

Perspectives of JICA Ogata Research Institute

Research Clusters

The JICA Ogata Sadako Research Institute for Peace and Development (JICA Ogata Research Institute) is dedicated to conducting policy-oriented research on issues facing developing countries on the ground, and to strengthening Japan's intellectual presence in the international community, following the philosophy of former JICA President Sadako Ogata, who was instrumental in establishing the institute in 2008. The following are the six research clusters the JICA Ogata Research Institute focuses on.

Politics and Governance

Recent years have witnessed cases where wars, coups d'état, and authoritarian administrations destroy people's peaceful lives and deprive people not only of the opportunities to pursue great possibilities in life but sometimes their very lives. This cluster considers what kind of conditions in both domestic and international politics, as well as social mechanisms, allow every person to enjoy human security regardless of the country in which they reside.

Economic Growth and Poverty Reduction

There are still many impoverished people in the world. In order to clarify how policies and initiatives in developing countries contribute to economic growth and poverty reduction, this cluster conducts research on the socioeconomic effects of infrastructure, finances, and more with the help of comparative analysis of these issues with and without intervention.

Human Development

Evidence-based policy and collaboration are needed to achieve quality education for all, ensure access to quality health services, and empower people. This cluster considers effective policies and practices for human development by conducting research on issues such as the impact of studying abroad for developing countries and the impact the COVID-19 pandemic had on developing countries.

Peacebuilding and Humanitarian Support

This research cluster is built on two pillars: human security and peacebuilding. It analyzes the enabling as well as the inhibiting factors in sustaining peace and studies the relationship between protection and empowerment in human security. In this way, this cluster explores the effective approaches taken by diverse actors engaged in humanitarian support, sustainable development, and sustaining peace.

Global Environment

This research cluster focuses on actions toward achieving the SDGs as well as climate actions. Research subjects include quantitative evaluation methods for climate change adaptation measures and strategies for sustainable development with the indicators for assessing the sustainability of societies.

Development Cooperation Strategies

This research cluster focuses on historical research on Japanese development cooperation and Japanese migration to Latin America; research on development approaches such as agriculture, industrial development, and other sectors; and research on contemporary issues such as how to realize multicultural coexistence. Through these kinds of research, the cluster examines how international cooperation should function and what approach should be taken to make it more effective in today's world.

The views expressed in this report are those of the author(s) and do not necessarily represent the official positions of either JICA or the JICA Ogata Research Institute.

Human Rights, Culture, and Human Security: Rethinking the Universality Discourse

A Speech 30 Years Ago: The Universality of Human Rights and Human Security

It is not enough merely to provide the poor with material assistance. They have to be sufficiently empowered to change their perception of themselves as helpless and ineffectual in an uncaring world. The question of empowerment is central to both culture and development.

When democracy and human rights are said to run counter to non-Western culture, such culture is usually defined narrowly and presented as monolithic. In fact the values that democracy and human rights seek to promote can be found in many cultures. Human beings the world over need freedom and security that they may be able to realize their full potential. The longing for a form of governance that provides security without destroying freedom goes back a long way.

The above words are extracted from a speech prepared by the Myanmar (Burma) democracy leader Aung San Suu Kyi for the UNESCO World Commission for Cultural Development Conference in Manila on November 21, 1994. At that time, Aung San Suu Kyi was under house arrest by the military junta. She entrusted then-Philippine President Corazon Aquino to read the speech, titled “Empowerment for a Culture of Peace and Development” at the conference on her behalf.

Given that this speech was delivered in 1994, it remains significant in two ways. First, the previous year, 1993, was the year of the Bangkok Declaration on Human Rights. The Declaration was agreed upon at the Asian Conference held

prior to the World Conference on Human Rights. Lee Kuan Yew, the Prime Minister of Singapore at the time, Mahathir, the Prime Minister of Malaysia, and Suharto, the President of Indonesia, argued against the universality of human rights, asserting that there were “Asian values” distinct from Western values, such as respect for community and prioritizing the well-being of the group. The Bangkok Declaration is a political declaration issued in response to the heated debate over these so-called “Asian values” and the universality of human rights. The Bangkok Declaration endorsed the cultural relativism of human rights, stating that in guaranteeing human rights, “they must be considered in the context of a dynamic and evolving process of international norm-setting, bearing in mind the significance of national and regional particularities and various historical, cultural and religious backgrounds.” In response to this Asian value argument, Aung San Suu Kyi’s speech presents a different position within the same non-Western community, repeatedly explaining the universality of democracy and human rights. What is being raised here is a powerful objection from the non-West to the discourse that so-called universal values are Western values and not “universal.”

Second, it was also in 1994 that the concept of human security was first fully proposed in the UNDP’s Human Development Report and appeared on the world stage. As suggested in its title, the above-quoted speech by Aung San Suu Kyi repeatedly emphasizes the importance of “empowerment,” which was proposed as one of the core approaches to human security.¹

¹ The terms “empower” or “empowerment” appear 15 times in this speech of only about 3,500 words.



A mother and child in Myanmar

Amartya Sen's Concept of "Universality"

It is no coincidence that these debates arose at around the same time. The concept of human security and the debate over the universality of human rights are like twins, who were born, brought up, (briefly forgotten), and have now re-emerged into the spotlight together. The two arguments were strongly reflected in the context of the early 1990s, when the Cold War had ended and a new world order was being sought.

Amartya Sen co-chaired the Commission on Human Security alongside Sadako Ogata and is considered one of the creators of the human security concept. In a lecture given in 1997 titled "Human Rights and Asian Values," Sen noted that "The so-called Asian values that are invoked to justify authoritarianism are not especially Asian in any significant sense."² He therefore dismisses the "Asian" theory of human rights. In his subsequent book, *Identity and Violence* (2006), which emphasized why and how "identity" should not be associated with "singular affiliations," Sen also refers to so-called "Asian values," arguing that "This version of anti-Western rhetoric is also, in a dialectical sense, obsessed with the West" (Sen 2006, 95). Sen also objects to the "illusion"

² Address delivered at the 1997 Morgenthau Memorial Lecture, a lecture series of the Carnegie Council for Ethics in International Affairs, USA. https://media-1.carnegiecouncil.org/cceia/254_sen.pdf.

of being obsessed with the idea of being West or non-West, and even with the singular visions of "culture." In addition, Sen also points out the fallacy of the claim that the "global roots of democracy" are in the West, citing the existence of democratic decision-making traditions in Asia and Africa as examples (ibid., 51–55).³

Toward a Study of Universal Values: What are the Implications for Development Cooperation?

Turning our eyes to the world today, 30 years after the speech mentioned at the very beginning of this article, it appears that so-called "universal values," such as democracy, the rule of law, and human rights, are facing enormous challenges. It has been argued that democracy is in retreat in many parts of the world. From V-Dem's latest Democracy Report⁴ and Freedom House's annual report⁵—both widely referenced as international indicators—it is clear that an increasing number of states are moving from democracy toward authoritarianism. The recent coup d'état in Myanmar and the demise of the democratic government in Afghanistan demonstrated circumstances where democracy and the rule of law in states collapsed overnight. The war in Ukraine is an example of a great power, Russia, invading a neighboring country without regard for the international rule of law.

Are these universal values in retreat or fluctuation? Or, in the first place, are universal values of Western origin, and is their "universality" an illusion? Now, some 30 years after the aforementioned debate on human rights and culture and the birth of human security, we are once again faced with these questions.

³ Sen states that the Japanese constitution of seventeen articles promulgated by the Buddhist prince Shotoku in 7th century Japan is an example of a tradition of "public discussion" and "plural reasoning" that dates back 600 years before the Magna Carta (Sen 2006, 53–54).

⁴ https://v-dem.net/documents/29/V-dem_democracyreport2023_lowres.pdf Accessed August 20, 2023.

⁵ <https://freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-net/2023/repressive-power-artificial-intelligence> Accessed August 20, 2023.

Japan's policy documents also indicate an awareness of this issue. The Japanese government has stated its commitment to "value oriented diplomacy" based on "universal values,"⁶ and in its Diplomatic Blue Paper for FY2023, it calls for the promotion of universal values. On the other hand, the Development Cooperation Charter,⁷ revised in June 2023, states that the concept of human security, which is the guiding principle of the Charter, "is consistent with the values of freedom, democracy, respect for fundamental human rights, and the rule of law" based on the recognition that cooperation transcending "differences in values" is more needed than ever. The fact that the Charter carefully avoids the term "universal" and refers to "differences in values" instead is also a reflection of the current world in turmoil.

The Politics and Governance Cluster is deeply absorbed in exploring this theme and has been discussing ways to

embark on research into universal values in light of the current global situation. It is essential to ask how universal values such as democracy, human rights, and the rule of law have been understood, evaluated, and opposed in the local context of non-Western countries—especially developing countries—to gain insights into development cooperation. We would like to rethink universal values from a micro perspective, not by regarding them as fixed and arbitrary, but by carefully gathering the perspectives of people in non-Western countries, especially those in developing countries. We will strive to define the question from a micro perspective as well as to reconsider the meaning of discussing this theme again now.

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⁶ <https://www.mofa.go.jp/announce/fm/aso/speech0611.html>
Accessed August 17, 2023.

⁷ <https://www.mofa.go.jp/files/100514705.pdf> Accessed August 17, 2023.

Insights from Rigorous Policy and Project Evaluation

In recent years, there has been growing support in the field of international development for the idea of rigorously evaluating the effects of specific policies and projects and applying the lessons learned to the next step. Rigorous policy and project evaluation here refers to an attempt to statistically analyze causal relationships among specific variables using quantitative data and is referred to as “statistical causal inference” in statistics and econometrics. Among the methods used, randomized controlled trials (RCTs) randomly select a sample from the population targeted by a policy or project and compare it with a control group not subjected to the intervention. By setting up a situation in which there is no difference between groups except for the intervention, the causal effect of the intervention can be clarified. Even in quasi-experimental settings where groups cannot be randomly selected, methods such as difference-in-difference and regression discontinuity design allow us to test the causal effects of interventions.

The human security concept places “people” at the forefront of its vision. The verification of the effects on individual beneficiaries and households through the rigorous policy and project evaluation described above can be interpreted as an attempt to quantitatively understand whether the human security is being realized among the people—that is, whether the efforts to put this philosophy into practice are truly effective. This can also be interpreted as an attempt to further improve the planning of future development policies and projects.

In this paper, we focus on three themes: infrastructure inclusiveness, financial inclusion, and disaster management. We present the research results of the Economic Growth and Poverty Reduction Research Cluster, which has conducted the above rigorous policy and project evaluations in each area.

Infrastructure Inclusiveness

Infrastructure, such as roads, electricity, and telecommunications, primarily impacts production at the national and regional levels. It also has specific effects on the lives and livelihoods of individuals and households in the target area, as well as on the behavior of companies. In recent years, infrastructure development has attracted attention, particularly for its effects on improving the incomes and livelihoods of relatively vulnerable groups such as women and the poor (inclusiveness). Rigorous policy and project evaluation using data on individuals, households, and enterprises makes it possible to understand the effects of infrastructure development according to the heterogeneity of beneficiaries (e.g., differences in gender, income, and asset composition for each individual and household).

An empirical study on the effects of a rural road improvement project in Morocco, financially supported by Japan International



Improved rural road in Morocco

Cooperation Agency (JICA), showed that the improvement of rural roads through this project significantly increased the rate of young women in the target area going on to secondary school or higher education and the probability of young men finding a wage-earning job (Shimamura et al. 2023a). The effects of road improvements were analyzed after classifying the target households into three groups (wealthy, middle class, and poor) based on the level of asset holdings. There were no significant changes in agricultural production or sales in all groups. Upon closer examination, it was noted that wealthier households increased their employment of agricultural workers, and middle-class households were able to start new family businesses, while poorer households did not enjoy these new employment opportunities except for a small increase in family businesses. This change in employment resulted in a 3–4% annual improvement in household consumption for middle-class households, while poor households showed no improvement in consumption (Shimamura et al. 2023b).

Financial Inclusion

Financial inclusion refers to efforts to provide access to basic financial services for people who are economically insecure and left out of financial services such as deposits and loans due to poverty or discrimination. In particular, the role of microfinance institutions that provide small loans to the poor has garnered significant attention. The effects of policies related to this financial inclusion are also examined quantitatively based on the heterogeneity of beneficiaries through rigorous policy and project evaluation using data for each household and financial institution.

A series of empirical studies on the impact of the cap regulation on lending rates for microfinance institutions introduced in Cambodia in 2017 revealed that the effects of the regulation were multifaceted in terms of financial inclusion. Specifically, we observed a significant decrease in both nominal and effective lending rates for the same institutions after the cap was set. Households with relatively small borrowing sizes increased the amount they borrowed from the institution, while households as a whole increased the

number of loans they took from the informal financial sector (Samreth et al. 2023). In addition, the institution's average loan amount per loan and the probability of requesting collateral both increased significantly after the cap was set. This is due to the higher cost of small and unsecured loans for the institution, suggesting that the above regulations may have made it more difficult for traditional small loan borrowers to access formal financial markets (Aiba et al. 2021).

Disaster Prevention

Disasters are one of the most severe threats to human security, but damage can be mitigated by focusing on prevention. Along with efforts to address the tangible aspects, such as the development of disaster prevention infrastructure, it is also essential to prepare for the intangible aspects, such as raising disaster awareness in the community. For many developing countries with limited resources, disaster education in schools is an efficient means of implementing organized efforts. It is expected to raise the disaster awareness of children and, through them, the disaster awareness and knowledge of their parents and communities. However, it has not always been clear whether such a spillover effect from children to parents has really occurred.

An empirical study on the effectiveness of a child disaster education program in Indonesia—supported by JICA's Grassroot Technical Cooperation—showed that the program encouraged children to discuss and share their knowledge about disasters with their parents and had a positive effect on parents' attitudes, knowledge, and behavior. The positive effects were particularly large for households living in high disaster-risk areas. This suggests that disaster education in schools has significant social impacts (Harada et al. 2023).

Concluding Statement

All of the research findings in our research cluster on the above three thematic areas are based on rigorous evaluations of the impacts of specific development policies and projects on individuals, households, and firms. It became clear that

sometimes non-positive effects occur at the level of individuals and households, and lessons are learned that can be useful for improving the effectiveness and inclusiveness of future development policies and projects.

Similar attempts are currently being made by researchers and research institutions, regardless of the development agenda. The theme of this volume is “Political Society and Human Security under Complex Crises.” The number of analyses using statistical causal inference in major international journals in political science has increased significantly in recent years (Kasuya 2018). Moreover, in the field of sociology, the number of analyses using statistical causal inference has similarly increased, and the current status of this approach and future prospects are being discussed (Gangl 2010). Knowledge that contributes to the practice of human security will be further accumulated across disciplinary boundaries.

Finally, I would like to mention a few challenges for consideration. Depending on the target area or theme, there

may be cases where RCTs cannot be conducted. Furthermore, there can be situations where it is difficult to ensure the quantity and quality of data that can withstand verification, even when existing data are used. There is also the issue of whether findings from a rigorous development policy/project evaluation targeting a specific region can be applied to other regions, and the possibility that in some developing countries, it may be difficult to ascertain the actual situation due to reasons such as insufficient data (and therefore it may be difficult to determine whether lessons learned from the evaluation can be applied in practice). When conducting a rigorous policy/project evaluation, we should keep in mind the above limitations and supplement them with other means as necessary.

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Toward a Society Where *No One is Left Behind*

The task of developing and strengthening social service systems in low- and middle-income countries poses challenges in ensuring access to services and addressing the specific needs of marginalized populations. This introduction to the Human Development Research Cluster will present the “Disability and Education¹” study, as well as an analysis of refugees and health systems conducted by one of our researchers. We will use the concept of human security to examine access to social services, with a specific focus on those who are often left out of basic education and health services.

Disability, Education, and Human Security

There are many reasons for schooling difficulties, one of which is disability. The Salamanca Statement² was adopted by the international community at the World Conference on Special Needs Education in 1994. It was designed to promote school enrollment for children with disabilities and advocated for the concept of inclusion and inclusive education. In the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), launched in 2015 under the slogan “leave no one behind” in line with the principle of human security, Goal 4 on education calls for “ensuring inclusive, equitable, and quality education and promoting

The introductory paragraph was written by Saeda Makimoto (Principal Research Fellow, JICA Ogata Sadako Research Institute for Peace and Development) and the following articles were written by Akiko Ida and Naoko Hikami. The details of the two authors appear at the end of the section.

¹ Additional details on the research project “Disability and Education” can be found here: https://www.jica.go.jp/english/jica_ri/research/human/strategies_20140401-20170331.html Accessed September 29, 2023.

² UNESCO, España. Ministerio de Educación y Ciencia. 1994. UNESDOC Digital Library. “Salamanca Statement and Framework for Action on Special Needs Education.” <https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000098427> Accessed on September 29, 2023.



Children speaking in sign language at a class for hearing-impaired children in the Philippines

Photo: JICA / Kenshiro Imamura

lifelong learning opportunities for all.”

Although various measures and support for inclusive education have been implemented by the international community, the COVID-19 pandemic has led to a reversal of the situation. Reviewing studies on adolescents with disabilities in low- and middle-income countries during COVID-19 and other humanitarian emergencies, Rohwerder et al. (2022) found that many governments around the world had failed to take concrete measures to protect the lives, health, and safety of persons with disabilities during the COVID-19 pandemic.³ These studies showed the lack of access to distance learning materials and online learning for children with disabilities when schools were closed. The educational environment for children with disabilities is still severely affected by the pandemic, and great efforts are required globally to achieve the 2030 SDG targets.

Since 2014, the JICA Ogata Sadako Research Institute for Peace and Development has been conducting a research project, “Disability and Education,” focusing on people with

³ <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/16549716.2022.2107350> Accessed on September 29, 2023.

disabilities who are often left out of educational opportunities. It aims to develop suggestions for effective educational policies and measures in developing countries. In addition to a previously published policy note and working papers presenting case studies on Mongolia, Cambodia, and the Philippines, a research paper on the case study of Nepal was published in March 2023.⁴

Nepal has a diverse social and cultural background and is characterized by an approach to inclusive education that incorporates awareness of Special Education Needs (SEN). This approach is embodied by the term “inclusive/special needs education” from the beginning of inclusive education development. The research paper analyzes Nepal’s education policy and interviews people with hearing impairments and education professionals to clarify the multifaceted nature of SEN. The paper also clarifies that the inclusion of people with disabilities is not only based on physical disabilities such as innate hearing problems but also on social contexts such as ethnicity, religion, language, caste, and gender. The cooperation of policymakers, educators, local communities, parents and community members, and their understanding of people with disabilities and the various challenges they face, may hinder the social inclusion of people with disabilities and lead to “invisible exclusion.” The paper further argues that multiple aspects of SEN must be considered to realize equal educational opportunities as well as address equity issues.

During crises such as pandemics, disasters, and conflicts, people with disabilities and their families are more severely affected. When considering the future of international educational cooperation with “no one left behind” in mind, it is crucial to empower not only the persons with disabilities themselves but also their families who support them and suffer with them. In addition, it is important to involve a variety of stakeholders as the challenges faced by people with disabilities and their families, who are in different environments and situations, may not be immediately noticed by those around them.

⁴ This research paper is based on Sugimura Miki. 2023. JICA Ogata Sadako Research Institute for Peace and Development. Special Education Needs and their Multiplicity: Qualitative Analysis of Policy and Interview Surveys from the Communities Surrounding People with Hearing Impairments in Nepal. https://www.jica.go.jp/english/jica_ri/publication/research/rp_03.html Accessed on September 29, 2023.

Policies that Protect the Health of Both Refugees and Host Country Residents

Over the past decade, the number of people forced to migrate (forcibly displaced persons, including refugees, asylum seekers, internally displaced persons, and stateless persons) has doubled, reaching 117.2 million in 2023 (UNHCR 2023). This is because the world has witnessed political persecutions based on race, ethnicity, religion or creed, conflicts, environmental degradations, climate change-induced disasters and poverty. Among those who were forced to migrate are refugees. More than 70% of them have been displaced to neighboring low- and middle-income countries (LMICs) for more than five years, and their growing numbers and prolonged displacement have been recognized as a challenge (UNHCR). On the other hand, many refugee-hosting countries do not enjoy adequate healthcare systems while already supporting socially vulnerable groups in their own countries. In order to protect the lives, livelihoods and dignity of refugees and host-country citizens facing diverse challenges, comprehensive support is needed, not only for their health but also for their economic self-reliance. An effective cooperation between humanitarian and development actors would provide solutions to such complex situations.

According to Ida (2022), who analyzed the findings of UNHCR’s biannual health inclusion survey (2021), approximately 80% of 44 LMICs hosting refugees⁵ have established national healthcare policies that include refugees.⁶ In addition, almost 100% of primary health care and immunization services to manage major infectious diseases are provided through primary health facilities. For refugees who suffer from psychological trauma due to their experience of conflicts and separations, 68% of the studied countries offer mental healthcare in their

⁵ The survey examined low- and middle-income countries hosting more than 150,000 refugees and those hosting more than 5,000 refugees and designated by UNHCR as priority countries for health assistance.

⁶ This includes the countries where refugees are not explicitly mentioned in their policies.

health programs that are also available for refugees (as of 2019).

On the other hand, the limitations of countries' self-help efforts have become increasingly evident. In 25% of the studied countries, refugees cannot participate in the national health insurance schemes in the country of their stay, and in 36% of LMICs which participated in research, refugees cannot entirely cover their medical expenses. This means that the proportions of countries where refugees do not enjoy financial protection remain relatively high. Furthermore, more than 60% of medical personnel working in health facilities located in refugee settlements are sent by UN agencies and NGOs. From a human security perspective, refugees who have crossed borders and lost the protection of their home country must also be provided with health services that meet their needs. International development organizations, including JICA, are also supporting developing countries hosting refugees to strengthen their healthcare systems. However, the harsh reality is that host countries have not been able to keep up with the financial and human resource requirements.

In February 2022, immediately after the Russian invasion of Ukraine, the European Union's member states and Switzerland took a policy decision to allow Ukrainian refugees to stay, work and access public services, such as health and education, on their territory on a temporary basis. These are considered policy measures to protect lives, livelihoods, and dignity that

human beings need to lead flourishing lives (UNDP 2022). Significant challenges remain, such as unequal burden-sharing among refugee-hosting countries in the region (Trauner and Valodskaitė 2022). However, the steps taken by Europe were important for responding to typical healthcare needs that are found among refugees: preventing the deterioration of chronic health conditions, such as diabetes and cancer, supporting sexual and reproductive health, and quickly acting upon sexual violence cases (WHO 2022).

Human security is a concept that seeks to defend the fundamental freedom of people facing crises through protection and empowerment. Promoting refugees' self-reliance boosts their health while reducing the burden on host countries. Humanitarian and development organizations and high-income countries need to share the burden by continuing to support LMICs hosting refugees. If the refugee-hosting countries can support the economic self-reliance of refugees and provide opportunities to access health and education services—while considering the socially vulnerable groups in the country—the downside risks would be effectively reduced from a human security perspective.

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⁷ The author of "Policies that Protect the Health of both Refugees and Host Country Residents."

⁸ The author of "Disability, Education, and Human Security."

Adaptive Peacebuilding and Human Security

The Peacebuilding and Humanitarian Support Cluster conducts research on peacebuilding, humanitarian assistance and human security practices. In the peacebuilding field, two studies on the nature of international cooperation to build peace under the impact of armed conflict and violent extremism have been conducted by the cluster: “Contextualizing International Cooperation for Sustaining Peace: Adaptive Peacebuilding Pathways” and “Research on Resilience, Peacebuilding, and Preventing Violent Extremism: A Complex Systems Perspective on Sustaining Peace.” This article introduces the concept of “adaptive peacebuilding,” a new approach to peacebuilding proposed in the former research project, through a comparison with the historical evolution of the theory of “human security” and its characteristics.

What is Adaptive Peacebuilding?

In March 2023, the book *Adaptive Peacebuilding: A New Approach to Sustaining Peace in the 21st Century* was published under the research project “Contextualizing International Cooperation for Sustaining Peace: Adaptive Peacebuilding Pathways”, providing an analysis of the adaptive peacebuilding approach. The book argues that many conflicts occur in non-Western countries and that Western-determined/ designed and liberal peacebuilding approaches are not always effective in achieving sustaining peace. It argues that peacebuilding approaches need to be more respectful of local cultures and customs and enable social systems to develop strong and resilient capacities for self-organization. Self-organization is the process by which the autonomous behavior of individual members of an organization brings order to the organization without them being aware of their own collective purpose—just as birds naturally fly in flocks. Adaptive peacebuilding, as proposed in this book, is an approach that appreciates the complexity of society. It



Adaptive Peacebuilding: A New Approach to Sustaining Peace in the 21st Century
(Palgrave Macmillan)

presupposes active engagement with peacebuilding actors, including local communities and people affected by conflict, in an iterative process experimentation, learning and adaptation for sustaining peace. Adaptive and context-specific approaches emphasize the self-organizing capacities of systems of the sides affected by conflict. Taking into account local agency, culture, and socio-economic contexts, the approach acknowledges that peace comes only from within the community.

The book also addresses the inherent conflicts and tensions that inherent contradictions and tensions—often imperceptible to outsiders—and the possibility that excessive external intervention can lead to the loss of the self-correcting and self-organizing capacity of the system. In other words, external interveners must engage with society in a way that strengthens resilience and promotes the empowerment of local agency rather than simply making the community a target for protection. The book also highlights the importance of active involvement in all processes and initiatives by the societies and people who seek to benefit from peacebuilding efforts.

Adaptive Peacebuilding from the Perspective of Human Security: Historical Changes

The historical evolution of the debates over human security shares commonalities with the historical evolution over peacebuilding debate that eventually led to the emergence on the adaptive peacebuilding approach. The current discourse of human security emphasizes the three freedoms of people—freedom from fear, freedom from want and freedom to live in dignity—and calls for “people-centred, comprehensive, context-specific and prevention-oriented responses that strengthen the protection and empowerment of all people and all communities” (UNGA 2012).

The early 2000s saw advocacy for a narrower definition of human security that focused on “freedom from fear” and top-down “protection.” The theory, known as the “Responsibility to Protect,” was promoted by Canada and the EU attracted international attention. It mandated that when states are unable or willing to assume responsibility for acts of domestic violence such as genocide and ethnic cleansing, the international community should intervene through the use of outside forces to guarantee human security. This became the basis for armed intervention in Libya and other countries. However, this narrow definition of human security was criticized, especially by developing countries, as justification for armed intervention and interference in their internal affairs.

Therefore, in 2012, the UN General Assembly adopted a resolution stating that human security differs from the Responsibility to Protect. This resolution further stipulates the following with regard to human security (ibid.). Human security should:

- be based on national ownership,
- strengthen national solutions adapted to local conditions,
- ensure the necessary support from the international community to strengthen the capacity to respond to current and future threats.

Thus, the international perception of human security has shifted from a discussion of outside intervention for the

purpose of “protection” to a concept that addresses cross-cutting issues, including prevention, adopted in the context of local societies and without the use of force or coercive measures. There is also a growing understanding of the concept as responding to a variety of threats, not just humanitarian crises caused by conflict.

At the same time, discussions on peacebuilding have also been affected by the increasing complexity and length of conflicts, the difficulty of responding to them, and the failure of armed intervention and subsequent peacebuilding in Afghanistan, Iraq, Libya and elsewhere. This has generated criticism of the liberal peacebuilding model, which is based on the premise of external intervention and attempts to design a peacebuilding process that extends to subsequent democratization. In the UN, peacebuilding was initially limited to supporting post-conflict reconstruction, but the concept was broadened to “sustaining peace,” which aims to understand local realities and build resilient social systems that can prevent and manage conflict before it escalates into violent conflict. The adaptive peacebuilding approach was thus born to achieve sustaining peace.

Adaptive Peacebuilding from the Perspective of Human Security: Commonalities and Differences

As described above, both human security and peacebuilding came to respond to criticisms of earlier Western interpretations. Discussions became increasingly focused on the broader goals of promoting problem-solving capacity and building resilience from within societies. In this respect, the adaptive peacebuilding approach, which has undergone a theoretical development towards sustaining peace resonates with the current concept of human security. It is distinct from top-down support in that it values grassroots activities and supports them, which are often ignored in liberal top-down peacebuilding approaches. Both also share the understanding that they do not necessarily reject universal concepts such as democratization and human rights but are inclusive of these concepts.



Symposium: “Adaptive Peacebuilding: A New Approach to Sustaining Peace in the 21st Century” Book Launch, 26 May 2023.

Furthermore, adaptive peacebuilding has something in common with the concept of human security in that it is relatively broad and has no fixed form. JICA has been implementing activities that encompass the concept of human security even before human security became an organizational mission. In all of the cases analyzed in this book—including Mozambique, Syria, Colombia and Palestine—the activities of donors, local populations and organizations were not consciously implemented using adaptive peacebuilding approaches. Instead, they represented the characteristics of

adaptive peacebuilding when their activities were analyzed retrospectively. JICA devoted to developing guidance and analyzing numerous case studies of human security in order to visualize this broad and abstract concept. Adaptive peacebuilding will require similar efforts in the future in order for the approach to take root.

As discussed above, adaptive peacebuilding is an approach that is distinct from Western models of peacebuilding, but when analyzed through the lens of human security, many theoretical similarities become apparent. It should be noted that adaptive peacebuilding is an approach based on the complexity of society and does not incorporate the human security dimension of “human dignity.” In this respect, it is difficult to say that it fully shares the same assumptions in its theoretical construction as human security, which is “person-centered.” Therefore, although it cannot be said that the adaptive peacebuilding approach completely overlaps with the practice of human security, adaptive peacebuilding is an approach that is more likely to produce the results that the concept of human security aims for, compared to the existing peacebuilding models. This is so simply because of the shared elements of the two approaches.

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The Role of the Earth's Environment in Supporting Human Security

The Anthropocene and Human Security

Recently, the term “Anthropocene” has come into widespread usage. The Anthropocene was originally proposed as the beginning of a new geological era, commencing in the mid-20th century, and is now used in many academic fields. The term has been coined to capture the period when the effects and traces of human activities became observable in geological strata for the first time. The concept of the Anthropocene and the period it refers to vary from discipline to discipline, but they all share a common point of reference: the era or state in which humans began to make marked impacts on the global environment (Zalasiewicz et al. 2021). The term Anthropocene is also being used outside academia, with the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) featuring human development and the Anthropocene in its 2020 Human Development Report (UNDP 2020) and publishing a special report on the Anthropocene and human security in 2022 (UNDP 2022).

The UNDP (2020) report notes that, in the Anthropocene, human activities have disturbed the Earth system, and the resulting climate change, natural disasters, and infectious diseases will not only directly affect people but also destabilize social and economic systems. In turn, this will hinder the development necessary to achieve human security. These impacts pose human security threats to humanity, especially to vulnerable populations.

Humans once lived in subservience to nature. Over time, with the advent of agriculture and the development of various tools and technologies, we have acquired the ability

to change and control nature. For most of our history, human beings, notwithstanding racial and cultural differences, have had a reverence for the natural world. We have acquired and passed down the mindset and wisdom to live in harmony with nature to sustainably benefit from nature's abundance. Even today, such inherited values, embodied in cultures and customs, are still observable in many countries and regions around the world. However, the current mode of behavior—driven by the currently dominant capitalist market economy—is destroying the natural environment, pushing species toward extinction, and disturbing the Earth system in the pursuit of human benefit, and thereby threatening the security of human beings themselves.

For humanity to survive sustainably, we need to return to the mindset and modes of behavior that enable us to exist in harmony with nature. This does not mean returning to a primitive lifestyle. We need to be good stewards of nature, equipped with a high level of consciousness and ability, taking advantage of the wisdom inherited from our ancestors and supported by modern knowledge and technology. Emerging initiatives to foster living in harmony with nature can be seen around the world. In Japan, for example, the concept of the “Regional Circular and Ecological Sphere” was incorporated into the Fifth Basic Environment Plan. This concept aims to build a prosperous society in harmony with nature while reducing the burden on the global environment by forming a decentralized and self-reliant economy. In this model, each region makes the most of its strengths and local resources and complements neighboring regions—yet avoids being completely embedded in the global market economy. In relation to the pursuit of development that achieves more harmonious coexistence with nature, the Global Environment Cluster is engaged in the following research.

Integration of Local/Indigenous Knowledge and Scientific Knowledge for Sustainable Community Development

Natural disasters, as they become increasingly frequent and violent due to climate change, exacerbate already existing socioeconomic disparities, trigger human migrations, and consequently, cause local communities to be more diverse and complex. To make local communities climate-adaptive and sustainable in the complex and uncertain global challenges, conventional scientific approaches, which is designed on the premise of controlling, managing and overcoming the natural disasters, has its own limitations, leading to calls for different approaches. One such approach is the participation of diverse local stakeholders in the community development process, including people living in poverty, women, children, people with disabilities, the elderly, small-scale fishers and farmers, and Indigenous peoples. In recent years—especially in the international discussion processes of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change and the Convention on Biological Diversity—there has been a growing debate on the benefit of utilizing



Fieldwork in India

indigenous and local community peoples' knowledge of their surrounding natural environment for environmental conservation and community development (UNESCO 2018).

To utilize Indigenous and local knowledge for community development, experts with scientific knowledge and the knowledge-holders must engage in dialogue and collaboration fairly and equally. However, finding ways to undertake such dialogue and collaboration is not easy. The ways of cognition, expression, and logics of local and Indigenous knowledges are different from those of scientific knowledge (Agrawal 2002). If local and Indigenous knowledge is arbitrarily taken out of local community context and applied as an alternative solution to problems that cannot be solved by scientific knowledge, it may result in the use of knowledge that is not intended by the original knowledge holders (Williams and Hardison 2013). In addition, local and Indigenous knowledge may have been buried in history or may not be appropriate in today's context. Therefore, scientific experts and indigenous and local knowledge holders need to learn from each other by discovering others' knowledge and finding ways of integrating diverse knowledge into locally appropriate knowledge (Noguchi 2022).

Based on this understanding and drawing on existing cases from around the world, our research cluster conducts action research to investigate an appropriate platform for dialogue and collaboration between diverse local stakeholders and experts for sustainable community development. It explores how governance should be organized to foster collaboration for leveraging each other's strengths and complementing weaknesses, and the support required to implement them (Situational Analysis Project on the Most Vulnerable Climate Change Displaced People and their Participation and Empowerment for Sustainable Community Development).

Explore a Sustainable Society using Indicators to Measure the Wealth of a Society

The question of how developing countries can build

prosperous societies and achieve sustainable development is one of the most important questions in the field of development. Traditionally, combinations of different indicators, such as GDP, life expectancy, education index, and employment rates, have been used to assess a country's wealth and sustainability. The Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) also attempt to measure the degree of achievement of each of the 17 goals using multiple indicators. On the other hand, since these “dashboard-type” indicators consist of a large number of different metrics, some argue that a single indicator capable of readily assessing sustainability would be more desirable from the viewpoint of policy practice.

Against this backdrop, the Inclusive Wealth Index (IWI), a single composite economic indicator, was proposed at the United Nations Conference on Sustainable Development (Rio+20) in 2012 as a criterion for sustainability (UNU-IHDP and UNEP 2012; Managi et al. 2016). The assessment results of each country's sustainability based on IWI were released in the Inclusive Wealth Report 2012 by the United Nations Environment Programme and the United Nations University at Rio+20 and have subsequently been released in updated reports (UNU-IHDP and UNEP 2012). The IWI is an aggregation of the produced capital (i.e., physical infrastructure

such as roads and buildings), the natural capital encompassing environmental resources, and the human capital including education and health of people. The IWI is a simple indicator that interprets an increase in IWI per capita over time as an increase in the wealth enjoyed by individuals, which means that growth is sustainable. Because of its simplicity, it is expected to be employed as an outcome indicator for the SDGs and used in the policy-making process for sustainable development at the national and regional levels (Managi et al. 2016; Wakamatsu et al. 2018).

In light of these trends, this research cluster conducts research on evaluating social sustainability in developing countries using social wealth indices such as IWI and the factors that influence it (Research on Sustainable Development of Developing Countries: an Assessment of the Sustainability of Developing Countries Using the Inclusive Wealth Index and Investigating the Success Factors for Sustainable Infrastructure Development).

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Considering Human Security Based on the History of Japanese Migration to Latin America

In this cluster, we explore effective approaches to international cooperation amidst ongoing transitions in global economic and social structures, including emerging complex risks and polarization. The issues covered by this cluster are therefore diverse.

One area of focus is history, including research into the history of Japan's development cooperation and migration to Latin America. We also assess JICA's approaches to projects/programs in the agricultural sector and international volunteering. Moreover, the cluster looks at “emerging issues,” such as coexistence with foreign citizens in Japan and sports and peace. In this paper, we would like to introduce some of the research conducted by this cluster and explore the implications for human security.

Infectious Diseases in Prewar Settlements of Emigrants

Currently, there are approximately 1.8 million foreign workers in Japan, a number that is increasing due to the current labor shortage (JICA 2022). Paradoxically, many Japanese emigrated to Latin America and North America from the Meiji period until just before World War II, and the migration resumed after the war. The research project “Study about Movements and Networks of Japanese Descendants between Japan and Latin America,” which commenced in 2021, focuses on migration to Latin America. It includes official and private emigration programs and the “return” of Japanese descendants to Japan as *dekasegi* (migrant workers) since the 1980s, as well as their subsequent return to Latin America. The project explores the networks that people in Latin America and Japan formed. It looks at how they affected the circulation of experience and knowledge,

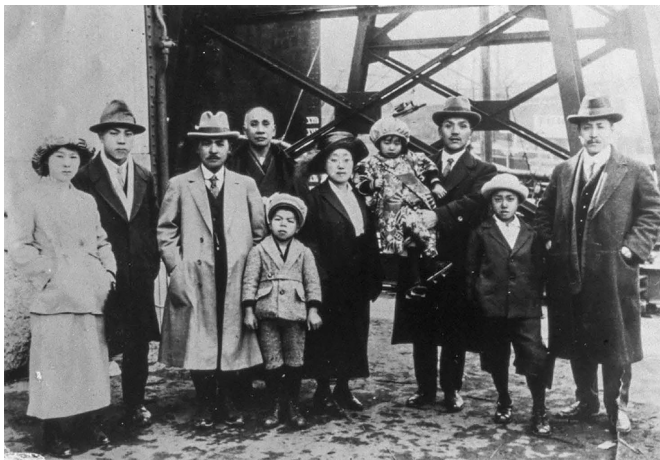


Coffee harvesting by Japanese immigrants to Brazil

Donated by Toshio Matsumiya, grandson of Sekijo Matsumiya

and the identity and cultural transformation of Nikkei with Latin American roots. Nagamura (2022) describes how Japanese immigrants to Brazil before World War II faced and coped with the threat of infectious diseases by examining the work of Japanese doctors dispatched from Japan. Moreover, this article draws attention to the impact of migrant's struggles in Brazil, despite its geographical distance from Japan, on the Japanese medical community.

Infectious diseases were one of the most serious risks for Japanese immigrants to Brazil in the early 20th century. Infection was ranging not only in the destination country, Brazil, but also on the ships of immigrants moving to the destination country due to the poor public health conditions in Japan at the time. The existence of such diseases as eye diseases, cholera, etc., was a major problem that led to discussions about Brazil's restrictions on Japanese immigration. Furthermore, Japanese immigrants who were engaged in pioneering work in remote areas of Brazil faced the threat of various infectious diseases. Malaria was particularly serious, killing as many as 70 people in one settlement in the year after it was established. In settlements in remote areas of



Family before departure from Kobe, 1928

Collection of JICA Yokohama Japanese Overseas Migration Museum

Brazil, Japanese immigrants lacked adequate knowledge of malaria prevention, and few measures were taken by the Brazilian government. In the “absence of protection by the state,” the Japanese immigrants, while requesting assistance from the Japanese government, also undertook efforts to protect themselves by educating members of the Japanese community on hygiene control through Japanese-language newspapers.

In these circumstances, Dr. Sentaro Takaoka was dispatched to Brazil by a Japanese emigration agency as a commissioned doctor. He was involved with the *dojinkai* (neighborhood association) in Brazil from its establishment. The *dojinkai* aimed to improve the health of immigrants, and as part of its activities, Takaoka conducted surveys in the settlements where Japanese immigrants were living and undertook research and awareness-raising on preventive methods. In addition, Dr. Takaoka collaborated with a São Paulo state research institute and obtained support from the state to supply the institute with samples of poisonous snakes caught by migrants in the settlements. For its part, the institute supplied serum and syringes.

In Japan at that time, the study of tropical medicine was becoming increasingly important as the Japanese Empire expanded into the tropics. Under these circumstances, Dr. Takaoka presented the findings of his malaria research conducted in Brazil at the Faculty of Medicine of Kyoto Imperial University, which was then one of the centers of

tropical medicine in Japan. Furthermore, many Japanese doctors visited Brazil through Dr. Takaoka's facilitation, indicating that the circulation of medical knowledge between Japan and Brazil coincided with the emigration program.

Emigrant Sending Service

Another study undertaken by the cluster addresses the same historical period. The research project titled “A Transnational History of Japanese Emigration to South America: Migration Programs, Economic Development, and Cultural Activities” analyzes the intertwined relationship and nation-building in both the sending and receiving countries. It examines the economic, social, and cultural activities of Japanese migrants and the Nikkei, Japanese diaspora, as well as official and private immigration programs in Latin America from the 1920s to the 1980s. In 1920, the Kaigai Kogyo Kabushiki Kaisha (Overseas Development Company) acquired and merged with other pre-existing private emigration companies to become Japan's only emigration company, thus gaining a leading role in the implementation of emigration programs to Latin America.

In the course of their research, Negawa and Garasino (2023) came across a set of historical sources in the Matsumiya Family Collection. The two researchers focused particularly on the writings of Sekijo Matsumiya, who was responsible for the recruitment of emigrants as the local agent in Hokkaido for the Kaigai Kogyo Kabushiki Kaisha. In 1926, Matsumiya traveled to Brazil as a “supervisor” in charge of accompanying the emigrants to their destinations. He left a diary (“Tohaku Nisshi”) and published several books after his return. The researchers explored how Matsumiya undertook consultations with emigrants on the emigrant ship when traveling to Brazil and how his own experiences in visiting Japanese settlements led to the publication in 1927 of “South America, Ukatsu ni Ikenai Nanbei” (“South America: Where You Can't Travel Carelessly”). An interesting finding is that Matsumiya, who played a major role in the emigration program, warned against overly optimistic and simplified views of emigration to Brazil after seeing the realities of the emigrants' lives on board and in the settlements. Although Matsumiya was in

charge of recruiting and transporting emigrants as part of the national migration policy in prewar Japan, he did not necessarily uncritically endorse it. Instead, he was also concerned about sidestepping the threats that individual emigrants faced and defending their dignity.

Learning from History

The histories examined by Nagamura (2022) and Negawa and Garasino (2023) described above took place nearly 100 years ago. They demonstrate how, in the context of emigration to other countries, people face a range of threats due to a lack of protection in the country of destination/host country while at the same time utilizing the support of the sending country, in this case, Japan, to confront such threats. Even in a time when the term “human security” did not exist and the scope of individual dignity and rights differed from those of today, the way in which people and government tackled the

threat to life—the most fundamental threat—suggests that the concept of human security is not something “new” or “special,” but has a certain universality. Furthermore, in recent years, Japan has been increasingly accepting foreign nationals, mainly to join the labor force. This has prompted an additional study called “Diversity and Social Inclusion of Migrant Workers in Japanese Society – Our World in 2030/40.” The cluster has estimated the demand and supply potential of foreign workers in 2030 and 2040 and found that the demand for foreign workers in 2040 will be four times (6.74 million) the number required in 2020. In this context, it is crucial to consider whether migrants in Japan today are encountering similar gaps in the “protection provided by the state,” situated between their destination and host countries—as was the case of Japanese immigrants in Brazil 100 years ago.

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