplish the research aim because it deals with both problem representation and motivation. How to collect data will be explained in detail in the method chapter.

4.4 Relation between discourse and frame analysis

Discourse and frame analysis belong to the same group of analytical frameworks. Here I will explain the similarities and differences between the two. The

comparison leads to highlighting my motivation behind choosing an analytical approach.

Discourse and frame analysis share three similarities. First, both analyses focus on examining "how ideas, culture, and ideology are used, interpreted, and spliced together with certain situations or empirical phenomena in order to construct particular ideative patterns through which the world is understood" (Lindekilde, 2014, p.197). Second, discourse and frame analysis both aim to determine the link between texts and the broader contexts (Lindekilde, 2014). Third, the theoretical approach of the two analyses is social constructivist and interpretivist (Lindekilde, 2014).

Although discourse and frame analysis share the same approach to creating a meaning of reality, the focus of the analysis is different. Discourse analysis is conducted from the linguistic point of view and it studies "how social reality is linguistically constituted" (Lindekilde, 2014, p. 198). Discourse analysis focuses on linguistics such as word and grammar at macro-level. In contrast, frame analysis studies "how more or less established ideological constructs are used strategically to frame a particular topic" (Lindekilde, 2014, p. 200). Therefore, the difference between the two is that frames are used intentionally and strategically by actors, while the use of discourse is not always aware by users (Ercan & Marsh, 2016).

Compared to discourse analysis, frame analysis is a more relevant approach for this research, due to two advantages. A major advantage of frame analysis is that it reveals the intentional use of frames in order to implement certain solutions. This research is expecting that the policymakers are aware of using their justification and reasons to implement immigrant children's education. Therefore, the linguistic approach of discourse analysis does not suit this case study. Another advantage is that frame analysis is a suitable method to investigate complex and politically controversial topics (Dekker, 2017; e.g. Scholten, 2013; Molla & Nolan, 2019). This research deals with immigration which is one of the most controversial topics in the Japanese politics.

5 Methodology

The research will adopt the frame analysis method. In the first part, I will explain ontological and epistemological positions. The second part will introduce case selection and the cases' relevance for the research. In the third part, the material documents to be analysed will be presented, as well as their collection method. The fourth part will explain how data has been extracted from the documents. Finally, the last part will mention the limitation of the research.

5.1 Ontology and epistemology

This section describes ontological and epistemological position. It is important to address these issues, because they: "(1) determine the role of theory in empirical research; (2) shape the way the researcher conceives the relationship between theory and practice; and (3) affect what the researcher expects to achieve through her empirical research (for example, generalisability, specification, contextualization and so on)" (Marsh, Ercan, and Furlong, 2017, p.195).

The scholars that study policy frames typically adopt a constructivist (e.g. Björnehed & Erikson, 2018; Van Gorp & Vercruysse, 2012; and Dekker, 2017) or interpretivist position (e.g. Van Hulst and Yanow, 2016; Ercan & Marsh, 2016; Mills, Chapman, Bonner, & Francis, 2007). Frame analysis takes a constructivist approach in its construction of meaning as well as of the role of actors in the process (Björnehed & Erikson, 2018). "As regard to interpretivism, "frame analysis gained currency as an analytic imperative in symbolic interactionism through Goffman's key work" (Mills et al., 2007, p.76). According to Ercan & Marsh (2016), interpretivism is more focused on understanding than explaining. From the interpretivist point of view, "there is no world independent of our understanding/interpretation of it" (Ercan & Marsh, 2016, p. 4). Furthermore, from this point of view one cannot examine "causal relationship between social phenomena" (Ercan & Marsh, 2016, p.4).

Due to the aim of the research and the theoretical concept of frames, the research is positioned in the anti-foundationalist and interpretivist field. First of all, the aim of the research is to examine which frames are represented in *successful* policies for immigrant children in Japan and how we can understand the frame. The aim is motivated by theoretical assumptions. As mentioned before in the assumptions about the policy frames, this paper is expected to reveal frames that reflect policymakers' worldview, which have guided *successful* policy efforts to solve the issue of immigrant children not in education, through the public policy documents. The interpretivist approach helps to "explain events in terms of actors' understanding of their own consideration" rather than causal relations in a "mechanistic sense" (Marsh et al., 2017, p.196).

Secondly, the interpretive approach does not aim for generalization like the positivist approach (Marsh et al., 2017, p. 196). This research inductively seeks to find which frames are represented and how can we understand them, rather than findings to be generalized to the whole population of Japanese municipalities (Marsh et al., 2017, p.196).

Lastly, interpretivism focuses on "how agents make sense of deliberative norms and practices, rather than on testing the predefined factors identified by the researcher at the outset of the research" (Marsh et al., 2017, pp. 196-197). The focus of this paper is, first, policy frames related to policymakers' view of 'reality', and, second, policy implementation in immigrant children's education as a practice of the reality, rather than hypothesis testing.

From the perspective of anti-fundamentalism and interpretivism, the research is expected to be a qualitative analysis. The research conducts an inductive frame analysis, which is a qualitative document analysis, in order to indicate the policy frame. The details of case selection and the identification of policy frames will be explained below.

5.2 Case selection

A more detailed account of case selection is given in this paragraph. I choose two cities: Hamamatsu city and Kani city as the case sample. There are three reasons that I chose the sample cities. First of all, the reason why the research focuses on the local government is that this level of government implements specific policies for a target (Dekker, 2017). As I mentioned before, the targeted policies for enrolling immigrant children to schools have not been established at the national level. The national government has not implemented the policies to solve the missing children issue yet. Thus, in terms of the research focus, the local government policy is more strategic for tackling the issue of immigrant children enrollment.

Secondly, the selection of the cities was made by the document published by the national government: *Examples of efforts to grasp the enrollment status of foreign children and promote enrollment*. This article summarizes the *successful* policies to solve the issue of migrant children's enrollment to education at the local government level. The national government describes *successful* cases at the local governments level in terms of what policies have been implemented. Examples of this are an encouragement of school enrolment, confirmation of school attendance status and promotion of school attendance, and information grasp from the related institutions. According to the 9 features¹ by the national government, Hamamatsu city did most of its features' policies and systems. Kani city was the second most. This means that the two cities have been actively tackling the issue and have achieved an improved outcome. Therefore,

¹ 1. Encouragement at the resident registration window and information sharing with the Board of Education, 2. School board procedure and polite explanation, 3. Sending school information in a foreign language, 4. Promotion of school attendance by using opportunities for health checkups at school, 5. Information grasp through related departments, foreign schools, immigration bureau, etc., 6. Confirmation of school attendance status and promotion of school attendance by telephone or home visit, 7. Support for smooth adaptation to school life, 8. Implementation of school attendance survey by prefecture, 9. Cooperation with related departments and organizations.

Hamamatsu city and Kani city have implemented the most advanced policies and have an outstanding outcome compared to other local government cities in Japan.

Lastly, the cases of Hamamatsu city and Kani city are chosen because they have implemented the 'successful' strategic policies for solving missing children and encouraging all children to be educated. The strategic policies have been implemented, and most importantly the policies succeeded in reducing the number of missing children. In fact, Hamamatsu city has implemented targeted policies for immigrant children, for example, *Zero School Enrollment Strategy for Foreign Children in Hamamatsu City*. Kani city has conducted policies such as *Kani City Foreign Children/Students Learning Security Project Implementation Standards*. They share the same goals of sending all immigrant children to the school or introductory educational program. As a result, Hamamatsu city achieved zero out of school children in 2013. Kani city has sent all immigrant children to educational institutions. This means that the local governments' policy for integrating immigrant children to educational institutions² succeeded. Furthermore, the local government knows where all children are and whether they are educated or not.

5.3 Materials

The materials of the research are public documents that are all provided by the local governments of Hamamatsu city and Kani city. These documents are collected from the official website and governmental website that gives information about local government. I will conduct a frame analysis on the documents that are divided into three types: policies, news articles that are published by the city, and documents for foreign national children when they enter the Japanese compulsory school. The reason for taking a small number of documents is that qualitative text analysis in a small text can examine the document deeply for seeking frames related to immigrant children's education (David, Atun, Fille, and Monterola, 2011, p. 331). The audience of the documents is diverse. For example, the audience of policy papers is the citizens and the audience of the papers for enrollment to the school is the parents of the children.

The documents are collected with two criteria in mind: being published by the public institution and being related to the issue of immigrant children's education. The example of the public institutions are the local government, the City Hall International Affairs Division, and the city school board. The documents do not include any academic and news articles because the research focuses on examining the local governments' frames. The topic of out-of-school children was often talked about within a broader discussion of education for immigrant children or even inclusive education. The local governments are seen as reflecting perspectives about education policies that affect out-of-school children issues. Therefore, I will analyse not only the document that speaks to the problem of out-of-school children, but also the education for immigrant children.

The first sample of Hamamatsu city is analysed by five different documents: *Hamamatsu City Multicultural City Vision*, *2nd Hamamatsu City Multicultural*

² All immigrants' children except children that their parents are not willing to send their children to schools. In this case, Kani city will visit their house and talk with their parents constantly.

City Vision, Guidance on Admission to Elementary School New, Zero School Enrollment Strategy for Foreign Children in Hamamatsu City, and Send Your Children to School!. Most of the documents speak to both the issue of missing children and immigrants' children's education, except the text of *Zero School Enrollment Strategy for Foreign Children in Hamamatsu City* that describes the action for solving missing children. The second sample of Kani city is analyzed by five documents: *Kani City Multicultural Coexistence Promotion Plan, Kani City Foreign Children / Students Learning Security Project Implementation Standards, Let's Go to School with Us!*, and *Application for Public School Admission*.

In order to make citations easily in the results chapter, each document is labeled by the first letter of the city name and number. For example, the first document of Hamamatsu city in the table is labeled H1. The second document from Hamamatsu city in the table is H2. All documents are named in the same way.

Table 5.1 The documents used for analysis from Hamamatsu and Kani city

City	Citation label	Author (Published Year)	Document Title (in Japanese)
Hamamatsu	H1	Hamamatsu City (2012)	Hamamatsu City Multicultural City Vision (浜松市多文化共生都市ビジョン)
Hamamatsu	H2	Hamamatsu City (2018)	2nd Hamamatsu City Multicultural City Vision (第2次浜松市多文化共生都市ビジョン)
Hamamatsu	H3	The Hamamatsu City School Board (n.d.)	Guidance on Admission to Elementary School New Enrollment in Hamamatsu (〇〇年度浜松市立小学校新入学のご案内)
Hamamatsu	H4	Hamamatsu City Planning and Coordination Department International Affairs Division (2014)	Zero School Enrollment Strategy for Foreign Children in Hamamatsu City (浜松市における「外国人の子どもの不就学ゼロ作戦事業」について)
Hamamatsu	H5	Hamamatsu City Hall International Affairs Division (n.d.)	Send Your Children to School! (お子さんを学校に通わせましょう!)

Kani	K1	Kani City (2020)	Kani City Multicultural Coexistence Promotion Plan (可児市多文化共生推進計画)
Kani	K2	The Kani City School Board (n.d.)	Kani City Foreign Children / Students Learning Security Project Implementation Standards (可児市外国人児童・生徒の学習保証事業実施基準)
Kani	K3	The Kani City School Board Education Division (2006)	Kani City Elementary and Junior High School, Foreign Student Learning Security Business, Practice Report 2005 (可児市立小・中学校 外国人児童生徒学習保障事業 実践報告書 2005年度)
Kani	K4	Secretary Public Relations Section in Kani City Hall (2005)	Let's Go to School with Us! (私たちと一緒に学校へいこう！)
Kani	K5	The Kani City School Board (n.d.)	Application for School Admission (外国人就学願)

5.4 Data collection and analysis

Frame analysis has been conducted by many scholars (e.g. Molla & Nolan, 2019; Van Gorp & Vercruyssen, 2012; Scholten, 2013). When it comes to collecting data in frame analysis, frames are derived by deductive or inductive approach. The inductive approach was chosen to seek which frames appear in the texts. The benefit of this approach is to find frames openly rather than looking for defined frames deductively. Therefore, the results of an inductive approach leads to "an overview of interpretative frame packages" (Van Gorp & Vercruyssen, 2012, p.1275).

The paper conducts six steps to conduct inductive frame analysis. The first step is familiarization to the text before analysing individual terms. This is for getting an overview of the documents.

The second step is coding data manually. The researcher reads the contents carefully and highlights codes that express the idea (Van Gorp & Vercruyssen, 2012). The examples of codes are 'foreign children's education', 'Japanese language', and 'future'. Due to the inductive approach, the researcher will be "coding anything that might be relevant from as many different perspectives as possible" (Gale, Heath, Cameron, Rashid & Redwood, 2013, p.4). Therefore, when the researcher finds a relevant new code, the code is added to the label box

as the research progresses. This step reads all the text and marks interesting phrases and sentences that come into line with codes.

This analysis applies the theoretical framework of 'framing devices' and 'reasoning devices' by Gamson & Modigliani (1989). Thus, the third step codes the categories by: (1) metaphors, catchphrases and stories to seek 'framing devices' and (2) causal accounts and moral claims to offer 'reasoning devices' (Gamson & Modigliani, 1989; Molla & Nolan, 2019). This framework leads to finding frames in an organized way.

The fourth step is grouping codes for finding units. According to the codes that have been found in the documents, the researcher generates units that express a bigger picture than codes. In the other words, the codes will be "listed and reduced to a smaller number of significant codes" (Van Gorp & Vercruysse, 2012, p. 1275).

The fifth step is assessing whether the units that have been identified are accurate or not. It is important to go back to the documents and check if the researcher has missed any information. In addition, if the researcher finds the themes that present the same meaning, then the themes may be combined together into the one theme. On the other hand, if there is a better case to be separated because of expressing different ideas, it will be in different units.

The last step is identifying and defining frames. Through categorizing the units, the frames that are produced in the text are expected to appear. The frames will be created by applying 'framing devices' and 'reasoning devices' logically (Van Gorp & Vercruysse, 2012, p. 1275).

5.5 Limitations

The considerable limitations of the research are external validity, a small number of documents, and frame effect.

The first limitation is a limited generalization when we conduct qualitative analysis in the case studies. While quantitative analysis provides generalization, inductive frame analysis aims to examine which frames are represented in *successful* education policies for immigrant children and how we can understand these frames, it does not aim to provide generalization. Although the generalization of the research is limited, there is a value in examining frames. For example, identifying what the 'reality' of local government policymakers is, how the problem is represented, and how we can understand the causal reason for implementing the educational policy for immigrant children in the *successfully* developed cases. In other words, the frame analysis will provide a high internal validity, and raise the limited external validity.

The second limitation is a limited number of documents. The analysis will be conducted in the public documents that are published until April 2021. In order to identify policymakers' frame to implement the *successful* educational policies, the texts are strictly published by the local government, in this case Hamamatsu city and Kani city. Therefore, the frame analysis only includes official documents, and does not include any other documents such as media that promotes public opinion.

The third limitation is that in the field there is little known about the relation between frames and frame effects (Björnehed & Erikson, 2018). The relation

between frames and frame effects has not been empirically revealed. Since this research is aiming to determine the themes behind the policies, this limitation is not crucial. However, the critical opinion on finding the link between frames and their effects by Björnehed & Erikson (2018) is worth mentioning.

6 Results and analysis

The results and analysis chapter will answer the two research questions: which frame devices have been used by policymakers in the successful cases of immigrant children's education and which reasoning devices have been represented in the cases for finding the policymakers' justifications and values. The findings are eight frames in Hamamatsu city: lack of Japanese language skills, economic difficulties, lack of information about schools, social participation, future human resources, children's education rights, mother language support, multicultural coexistence (diversity), and eight frames in Kani city: lack of Japanese language skill, economic difficulties, lack of information about schools, social politicization, children's career in the future, guarantee of children's education rights, mother language and culture education, and parents' interests in school education. The table of 6.1 shows the summary of the results. The table is organized by the different themes on the left side and the two categories of the frame package on the top: 'framing devices' (metaphor, catchphrase, and story and example) and 'reasoning device' (causal account and moral claim). This framework is used to identify frames (e.g. Molla & Nolan, 2019). The results of each frame are structured to first explain 'framing devices' and later 'reasoning devices'. As a reminder, the citations of the documents are annotated with the labels that I made in the materials part in the table of 5.1. In addition, the citations from the documents often use the term "foreign children", however, as I mentioned in the introduction, the term indicates immigrant children. What follows is an account of the frames that I found through coding on the documents.

Table 6.1 The summary of the results

Hamamatsu City Frames	Framing Devices (Metaphor, Catchphrase, and Story and Example)	Reasoning Devices (Causal Account and Moral Claim)
1. Lack of Japanese language skills	Story and example - dispatching Japanese language teachers and purchasing Japanese textbooks (H1 ³)	Causal accounts - the necessary of Japanese language for learning and working (H2) - Japanese language class to lead opportunity for school education (H4)
2. Economic difficulties	Story and example - the school attendance support system and reducing the burden	Causal account - parents' living infrastructure has a great impact on their

³ See the citation labels of the documents (Table 5.1 in the part of 5.3 Materials)

	(H4)	children's education (H2)
3. Lack of information about schools	<p>Story and example</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - the school guidance and a school tour (H4) 	<p>Moral claim</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - introduce all school options - parents should make a decision on school
4. Social participation	<p>Catchphrases</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - "important partners in community development" (H1, p.15) - "everyone can play an active role" (H2, p. 15) <p>Story and example</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - South American's settlement 	<p>Moral claim</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - necessary to prepare the environment that encourage the participation in the community (H1)
5. Future human resources	<p>Catchphrases</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - "the next generation who will lead Hamamatsu in the future" (H1, p. 13) <p>Story and example</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - in 2013, "Zero foreign children who are not enrolling in school" (H2) 	<p>Causal accounts</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - an increase in the immigrant settlement cases (H1) - maintaining sustainable development (H1; H2) <p>Moral claims</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - important member for the future (H2) - necessary to improve educational support for tapping their potential (H2)
6. Children's education rights	<p>Catchphrase</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - "Send your children to school!" (H5) 	<p>Moral claim</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - children have the right to education (H5)
7. Mother language support	<p>Story and example</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - attendance of supporting staff (H4) 	
8. Multicultural coexistence (diversity)	<p>Metaphor</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - "source of vitality for the city" (H1, p. 24; H2, p. 15) <p>Catchphrases</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - "[c]reation of a new regional culture brought about by the coexistence of diverse cultures" (H1, p.15) - "diverse", "diverse culture" 	<p>Moral claim</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - create new value by incorporating their diverse cultures (H1) - provide opportunities for reaching everyone's full potential (H1; H2)

Kani City Frames	Framing Devices (Metaphor, Catchphrase, and Story and Example)	Reasoning Devices (Causal Account and Moral Claim)
1. Lack of Japanese language skills	Story and examples <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - no drop out immigrant children after the Japanese class in 2005 (K2) - provide guidance centered on Japanese (K4) 	Causal account <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - the language and culture barrier (K1) Moral claim <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - learning the basic Japanese language and school culture is important to continue school life (K4)
2. Economic difficulties	Story and example <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - unavoidably quitting school (K4) - very little support for the Brazilian schools (K4) 	Causal account <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - the economical situation leads to out-of-school situation
3. Lack of information about schools		Causal account <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - giving information is important because immigrant parents do not well understand school system (K4)
4. Social participation	Catchphrase <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - "a multicultural city created by everyone" (K1p. 25) - "living in a society that "coexists" with foreigners" (K4, p.7) 	Moral claim <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - encourage the participation of foreign citizens as an important partner (K1)
5. Children's career in the future		Moral claim <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - children can grow up in Japanese society with confidence and pride and play active role in Japanese and the home countries with dreams and hopes (K1)
6. Guarantee of children's education rights	Catchphrase <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - "guarantees the right to learn for children" (K1, p. 37) 	Moral claim <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - guarantee opportunities for immigrant children to receive education (K1)
7. Mother language and culture education	Story and example <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - sing their home song 	Causal account <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - increase the number of children that are born and grow in Japan (K4)

8. Parents' interests in school education	Story and experience - parents do not fully understand the mechanism of education (K1)	Moral claim - importance of raising awareness of school education for parents (K1)
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6.1 Results of Hamamatsu city

The findings are eight frames in Hamamatsu city: lack of Japanese language skills, economic difficulties, lack of information, social participation, future human resources, children's education rights, mother language support, multicultural coexistence (diversity).

6.1.1 Lack of Japanese language skills

The Hamamatsu city document expresses the frame of a lack of Japanese language skills. This frame represents the view that immigrant children should learn Japanese because the Japanese language skill is essential to continuing school life in the Japanese compulsory school and living in Japan.

Regarding the Japanese language education, the 'stories and examples' of the framing devices are: dispatching Japanese language teachers to foreign schools for the purpose of teaching Japanese to children and assisting children who go to foreign schools to purchase Japanese textbooks (H1).

In terms of reasoning devices, the 'causal accounts' are described in the text:

"In learning Japanese, the percentage of people who are not good at it is still high, and it is necessary not only as a consumer but also to acquire the necessary of Japanese language for learning and working." (H2, p. 9)

"In order to improve the state of non attending school children as much as possible, we introduced Japanese language classes ... as learning opportunities that lead to [compulsory] schools." (H4, p. 39)

The 'causal accounts' describe that the Japanese language is a necessary skill to study and work in Japan. The text presents the reason for implementing the Japanese language education in the early stage is that the Japanese language skill helps to attend the compulsory school education. In the other words, the lack of Japanese language ability may be the reason for non-attending school for immigrant children. The 'moral claim' regarding the Japanese language education describes that it is necessary for foreign citizens to acquire the Japanese language ability that is used in daily life (H1). Thus, this frame expresses that the Japanese language ability is significant not only for attending schools, but also for living in Japan.

6.1.2 Economic difficulties

The next frame represents the idea that the policymakers believe the relation between economic difficulties and out-of-school children. In Hamamatsu city, the framing device 'example' shows the case of scholarship for immigrant children who are in an economically difficult situation. The case gives an example:

"For families with financial problems, we introduced the school attendance support system and explained that it is possible to reduce the burden of enrolling in public elementary and junior high schools." (H4, p. 39)

In terms of reasoning devices, the 'causal account' is described as:

"The instability of parents' living infrastructure has a great impact on their children's educational environment, leading to issues related to school attendance" (H2, p. 9)

"The instability of parents' livelihoods is also affecting their children's educational environment." (H1, p. 9)

These sentences argue that the parents' economic situations affect children's education. The immigrants' families are considered to be in financially poor positions. Therefore, the frame expresses the policymaker's view of paying attention to the difficult economic status for immigrants. In addition, the text produces a causal account which reports that the family economic condition can be one of the causes of out-of-school children.

6.1.3 Lack of information about schools

The next frame represents that immigrant parents have a lack of information about the school and school system. Hamamatsu city sees this as a cause for out-of-school children, so the city has implemented policies such as giving the parents an active school guidance when they move in the city. The 'examples' of framing devices are:

"If the cause is a lack of information on public elementary and junior high schools in Japan, we will guide you through the school guidance provided by the Hamamatsu City School Board and propose a school tour to accompany you." (H4, p. 39)

"At the time of transfer, if you are a newcomer to Hamamatsu city and have a foreign child of school age, we will provide school guidance at the transfer window. In addition to public elementary and junior high schools, we also introduce private schools and foreign schools to provide a wide range of learning opportunities for foreign children." (H4, p. 39)

This frame presents that immigrant parents do not have enough information about the school systems and options. This situation may lead to children being out-of-school. Therefore, Hamamatsu city has actively implemented opportunities for giving information about schools.

The 'moral claim' is seen in the text: "[w]e provide a wide range of learning opportunities for foreign children" (H4, p. 39). The text shows that the Hamamatsu city offers all school choices to immigrant children. The examples of school choices are Japanese compulsory school, international school, and Japanese language class for beginners. This moral view shows that the policymakers think it is important for immigrant parents to be informed about all of the opportunities for their children's education. In addition, the choice of schools is not made by the city, the parents should make a decision on which school education they want to give to their children.

6.1.4 Social participation

In Hamamatsu city, through the 'catchphrases' of "[f]oreign citizens are important partners in community development" (H1, p.15) and "Attractive city where everyone can play an active role" (H2, p.15), I found the frame of immigrants' social participation. This frame explains the view that the foreigners' residence is a part of the local society and community. The 'story' of framing devices tells that a quarter of a century has passed since the number of foreigners from South America began to increase, and the second and third generations born and raised in Japan will become members of the future community, so the local government needs to encourage their active participation in society (H2). As a 'moral claim' of reasoning devices, the text mentions "... it is necessary to prepare the environment so that foreign citizens can also participate in the community as a leader of society. (H1, p. 13)". Thus, foreign residents are considered as an important member of the Hamamatsu society.

6.1.5 Future human resources

The Hamamatsu city's policymakers believe that education for immigrant children is a worthy investment due to the future benefits. The text from Hamamatsu city describes 'catchphrases' of framing devices like:

"Nurturing the next generation who will lead Hamamatsu in the future... "
(H1, p. 13)

"Hamamatsu city regards the elimination of foreign children out of school as an urgent issue." (H1, p.7, p.13)

The phrases "future" and "next generation" are used many times in the H1 and H2 documents, when the texts explain the immigrant children's education. As an 'example of the frame, the text describes:

"... in 2013 ..., we achieved a “zero out-of-school” status, and have focused on developing the next generation with foreign backgrounds" (H2, p.4).

This 'example' shows that Hamamatsu city represents the achievement of the policy to solve the out-of-school children issue with the view of "the next generation".

The frame provides 'causal accounts' that show the two reasons to implement the education support for immigrant children. The first reason for focusing on the future generation is an increase in the immigrant settlement cases (H1). The second reason is to maintain sustainable development (H1; H2). For example, the policy document goes over the second reason:

"For sustainable development as an attractive city where everyone plays an active role, it is important to nurture and support the next generation of Hamamatsu, including children with foreign roots." (H2, p.15)

In addition to the second reason, the text describes how due to population decline caused by declining birthrate and aging population, sustainable development is important for the city.

In terms of reasoning devices, 'moral claims' are expressed in the policy:

"It is important to look at children with foreign backgrounds as key members who will be responsible for Hamamatsu in the future." (H2, p. 14)

"It is necessary to develop and support children so that they can fully demonstrate their abilities and become human resources who play a role in supporting the local community."(H2, p.14)

The 'moral claim' expresses that the policymakers value immigrant children as an important member for the future. Also, they believe that the improvement of educational support for immigrant children is necessary to tap their potential. Therefore, the 'moral claim' also expresses that the policymakers' moral value is that all children should have an environment for fulfilling their potential.

6.1.6 Children's education rights

In the Hamamatsu city documents, the frame of children's rights can be seen in the documents that are sent to immigrants' parents. The 'catchphrase' of the frame is "[s]end your children to school!" (H5, p.1). The 'moral claim' is made:

"Children have the right to education. In Japan, parents with children between the ages of 6 and 15 are required to educate their children. There are Hamamatsu city elementary and junior high schools, private junior high schools, and foreign schools in Hamamatsu city, and children can receive education according to their individual circumstances." (H5, p.1)

Hamamatsu city addresses educational rights for children and school options for immigrant children. This frame is interesting because the document describes that parents are required to educate their children due to children's education rights, although immigrant parents do not have any legal responsibility for their children's education in Japan.

6.1.7 Mother language support

Hamamatsu city has provided the support staff for children's mother language. As a 'story', they had an experience of sending the children to school because the parents and children were relieved when they saw the support of a bilingual speaker:

"In some cases, I was relieved to actually see the lessons with bilingual school attendance support staff, which led to early school attendance." (H4, p. 39)

"Dispatch of bilingual supporters to schools for children studying in public elementary and junior high schools." (H1, p. 25)

These 'stories' show the view that bilingual support is helpful to immigrant children attending schools. If they can communicate in their mother language in the beginning of school life, it will help to reduce their concerns such as not understanding or speaking Japanese at school.

6.1.8 Multicultural coexistence (diversity)

In terms of the multicultural coexistence society concept, the Hamamatsu city documents provide the frame of using the advantage of diversity. The frame expresses that the development of the city is caused by having a diverse population. The frame is seen in the 'metaphor': "the diverse cultures of foreign citizens can be a source of vitality for the city." (H1, p.24; H2, p. 15). The 'catchphrases' from framing devices are described as:

"... aiming for community development that actively utilizes the "diversity" of citizens, beyond the conventional "support" measures" (H1, p.14)

"Creation of a new regional culture brought about by the coexistence of diverse cultures" (H1, p.15)

The terms "diversity" and "diverse culture" are used in the document many times. It is clear that the diversity that is brought by immigrants is considered as the benefits for the Hamamatsu city. The following sentences provide a 'moral claim':

"We aim to be an area where everyone, whether Japanese or foreign, can demonstrate their abilities and create new value by incorporating their diverse cultures." (H1, p.18)

This expresses that all citizens, no matter Japanese or foreigners, should be able to demonstrate their ability. The policy shows the moral value of providing opportunities for reaching everyone's full potential (H1; H2). In addition, Hamamatsu city aims to create new values and culture through exchange and fusion of the diverse cultures (H2). However, there is a lack of explanation on what the new value means in the text.

6.2 Results of Kani city

There are eight frames that are found in the Kani city documents: lack of Japanese language skill, economic difficulties, lack of information about schools, social politicization, children's career in the future, guarantee of children's education rights, mother language and culture education, and parents' interests in school education.

6.2.1 Lack of Japanese language skills

In Kani city, the framing device expresses the *successful* retention of immigrant children attending schools. For instance, there were no drop out immigrant children after the beginner Japanese class in 2005 (K2). This 'example' indicates that the Japanese language education for newcomer children impacts the later school study at the Japanese compulsory schools. In addition, another 'example' also mentions the importance of learning the Japanese language for later education:

"When entering elementary and junior high school for the first time after arriving in Japan, we will provide guidance centered on Japanese to children who are not accustomed to life in Japan and who can hardly speak Japanese."
(K4, p.4)

The 'causal account' is argued based on the survey of non-attending immigrant children. The language and culture barrier is one of the reasons why immigrant children become out-of-school children (K1). The 'moral claim' shows the view that learning the basic Japanese language helps to continue school life. At the same time, the documents argue that to know the Japanese school culture such as greeting in Japanese and cleaning school habits is also important (K4).

Therefore, it is found that the policymakers have a justification, which is that if the Japanese language skill is improved, the immigrant children continue to attend the compulsory schools. Besides, they also indicate that if they learn the Japanese school culture, it would be easier for the students to start Japanese school life.

6.2.2 Economic difficulties

Kani city understands that there are the needs of economical support. The policymakers are aware that the poor economical situation impacts immigrant children's education. The 'stories' of framing device are expressed in the document:

"There is an example of unavoidably quitting school, saying, "I liked elementary school, but my dad was fired and we couldn't run out of money.""
(K4, p. 3)

"... some children attend foreign schools, but the Brazilian schools in the city are treated in the same way as private schools in Japan, so there is very little public support and the tuition fees are very high. Some children are out of school because of the heavy burden on their parents." (K4, p. 3)

The 'stories' explain that the situation of immigrant children's education is affected by their parents' economic status. In addition, it describes the economical difficulty of the international school case.

The 'causal account' is described with the investigation results about out-of-school immigrant children. The 'causal account' describes why the city needs to solve the issue. In this frame, the economical situation is one of the reasons for the out-of-school immigrant children. Therefore, they need to provide economical support for the children in the situation. The frame presents Kani city's understanding of the difficult economic situation of immigrants' families.

6.2.3 Lack of information about schools

Using a survey about immigrant children, Kani city found that not enough information was given about schools. The survey results compelled Kani city to implement more informative support for newcomers at the city counter. In the document, it is described:

"In the "Fact-finding Survey on the Educational Environment of Foreign Children", it was also found that giving the school information was insufficient at the city counter. Therefore, the Citizen's Division, which is undergoing immigration and transfer procedures for foreigners, explains that there is a program like the one above when there is an application for immigration or transfer of a child of school age." (K4, p. 6)

Regarding a 'causal account', giving information is important because "...the Japanese education system is not well understood." (K4, pp. 2-3). The policymakers understand that one of the reasons why immigrant children are not attending schools is a lack of information about schools and the school system. Therefore, the policymakers believe that it is valuable to give information about the Japanese school system for immigrant children attending schools.

6.2.4 Social participation

In Kani city, the frame of coexistence society presents that Kani city views foreigners as a key member of the local community. The used 'catchphrases' are "a multicultural city created by everyone" (K1, p. 25), "[w]e are now living in a society that "coexists" with foreigners" (K4, p. 7), and "Kani city as their second home" (K4, p. 7). These phrases show the policymakers' view that immigrants are a part of their society and live together. In addition, the text points out that due to the increase of immigrant settlements, Kani city may become the immigrants' second home. The document show the 'moral claim':

"We will encourage the participation of foreign citizens as an important partner in the local community, and promote the creation of a system that can reflect opinions in the community." (K1, p. 26)

Regarding the education for immigrant children, the 'moral claim' is presented as:

"There are frictions in daily life due to cultural differences, but in a society built with an increasing number of foreigners, it is a very big problem for children who will eventually grow up to be out of school." (K4)

In this frame, the immigrants are seen as a key player for the local community. When it comes to immigrant children's education, the Kani city understands that the out-of-school issue causes a negative impact on the community in the future.

6.2.5 Children's career in the future

In Kani city, a frame expresses that the city has implemented educational policies for immigrant children because the policymakers believe their career success in the future matters not only in Japan but also in their home countries. As a 'moral claim', the Kani city policy argues:

"Everyone receives equal basic education so that children can grow up in Japanese society with confidence and pride, and play an active role not only in Japanese society but also in their home countries with dreams and hopes in the future. We will improve the educational environment and support school attendance." (K1)

This text shows the moral value of an equal access to basic education. In addition, it expresses the policymakers' view that education is a key to success in the future. The experience of attending schools will lead to later education for example, entering high school or acquiring qualifications for getting a job. Therefore, the frame represents that equal education for children leads to the children's future options being greatly expanded.

6.2.6 Guarantee of children's education rights

Another frame represents a guarantee of educational opportunities for immigrant children. Foreigners are not legally obliged to attend school. Therefore, the policymakers enhance the opportunity to be at schools in order to guarantee the children's education rights. Regarding the 'moral claim', Kani city explains:

"We will guarantee opportunities for foreign children to receive education and promote the establishment of a system for accepting foreign children in public elementary and junior high schools." (K1, p. 26)
"It guarantees the right to learn for children of compulsory education age..." (K1, p. 37)

The framing expresses the moral value of the children's rights and its' guarantee. In addition, the document addresses the guarantee of opportunities to get education for children with learning disabilities. Through the experience of teaching immigrant children, the teacher realizes the existence of disabled immigrant students. These children were "invisible" due to the different language and culture (K2).

6.2.7 Mother language and culture education

In terms of a mother language and culture education, Kani city teaches the children's home songs and plays. The 'causal account' of implementing it is the recent trend of the increasing number of children that are born and grow in Japan (K4). The second immigrant generation does not have enough opportunities to learn their mother language and culture as much as the Japanese culture. Thus, the Kani city has provided their home culture education. The policymakers' moral value is also expressed to respect their home culture and the school education role of passing down immigrant home countries' language and education

6.2.8 Parents' interests in school education

The Kani city's documents represent a frame, in which the lack of parents' understanding is problematic for immigrant children's education. The survey results, which was conducted by Kani city, shows that one of the reasons why immigrant children become out-of-school children is the problem of parents' consciousness. Therefore, Kani city highlights the importance of increasing parents' awareness about school education. As framing device, the 'story' is described:

"Because the education system is different from their home country, there are situations where parents do not fully understand the mechanism of education and school attendance in Japan." (K1, p. 37)

This indicates the reason why immigrant parents are not sending their children to schools. Due to the lack of parents understanding about the Japanese school system, the Kani City School Board mentions in the enrollment document for elementary school:

"Japanese schools are not a place to leave children while parents are working. It is a place to learn the rules and group life of living in Japan and learn for the future of children." (K5)

The description shows that the school board tries to make the aim of school education clear to immigrant parents. As 'moral claims', the Kani city argues the importance of raising awareness of school education for parents in order to deepen their understanding of their children's education (K1). As I explained before, foreigners are not legally obliged to attend school in Japan. Therefore, immigrant children will not be enrolled in school unless their parents wish to have a school

education for them. Therefore, Kani city believes that the increase of parents' interests regarding school education is a key to solving the issue of children not attending school.

6.3 Summary

The results chapter answered both research questions. The first question, which asks how immigrant children's education and out-of-school children are defined as a policy problem by policymakers, has been answered over this chapter. There are eight frames from Hamamatsu city and eight frames from Kani city. To summarize, immigrant children's education is defined as an important investment for the economical development for the future as well as for the immigrant children's future career. Out-of-school children are defined as a serious issue that needs to be solved as soon as possible. It is associated with the issues of lack of language skills, economical situation, lack of information, and children's education rights. The second question, which asks why immigrant children's education should be provided, has been answered with four motivations. The first motivation is that the policymakers consider immigrants and immigrant children as a part of their community. The second motivation is the moral view that all children should have equal opportunities to be educated due to children's education rights. The third motivation is the moral idea that immigrant children should be provided the opportunity to learn their mother language and culture as well as the Japanese ones. The fourth motivation is that the moral argument for education of immigrant children should not be affected by their parents' interests, economical situation, lack of knowledge about schools and the systems.

7 Discussion

This research raises the problem of out-of-school immigrant children in Japan. The issue is often talked about in the context of immigrant children's education, the research therefore conducted the analysis including this topic. In order to answer the aim of the research, which is how immigrant children's education is framed in the *successful* cases and how the policymakers understand the meaning of providing it, the inductive frame analysis was applied. To examine frames and policymakers' views, the framework of framing devices and reasoning devices was used. The results indicate different frames and four motivations to implement the education for immigrant children.

The first part in this chapter will discuss the important two findings through the results of Hamamatsu and Kani cities' frames. First, I see the different views of investing education for immigrant children between the two cities. Second, I see the evidence of strategic use of moral views. The second part will give interpretations of how the findings relate to the literature review and theory. In terms of the literature review, I will discuss whether the results support multicultural education and pluralist and intercultural policy or not. Regarding the theory, I will provide an insight into knowledge production by the social constructivist approach. In addition, it will give a critical comment on the framework.

7.1 Important findings

There are two important points to be discussed. First, in regards to the idea about the future, both cities mentioned the link between the future and education for immigrant children. The idea of investing in human resources through education is found in both cities. However, the reasons to implement support for immigrant children's education are different. Hamamatsu city describes that the reason for implementing it is the future benefit. The policymakers' imagine that the educational investment now will come back in the future, and it will support local government economics. From this idea, the policymakers of Hamamatsu city expect immigrant children to stay in the region as permanent residents. On the other hand, Kani city's reason for implementing the education is that the policymakers consider it important due to the children's future career success in Japan or in their home countries. Therefore, although both reasons imply value in investing in education for immigrant children, the policymakers of Hamamatsu city are motivated due to the future benefits for the region's development, while the policymakers of Kani city are motivated because of the children's career success.

Second, when it comes to how the frames are used in the texts, there are some combinations of the multiple frames. One of the examples is the text from H1. It

explains immigrant children's education with the three frames: future human resource, social participation, and multicultural coexistence. Another example is that the paragraph from K1 describes immigrant children's education by using the two frames: children's career in the future and guarantee of children's education rights. What we can see is that some of the texts combine a few values or reasons to talk about immigrant children's education and out-of-school children.

However, it seems some frames are privileged in a single document. For instance, the frame of children's education rights is emphasised in the document for immigrant parents to recommend registration of their children to schools (H5). The local government's moral value is expressed in order to convince immigrant parents to send their children to the school. Although I found other moral ideas about immigrant children's education through the frame analysis such as human resources and social participation, the policymakers enforce only the moral claim of education rights. This may affect the parents decision on whether they will register their children to the school or not because of the strong moral argument. If this is the case, the moral idea may interfere with the parents' decision. Therefore, it is uncovered that the policymakers use the most effective moral argument in order to appeal to their target audience through public documents. This strategic use of idea in the case provides evidence of the character of frame analysis, which I addressed in the theory chapter.

7.2 Contextualizing the findings and previous studies

In terms of the reflection on the literature review, the findings confirm that the education of immigrant children is associated with Okano & Tsuneyoshi (2010)'s multicultural education. The two key categories from the concept of multicultural education are identified in the results. The category of 'equality education' is seen in both of the cities' frames regarding education rights. In the documents, policymakers of Hamamatsu city claim the moral idea that all children have a right to get education. Kani city also mentions that the city guarantees the immigrant children's education rights and provides special support for the children. Another category of education for 'multicultural coexistence' is also related to both of the cities' frames. Hamamatsu city argues for the advantage of diversity many times in the documents. In addition, the city understands the importance of providing the opportunities to encourage immigrants' participation in the local communities. Kani city emphasizes immigrants as part of their community, and the respect for diverse cultures. Therefore, the theme is associated with the concept of multicultural education. This shows that the results agree with the previous study regarding multicultural education.

The findings have important implications for discussing how the frame can be understood by the two perspectives: pluralist policy and intercultural policy (Lee & Seta, 2014; Alexander, 2004). First of all, the frames of the social participation and multicultural coexistence society are related to intercultural policy because the migrants are recognized as permanent residents by the policymakers. Moreover, the policies of both cities represent the importance of diversity as well as mutual understanding. However, when it comes to the frame regarding mother

language and culture education, the policy is not categorized as an intercultural policy which would provide the host's and migrants' home languages and cultures. When comparing the frame of a lack of Japanese language skills and the theme of mother language support, the policymakers put more value on studying the host country language than the migrants' mother language. For example, the Japanese language classes for immigrant children have been implemented, whereas the mother language classes have not been implemented at the same level with the Japanese one. The moral value of mother language support represents the importance of learning the mother language to understand information, which is not the level of intercultural policy. Therefore, the analysis on the theme regarding language education for immigrant children reveals the policymakers' perspectives on pluralist policy.

If we now turn to reflecting on constructivism theory, the Kani city's 'causal accounts' indicate the power of knowledge production. The social constructivist approach shows that producing knowledge and norms constructs power (Haas, 2004). The constructivist theory helps to seek the effects from institution and knowledge in political analysis. Knowledge advisors create a way of framing an issue for policymakers and influence their decisions (Haas, 2004). It is important to note the relationship between knowledge and power because it relates to the process of framing issues as well as decision making.

In the case of Kani city, the 'causal accounts' are affected by the knowledge. The knowledge is provided from the survey regarding the situation of non educated immigrant children in the Kani city. The survey was conducted two times in 2003 and one time in 2004 by Kojima (2008). It is the first case of the survey that queried the actual condition of immigrant children's school attendance in Japan. The results show the three main reasons why the migrant children are not in schools: a lack of parents' interests in schools, economic conditions and a lack of language skills. These three factors are represented in the policies as 'causal accounts'. Thus, the knowledge production from the survey conducted by Kojima (2008) impacts the framing process. Through identifying the idea of the 'causal account', the data influenced the policymakers' view on the issue and the political decisions for implementation. Therefore, by seeking the motivation to implement the educational policies, it is revealed that the power of knowledge production was related. However, this theoretical discussion leads to critical questions such as which knowledge can affect the 'causal account' and in which cases can it not? In the two sample cities, why does Kani city present policies that are more motivated by knowledge than Hamamatsu city? What is the relationship between knowledge production and frame?

The critical opinion to the framework by Gamson & Modigliani (1989) is a lack of clarification of causal accounts and moral claims. When I was conducting the coding in terms of five categories, it was difficult to assign the contents between causal accounts and moral claims. For example, in some cases the sentence can be understood as both a causal account and a moral claim. Moreover, the relation between causal account and moral claims is not well known. This presents a practical issue of applying the framework.

8 Conclusion

In conclusion, the research aim was to examine how immigrant children's education and out-of-school children are problematized in the *successful* cases from Hamamatsu and Kani city, and what are the cities' motivations to implement it. Through inductive frame analysis, I found frames that are associated with the ideas of future human resources, lack of Japanese language schools, economic difficulties, lack of information about school, social participation, diversity in multicultural coexistence society, lack of parents' understanding, children rights and guarantee, and mother language support. The findings unveil the policymakers' four motivations: understanding immigrant children as a part of the local community, enforcing children's education rights, providing opportunities to learn mother language and culture, and promoting educational opportunities no matter lack of information, economical situation, parents' interests. The discussion highlights the three important findings: the different view on future benefit between the two cities, the use of frames and the links between the results and literature review and theory.

The research has contributed to two points. First, compared to the previous studies that examine the education policy for immigrant children and the out-of-school children in Japan, this research applied a different analytical method. The previous studies use interviews and data collection by conducting surveys in most of the cases and the results are descriptive. However, this research applies the inductive frame analysis and analyses the findings from the theoretical point of view. Second, in particular, in terms of the local government policies, there was little known about the policymakers' moral views to build and implement policies in the *successful* cases of immigrant children's education. Therefore, this research contributes to the understanding of policymakers' motivations by applying the frame analysis.

This research leads to many questions in need of further investigation. First, further research might explore the negative cases. For example, a local government in Japan has not reduced the number of immigrant children that are not attending school, even though it has implemented the educational policies for immigrant children. By applying a bigger number of cases, the study may allow for comparisons of more results, finding similarities and differences and creating a bigger external validity (Lindekilde, 2014). Second, further work needs to examine more closely the links between frames and frame effects. This limitation is already discussed in the methodology chapter. If the theory of frame effects is developed, the frame analysis would be a more useful method to conduct the policy analysis, for example, in the process of decision making or implementation.

It is worth mentioning that there is inequality of education for immigrant children between the cities. It is a problem that immigrant children are not educated not only for the children's future career, but also for the city and Japan. This study finds that the sample cities are aware that the immigrant children's education is important in terms of the future human capital. In the same way, education for immigrant children that solves the out of school immigrant children

issue should be prioritized for the central government. By implementing it at the state level, the immigrant children will be able to receive educational support no matter where they live.

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