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Development of the *ibasho* concept in Japanese education and youth work: *Ibasho* as a place of refuge and empowerment for excluded people

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This paper aims to examine the academic significance of the concept of ibasho *(a place or community one feels at home), which emerged from the problem of truancy in Japanese society in the 1980s. Free schools were created as* places ibasho *for truant children. In the field of youth work, group-work-based youth organizations and youth centers were no longer attracting young people to these organizations. In 1992, the Ministry of Education issued a report on truancy, proposing to make schools* ibasho *for children. Widely studied in psychology, sociology, and architecture, the concept of* ibasho *has three elements: a place where one can feel safe, good relationships, and time factor. In order to clarify the concept of* ibasho*, a comparative study was conducted with the theories of human needs and identity.* Ibasho *is a refuge for the socially oppressed and a foundation for empowerment that enables them to transform society. Therefore, the theory of* ibasho *has been applied beyond youth issues to the fields of social welfare, gender, and community development. Finally,* ibasho *can contribute to social inclusion not only in Japan but also worldwide.*

Keywords: *ibasho*: truancy; youth work; inclusion; empowerment; SDGs

1. Introduction

This paper aims to examine the academic significance of the concept of *ibasho*, which originated in the 1980s in Japan as a consequence of the problems of truancy and youth work. *Ibasho* is a composed term consisting of *i* (“being”) and *basho* (“place”). Having been used as an everyday term until the 1980s, in the 1990s, it came to be used in policy-making and refined as an academic term. As of August 2020, there were 4,245 papers and articles on *ibasho*.[i] This paper first describes the social context in which the term *ibasho* has come to be

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used in Japan (Section 2).

Next, the paper analyzes the concept of *ibasho*. *Ibasho* has three elements: place, human relationships, and time. The background to the discussion of the concept of *ibasho* lies in the maturation and evolvement of modernization in Japan (Section 3). Section 4 examines the English terms equivalent to *ibasho*. In order to clarify the meanings of *ibasho,* we compare it with Maslow's theory of needs and Erikson's theory of ego identity (Section 5).

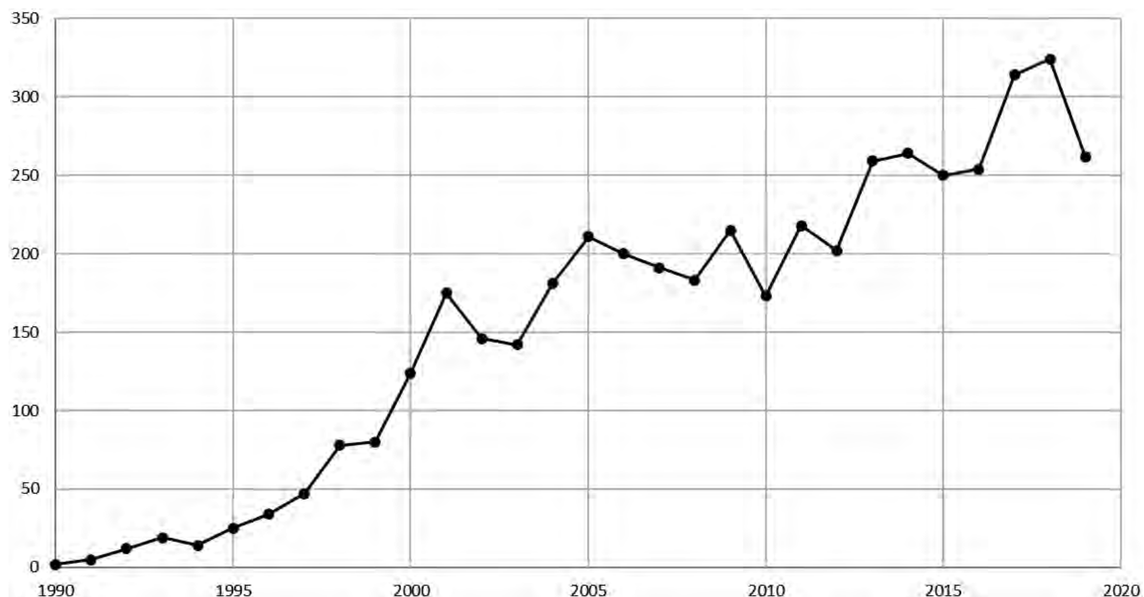
The novelty of this paper is that while many studies have shown that *ibasho* is a "refuge" or a place of healing, the idea here is to show that *ibasho* is a base for empowerment. Though *ibasho* can be effective as an immediate "refuge" for the excluded, they do not solve the problem alone in the long term. The ultimate resolution is to empower the excluded to change the oppressive society. This paper examines the effectiveness of *ibasho* for empowerment by actually following how young people not attending school have been empowered (Section 6). Empowerment of the excluded is also a major theme in the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs, 2016-30), whose motto is "leave no one behind". We suggest that the concept of *ibasho* is effective not only for the problems of non-attendance and youth work in Japan, but also for the global challenge of how to include those who are left behind (Section 7).

2. The emergence of *ibasho* issues

2.1 The problem of truancy and *ibasho*

The term *ibasho* came to be widely used in Japan in the 1990s in educational practice and policymaking. Figure 1 shows the trend in the number of papers on the topic. In 1995, the number of papers on *ibasho* rose to 32 (twice that of the previous year) and, in the 2000s, the annual number of papers exceeded 100, reaching 212 in 2005. Since then, approx-

Figure 1. Number of articles on *ibasho*
Source: CiNii Articles



imately 200 papers have been published every year.

The old Japanese word *ibasho* has been used in everyday situations, in expressions such as “please tell me his *ibasho* (whereabouts).” The use of the term *ibasho* in the field of education began with the problem of truancy in the 1980s, when the number of truant students in public education increased to the point of becoming a social problem. According to the Ministry of Education’s *Report on Basic School Survey*, the incidence of truancy in junior high schools jumped from 0.2 percent in 1977 to 0.7 percent in 1990.[ii] In this case, children who were not attending school were characterized by the use of the negative form of the term, in expressions such as “there is no *ibasho* (place to be) in my school.”

In this context, free schools or “free spaces” were established by private citizens for children who did not attend school. The purpose of these facilities was to create *ibasho* for these children. Keiko Okuchi, a teacher at a public elementary school, questioned the current education system when her own child stopped attending school and, in 1985, opened Tokyo Shure in Kita-ku, Tokyo (Okuchi, 2005). Later, in 1990, she created the National Network for Considering the Refusal to Attend School, which has worked with children and parents who struggle with school non-attendance to raise social awareness about free schools.

In 1992, the Japanese Ministry of Education released a report to address the issue of truancy (Ministry of Education, 1992) entitled *On the Problem of Truancy – Aiming at Creating Ibasho in the Heart of Children*. In reviewing its measures against truancy in this report, the Ministry of Education expressed understanding that truancy can happen to *any* child. In addition, the report stated that the number of days a child received schooling and guidance at a private facility, such as a free school or free space, could be counted as days of attendance at a public school.

The use of *ibasho* in the title of the referred report led to the use of the term in policy-making and academic discussions in related fields, such as pedagogy, sociology, psychology, and architecture. This report led to an increase in the number of publications on *ibasho*.

2.2 Creating *ibasho* in youth work

Unlike school education which is highly compulsory, in the field of youth work in Japan, the rate of membership of youth organizations began to decline in the 1970s. For example, the Japan Youth Hostel Association, which organized young people, had about 450,000 members in 1968, but this number decreased to 370,000 in 1980 and to 210,000 in 1992. In the Boy Scouts of Japan, the number of members increased until the early 1980s, from 132,000 in 1968 to 315,000 in 1980. However, after peaking in 1983, the number decreased to 263,000 in 1992 (Tanaka, 2015: 134, 210).

The standard practice of these youth groups is in small-group activities. In postwar Japan, the basic form of youth work was group work. The group work method was only fully introduced in Japan shortly after World War II. The Supreme Commander for the Allied Forces (SCAP), which was in charge of Japan’s occupation policy, introduced group work in the field of community education (*shakai kyoiku*) in order to democratize Japanese society. Group work was then deliberately and systematically taught in youth leadership training courses within the Institute for Educational Leadership (IFEL) sponsored by Japan’s Ministry of Education and SCAP. IFEL for youth leadership was held five times from 1948 to 1950.

From the 1950s to the 1970s, group activities flourished in the field of youth work. But the methods of group work introduced in Japan developed differently from those in Britain

and the United States, where group work was founded. In rural Japan, *Seinendan* (youth organizations) were organized in every town and village. *Seinendan* members were rural youths aged 15 to 25 who remained there until the age of 25 or marriage. To teach democracy as an alternative to pre-war militarism, the skills of discussion and debate were introduced in *Seinendan* activities and developed into "cooperative learning (*kyodo gakushu*)". It was a way for youngsters to share potential concerns and demands in a group setting, as well as to propose solutions. In 1955, the National Conference on Youth Problems was held under the auspices of the Japan Seinendan Council with the aim of reporting on the best practices of cooperative learning. The outcomes of the conference were published as the best-selling book *Japanese Youth* (*Nippon no Seinen*) (Tanaka, 2015: 121-130).

Group work as it developed in Japan was also characterized by an emphasis on adaptation to the group. In Western group work, the group was positioned as a means for individual development. In Japanese group work, however, the emphasis was on group growth, and the individual was understood to grow through group activities. All youth organizations required strong group participation, such as sports teams or Scouts. As a result, youth facilities were only allowed to be used by groups and not by individual users. During the high economic growth of the 1960s, the isolation of urban youth became an issue, as large numbers of young people moved from rural to urban areas. To solve this problem, youth centers for young workers were established in urban areas. In addition, residential facilities for youngsters called *Seinen-no-ie* (youth houses) were built by national and local governments.

In the 1970-80s, however, the rates of membership and utilization of youth centers began to decline. The field of youth work noted the stagnation of group-work-type youth activities, and overall, youth work itself stagnated. The problem was not only the decrease in use by young people, but that the Japanese methods of group work were no longer applicable.

To replace the Japanese style of group work as a method for working with young people, a new approach emerged: the creation of *ibasho*. The Tokyo Metropolitan Youth Center, established in 1984 at Central Plaza in Iidabashi, was a pioneer in this approach. It targets both working and studying youth. The center has provided services and projects for both individual and group use. Its main activities include renting music studios and meeting rooms, holding public lectures and events, lending library materials, providing information to young people, and counseling young people on their problems (Tanaka, 2012: 157). Lobby work is a characteristic activity of the Tokyo Metropolitan Youth Center. Some people go through the lobby on their own, while others meet up as groups, clubs, couples, and a variety of other users. Responding to the needs of young people as needed, the staff provide information about the center's activities, courses, and events, advise young people about their careers, employment, and personal matters, or simply talk to them about the latest trends. Lobby work is a standard type of youthwork in the Western countries, but was epoch-making for Japanese collective youthwork.

In the late 1990s, the number of facilities in urban areas that emphasized the creation of *ibasho* started to increase. Youth centers in Kyoto, Yokohama, Sapporo and some other cities applied the *ibasho* approach to youthwork.[iii]

3. The elements of *ibasho*

In order to create *ibasho* in Japanese youth work, its conditions were examined in the 1990s. As a result, it became clear that there are three elements in *ibasho*. The first is the spatial element. The word *basho* ("place") included in the term refers to a "comfortable place" for people. The second is the element of human relationships. There is no *ibasho* when someone who threatens one's existence is in the same space. The third is the element of time. A place is not *ibasho* when there is no perspective for one's future (Tanaka, 2012: 3-4). The following is a detailed discussion of these three elements of *ibasho*.

3.1 Spatial factors

Ibasho is sometimes described as a "place or community where one feels at home," with home being the primary place in the world for many people. Some describe it as a place where one feels "safe, secure, comfortable, accepted, and approved"; the home inherently contains these elements. However, when these elements are not found in the home, as in the case of child abuse, they are often a major obstacle to the child's development. The school is the second place where children spend most of their time. In the case of Japanese secondary schools, there are two main types of children who are able to adjust to school. The first are those who manage to keep up with their studies. Since the school evaluates students based on their grades, the ability to adapt to the study routine is a major issue. In Japan, club activities, such as those related to sports and culture, are quite popular in secondary schools. Children who find fulfillment in club activities are the other type of children who are able to adapt to school culture. However, there are a small number of children who find a place to belong outside of the classroom or club activities. These children go to school but spend their time in the nurse's office instead of the classroom. For them, the nurse's office is an *ibasho*, as it is a place where they are not evaluated based on their grades. This behavior refers to a phenomenon known as "nurse room attendance." Some youngsters may feel that a third place outside the home and school is their place of residence. Examples include youth centers, public libraries, and youth organizations. As *ibasho*, a space is not necessarily a physical place. The development of the Internet since the 1990s has led to an increase in the number of young people who find an *ibasho* in cyberspace.

3.2 Relational factors

According to the 2018 survey by the Nippon Foundation, 46.1% of junior high school students who miss 30 or more school days in a year or more do not want to go to school because they do not get along with their classmates. Other reasons included "not being able to keep up with classes" (49.9%) and "not getting along with the teacher" (23.4%). Most often, the absence from school was due to problems in relationships with classmates and teachers. Therefore, one of the reasons for a student not being able to find *ibasho* at school is the existence of human relations problems, as an *ibasho* space is one where good relationships are guaranteed, or at least no one is a threat.

In this sense, free schools are *ibasho* for children not attending school because these spaces provide them with a sense of total recognition of their existence. Free schools generally have more flexible rules and regulations, and children are free to leave whenever they want. Strict rules and regulations make regular schools suitable places only for those who

can accept them. In addition, those who excessively accept school rules often persecute those who do not, causing the latter to leave school. Therefore, good and bad relationships can change one's perception of the school space as *ibasho*.

3.3 Time factors

Japanese society in the 1980s believed that withdrawing from school closed off the possibilities for the future. This was the greatest source of anxiety for both children who did not attend school and their parents. One can point to a temporal element in the very factors that brought the issue of *ibasho* to prominence. The historical background is shown in Figure 2.

Figure 2. Social and personal development in Japan (1868-present)

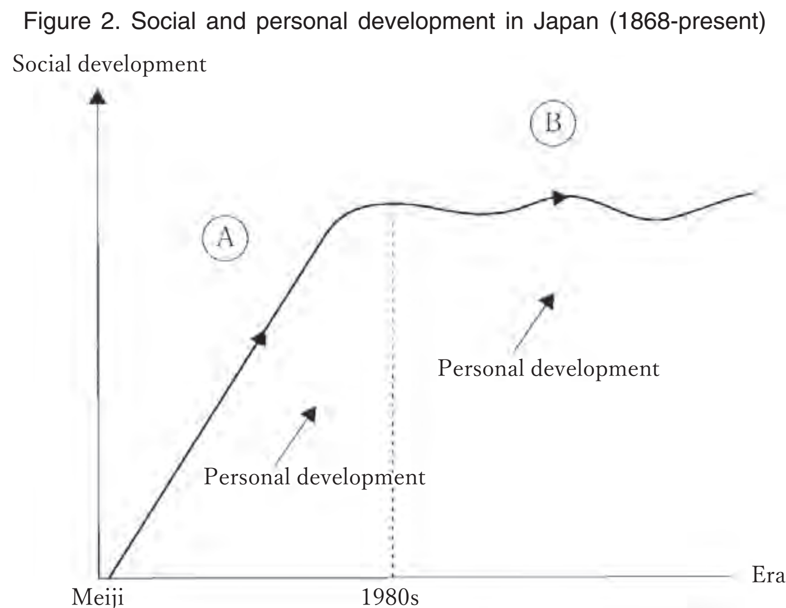


Figure 2 illustrates the significant changes that occurred in Japanese society during the 1980s regarding social and personal development. From the Meiji era (1868-1912) to the 1980s, the Japanese government worked to modernize and industrialize the country on a Western-style basis. Under the motto "catch up with the West," the nation promoted industry and the spread of modern education. In the prewar era, the nation's slogan was "wealthy nation and strong army," which changed to "technology-oriented nation" in the postwar era. In all these periods, both the goals of the nation and the aims of education were clear, and teachers and youth workers were able to lead young people with confidence. It was a time when young people believed that their personal development was linked to the development of Japanese society. In other words, the knowledge and skills they acquired in learning led them directly to higher career positions and incomes, and they were able to feel that they were contributing to the development of society and the nation (Tanaka, 2015: 250-252).

On the other hand, since the 1980s, the direction in which society moves has not always been clear. Japanese society has achieved its goal of "catching up with the West" and is no longer a materially poor country. In addition to the lack of clarity of the new national goals,

the world of education and youth work is in crisis. The "compulsory" education system is on the verge of collapse, as the authority of teachers has fallen and the number of students who do not attend school has increased. Now, children and youngsters must choose their futures for themselves, because society no longer indicates to them the path to be followed. Even professions that were once secondary (e.g., cartoonist or comedian) are now recognized as long as they are of one's own choice. Failure is now one's own responsibility. Young people have no sense that their own development is in line with the development of society, which makes it difficult for them to have a vision for the near future. Adding to this lack of social interaction, they have a hard time finding their *ibasho* in Japanese society.

4. English definitions of *ibasho*

To date, the term *ibasho* has been used only in its original Japanese form, as an English equivalent has not yet been found. To clarify the definition of *ibasho*, we will examine how *ibasho* has been described in English. In most Japanese studies, the term has been used in romaji as *ibasho* or *ibasyo*, followed by a supplementary explanation. Notations that emphasize that a place has *ibasho* include "free-space" (Osawa, 1995), "existential place" (Tsutsumi, 2002), "place of being" (Iwai, 2014), and "a place of their own" (Iida et al., 2011). Notations that indicate *ibasho* as a psychological space include "one's psychological place" (Norisada, 2008), "one's sense of interpersonal rootedness" (Ishimoto, 2010), and "one's psychological home" (Yoshikawa and Kurimura, 2014). In addition, Nakato (2017) defines *ibasho* as "a place where one can feel secure and be oneself," while Tanaka defines *ibasho* as "a place or community where one feels at home"(Tanaka, 2019). Tokunaga also lists the functions and properties of *ibasho* as "any place, space, and community where one feels comfortable, relaxed, calm, and accepted by surrounding people" (Tokunaga, 2018).

In the book *The Great Good Place* (1989), Ray Oldenburg describes the need for "a third place" in the community as a place of comfort outside the home and workplace. The term "hangout" is a possible candidate for naming a place of comfort in a community, although it often has a negative meaning. In fact, the Japanese equivalent of hangout is *tamariba*, which in Japanese also has a negative connotation, as in "delinquent hangout." If Oldenburg had been aware of the meaning of the Japanese word *ibasho*, it is possible that he would have chosen it as an appropriate term to describe a comfortable place in the community. Finally, the term "third place" was chosen as an equivalent, although it does not include the nuance of "comfortable place." Therefore, it is valid to continue to examine the English equivalent of the Japanese term *ibasho*.

5. *Ibasho* and psychology

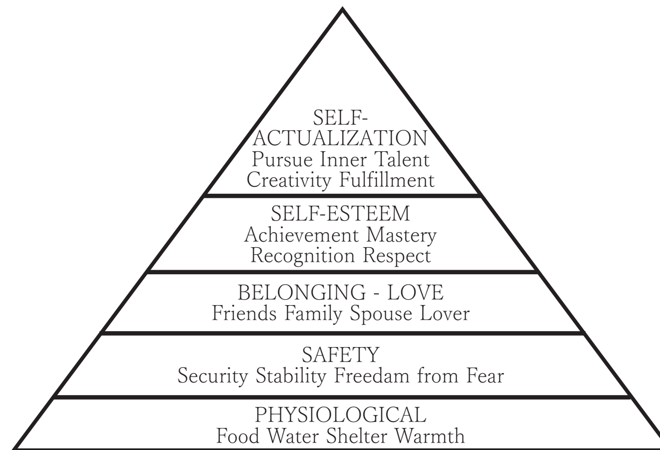
In this section, we will analyze the concept of *ibasho* using two psychological theories. One is the hierarchy of needs theory of Abraham H. Maslow (1908–1970). Maslow's theory of human motivation analyzes human needs. In Japan, Maslow's theory has been widely accepted in clinical psychology, community education, and business administration. The other theory is Erikson's theory of identity. The identity theory proposed by Erik H. Erikson

(1902-1994) was widely supported by adolescent psychologists in teacher training courses from the 1950s to the 1980s, and has been influential among teachers and youth workers in Japan.

5.1. *Ibasho* in view of Maslow's hierarchy of needs

Terms related to Maslow's basic human needs, such as "safety," "security," and "recognition" often appear in descriptions of *ibasho*. Maslow argued that there are two main stages of motivation for human behavior (Figure 3). One is scarcity, which refers to the motivation to satisfy the lack of something. This motivation consists of four deficiency needs: physiological, safety, belonging, and self-esteem. *Ibasho* can be described as a place that satisfies these deficiencies. As for the first element of *ibasho*, a "safe place" can be defined as a place where both physiological and safety needs are satisfied. Regarding the second element of *ibasho*, a place of good human relationships is one where the desires for belonging, love, and recognition are met.

Figure 3. Maslow's hierarchy of needs



The third element of *ibasho*, the perspective of time, relates to Maslow's "desire to grow." When the four deficiency needs are satisfied, a person's motivation reaches the point where he/she wants to use his/her abilities to grow further (which is the second stage of motivation: self-actualization). One of the points that satisfies the self-actualization need is occupation. If a person loses their job and feels that the future path to reemployment is closed, they will have no sense of an *ibasho*, even within the family. In other words, if there is no hope for the near future, people often fall into a state of loss of *ibasho*.

However, Maslow's desire for self-actualization has been criticized for its lack of universality due to bias caused by Western values and historical background. For those who are excluded in a society where they tend to lose their *ibasho*, the social conditions for self-actualization are often constrained. The empowerment theory, discussed in the following section, is more effective in opening the way to self-actualization for excluded people.

5.2 *Ibasho* and identity

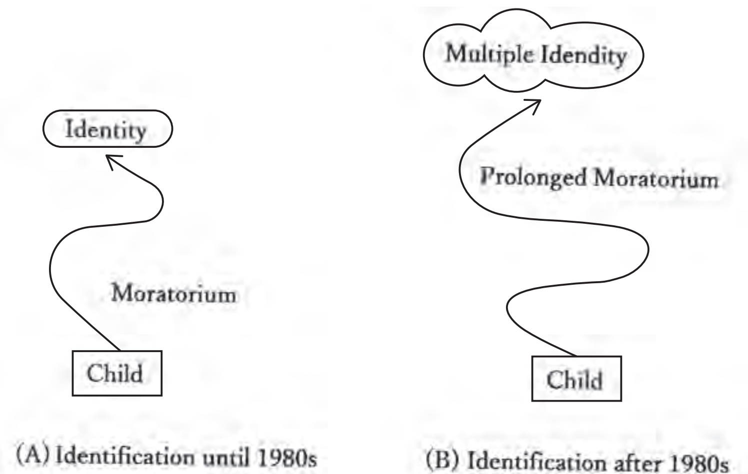
One definition of *ibasho* is "a place where one can be oneself." In other words, many

people who have an established identity may have a place to belong, while those whose identities are diffuse may feel that they have no place to belong. Some studies report that there is a significant correlation between the sense of *ibasho* and identity (Nakato, 2017: 106).

Erikson (1959) proposed the identity theory, according to which human life is divided into eight developmental stages, each of which has its own developmental tasks. The developmental task in adolescence is the acquisition of identity. During adolescence, there is a conflict between the self-awareness acquired through different groups, such as family, school, and age groups, and the self-awareness expected in the workplace, by spouses, and by the community, with whom teenagers will have relationships during and after adolescence. These conflicts must be reconciled (identified) during adolescence. Adolescence is a time of conflict between the self and society. This is a period of conflict not only with the external world, but also with the interior in the search for the values of life. Therefore, it is recommended that adolescents address the ideas, philosophies, religions, ideologies, literature, and academic truths of their predecessors and make them their own. Adolescence is an unstable period of transition from childhood to adulthood, a time of identity diffusion. Relationships differ from those of childhood, and the prospects for the future are also uncertain.

The fluctuation of identity theory itself becomes a factor behind the emergence of *ibasho* theory in the 1980s. At the time, Keigo Okonogi, a translator of Erikson's work, posed questions about identity theory. Observing young people in the 1970s, Okonogi argued that many of them rejected the conflict itself and sought to extend their supposedly temporary adolescence. They did not recognize existing values (ideology, philosophy, literature, and academic truths, etc.), did not pursue absolute truths, and did not contribute to existing organizations and social systems (Figure 4). These young people, who postponed their social responsibilities and indulged in the pursuit of infantile versatility and desires, were labeled by Okonogi (1984) as "moratorium youth".

Figure 4. Change of Identity Model



There is an image of "adulthood" in the establishment of identity as a complete entity. In the 1970s, however, Japanese society itself became more diverse and the model of "adulthood" was diversified. Until then, the image of an adult differed between men and women,

with men working until retirement after graduating from school and women getting married and entering their husbands' families in their twenties after graduation. As shown in (A) of Figure 4, the direction of Japanese society was clear and, it was easy to understand the future of one's own development. However, the passage of the Equal Employment Opportunity Act in 1985 brought about a major change in the social role of women in particular. As the goal of "catching up with the West" had been achieved economically, social goals became unclear and it became difficult for one to see the future as an extension of the past. The previously clear image of a single, perfected adult was gone, and several increments of adulthood appeared, forcing people to make their own choices. Adolescence was thus extended, and it was no longer clear when someone would become an adult. The validity of Erikson's theory of identity was questioned, coinciding with the emergence of the *ibasho* theory.

6. *Ibasho*, the free school movement, and empowerment

One reason why the concept of *ibasho* has attracted attention is that it has been related to policies and projects. In addition to the educational fields of free schools and youth work, the creation of *ibasho* has expanded into fields such as social welfare, community development, international cooperation, and, especially, those targeting socially vulnerable people. A search of CiNii Books for *ibasho* yielded 375 hits. Of these, approximately half (180) were books on children and youth. In addition, there were books on community development and architecture (31), women's issues (28), men's issues (14), the elderly (12), the mentally ill (11), social inclusion and welfare (10), foreigners (4), and people with disabilities (2) under the topic of *ibasho*.[iv] Since the concept of empowerment has been emphasized in the discussion of the challenges of social inclusion for these vulnerable people, this section examines the relationship between *ibasho* and empowerment.

6.1 The free school movement and empowerment

As mentioned in subsection 2.1, the free school movement in Japan began with the opening of Tokyo Shure in 1985. In the beginning, free schools or free spaces were a "refuge" from the public's cold view of children not attending school and their parents. With an appeal to the Ministry of Education, a commuter pass for truant children was allowed in 1993.

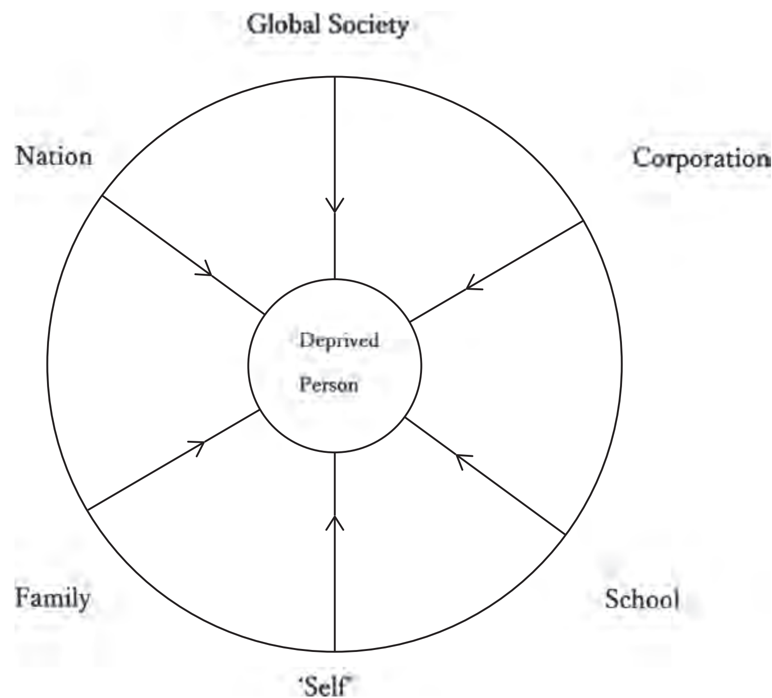
The turning point for Tokyo Shure came in 2000. After visiting free schools in European countries, children discovered that such institutions were recognized similarly to regular schools and that students at these facilities were very active. Led by the children who went on the inspection tour, they planned a World Free School Conference in Japan. The success of this conference led the children to become confident in their studies at the free school. As a consequence, the National Network of Free Schools was established, which soon began to lobby several education officials and legislators to create regulations that would ensure diverse educational opportunities. The group worked toward the realization of a legal system to guarantee diverse learning, including home schooling, and succeeded in passing the Securing Educational Opportunities Act in 2016 (Nishi & Yumoto, 2017: 242-243).Thus, free schools have grown to reach out to society through a variety of activities and even to involve lawmakers in envisioning a new form of education.

6.2 *Ibasho* and empowerment

Figure 5 illustrates the model of deprivation and empowerment. As shown in the outer circle of Figure 5, all humans live in a state of coping with the outside world. However, several external pressures have weakened our original social power and reduced it to the minimal inner circle. Some of the causes of the weakening of our natural ability to reconcile with society include the family, schools, corporations, the nation, and globalized society. In addition, we often internalize values of the external world that bind us to ourselves. At this stage, creating *ibasho* is a necessary refuge for the oppressed.

The restoration of the social power supposed to be inherent is called "empowerment." *Ibasho* functions as a foundation to recover the social power of the oppressed. The concept of empowerment refers not only to increasing one's individual ability, but also to acquiring the power to change society. It is extremely difficult for young people to do this on their own, so they need to work together with their supporters. *Ibasho* thus came to function as a base for young people to reach out to change society.

Figure 5. Model of deprivation and empowerment



7. Conclusion: a theory of *ibasho* in a globalized society

In the 1980s, the concept of *ibasho* was first discussed in the field of truancy and youth work in Japanese society. Later, in the 1990s, *ibasho* came to be discussed in the context of policy and research. They found three elements of *ibasho*: place, relationships, and time. In order to clarify the concept of *ibasho*, this study conducted a comparative study of the theories of basic needs and identity in psychology.

The 1990s, when *ibasho* theory began to be debated, was characterized by rapid globali-

zation not only in Japan but also worldwide. The phenomenon of globalization refers to the free movement of goods, people, money, and information across national borders. As the economy has become more globalized, the free movement of people and goods has divided traditional local communities. This has resulted in a global population that has been left behind or socially excluded in the global economy. The United Nations formulated the SDGs in 2016 under the slogan "leave no one behind." The SDGs list women, children, the elderly, people with disabilities, and indigenous peoples, among others, as the types of people who tend to be excluded.

While most of the literature on *ibasho* in Japan has dealt with youth, books published have addressed women, the elderly, people with disabilities, and foreigners, all of whom are cited in the SDGs. This shows that the concept of *ibasho* is effective not only for children and youngsters, but also for policies and projects aimed at socially excluded people. In other words, it can be said that considering "the creation of a society in which everyone has an *ibasho*" meets the purpose of the SDGs (Nishi & Yumoto, 2017: 244-245). Although the logic of *ibasho* originated in the problems of youth in Japan, it is suggested that it is also an important concept for solving global issues that go beyond the framework of youth issues in Japan. In the future, we hope to see the development of *ibasho*-making practices on a global scale, as well as the advancement of *ibasho* studies in the academic field.

There is an issue that remains to be addressed in this study: *ibasho* is not limited to positive aspects. While *ibasho* can function as a refuge for the excluded, the place itself can have anti-social value. In the case of youth, it often becomes a hangout for delinquent groups. Another problem of *ibasho* is that an *ibasho* can be a good place for its participants, but at the same time it can act to exclude others. Thus, further research on the negative aspects of *ibasho* is neccesary. It remains to be examined and clarified, through case studies, in what aspects *ibasho* can be a positive or negative factor for excluded people.[v]

Notes

i CiNii Articles as of August 2020. CiNii: Citation Information by the National Institute of Informatics.

ii Until 1990, the Ministry of Education defined truancy as missing more than 50 days a year; since 1991, the definition has been changed to more than 30 days a year.

iii In the 2010s, '*ibasho café*' projects were set up on the campuses of high schools to provide *ibasho* in the school for maladjusted students. This is an example of youth work based on schools, which adopts an *ibasho-creating* approach. cf. Ibasho Café Tachiage Project (ed) (2019). *Gakko ni Ibasho Café wo Tsukuro (Let's create Ibasho Cafés in Schools)*. Tokyo: Akashi Shoten (Japanese).

iv CiNii Books as of August 2020.

v We would like to thank *Editage (www.editage.com)* for English language editing.

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