

Networks of support: Civil society's role in integrating international students in Japan and Australia

Polina Ivanova and Sabine Krajewski

Working paper no. 111

April 2024



Published by the Centre for Global Higher Education,
Department of Education, University of Oxford
15 Norham Gardens, Oxford, OX2 6PY
www.researchcghe.org

© the authors 2024

ISSN 2398-564X

The Centre for Global Higher Education (CGHE) is an international research centre focused on higher education and its future development. Our research aims to inform and improve higher education policy and practice.

CGHE is a research partnership of 10 UK and international universities, funded by the Economic and Social Research Council, with support from Research England. ESRC award number ES/T014768/1

Networks of support: Civil society's role in integrating international students in Japan and Australia

Polina Ivanova and Sabine Krajewski

Contents

Introduction	6
International students and their support organisations in Japan and Australia	7
Conceptual framework	13
Methodology	17
Findings	19
Discussion.....	29
Conclusion	32
References.....	34

Networks of support: Civil society's role in integrating international students in Japan and Australia

Polina Ivanova and Sabine Krajewski

Polina Ivanova is Senior Researcher at the Asia-Japan Research Institute of Ritsumeikan University, Japan. Her research interests lie in the areas of international higher education, civil society, and migrant integration. Her recent book "*Civil society and international students in Japan: The making of social capital*" (Routledge, 2023) examined interaction between civil society groups and international students in Japan and the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic.

Sabine Krajewski is Honorary Senior Lecturer at Macquarie University, Australia. Her research is set in a comparative framework, focusing on taboos around the body, cultural exchange, intercultural communication, and intercultural competence.

Abstract

The role of civil society in helping incoming international students to adapt to the host country and integrate into the broader community has largely remained unseen, as most prior studies focused on universities and government policies. This paper aims to fill this gap in research on international student mobility by showing the ways in which interaction with civil society organisations (CSOs) is already helping international students feel less lonely and more included.

The paper describes two studies in Japan and Australia comparing interactions between CSOs and international students in different environments: an established and globally leading study destination in a Western and English-speaking country, on the one hand, and an emerging regional hub in a non-Western and a non-Anglophone nation, on the other. By combining insights from social capital and social anchoring theories, the study attempts to develop a more comprehensive multi-theoretical model to better understand international students' sociocultural integration and their contribution to the local community. The findings show that despite their limitations, local CSOs in both Australia and Japan act as alternative providers of international student support co-creating networks of trust, exchange, and cooperation. In addition, leadership in volunteer organisations seems to provide international students with a number of specific advantages compared to simple participation. The paper also discusses new forms of activism and advocacy that emerged during the COVID-19 pandemic. These findings imply that the potential of volunteer groups for international student adaptation and integration and for community building should be mobilised and exploited more actively.

Keywords: International students, Civil society, Social capital, Social anchoring, International student leadership, Japan, Australia.

Introduction

Although much scholarly work has discussed the issues of international student wellbeing and their adaptation to the host society, it tends to focus on the role of education providers in supporting international students or the government policies related to international education. Due to these tendencies in research, the role of alternative actors, such as civil society organisations (CSOs) in helping incoming international students to adapt to the host country and integrate into the broader community has largely remained unseen. This paper aims to fill this gap in research on international student mobility by showing the ways in which interaction with CSOs is already helping international students feel less lonely and more included.

This study uses the definition of civil society as “the organized, nonstate, nonmarket sector” (Pekkanen, 2006, p. 3) which includes all types of voluntary groups and associations, non-governmental organisations (NGOs), non-profit organisations (NPOs), charities, student groups, and informal hobby groups. The terms CSOs and volunteer groups are used throughout the paper as synonyms.

Australia and Japan are chosen for this study as “island nations” in Asia Pacific, members of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), active in international student recruitment. In response to the COVID-19 pandemic, both nations adopted similar international travel restrictions, leading to a significant impact on international education and leaving hundreds of thousands of international students stranded abroad. The countries differ in their migration histories: Australia is an immigrant society characterised by ethnocultural superdiversity while Japan is mainly populated by its native ethnic group with only 2% of immigrants, fewer than other OECD nations. Another difference lies in the country’s attitudes towards international education: while “aid approach” is still dominant in Japan that accepts mainly Asian students with government scholarships, Australia has become a global study destination and transitioned to the “trade” approach (Ishikawa, 2011) framing its international education as export. Finally, English is the only official language in Australia while it is used in Japan as an internationalisation strategy while Japanese is mainly used in daily life.

This research seeks to address the following questions: 1. What are the perceived impacts of international students' interaction with civil society groups on both the students and the local communities they engage with? 2. Can the leadership in CSOs provide greater benefits to international students compared to being a regular member of the same organisation? To answer these questions, this study uses a multi-theoretical approach integrating perspectives from social capital and social anchoring theories.

This paper begins by providing background information on international students in Australia and Japan and a brief overview of the CSOs involved with international students in both countries. It will then go on to outline the analytical framework and the methods of data collection and data analysis used in this study. The remaining part of the paper presents and discusses the findings related to: a) co-creating social capital in the interaction between CSOs and international students, b) leadership among international students, c) impact of the COVID-19 pandemic on international students and their support groups and d) new forms of activism and advocacy that emerged during that period.

International students and their support organisations in Japan and Australia

International students in Australia

Prior to the COVID-19 pandemic: Australia was the top third destination for international students globally (Australian Government Department of Education, Skills and Employment, 2020). During the pandemic, Australia experienced significant declines in international enrollments when the number of enrolled students decreased from 875,173 in 2019 to 681,497 in 2021 (Australian Government Department of Education, 2023). In 2020-2021, up to 40% of enrolled students, or estimated half a million international students, were stranded overseas due to border closures (Australian Government Department of Education, n.d.; Salmi, 2020). The recovery started soon after the international travel ban was lifted, and by September 2023, the numbers reached and even slightly exceeded the pre-pandemic level (896,960 international students in September 2023 vs. 875,173 in 2019 (Australian Government Department of Education, 2023).

International education in Australia is framed as export and is managed by Austrade, or the Australian Trade and Investment Commission, a trade-promotion agency of the Australian government. This approach is translated into higher tuition fees for international students compared to domestic. In line with this commercialisation of international education, much literature discusses how international students' inability to enter the country affected finances of Australian universities and Australian economy at large, rather than the human consequences of this problem (Grozinger & Parsons, 2020; Hurley, 2021).

International students in Japan

Since 2010, Japan has seen a steady increase in the number of international students, primarily from other Asian countries, attributable mainly to successful government policies. In 2019, the number of international students in Japan peaked at 312,214, surpassing the target set by the International Student Plan (2008-2020), which aimed for 300,000 students. Due to the pandemic and border closures, the numbers declined by 10.4% on average, with the count dropping to 279,597 in May 2020 compared to the peak in 2019 (JASSO, 2023). As Japan adopted an international travel ban in response to the coronavirus pandemic, similarly to Australia, this trend continued in 2021-2022, with the numbers further decreasing to 242,444 and 231,146, respectively (JASSO, 2023).

In March 2023, the government set a new target of attracting 400,000 international students by 2033 and creating supportive environment for retention of international graduates (Prime Minister's Office of Japan, March 17, 2023). International education is often viewed as a part of migration industry (Liu-Farrer & Tran, 2019) and as one of the ways to fill in labour shortages as the Japanese population is declining and ageing while the country remains reluctant to open to the labour migration on a long-term or permanent basis. International students in Japan are paying the same tuition fees as domestic students and are often eligible for grant scholarships.

Civil society groups involved with international students in Japan and Australia

This study views most CSOs involved with international students as varieties of migrant support organisations. Previous studies viewed migrant support organisations as “prosthesis” (Nowosielski, 2023) or as a “training school” (Odmalm, 2009) for migrants, particularly for whose adaptation is just beginning, while also noting their transformational potential for local communities (Babcock, 2006).

Both Japan and Australia have a variety of CSOs engaged in activities with international students. They can be divided into on-campus and off-campus groups based on their location and the main place of interaction with students.

Most types of on-campus groups are commonly found in both countries. For example, both nations have ethnic-based groups, alumni networks, and student societies, often referred to as clubs or circles in Japan. Additionally, there are peer support groups for international students, mainly focusing on assisting foreign newcomers with initial guidance and socialisation by domestic students and their senior international peers. However, student collectives organising protests, rallies, and marches to advocate for specific groups’ rights, such as women, the LGBTQI community, or international students, are unique to Australian universities. Similarly, branches of political parties and religious organisations are active on campuses only in Australia, with a few exceptions of some Buddhist and Christian universities in Japan. The absence of similar organisations in Japan and the predominantly secular and apolitical nature of on-campus groups may be linked to the historical context of the Japanese university protests in the late 1960s, which led to university destabilisation and ultimate failure of the movement. Additionally, it might reflect the political passivity and religious non-involvement of a significant part of the Japanese younger generation today.

Table 1 summarises common types of the on-campus groups, also commonly referred to as “student organisations”, in both countries.

Table 1. On-campus groups

Japan	Australia
Peer support groups for international students	Peer support groups for international students
University circles/clubs	Student societies
Alumni networks (current and former students)	Alumni networks for graduates (not for current students)
Ethnic associations on campus	Ethnic-based groups on campus
N/A	Student collectives
N/A	Branches of political parties and religious groups

The off-campus groups display greater variations between the countries. In particular, Australia has a representative agency for international students, the Council of International Students Australia (CISA), and its presence creates an opportunity for a more coordinated action nation-wide. An organisation with a similar name and mission, UKCISA (United Kingdom Council for International Student Affairs), has also been present in Britain since 1968 (UKCISA, n.d.). Despite the growing numbers of international students, Japan does not yet have a representative organisation for them at the national level which could be empowering for students. Furthermore, charities as a type of organisations are not present in Japan. They are often related to religious organisations and provide highly specialised services, such as legal counselling on a wide range of topics, job hunting support, or helping students with their sexual and reproductive health, substance addictions and supporting sober lifestyle. Again, such organisations are still rare in Japan; limited services such as testing for sexually transmitted diseases (STDs) or legal counselling in visa and immigration areas are provided by some nonprofit organisations (NPOs) or government agencies on specific days for foreigners in general, not catering for international students.

Instead, Japan has many government-initiated groups or government-sponsored groups. Most of such groups in smaller towns were started by local governments in the 1980s or 1990s as a part of larger internationalisation initiatives, and they gradually shifted their focus from sister city exchanges to foreign residents that were already living in their local communities (Ivanova, 2023, pp. 46-47). More recently, the central government, primarily the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (MEXT) has also started sponsoring some newer groups that are providing job-hunting support to international students attempting to retain them in the local workforce (Ivanova, 2023, p.50).

Table 2 presents a detailed comparison of the off-campus organisations in Australia and Japan. It demonstrates that while many off-campus groups are often referred to as “migrant organisations” or “migrant support organisations”, these categories do not fully overlap. The off-campus groups involved with international students also encompass environmental groups, religious charities, and others dedicated to matters beyond migration.

Table 2. Off-campus groups

Australia	Japan
Self-organised representative agency at the national level: Council of International Students Australia (CISA)	N/A
N/A	Groups affiliated to local governments
N/A	Groups sponsored by the central government (MEXT)
Ethnic associations at the city level and national level	Ethnic associations at the municipal level
Charities (legal, job-hunting, sexual health, loneliness, religious-based)	Nonprofit organisations (NPOs)
N/A in this sample	Grassroots
Informal hobby groups	Informal hobby groups

Besides structural, CSOs in Australia and Japan have also functional differences. Australian organisations place greater emphasis on social activities, such as pizza parties, movie nights, coffee hours, or walking tours, and free food or drink is often used as inducement to join the activities, including religious and political.

In contrast, Japanese organisations frequently offer cultural activities, especially traditional culture, such as tea ceremony, calligraphy. In bringing together different cultures, emphasis tends to be put on cultural differences, not similarities. Not only are political and religious groups largely absent from university campuses but also other potentially problematic topics (e.g., discussion on controversial societal issues) are carefully avoided as the priority is placed on “smooth communication” and quiet entertainment.

Leadership in international student organisations

Leadership in migrant support organisations, a broader term including many international student organisations has not been sufficiently studied. Migrant leaders are sometimes defined ‘professionals of mobilisation’ (Pirkkalainen et al., 2013) due to their ability to access resources and build partnerships and described them as possessing and utilising social connections both within their ethnic community and with institutions and actors in their country of settlement. They are usually high-status, highly educated, and able to multitask, being simultaneously involved in many formal, informal, and transnational activities (Pirkkalainen et al., 2013) which points to high degrees of psychological stability. Existing research in migration studies found that leadership could improve migrant leaders’ subjective wellbeing through developing bicultural competences, social relationships with host nationals & compatriots, increased abilities in dealing with unjust social conditions in the new environment (Taurini et al., 2017). Migrant leaders may sometimes have abilities to “politicise their emotions” telling stories of discrimination to raise the audience’s empathy (Voscoboinik & Maffia, 2023). On the other hand, migrant leaders may often be “overburdened with competing responsibilities from work, home, and volunteer commitments” (Rabadan et al., 2011, p.43) which may negatively impact their organisational practices and effectiveness and the overall quality of life.

Existing scholarship on student movements, student organisations and student leadership development also tends to centre predominantly on domestic students. One of the few examples of studies focussing on international student leaders (Duckworth, 2002) found that cultural adjustment must come before leadership involvement; however, leadership enhances adjustment. Similarly, Dituras (2018) discusses the case of a “fully acclimated” international student leader which suggests that leadership may require from international students to be fully adapted to the campus environment before stepping into a leadership role.

Conceptual framework

Social capital

This study relied on Robert Putnam’s definition of social capital as “connections among individuals - social networks and the norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness that arise among them” (Putnam, 2000, p.19). Earlier works on social capital emphasised the role of long-term historical factors and civic traditions, such as education system, economic and welfare systems, state and political institutions, and widespread social norms, as contributing to varying levels of social capital among nations or social groups (Putnam, 2000; Fukuyama, 2001; Hooghe & Stolle, 2003). Due to the prioritisation of long-term factors in the earlier studies, there was comparatively less research or emphasis on the possibilities of forming social capital in the short term. In addition, the impact of diversity on social capital generation remains a debatable issue (Coffe & Geys, 2006; Pendakur & Mata, 2012), particularly following Putnam's assertion that ethnic diversity tends to weaken social cohesion (Putnam, 2007, p. 150). Examining the case of international students residing in a host country for a limited period and interacting with local CSOs provides an opportunity to explore short-term social capital generation in heterogeneous groups, addressing these unresolved questions.

Since social capital is a concept known for being elusive and challenging to quantify, the study investigated specific criteria as means of validating the formation of social capital. Previous literature pointed to some common criteria of social capital formation, such as generalised and particularised trust, membership in organisations, participation in community events, voting rates, volunteerism levels, and the number of civil society groups (Putnam, 2000; Svendsen & Svendsen, 2004; Aldrich, 2012; Travaglini, 2012; Campbell, 2014). At the individual or micro-level, criteria include the exchange of information and resources, mutual help, and the development of shared values within groups. Criteria can be organised based on the three dimensions of social capital: structural, relational (attitudinal), and cognitive. Examples of structural social capital include forging new connections and deepening friendships, while relational capital involves developing trust among individuals or scaling trust to a broader social group. Cognitive social capital relates to knowledge and skills transfer, and mutual trust is seen as a common denominator and a key criterion for social capital generation (Svendsen & Svendsen, 2004; Campbell, 2014).

The study sought to understand what helps to create social capital in the interaction between CSOs and international students and what hinders it. Apart from long-term societal factors, previous studies have reported individual-level influences promoting social capital, such as educational attainment and other demographic characteristics, active participation in social, cultural, and political activities, shared values and interests (Hooghe & Stolle, 2003; Muriisa & Jamil, 2011; Johansson et al., 2012; Brown, 2018). In particular, participation in CSOs was identified as crucial for social capital generation on both macro- and micro-levels (Putnam, 2000; Travaglini, 2012; Ogawa, 2009) as voluntary organisations provide access to resources, create ties, and contribute to the development of shared values and norms. It is important that those volunteer networks should possess certain structural characteristics that allow for the formation of trust and for the exercise of agency: cooperation, ethical behaviour, empowering, effective coordination, and non-coercive contexts (Caulkins, 2004; Antoni & Portale, 2011; Weiss, 2012; Johansson et al., 2012). Researchers emphasise that involving individuals in activity planning and collective decision-making empowers them, fostering structural, relational, and cognitive dimensions of social capital (Pastoriza et al., 2015). Regular events

were also noted as instrumental for creating social capital within these organisations (Aldrich, 2012; Hao, 2015) as longer-term programs and recurring events seem more effective in building social trust between participants (Mirwaldt, 2012; Campbell, 2014; Aldrich, 2012; Muriisa & Jamil, 2011).

Previous studies also reported factors obstructing formation of social capital, such as incoherence between the CSO mandate and target audience, limited resources for extensive activities, and insufficient coordination between CSOs and other local organisations (Maclure & Sotelo, 2014). Pressures to volunteer, especially in the form of emotional manipulation or perceived lack of alternatives, hinder social capital formation as voluntary engagement is crucial (Johansson et al., 2012). Additionally, the temporary nature of international students' sojourns may pose a hurdle to social capital due to weaker networks resulting from residential mobility (Coffe & Geys, 2006; Yamamura, 2011).

Social anchoring

Social anchoring is defined as “processes of finding significant footholds that enable migrants to acquire socio-psychological stability and security and function effectively in new life settings” (Grzymala-Kazlowska, 2018, p.252). Unlike social capital which is a well-established concept dating back several decades and with significant scholarship within sociology, economics and political science, social anchoring emerged among more recent attempts in migration studies to capture how migrants develop social connections in a ‘host’ society, alongside the concepts of embedding and belonging. The concept highlights the importance of identity and psychosocial stability that have been overlooked by prior integration theories, most of which were developed in relation to permanent settlement in a host country and therefore have little explanatory power for contemporary superdiverse societies and for international students, particularly those who are frequently mobile studying in several countries and do not intend to settle in their study destination. Instead, psychosocial stability becomes particularly important as their new, often highly competitive academic environment requires them to adjust fast. Since its first use in 2016 (Grzymala-Kazlowska, 2016), the concept of social anchoring has been applied to refugees’ language learning (Wilkins, 2023), migrant

consumers' experiences (Pradhan et al., 2019) and European migrants' reactions to Brexit (Trabka & Pustulka, 2020). This study is the first attempt to use it for the case of international students, in particular to investigate whether international student leaders may be better anchored than their peers who are just involved in volunteer groups but not in leadership positions.

Bringing together the concepts of social capital and social anchoring can provide a richer and more comprehensive analytical framework for studying international students' interaction with local civil society groups. Since social capital emphasises the importance of networks and relationships, we can assess the strength and diversity of their ties with local community by examining their newly formed social networks. Analysing social capital of international students can also help identify how their connections with local civil society groups provide access to information, support, and opportunities. On the other hand, social anchoring focuses on the processes of individual integration, attachment and embeddedness in a new social context and is closely tied to developing or renegotiating an updated sense of identity (Ting-Toomey, 2015) in their new environment. Understanding how international students perceive themselves in relation to local civil society groups can shed light on the role of identity in shaping these interactions. The two theories interconnect in the following ways: while social capital has a broader applicability to various individuals and societies, encompassing the relationships, networks, and trust within communities at large, social anchoring is specifically tailored to the experiences of migrants. However, within the context of migrant integration, social anchoring can become a broader concept as it encompasses a wider array of processes that migrants engage in to find psychological stability and security in their new life settings. This holistic process may include establishing social networks; in this way, social capital can be seen as one component or contributing factor to migrants' social anchoring.

Methodology

Data collection

The methods of data collection consisted of a number of qualitative techniques: 1) semi-structured interviews with international students, volunteers and staff of CSOs and university staff, 2) participant observation of events organised by CSOs, and 3) textual analysis of online and printed documents of CSOs. Triangulation of methods of data collection (observation, interviews, and textual analysis) and of data sources (interviews with different stakeholders) was an important strategy to enhance validity of this study. For the same purpose, findings of self-reported data of interviews were contrasted and compared with those coming from participant observation and analysis of CSOs websites and promotion materials. The interview questions focused on the participants' personal motives to join the group (and organisational motives if the interviewee was a leader), the alignment between their expectations and real-life experiences, and their perceptions of advantages and disadvantages of their involvement.

The study in the Western Japan (Kansai area) involved 30 organisations, with the main part of data collection done in 2017-2018, and some follow-up interviews in 2020-2021 during the COVID-19 pandemic. The data collection in Australia was conducted in 2019-2020 covering 28 volunteer groups in New South Wales. Among the investigated cases, six organisations, three in Japan and three in Australia, had international student leaders. The interviewees were recruited by purposeful sampling, targeting those international students who were actively involved with student support groups and included those enrolled in undergraduate and graduate programmes.

Data analysis

This study used cross-case analysis: the data analysis started with a within-case phase analysing each case individually followed by a cross-case phase comparing the cases. First, interviews were transcribed, and interview transcripts, fieldnotes and textual materials were segmented and coded. Next,

thematic analysis was used to identify recurrent themes across the research materials.

For interviews, main themes included “personal motives to join the group”, “organisational motives or mission” (interviews with leaders and professional staff), “expectations vs. reality”, “positive experiences with the group”, “negative experiences/challenges related to the group”. Those themes helped to gain a nuanced understanding of personal experiences of CSO staff, volunteers, and international students involved with volunteer groups. Other recurrent themes for both interviews and fieldnotes included “friends/friendships”, “socialising”, “network/group/community”, “entertaining/having fun”, “connecting/forming connections”, “belonging”.

For textual materials of CSOs, the content analysis focused on lexicosemantic components of mission statements on the websites and promotion materials seeking to understand which vocabulary units were used to operationalise mission statements and how their meaning helped the organisations to convey their meaning or prevented them from doing so.

Following the initial phase of data analysis, the authors conducted an extensive review of previous literature regarding the mechanisms driving social capital creation in diverse settings—including business, public sector, and nonprofit sectors—and at various levels (micro-, meso-, and macro-). This involved identifying the established criteria for social capital in existing literature, as well as the factors believed to either foster or hinder its formation. Subsequently, these criteria and factors were juxtaposed against the categories and themes extrapolated from the fieldwork data. This process helped to uncover the specific criteria of social capital present in our case study. Finally, cross-case analysis was conducted to compare the criteria and factors influencing social capital generation across the examined cases and to discuss the implications of our findings for both international students and local communities in Japan and Australia. In addition, previous studies on social anchoring, migrant leaders and international student leaders were reviewed to better understand the cases of international student leaders in this study.

Findings

Co-creating social capital

Before the pandemic, the organisations in Japan relied solely on face-to-face communication, and their activities of choice included cooking Japanese dishes, participating in sightseeing, walking, or hiking tours. On the CSO side, the dominant forms of the interaction comprised cultural exchange events (most frequently traditional arts and crafts), Japanese language classes, and providing information about daily life in Japan (mainly various rules and regulations). In rare instances, the interaction took the form of job-hunting support, volunteering for non-cultural causes, such as environmental protection, and self-organisation among international students at a particular university.

In line with the previous literature on migrant support organisations in Japan (Vogt & Lersch, 2007), most organisations in the sample were service-oriented and apolitical, apparently not attempting to achieve any social changes, with the exception of one on-campus organisation led by a foreign student that achieved a policy change at the university level through persistent negotiations with the university staff. As the following section will show, this tendency will start to slightly shift during the pandemic.

Similarly, the organisations in Australia emphasised face-to-face interactions, although they also offered some online events before the pandemic (such as virtual gatherings of hobby groups or online sports and fitness classes). Unlike Japanese counterparts, Australian organisations focussed more on having fun and sociality aspects of their events, and not necessarily on 'high culture'.

Criteria of social capital:

This study has found the following criteria of social capital to be present in the investigated cases in Japan:

- 1) exchange of information and resources which was observed in 24 groups out of 30
- 2) mutual help: 18 groups out of 30

- 3) developing shared norms within a group: 10 out of 30
- 4) forming friendships and new connections: 24 groups out of 30
- 5) creating new networks within existing networks/groups: 4 out of 30
- 6) returning participants: 7 groups
- 7) staying in touch with the organisation: 12 groups (Ivanova, 2023, p.108).

Uncovering these criteria became possible largely through the extensive use of participant observation. For instance, we only counted instances of exchange of information when it was completely voluntary, spontaneous, and not prompted by the organisation. Specific examples ranged from finding a suitable hair salon to obtaining a job in the host country through new connections formed in the group. Since the interview questions did not specifically ask about social capital formation to avoid being leading, the interviewees only mentioned these examples when they considered them among important benefits of their participation in the group.

Best practices, or factors conducive to social capital formation:

Based on the thirty cases of Japanese CSOs, the study observed the following best practices leading to formation of social capital in their interaction with international students:

- 1) Intentionality of creating ties: it seemed useful if the participants were aware of the importance of making lasting connections, sought them intentionally and created opportunities for forming and maintaining them.
- 2) Programmes/event series instead of one-time events were better for allowing participants time to get to know each other and develop mutual trust.
- 3) Congruent values among members and/or adequate mitigation of cross-cultural conflicts if they arose, usually achieved through some basic intercultural training for volunteers and students.

- 4) Consistency in the organisational behaviour: for an organisation, it usually meant having a clear understanding of their mission, conveying it accurately to the target audiences, and organising their activities accordingly.
- 5) Flexibility of the organisation's schedule, less formal and less hierarchical structures and relaxed practices were noted as important both by Japanese and international members as these characteristics allowed them to balance their involvement with exigences of their academic, professional, and social life.
- 6) Offering room for international students' initiatives: e.g., their involvement in event planning and decision-making processes instead of more passive roles of guests or service recipients.
- 7) International students' active membership and leadership: this study distinguishes between passive (e.g., being on the members' list and receiving emails and newsletters), active (participating in events) and highly active types of membership (leadership and administrative positions within a group, such as president, secretary, treasurer). While being passive members can also provide benefits, for example, of being informed, forming social capital usually required more active forms of membership.
- 8) Having a common goal to pursue instead of gathering for its own sake: although this may seem to contradict the first factor of intentionality, they tend to apply to different types of groups. For instance, animal shelters and environmental groups focused more on their goals rather than building connections; however, they attracted like-minded members and successfully built social capital as a "by-product" of their main activities.
- 9) Intrinsic interest in the activity: this factor inspired students to stick with the group long enough to allow the meaningful connections to form.

10) Effective coordination among the actors: a successful host-family program run by a university for over 20 years with approx. 200 matches every semester was possible largely due to an extensive and well-coordinated network of local CSOs working with host families (Ivanova, 2023, pp.78-80).

Obstacles to social capital formation included:

- 1) pressure to volunteer, particularly by an authority figure, current or former teacher or senior student: while individuals could be made perform the action (e.g., attend the event), it often resulted in passive and cold behaviour that was not very inviting to making new connections.
- 2) mismatch of motives among the actors: e.g., if some international students were seeking to build a new community and deeper friendships, while the event organisers only aimed for entertaining experience, this could result in frustration at least on one side.
- 3) international students' temporary stay in Japan: both international students and their domestic peers were noted not to put much effort in seeking connections or developing friendships if they perceived their stay only as temporary, assuming they would leave after graduation.
- 4) absence in Japan of a representative agency for international students, equivalent to the CISA in Australia. which could serve as a focal point for CSOs supporting international students and for partner organisations, such as universities, local and central government bodies, and possibly foreign partners. Since the CSOs are currently disconnected, there is no knowledge-sharing mechanism, e.g., regular conferences or meeting to share best practices, which may lower effectiveness of individual organisations and their collective effort (Ivanova, 2023, p. 116).
- 5) lack of reciprocity and asymmetry in the interaction: the majority of events are one-time only where international students play the role of guests and Japanese volunteers that of a host. This does not give the newcomers an opportunity to reciprocate and instead of bringing the two

groups closer together, may further reinforce the power imbalance between the groups that is already asymmetrical.

Interviews with students and event observation were crucial to reveal these obstacles, as CSO volunteers and staff often did not acknowledge having any challenges at all, probably out of apprehension of being judged and of “losing face”.

International student leadership

As noted above, this study views leadership as the most active form of participation. This section reflects on whether assuming leadership roles in CSOs could offer greater benefits to international students compared to regular participation, i.e., being a regular member of the same organisation. It analyses the cases of the six CSOs who had international student leaders, three in Japan and three in Australia.

Table 3 summarises demographic data of six international student leaders in this study. Some of the common characteristics of international student leaders was the abundance of intercultural experiences: almost all had prior experiences of study abroad or living in a foreign country with their family of origin and after the interview, some moved to new places for work or further study. Among the six student leaders, one started his own company in a neighbouring country to his country of origin, two found jobs in the private sector in the host country, two continued their education abroad in a third country and the whereabouts of the last one remained unknown.

Table 3. International student leaders

Pseudonym	Type of CSO	Country of residence	Origin	Gender	Education	Prior sojourns abroad	Future mobility
Victor	Peer support	Japan	Sri Lanka	M	Undergrad	Unknown	Unknown
Jason	Peer support	Japan	USA	M	Master's	Japan	Japan (internal)
Vanessa	Ethnic	Japan	Indonesia	F	Undergrad	Sweden	Indonesia (return)
Anika	Charity	Australia	India	F, queer	Undergrad	Oman	Remained in Australia
Nick	Student collective	Australia	China	M	Undergrad	Japan	Japan (return)
Alex	University society	Australia	Slovakia	M	PhD	Finland	Czech Republic

The interviews revealed the following motives for taking on a leadership role: 1) challenging oneself (Alex, Australia), 2) being accountable (Anika, Australia), 3) fighting for international students' rights (Nick, Australia), 4) helping international students (Jason, Japan), 5) peer pressure from a fellow countryman and a senior student (Vanessa, Japan), 6) friendships formed through the organisation and fun they have together (Victor, Japan).

The student leaders perceived the following benefits of their role:

- 1) Leadership as community building: "I have grown as a fresh faced 18-year-old with no contacts or support in Australia to knowing thousands of people who have given me the support, insight and opportunity to help the Australian community and become a part of it" (Anika, Australia).
- 2) Friendships and positive emotions: "For me, and not only for me but all the members, the main reward we get is the friends we make. Things we do give us gratification and moral satisfaction. And the friends we make in this group, we stick together in a sense. It's something similar to organizing a party with your closest friends because we all actually stick together" (Victor, Japan).
- 3) Help with studies and daily life (multiple comments both from Japan and Australia).

- 4) Safe space through bonding with the fellow countrymen: “We feel secure because it’s only our own people” (Vanessa, Japan).

The above comments seem to suggest that international students seem very well anchored in their new environment and rich in social capital through their active involvement. However, it remains unclear whether they were initially more psychologically stable to be able and willing to take on a leadership role or if the leadership role helped them improve their stability and wellbeing through active participation in the community and extensive networking.

On the negative side, most interviewees complained about bureaucratic obstacles, lengthy and formal procedures, restrictive rules (both Japan and Australia). Leading a CSO required a significant investment of time: a participant from Japan shared that he was spending 6-7 hours a week on volunteer activities while being a secretary, and when he was elected president, this changed to 3-4 hours a day (Victor, Japan). Joining the group where they became leaders was not the first choice for some. Two student leaders in Japan mentioned joining or starting a ‘non-official’ group due to the difficulties they faced when trying to join official student societies and clubs: these were the cases of Vanessa and Jason.

Impact of the COVID-19 pandemic

Impact of the crisis on international students

The COVID-19 pandemic had a profound impact on both international students and volunteer organisations across various aspects. International students experienced challenges in their social life and relationships: many reported loneliness and isolation, especially severe for newcomers. For those stranded overseas, there was a perception of falling behind academically due to technical challenges such as limited internet and library access, as well as a decrease in the quality of online classes. Additionally, the inability to conduct fieldwork or attend conferences further exacerbated their academic difficulties among master’s and PhD students. On the physical and mental health front, many international students experienced heightened stress, anxiety, insomnia, and depression as a result of the pandemic-related disruptions to their lives and education. Financial concerns and career planning were also significantly

affected since massive loss of part-time jobs created financial instability, and those stuck overseas due to the travel ban found themselves ineligible for most scholarships and unable to find employment in the destination country if they graduated from an online course.

Furthermore, there was a sense of perceived unfairness among international students, particularly those interviewed from Australian universities. This sentiment often stemmed from the instances of discriminatory treatment compared to their domestic counterparts, reflecting the broader impact of the pandemic on international education. While discrimination, loneliness, financial struggles and most other issues were not new (Marginson et al., 2010), the pandemic exacerbated their severity, making them more acute and pronounced.

CSOs in Japan and Australia during the pandemic

During the pandemic, Japanese CSOs experienced both adjustments and failures to adapt. In 2020, due to the limitations imposed by the pandemic, hosting in-person events became nearly impossible and university clubs and circles stopped recruiting new members. Numerous groups initiated by local governments went silent for months and sometimes years, disrupting their usual activities. A leader of a volunteer group from Osaka prefecture expressed the sentiment of their members and their reservations about online meetings like Zoom, highlighting the perceived importance of direct interactions and shared experiences (CSO leader, Osaka, February 23, 2021). However, on-campus peer support groups and MEXT-sponsored groups shifted their activities to digital platforms within several weeks from the onset of the pandemic, primarily utilising Zoom and social media for communication and connection. Adapting to a 'new normal', informal hobby groups began functioning in a hybrid mode: conducting some in-person meetings outdoors with social distancing measures, while also incorporating online options such as Line, Zoom, Discord, and Facebook Live. This hybrid approach aimed to balance the desire for face-to-face interaction with the necessity of adhering to safety protocols.

In response to the challenges posed by the pandemic, Australian organisations demonstrated greater agility, swiftly transitioning to virtual events from the initial week of the first lockdown in 2020. These organisations played a crucial role in providing a diverse array of events, often with connections to the COVID-19 emergency. Notable examples of these events included an online conference on sexual health organized by the CISA in June 2020, a webinar titled “COVID-19 and Your Visa” conducted by the Redfern Legal Centre on October 15, 2020, and the SEXtember festival on sexual education held in a hybrid/blended mode on 14-25 September 2020 at the University of New South Wales (UNSW). The CISA also held a series of online events aiming to “to raise the voice of and for offshore international students who are currently stranded outside of Australia” (Volunteer, 23 December 2020). These activities showcased high adaptability and addressed the specific needs and concerns of the international student community during a challenging period.

Student reactions to the online format varied, with some expressing dissatisfaction or reluctance to participate. At the same time, those taking classes online from abroad sometimes complained about the absence of certain types of events, such as those arranged by their graduate school to acquaint new students with their peers. These contradicting expectations made it harder for the university staff to adequately address all the needs. Since the onset of the pandemic, the challenges faced by international students have drawn the attention of mainstream media, prompting political parties to engage with the issue. In Australia, the Socialist Alliance and Resistance University Sydney actively addressed the travel ban with China, framing it as a racist response, garnering 5,900 signatures on their petition. They also organised an in-person event at the University of Sydney in February 2020 when the university campus was still open. Later, other leftist parties, the Social Equality Party (SEP) and International Youth Students for Social Equality (IYSSE) in Australia conducted an online event in May 2020 discussing the impact of the crisis on international students. In Japan, political engagement on international student issues took the form of a government debate on financial aid to foreign residents, including international students and technical trainees, during the spring of 2020. Local nonprofits in Japan played a role by posting online

updates about the progress of the debate which was an unusual behaviour for them.

New forms of activism and advocacy

Alongside continuing advocacy efforts in Australia and local political activism displayed in Japan in 2020 by certain nonprofits, the pandemic also gave rise to several instances of transnationalism in both countries. Some of them were related to wider social movements, such as anti-racist Black Lives Matter marches in June 2020 or protests against mistreatment of foreigners following the tragic death of a Sri-Lankan Wishma Sandamali in Nagoya detention centre in March 2021. International students actively participated in both movements using social media and existing networks for political mobilisation. Other social movements that emerged during that time directly related to the international student issue.

Advocacy for international students stranded overseas gained momentum as both Japan and Australia implemented international border closures in response to the COVID-19 crisis, preventing the entry of hundreds of thousands of students to their intended study destinations.

As it was mentioned above, the CISA organised a series of online events in support of international students stranded overseas and articles on the topic were published in major media outlets, such as Australian Broadcasting Corporation (ABC) and The Conversation. In Japan, various advocacy initiatives took place on social media platforms, such as the Twitter campaign #educationisnottourism and the Return to Japan Support Group on Facebook. Additionally, articles addressing the issue were published in the mainstream media, such as Asahi Shinbun and Japan Broadcasting Corporation, or Nippon Hoso Kyokai (NHK). A newly formed organisation leading the advocacy in Japan was named the "Open the Borders to Safe Study in Japan Association," with its membership primarily comprising Japanese language schools who suffered most financial losses during the pandemic and had direct interest in getting the international students back. This led to a strong focus on presenting international students in Japan solely as language learners failing to capture the reality of those who came to pursue degrees in various subjects taught in

English. Despite this mis-presentation, their advocacy efforts were found by some students stranded overseas.

Discussion

This paper examined the role of alternative actors in the international student support in Japan and Australia attempting to find out the impacts of international students' interaction with civil society groups on the students and the local communities. It also sought to understand whether being a leader in a volunteer group may provide additional benefits to international students compared to being a regular member of the same organisation. Combining the concepts of social capital (Putnam, 2000; Fukuyama, 2001) and social anchoring (Grzymala-Kazlowska, 2016, 2018) to answer the research questions proved useful as this framework provided a holistic lens through which to analyse international students' interactions with local civil society groups, mutual benefits, challenges, and policy implications associated with these interactions.

Consistent with previous studies on migrant support organisations suggesting positive effects both for migrants (Nowosielski, 2023; Odmalm, 2009) and the host communities (Babcock, 2006), this study found that the interaction between international students and local civil society groups could benefit both parties through co-creation of social capital. Forming social capital in diverse groups in the short term was possible if participants were intentional about making and maintaining connections, had shared values and interests and pursued a common goal. On the CSO side, it mattered if the organisation behaved in a consistent manner, offering flexible schedule, relaxed practices, and room for students' initiatives, including inviting them to leadership positions. Another positive factor contributing to social capital was effective coordination among the stakeholders, e.g., volunteer groups, universities, and governments. This was in line with the previous scholarship pointing out the importance of cooperative networks, ethical behaviour, allowing for the exercise of agency, and non-coercive contexts (Caulkins, 2004; Antoni & Portale, 2011; Weiss, 2012; Johansson et al., 2012). Researchers emphasise that involving individuals in activity planning and collective decision-making empowers them, fostering structural, relational, and cognitive dimensions of social capital (Pastoriza et al., 2015). Obstacles to social capital included a tendency among

CSOs to organise singular events, providing enjoyable pastime and entertainment but failing to facilitate subsequent interactions among participants, hindering the development of deeper connections and mutual trust. This confirms previous studies which emphasised the importance of regular or recurring events (Aldrich, 2012; Hao, 2015) to help build trust among participants (Mirwaldt, 2012; Campbell, 2014; Aldrich, 2012; Muriisa & Jamil, 2011). Other barriers included pressure to volunteer, mismatch of motives among the actors: e.g., seeking deeper connections vs superficial experiences, the temporary nature of international students' stay in the host country which was demotivating for some participants, and the guest-host paradigm that gave international students limited chances to reciprocate and reinforced existing asymmetry in the interaction. The last factor was not explicitly brought up by the previous literature on social capital; however, some of its aspects were discussed within the body of scholarship on intercultural communication, such as power asymmetry in communication in Martin and Nakayama (2010) and guest-host paradigm of cultural exchange events in Japan (Nagy, 2010; Nakamatsu, 2002; 2014). One of the limitations of this study is that formation of social capital was observed in a systematic fashion only in Japan due to the first author's limited time in Australia, and it is therefore impossible to make direct comparisons between social capital formation in the Japanese and Australian cases.

Furthermore, the COVID-19 pandemic exacerbated existing challenges and created new ones, such as massive numbers of international students stranded overseas for months and years. Australian organisations adapted much faster and responded to the crisis more effectively, while many Japanese groups could not adapt to the "new normal" and remained paralysed. However, some displayed unusual political activism, and new organisations and new forms of civic engagement emerged in response to new issues. The crisis also caused international students to search solutions outside their universities and usual support groups and engage with broader social issues, which led in some cases to transnational activism. Throughout the pandemic, the formation of social capital was primarily associated with online communication platforms such as Zoom and social media. Notably, two significant trends emerged: firstly, while most interviewees found Zoom and social media beneficial for sustaining

current friendships, they did not consider them conducive to forming new connections. Secondly, there was a noticeable increase in the use of social media for political mobilisation. These findings contribute to the growing body of scholarship on online/virtual/digital social capital; for instance, Zúñiga et al. (2016), Faucher (2018), Song and Jiang (2021).

To address the second question on international student leaders, leadership at volunteer organisations seems to have positive effects on sociocultural adaptation, emotional wellbeing, and the sense of agency; therefore, it could help international students feel more anchored in a new society. However, stepping into a leadership role also requires being 'well-resourced' and already stable enough to balance volunteer commitments with demands of other aspects of life which appears to lead to a circular argument. While international student leaders seem better anchored, it remains unclear whether they were initially more psychologically stable to be able to take on a leadership role or if the leadership role helped them enhance their stability through active participation in the community and extensive networking. It may be logical to assume that it is a mutually reinforcing process: being already "peak performers" in other domains of their life, future leaders can benefit more from their new role and their sense of agency, safety, confidence, belonging and other psychological skills continue to spiral upward. This is consistent with the previous studies, particularly Duckworth (2002) that found that cultural adjustment precedes engagement in leadership roles; nevertheless, leadership contributes to improving adjustment. Further studies examining the relationship between the benefits of and pre-requisites for the leadership among international students are required. In addition, leadership experiences may be impacting future mobility and career choices; however, a small sample size with heterogeneous outcomes prevents us from making any conclusive claims in this regard and additional research with larger sample size would be needed to examine these issues in greater depth.

Conclusion

In conclusion, this study examines the crucial role of alternative actors, such as civil society groups, in supporting international students in Japan and Australia, and underscores the reciprocal benefits of their interactions. By combining the frameworks of social capital and social anchoring, this research provides a comprehensive understanding of how these interactions shape the experiences of both students and local communities. While positive outcomes in co-creation of social capital were evident through mutual help and formation of friendships and professional connections, obstacles in the form of singular event organisation, pressure to volunteer, poor coordination and power asymmetry persisted. This underscores the need for more nuanced approaches informed by intercultural communication and critical theories. The COVID-19 pandemic further highlighted the importance of adaptive responses and the emergence of new forms of civic engagement, often through online platforms. Regarding international student leadership, while it appears to positively impact adaptation and wellbeing, further research is needed to untangle the complexities of this relationship and the implications of leadership experiences for future mobility and career trajectories.

Expanding the discussion to a broader context of international student experiences, it is essential to consider the contrasting approaches to international education between Japan and Australia, particularly the concept of aid vs trade approaches proposed by Ishikawa (2011). Japan largely continues to adhere to the aid approach, viewing international education primarily as a means of fostering diplomatic ties and promoting cultural exchange, which results in limited commercialisation of education and a more traditional model of support for international students, relying heavily on governmental and institutional aid. Conversely, Australia has shifted towards a trade approach, characterised by the commercialisation of international education and the prioritisation of economic gains. This transition has led to significant implications for local civil society groups. In Australia, where the international education sector is highly commercialised, civil society groups operate within a more market-driven environment, often providing services to international students as consumers rather than recipients of aid. This shift may

influence the types of support available to international students and the dynamics of their interactions with civil society organizations, potentially emphasising market-driven solutions over community-based support networks.

Furthermore, the perspective of international education as part of the migration industry, as discussed by Liu-Farrer and Tran (2019), adds another layer to the discussion. This perspective suggests that international education is not only a means of cultural exchange or economic gain but also an integral part of global migration systems. This is not exclusive to Japan or Australia but is increasingly prevalent in many countries that actively recruit international students and offer pathways for them to join the workforce or migrate permanently. In this context, civil society groups play a crucial role in facilitating the integration of international students into the local community and supporting their transition to the workforce or settlement in the host country. However, the commercialisation of education and the framing of international students as migrants may also introduce challenges, such as exploitation and marginalisation, which civil society groups need to navigate in their support efforts.

References

- Aldrich, D.P. (2012). *Building resilience: Social capital in post-disaster recovery*. The University of Chicago Press.
- Antoni, G.D., & Portale, E. (2011). The effect of corporate social responsibility on social capital creation in social cooperatives. *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly*, 40(3), 566–582.
- Australian Government Department of Education, Skills and Employment (September 2020). Research snapshot. https://internationaleducation.gov.au/research/research-snapshots/Documents/RS_GlobalContext.pdf
- Australian Government Department of Education (5 December 2023). International Student Data for the year-to-date (YTD) September 2023, file reference D23/4743864, D23/4513331, D23/4513332. <https://www.education.gov.au/international-education-data-and-research/resources/international-student-data-yeardate-ytd-september-2023>
- Australian Government Department of Education (n.d.). International Education Data and Research: Location of enrolled international students (either in or outside Australia). <https://www.education.gov.au/international-education-data-and-research/data-visualisation-location-enrolled-international-student>
- Babcock, E.C. (2006). The Transformative Potential of Belizean Migrant Voluntary Associations in Chicago. *International Migration*, 44(1), 31-53.
- Brown, S.F. (2018). Mechanisms of social capital creation and consumption in a youth baseball league. *Sport in Society*, 21(10), 1517–1543
- Campbell, A. (2014). Signaling in social network and social capital formation. *Economic Theory*, 57(2), 303–337.
- Caulkins, D.D. (2004). Organizational memberships and crosscutting ties: Bonding or bridging social capital? In S. Prakash & P. Selle (Eds.), *Investigating social capital: Comparative perspective on civil society, participation and governance* (pp. 162–183). Sage Publications.
- Coffe, H., & Geys, B. (December 2006). Community heterogeneity: A burden for the creation of social capital? *Social Science Quarterly*, 87(5).
- Ditouras, H. (2018). At Issue: Reimagining Communities Creating a Space for International Student Success. *Community College Enterprise*, 34–40. <https://home.schoolcraft.edu/cce/24.1.34-40.pdf>
- Duckworth, L.W. (2002). International student leadership involvement and cross-cultural adjustment: Two case studies. PhD dissertation. Georgia State University.

- Faucher, K.F. (2018). *Social Capital Online: Alienation and Accumulation*. University of Westminster Press. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctv5vddrd>
- Fukuyama, F. (February 2001). Social capital, civil society and development. *Third World Quarterly*, 22(1), 7–20. Retrieved October 27, 2018 from <https://www.researchgate.net/publication/44828808>
- Grozinger, P. & Parsons, S. (2020). The COVID-19 Outbreak and Australia's Education and Tourism Exports. Bulletin December 2020, Reserve Bank of Australia. <https://www.rba.gov.au/publications/bulletin/2020/dec/the-covid-19-outbreak-and-australias-education-and-tourism-exports.html>
- Grzymala-Kazlowska, A. (2016). Social anchoring: Immigrant identity, security and integration reconnected? *Sociology*, 50(6), 1123–1139. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0038038515594091>
- Grzymala-Kazlowska, A. (2018) From connecting to social anchoring: adaptation and 'settlement' of Polish migrants in the UK, *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 44(2), 252-269. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2017.1341713>
- Hao, F. (2015). An analysis of social capital generation among coalfield residents in Harlan County, Kentucky. *International Journal of Social Quality*, 5(1), 67–83.
- Hooghe, M., & Stolle, D. (2003). *Generating social capital: Civil society and institutions in comparative perspective*. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Hurley, P. (2021). Stuck in transit: International student update. Mitchell Institute policy brief, Victoria University. Melbourne. <https://www.vu.edu.au/sites/default/files/mitchell-institute-stuck-in-transit-international-student-update.pdf>
- Ishikawa, M. (2011). Redefining internationalisation in higher education: Global 30 and the making of global universities in Japan. In D.B. Willis & J. Rappleye (Eds.), *Reimagining Japanese education: Borders, transfers, circulations, and the comparative* (pp. 193–223). Oxford Studies in Comparative Education Symposium Books.
- Ivanova, P. (2023). *Civil Society and International Students in Japan: The Making of Social Capital*. Routledge Contemporary Japan Series, Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003318729>
- Japan Student Services Organization (JASSO) (2023). Result of International Student Survey in Japan, 2022 <https://www.studyinjapan.go.jp/en/statistics/zaiseki/data/2022.html>
- Johansson, S., Leonard, R., & Noonan, K. (2012). Caring and the generation of social capital: Two models for a positive relationship. *International Journal of Social Welfare*, 21(1), 44–52.

- Liu-Farrer, G. & Tran, A.H. (2019). Bridging the Institutional Gaps: International Education as a Migration Industry. *odma International Migration*, 57 (3), 235-249. <https://doi.org/10.1111/imig.12543>
- Maclure, R., & Sotelo, M. (2014). Youth social capital formation in Nicaragua: A neighborhood inquiry. *International Journal of Children's Rights*, 22(2), 385–413.
- Marginson, S., Nyland, C., Sawir, E. & Forbes-Mewett, H. (2010). *International Student Security*. Cambridge University Press.
- Martin, J. N. & Nakayama, T. K. (2010). *Intercultural Communication in Contexts*. New York, NY: McGraw-Hill.
- Mirwaldt, K. (2012). The small projects fund and social capital formation in the Polish– German border region: An initial appraisal. *Regional Studies*, 46(2), 259–272.
- Muriisa, R.K., & Jamil, I. (2011). Addressing HIV/AIDS challenges in Uganda: Does social capital generation by NGOs matter? *SAHARA-J: Journal of Social Aspects of HIV/AIDS*, 8(1), 2–12.
- Nagy, S. R. (2010). Multicultural coexistence policies: Responses of local governments in the Tokyo Metropolitan Area to the pressures of international immigration. In P. Kee & H. Yoshimatsu (Eds.), *Global movements in the Asia Pacific* (pp. 147-179). Singapore: World Scientific.
- Nakamatsu, T. (2002). Marriage, migration and the international marriage business in Japan. (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). Murdoch University: Australia.
<https://researchrepository.murdoch.edu.au/id/eprint/220/2/02Whole.pdf>
- Nakamatsu, T. (2014). Under the multicultural flag: Japan's ambiguous multicultural framework and its local evaluations and practices. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 40 (1), <https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2013.830498>
- Nowosielski, M. (2023). Migrant Organizations. In R.A. List, H.K. Anheier & S. Toepler (Eds) *International Encyclopedia of Civil Society*. Springer, Cham. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-99675-2_9584-1
- Odmalm, P. (2009). Turkish organizations in Europe: How national contexts provide different avenues for participation. *Turkish Studies*, 10(2), 149–163. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14683840902863988>.
- Ogawa, A. (2009). *The failure of civil society? The third sector and the state in contemporary Japan*. State University of New York Press.
- Pastoriza, D., Arino, M.A., Ricart, J.E., & Canela, M.A. (2015). Does an ethical work context generate internal social capital? *Journal of Business Ethics*, 129(1), 77–92.

- Pekkanen, R. (2006). *Japan's Dual Civil Society: Members Without Advocates*. Stanford University Press.
- Pendakur, R., & Mata, F. (2012). Social capital formation and diversity: Impacts of individual and place-related characteristics. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 38(10), 1491–1511.
- Pirkkalainen, P., Mezzetti, P. & Guglielmo, M. (2013). Somali Associations' Trajectories in Italy and Finland: Leaders Building Trust and Finding Legitimation, *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 39:8, 1261-1279, <https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2013.778146>
- Pradhan, A., Cocker, H. & Hogg, M. (2019). Social anchoring: An alternative understanding of migrant consumers' experiences. *Consumer Culture Theory Conference*, 2019-07-17-2019-07-19. (Unpublished) <https://eprints.lancs.ac.uk/id/eprint/134912/>
- Prime Minister's Office of Japan (March 17, 2023). Council for the Creation of Future Education. https://japan.kantei.go.jp/101_kishida/actions/202303/00024.html
- Putnam, R. D. (2000). *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community*. Simon & Schuster.
- Putnam, R.D. (2007). E pluribus unum: Diversity and community in the twenty-first century. The 2006 Johan Skytte prize lecture. *Scandinavian Political Studies*, 30(2).
- Rabadan, L.E., Rivera-Salgado, G., & Rodriguez, R. (July-December 2011). Is More Necessarily Better? Leadership and Organizational Development of Migrant Hometown Associations in Los Angeles, California. *Migraciones Internacionales*, 6(21). <https://doi.org/10.17428/rmi.v6i21.752>
- Salmi, J. (November 16, 2020). COVID's Lessons for Global Higher Education: Coping with the Present while Building a More Equitable Future. Lumina Foundation. <https://www.luminafoundation.org/resource/covids-lessons-for-global-higher-education/>
- Song, J. & Jiang, J. (2021). Online social capital, offline social capital and health: Evidence from China. *Health and Social Care in the Community*, 30 (4), <https://doi.org/10.1111/hsc.13507>
- Svendsen, G.L.H., & Svendsen, G.T. (2004). *The creation and destruction of social capital: Entrepreneurship, cooperative movements and institutions*. Edward Elgar Publishing.
- Taurini, E., Paloma, V., García-Ramírez, M., Marzana, D. & Marta, E. (2017) Effects of the community engagement of migrants on their well-being: The case of Moroccan leaders in southern Spain, *Journal of Prevention & Intervention in the Community*, 45 (1), 32-43.

- Ting-Toomey, S. (2015). Identity negotiation theory. In J. Bennett (Ed.), *Sage encyclopedia of intercultural competence* (Vol. 1, pp. 418–422). Sage.
- Trąbka, A. & Pustulka, P. (2020). Bees and butterflies: Polish migrants' social anchoring, mobility and risks post-Brexit, *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 46 (13), 2664-2681, <https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2020.1711721>
- Travaglini, C. (2012). The generation and re-generation of social capital and enterprises in multi-stakeholders social cooperative enterprises: A system dynamic approach. *Revista de Administração (São Paulo)*, 47(3).
- United Kingdom Council for International Students Affairs (UKCISA). About UK CISA. <https://www.ukcisa.org.uk/About-UKCISA>
- Vogt, G., & Lersch, P. (2007). Migrant support organizations in Japan: A mixed method approach. In *Japan 2007: Politik, Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft* (pp. 265–285). Muenchen: Iudicium.
- Voscoboinik, S.R. & Maffia, M.M. (2023). National Meetings of Migrant Leaders: Spaces of Emergence and Consolidation of African Leadership in Argentina. *Migraciones Internacionales*, 14 (02), <https://doi.org/10.33679/rmi.v1i1.2645>
- Weiss, H.E. (2012). The intergenerational transmission of social capital: A developmental approach to adolescent social capital formation. *Sociological Inquiry*, 82(2), 212–235.
- Wilkins, A. (2023). The politicisation of social anchoring: Language support and community building within Vietnamese refugee-led organisations in London. *Journal of Ethnic & Migration Studies*, 49 (7). 18-45-1863.
- Yamamura, E. (2011). Comparison of the effects of homeownership by individuals and their neighbors on social capital formation: Evidence from Japanese general social surveys. *Journal of Socio-Economics*, 40(5), 637–644.
- Zúñiga, de H.G., Barnidge, M. & Scherman, A. (2016). Social Media Social Capital, Offline Social Capital, and Citizenship: Exploring Asymmetrical Social Capital Effects, *Political Communication*, <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/10584609.2016.1227000>