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The Role of Hope

Editorial Notes
Personal Names
　　All personal names are given in the customary order in the native language of the person unless otherwise requested. Hence in Japanese names, the family name is given first, e.g. Toyotomi Hideyoshi, and in Western names the family name is given second, e.g. George Bush.

This issue features two articles on surveys concerning the role of hope in social relationships and 7 interim reports from studies of Kamaishi city. All were conducted by researchers at the Institute of Social Science. Moreover, the articles are all products of the *Kibōgaku* Project at ISS. (In Japanese, "kibō" means hope and "gaku" means a field of study.) As some readers will already have read elsewhere, since 2005 the ISS has been undertaking a research project called *Kibōgaku*. Preliminary results of the research have been compiled in a book published in 2006 (Genda Yuji [ed.], *Kibōgaku*, Chūkō Shinsho). The aims of the *Kibōgaku* project and the Kamaishi city research are described at length in the Genda and Nakamura articles, respectively. But as a brief note here, the *Kibōgaku* Project seeks to examine how hope and society are related. And here, "hope" is not only a matter of personal consciousness; it is regarded as both the product of a given society and its engine.

The Genda and Nitta articles examine the scope of hope in society through questionnaire survey. The other 7 reports from the Kamaishi city research cover various aspects of life in this particular area. Although hope is invisible, these articles provide us an interesting way of viewing its societal role.

* In the articles, some researchers use the word "Hopology" to indicate *Kibōgaku*. The word is a neologism for *Kibōgaku* and was coined by the project team. It is formed from the combination of the noun "hope" and the suffix "-logy," which denotes an academic discipline.
* To publish SSJ 36, many people assisted the editor especially in terms of language. Limited space prohibits the editor from listing their names here, but the editorial committee is sincerely thankful for their help.

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Hope in Social Relationships

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The Hopology Project

In the 2005 academic year, the University of Tokyo's Institute of Social Science embarked on a project entitled "Hopology." These days, reflections on the future of Japanese society are not generally couched in particularly optimistic terms, tending to dwell on such issues as the ongoing aging of society, the impoverishment of regional economies, mounting fiscal deficit, the intensification of global competition, and the paralysis of the education system and consequent concerns regarding widening social disparities. These apparently gloomy prospects for society as a whole may, in turn, be taken to signal a widespread loss of hope, begging the questions of whether, and in what form, hope exists among individuals living in such bleak circumstances.

The Hopology Project is currently conducting large-scale fieldwork in Kamaishi City in Iwate Prefecture, the results of which will be published in due course. In addition, in January 2006, the Hopology Project conducted a nationwide "Questionnaire Survey of Work and Lifestyle" by mail, garnering responses from 2,010 people between the ages of 20 and 59 (inclusive). In this article, I briefly introduce the results of the survey and give a tentative appraisal of Japanese society, as viewed from the perspective of hopology.

Is there any Hope?

Are the majority of people living in Japan, then, bereft of hope? The survey asked whether the respondents retained any hope for the future, in terms of things that they would like to see happen or that they themselves would like to achieve. Those that responded in the affirmative (referred to as "hopeful respondents" in the following) represented 78.3 percent of all respondents. Rather than confirming an absence of hope, therefore, the survey appears to indicate that the majority of Japanese adults do have hope for the future.

In May 2005, the Hopology Project also conducted an internet survey of adults in their twenties to forties, entitled "A Questionnaire Survey of Hopes for Employment." This survey also asked about the presence of hope, with 76.5 percent of respondents answering that they harbored hopes for themselves. Taken together, the two different surveys reveal that nearly 80 percent of Japanese adults retain hope in one form or another.

Turning to the nature of these hopes, the "Questionnaire Survey of Work and Lifestyle" further asked hopeful respondents what their hopes were related to. A number of choices were presented, including work, relationships with friends, romance, social contribution, marriage, health, leisure, personal appearance, education and family. The most popular response was work (51.8 percent of all respondents, including those who professed to have no hope ["hopeless respondents"]), followed by family (36.2 percent), health (29.5 percent) and leisure (24.7 percent). Further, the earlier Internet survey also revealed an overwhelming connection between hope and work.

With the majority of people harboring hopes, what does having hope signify in itself? From the survey, the most popular response (58 percent) to this question was that having hope enables one to live a vital life. In contrast, negative opinions such as "hope is unnecessary" and "hopes are make-believe" were extremely rare at 3.7 percent.

Hope, which appears on the whole to be viewed positively, is closely connected to living with a feeling of well-being. 84.2 percent of hopeful respondents indicated that they currently have a feeling of well-being, as compared to 73.8 percent of hopeless respondents, a difference of more than ten percent. It appears, then, that most people consider hope to be necessary to leading a fulfilling life.

Hope and Economics

What is it that distinguishes people who are able to keep hope from those who cannot? Amongst increasing talk of widening social disparities, concerns have been raised regarding a growing gulf between those of comfortable financial means and those who are less well-off. Viewed in this light, it would be logical to assume that differences in economic status give rise to differences in future prospects and degrees of freedom, which would in turn create a situation in which only the well-off would be likely to harbor any hopes for the future.

In addition to asking about the circumstances of subjective reality such as the presence of hope, the survey also inquired about a more objective reality, in terms of the respondent's annual income after tax in the year preceding the survey. In fact, 83.2 percent of respondents with an annual income of 8 million yen or more responded that they had hope, while 77.5 percent of respondents with zero annual income were hopeful, revealing a small difference. However, given the fact that nearly 80 percent of respondents in each income bracket between these two extremes also responded that they had hope, this difference is not particularly significant. Indeed, since the differences between the proportion of hopeful respondents according to respective salary bracket cannot be considered statistically significant, there is no conclusive evidence for a link between differences in income and differences in hopefulness.

A similar result is observed when the income of the respondent's household, rather than that of the individual alone, is considered. For example, approximately five percent *fewer* individuals belonging to households with an annual income of eight million yen or more had hope than individuals belonging to households with an annual income of less than three million yen. However, viewed next to the intervening income layers, this difference is not particularly large, and overall no significant difference was observed in the presence or absence of hope according to disparities in annual income.

Further, no difference in level of hope according to current income was observed in the earlier internet survey either. These results appear to rule out a simple link between the extent of one's economic resources and the presence or absence of hope. However, this does not totally rule out the presence of a link of any kind; it will simply be necessary in the future to examine the effects of income on having hope using a more detailed empirical method, controlling for other social factors.

Family Expectations and Trust

On the other hand, the two surveys conducted by the Hopology Project thus far did discover certain common social factors that had a clear influence on whether or not an individual harbored any hopes.

One factor that generated differences in the formation of hope was related to expectations brought to bear on an individual by their family. The surveys included the question, "When you were a child, did you feel that your family had expectations of you?" Of those who had a strong awareness of such expectations, the proportion of hopeful respondents was 83.1 percent, while for those who felt no such expectations the proportion was 69.4 percent, revealing the existence of a statistically significant difference.

Parental expectations for their children to, for example, go to university, can put pressure on their children, and when these targets are not met, this can cause discord within the family and prompt an individual to view an unforgiving society with distrust, which would presumably result in deepening despair. However, the survey results suggest that the weight of expectations as a whole works to affirm an individual's latent value, and that there is

a high possibility that expectations themselves can provide the impetus for the fulfillment of an individual's potential. The surveys also revealed that individuals who as children had a strong sense that they were trusted by their families at the same time as having expectations placed on them, were inclined to develop a sense of hope. Indeed, it may even be this driving force toward the future itself, nurtured by the daily support of expectations and trust in the environment where one is born and raised, that constitutes hope.

A Socially Isolated Existence

A further factor that had a clear influence on the presence of hope was the existence of friends. Responses to the question "Do you consider yourself to have many friends?" were viewed in terms of the proportion of hopeful respondents. The proportion of hopeful respondents among respondents with many friends was 85.8 percent, while for those with few friends it was 74.6 percent. Thus, the proportion of those having hope was clearly higher for those with more friends.

Conversely, it appears to be difficult for people who do not have much interaction with other people to retain hope. According to the survey, among those who did not have anyone to lend an ear to their concerns and troubles, only 56.0 percent had hope. Fur-

ther, the equivalent proportions for those who did not have anyone who praised their abilities and efforts, and for those who did not have anyone who had expectations of them, were 59.9 percent and 56.9 percent respectively, both significantly lower than the overall average.

Acceptance by one's friends provides tacit endorsement of one's existence, and it may be that this is linked to the formation of an individual's hopes for the future. Recent concerns about social disparities aside, what we really ought to be worried about is the existence of people who, lacking relationships with friends and acquaintances, lead a socially-isolated life devoid of hope.

In addition to victims of bullying, school truants, NEETs (young people not in education employment or training) and social recluses, there are growing numbers of people in single-occupancy households, which are rapidly increasing for all age groups, and in single-parent households (mother and child or father and child), who, struggling with the breakdown of family relationships, are contributing to the phenomenon of social isolation. The fact that this kind of socially isolated existence is on the increase, as is the number of people to whom hopes for the future do not come easily, is a feature of contemporary Japanese society that should be of real concern to us all.

Hopology-The Kamaishi Research

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1. Hopology: The Aim in Researching Kamaishi

If we define "hope" as a concrete vision of the present or the future, then consideration of the social elements of hope is directly related to an examination of people's definition of life as well as the direction of social change. In that respect, one can not overlook the widely observed problem that the unequal distribution of "hope" across various socioeconomic strata has recently been increasing.

For example, the family sociologist Yamada Masahiro has pointed out that this trend is particularly prominent among younger Japanese, a phenomenon to which he has given the memorable tag of the "hope-gap society." However, if we look back over history, we can see that the feeling of being trapped, a symptom of too little hope, is not necessarily a recent phenomenon, but rather something which has repeatedly reappeared as a social trend. Therefore, in addition to conducting contemporary research and data analysis, it is also necessary to perform a proper historical analysis to grasp correct-

ly the social conditions of "hope" today. Of course, even during the same time period, there will be great diversity in perceptions of hope between individuals, regions, and socioeconomic strata. Thus, rather than trying to gather data on people's "hope" from a vague mixture of regions, we decided to narrow our research to one specific area.

For this research, we decided to study the city of Kamaishi in Iwate Prefecture, which is famous for its steel manufacturing. From before the Second World War until just recently, the limited space of the Kamaishi area was home to the Kamaishi Steel Works and included a wide range of social strata that was centered on factory workers. While the city offers a portrait of the development of modern Japanese industry and its subsequent transformation, how do its residents talk about "hope"? The aim of the Hopology - Kamaishi research project is to research this question from an interdisciplinary and social-scientific perspective, using a variety of research methodologies, and disciplines, including law, political science, economics, history, and sociology.

2. Research Problem Selection and Research Organization

One of the special features of this research project is that a variety of researchers from different disciplines, using their own research methods, are working together to analyze the "state of hope" in one particular area. Together we are trying to understand the historical and contemporary meanings of hope within a specific social context. Starting from this point, we decided to focus on the following two research problems: 1) an inquiry into changes in people's feeling of "hope" among various socioeconomic strata due to the long-term restructuring of the core industry (i.e. the Kamaishi Steel Works and Nippon Steel Company) and 2) a multifarious examination of "the rebirth of hope" in a company town, such as Kamaishi, that is undergoing social and economic change. Focusing on these research problems, we divided into the following five research groups

and in July and September of 2006 conducted research in the Kamaishi area (people in charge of the interim reports are named in parentheses):

1) Kamaishi Steel Works and Nippon Steel Company Research Group
a) Kamaishi Steel Works, OB Research Group (Nakamura Naofumi)
b) Technical Skills Transmission Research Group (Nitta Michio)
2) History-Culture Research Group (Uno Shigeki)
3) Social Research Group
a) High School Reunion Survey Research Group
b) Legal Perception Research Group (Sato Iwao)
4) Regional Promotion Policy Research Group
a) Industry Research Group (Kikkawa Takeo)
b) Fishing Industry Economy Research Group (Kase Kazutoshi)
c) "Administration and Citizens" Research Group (Tsuchida Tomoko)
d) Environmental Policy Research Group (Ohori Ken)
5) Local Politics Research Group (Uekami Takayoshi)

Between July 17 and 20, fifteen researchers participated in the first field survey, during which we worked on final preparations for our surveys, selected interviewees, and conducted several kinds of pilot studies, including round-table talks and archival research. Then, between September 24 and 30, twenty-six researchers and six assistants participated in our second round of field research, in which we conducted intensive interviews, documentary research, and surveys. We interviewed 136 people in our second round of field research, the highest number of interviewees of any general regional research project carried out by the University of Tokyo's Institute of Social Science since 1952 (the 1952 project was the "Comprehensive Social Conditions Survey on Communities as the Basis of Japanese Society," and it was conducted in Goko Village, Nitta County, Gunma Prefecture).

Furthermore, from November 2006, each research group has conducted follow-up surveys, field research, and is continuing their research. Therefore, in this issue of SSJ, representatives from each group of the Hopology - Kamaishi Research project will offer a short introduction to the contents and progress of their research at this time, as a kind of interim report. With each research group summarizing the progress of their research, we hope that this will help to clarify the history and present conditions of "hope" in the Kamaishi area.

An Introduction to the Research on the Veterans of the Kamaishi Steel Works

Purpose of the Research

From the time Ōshima Takatō built the first Western-style blast furnace in 1857 until the middle of the twentieth century, the Kamaishi area of Iwate Prefecture was the leader in modern steel production in Japan. However, due to the restructuring of the steel industry from the 1960s, the Kamaishi Steel Works began to be tossed about by waves of rationalization. Due to both the large-scale personnel reshuffling between 1963 and 1968 which moved a total of 1,678 people from the Kamaishi Steel Works to Tokai Steel (Nagoya Steel Works) and the rationalization of large-scale production facilities beginning in 1978, the Kamaishi Steel Works saw a rapid decrease in the number of its workers. In 1960, Kamaishi Steel Works had over 8,000 workers, but by the time they closed their large-scale section-steel factory in 1980 their ranks had been reduced to 3,361 workers. And, when they shut down their blast furnaces in 1990 there were only 1,350 workers, which further decreased to around 150 workers as of 2005.

With such radical changes occurring in their community, how did the workers who remained in Kamaishi and those who were transferred to other steel plants maintain their hope (or their sense of satisfaction with their work) and continue working? Moreover, how do they look back upon their own careers now, and what kinds of emotions do they feel? While considering these questions, we hope to analyze the oral histories of the Kamaishi Steel Works veterans to better understand the thoughts and behaviors of the workers in the steel industry, which formed the backbone of Japan's high-growth economy during the 1950s and 1960s. This analysis is necessary when thinking about the "changing social elements of hope," and also to understand the social-historical problem of the changing feelings of workers throughout the period of the high growth economy. Furthermore, in addition to interviewing former laborers and labor union workers, we are also conducting interviews of former employees

with experience at the managerial level, focusing on former plant managers. In this way, through listening to the voices of both former workers and managers, we will not only be able to get a better grasp of the working atmosphere at the time, but we will also be able to consider how both the laborers facing job transfers and the managers who had to send away workers were able to maintain their hope under those conditions.

Outline of the Research

In the field research we conducted in July and September of 2006, we interviewed twenty-two former employees of the Kamaishi Steel Works. The workers were from a variety of divisions, including pig-iron manufacturing, steel manufacturing, the rolling mill, machine shop, and maintenance. We divided them into two age cohorts: those in their seventies and eighties and those in their sixties. Our interviews concentrated on their acquisition of skills while working in various divisions, transferals to Tokai Steel, and their feelings about the process of rationalization that took place after 1978. Furthermore, we also were able to conduct similar interviews with two former labor union officials and three former personnel managers who still live in Kamaishi. In addition to myself, Umezaki Osamu, Nitta Michio, and Aoki Hiroyuki also conducted these interviews, and Nakabayashi Masaki and Tanaka Hikaru did archival research at the Kamaishi Steel Works and Nippon Steel Company.

Furthermore, while we continue our field research in Kamaishi, we are conducting parallel surveys of former plant and personnel managers in Sendai, Tokyo, and Chiba. In conducting these interviews, we are investigating factory management and the problem of worker transfers to Tokai Steel to better understand the position of the management at Kamaishi Steel Works. In November of 2006, we went to Tokai City, Aichi Prefecture and conducted group interviews with former laborers of Kamaishi Steel Works who were transferred to Tokai Steel. We are also planning to interview former plant managers of Nagoya Iron Works to obtain the oral histories of skilled workers.

3. Future Directions

When considering the state of hope experienced by the workers of the Kamaishi Steel Works, our research thus far shows that the mass transfer of workers to Tokai Steel during the high growth economy and the large-scale rationalization efforts which took place in the 1980s are two important points for further consideration. In our future research, we would like to focus particularly on the former point. Strongly bound to home and local community since before the Second World War, workers were freed from these bindings during the high growth economy. We feel that the five waves of worker transfers to Tokai Steel which took place between 1963 and 1968 offer an excellent case study through which we can consider the feelings and state of hope of workers during this period. In fact, many skilled workers were torn between their desire for promotion and feelings of self-fulfillment in work on the one hand and their sense of belonging to their families and communities on the other. Managers, for their part, did their best to increase the incentives for workers to choose the former over the latter. In future research, we intend to conduct more interviews with people from a variety of backgrounds and positions, including workers (broken down by job type and cohort), union officers, personnel managers, and executive managers as well as analyze the archived internal documents at Shin Nittetsu. Through a comparison of the results of this research, we hope to deepen our understanding of the effect that these transfers within the internal labor market had on the workers themselves and what kind of hope the workers in various positions maintained during those conditions.

"Hope" as seen in our Research Reports and What Gets in its Way

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My main job is clarifying various problems in Japanese society and thinking about their solutions through social research on employment relations. While there are a variety of methods of social research, the method of survey research involves distributing questionnaires to research subjects, collecting them, and quantifying and analyzing the results. The purpose of this kind of investigation is generally to assign numbers to a determined selection of responses and then use a variety of quantitative methods to analyze them. That said, however, questionnaires sometimes include so-called "open questions" that ask for the respondent to freely write their opinions on a matter. Although the replies to the open questions are often coded for quantitative analysis after collection, sometimes they are left as is to be used as a form of indirect interview. Going through the questionnaires one by one and reading the handwritten replies to the open questions, one cannot help imagining the voices or physical features of the respondents.

Because of this kind of experience with surveys, I am more likely to read research reports when they include statements from a questionnaire's open questions. For example, consider the following September 2000 Japan Institute of Labour Research Report (No. 138) by Kosugi Reiko, Honda Yuki, et. al.: "High School Students' Thoughts and Behavior regarding Course Determination: The Actual Conditions and Background behind the Increase in Non-Regular Workers among High School Graduates" (Due to administrative reforms, the Japan Institute of Labour is now an independent administrative agency called the Japan Institute for Labour Policy and Training). In this research project, a questionnaire, which included space for comments at the end, was distributed to 6,855 seniors (graduating in March 2000) at fifty-two Tokyo-area high schools. Reading the student's comments at the end of the questionnaire, we can hear the voices of many young people saying things like, "I wish they would change *everything*," "There aren't enough jobs!! What the hell??," and "I had to either throw away my dream, or throw away my parents. I ended up putting my dream on hold. I wish we lived in a society that was easier on low-income people." I remember feeling a fresh sense of surprise reading the comments of these serious and concerned young people, who were similar in age to my own children and expressing their opinions so clearly.

One thing that is clear in these free comments is that, when it comes to choosing one's career path, the children of single parent households are at a great disadvantage. Currently, because of the difficulty in finding a job with only a high school diploma, an increasing number of students are deciding to continue on to university, or, if they cannot enter a university, they express a wish to attend a technical or trade school to polish their occupational skills. However, as most technical and trade schools are private, the high cost of tuition causes many students to think twice about enrolling (not to mention the cost of college tuition). Moreover, many students express anxiety over the fact that even if they continue their education, they are unsure about whether the results will be worth the cost of their financial

investment.

The Japan Institute of Labour started a new research project on the work and life of single mothers that same year (2000). I was the chief investigator in the project and received the cooperation of Professors Fujiwara Chisa of Iwate University and Nagase Nobuko of Ochanomizu University in carrying out the research. The results of that research appeared in the August 2003 Japan Institute for Labour's Research Report (No. 156) entitled "Research on Employment Support for Mothers in Single Parent Households." For this research, we analyzed existing statistical data in addition to conducting a new survey. Relying on the basic family register, we chose 5,000 families made up of only mothers (under 60-years of age) living with their children (under 20 years old). Of the 2,733 questionnaires which were returned to us, 1,874 were valid for our study (we left out, for example, surveys from families in which the father was absent due to being relocated for his work). Although I am not sure of the precise response rate due to the survey method used, for a mail-in survey the fact that we recovered approximately 50% of the surveys is quite surprising. Usually, mail-in surveys are considered hugely successful in Japan if 30% of the surveys are returned. I was also surprised by the responses on the last page of the survey, where respondents were invited to write their hopes and their fears. Unfortunately, we could not list all of the responses to the open question in our research report (which is already quite substantial at 717 pages), so we had to settle for only a small sample.

I consider this research report to be ground-breaking research regarding the employment circumstances in single-mother households, and I hope that it receives wide readership. To quote from the con-

cluding section of the introduction I wrote for the report,

"Until recently, due to low divorce rates and few births out of wedlock, the number of single mother households in Japan remained comparatively small. Moreover, the economic environment was relatively good, and the social welfare system (i.e. child dependency allowance) functioned to promote employment. In addition, mothers in single-parent households gave their children the best education possible and worked their hardest to ensure that the next generation could live as comfortably as possible. Her family also supported her. As a result, single mother households were able to protect their livelihoods and maintain a high employment rate."

"However, the situation is changing with an increasing number of single mother households and increasing difficulties in finding stable employment. If we do not correctly address this problem, we risk seeing a reproduction of poverty, and the birth of a serious social problem" (Ibid., p. 20).

As I wrote above, although previously one had a relatively good chance of finding stable employment if only he or she could graduate from high school, the fact that we can no longer make this statement indicates another serious change in the situation. If what was once considered the key to realizing the hopes of both mothers and children in single mother households —— that is, a high school education — can no longer fulfill that role, it may have serious implications. One of Japan's contemporary social problems is often expressed as a form of "hopelessness", so we must also ponder the fact that this expression is most commonly heard among people trapped in the kind of situation described above.

Memories of Kamaishi and the Search for a New Identity

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How do the people living in Kamaishi understand their own city's past? As a part of our Hopology Project about contemplating "hope" in Kamaishi in order to seek out the future direction of the city, we in the History-Culture Research Group have chosen to investigate memories of Kamaishi as our research topic. In this case, we must be careful to pay special attention to the fact that the history of Kamaishi is closely connected with the steel industry. With the decline of the steel industry, what should replace steel manufacturing as the core identity of the city? This is an important question not only from the perspective of industrial development, but also has important ramifications for how those living there, especially the younger generations, relate to the city. Therefore, although Kamaishi's past is often connected only to the steel industry, our aim in this research is to explore the diverse aspects of Kamaishi's past, in the hope of discovering historical material that will be useful in constructing a new identity for Kamaishi's future.

By starting our research from this perspective, our methodology weaves together outsiders' images of Kamaishi with the city's residents' own images of their city. First, we explored historical data (including images) to understand how Kamaishi was talked about or seen in the past. Hayashi Fumiko's *Rough Seas* (*Hatō*), for example, was published serially in the Asahi Shinbun newspaper during the war years in 1938 and made into a movie the following year. In this novel, Kamaishi is chosen as the travel destination of an engineer, who was disabled in the war with China,, and his sweetheart. Kamaishi is described as a place distant from Tokyo, yet closely connected to modern technology and production through the steel industry, and it is regarded as a fitting place for the physically and spiritually injured protagonist to get a fresh start.

The 1930s were also a time when regional journalism developed. Numerous local newspapers were established in the Kamaishi region, which, when the municipal administrative system was put into effect in Kamaishi in 1937, published lively reports of Kamaishi's progress and development. These reports reached such a level that the city seemed to be rivaling Morioka, the prefectural capital. People from all over Japan gathered in the city, and a unique urban culture developed. As a result, there were numerous comparisons with the characteristics of Kamaishi's residents with those of other areas in Iwate Prefecture.

Second, we examined two of Kamaishi's most famous intellectuals — Suzuki Tōmin and Itazawa Takeo. These two prominent intellectuals were both born in Kamaishi in 1895, but that is not all they had in common. They both left Kamaishi to attend Tokyo Imperial University (now the University of Tokyo) and both had the unusual experience of spending an extended period of time in Europe, quite extraordinary in the period before the Second World War. Suzuki became a journalist and Itazawa a university professor. Eventually, fate called them both back to Kamaishi, where they contributed much to the social and cultural development of the city and region. Looking back on these two men's thoughts and activities corresponds with our research goal of

understanding Kamaishi from both the inside and the outside because both of these men were active in Kamaishi, Tokyo, and Europe.

In Germany as a special correspondent during the prewar years, Suzuki Tōmin became a leader in the Yomiuri Shinbun labor disputes after the war, and in 1955 was elected as mayor of Kamaishi, an office he held for three terms. Some of the features of his mayoral government included efforts to improve roads and schools in an attempt to construct Kamaishi as a "cultural city." He also valued publicity and penned large publicity articles. Moreover, from very early on, he was concerned about the environment and the problem of pollution, views which led him to take a confrontational posture vis-à-vis Nippon Steel. These policies arose from Suzuki's awareness of the importance of making Kamaishi independent from the steel industry and the need for a physical infrastructure and psychological base to make this possible.

As an assistant professor of Japanese history at the University of Tokyo before the war, Itazawa Takeo conducted research on the influence of the Netherlands on early modern Japan. However, because of his relationship with his colleague the notorious imperial historian Hiraizumi Kiyoshi, Itazawa was purged from public office after the war and obliged to return to Kamaishi. Though he later returned to Tokyo to teach at Hosei University, Itazawa spent his time in Kamaishi trying to revive Kanonji, a temple which was also his parents' home, established a local history study circle called "Saturday Meetings," and sought to develop a cultural community centered on the city's local temples. When Suzuki Tōmin was mayor, Itazawa also cooperated in compiling a history of the city. Furthermore, as Itazawa had a close relationship with Yanagita Kunio, it is clear that he was the primary contact for Yanagita when he conducted later research in Tōno and when he collected folk tales in Kamaishi.

Third, we inquired into what kind of image today's young people of Kamaishi have regarding the city. Since our first inquiry was primarily about prewar Kamaishi and our second was about postwar Kamaishi, this third inquiry is about contemporary Kamaishi. In particular, it is a study of the present-day image of Kamaishi as seen from the inside. We held a workshop at Kamaishi Commercial High School, where we distributed a questionnaire survey. One of our most interesting findings from the survey is that, while some of the girls (the student body is almost entirely female) hold on to the image of Kamaishi as being connected with the steel industry, many more emphasize images like the ocean and forests. There were many negative images as well, including expressions like "loneliness," "nothingness," "aging," and "decline." Moreover, regarding the future of Kamaishi, the pessimistic view that the city's population will continue to age and decline until the city ceased to exist was the most prominent. However, one positive (albeit rare) image that appeared was the notion that Kamaishi's identity can be connected to the folk performing art of "Tora Mai," although this may be reflect the fact that the school is putting special effort into this art.

In addition to the research mentioned above, we are also currently using images and photos of the Kamaishi's past to produce a visual work which explores images of the city. By comparing images from Kamaishi's past, such as those available in municipally produced films about the city, with today's landscape, we will be able to better understand the present conditions in their historical context. Based on this understanding, we hope to be able to conduct work that will be useful in conceiving the future of Kamaishi.

Our general impression is that despite Kamaishi having such a distinctive past and complex identity, today there is very little activity aimed at trying to connect this unique past and complex identity to the development of a new future. Today, even the memory of the past is quickly disappearing. Although it is clear that some local historians, collectors of photographs and film, and folk art preservationists continue their laudable efforts, it is questionable to what degree this action will be continued by the younger generations. For the people who stay and choose to live in Kamaishi, it is important to identify what their psychological foundation will be. From the beginning, Kamaishi is a city whose population has a large proportion of transferees from other regions. Even today, most of the residents have left the city at least once for either education or occupation. Based on this understanding, it will be difficult to establish a new identity for Kamaishi without reconsidering the view of the city from both the inside and the outside as well as thinking about what can be attained in this city. Together with the people of Kamaishi, we desire to continue our consideration of this subject.

Kamaishi: Where the Galaxy Express Meets the Sanriku Coast Revitalizing a City with Marine Products and Wind Farms

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From 2001 to 2004 the rate at which the number of workers decreased in Kamaishi City far exceeded the average for the nation as well as for each prefecture in the Tōhoku region. Moreover, the rate of decrease in Kamaishi City was the highest of all the cities in Iwate Prefecture.

We can consider the importance of manufacturing to the city's economy as one of the reasons for the extremely high reduction rate in workers in Kamaishi City. Nationwide, Japan saw a 5.2% reduction rate in workers from 2001 to 2004. If we only look at the manufacturing industry, however, the decline in workers nationally was a astonishing 9.2%. In other words, Japan as a whole saw a marked reduction in manufacturing workers, and Kamaishi City was particularly affected by this reduction.

In Kamaishi City in 2004, the manufacturing industry employed 4,149 workers, who made up , 24.5% of the city's workers. Obvious to even the most casual observer, the manufacturing industry plays a major role with respect to the city's employment base and its revitalization should play a key role in the revitalization of Kamaishi City's economy as a whole.

On the other hand, we cannot overlook the fact that, in 2004 the number of workers in a variety of economic sectors, besides manufacturing, in Kamaishi City exceeded 1,000 persons.. For example, there were 3,937 persons in wholesale and resale trade, 2,207 persons in construction, 1,927 persons in other "unclassified" service jobs, 1,225 persons in the hospitality business (restaurant and lodging), and 1,040 persons in medical and welfare occupations. Other than the construction sector, which can be classified as a secondary industry, all of these other sectors can be classified as tertiary industries. Simply stated, the revitalization of tertiary industries is significant for the revitalization of the economy of Kamaishi City as a whole. In this article, I advance the argument for the revitalization of the economy of Kamaishi City based on these tertiary industries.

In order for the shopping district of Kamaishi City to regain prosperity and to revitalize the city center, it is necessary to increase the number of visitors to the city. There currently exist three ways to increase the number of city visitors: (1) increase the self-reliance of the shopping district, (2) increase the population of city residents, and (3) increase the number of tourists and other visitors to the city. Of these three, the first is a necessary precondition for restoring the vitality of the shopping district, but its results will be limited. The second way includes measures such as beckoning workers formerly in Kamaishi, who have since spread across the country, to return to the city and therefore holds future potential. But when the decreasing birthrate is taken into consideration, it is hard to expect large results. Therefore, we can conclude that the third method, increasing tourism and other external visitors, holds the most promise for increasing the number of visitors to the city.

Although the annual number of tourists to Kamaishi

City exceeded 1,300,000 people in 1997, the number of tourists has been steadily decreasing, and in recent years Kamaishi City has received only around 800,000 tourists annually. The number of annual tourists to Kamaishi City is less than any of its five neighboring cities (Hanamaki City, Tōno city, Ōfunato City, Rikuzen-Takata City, and Miyako City). However, this is no reason to be pessimistic. Rather, it should be seen as a positive factor, which opens a possible path for the future. Because Kamaishi presently receives fewer tourists than the other cities on the Sanriku Coast (Ōffunato, Rikuzen-Takata, and Miyako), it is perfectly poised to increase the number of tourists if only it can clarify its image as "Kamaishi of the Sanriku Coast." Similarly, since Kamaishi receives fewer tourists than the other cities (Hanamaki and Tōno) on the "Galaxy Dream Line" (a train line), it is also likely to increase the number of tourists if it promotes its image as "Kamaishi of the Galaxy Dream Line."

The Sanriku Coast, famous for its steep cliffs and fjords, is one of Japan's most popular tourist resort regions. The beautiful 180 km coastline which extends from Kuji City in Iwate Prefecture through Kamaishi to Kesen'numa City in Miyagi Prefecture (also known as "Coast 180") is designated in its entirety as the Rikuchu-Kaigan National Park. Moreover, the Japan Railways Kamaishi Line, which is a successor of the former Iwate Keiben Tetsudō, has been nicknamed the "Galaxy Dream Line," in recognition that the Iwate Keiben Tetsudō was Miyazawa Kenji's original model for his popular novel "Night on the Galaxy Express." The "Galaxy Dream Line" connects Miyazawa's hometown of Hanamaki, with Tōno, the village made famous by ethnologist Yanagita Kunio in the "Tales of Tōno," and with Kamaishi, the "Town of Iron and Fish." In other words, Kamaishi is located at the intersection of two famous sightseeing routes—the Sanriku Coast route and the "Galaxy Dream Line."

This means that if the "Galaxy Dream Line + North Sanriku Coast" as one L-shaped sightseeing route, and the "Galaxy Dream Line + South Sanriku Coast" as another L-shaped sightseeing route can be popularized, Kamaishi City will naturally become the node for each because it lies at the intersection of both routes. In order to get tourists to visit Kamaishi City, therefore, it is necessary both to market Kamaishi as a brand in itself and to connect it to the regional "Sanriku" and "Galaxy Dream" brands.

In connecting the Kamaishi brand to a broader regional brand, such as "Kamaishi of the Sanriku Coast," or "Kamaishi of the Galaxy Dream Line," the problem then becomes one of how to distinguish Kamaishi City from the other cities, towns, and villages in the region, to appeal to its unique features, so that it is not simply lumped together with all of the other local municipalities. To accomplish this goal, the city must be able to fully mobilize all of its tourism resources. And, on this point, I would like to consider the following two resources which show special promise for Kamaishi City: its marine products and its wind farms.

To encourage tourists to visit, a variety of measures must be taken to spread the word nationally that seafood from Kamaishi is delicious. Of course, it will be necessary to address the commonly heard complaint about the Kamaishi tourist industry—that the city is lacking in events and facilities, a view that undercuts images of fish markets and fresh seafood. Regarding facilities, though, the situation is improving thanks to the "Sunfish Kamaishi" and the "Sea Plaza Kamaishi," both located in front of Kamaishi Station, as well as the "Ikigai Hiroba" in the Ōwatari Town shopping district. The problem, therefore, is the absence of events to promote the image of Kamaishi as a place for delicious seafood. One proposal to remedy this is to invite prominent chefs from around the country to participate in periodic large-scale cooking contests within the city, using local marine products as ingredients. If this sort of contest could be realized, it would undoubtedly make a major contribution towards getting Kamaishi recognized as a tourist destination for delicious marine products.

Furthermore, while promoting the message that "Kamaishi is a town with delicious marine products," the development of Kamaishi's tourism industry would benefit from the message that "Kamaishi is a town where ecotourism is popular". The Kamaishi Regional Wind Farm, a wind-based electric power generator located in the mountainous area shared by Kamaishi City, Tōno City, and Ōtsuchi Town is especially promising for the purpose of ecotourism.

When the Kamaishi Regional Wind Farm began

operation in December of 2004, it became the largest wind farm in Japan. The sight of the Kamaishi Regional Wind Farm is really spectacular, weaving together the light blue of the sky, the dark blue of the Pacific Ocean, the green of the Kitakami hills, and the white of forty-three windmills. At present, however, the Kamaishi Regional Wind Farm is not able to fully exploit its ecotourism potential because of various factors like access from the city being somewhat inconvenient. However, if roads are improved, facilities like an observatory and restrooms are built, a large field of wildflowers on the outskirts of the area possibly planted, and events to draw people organized, the Kamaishi Regional Wind Farm could become a popular place both for ecotourism and for more conventional sightseeing, and could bring in large numbers of observers and tourists.

In this article I have discussed how, in order to draw more tourists to Kamaishi City, it will be important to promote the image of the city as "Kamaishi of the Sanriku Coast" as well as the image of "Kamaishi of the Galaxy Dream Line." At the same time, I emphasize that it is important to advertise Kamaishi as a popular place for delicious seafood and ecotourism. As is the case with the Kamaishi Regional Wind Farm, in Kamaishi City there are a number of tourism resources which have yet to be utilized to their full potential. If they were fully used, I anticipate that the number of tourists visiting Kamaishi will increase, bringing more visitors to the shopping districts in the city, and revitalizing the center of the city. In other words, I think that a revitalization of Kamaishi City's economy should follow a path of promoting the city's tertiary industries.

The Current Conditions and Issues of Concern for the Coastal Fishing Industry in Kamaishi City

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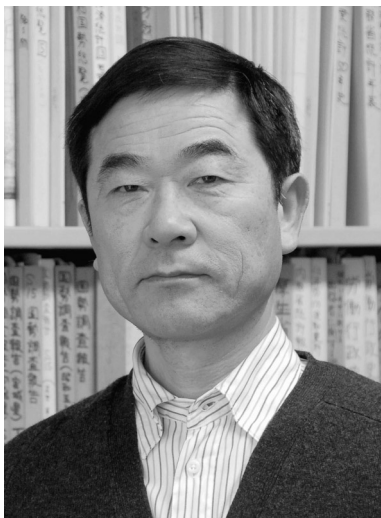
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1. Introduction

Although Kamaishi was once known as an "iron and fish town," the decline in the relative importance of iron has allowed its reputation as a "fish town" to grow more important. However, due to such factors as the aging of workers in the fishing industry, this reputation as a "fish town" has also recently become vulnerable. As Kamaishi was a "fish town" long before it ever became an "iron town," we aim to clarify the current conditions of the fishing industry in Kamaishi in order to understand fishers' visions and hopes for the future as well as explore the industry's future direction.

2. The Position of the Fishing Industry in Kamaishi

According to the 2000 national census, in Kamaishi City there were 843 male and 326 female fishers, who made up 6.7% of the city's male workers and 3.7% of of its female workers. Although this is not exactly a high ratio for the city as a whole, in the areas along the coast the relative importance of fishing increases greatly, with 351 of the 765 households in the Touni area registered with the Touni Town Fishing Cooperative (this increases to 487 households if we include the part-time fishers, who are registered as "associate members" of the Cooperative). Besides the fishers themselves, a variety of companies in the region, such as fishing boat and tackle stores, fish market merchants, shipping companies, and marine product processing companies, base their businesses on fishing to form broad industry linkages. Moreover, the ocean and the fishing industry are at the center of the tourism business along the coast, and fishery-related measures carry substantial weight within the city's administration. In other words, when talking about the character of Kamaishi City, one cannot afford to overlook the importance of the fishing industry.

Fishing has existed here throughout the modern period, and it is in the important position of being practically the only local industry that is not dependent on the steel industry. Until the 1970s, large vessel deep-sea fishing was common, due to changes in international regulations regarding the use of oceans, fisheries in the North Pacific have declined, and the tuna fleets have left Kamaishi for other areas. As a result, today Kamaishi's fishing industry has become simpler, with the coastal fishers mostly working in family units, and only going out for one day excursions, so that their lives and their businesses are closely intertwined.

3. Fishery Type and Production Method

Currently, there exist several types of fisheries in the city's fishing industry. First, there are individual fishers who harvest natural abalone and sea urchins. Because over-fishing would cause a deterioration of the age constitution of forming shellfish and, thereby, lead to production fluctuation and resource depletion, the local fishing cooperative regulates all fishing techniques, marketing methods, and days and hours of operation. Second, there is the cultured fishing industry, which in this region includes kelp

(*wakame* and *konbu*) and shellfish (oysters and scallops). The fishing cooperative determines how much can be cultivated by each member, based on an individual's desire and the amount of sea space available for cultivation. Third, there are fishers who fish from boats (usually alone or in pairs), who chase transient fish, using equipment like nets, traps, hooks and lines to catch cuttlefish, flounder, octopus, and other fish. In contrast to the small fishing boats used in the cultured fishing industry, these fishers use large horsepower engines on fishing boats that average three tons. The fourth type of fishery is fixed-net fishing. This kind of fishing is different from the first three in that it requires around 20 people to carry out and therefore is not a family business. Rather the fishery cooperative directly manages fixed-net fishing and hires members of the cooperative as employees. The main target of fixed-net fishing is the salmon, which return to the area's rivers between October and December to spawn. Although in the past it was common for influential locals to privately manage fixed-net fishing, they needed to renew their licenses every five years, and, since the fishing cooperative submitted competitive bids at each renewal, management of the fixed-net fishing eventually changed hands to management based on the fishing cooperative.

All of the above types of fishing are administered by the fishing cooperative. Since the decision-making process in the cooperative involves all members, human relations among members of the local fishing industry are very intimate. On the other hand, although fishers have tended to band together around the fishing cooperative to oppose infringement from outside the industry, around the 1970s when many members of fishing' households worked in the steel industry, there was a deep division in opinion among members regarding various problems, such as landfill and pollution, that the city's steel mills caused for the fishing industry. Consequently, the fishing cooperative lapsed into functional paralysis.

4. Household Economy of Fishers

Despite probable significant differences from area to area, even within the city, based on a model of a healthy young fisherman whose livelihood consists of fishing alone, the average annual catch is estimated to be worth around two million yen for natural abalone and sea urchins, and five million yen for the cultivation of kelp (*wakame* and *konbu*) and scallops. In addition, if they manage a fishing boat, we estimate they may earn another two million yen annually, and, if they also work as a member of a fixed-net crew, their wages may increase by an additional two million yen.

The reality, however, is that there are very few healthy young men in the fishing industry today—the majority are elderly. While years ago there were many fishermen in their 30s and 40s, who aggressively introduced innovative culturing techniques, those fishermen are now in their 60s and 70s, and, for the most part, working with their spouses in husband-wife teams. In fact, fewer than 50 fishing households in all of Kamaishi can boast a successor to their family business and currently operate as a two-generation business. Since there are many older fishers, their influence is easily reflected in the decisions of the cooperative, and as a result of this, the average allotment of ocean cultivation space has grown relatively small. Furthermore, the older fishers, who are slowly reducing the size of their businesses, are reluctant to pay fees for administrative measures, so plans for regional improvement are often implemented through aggressive administrative initiative.

5. The Hope of the Fisheries

Because the majority of fishers are advanced in age, their primary hope is to be able to continue fishing in a way that does not put too much strain on their aging bodies. Fishers in their 70s, however, whose children have departed for the city, do not wish to invest heavily in new techniques to increase production, and they would rather not make any major changes to their familiar, traditional ways. They also wish to continue fishing into their old age because they fear that, if they retire, they would have nothing to do and would therefore age more rapidly. In fact, compared to workers in other occupations, remarkably few fishers have entered nursing homes or other facilities for the elderly; they almost all live at home, with or without their children. Young fishers, for their part, are doing what they can to increase their profits by trying out new marketing routes and using the off-season to conduct chartered fishing tours. Therefore, their financial investments are naturally much higher than those of the older

fishers. Although this causes some disagreement between the two generations, rarely does it surface confrontationally in the fishery cooperative's decision-making process.

6. The Possibility of a New Fishing Industry

One of the major commercial themes currently being promoted by Kamaishi City is the introduction of a new cultivation business, specifically, the oceanic cultivation of barfin flounder, and the inland cultivation of sturgeon. This business is not run by individual fishers, however, but is conducted by an incorporated company, in which Kamaishi City is the majority shareholder. However, the fact that the company poses a serious problem because it is continuously accumulating debt and needs to borrow more money each year just to stay afloat. Whether this is a necessary test in the life cycle of any pioneering new business, or simply an unreasonable misuse of funds, is the subject of an ongoing debate.

7. Coastal Fisheries in the Global Economy

The coastal fisheries of Kamaishi are directly linked to the global economy. For example, with the liberalization of *wakame* imports, Chinese and Korean *wakame* have swept over the Japanese market, lowering prices and reducing the local fishing industry's ability to attract younger generations of fishers. Furthermore, although salmon was once processed commercially by local marine products companies, nowadays only the eggs (salmon roe) are taken and the meat is exported to China, where it is processed for export to Europe and the United States. This shift has forced local processing companies to depend on imported fish for their own products. Moreover, since abalone can be sold for a much higher price in China than in Japan, virtually the entire yield is exported to China, and it does not appear in the Japanese domestic market. Therefore, the coastal fisheries of Kamaishi are directly influenced by international trends, and these fishers must pay careful attention to global movements, especially by their Chinese counterparts.

8. Conclusion

Despite the vulnerability of the fishing industry due to its natural-resource character, the difficulty of predicting the catch from year to year, and the strong influence of the international trade situation, efforts continue to construct a clear vision for the future.

Policy for Gender Equality and Hope in Kamaishi

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1. Research Aims

As a part of our Hopology-Kamaishi research project, we have adopted the three perspectives of industry, the environment, and citizens and city administration from which to tackle the issue of regional promotion policies. These policies are closely related to what is now the most important issue for Kamaishi City—its citizens' sense of hope. In this article I would like to introduce the midterm results of our investigation into policies on gender equality, which we conducted as a part of our research on citizens and city administration. Our reasons for conducting research on regional gender equality as a part of our Hopology-Kamaishi research project are summarized as follows:

(1) If women's capabilities are not currently being fully utilized in Kamaishi, then we believe that empowering women can lead to a revitalization of the area

(2) We believe that improvement in women's status in itself will lead to the reform of old systems, customs, and feelings, and may offer hope for the entire area because this could potentially lead to new social relations

(3) Policies on gender equality are an important means of clarifying networks among citizens as well as networks between citizens and the city administration. Moreover, because gender equality policies cross boundaries and do not easily adapt to vertical administration, they deal with an unprecedented and unfamiliar issue so the administration cannot simply rely on "intuition" or familiar techniques. Therefore, both during policy formation and implementation, the local government should consider the views and methods from outside their normal range of operation to make use of the strength and wisdom of a wide range of citizens.

From these perspectives, our research is being carried out primarily through interviews.

2. Research Outline

Thus far, our interviewees have included members of the city's Office of Youth and Women, six female personnel from various departments in the city administration, the city Welfare Office Counselor for Women's Issues, the Chairperson of the Advisory Council for Gender Equality, the 21st Century Association for the Promotion of Gender Equality, and local culinary associations. Our interviews have mainly focused on the city and activities closely related to the city administration. In the future, we think it will also be necessary to expand our interview pool to include private companies and other groups.

In response to a 1998 proposal by the Advisory Council for Gender Equality, the Kamaishi City's Basic Plan for Gender Equality was formulated. In response to a 2002 opinion poll, this plan was revised to its current form and entitled the "Kamaishi City's New Basic Plan for Gender Equality" (hereafter referred to as the "New Plan"). With fiscal year 2008 set as the target year, the "New Plan" lists priorities for each issue, closely manages its progress, and displays the current rate of achievement. For example, the goal for female membership in city council meetings is 50%, but currently women make up 26.8%, which is certainly not low

by national standards.[1] In addition, the plan clarifies the direction of policies to support child-rearing or the employment of women in the agricultural, forestry, or fishing industries.

However, although municipal measures for gender equality appear to be firmly in place, evidence from our interviews suggests that it is not yet safe to say that gender equality is actually making progress. In response to questions about feelings of equality, those who responded "men receive preferential treatment" (75%) far outnumbered those who said "the sexes are treated equally" (14%). Regarding the reasons women find it difficult to keep a full time job, the most common response by women was "the atmosphere becomes difficult if I get married or have children" (59%). This was followed by the response that "there is a gap in salary and promotion between men and women" (51%). Regarding the reasons for the lack of female participation in the policy decision making process, the number one response was "many people still feel it is better for men to take care of those matters" (38.5%).[2]

In fact, in "block associations" (chōnai-kai) where planning for festivals and other events occurs, men make the decisions that women carry out, which perpetuates a strong normative model of community organization. Although the Association for the Promotion of Gender Equality 21 is a private group involving a variety of individuals and was established with the intention of becoming a recommending body for city council members, in reality it is a homogenous, small-scale group that has relatively little influence. Due to minor differences in policy direction, they have not been able to establish a wide network that can include a variety of people. Furthermore many members are tepid about the very thought of gender equality. Clearly, the network organization among city citizens working towards gender equality is, to say the least, inadequate.

Although there are no special measures for actively promoting women in city hall, there apparently is no discrimination in promotion up to the rank of assistant section chief (kachō hosa). Moreover, women now make up 50% of all new employees at city hall. Nonetheless, it is extremely rare for a woman to become a section chief (kachō), and there are currently no women above the rank of section chief. And,

as there are no measures to increase the distribution of jobs to which women can apply and thereby increase their options, women have tended to become somewhat passive. However, while some women do not covet a managerial position, we also heard from other women who initially thought that women naturally belonged in supporting positions until they themselves reached the rank of chief clerk (kakarichō) and experienced great fulfillment in making plans and assuming responsibility for their work. As women cease to be in the minority in city hall, gender inequality is slowly improving. However, there is still room for improvement, as is demonstrated by the fact that very few women ever reach the rank of section chief (kachō). At this time, there is only one woman chief clerk (kakarichō), and she is in charge of the Office of Youth and Women, which has no subordinates, and no general authority for overall departmental regulation. Regarding women's networks within the city hall, in the past there was a group for women who had reached the rank of chief clerk or above and gathered to exchange information and assist each other with training, but, owing to a lack of members, the group naturally drifted apart.

We also heard that the women in the local culinary group, which consists of the wives of farmers and fishermen and exists as a part of the effort to expand "green tourism," spend much of their time caring for their elderly in-laws and attending to household responsibilities. Thus, their activities tend to perpetuate a gender-based division of labor. Despite such circumstances, the group has slowly gained acceptance, received an award from the prefecture for its work, and some of the husbands have even started helping out. Moreover, we also heard about how the local culinary group has been instrumental in forming a network between two areas—the coastal and the inland communities—that previously had very little interaction. These kind of connections have resulted in a widening of people's perspectives.

Also, traditional family norms and roles remain strong, such as with relations between women who marry into a family and her in-laws, or for eldest sons and daughters. In our interviews we often heard comments like "it's only natural for a bride to care for her mother-in-law," "because I'm the eldest son...," "because I'm the eldest daughter, I had to return to Kamaishi after a stint in the city," or "I can

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[1] As of September 2006, women made up 31.3% of national council meetings.
[2] Kamaishi City Opinion Poll on Gender Equality, 2002.

work only as long as I don't neglect my household responsibilities."

3. Discussion

While these traditional norms currently act as an important social resource for Kamaishi, the population is aging and the economy is ailing, so this dependence on traditional family relations cannot continue for long for the following reasons: 1) from 2000 to 2005 the percentage of elderly increased by 4.8% to 31.2% and is predicted to continue rising; 2) after the generation of Nippon Steel Corporation (Shin Nittetsu) retirees and others receiving comfortable pensions pass on, it is expected that there will be an increase in the number of elderly with no economic resources and who depend primarily on their families for care; 3) although many elderly fishers and farmers have adapted their way of working to match their age and declining physical strength, the current trend is towards a reduction of workplaces that can accommodate an aging workforce; 4) the rate of young people remaining in Kamaishi is low[3] and there is no reason for this retention rate to increase in the foreseeable future; and finally, 5) we expect to see a change in the norm that "it is natural for a bride to care for her in-laws" among women in the near future. We can therefore see a gap, not only between the desired type of and reality of long-term care for the elderly, but also between women's and men's ideal models for long-term care.[4] From this perspective, we can see long-term elderly care as a serious burden for the women of Kamaishi, especially within the context of women's lack of voice in their families and communities as well as differential treatment in the workplace.

Kamaishi's "New Plan" follows the ideals of basic national laws and prefectural regulations and its content was based on the basic models provided by the national and prefectural governments. Therefore, even if the plan referred to opinion polls taken of the citizenry, the policies "descended from above," so to speak. The result, therefore, is a gap between what the plan addresses and the serious problems currently being faced by Kamaishi's women. The Advisory Council on the Promotion of Gender Equality was intended to facilitate cooperation with citizens in policy formation and in the administrative process. However, the city chooses its citizen Advisory Council members based on limited information and tends to rely on old, established groups. As a result of this policy, it is difficult to hear opinions which may differ substantially from the course already decided by the city. This kind of problem may be related to the reason most citizens show such little interest in gender equality policies and may contribute to the slow progress in improving women's status. What can we consider to be serious problems for Kamaishi women both now and in the near future? How will those problems be alleviated through the improvement of women's status? These are important questions to consider regarding Kamaishi's policies on gender equality.

Until now, our research has clearly shown that while the basic plans as seen in the city's policies were well-prepared, there remains relatively little interest in gender equality among the ordinary citizens, improvement in women's status has been slow, and both men and women have stubbornly held on to old-fashioned thinking. Moreover, "collaboration" between citizens and the city administration is virtually nonexistent, and the existing networks between citizens and city administration and among women themselves are weak and basically have no influence on the formation or promotion of policies. Even if included in council meetings and the like, ordinary citizens get the impression that the city does not listen to their honest concerns. For its part, the city administration recognizes that it will take some time to cultivate the proper atmosphere for collaboration with its citizens. It is therefore necessary to explore where this gap in expectations originates.

On the other hand, in our supplementary survey of six women working at city hall, the majority responded that expanding women's networks across a variety of boundaries will lead to an increase in women's power and participation in the decision-making processes. They also predicted that this will lead to a revitalization of the Kamaishi area and help to resolve the issues currently being faced by the city. We feel that these responses may be the budding of hope for the future of Kamaishi.

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[3] Only 37.8% of new high school graduates in Kamaishi took local jobs (Basic Plan, Part II).

[4] In a 1995 investigation, the most common reply to the question "who would you like to ask to care for you in your old age?" was "an institution" followed by "my spouse." In reality, though, when asked "who is caring for you?" the most common reply was "mainly my wife." Moreover, in the 2002 investigation, 32% of women and 19% of men said that "in principle, society should bear the burden of elderly care through facilities and services," with 61% of women and 75% of men responding that "in principle, the family should be the main caregivers, with society secondary."

"Eco-Town" Kamaishi and Environmental Citizen Action

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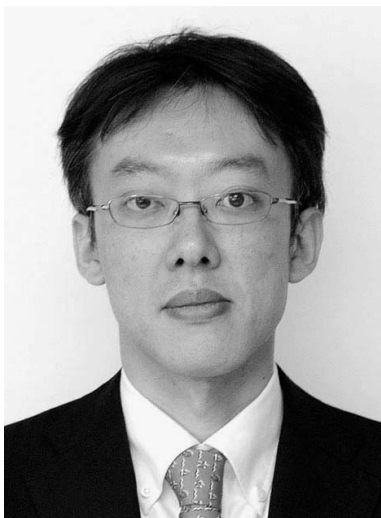
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In August of 2004, the Ministry of Economy, Trade and Industry (METI) and the Ministry of the Environment (MOE) selected the city of Kamaishi for their "Eco-Town Program." The program, initiated in 1997, was designed to encourage resource renewable societies through the promotion of new environmental industries, the reduction of local waste, and other such initiatives. Local governments drew up plans which, if approved by the Ministries, guaranteed them economic aid for enacting these plans (the subvention program ended in 2005). Of the 26 municipalities approved prior to 2005, Kamaishi was the only city in Iwate Prefecture to be chosen. The Kamaishi plan received high marks primarily for its proposal to establish new industries centered on the recycling of fishery processing waste. But the plan also promised to develop 'soft' programs that would aim, for instance, to raise general environmental awareness. Naturally, if Kamaishi seeks to become an "Eco-Town" in the full sense of the word, the promotion of citizen awareness by enhancing 'soft' programs will be just as important an issue as the creation of hard environmental industries. Through investigating one of the proposed 'soft' programs,

eco-tourism—a good example of citizen action for the environment— this project hopes to explore the larger realities and trends of the "Eco-Town" itself.

Eco-tourism in Kamaishi has, in reality, developed as a kind of green-tourism. While the two concepts are related, they differ in certain key ways. Eco-tourism places emphasis on preserving and protecting natural and historical resources in the community so that they might be utilized for tourism. In contrast, the goal of green-tourism is to have tourists stay in farming or fishing villages to experience agricultural and fishing work first-hand, thereby encouraging interaction with village residents. In Kamaishi, the first green-tourism activities were initiated in 1998 by local inns and individual farming and fishing households. When Kamaishi was recognized for the "Eco-Town" program in 2004, the city itself conducted eco-tours twice as test cases. In both instances, however, it was those who had already been involved in green-tourism who fulfilled the key roles of tour guide, etc. Thus I want to begin with a brief history of green-tourism activities in the city.

In 1998, the Hōraikan Inn (founded in 1963) began offering its lodgers a travel plan that included first-hand experience of farm and fishery work. This became the nucleus around which green-tourism would develop in Kamaishi, specifically in the north-eastern district of Uno-Sumai and the north-western district of Kurihashi. In that same year a committee was formed from members of the Kamaishi Regional Development Office (an institutional branch of the Iwate Prefectural Office), Kamaishi City, and the neighboring Ōzuchi City. That October, the committee—which was later officially named the "Kamaishi-Ōzuchi A&F Green-Tourism Planning Committee"— began soliciting participants for trial tours. That first year they had only nine participants, but numbers steadily increased until 2005, when 959 people took part in the experiential tours. Part of this increase can be attributed to the fact that starting in 2002, they began accepting school tour-groups from outside the

prefecture. Today, a wide variety of groups participate in these green-tourism efforts, including a "farm-fresh" produce cooperative run by local growers, and a regional cuisine research group. Two things unique to green-tourism in Kamaishi are the cooperation between farmers and fishermen, despite their differing personalities, and the central supporting role played by local block associations. This is not to say that such aspects are absent in other localities. But in analyzing green-tourism activities in Kamaishi, it is these two aspects especially that demand careful consideration.

Incidentally, in the two districts where green-tourism has developed—Uno-Sumai and Kurihashi—an association for the environmental protection of the Uno-Kuri Area was formed in November of 2006. The group, which seeks to inhibit the degradation of coastal water quality through the combined efforts of inland forestry conservation and river-water purification, was formed as part of the activities of the "Council for the Environmental Conservation of Mountains, Rivers, and Ocean." It is this Council to which I now want to shift attention.

The Council, established in March, 2003 at the request of the Kamaishi Regional Development Office, consists of 32 separate organizations. These include environmental groups and fishery cooperatives from Kamaishi and Ōzuchi, as well as agricultural cooperatives. The Council's office is administered by the Regional Development Office. According to employees of the latter, the idea that there was a need for joint conservation of the mountains, rivers, and ocean existed even before the Council was founded, namely in Kamaishi's southern district of Tōni. This is a district consisting primarily of fishing communities surrounding Tōni Bay. The idea, it seems, was born as a result of damage caused to fish farms by inland timber and driftwood carried into the bay after typhoons and heavy storms. In October of 2005, the Tōni district got a head start on Uno-Sumai and Kurihashi by forming its own association for environmental conservation, again as part of the larger Council. In this case too, an important part of the group's overall structure was occupied by the block associations and fishery cooperatives.

As it turns out, the Kamaishi Council became a forerunner of similar efforts elsewhere in the prefecture. In fact, in October of 2003, the same year that the

Kamaishi Council was formed, an ordinance with similar intent was adopted and put into effect for Iwate as a whole. We might say, then, that the activities taking place in Kamaishi had a progressive quality about them.

We have thus far seen how dynamic the efforts of green-tourism and coordinated environmental conservation in Kamaishi are. One of the key elements supporting these efforts is the "block association" (*chōnai-kai*).

Japan's block associations, which are organized by local residents at the level of the city block or the smaller municipal unit of the *chō*, tend to include almost all households located in that particular area. The block associations are known for their complementary role in city administration, subcontracted as they often are to carry out services such as the distribution of city public relations material. Because of this, however, some are highly critical of them, labeling the block associations "pre-modern," and not based on the voluntary or spontaneous action of citizens.

Yet the detailed surveys carried out by Kaneta Shigeru in the early 1980s on Kamaishi block associations offer a different picture. He points out that many of the city's block associations were formed after 1955, making them much newer than block associations in other parts of the country, and that their complementary role in city administration has been relatively minor (Kaneta, 1989). Kaneta's surveys do make note of the fact that most of the block associations in the agricultural district of Kurihashi and the fishing district of Tōni are comparatively old, having been formed prior to 1945. Nonetheless, they do share with other parts of Kamaishi the quality of having only a minor complementary role in city affairs. The block associations in these two districts do not simply function as a sub-contracting service for city administration, but rather have a certain degree of self-initiative that has pushed them to develop projects in the environmental arena and in social welfare. As to the factors prompting this "self-initiative," further research is needed. My current hypothesis, however, is that it has appeared in response to crises felt by these two districts.

The city of Kamaishi as a whole is experiencing several crises at the moment, including a decline in

population and economic stagnation following the reengineering of Shin Nippon Steel Corporation. Making things worse is the stagnancy of traditional industries like agriculture and fishing, which are important for Kurihashi and Tōni, respectively. Agriculture, especially, has seen significant declines, with the percentage of total farm households dropping from 9% in 1960 to 3% in 2000. Another factor affecting both districts is the general ageing of the population. As of the year 2006, the percentage of elderly stands at 39.2% in Kurihashi and 33.7% in Tōni (compared with 31.4% for the city overall). Taking all of these things into account, it might even be said that the primary crisis these two districts face is the imminent disappearance of their communities and lifestyle. Perhaps it is in order to "preserve" these things that the block associations have transcended their complementary role and taken it upon themselves to engage in environmental conservation efforts.

One problem they are likely to face in these conservation efforts is the image of the city itself. Kamaishi was for a long time an industrial city, and is still known as "The City of Steel." Even now, at a time when the production of steel has dropped considerably, this industrial image lives on in the minds of Kamaishi's residents. For instance, in an opinion poll taken by the city in 2004, respondents felt that the top three industries to which the city should devote its energy were the fishing industry (20%), tourism (19%), and manufacturing (18%). This image is surely just as strong among those from outside the city, especially to the degree that they know about Kamaishi's past. In my own interviews with residents (including people involved in green-tourism), I also heard expressions of hope for industrial development by way of luring factories to the region. There is a real possibility, however, that this image of Kamaishi as an industrial city will interfere with the continuing efforts of green-tourism (would the average tourist think of traveling to an industrial city in order to experience fishing or farming?). Although this is not to say that industry and "eco" are strictly opposed, when we consider the results of these opinion polls and interviews, it becomes difficult to say that the citizens of Kamaishi, at least at this current stage, have truly chosen for themselves the role of "Eco-Town."

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Survey of the Kamaishi City Council Members

Uekami Takayoshi
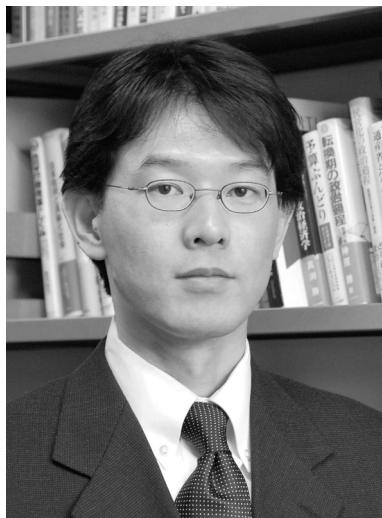
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In this paper, I offer a brief introduction to our survey of the Kamaishi City Council members, which we conducted as part of our Hopology Kamaishi Research. This survey consisted of a questionnaire, which we distributed in July 2006, and interviews focusing on policies and elections, which we conducted in September and November. The main themes include the city council members' perception of current challenges, their policy responses, and their election campaigns. Table 1 presents the questionnaire return rate.

First, we distributed to all twenty-five members of the assembly a questionnaire, which asked them about their activities and to supply a brief profile. Conducted during the period from 1 July to 31 July 2006, the survey had a return rate of 76% with nineteen of the surveys being returned. Since we could not collect any of the surveys from the Shinsei Club members, we have not included the members of that group in our analysis. Of the others, four groups had a 100% return rate (21 Seiki Club, Shimin Club,

Komeito Party, and Japanese Communist Party), and all but one member from the other three groups (Minsei Club, Kaisei Club, and Seiwa Club) returned their questionnaires. Moreover, all of the members who did not return the survey were independents, except for one Liberal Democratic Party member. Of those who returned the questionnaire, the average number of times elected to office was 3.7 times, slightly higher than the number for the city council as a whole (3.6 times). In addition, if we examine the gender and age of respondents, we can see that all six of the assembly members who did not return the survey are males, and, although the difference is minute, the average age of respondents (57.7 years old) is slightly lower than the average age (58 years old) of the council as a whole.[1]

Table 1 Questionnaire Return Rate by Group

Group Name	Number Returned / Total Group Members
Minsei Club	7/8
Kaisei Club	2/3
Shinsei Club	0/3
21 Seiki Group	2/2
Seiwa Club	1/2
Shimin Club (SDP)	3/3
Komeito Party	2/2
Japanese Communist Party	2/2
Total (Return Rate)	19/25 (76%)

Survey period : 7/1/06 to 7/31/06

In principle, we tried to interview nine people in total: the chairperson of the council and one member from each group. However, since the Shinsei Club did not respond to our questionnaire or to requests for an interview, we could not include them in our analysis. Regarding the selection of our interviewees, if the group representative completed a questionnaire, we selected him or her for the interview, but if not, we selected the group member with the most number of successful elections (from among the group members who completed the questionnaire). Moreover, as the Minsei Club is the largest group in the city council, we also requested an interview with a secondary representative from that

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[1] There are three women on the Kamaishi City Council, and the average ages are from August 2003.

group.

Awareness of Issues among Kamaishi City Council Members

One finding of our survey corresponds with our "Hopology" project: regardless of party or group, there is a strong awareness among all city council members of the issues facing Kamaishi. We asked the members, in an open question, to list "three serious problems for Kamaishi City." The gathered and coded results are listed in Table 2.

Regardless of party or group, "job security" and "industrial development" attract much interest among members in the city council. Furthermore, although it is difficult to see in the coded table below, many of the replies seem to be in an objective-means relationship. For example, improving the transportation infrastructure would help industrial development, which would improve job security, thereby putting a stop to the low birthrate and aging that are leading to a decrease in the population. Moreover, the problems of "education" (including school mergers) and "hospitals" (also including hospital mergers) have accompanied the problem of "decreasing population" and can be considered the same as the problem of "public finances." In other words, all of these problems are related. Other than the Communist Party's focus on welfare-related issues, such as a "low birthrate/aging" society and "hospitals," there are no obvious differences among groups or parties in the city council.

We received the same impression from our interviews of the city council members. The set of issues including the Sennin Toge Road, Kamaishi Harbor Breakwater, and public wharf as well as maintenance of the highway network and the impact of being designated an "eco-town" are all attracting great expectations. Moreover, several respondents point out that the role of city council members' lobbying in attracting industries to the city. Also, they consider it an important role of the city council to try to act as mediators to reduce friction between these new industries and locals.

On the other hand, one area in which there is a marked difference of opinion is on "revitalizing the city center." Although this problem is widely recognized, as seen in the responses to the questionnaire, when we asked about possible solutions in the interviews, their responses did not correspond. The difference of opinion was also quite complicated because it is related to the practical usage of vacant lots produced by school mergers and the move of the city hall to Suzuko Town. Such diverse opinions seem to reflect the difficulty of this problem.

The Kamaishi City Council Election

When discussing local elections, what deserves special mention is the fact that we can see "(informal) regional vote apportioning" like in the large constituency, single non-transferable voting system. In the case of the Kamaishi Municipal Assembly, the twenty-six assembly members are chosen from a single district throughout the entire region. Since the electorate gets one vote per person, when two or more candidates from the same party or group run

Table 2 Serious Problems for Kamaishi City

	Minsei	Shimin	Kaisei	21st Century	Seiwa	Komei	Communist	Total
Job Security	4		2	1		2	2	11
Industrial Development	2	4		1				7
Low Birthrate/Aging Society	2	1					2	5
Transportation Infrastructure	2		1			2		5
Revitalizing the City Center	2		1	1				4
Education	1	2	1					4
Hospitals	1		1				2	4
Public Finances	2	1						3
Population Decrease	1	1				1		3
Other	3				1	1		5

Table 2 is based on responses to the following question, which was given to Kamaishi City Council members in July, 2006: "Name three things that you think are serious problems currently facing Kamaishi City?" Responses have been coded to the above categories.

in an election, the distribution of votes becomes a problem. In the medium constituency system once used in the House of Representatives, where two or more conservative candidates ran in the same election, apportioning was said to be carried out by their regional support base or "jiban." Moreover, in general, the importance of regional delegates is well understood by the local assembly.

Table 3: Community Assoication Ranking by Group and Region

Group	Administrative District	No.1	No.2
Shimin Club	Town A	1	1
Communist Party	Town B	1	
	Town C	1	
Minsei Club	Town D	1	
	Town E	1	
	Town F	1	
	Town A		1
21st Century Club	Town G	1	
	Town F		1

Responses to the following question, which was given to Kamaishi City Council members in July, 2006: "Name three organizations in the order that you support them.".

We can see in the results of this questionnaire that community associations receive the most mentions from the Kamaishi City Council members as their main support organizations. Table 3 classifies the importance of community associations according to group and administrative district (groups which only had one respondent were exempt). Although the ranking differs by group, all groups except for the Shimin Club (Social Democratic Party) apportion votes by regional areas. Although a lack of space prohibits me from further elaboration, regional vote apportionment by groups has been going on for at least 30 years. Moreover, as electoral competition continues to decrease, we can see that the parties and groups are adapting to the continuing reduction in legislative seats.

From a "Company Town Council" to a "Post-Company Town Council"

In addition to local conservative groups and progressive groups who have participated in the postwar Kamaishi City Council, there has existed a "Kamaishi Steel" group, made up of council members who were originally employees of the Kamaishi Steel Works.[2] Now that Nippon Steel has substantially withdrawn from Kamaishi, however, the influence of the Kamaishi Steel group on the municipal government has dwindled. This withdrawal has had natural social and economic results for the city with nonpartisans wishing for economic revival coming to dominate local politics. Moreover, the political energy which results from political confrontation has dropped, a trend that is further accelerating because the degree of competition is low due to adaptation to the electoral system. Therefore, our research reflects the conditions of the city council of a "Post-Company Town."

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[2] At the time of this writing, there is only one city council member who is an employee of the Kamaishi Steel Works.

Greetings from Visiting Professor

Pasuk Phongpaichit

(Left, with her husband and co-author, Prof. C. Baker)
Faculty of Economics
Chulalongkorn University (Thailand)
(Visiting Shaken from October 1, 2006 to March 31, 2007)

Q. How did you first come to know about *Shaken*?

A. I have known Professor Suehiro Akira ever since he did his research in Thailand for his book, *Capital Accumulation in Thailand 1855-1985* (Tokyo, 1989). I visited him at *Shaken* in 1999 when I spent two weeks in Japan under a Japan Foundation Program. Then I invited him to be an advisor to my 3-year research project on the "Structure and Dynamics of Capital in Post 1997 Crisis Thailand." One of his Ph.D. graduate students joined my research project. Out of this collaboration she produced a book entitled, *Business Groups and Family Business in Pre-and Post Crisis Thailand, 2006*. Two volumes of articles from the research project have just been published in Thai. It was Suehiro-Sensei who invited me to Shaken in 2006.

Q. What are your impressions of Japanese society?

A. My first trip to Japan was in 1971. Since 1999 I have been visiting Japan at least once a year. Every country in Asia has been undergoing rapid changes in the last 15 years or so; Japan is no exception. Two notable changes recently have been the increased discussion on the issue of Asian regionalism and Japan's need to balance its close relationships with the US with its relations to other Asian countries;

and the question of Japan's future economic well-being becoming more tied up with its strategic partnerships with some countries in Southeast and East Asia.

Q. What are your current projects and their backgrounds?

A. The Asian economic crisis which began in Thailand in 1997 and its aftermath became a turning point for the development of capitalism in Thailand and other Asian countries. The crisis also affected the Japanese economy adversely. My research project focuses on understanding how Thai capitalism has changed as a result of this crisis, and looks at the way economic and social changes are affecting the development of democracy.

The project was funded by the Thailand Research Fund (TRF), a government scheme somewhat like the JSPS. My grant was part of a scheme to promote young researchers; funding is awarded to reputable and experienced researchers so that they will help identify and train the next generation of researchers in their area. There are 15 researchers in my project, coming from a range of social sciences, including economics, politics, international business, economic history and sociology.

On the development of Thai capitalism, the project focuses on documenting the effects of the crisis on the changing ownership structure of major firms in manufacturing, banking and service industries. The issues of rent, rent-seeking in capital accumulation, and changing government-business relationships in the pre- and post-crisis eras are two other topics of the study.

The issue of rent, rent-seeking, and business-government relationships are of concern not only because rent-seeking and its management have increasingly become important in the debate about the quality of industrialization that developing countries in East Asia are undergoing, but also in the debate about the development towards democracy of these countries. Democracy may be established merely in form but not in substance. Understanding the nature of

rent, rent-seeking, and its distribution and management under different patterns of patron-client relations illuminates our understanding of the type of democracy which results, and how to influence its direction.

The project further investigates the underlying political economy of the industrialization of developing countries in East Asia under globalization in order to understand the background to the authoritarian populism of Thailand under Thaksin Shinawatra, and similar tendencies in other countries of Southeast Asia.

Q. What do you like about *Shaken*?

A. The multi-disciplinary orientation of *Shaken* and the open attitude of the staff are very attractive to me. My earlier career had been very focused on economics. But in later years I have moved towards an inter-disciplinary political economy approach. I am also interested in the issue of state formation and policy-making in comparative perspectives. I find history, politics and economic issues all inter-related. It is really great to be in an academic atmosphere in which one can interact and exchange views with researchers of many different disciplines, many of whom have done empirical research outside Japan and Asia.

Q. What else have you found time for in Tokyo?

A. I like Japanese gardens very much, so I have devoted a small amount of my time to an intensive research project on some gardens in Tokyo. Actually, I initially had quite low expectations because Tokyo is not so famous for its gardens, but I was very pleasantly surprised. There are a few daimyō gardens from the early Edo period which have survived. Although they have shrunk in size over the years, they are very grand. Some of the best are close to Hongo, including Koishikawa Korakuen and Rikugien. The International Lodge where we are staying is also close to Happo-en, and the Park for Nature Study, which is different but also delightful. I also like the inner garden in Meiji Jingu, and the magnificent Shinjuku Gyoen. All these were splendid during the fall momiji. Last weekend I went to Shinjuku where the plum, and even a few sprays of sakura, were already beginning blossom – in January!

Greetings from Visiting Professor

John Creighton Campbell
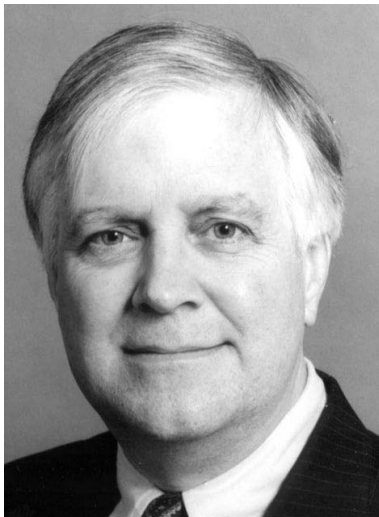
Department of Political Science
University of Michigan (U.S.)
(Visiting Shaken from November 1, 2006 to February 15, 2007)

Q. How did you first come to know about *Shaken*?

A. My introduction to Shaken was provided by my Ph.D. advisor, James Morley of Columbia University, when he wrote to Professor Ishida Takeshi to ask him to help me with my dissertation research. I was here as a "Foreign Researcher" in 1969-70, sharing an office with other graduate students while I worked on the politics of budget compilation. After finishing my dissertation and getting a job at the University of Michigan, I came back to Shaken in 1976-77. Professor Ide Yoshinori sponsored me for another stay while I began the research on policy toward the elderly that I have been doing ever since (along with some other things). Since then, I have participated in various Shaken conferences and meetings, and was proud to be called an "expert" for an external evaluation of the Information Center for Social Science Research on Japan several years ago.

This year feels like *kanreki* to me—that ceremony occurs at age 60, but I feel I have come full-circle at age 65 because this year I am retiring from the University of Michigan, and I have briefly returned to Todai and Shaken as a visiting professor. This time my sponsor is Ishida Takeshi's son Ishida Hiroshi, which makes it all seem neater still.

Q. What are your current projects and their backgrounds?

A. I am spending more than a year in Tokyo on this trip. My research project at Shaken is to trace the decision-making process of *Kaigo Hoken*, or long-term care insurance. The story runs from early deliberations in and around the Ministry of Health and Welfare in the early 1990s, through passage of the law in 1997, initiation of the program in 2000, and a medium-sized reform in 2005. This project is a continuation of the research I began at Shaken in 1976, which eventually resulted in a book (*How Policies Change: The Japanese Government and the Aging Society*, Princeton, 1992) that traced the evolution of old-age policy (pensions, health care, welfare, employment, etc.) from the 1950s to 1990. My approach is based on tracing how problems and solutions are brought together by participants in choice opportunities, and that's how I am looking at the events since 1990 in the long-term care field now. It requires interviewing decision-makers and following processes closely through documents and accounts in newspapers and magazines.

I think of this project as pretty academic and "poli-sci-ish," asking why things happened. Over the years I have also gotten more interested in public policy—not so much asking "why?" as "so what?"; i.e. studying the impact of policies, including whether they are any good and how they can be improved. This requires understanding how things work at the grass-roots as well as national level, through site-visits, interviews with experts, participating in meetings, and following articles particularly in the trade press (publications designed for practitioners). Here I have been working together with my wife Ruth Campbell, who is a social worker and has been studying Japanese older people, their families, and care services for thirty years, and with Ikegami Naoki, the health policy expert at Keio University Medical School, with whom I have previously collaborated on books and articles.

Kaigo Hoken is quite noteworthy as the first case where Japan jumped ahead of most of the rest of the world in an important aspect of the "welfare state." The widespread belief that Japanese social policy in

general was far behind that of the west is simply wrong, but Japan was rarely out in front in pensions, health care, social welfare etc. The problem of care for frail older people, so that both they and their family caregivers can lead better lives, has been called the "last frontier" of the welfare state. It is getting worse everywhere because of population aging and social change (fewer children, more women working, value shifts), and many nations have expanded their services, or at least are worrying about it.

Although cross-national comparisons of different kinds of systems are different, it appears that public provision of long-term care in Japan is someplace around the level of Scandinavian nations these days—that is, it is among the highest levels in the world. The Japanese program is more than double the size of the long-term care insurance system in Germany (it covers many more people and the benefits are much higher). Unlike the German system, however, Japan does not subsidize care by family measures. Only formal services (at home, in community-based centers, in institutions) are supported.

These days I am puzzling over how to explain, and assess, differences between long-term care in various countries. I am also interested in two broader themes that go beyond the research I have done up to now. One is figuring out how to make a convincing argument showing that comprehensive long-term-care systems can have an important impact on national health-care systems, both in holding costs down and improving quality. In an era when more and more patients in every country are elderly, I think this is an important subject that has not been well addressed at the macro level. That is, there are lots of small studies of the impact of specific caregiving practices on health, but little either theoretical or empirical work at the level of national systems.

My other theme is how general theories of the welfare state help us understand Japan, and how studying Japan can contribute to comparative theorizing (an arena where Japan has not gotten much serious attention). The *kakusa* ("gap") issue has interesting scholarly aspects in addition to its obvious practical and political importance. The most distinctive element of Japanese social policy had long been its reliance on providing jobs at decent incomes, through a variety of protection and subsidies for low-productivity sectors, to attack problems of poverty, employment, and equality. These mechanisms have clearly broken down and something new is needed—whether the neoliberal (i.e. Anglo-American) preferences of the conservative government, or ideas coming from European welfare states.

I can't say I know how to deal with all this yet, but I think that, along with the new and sizeable *Kaigo Hoken* program, these developments in Japan are fascinating in the light of recent writings by western scholars in the welfare state research tradition.

Q. What do you like about *Shaken*?

A. Shaken has been a great place and I think it is getting even better. The recent attention to "internationalization" in many forms is exactly the right thing to be doing at this stage in the development of social science in Japan. Even thirty-five years ago when I first came, I think Shaken was the most hospitable and helpful place in Japan for visiting social scientists. Its leadership role has expanded beyond the individual level since then, particularly with regard to sharing quantitative data and improving methods. I look forward to more scholarly collaboration in the future.

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 Professor Ishida Hiroshi (ishida@iss.u-tokyo.ac.jp) for more information if they would like to make a presentation. Meetings are open to everyone.

JSPS researcher
Institute of Oriental Culture
University of Tokyo

Cesar de Prado
Japan's Role in Global Multi-level Governance:
Leading an East Asian Community
September 13, 2006

Abstract

This presentation analyzes key elements in the coordination of the external dimension of East Asian (basically ASEAN+3) countries to argue that Japan is still leading them despite the rise of China and the experience of ASEAN countries. I begin by analyzing the main intergovernmental Track 1 and slightly federalizing Track 2 institutional actors (networks of think-tanks and the like). Next, I highlight the role of Japan in key security and economic issues. Later, I look at how East Asian countries are reaching the rest of the world in an increasingly multi-level fashion, in which interregional processes are particularly salient. Finally, my presentation will look at how the world is moving towards a global multi-level structure, and how Japan and East Asia may be playing a constructive role.

Assistant Professor of Political Science, The New School for Social Research and Hitachi Fellow, Institute of Social Science, University of Tokyo

Mala Htun
Gender Equality and the State:
Can Government Policy Promote Social Change in Japan?
October 25, 2006

Abstract

Gender equality is a distant ambition in Japan. The country lags behind other OECD nations, and many developing countries, in terms of men and women's equal opportunities to participate in the labor market, political decision-making, and other areas of social life. What does persisting inequality imply about the quality of democracy? Why has this situation endured for so long? What can the government do about it? This talk will build on the experience of other countries and theoretical perspectives on gender to analyze Japan's predicament and policies to promote equal opportunities.

Associate Professor, Stockholm School of Economics, and Visiting Research Fellow, National Graduate Research Institute for Policy Studies

Ono Hiroshi
Careers in Foreign-Owned Firms in Japan
November 29, 2006

Abstract

I use an individual-level dataset of Japanese workers collected in the year 2000 to examine the extent to which employment practices in foreign firms deviate from the benchmark features observed in the Japanese labor market. My results confirm that employment in foreign firms significantly affects worker attitudes and labor market outcomes. I find little evidence of Japanese employment practices (e.g. seniority and lifetime employment) operating within foreign firms.

I also find that workers in foreign firms trust their employers less, and have a higher propensity to quit their jobs than do their domestic counterparts. My findings suggest that workers in domestic and foreign firms are subject to a vastly different set of institutional constraints. The high-commitment culture commonly associated with the Japanese workforce is an outcome of the organizational environment.

Visiting Researchers at ISS

Alexander Bristow

Ph. D. Candidate
Department of Politics and International Relations
Oxford University

My research focuses on U.S.-Japan relations and Japanese defense policy since the end of the Cold War. My D.Phil. research looks at whether and how external pressure from the United States, *beiatsu*, has influenced Japan's security policy since the end of the Cold War.

In my D.Phil. thesis, I intend to investigate whether *beiatsu* has been a structural constraint pushing Japan's security policy in directions it would otherwise not have chosen, or whether *beiatsu* has freed Japanese policymakers from domestic constraints on security policy. I intend to see whether the process of *gaiatsu*, which scholars have identified in domestic policy, is also applicable to defense policy. This process is a tool for overcoming inertia against changing long-standing policies. The source of such inertia is often attributed to the power of vested interests and the bureaucracy in Japanese politics. Through this process, the political costs of advocating change are displaced onto an outside actor, which is alleged to be applying external pressure (*gaiatsu*), and forcing a policymaker's hands. In fact, there may already be strong preferences for change amongst a group of policymakers, but an inability to implement them due to structural constraints imposed by party factions, the bureaucracy, or public opinion in a policymaker's constituency. I intend to see whether this usage of *gaiatsu*, well-documented in domestic policy, is also seen in foreign policy, specifically in defense.

My tentative hypothesis is that this process is identifiable in the changes Japan has made to defense legislation since 1991. That is, external pressure from the United States to encourage Japan to change its security policies should not be seen simply as a structural factor, forcing unwilling Japanese policymakers into concessions they would rather not have made in order to secure the U.S. military alliance. Instead, it should be seen as an enabling factor, giving policymakers who had long advocated 'normalising' Japan's defense policy the means to do so without jeopardising their political careers in the process. To test this hypothesis, I will study Japan's policies in a selection of case studies from the 1990s, probably including the 1990-1991 Gulf crisis, the 1994 North Korean nuclear crisis, and the 1995-1996 Taiwan Straits crisis. In this way, I hope to create a thesis that will be of use to scholars of Japan's defense policy and policymaking process, but also, more ambitiously, I hope to provide a detailed case study of the interplay between structure and agency that will be of interest to a wider audience in the social sciences.

Mala Htun

Assistant Professor of Political Science
New School for Social Research
Council on Foreign Relations/Hitachi International Affairs Fellow in Japan

My scholarly work explores when and why states grant citizens equal, liberal rights. My first book analyzed the gendered dimensions of this question through a comparative analysis of Argentina, Brazil, and Chile. Another book in progress examines the diversity of state responses to demands for equal representation by women, ethnic minorities, and subordinate racial groups. This year I am working on a research project in which Japan will feature as an important case study. *States and Sex Equality: When and Why do Governments Promote Women's Rights?* explores gender equality policies in 71 countries between 1975 and 2005. Written in collaboration with Laurel Weldon of Purdue University, this cross-national research is funded by the National Science Foundation. Thanks to the Council on Foreign Relations and Hitachi, Ltd., I am able to carry out work for this project in Tokyo at Shaken.

The project seeks to explain reform on gender-related laws and policies including family law, maternity leave, abortion, domestic violence, and child care, among others. Patterns of change are puzzling. Countries may be pioneers in some areas of gender equality but lag behind on others: Sweden, for example, offers generous support for working mothers but has done little to combat violence against women or pervasive occupational segregation. Japan pioneered liberal abortion but was the last member of the United Nations to legalize the birth control pill. And political freedom does not always correlate with other freedoms: dictatorships in Latin America and the Middle East have promoted women's rights more readily than elected democracies.

Our work takes a fresh approach to explain these questions. We also want to study the effects of policies on society. In this context, the Japanese case adds an interesting twist. In general, its policies to support women are good. They include excellent government-funded day care, generous maternity and paternity leave, national health care, legislation on workplace equality, and support for victims of domestic violence. Since the early 1990s, the country's declining birthrate has prompted the government to improve these programs.

Notwithstanding these efforts, Japan continues to lag its peer group on indicators of equality (though the situation has improved). Numbers of women in elected office and in positions of power in private sector are low; fewer women than men attend university; women are far more likely to be employed in part-time, lower-wage, and less secure jobs; and surveys show that Japanese beliefs about women's roles are restrictive. And the birth rate continues to fall.

What can Japan do to promote equal opportunities? Though official rhetoric points to the right solutions—reforming norms of work to enable men as well as women to harmonize work and family—actual practice is slow to change. Will increasing the presence of women in elected office and decision-making make a difference? Why isn't society more organized to pressure for change? Would greater political competition make gender a more salient electoral issue? By focusing on these questions, my research brings comparative insights to the study of Japan and uses the country's experience to inform general theory.

Hou Lijiang

Ph.D. Candidate
Southwestern University of Finance and Economics (China)

Research on the Theory and Technology of Modern Enterprise Human Resources Development

Managing firms is of course a worldwide challenge. Yet human resource development is an especially serious challenge currently faced by Chinese firms in the course of establishing the institutions of modern enterprise. In order to build competitive enterprises, developed capitalist countries such as America, Canada and Japan have emphasized reforms in human resource development. Such reforms are a useful object of study for Chinese scholars. In China, the implementation of human resource development is a prerequisite for constructing competitive firms. However, many Chinese scholars have researched recruiting and employee motivation separately, and hence research on the totality of human resource development is markedly scarce.

Human resources are the primary resource through which modern enterprises survive and develop. My research seeks to uncover the essentials of modern enterprises' competitive and developmental capacity. I approach my research from the perspective that human resource development is the critical tool with which modern enterprises acquire competitive advantages, and I analyze why and how to implement human resource development in the course of establishing a modern enterprise system. The aim of my research is, ultimately, to enable modern enterprises to effectively select and use human resources, and to enhance modern enterprises' core competitiveness. Through my research I emphasize the dialectical unity between theory and technology of modern human resource development, as well as the necessity of human resource network development.

The theoretical meaning of this research into human resource development in modern enterprises shall be grounded in empirical work on the actual conditions. The research will contribute to modern theories of the enterprise system and human resource development. Research on human resource development issues, from new perspectives, and with novel aims and content, should contribute much to fostering modern enterprises' human resource development and improving their competitiveness in the marketplace.

Anemone Platz, Ph. D.

Associate Professor of the Department of East Asian Studies
Aarhus University (Denmark)

My research interest revolves around changing life- and living styles in contemporary Japan. Within this broad framework my actual research project deals with the question of how elderly Japanese imagine their living spaces when old, and how they intend to realize/are realizing corresponding projects. *Living spaces* include the physical dwelling, its location and its environment as well as interaction with family and neighbourhood. The working out of one's living space is thus strongly related to the life one intends to live.

During the 1990s Japan saw Denmark and Sweden as the two most developed countries in the realm of elderly welfare. Since then, Japan has developed its own measures and strategies based on what it learned from Scandinavia, while development in Denmark has become notably slower during the last decade. However, although there is still some restraint, even here (in Japan) there is an increasing number of critics stating that the system can no longer survive economically. Some even go so far as to suggest a redirection of responsibility to family and friends.

In addition to ministries and local governments, a number of private research institutes in Japan have been conducting interviews and analyses in order to gain a deeper understanding of the actual and future need of different kinds of living models for the coming generations of elderly. Denmark, however, has, after early and widespread achievements in the area of housing for the elderly, passed this stage, in which it placed a strong emphasis on including the actual users-to-be in the development of their dwellings and the area's infrastructure. The rationale behind this is that improved living conditions lead to a more satisfied life, which in turn will have a positive effect on people's health. Important quality criteria are a satisfying relation between users' living needs and the architectural composition and functionality of the living space, as well as the interaction between inside and outside spaces.
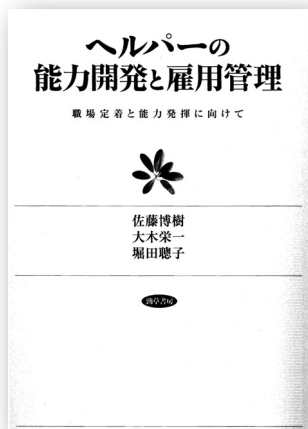
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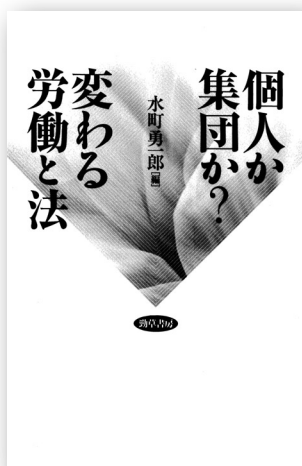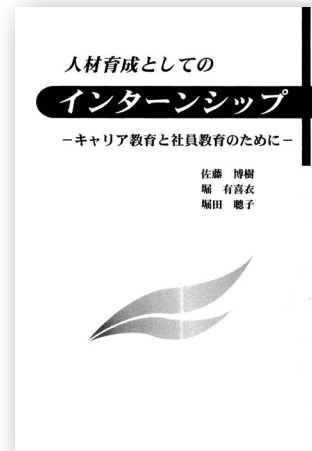
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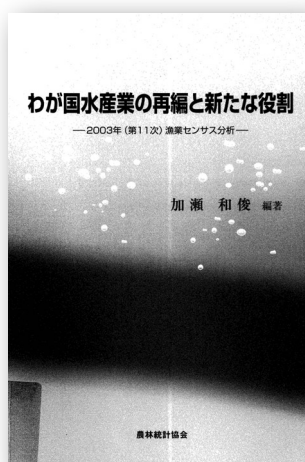　―キャリア教育と社員教育のために―』
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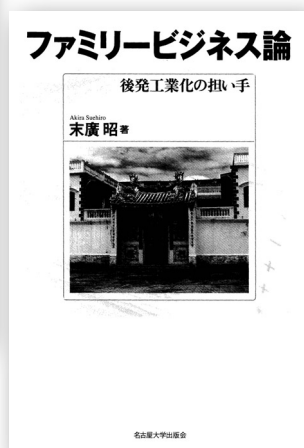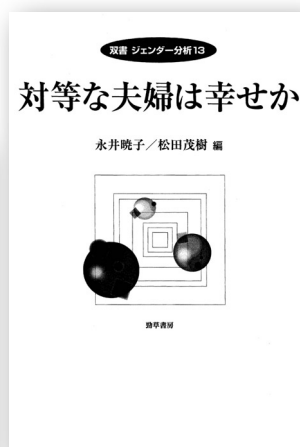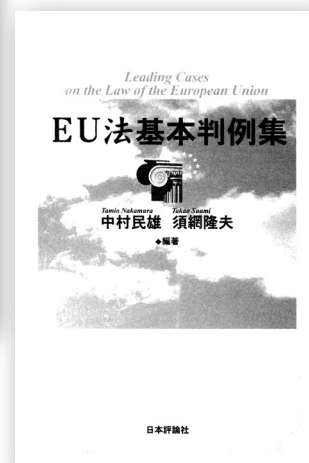農林統計協会（2006年10月）

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