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# Social Science

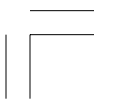
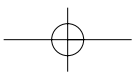
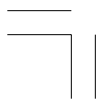
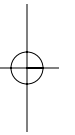
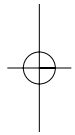
*Japan*

# 19

September 2000



## Shaken and University Reform



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The Institute of Social Science,  
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**Back Cover Photo**

Sign at the entrance to the Institute  
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**Editorial Notes***Personal Names*

All personal names are given  
in the customary order in the  
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Hence in Japanese names, the  
family name is given first, e.g.  
ISHIHARA Shintaro, and in  
Western names the family  
name is given second, e.g.  
Joerg HAIDER.

*Romanization*

Due to software limitations  
circumflexes are used in place of  
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**Japanese** universities, like so many sectors of Japanese society, are facing a period of change and reform. A particularly pressing (and, to many, controversial) issue concerns government proposals to privatise parts of the national university system as part of its program of administrative reform nation-wide. As well as examining this question, this issue of *Social Science Japan* brings us closer to home, focusing on recent happenings and new projects at Shaken (as the Institute of Social Science, University of Tokyo, is commonly known\*). Keeping abreast of the winds of change in higher education, Shaken subjected itself, last year, to an external evaluation process, the feedback from which is already effecting changes in the way the institute is run. It remains to be seen how far-reaching the consequences of reform will be for both Shaken and Japanese universities as a whole.

This issue of *Social Science Japan* welcomes a new editor-in-chief. Ian MARTIN spent most of the first ten years of his life in Hokkaido before returning to the UK where, in 1997, he graduated from Cambridge with a BA (Hons.) in Oriental Studies (Japanese). He received his MA in International Relations from the International University of Japan in Niigata Prefecture, and spent six months working for a member of the Japanese Diet before coming to Shaken. Responsible for the day-to-day running of this newsletter, he is keen to hear any criticisms or suggestions you may have concerning *Social Science Japan*.

We would like to thank Robert HELLYER for his efforts and editorial leadership during the last two years, and wish him all the best in wrapping up his Ph.D. dissertation and beyond. Cheers, Rob!

\*"Shaken" derives from the Institute of Social Science's Japanese name, *Shakai Kagaku Kenkyūjo*, and is pronounced with a soft "a."

**Erratum**

In our previous issue, the name of contributor KAMII Yoshihiko was incorrectly printed as KAMAII Yoshihiko. We would like to apologise for the error and for any inconvenience it may have caused.

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# Japan's National Universities and *Dokuritsu Gyōsei Hōjin-ka*<sup>1</sup>

## HIROWATARI Seigo

### Japanese Universities: Public and Private

The most serious issue currently facing Japanese universities concerns plans to accord national universities a new juridical status. The government and the Ministry of Education are endeavouring to implement the transition to a new system whereby national universities will be known as "Independent Administrative Agencies." As a premise to discussing this issue, however, I will first explain how Japan's universities can be broken down into three categories, according to differences between their founders.

Firstly, those universities founded by the government are known as national universities. Secondly, those established by prefectural or municipal local governments are known as public universities. As for the third category, private universities were established by educational foundations in the private sector. The role of this latter group in Japan's higher educational system is considerable. As of May 1999, there were 99 national, 66 public, and 457 private universities in Japan, with roughly 620,000, 100,000, and 2,000,000 students respectively (the total number of students, 2,720,000, includes 190,000 postgraduate students).

The national budget allots a lump sum to national universities under a special accounting system, separate from the normal budget, which takes into account the special requirements of universities. Each national university has its own sources of revenue, including entrance examination fees (¥17,000 per student), tuition fees (about ¥480,000 per student per year), and revenues received from affiliated hospitals, and these are calculated as a lump sum under the special accounting system. Of course, since these sources of income alone do not cover the costs of research and education, every year the balance is subsidised by the government general budget account. In recent years the amount transferred has stood in the region of ¥1.5 trillion. These transferred funds compose roughly sixty percent of the special account's expenditure, although this proportion is on the decline. Incidentally, the government also subsidises private universities, under the law for the promotion and subsidising of private education, to the sum of about ¥300 billion. Public universities also receive a total of roughly ¥100 billion in government subsidies.

As with employees of other government organisations, all the staff of national universities (both faculty and administrative) are employed as civil servants and their status is guaranteed under law.

The University of Tokyo is the oldest and largest national university in Japan and, as such, it is thought that the stand it takes regarding *dokuritsu gyōsei hōjin-ka* will have a considerable influence on the issue's outcome.



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## Japan's National Universities and *Dokuritsu Gyôsei Hôjin-ka* continued

### Notes

<sup>1</sup> The Japanese term *dokuritsu gyôsei hôjin-ka* refers, in this article, to a government initiative aimed at rationalising the national university system by according the universities a new juridical status as independent administrative agencies (*dokuritsu gyôsei hôjin*). A somewhat unwieldy phrase in translation, the Japanese term is used throughout the article (Ed.).

### The Juridical Status of National Universities

Japan's national universities are part of the national administrative apparatus managed by the Ministry of Education, Sports and Culture (MOE) and thus do not have independent juridical status. Hence, budget allocation and personnel capacity are, in principle, determined according to the same rules applied to other administrative organisations. Furthermore, the creation of new research and education facilities and the restructuring of existing facilities legally require the approval of the MOE. Needless to say, however, Article XXIII of the Japanese constitution guarantees the freedom of academic teaching and study, and this guarantee has been interpreted in practical terms as including the autonomy of universities. The central government has, therefore, customarily granted independence to national universities in issues of management, and has legally guaranteed their autonomy in the appointment of all faculty.

The government's current proposal to restructure national universities as independent administrative agencies intends to separate these universities from the national administrative apparatus and grant them independent juridical status. As such, the proposal would seem to represent a significant and much desired improvement for national universities as regards their legal status; however, in terms of its practical outworking the proposal includes issues that are seriously problematic, and which may even conflict with the constitutional guarantee of the freedom of academic teaching and study.

### Problematic Issues

1) The system of independent administrative agencies was originally conceived as a measure to reduce the size of the national administrative apparatus, as part of central government policy for administrative reform. The process aims to separate the planning and executive functions of the administration, and by according independent juridical status to the organs concerned with the latter, increase overall administrative efficiency by introducing management methods akin to those employed in the corporate world.

2) It has already been decided that about ninety administrative bodies (including national museums, art galleries, and the majority of national research laboratories) will become independent administrative agencies in 2001. For this purpose, the government has enacted the General Law for Independent Administrative Agencies as the legal foundation for the transition, which outlines the new system basically as follows:

The agency's chief-executive will be appointed by the cabinet minister with jurisdiction over the agency. The agency will prepare its three to five year



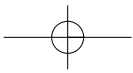


mid-term plan in accordance with the minister's directions regarding the agency's goals, and submit it to the minister for approval. Based on this plan, the agency will prepare yearly reports, submit them to the minister and release them to the public, and carry out its business accordingly. At the end of this period, the agency's performance will be evaluated in two stages, both by the ministry concerned and by the Ministry of Home Affairs. This evaluation will provide the basis for subsequent decisions concerning the agency's survival and future operations. Regarding the agency's finances, its budget will be guaranteed during this initial period - a self-supporting system will not be adopted. The budgetary system will be changed from one of input control to one of output control by adopting a system of lump-sum subsidies. Further, personnel affairs will no longer be subjected to the laws for civil servants and the agencies will be able to freely govern their own human resources.

3) The above system as defined by the General Law may well be appropriate for administrative organisations expected to efficiently execute clearly-defined operations; however, it must be stated that the title "administrative agency" is fundamentally incompatible with universities dedicated to research and education based on the freedom of academic teaching and study. The apparent merits of increased freedom as regards budgetary and personnel management are but one aspect of a system where the ministry with jurisdiction, as the ultimate supervisory authority, evaluates performance based on a mid-term plan which must incorporate the goals set by the minister and which requires the minister's approval. The application of such a system to universities cannot be justified and, moreover, were it to be forced on national universities, it would in all probability be in violation of Article XXIII of the constitution.

4) It can be understood from these policies regarding *dokuritsu gyôsei hôjin-ka* for national universities, that the government's intention is to rationalise the management of universities in line with other administrative organs by means of administrative and financial reform. At the same time, the government aims to ensure that government policy is more clearly reflected in university research and education by means of the proposed performance evaluation system. Further, the government has announced that it aims to reduce the number of its employees by roughly twenty-five per cent over the next ten years, and aims to achieve this in large part through *dokuritsu gyôsei hôjin-ka* (under the new system, employees of national universities, who currently comprise a significant proportion of government personnel, would no longer be civil servants).





## Japan's National Universities and *Dokuritsu Gyôsei Hôjin-ka* continued

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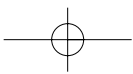
Furthermore, as the number of young people in Japan begins to decrease in the near future, so, too, will the number of university entrants. Competition for students is, therefore, expected to become increasingly fierce, resulting in university mergers and closures irrespective of whether they are national, public, or private. *Dokuritsu gyôsei hôjin-ka* for national universities can be understood, therefore, as a government measure aimed at encouraging the restructuring of national universities by making them responsible for their own management in the midst of such a competitive environment. If this is the case, then the government invites the criticism that it is denying the *raison d'être* of national universities; to ensure equal opportunity for higher education and to support scientific research and cultural development in every region throughout the country.

### **Actions and Reactions *vis-à-vis* the Issue of *Dokuritsu Gyôsei Hôjin-ka***

1) When the issue was initially raised within government circles, the MOE opposed *dokuritsu gyôsei hôjin-ka* for national universities. Nevertheless, in September 1999, it changed its stance and informed the national universities of its intention to implement the transfer to a system of independent administrative agencies, dependent on modifications to the system defined by the General Law, so as to guarantee the independence and autonomy of national universities and to ensure that the new system would not conflict with their *raison d'être*. Nevertheless, the revised proposal remains unclear on many points and has yet to be endorsed by the government as a whole.

2) National universities are united in their opposition to becoming independent administrative agencies under the system proposed under the General Law, which stance is shared by the MOE. This notwithstanding, the question of exactly how and to what extent the law might be modified remains unanswered. One might go so far as to say that the government has not released enough basic information regarding the issue for informed conclusions to be reached. Moreover, many national universities are determined to oppose *dokuritsu gyôsei hôjin-ka* no matter what modifications are made to the General Law.

3) The University of Tokyo, at the President's behest, established a committee to examine the issue of *dokuritsu gyôsei hôjin-ka*, and the committee submitted its report to the President in January this year. The committee was charged not only with undertaking a practical investigation of potential problems pertaining to the proposed system of independent administrative agencies, but also with independently conceptualising the University of Tokyo's role and development over the coming years. The committee concluded that the University of Tokyo cannot accept the proposed system regardless of whatever modifications are made by the MOE, as too many issues remain in need of clarification. The report also





pointed out, however, that the conception of universities as autonomous units independent of the national administrative apparatus should be the fundamental principle on which discussions of the future of universities should be based, but that any such discussion should not take place in the context of national administrative and financial reform.

4) In May of this year, the MOE convened a meeting of national university presidents at which the Ministry reiterated its intention to proceed with the process of *dokuritsu gyôsei hôjin-ka*, and restated its plan to revise the system proposed under the General Law so as to guarantee the independence and autonomy of national universities. This was preceded, in March, by the ruling Liberal Democratic Party's (LDP) announcement of its final decision regarding this issue - namely, to proceed with *dokuritsu gyôsei hôjin-ka* for national universities on the basis of modifications made to the General Law - as well as its stated intention to increase the amount of the national budget allotted to higher education. In response, the National University Association (NUA), the organisation of national university presidents, decided at its regular general assembly in June to consistently and clearly express its opposition to the system of *dokuritsu gyôsei hôjin-ka* for national universities as espoused by the General Law, and to initiate its own investigation of a new system of "university corporations" (*daigaku hôjin*) that would guarantee their autonomy and independence. The NUA resolved, moreover, to co-operate with the MOE in these matters. Meanwhile, in March, the University of Tokyo established the National University System Study Group as an advisory body to the President, to carry out a thorough and practical investigation of a possible new system of "National University Corporations" (*kokuritsu daigaku hôjin*) and published its mid-term report in July. The MOE, the NUA, and the University of Tokyo are each proceeding with their investigations of an appropriate system for according national universities juridical status as autonomous corporations (at present, the unsuitability of the title "administrative agency" for a university is almost universally accepted by those involved in the issue). As for the time frame, the MOE will, in line with the LDP's directions, conclude its investigation by March 2001, and the new system will be introduced in April 2003.

It is inconceivable, however, that a new system, with the freedom of academic teaching and study as its foundation, and one that is appropriate to and will facilitate the purpose of universities in the world of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, can be devised and implemented according to this schedule. Creating such a system must surely be the long-term and enduring goal of all those charged with the management and development of universities. □

# Proposal: On the Future of National Universities

Proposed by:  
The Sectional Meeting for Education and the Board of Inquiry for the Education System,  
The Liberal Democratic Party

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## Introduction

The future of national universities is being questioned. Of particular moment is the issue of *dokuritsu gyōsei hōjin-ka*. The government is examining the issue of according national universities juridical status as independent administrative agencies and plans to reach conclusions on the matter by 2003. However, despite the fact that this issue pertains not to the question of “university reform” but, rather, to “administrative reform,” those affected by this issue are expressing considerable concern and suspicion. Further, many have pointed out the incompatibility of giving a university the title of “Independent Administrative Agency.”

Higher education and scientific research are national resources, and national universities are in a position to exert considerable influence on Japan’s future. This issue, therefore, needs to be examined in the context of national policy regarding higher education.

## The Future of Higher Education

With a view to their role in the nation’s future development, Japan’s universities should aim to reform themselves in the following three areas:

- Becoming more internationally competitive and raising standards of research and education to the highest international level.
- The individualisation and diversification of universities as regards their character and *raison d’être*.
- Strengthening their educational capacity, which has hitherto been relatively neglected in favour of the research priorities of faculty members.

In order to facilitate the realisation of these points, national policy for higher education should aim to:

- Create a competitive environment for universities to operate within.
- Deregulate government control in a number of areas, giving universities room to carve out their own identity and niche.
- Raise the level of public investment in higher education and scientific research.

Unlike Western countries, where national and state universities play an overwhelmingly large role in higher education, the government intends to maintain the diverse and flexible system in Japan whereby, for historical





reasons, national, public, and private universities coexist.

Further, in the case of national universities, the government should naturally remain deeply involved in their management and organisation and will shoulder responsibility as regards, in particular, the question of whether individual universities will be maintained or closed in the mid- to long-term.

### **Rethinking the Management of National Universities**

As a premise to the higher education policies outlined above, we propose that the management of national universities be revised in the following ways:

- **Ending the “convoy fleet system.”** All national universities should be aware that the era where they are managed under the generous protection of the state in a “convoy fleet system,” has come to an end. Henceforth, while they will still be known as national universities, they should be managed in a more competitive environment based on results-oriented evaluation of research and education, with greater freedom and greater responsibility for their own management. National universities will thus be subjected to a process of “natural selection.”
- **Establishing responsible management systems.** In a competitive environment, each national university’s responsibility for its own management will increase. Therefore, by establishing decision-making bodies, and whilst taking into account the opinions of the university councils, we should establish a system whereby university presidents, with whom rests ultimate executive responsibility, are able to exercise both leadership and authority in a number of areas.
- **Rethinking the selection of university presidents.** It is necessary to re-evaluate the process for nominating university presidents, who will be required to exercise greater leadership in university management, in order that truly discerning and competent candidates are selected. Despite the selection being the responsibility of the university council, the president is customarily elected through a university-wide ballot and is, therefore, not necessarily the most appropriate person for the post. This situation must be rectified as soon as possible. In concrete terms, we should plan to rectify the selection process by establishing recommendation committees composed of persons from outside the universities as well as representatives from the university concerned (university council members), and invite the participation of tax-payers in the process, such that the selection of university presidents proceeds



## Proposal: On the Future of National Universities *continued*

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with the co-operation of society-at-large, reflecting the social responsibility of national universities.

- **Rethinking the management of faculty boards.** Faculty boards, intent on maintaining their autonomy and protecting their vested interests have consistently exceeded their authority in their inflexible responses to issues of a university-wide nature. This is a major obstacle to the advance of university reform. This system of management centred on the faculty boards must be drastically reformed.
- **The realisation of a socially accountable system of management.** National universities, as well as being enabled to exercise greater freedom in management, will also have greater responsibility in terms of their social accountability. Further to undergoing regular third-party evaluation, national universities will be required to actively keep their operations open to public scrutiny and constantly channel feedback into their management processes.
- **Introducing fixed terms of office.** As part of the process of placing national universities in a competitive environment, it will be necessary to actively introduce a system of fixed terms of office for faculty members. Despite the fact that such a system was devised in 1997, it is a highly regrettable fact that the majority of national universities have not yet adopted the system. Universities that aim to raise their standards of research and education to an international level should take the initiative and examine how to establish a transparent system of faculty personnel management, whereby fixed terms of office would be widely introduced, thus presenting more opportunities to younger faculty members, and where only those faculty members who pass a rigorous selection process and are endorsed as truly outstanding would be granted tenure. Further, it will be necessary to counter the harmful effects of the current faculty appointment system [whereby the number and titles of positions in each department are, with a few exceptions, predetermined and unchangeable - Ed.], and create an environment where younger faculty members are able to freely pursue their own original research.

### **Rethinking the Organisational Structure of National Universities**

The government proposes the following:

- **The coexistence of various kinds of national universities.** Post-war national universities are uniform in nature and, generally speaking, lack defining characteristics. We should aim for the coexistence of various kinds of national universities, with some concentrating on pursuing research of an international standard and others emphasising the



cultivation of talented individuals.

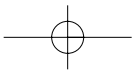
- **Increasing the prominence of graduate schools.** National universities, particularly those that aim to engage in research and education of an international standard, should rethink the organisation of their research and education systems in such a way as to give more prominence to the role of graduate schools. This would not only be for the purpose of training researchers, but because it is necessary to expand the role of graduate schools in the practical training of top-level professionals. In our graduate schools, we must cultivate true leaders for every sector of society.
- **Promoting reorganisation and integration among national universities.** Recognising that the reorganisation and integration of national universities will contribute to the advancement of research and education, the development of interdisciplinary fields, focused investment in research and educational resources, and the strengthening of foundational research and education, while respecting the independence of the universities concerned, the government, holding ultimate responsibility, should actively promote reorganisation and integration.

#### **According National Universities Juridical Status as Independent Administrative Agencies**

It stands to reason that, in order to put an end to the “convoy fleet system” and create a more competitive environment, national universities should be accorded independent juridical status. In the Western world, it is the general rule that national and state universities have legal status as public institutions independent of their governments. The proposed change of juridical status has great merit in terms of education and research and as a way of relaxing the various government regulations pertaining to the daily management of universities.

On the other hand, even after the change of status has been implemented, taking into account the future of scientific research and higher education with respect to national policy, it will be necessary for the government to maintain considerable involvement in the management and organisation of each university. It is our belief that the most appropriate system of universities as independent administrative agencies would be one whereby government policy is reflected in the management of the universities through the establishment of goals and plans, and through regular performance evaluation, and one that takes into account the distinctive characteristics of universities.





## Proposal: On the Future of National Universities *continued*

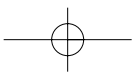
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In view of these distinctive characteristics, however, it would be inappropriate to simply apply the General Law for Independent Administrative Agencies to national universities. This is because, for instance, there are no examples in other countries of the kind of system where the Minister for Education gives direct instructions to universities regarding their goals, or directly appoints or dismisses university presidents. As institutions that engage in research and education, moreover, the title “Independent Administrative Agency” is not suitable for universities.

Accordingly, the change of legal status for national universities, whilst predicated on the basic framework of the General Law, will necessitate at the very least the following measures:

- Clarification of the status of university councils, faculty boards, management advisory boards as the basic management mechanisms of universities.
- The goals and objectives of research and education will be decided not only by taking into account the nature of research and education themselves, but also with due respect paid to the autonomy of each university. Further, as regards the Minister for Education, Sports, and Culture's directives and the approval of plans, the opinions of experts with experience in the academic world will be consulted.
- As regards the evaluation of research and education, evaluation carried out by the National Institution for Academic Degrees, a third-party evaluation mechanism, will be accorded due weight. Further, it will be necessary for the National Institution for Academic Degrees to be composed of members with a diverse array of backgrounds, not only those connected to universities.
- Regarding the appointment of university presidents, procedures will be established that reflect appropriately the sentiments of the university concerned. It will be necessary to examine new methods for the selection of university presidents (see “Rethinking the selection of university presidents” above).
- Universities will be accorded an appropriate and fitting title, such as “National University Corporation” (*kokuritsu daigaku hôjin*).

In addition, as regards the above five points, as well as further defining and developing the process of national university reform, the government should enact a supplementary law (or a special case law) to the General Law







for Independent Administrative Agencies. This law would demarcate the level of government involvement in matters pertaining to research and education, and demonstrate clearly to the general public, and guarantee the transparency of, regulations pertaining to measures that must be applied to each university.

Further, concurrent to implementing the change of national universities' juridical status, it will be necessary to strengthen their management systems. The appointment of vice-presidents in charge of management would be one possible measure, and the establishment of management advisory bodies to university presidents should be investigated.

In addition, regarding the bestowal of independent juridical status, further investigation is necessary concerning issues such as exchanges of staff between universities, assets held by each university, and ensuring both the autonomy and transparency of each university's accounting system.

The government, based on the above points, in order to accord national universities juridical status as independent administrative agencies, should proceed with its investigations concerning the details of the new system and its applications, and means of effecting the transfer, with the co-operation of a variety of experts and current university staff. It should be able to articulate a clear and concrete vision of universities under the new system by the middle of the fiscal year 2001, and should implement the transfer to a system of "National University Corporations" at the earliest possible opportunity.

*The above extracts were taken from a report published by the Liberal Democratic Party's Sectional Meeting for Education (Bunkyo Bukai) and Board of Inquiry for the Education System (Bunkyo Seido Chosakai) on May 9, 2000. For the sake of brevity, the extracts are, in places, paraphrased and do not constitute an official translation.*



#### **For Further Information**

The Ministry of Education, Sports and Culture  
<http://www.monbu.go.jp>

The Liberal Democratic Party of Japan  
<http://www.jimin.or.jp/jimin/title.html>

# External Evaluation at the Institute of Social Science

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**During** the last several years, the impetus has increasingly been placed on Japanese universities (particularly national universities, which are managed under the auspices of the national budget) to both raise their level of social accountability and contribute to their own improvement by regularly conducting self-review and self-evaluation of their research, educational, and other activities, entrusting the findings to external evaluation, and publishing the results thereof. Until recently, no third-party mechanisms for the evaluation of universities have existed in Japan; however, in April this year the National Institution for Academic Degrees (*Daigaku Hyôka* • *Gakui Juyo Kikô*) was reorganised as a new body with an additional mandate as the national organisation for university evaluation.

The Institute of Social Science, University of Tokyo (hereafter, "Shaken"), has, in fact, hitherto adhered to the concept of "constant external evaluation" as one of its guiding principles; that is to say, Shaken's projects and the results thereof have been kept, as far as possible, open to external scrutiny, and criticism and assessment not only welcomed but fed back into the Institute's operations. Shaken's annual report and its website have been the main media facilitating this "constant external evaluation."

In the fiscal year 1999, building on these experiences, Shaken commissioned a group of prominent scholars from Japan and abroad to conduct a comprehensive external evaluation. The External Evaluation Committee comprised: Professor Gerald CURTIS, Columbia University (Political Science); Professor ISHII Shiro, International Research Center for Japanese Studies (Law, Committee Chair); Professor KIM Young-Ho, Dean, Graduate School of Business and Management, Kyungbook National University (Economics); Professor KITAGAWA Zentaro, Meijo University, Vice Director, International Supreme Institute (Law); Professor SAKO Mari, University of Oxford (Management); Professor TAKABATAKE Michitoshi, Surugadai University (Political Science); Professor TERANISHI Juro, Director, Institute of Economic Research, Hitotsubashi University (Economics); and Professor YOSHIKAWA Hiroyuki, President, University of the Air and President, Science Council of Japan (Engineering).

In addition to compiling a "Self-Review and Self-Evaluation Report" as the primary material for the external evaluation process, both Shaken's Institute-wide Joint Research Projects and the Information Center for Social Science Research on Japan - two of the most important areas to undergo external evaluation - were subjected to expert assessment by a panel of specialists. Furthermore, the opinions of former visiting professors were solicited, and a questionnaire was sent to former visiting researchers. The External Evaluation Committee published their report, *The External Evaluation Report for the Institute of Social Science, University of Tokyo*



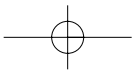
(hereafter, "The Report"), in February this year, based on the various materials introduced above and on an inspection of Shaken carried out in November, 1999. This report comprised a collection of the views of each committee member with a summary by the committee chair.

The Report was most positive in its evaluation of the Institute-wide Joint Research Projects carried out at Shaken over the last thirty years, appraising the projects ("Studies on Fundamental Human Rights"; "The Postwar Reforms"; "The State and Society During the Fascist Era"; "The Welfare State"; "Contemporary Japanese Society"; and "The Twentieth-century Global System") as unique and unmatched by other research institutes. It also proposed, however, revising the concept of the projects as single entities in which, in principle, all Shaken staff participate, and suggested that Shaken undertake multi-track flexible projects with an emphasis on more initiatives from the bottom up, and that the process of the joint research itself, as well as the selection of the research themes, be opened to public scrutiny. The Report advocated, moreover, that more consideration be given to the involvement of overseas scholars and the publication of project findings in languages other than Japanese, in both of which areas the Joint Research Projects were found wanting.

Regarding international activities, the Report gave Shaken high marks for, over the years, offering a base for research in Japan to more than five hundred young foreign academics from about forty different countries as visiting researchers. However, the Report also made mention of the fact that facilities for these foreign scholars are severely lacking and, whilst recognising that this cannot be said to be the responsibility of Shaken alone, strongly requested that efforts be made to improve the situation. Moreover, the Report also expressed hopes that arrangements for visiting professorships (two posts are currently offered which, since 1992, have been filled by a total of roughly thirty foreign visiting professors) be further developed and improved.

The Report reserved extremely high praise for the *Social Science Japan Journal*, the English-language journal specialising in social scientific research on Japan, published by Oxford University Press and edited by an editorial board consisting largely of Shaken staff. At the same time, it suggested allotting more space to book reviews and survey papers and requested that the journal be made more easily available to academics in countries where research on Japan remains underdeveloped. Further, in its evaluation of two of the Information Center for Social Science Research on Japan's main activities, the Social Science Japan Data Archive and the Social Science Japan Forum, the Report suggested that the development of the Data Archive in





## External Evaluation at the Institute of Social Science *continued*

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particular might become one of Shaken's most important undertakings henceforth. With that in mind, the Report judged that it will be necessary for Shaken not only to continue to make the data from existing surveys available online, but also to carry out its own surveys and compile the results in database form.

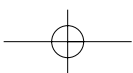
The question of how far an institute like Shaken, which exists almost solely for the purpose of research, should become involved in the educational side of a university is something of a bone of contention. The Report also contained a variety of opinions on this point.

Finally, in recent years Shaken has been defining a position for itself as the nerve-centre of international networks of research on Japanese society in the social sciences. Regarding this emphasis on research on Japanese society, the Report expressed a number of opinions, ranging from those affirming such an emphasis as entirely standing to reason, to those which suggested that Shaken ought to adopt a more world-wide posture and aspire to more universal themes of research.

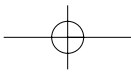
The debate has already begun at Shaken on how the opinions and advice summarised above should be received, processed and made best use of in future activities and conceptualisations. We plan to publish our preliminary conclusions in Shaken's annual report for the fiscal year 2001.

Readers interested in obtaining a copy of *The External Evaluation Report for the Institute of Social Science, University of Tokyo* (Tokyo Daigaku Shakai Kagaku Kenkyûjo Gaibu Hyôka Hôkokusho; includes the Self-Review and Self-Evaluation report; Japanese) and/or *Current Status and Tasks of the Institute of Social Science. A Self-Review and Self-Evaluation Report (Extract)* (English) should contact the Shaken secretariat.

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# Shaken: Views from Abroad.

## HIRAISHI Naoaki

Since the mid-1950s, Shaken has played host to a great number of foreign researchers (doctoral candidates and other researchers from overseas research institutions and universities). The total number of foreign researchers who have been associated with Shaken over the years currently stands at over 500. As part of the External Evaluation carried out at Shaken during the last financial year, questionnaires were sent to the 225 foreign researchers whose whereabouts were still known, and the results used as reference material. As of July 1 last year, 72 questionnaires had been completed and returned (a return rate of 32%). I would like to take this opportunity to express my gratitude to those who took the time and trouble to fill in and return the questionnaires.

The expectations, advice and proposals of the respondents *vis-à-vis* Shaken as expressed in the responses to the questionnaire are summarised below:

1. Regarding Shaken's activities as a whole. Whilst recognising that during the last ten years great progress has been made in the fields of international exchange and the provision of information services, many of the respondents requested that Shaken both continue its activities in these areas and develop such services yet further. Suggestions in this area included: translating a greater number of papers by Shaken staff into English; clarification of the theoretical frameworks and conventions of academic debate within the social sciences in Japan for the benefit of academics abroad; regular compilation of catalogues of research documents; establishing Shaken as the hub of a network of regional research centres; and compiling databases (as well as making them easier to use).

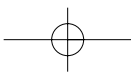
Proposals were made, moreover, concerning further bolstering international exchange by: allowing overseas researchers to become actively involved in Shaken's project research; through the reinforcement of systematic co-operation and the systematisation of joint research with overseas research organs; through joint sponsorship of international symposiums; by continuing to host foreign researchers (particularly up-and-coming young academics) and by employing some of these as Shaken staff; and by considering exchange with those countries where research on Japan remains in its infancy.

2. Regarding Shaken staff. The respondents called attention to the fact that Shaken staff would do well to raise their international profile by contributing to first-rate foreign journals, by publishing papers in English and by presenting papers at international conferences. This reminder of the importance of translation, together with the desire to see more papers by Shaken staff translated into English as described above, indicate that there is



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## Shaken: Views from Abroad. *continued*

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### Notes

<sup>1</sup> See KIKKAWA Takeo's article in this issue.

considerable demand and expectation for Japanese researchers in the social sciences to produce papers in English.

3. Regarding the *Social Science Japan Journal*. The social scientific research methods presented in the journal's articles and its book reviews, featuring reviews of Japanese literature by foreign academics and *vice versa*, were praised for inviting a lively exchange of opinions. On the other hand, respondents expressed interest in seeing more articles of an historical nature, as well as more articles written by Shaken staff, in the Journal. Furthermore, the difficulty of obtaining the Journal in certain countries was pointed out, with many respondents finding it unfortunate that the Journal's circulation is thus limited. Nevertheless, the Journal, together with the *Social Science Japan - Newsletter*, were positively evaluated as media for presenting high-quality information regarding other researchers' (particularly Japanese researchers') research trends and on topics outside the readers' fields of specialisation. These two publications were also favourably assessed for their value as reference materials for students, for providing a vehicle for young researchers to present their work, and for the varied and interesting nature of the topics covered.

Regarding Shaken's Japanese language bulletins. Respondents recommended the adoption of an editorial approach with more attention paid to the themes of these and the English-language publications, and requested more opportunities for general contributions. In fact, reform in recent years has led to considerable improvements in these areas; for example, a thematic editorial approach was adopted last fiscal year.

4. Regarding Project Research. A great number of proposals were made regarding research topics. Respondents expressed their frustration with the difficulty of obtaining sufficient information about Shaken's Project Research, and made strong requests that such information be made available on a regular basis. Nevertheless, the responses clearly indicated both a high level of overseas interest in, and widespread desire to become involved in, Shaken's Project Research. On this point, however, it should be noted that Shaken's current Institute-wide Joint Research Project is being carried out in collaboration with overseas researchers, and that steps are being taken to ensure the availability of information regarding the project.<sup>1</sup>

5. Regarding the establishment of networks. Many respondents endorsed Shaken's significance as a place where foreign researchers have the opportunity to become acquainted with a great many academics from both within and without Japan. Furthermore, it was noted that Shaken's hosting of foreign research students has resulted in the creation of a network of young foreign academics engaged in social scientific research on Japan, and



the importance of academic intercourse within this network was emphasised. On the other hand, some wished to see this network opened to those without such connections and advocated broadening the scope of the themes and subject matter of forums and seminars held at Shaken.

6. Regarding Shaken's Information Center for Social Science Research on Japan. Advice regarding the Information Center included increasing the dissemination of advance information concerning, for example, international symposiums, and making use of Japan's many scientific journals to disseminate information about the Center's activities. It was also suggested that the dissemination of such information would be facilitated by sending e-mails to members of the Association of Asian Studies. Requests were also made regarding improvements to the Social Science Japan Data Archive, in terms of further accumulation of data and making it easier to use, along the lines of the Asahi database.

We at Shaken are truly thankful for these numerous and constructive criticisms. The suggestions and proposals we have received can be divided into those pertaining to short-, mid-, and long-term reform, and once we have given each due consideration we hope to start implementing them where possible. It is, of course, our earnest desire to expand the range and increase the quality of services that Shaken provides; however, in the midst of ongoing administrative integration and the reduction of administrative personnel capacity, it remains to be seen how much of this we will be able to realise.

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# Project Report

## The Lost Decade? Introducing the New Institute-wide Joint Research Project: An Intellectual Exploration of 1990s Japan in its International Context.

KIKKAWA Takeo



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### Themes and Methods

The theme of the Institute of Social Science's (hereafter, "Shaken") new Institute-wide Joint Research Project which kicked off this fiscal year (2000) is "Japanese Society in the 1990s." For Japan, the 1990s were a troubled period marked by economic stagnation and political convulsion. More importantly, the sentiment that Japan lacked the ability to carry out vital reforms became widely accepted during the course of the decade. From this perspective, the 1990s were not merely "a troubled decade," but "a lost decade" during which Japan missed the opportunity for reform.

One wonders, however, whether the above view, which could even be said to be the prevailing opinion, is, in fact, entirely accurate. Shaken's latest Institute-wide Joint Research Project takes this question as its point of departure. The project's overriding motivation is to empirically investigate exactly what did, and what did not, take place in Japan during the 1990s and, in doing so, will focus on issues such as the international framework, finance, labour, the role of the government, and social policies.

The project will not limit itself to direct studies of the economic system, corporations, and trends in government in Japan during the 1990s, but will also tackle various areas intimately related to these issues, including trends in the United States and China, the restructuring of international institutions, responses to liberalisation in Asia, Latin America, and the former socialist countries, regional integration in Europe, and changes in human resource management and social policy in Japan.

It is Shaken's intention to advance the progress of the project "Japanese Society in the 1990s" by adhering to three principles: firstly, by ensuring that the research process remains open to public scrutiny; secondly, by promoting joint research with international partners; and, thirdly, through the simultaneous pursuit of differentiation and integration. The first principle will be explained in more detail below. As for the second, we are currently engaged in dialogue with scholars from North and South America, Western and Eastern Europe, Southeast and East Asia, and Oceania concerning the practical division of labour in terms of the research. Thirdly, the Institute-wide Joint Research Project will take the form of nine complementary and concurrent research projects (outlined below), with the ultimate aim of drawing unified conclusions based on their collective results.

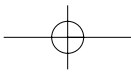
### The Complementary Projects

#### A. Japanese Corporations in the 1990s

Project Co-ordinator: KIKKAWA Takeo

This project, which has specified as its five main areas of investigation the





international framework, corporate finance, human resource management, government-corporate relations, and corporations as a social system, has four distinctive aims. The first is to empirically elucidate what did, and what did not, take place in the Japanese corporate world during the 1990s. The second is to objectively analyse the various characteristics of Japanese corporations which, over time, have been evaluated both as strengths and weaknesses. While its immediate focus remains the 1990s, the third aim of the project is to place the decade in its temporal context as regards its connection to the 1970s and 1980s. Fourthly, while, again, the project's immediate concern is Japanese corporations, it will introduce the perspectives of international comparison and international relations by constant reference to the other complementary projects.

#### B. The Japanese Political Economy in Turmoil?

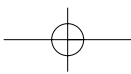
Project Co-ordinators: HIRASHIMA Kenji, HIWATARI Nobuhiro

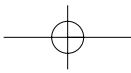
This project assembles over 30 political scientists from both Japan and abroad to re-examine the common notion that portrays the 1990s as a period of political sclerosis, despite frequent changes of governing coalitions, administrative ineptitude, and policy stagnation. Political *immobilisme* and ineffectiveness have been indicated as the main causes of Japan's inability to enact reforms in order to adapt to a global economy and an ageing society. To examine the validity of such claims, the first part of the project identifies the changes that have taken place in the pattern of party competition and partisan mobilisation in the 1990s. The changes identified will be taken as the independent variables used to explain changes in the governing process and policy adjustments. The effect of coalition governments on the major changes in the governmental process will be analysed by examining cases such as administrative reorganisation and procedures, decentralisation, and policy participation (including freedom of information). The extent of the impact of such political changes on ongoing policy adjustments in the areas of deregulation, fiscal reconstruction, social and labour policies constitutes another pillar of the empirical analysis. The above comprehensive account of domestic political changes in the 1990s will not only shed new light on existing theories of Japanese politics but will also firmly place political changes in Japan in a comparative perspective. The project complements other projects by focusing on the political and domestic aspect of change.

#### C. Japan and the Changing Structure in International Politics

Project Co-ordinator: HIWATARI Nobuhiro

Phrases such as "new global economy," "post-Cold War," and "unipolarism," attempt to portray the emerging but elusive international political structure of the new millennium. The purpose of this project, which has the participation of some 20 researchers in Japan and abroad, is to





## The Lost Decade? *continued*

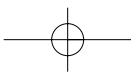
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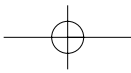
examine how Japanese interaction with the US has shaped the new international order in the Asia-Pacific region and in global regimes. Thus, above all, the project examines recent changes in US-Japan relations and how these have changed Japanese policy preferences (via domestic political changes) toward creating, reinforcing, or changing bilateral, regional, and global policy regimes. Change in Japanese foreign policy as part of the change in US-Japan bilateral relations, which will be examined during the first stage of the project, is one independent variable in this project. The other independent variable is change in US policies toward regional and global regimes that are of critical importance to Japan. By examining cooperation and conflict between Japan and the US in transforming regional and global policy regimes in areas such as finance, trade, security, and the environment in its second and third parts, this project as a whole provides an innovative way of assessing the new emerging international structure in the Asia-Pacific and in global regimes. This endeavour hopes to provide new insights into Japanese international relations in the 1990s and to address theoretical issues such as the relation between domestic and international politics or regional and global politics. It complements the "Japanese Political Economy in Turmoil?" project and aspires to link with the research on domestic changes (projects A, B, D, E, and F) and the projects concerned with comparing different responses to globalisation (projects G, H, and I).

### D. Macroeconomics and Japan's Economy in the 1990s

Project Co-ordinators: OTAKI Masayuki, MATSUMURA Toshihiro

The aim of this project is to determine the root causes of the prolonged recession in Japan during the 1990s, with reference to an evaluation of the Japanese economy in the previous decade. The standard view on this, as the project co-ordinators understand it, goes as follows: the Japanese economy in the 1980s witnessed the spontaneous growth of organisations that outstripped market mechanisms, and boasted unrivalled efficiency. Nevertheless, in the 1990s this system was substituted for an economic system based on an American-style market. This popular view, however, is clearly inconsistent, as it does not explain why, if the "superior" Japanese system was so much more efficient than the market, it was inevitable that it should be replaced by the market-based system. This project hopes to leave behind such chauvinistic interpretations and, from an unbiased standpoint, achieve a deeper understanding of the Japanese economy and hence also of the world economy. To this end, the project aims to create a perspective from which Japan's economic performance during both the 1980s and the 1990s can be explained in an integrated fashion.





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E. White-Collar Personnel Management and Business Management in Large Corporations during Times of Change: a Comparison of Japan, the United States, and France

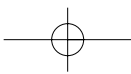
Project Co-ordinator: NAKAMURA Keisuke

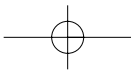
The aim of this project is to clarify the relationship between business management and personnel management of white-collar employees in large corporations, and to determine both the logic thereof, and the problematic issues involved. The project will tackle the following issues: firstly, the project will clarify systems of business management in areas such as cost-price and performance management. Second, it will clarify systems of personnel management with respect to, for example, management of pay and working hours, and education and training. Third, the project will set out the nature of each different department's operations, and each worker's job description and their career thus far, and explain the manner in which each employee's work is supervised. That is to say, the project will determine the practical workings of business and personnel management. Fourthly, the project will discuss the nature of the mutual relationship between white-collar personnel management and business management. By means of exploring these four areas, the project aims to clarify both the logic of white-collar personnel management and the problematic issues involved.

F. Globalisation and Welfare States

Project Co-ordinator: OSAWA Mari

In the field of comparative social policy research in recent years, an approach has developed that emphasises political factors in the typology of welfare states. Among both academics and policymakers, however, discussion aimed at placing Japan in a comparative international context has been scarce. Consequently, the 1990s ended up being a lost decade in terms of the reorganisation of Japan's welfare state. This project will bring into fresh relief the characteristics of Japan's efforts in this area through comparison with the quality and direction of the reorganisation of welfare states in various other countries. Expanding the scope of the ground covered by previous comparative social policy research, the project will clarify "the welfare state" by incorporating the three perspectives of state, market, and family. Further, analysis of the Japanese welfare state from the perspective of gender will reveal the gender bias inherent in Japan's welfare policies and welfare system and, at the same time, it is hoped, elucidate the characteristics of the Japanese welfare state in its comparative international context.





## The Lost Decade? *continued*

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### G. An International Comparison of Liberalisation and Crisis: Asia, Latin America, Russia, and Eastern Europe

Project Co-ordinators: SUEHIRO Akira, KOMORIDA Akio

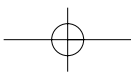
The movement towards economic liberalisation that began in Latin America following the debt accumulation crisis of the 1980s had, by the mid-1990s, spread to Russia, Eastern Europe, and Asia. In the midst of continuing liberalisation, privatisation, and the shift to a market economy, these regions have been undergoing far-reaching structural reform in the reorganisation of financial markets and corporate management systems, and regional integration. At the same time, however, they are experiencing increasing political and social instability. This project, taking into account each region's distinctive characteristics, explores and explains the backgrounds to economic liberalisation, the policies and roles of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, the relationships between economic liberalisation and economic crisis, and the socio-economic reconstruction programs implemented in response to economic crisis, and aims, moreover, to draw comparisons between each region. To this end, the project will focus on the following three areas:

- A. Trade; trade in capital goods; the process of deregulating direct investment and the role of international institutions.
- B. Reform of financial systems; the nature of corporate governance and changes therein.
- C. The implementation of social policies countering crisis and privatisation (for example, social security and labour policies).

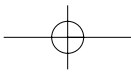
### H. Managing Development and Transition in a Globalising World

Project Co-ordinator: NAKAGAWA Junji

Caught by the rapid advance of economic globalisation, the industrialised developing countries and former socialist countries are being forced to re-evaluate their strategies for development and market transition. On the one hand, development strategies implemented by the state in many developing countries have become untenable and, on the other, development and market transition strategies based on the economic theory of new liberalism as propounded by the International Monetary Fund can by no means be said to be universally effective. Debate is now underway as to exactly what remedies might be prescribed for development and market transition in order to counter the hardships these countries have been facing since the beginning of the 1990s. Focusing on the major developing countries of East and Southeast Asia and Latin America and on the transitional economies of the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, this project will conduct cross-sectional comparative research on policy in such areas as liberalisation, privatisation and social security. The project will elucidate the difficulties faced by these countries with respect to development and market transition strategy, and aims to determine the path they might follow to overcome







them. The project will be jointly researched with scholars from the countries under examination and from the United States.

#### I. Research on the Structure of China's Transitional Economy

Project Co-ordinator: TANAKA Nobuyuki

China's definition of its economy as a "socialist market economy" has served to further clarify the direction of economic reform in China since the beginning of the 1990s. The progress of reform and opening since the 1980s has reached new levels with the reform of the economic structure resulting in the transition to a market economy, and China's efforts to open itself to the outside have also been rewarded by its entry into the international market as symbolised by China's membership of the World Trade Organisation. This project aims to analyse the process of reform in China during the 1990s focusing on its economic and legal aspects. The project will be jointly researched, principally by members of Shaken and the Chinese Academy of Social Science. The scope of the research is limited to China; however, research and analysis of the structure of transitional economies will include other areas, and will be essential to our understanding of the prospects for the world economy in the 21st century.

#### **Public Access**

As indicated above, this Institute-wide Joint Research Project, "Japanese Society in the 1990s," will remain open to public scrutiny throughout its duration. Information relating to the project's progress can be accessed in the following ways:

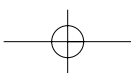
##### 1. Internet Access (<http://www.iss.u-tokyo.ac.jp>)

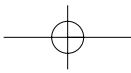
The Shaken homepage contains a site devoted to the Institute-wide Joint Research Project, which will regularly update the following information.

**Seminar Minutes.** Project seminars take place between one and three times each month. These seminars take the form of the presentation of a research report followed by discussion, and are aimed at enhancing the quality and furthering mutual understanding of the various research topics that comprise the entire project. The project website carries summaries of the seminar proceedings.

**Minutes of the Steering Committee.** The committee charged with supervising the administration of the project meets once monthly, and the subjects discussed and decisions taken are listed on the website.

**Websites for each complementary project (under construction).** Each of the nine projects introduced above will have its own website, linked to the main project site, and containing information regarding the themes, co-ordinators, progress, and direction of the project concerned.





## The Lost Decade? *continued*

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### 2. The Bulletin

ISS's bulletin *Shakai Kagaku Kenkyû* (Social Science Research) will feature mid-term reports of the ongoing research in the complementary projects as follows:

Vol. 51 (2000)	Projects D, G, H
Vol. 52 (2001)	Projects A, D, H
Vol. 53 (2002)	Projects A, E, D, H
Vol. 54 (2003)	Projects E, F
Vol. 55 (2004)	Project F

### 3. Symposiums

Shaken plans to hold a number of international symposiums throughout the duration of the project, at which empirical research on the world of the 1990s will be presented and discussed from a comparative perspective. This fiscal year (2000), two symposiums will be held, one concentrating on the entire project and also on complementary project H, and the second, smaller in scale, will focus on project C. The plan for the fiscal years 2001 and 2002 is similar, with the smaller symposiums concentrating on project B, and projects B and C, respectively.

### 4. Discussion Papers

DP-A. We will be compiling, binding, and publishing records of symposium presentations, discussions, and subsequent papers, as well as collections of data, documents and surveys relevant to the project themes, for long-term storage, where they will be available for public use.

DP-B. We will be publishing and distributing the mid-term reports of the various project members in the form of discussion papers.

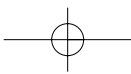
### 5. The Newsletter

We plan to feature updates of the project in the English-language newsletter *Social Science Japan*.

6. We are sending, and will continue to send, hard copies of the information described in 1. and 2. above to five editors (from five different publishing companies), and we are also keeping them informed of the schedule for the project seminars each month, which they are regularly attending.

By implementing the above measures to keep the research process open and to publish mid-term results, we envisage that the final publication will reflect any feedback we receive during the course of the project.

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## Project Report

# The Japanese General Social Survey: Aims and Rationale

### SATO Hiroki

The Institute of Social Science, University of Tokyo, is preparing to carry out a Japanese General Social Survey (JGSS) as a joint project with the Institute of Regional Studies at the Osaka University of Commerce. Two preliminary surveys have already been completed, in February and November 1999. The JGSS itself will take place annually from the autumn of 2000 until 2003.

General social surveys are not surveys of specific themes such as “the family” or “politics”; rather, they are comprehensive surveys of individual values, consciousness, and behaviour. There are many instances of such surveys being carried out on a continual basis, which allows for the possibility of time series analyses. Moreover, since the scope of the questions is wide, covering a diverse array of topics, the compiled data can be utilised in a great number of different research areas. Another feature of general social surveys is the fact that relatively little time elapses between the completion of the survey and the publication of the results, ensuring the availability of up-to-date data for research or educational purposes.

In developed countries, general social surveys pertaining to social consciousness and social behaviour, as exemplified by the United States' General Social Survey and the United Kingdom's British Social Attitudes Survey, have been carried out over the course of many years, enabling time series analyses. The data collected is made available for scientific research at roughly the same time as the survey is completed, subjected to secondary analysis by social scientists in a wide variety of fields, and from one set of data a large number of empirically-based research projects are born. These data sets, moreover, are not used solely for research purposes, but are also utilised in undergraduate and postgraduate education.

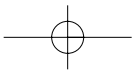
In Japan, however, despite the large number of social surveys carried out by government and civilian organs, and also by individual researchers, comprehensive general social surveys that can be used in time series analyses have not been in evidence. Social surveys in Japan, rather, have tended to focus on specific fields (such ‘the family’ or ‘politics’), and few have been carried out with a view to time series analysis. Further, existing sets of data are very rarely made available for secondary analysis, as is the norm in other developed countries, thus precluding the replication of the data in empirical research. It is extremely difficult, therefore, particularly for young researchers, to engage in empirical research on Japanese social awareness and behaviour. Indeed, in some research fields, one cannot but help noticing that many researchers do, in fact, give up on researching Japan and, using overseas data sets, write their theses on a country for which the relevant data is available. In other words, the lack of general social surveys in Japan has caused a considerable lag in empirical research and education regarding social consciousness and behaviour, as comprehensive and time series analyses have been thus impeded.



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## The Japanese General Social Survey *continued*

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In order to redress this deficiency in the research environment in the social sciences as soon as possible, and in order to lay the foundation for comprehensive and empirical research on social consciousness and behaviour, we have been making preparations for a Japanese General Social Survey. Making use of the late start, the JGSS has been devised in such a way as to allow for comparisons with its American and British counterparts. Moreover, we hope to make the resulting data available to researchers in the social sciences both in Japan and abroad as quickly as possible following the survey's completion.

It is hoped, moreover, that the publication of the JGSS data will encourage the publication of data from large-scale surveys carried out by researchers using scientific research grants and other public funds. It has been the general rule in Japan that when researchers have carried out extensive surveys using public funds, the data has not been made available for use by other researchers even after analysis is complete and a report has been published (with one exception to this being the Leviathan Databank which publishes data regarding political consciousness and voting behaviour). We aim to contribute to reforming this singular state of affairs in Japan's research environment by making the results of the JGSS available for public use.

Here follows an outline of the JGSS first survey's *modus operandi*:

### **Methods**

Subjects: Male and female Japanese twenty years of age or more, from all over the country.

Methods: Concurrent use of interview and placement methods.

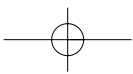
Sample: About 4500 persons.

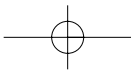
### **Survey Questions**

The survey questions cover various question fields including but not limited to: working environments, family, political opinions and attitudes, social network, social stratification, religion, leisure activities, attitudes towards various social issues, and experiences of victimisation. The following is a brief, but by no means comprehensive, sample of topics covered by the two methods:

#### 1) The Interview Method

Employment (and spouse's employment): working hours; position and job description; conditions of employment; type of business and number of employees; length of employment; hierarchy in the workplace; union membership; length of employment contract; future prospects; degree of satisfaction with one's job; intention to continue in current job; annual income; salary package; side jobs; and employment history.





Unemployment: reasons for lack of employment; employment experience; when and why employment was terminated; former job description, employment conditions, type of business, and number of employees; intention to work in the future; whether or not currently seeking employment; and main source of income.

Social values: attitude towards work; political affiliation and attitudes; attitude towards domestic affairs; and values necessary for a child's wholesome moral education.

The household and family: type of residence; household members; nuclear and extended family; location of residence; respondent's, spouse's, and parent's level of education, educational history, and marriage history.

## 2) The Placement Method (self-completed questionnaires)

Behaviour: frequency of reading newspapers; frequency of reading; time spent watching television; sexual activity; consumption of alcohol and cigarettes; religion; frequency of dining with friends and/or family; participation in political, regional and leisure organisations; frequency of doing the housework; utilised means of communication; and health.

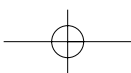
Values and consciousness: degree of contentment with life; social class-consciousness; attitude towards divorce; attitude towards capital punishment; attitude towards humanity; attitude towards euthanasia; degree of conservatism or reformism in political attitude; sexual attitudes; attitude towards marriage, the household, and division of domestic responsibilities; attitude towards three-generation households; ideal number of children; and degree of contentment with married life.

The government's role: relations between state and citizens; evaluation of government expenditure; attitude towards consumption tax; attitude towards the degree of state or municipal responsibility for care of the elderly; degree of confidence in various social institutions; and evaluation of government measures to reduce the gap between rich and poor.

### **Information and Access**

For more information regarding the JGSS, please refer to the Osaka University of Commerce website (<http://jgss.daishodai.ac.jp>).

Data from the JGSS can be accessed via the Social Science Japan Data Archive managed by the Information Center for Social Science Research on Japan at the Institute of Social Science, University of Tokyo (<http://iss.u-tokyo.ac.jp/pages/ssjda-e/>). The data from the first preliminary survey is already available and the data from the second will be released in March 2001.







## ISS Contemporary Japan Group at the Institute of Social Science, University of Tokyo

The ISS Contemporary Japan Group serves as a forum for researchers on Japan to receive critical feedback on their work. Researchers visiting Tokyo are invited to contact one of the persons listed below if they would like to make a presentation. Meetings are open to everyone. Please contact Professor HIWATARI Nobuhiro ([hiwatari@iss.u-tokyo.ac.jp](mailto:hiwatari@iss.u-tokyo.ac.jp)), Professor ISHIDA Hiroshi ([ishida@iss.u-tokyo.ac.jp](mailto:ishida@iss.u-tokyo.ac.jp)), or MIURA Mari ([miura@iss.u-tokyo.ac.jp](mailto:miura@iss.u-tokyo.ac.jp)) for more information.

### Immigration and the Politics of Citizenship in Japan

**KASHIWAZAKI Chikako**

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June 22, 2000*

Japan is often seen as a country reluctant to accept "outsiders" due to the emphasis placed on ethnic homogeneity. Since the late 1980s, however, an increasing number of foreign workers and their families have settled in Japan. Furthermore, the settlement of "old comer" Koreans occurred even earlier than that of major immigrant groups in other advanced industrial societies. Professor KASHIWAZAKI discussed Japanese citizenship laws and practices taking into account the specific contexts in which the debates about the rights of foreigners have evolved. Her paper paid particular attention to the interaction between postwar Japanese citizenship regulations and the political orientations of resident Koreans, the dynamics of which have shaped the politics of citizenship in Japan.



### Why Buy High? The Politics of Protection for Intermediate Input Industries in Japan

**Mark ELDER**

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July 4, 2000*

A critical aspect of strategic industrial and trade policy in Japan that has hitherto received little attention is the question of how conflicts of interest are resolved between industries. Professor ELDER focused on trade protection for critical upstream intermediate goods industries like steel, petrochemicals, and computers, which are used in Japan's key manufacturing industries. He found that although conventional theory strongly suggests that downstream user industries like autos would be harmed by, and thus oppose, protection for key inputs like steel, these industries have acquiesced, and even cooperated in, sustaining protection for key inputs. Professor Elder argued that this can be explained by the fact that the downstream export industries themselves benefited from protection and promotion policies, being, in effect, compensated for high input prices. Moreover, because protection for the upstream input industries was kept moderate, this protection did not harm the downstream industries. Although the ultimate short run costs were shifted to Japanese household consumers the industries involved all prospered.

## Research Report

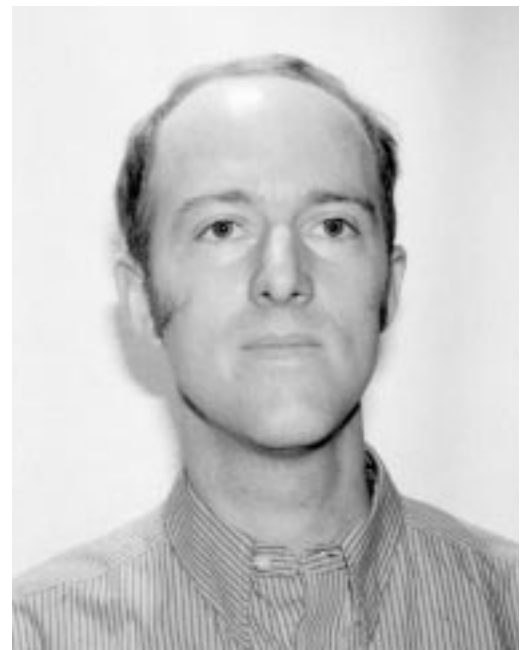
# Japan and the International Political Ecology of Southeast Asia

### Derek HALL

The last ten to fifteen years have seen a dramatic increase in the amount of writing on the environment in International Political Economy (IPE). Positive and normative writing on international environmental institution-building and diplomacy, analyses of the making of domestic policy pertaining to international and global environmental issues, and assessments of the role of non-state actors in international environmental politics have all contributed to this growing corner of the field. Most IPE work on the environment has, however, been biased in a number of ways. First, it has generally limited its focus to environmental 'issue areas' like global warming and acid rain, rather than asking in what ways environmental change might be significant in non-environmental issue areas such as regionalization or trade. Second, the range of environmental issues has been further limited to those which are transboundary in scope, a focus which excludes the possibility that more local environmental change might be causally important for IPE. Third, this literature has tended to focus on the politics of human contention over the environment (for instance, in the formation of international 'regimes'), rather than looking at how environmental change and political-economic processes interact.

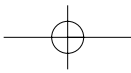
These biases have led the contribution of studies of the environment to IPE to be framed largely in terms of what that study reveals about processes of international cooperation or NGO influence on world politics. The possibility that environmental change might be relevant beyond environmental issue areas, however, has rarely been considered. IPE has barely begun to confront the sorts of questions that have been asked for decades in related fields such as anthropology, history, and economics: namely, how is environmental change causally relevant for the core concerns of the field? As a result, we have yet to see more than the faintest beginnings of an "International Political Ecology."

In my dissertation research, I am attempting to promote the analysis of environmental change in IPE through a study of the role of that change in political-economic regionalization in Eastern Asia, and particularly in relations between Japan and Southeast Asia. In this work, I ask how it is that the environmental characteristics of a number of industries and the ways in which they have interacted with local political economies have shaped the occurrence, form, and sustainability of regionalization. The three cases I have taken up are, first, the putative export of polluting Japanese industry (*kôgai yushutsu*) to Southeast Asia in response to the Japanese environmental crisis of the 1960s and 1970s; second, the Southeast Asian shrimp aquaculture industry; and third, Southeast Asian eucalyptus plantation forestry.



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## Japan and the International Political Ecology of Southeast Asia *continued*

### Notes

<sup>1</sup> See, for example, Richard DONER, "Japan in East Asia" in Peter J. KATZENSTEIN and Takashi SHIRAIISHI, eds., *Network Power: Japan and Asia* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1997), 203.

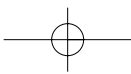
<sup>2</sup> Pekka KORHONEN, *Japan and Asia Pacific Integration: Pacific Romances* (London: Routledge, 1998); Nihon Bengoshi Rengôkai, *Nihon no Kôgai Yushutsu to Kankyô Hakai: Tônan Ajia ni Okeru Kigyô Shinshutsu to ODA* (Tokyo: Nihon Hyoronsha, 1991).

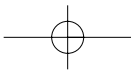
<sup>3</sup> *Winners and Losers: How Sectors Shape the Developmental Prospects of States* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1994), 10-15.

### *Kôgai Yushutsu? The Export of Polluting Japanese Industry in the 1970s*

It has long been argued that "pollution export" was one of the causes of Japanese FDI in the 1970s. By the mid-1960s, concentrated high-speed growth in heavy and chemical industries with very little attention to pollution control had created a profound environmental crisis in Japan. A tightening of regulation in response to intense popular pressure was quickly followed by a rapid shift in the quantity and nature of Japanese FDI (in particular, a major increase in FDI to Asia and Latin America in resource acquisition and pollution-intensive industry), and many scholars have assumed that the latter was caused in part by the former.<sup>1</sup> This assumption seems reasonable in light of explicit statements by government and business leaders calling for the export of polluting industry and an extensive NGO literature criticizing such moves.<sup>2</sup> No careful study of this topic has been done, however, and the literature in economics on "pollution havens" suggests that, by and large, environmental regulation has not been a major factor in promoting FDI. Similarly, existing treatments do not explain why pollution export would have been chosen in some cases while in others plants remained in Japan. Relocating polluting plants is only one possible response to regulation and protest, with others including exiting the industry or improving pollution control. It thus remains to be seen why the government (which faced substantial pressure to solve environmental problems at both national and local levels) and firms (which faced heightened regulation and, in some cases, protest movements against individual plants) would have chosen this option, and the extent to which this pattern characterized Japanese FDI in the 1970s.

In addressing this question I am investigating a potential cause of pollution export which has often been overlooked in the pollution havens literature: the extent to which different industries faced protests over pollution which complicated their siting decisions. I hypothesize that industries which are, in Michael SHAFER's terms, "high-high" (that is, industries like aluminum and petrochemicals that are highly capital-intensive and characterized by large-scale, concentrated production<sup>3</sup>) and thus sources of intense and concentrated pollution outflows, would have faced stronger protest than industries which, though perhaps equally polluting, were smaller-scale and more dispersed. These industries, I argue, faced more serious difficulties in locating domestic sites than those faced by "low-low" polluting industries, and the government had additional political reasons to support their overseas relocation beyond simply attempting to respond to general public anger about pollution. If this is so, the pollution emitted and protest generated by a number of "high-high" industries will have been important factors in shaping the regionalization of these industries during the 1970s.





## Regionalization and the Capitalization of Nature in Southeast Asia

The second and third cases I am studying, shrimp aquaculture and eucalyptus plantation forestry in Southeast Asia, have been characterized by what Michael O'CONNOR has called "the capitalization of nature," or the incorporation into the capitalist sphere of the production of inputs which were previously harvested from nature.<sup>4</sup> In both of these industries, a combination of scarcity of natural stocks, technical advances, and strong market demand led firms and states to promote a shift towards farmed inputs. Shrimp, which were previously caught by trawlers, are increasingly farmed in coastal enclosures characterized by dense monocultural stocking, frequent water exchange, and processed feed, and supported by an impressive array of research institutes, bilateral and multilateral donors, and multinational capital. Similarly, across Southeast Asia the fast-growing Australian species *Eucalyptus camaldulensis* is now being raised in plantations which provide inputs for the pulp and paper industry.

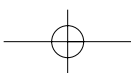
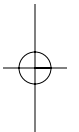
Shrimp aquaculture and eucalyptus plantation forestry took off in Southeast Asia during the 1980s partly in response to rapidly-growing Japanese demand, and both sectors have been strongly supported by local governments and international donors. The pattern of development of these sectors, however, has been somewhat puzzling. The shrimp aquaculture boom has shifted location (both within and between countries) with startling frequency, starting in Taiwan in the mid-1980s and moving on to Thailand, Indonesia and the Philippines and, more recently, to Vietnam, India and Bangladesh. Given the assiduous efforts of so many actors to promote this extremely lucrative industry, this boom-and-bust pattern is surprising. Similarly, the success of efforts to establish a substantial export-oriented eucalyptus plantation forestry sector has varied widely across the region, with Thailand in particular having witnessed extensive conflict over this sector.

Environmental change and the environmental characteristics of the way that nature is capitalized in shrimp aquaculture and eucalyptus plantation forestry are critical in at least three ways to explaining the rapid growth of these industries and their patterns of regionalization. First, the choice to switch to raised inputs through capitalizing nature has itself represented a response to supply problems caused by resource scarcity and environmental protest. Second, the long-term management of natural resources and the creation of a new form of monocultural ecosystem demanded by modern aquaculture and plantation forestry both transform ecologies and require close control over land and exclusive property rights, in a way that previous forms of fishery and forestry generally did not. Third, the monocultural

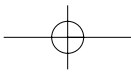


## Notes (continued)

<sup>4</sup> "On the Misadventures of Capitalist Nature" in O'CONNOR, *Is Capitalism Sustainable? Political Economy and the Politics of Ecology* (New York: Guilford Press, 1994), 125-151.







## Japan and the International Political Ecology of Southeast Asia *continued*

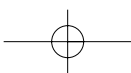
### Notes (continued)

<sup>5</sup> TASAKA Toshio, *Yukari Bijinesu: Tai Shinrin Hakai to Nihon* (Tokyo: Shin Nihon Shuppansha, 1992).

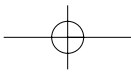
ecosystems created can themselves have environmental characteristics which, in interaction with local political economies, undermine their sustainability.

The first and second of these factors have been central in shrimp aquaculture, with the scarcity of natural shrimp stocks leading to experimentation with farming, and with the conversion of coastal land into shrimp ponds involving contention over mangrove destruction and the enclosure of communal land. However, the particularities of the capitalization of nature on a shrimp farm are most important in explaining the industry's rapid relocation. The precise mixtures of brackish water needed for intensive shrimp farming require substantial quantities of fresh water, the pumping of which has led to extensive land subsidence, salinization, and water table depletion. Shrimp farms have often released their effluent into waterways used as intake by other farms, undermining water quality. Most crucially, this exchange of water between farms, the dense stocking of a single species, and the regional trade in shrimp stock have all contributed to devastating disease outbreaks that have come close to destroying the industry in several countries. The environmental particularities of shrimp farming have thus made the industry self-undermining. The supply risks and uncertainties associated with this boom-and-bust aquaculture have led Japanese companies to give shrimp production a wide berth, despite their close involvement in shrimp trawling, processing, and imports.

The push to establish tree farms for the pulp and paper industry has been, in part, a response to concerns over the future availability of inputs as a result of growing resource scarcity and environmentalist protest against logging. However, both the kind of ecosystem required by plantation forestry and the ways in which that ecosystem interacts with local political economies have blunted the plantation drive in some areas. In Thailand, where my research has focused to date, the Royal Forestry Department, the military, private corporations, and international institutions have supported the devotion of enormous areas of the country to the planting of eucalyptus.<sup>5</sup> These efforts provoked intense resistance in part because acquiring this land and exercising control over it meant evicting enormous numbers of residents of the "reserve forests" from lands that they had, in some cases, inhabited for decades. Protests against eucalyptus were thus initially struggles over land brought about by the necessity for intensified and formalized control over land. During the 1990s, the ways in which eucalyptus plantations interacted with the area around them came to prominence as Thais discovered that plantations consume incredible quantities of water (rendering farming impossible in some areas) and provide none of the environmental benefits given by natural forests. While







the plantation industry continues in Thailand, it has never come close to living up to the dreams of the late 1980s, nor has it been able to become a significant source of the supply of wood chips to Japan. For instance, a 12,500-hectare Shell plantation project that would have supplied the Japanese market was shut down by anti-eucalyptus protest. Similarly, although the Japanese paper industry has been rapidly expanding its overseas eucalyptus plantations in Australia, New Zealand, and Chile, the industry is extremely wary of establishing plantations in Southeast Asia as a result of concerns over long-term access to land and conflict over resources. The regionalization of Japanese supply of pulp materials has thus been inhibited, with new sourcing concentrated largely in the Southern Hemisphere.

#### **Integrating Environmental Change into IPE Analyses**

In each of these cases it is clear that environmental factors have been significant in shaping regionalization. Establishing that environmental change has played a role, however, is not enough; this change needs to be integrated into IPE analyses along with other causal forces. The cases I am studying provide useful opportunities for comparative analysis of these interactions. As noted above, in the case of *kôgai yushutsu* it remains to be seen why some industries felt a greater pressure towards pollution export than did others. The shrimp and eucalyptus cases both represent the capitalization of nature, but the ways in which nature has been capitalized in these cases vary, as do the challenges that the new ecosystems present both to the sustainability of the industry and to the livelihoods of local people. It remains to be explained, for instance, why levels of protest against eucalyptus have been significantly higher than those against shrimp farming, and also why protest levels have varied within each sector and across countries. In addition, the environmental particularities of each case seem to have influenced the ways in which Japanese companies have participated in regionalization: the dynamics of pollution export promoted Japanese FDI, while the risks associated with shrimp and eucalyptus have discouraged Japanese participation in local production and also, particularly in the case of eucalyptus, inhibited the regionalization of Japanese supply relationships. In pursuing these questions, I hope to contribute to the development of an IPE analysis that can address the causal significance of environmental change.

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