MATERIALITY, PEOPLE'S EXPERIENCE AND MAKING GEOGRAPHICAL KNOWLEDGE

Edited by FUKUDA Tamami

Series	Japanese Contributions to the History of Geographical Thought.
Issue Date	2020
Type	Book
Textversion	Publisher
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MATERIALITY, PEOPLE'S EXPERIENCE AND MAKING GEOGRAPHICAL KNOWLEDGE

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Preface

FUKUDA Tamami

It is a pleasure to publish this booklet on the completion of the research project concerning geographical thought, which was subsidized by a Grant-in-Aid for Scientific Research from the Japan Society for the Promotion of Science (Grant Number 17H02430, Project Leader Professor FUKUDA Tamami, Osaka Prefecture University, in the fiscal years 2017-2019.) The fruits of labor have been presented at academic meetings—both international and domestic—and published two kinds of publications; one is a journal in Japanese, *Space, Society and Geographical Thought,* and we published three volumes in the fiscal years 2017-2019; the other is this booklet, which is now published as the 12th volume of *Japanese Contributions to the History of Geographical Thought.*

The booklet *Materiality, People's Experience and Making Geographical Knowledge* includes six papers written by the members of this research project. The topics of these papers differ from each other, however they all investigate the geographical knowledge constructed and practiced outside the academic discipline of human geography and the politics of places. They also give attention to human existence and body, and materiality in a broader sense.

In addition to the individual pieces of work conducted by the project members, our project during the years 2017-2019 aimed to undertake another program, which is to study the history of geography by considering personal voices and experiences. We interviewed a few retired geographers and aimed to consider the history of geography from different perspectives, unfortunately, we never finished it. We faced a lamentable lack of time and specific steps to complete and publish the results of the interviews. This remains to be solved in the next research project. Instead, we took a small step to digitalize a series of the reports in *Japanese Contributions to the History of Geographical Thought*, which has been published since 1980, and to make them open-access through the academic repositories.

1. Geographical Languages in Different Times and Places (Edited by SUIZU Ichiro, Kyoto University, Japan, 1980)
2. Languages, Paradigms and Schools in Geography (Edited by TAKEUCHI Keiichi, Hitotsubashi University,1984)
3. Cosmology, Epistemology and the History of Geography (Edited by NOZAWA Hideki, Kyushu University, 1986)
4. Indigenous and Foreign Influences in the Development of Japanese Geographical Thought

(NOZAWA Hideki, Kyushu University, 1989)
5. unpublished
6. Social Theory and Geographical Thought (Edited by NOZAWA Hideki, Kyushu University, 1996)
7. Nation, Region and the Politics of Geography in East Asia (Edited by MIZUUCHI Toshio, Osaka City University, 1999)
8. Representing Local Places and Raising Voices from Below (Edited by MIZUUCHI Toshio, Osaka City University, 2003)
9. unpublished
10. Languages, Materiality, and the Construction of Geographical Modernities (Edited by SHIMAZU Toshiyuki, Wakayama University, 2014)
11. Power Relations. Situated Practices, and the Politics of the Commons (Edited by ONJO Akio, Kyushu University, 2017)
12. Materiality, People's Experience and Making Geographical Knowledge (Edited by FUKUDA Tamami, Osaka Prefecture University, 2020)

Vols. 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, and 11 will be presented in Kyushu University Institutional Repository (QIR), and vols. 7, 8, 10, and 12 in Osaka City University Repository for Academic Materials (OCURA). We hope this volume as well as the past ones might contribute to discussions on geographical thoughts from various perspectives.

Finally, we would like to express our gratitude to all those who participated in the study meetings and had a fruitful discussion about geographical thought in the broader sense, and the CR-ASSIST (Community & Research Assist Network Co., Ltd.) for their considerable assistance to editing and publishing our reports.

Okinawan Hawai'ian Immigrant Women and Places for Constructing Identity

OSHIRO Naoki*

This paper aims to examine the positionality of women in Hawai'ian society, with a focus on Okinawan Hawai'ian women. The first half of this paper will present a brief history of immigration and then summarize and introduce various statements that have been published on it. The second half will report on an established event called the "Hawaii Okinawan Festival," which was held in early September 2005, as a model of a space for identity construction. The related survey is just the beginning. As such, the author would like to state in advance that this paper shall serve as a memo to provisionally organize the information gathered.

1. A Short History of Okinawan Immigration to Hawai'i

Immigration from Okinawa Prefecture to Hawai'i began more than 30 years later than immigration from other prefectures. Immigration from Japan to Hawai'i began in June 1868. Just as the Old Procedure Preservation period, wherein the old feudalistic system continued, was finally coming to an end along with the termination of the land organization project, the first wave of immigrants set out for Hawai'i. This happened in December 1899. In January of the following year, 27 Okinawans arrived in Honolulu, but one returned to Okinawa as he was not allowed to disembark. The remaining 26 Okinawans, all men between the ages of 21 and 35, became the pilgrim fathers of the Okinawan Hawai'ian immigration. Kyuzo Toyama (1868-1919), born in the town of Kin, paved the way for Okinawan immigration. Kyuzo Toyama is considered the "father of immigration" by helping this immigration succeed through his service at an immigration company.[1)]

Okinawans immigrated not only to Hawai'i but also to the mainland of the US, to South American countries such as Peru, Brazil, and Argentina, and to the Philippines and the South Sea Islands, but the first wave of immigrants went to Hawai'i. These immigrants that arrived in Hawai'i worked on sugarcane plantations as contract immigrants. However, three months after they arrived, Hawai'i became a territory of the US; the contract immigration system was abolished, and they became free immigrants. Incidentally, the wages of contract workers around the year 1900 were $15 (¥30) per month for men and $10 for women, considered as low sums of money.[2)] Even at $15 per month, Sundays were full holidays, and the wages were provided for 26 days of work. If a worker took a day off due to illness, that portion of the worker's wage would not be paid. The workday began at 6 in the morning and ended at 4 in the afternoon. In addition,

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the cost of living was high in Hawai'i; one person would have needed a minimum of $12 per month; thus, these workers were essentially unable to earn enough money to save. The shops on plantations set high prices. At the end of the contract period of three years for the first Japanese immigrants, a significant number of immigrants returned to Japan;[3)] however, after the rest became free immigrants, there was a rise in the number who settled there. As for options other than working on the plantations, some immigrants cleared new plots within the plantation grounds, cultivated sugarcane there, and sold the sugarcane to the plantations, while others ran shops in the plantations or moved to cities like Honolulu to become gardeners or taxi drivers.

As mentioned above, the Japanese immigration to Hawai'i began in 1868 with 149 people. These are called the "first-years," but they had a low settlement rate, and most of them left the farms. Figure 1 shows a plate commemorating (75th anniversary) the first wave of immigrants from Okinawa, located at Jikoen Hongwanji temple in Honolulu. Immigration restarted in 1885. In the 1880s, the Hawai'ian government restricted the number of Chinese immigrants. After it was annexed by the US in 1898, the Chinese Exclusion Act was adopted. Hence, there was now a need for workers to replace those of Chinese descent, who had been the majority of immigrants up to that time.[4)] However, in 1908, immigration was restricted by the "Gentlemen's Agreement" between Japan and the United States. At this time, migration was approved only for close relatives of immigrants already in the US or for those who had returned to Japan but wanted to "return to the US." In 1924, the Immigration Act was enacted, and the immigration of people from East Asia was effectively prohibited. This period between 1908 and 1920 was called the "summoning" period, in which 9,814 "picture brides" crossed over from Japan, an unknown land, with pictures in hand.

Figure 1. The memorial plate of diamond jubilee of immigration from Okinawa in *Jikoen Honganji,* Honolulu (Photo by the author)

With regard to the historical context in which many immigrants came from the main island of Okinawa, I would like to cite an article from the website of an exhibit at the Okinawa Prefectural Museum, “First-Generation Nikkei Immigrants Exhibit: From Bento to Mixed Plate” (held from November 10 to December 10, 2000), which gives a compact explanation of the topic.

> This immigration features a great number of people from the north of the main island of Okinawa, the Nakagami and Shiragami districts of the same island, and from nearby islands.
>
> There was almost no immigration from Miyako and Yaeyama Islands.
>
> The quintessential emigration villages were Haneji, Kin, Katsuren, Nakagusuku, Nishihara, and Ozato.
>
> The dream of getting rich quickly in new lands won over many people.
>
> The following reasons can be identified for sending immigrants.
>
> 1 When the land allotment system (system assigning and changing land) that had existed in the royal government period collapsed and land was privatized, people were released from their bonds to the land. With the establishment of property rights for land, some chose to sell or mortgage their land to finance their expensive journey.
>
> 2 Economic factors such as working away from home, and earning money
>
> 3 Social and personal factors such as the presence of the immigrant community, agents, and immigration leaders, and evading conscription
>
> 4 Disadvantages of natural factors stemming from Okinawa Prefecture’s geographic location (solitary islands in a southern sea, small plots of land, lack of natural resources, storm damage)
>
> URL: http://w1.nirai.ne.jp/oki-muse/iminten/Japanese/2-2.html

Although these are broad reasons for leaving, perhaps it was generally the way things were. Reason (1) is characteristic of Okinawa in comparison to other prefectures. I would like to add more explanation to this. As mentioned at the beginning, in order to end the Old Procedure Preservation period, wherein the old feudalistic system continued, it was necessary to create cadastral maps based on modern surveys and assign lot numbers to make land tax amendments (part of the fundamental reforms of the land tenure and tax system under the Meiji government), decide on new land area and rankings, and specify owners. This was the land organization project. Naturally, the objective was to collect payment of land rent as tax. However, in feudalistic Okinawa (the Ryukyu Kingdom), land privatization was not approved except for some circumstances such as shiakechi (private property in the Ryukyu Kingdom period), and nearly all arable land was the production basis for annual taxes according to the village unit tax system. Furthermore, in the “land allotment” system, arable land management assignments were changed every few years. Land privatization was facilitated by this land organization project, which also put an end to the feudalistic legislature, tax, and district systems that had continued during the Old Order Preservation period, and systems similar to those of other prefectures were applied to Okinawa as well. As a result of this land organization, land was distributed to villagers as private property. Securing capital for immigration based on this collateral is the factor mentioned in Reason (1).

2. Hawai'i's Immigrant Women

On September 25, 1903, the newspaper *Ryukyu Shimpo* published an article titled "Hawai'i no Kouchi de no Seikatsu (Ni) (Kobe Shimbun Shosai)" [Life on Hawai'ian Farmland (2) (printed in Kobe Shimbun)," which provides information about the plantation lifestyle of Japanese immigrants to Hawai'i at that time.

> Married couples earn at least $32-33 together. By paying attention to their food consumption, and being careful not to be wasteful, about $10 is enough to enjoy a drink with dinner, the wife's best *udon* noodles. [Abridged] It doesn't cost much to coat a pan with lard and fry up some breadcrumb dumplings to eat. Without going out much, and even without learning English in a foreign country, where English is a common language, they can save a surprising amount of money by working for three to four years. Of course, they do learn enough English to get by, if the language is used on the farm. In addition to these technical terms, sometimes the local language is primarily used, a mix of English and Hawai'ian, with words like hanahana (to work), moimoi (to plow), and kaukau (to eat). It seems that the local people's language is easy for Japanese people to learn.

From this article, we can see that, in addition to working on the plantation to the same extent as their husbands, the women also worked to maintain the home. In fact, many reports mention women's overly heavy workload. In J. C. Lebra's work, subtitled "Women's Voices," women from each ethnicity living in Hawai'i were interviewed, thereby covering multiple women of Hawai'ian, Chinese, Scottish-English, Portuguese, Japanese, Okinawan, Puerto Rican, South Korean, and Philippine descent.[5] She clearly differentiates Japanese and Okinawan; as we will see in the next section, this is because those of Japanese descent, who were from mainland Japan (called *naichi*), discriminated against the Okinawan immigrants, and because the Okinawan's fixation on their own culture (lifestyle) set them apart as an ethnicity.

It is worth mentioning that, because of poverty, while immigration to Hawai'i increased because it allowed immigrants to send back money to Okinawa, fewer Okinawan women compared to Japanese women returned to their home country. Below, I will attempt to summarize the sections of Edith Mitsuko Kaneshiro's doctoral dissertation on Okinawan immigration that focused on Okinawan female immigrants in Hawai'i.[6]

According to her, "[i]n the 1920s and 30s... Okinawan immigrants start to move out of the plantations and start to work on economic strategies based on the family. Immigrant women play an important role in immigrant family economics in Hawai'i. ...They had to do diverse jobs to be able to raise children."[7] "Wanting to move up from the position of plantation worker, Okinawan immigrants saved money, and started to do small-scale, family-operated business. Women workers played an important role in this strategy. Families with women earned good money, and returned to Japan."[8]

An interesting thing is that "with the arrival of women in the 1910s and 20s, the path to starting a business became easier, especially for uneducated male workers. Examining the role of first-generation women at the time side businesses started, and when those businesses improved, we can see the large impact of the 'summoning' experience on the development of many business ventures. Wives were strong partners, and the key to success in business."[9] Unlike in other prefectures, the governor of Okinawa adopted a proactive policy toward women's emigration.

According to Okinawa's representative newspaper, the Ryukyu Shimpo, emigrant women were "a major asset for the prefecture." However, with regard to the size of women's role in business-launching activities, especially in farm-related-enterprises, "most independent business launches incur great financial risk, but the fact that they feared neither failure nor poverty is due to the strength of family ties, and to the cooperation of mentally strong, skillful, hardworking wives who took on the majority of their husbands' mercantile burden. And they succeeded." On this topic, Okinawa's elite and the Ryukyu Shimpo even gave advice on the need to think about when to have children because raising children takes time and resources.[10)]

The realities of family businesses were as follows. There was a *Kompan* system in which, instead of working on the plantation, workers would rent land to grow sugarcane themselves and then sell the sugarcane to the plantation. If one were to rent 20 acres of land for a period of three years, for example, it would require the cooperation of several family members. In their spare time, they would also work as day laborers in other locations or sell vegetables grown in their home gardens. In the 1920s and 1930s, Okinawan immigrants started to leave the plantations to start their own farms. As production demand grew, these independent farmers started growing pineapple as well as watercress and other vegetables, made tofu, raised chickens, and, more than anything, raised pigs. Of course, these jobs primarily depended on family labor.[11)]

According to Kaneshiro, one family that had succeeded in running a farm had seven children helping with various farm jobs and were especially assigned to work on gathering feed for raising pigs. This was the business of running a pig farm on the outskirts of town; before going to school, the children would retrieve scraps from cans in the garbage disposal section of the kitchens of families living in town and bring these to their mother. Success in pig farming was surely the result of strong family cooperation. However, this does not imply that the children performed this work very enthusiastically. Collecting scraps was something that would have identified them as obviously Okinawan and was an inferior custom. In any case, Okinawan families came to occupy a special economic niche in Hawai'i's agricultural economy.[12)]

Incidentally, in the lecture hall of the Hawai'i Okinawan Center in Waipahu, there is a list honoring the names of the people who donated toward the construction of the building. Among these, the large-contribution donors' names, which are written in a larger font than the others, included two sets of brothers, the Teruya and Higa families. The former managed the Star Market chain, with several branches, and the latter managed the Zippy's chain of takeout or dine-in bento restaurants found all over Honolulu. Both are models of family business success. Both families are also from Oroku (now part of western Naha City).

3. *Naichi* vs. Okinawa

Before we consider the current Okinawan immigrant identity, we should consider the issue of the discrimination that the first generation experienced.

The second generation had a more complex position than the first generation with regard to this issue. I will not go into the details here, but this generation was the one that experienced complex identity formation. During their childhood, they witnessed the discriminatory experiences to which the first generation was subjected, while in their homes, they had the Okinawan lifestyle

brought over by the first generation, and they were educated at school with other ethnic groups, including Japanese. Their generation also shared the harsh experience of war, whether activity on the front in Europe or internment on the US mainland. After the war, with the same extraordinary effort as the first generation, this generation went on to pursue higher education, thereby improving their social standing by working in professional fields as teachers, doctors, and lawyers.

On the Okinawan identity in Hawai'i, Norman Kaneshiro says the following: "The identity of Okinawans in Okinawa has had a turbulent history and has become obscured by the specter of Japanese national and cultural identity. Transmitted to Hawai'i, this identity has become further marginalized by not only the prevalent "local" Japanese American culture, but also by both local Hawai'i and American cultures as well. Nonetheless, Uchinanchu (Okinawan) in Hawai'i have been able to retain a distinct identity and recently have witnessed a resurgence of pride in their identity. However, Uchinanchu identity has taken on an infinite number of forms among various individuals who define or redefine themselves as Uchinanchu."[13)]

The early Okinawan immigrants and the *Naichi* Japanese immigrants had a complex relationship in Hawai'i. This was exemplified by separation and animosity. Kaneshiro states that this relationship could be compared to that between the Irish and the English, or that between the Jews and pagans (Christians). In these relationships, one side had a sense of superiority over the other, and the other had a kind of self-defensive pride. These relationships could also be said to exhibit their position secretly, primarily in the shadows, even though clearly dangerous or blatant emotions were not shown.[14)] When the first immigrants from Okinawa arrived in Hawai'i in 1900, a Japanese community had already been formed and over 60,000 Japanese people were already living there. They accounted for roughly 40% of the entire population of Hawai'i. Even when Okinawans numbered over 10,000 in 1911, they were still considered a "minority within a minority."

Kaneshiro states that there were several clear characteristics separating Okinawans from *Naichi* Japanese, which are as follows.

- Language: Many Okinawans did not speak standard Japanese well. Unable to communicate effectively with the "other Japanese people," they generally stuck together among themselves.
- Physical features: Shorter stature and more body hair.
- Okinawan clothes and Okinawan hairstyles
- Women's tattoos: According to W. Lebra, "in Japan, tattoos are associated with criminals and outcasts." When they were perceived as a kind of "other," they were then ostracized and mistreated.[15)]

These things differentiated the *Naichi* Japanese and Okinawans, and even today, aside from the tattoos, and even taking into consideration that Okinawan clothing and hairstyles are not a part of daily life, these are recognized as Okinawan differences with regard to the "." Along with these characteristics, what reinforced that idea was the fact that Okinawan immigrants raised pigs as a side business and ate pork. It seems that they were often derided with the phrase "Okinawa kenken kaukau (Okinawans eat pork)."

The first generation either left the plantations or started raising pigs as a family business on the

plantations. The prejudices that haunted them for this were also deeply felt by the second generation because the children of Japanese parents imitated their parents' prejudices. The Japanese government's opinion was that the Okinawans were inferior immigrants who sullied the reputation of the other Japanese, thereby further worsening their position. This negative stereotyping and slander further reinforced and unified the close relationships of Okinawan immigrants.[16)]

The basis for the Japanese government's views was the fact that Okinawans did not stay in a single plantation for long periods of time and actively participated in union strikes as a presence that incited labor disputes. Japanese bureaucrats' scorn for their behavior as "inferior immigrants" is also based in the Okinawans' fortitude in the face of oppression by plantation owners. However, under a fiercely discriminatory gaze, the first generation "Japanized" their surnames and downplayed—without completely abandoning—the customs and events of their homeland Okinawa, and its language (Uchinaaguchi), thereby denying their Okinawan identity as much as possible, and trying to conduct themselves as Japanese people.[17)] This was the exact same situation that was occurring in the same generation in the Okinawa Prefecture. To put it simply, doing things like this was really the only way for them to get ahead in life.

With the goal of strengthening mutual aid and a sense of fellowship among themselves in this context, this may be called an effect of chain migration, but the first generation started to form locality clubs according to their native places. The first locality club was organized in 1908, but this was an exception, given that most have their origins in the 1920s and 1930s. This was also the period in which Okinawan immigrants left the plantations and began to move to cities, particularly to Honolulu, for work. However, because these clubs were highly conscious of the close connections formed by each home area (village, village section, or other municipality), until the UOA (United Okinawan Association, later the HUOA) was formed 1951, there was no organization that tied together the individual locality clubs.[18)]

At the beginning, the primary objective of these locality clubs was to provide mutual economic aid through *moai* (Okinawan social support groups) (mutual financing associations), but as time passed, they gradually evolved into cultural organizations. Members learned about music and dance, and proactively participated in their preservation. Above all, along with classical music, the *sanshin* essential for that music, and the Bon Festival dance—although the latter is thought to have been the result of running this event mutually with other Japanese immigrants—flourished. Music and dance further strengthened their significance as a part of the ethnic identity of Okinawan immigrants in Hawai'i. Through these cultural forms, the Okinawan children born in Hawai'i came into contact with the culture of their parents. The Okinawan people have now come to see the culture they had partially hidden as no less than something that bonds their identity.[19)]

4. Hawai'i Okinawan Festival

The 2005 Hawaii Okinawan Festival was held on September 3rd and 4th, centered on the stage at Kapiolani Park. It was organized by HUOA (Hawaii United Okinawa Association). The theme of the 2005 Okinawan Festival was "Hukurashaya: Proud to be Uchinanchu." "Hukurashaya" means "pride," declaring "taking pride in being Uchinanchu," as the subtitle states. The emblem was a large depiction of the Japanese character for "pride" on a *bingata* (Okinawan dyeing)

textile. The program is shown in Table 1.

Table 1. Program of Okinawan Festival 2005

	September 3rd Saturday
8:40	Welcome Remarks (Rodney Kohagura, HUOA President)
○08:50	Happy Seniors Dancing Club (Betty Tominaga, Oresident)
○09:00	Kilauea Okinawan Dance Group (Suzuko Akamine, Instructor)
▼09:30	Hawaii Taiko Kai (Terry Higa Sensei)
●10:00	Jimpu Kai USA Kin Ryosho Geino Kenkyusho (Cheryl Yoshie Nakasone Sensei)
10:30	OPENING PROCESSION
	Hawaii United Okinawa Association Club Banners
▼	Paranku Clubs of Hawaii (Violet O. Ogawa Sensei)
▼	"Shishi Mai" (lion dance
11:00	Koten Gassho Classical Ensamble
●	Nomura Ryu Ongaku Kyokai Hawaii Shibu (Keith K. Nakaganeku, Chapter President)
●	Ryukyu Sokyoku Koyo Kai Hawaii Shibu (Yasuko Arakawa, Chapter President)
11:30	OPENING CEREMONY
	Rodney Kohagura, 2005 HUOA President
	Governor Linda Lingle
	Mayor Mufi Hannemann
	Consul General of Japan
	United Japanese Society of Hawaii
	Benjamin Fukumoto, 2005-2006 President
*12:00	The Royal Hawaiian Band Michael Nakasone, Bandmaster
●13:00	Hooge Kai Nakasone Dance Academy (Lynne Yoshiko Nakasone Sensei)
●13:30	Ryusei Honryu Yanagi no Kai Hawaii Shibu Toguchi Mitsuko Ryubu Kenkyusho (Mitsuko Toguchi Sensei)
●14:00	Tamagusuku Ryu Senju Kai-Frances Nakachi Ryubu Dojo (Frances Nakachi Sensei)
●14:30	Ryukyu Koten Afuso-ryu Kenkyuku Choichi Kai, Hawaii Shibu(Jikata) Afuso-ryu Gensei Kai Hawaii Shibu, Hawaii Sandaa Kai (Grant Matsuda Sensei)
?15:00	Traci Noguchi
▼15:30	Ryukyukoku Matsuri Daiko Hawaii (Akemi Martin, Regional Director)
□16:00	Okinawan Association of Peru
▼16:30	Radio Okinawa- Miuta Taisho
▲17:15	Okinawa Shorin-Ryukyu Karate Club (Mitchel Shimamura Sensei)
▼18:00	Festival Bon Dance
22:00	Last Bus Shuttle to Kapiolani Park
	September 4th Sunday
8:45	Welcome Remarks (Rodney Kohagura, HUOA President)
●09:00	Yoshiko Onaga Okinawa Buyo Club (Yoshiko Onaga, Instructor)
○09:30	Lanakila Senior Line Dancers (Betty Kotani, Instructor)
?10:00	Shinsato Shosei Kai (Katsumi Shinsato Sensei)
*10:30	Two Ti Leaf Band (wayne Takamine)
●11:00	Kaneshiro Ryubu Kenkyukai (Joyce Shimabukuro, Coordinator)
▼11:30	Ryukyu Kobudo Taiko-Hawaii Shibu (Calvin Nakama, Director)
●12:00	Majikina Honryu Buyo Dojo (Yoshino Majikina Nakasone Sensei)
▼12:30	Sosaku Daiko Ryukyu Yui Hana (Frances Toyama, President)
?13:00	Nidaime Teishin Kai Hawaii Shibu (Kiyoshi Kinjo, Director)
□13:30	Calabash with Keith Nakaganeku
*14:00	Royal Hawaiian Band (Michael Nakasone, Bandmaster)
□15:10	Okinawan Association of Peru
*15:40	The Bruce Shimabukuro Band (Bruce Shimabukuro)
17:30	Last Bus Shuttle to Kapiolani Park
	●: Ryukyu Classical Musics (10) ▼: Falk Performing Arts (8) ▲: Karate (1)
	*: Western Musics (4) ○ : Hawaiian Musics (3) □: Others (3) ?: Unknown (3)

Figure 2. Bon dance in 2005 Okinawan Festival (Photo by the author)

Looking at this program, a few features can be identified. First, the musical program includes a large number of “classical Ryukyuan music” in the Afuso and Nomura schools. This implies that there are many such dance research institutes in Hawai’i and that there are many people studying at these places. As seen above, this also reflects the fact that locality club organizations and the HUOA itself actively support this. With this, folk performing arts such as the taiko drums and *paranku* drums (hand drums used in *eisa*) are preserved. In comparison, there are relatively few Hawai’ian music and Western music acts in the program.

What is extremely interesting is the Bon Dance (Bon Odori), which starts on the first day at six in the evening (Figure 2). This is regarded as something that broadly symbolizes Japanese culture as a whole, not only Okinawan culture, wherein regular guests take part at the spur of the moment, dancing over and over in concentric circles around a wooden stage. Figure 3 is meant to be a reference for the plan of the festival grounds.

According to a second-generation man who does landscaping at the Ewa Honganji temple located in the former site of a typical plantation, the Oahu Bon Dance begins in June, at Ewa Honganji, and ends in the first week of September, at the Okinawan Festival. He also said that the Bon Dance is performed indoors at the Okinawan Center in late September. The 2003 program that I have on hand confirms that it is performed in over 30 places during this period.[20] This shows that is a popular event.

Taiko drumming rivals the Bon Dance in popularity. Five groups participated, including the Ryukyukoku Matsuri Taiko, the Kobudo Taiko, the Sosaku Taiko, and the Paranku Club, Hawaii Taiko Kai. I will defer to Shirota’s paper on the details,[21] but these groups invite coaches from Okinawa and train enthusiastically. Japan is also experiencing a taiko fad, but Okinawan taiko drumming has strong Okinawan *eisa* elements and has intense dance aspects. The passion these young people have for taiko contrasts with the Bon Dance, which is centered on hand dancing.

The final performance on the second day was the Bruce Shimabukuro Band. Bruce Shimabukuro is a young ukulele master particularly known for his fast playing. His ukulele is connected to an amplifier and played like an electric guitar. The songs he performs are Western music, such as

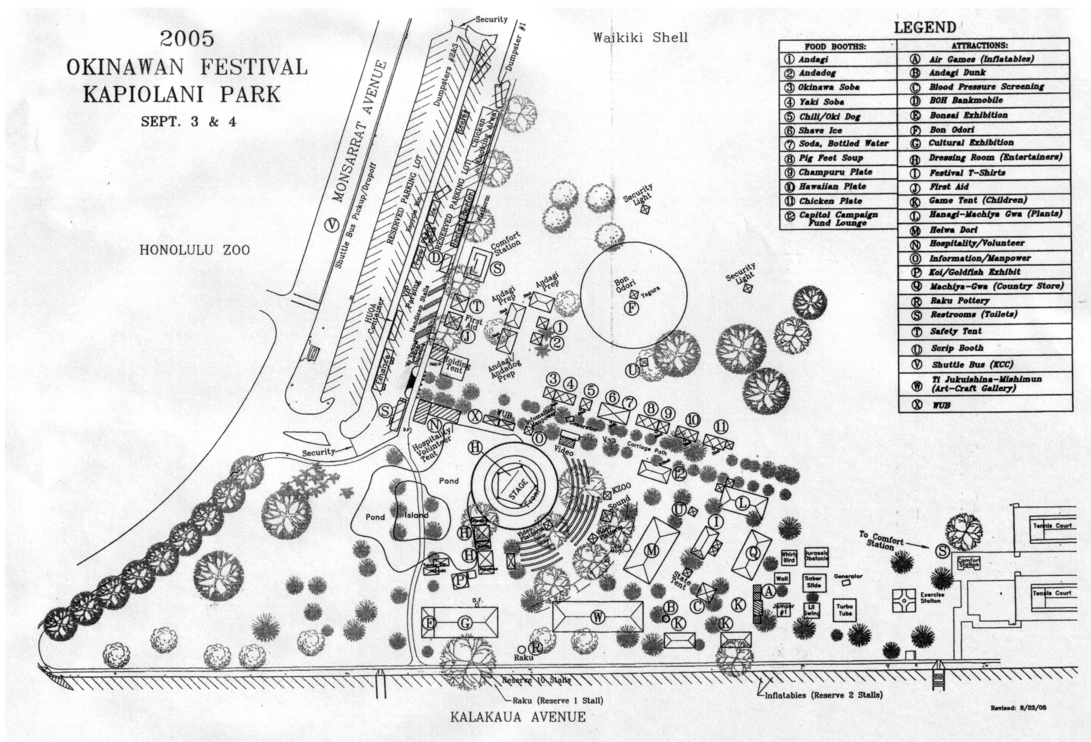

Figure 3. The plan of the festival grounds (Reprinted from 23rd Okinawan Festival Program)

blues. When he first appeared on stage, he strummed the melody of "Bashoufu," but said "I don't know Okinawan music. I'll learn some for next year," and it was a bit surprising that he played songs with no relationship to Okinawa. In other words, he had been invited as a famous Okinawan, not as a "scholar" or "instructor" of Okinawan music. That this act was placed as the headliner of the festival was itself extremely interesting. Most of the central organizers are now part of the third generation, but it also caught my eye that the second-generation people near the stage were listening to the performance and seemed to be enjoy it. This is because the festival's other aspects do not stop only with the longing for an Okinawan identity.

Near the stage were a row of food booths. These gave the feeling of thoughtfulness in reproducing the identity of "food." Each dish was introduced, for example: Pig's Feet Soup "is called Ashitebichi in Uchinaaguchi. Pig's feet and spare ribs are prepared in a broth made with kombu, daikon radish, winter melon, and mustard cabbage. Served with rice. $6."

They were also selling yakisoba, Okinawan soba, champuru plate, Oki-dogs, chili choice, Hawai'ian plate (kalua pork and lomi lomi salmon; kalua pork and lau lau), chicken plate, Tumai kuru (purple yam), sushi rolls, andagi, anda-dogs, and shaved ice. Of these, "andagi" symbolizes Okinawan culture, and this was the most popular booth, with a long line of customers on both days. The HUOA Center was even selling andagi t-shirts. The banners flown at each booth listed their locality club affiliated with HUOA (Figure 4).24

Whether making Okinawan dishes or Hawaiian dishes (and this may have been somewhat related to the fact that most were home cooking), those bustling about the food booths were women.

Figure 4. The row of food booths (Photo by the author)

Checking the list of 32 stage performances from Table 1, aside from the Bon Dance and Radio Okinawa's New Song Awards, women were "coaches" or "teachers" for 14 of the remaining 30 performances. Their specialization in classical dance or Western dance was also characteristic. In the process of handing down, continuing, or reproducing domestic things and authorized "traditions" and "culture," we can clearly see from these examples the extent to which women are deeply involved. This paper will conclude with the introduction of this case example, but I hope to further examine the relationship between identity reproduction and "traditions" and "culture."

The survey related to this paper is part of the 2003-2005 Grant-in-Aid for Scientific Research subsidy (Basic Research [B]) study *"Kuukan/Basho o Meguru Sho-Kenryoku no Kaimei: Okinawa o Jirei to shita Feminisuto Bunseki Kara"* [Revealing the Influences Surrounding Spaces and Places: A Feminist Analysis on the Case of Okinawa" (Principal Researcher: Yoko Yoshida).

Notes

1) Ishikawa (1997) pp.488-9
2) Ibid. 1) p.490
3) Ishikawa (1977) pp.59-84
4) Yaguchi (2002) pp.23-27
5) Lebra, J.C. (1991).
6) Kaneshiro, E. M. (1999) pp.108-141
7) Ibid. 6) p.123
8) Ibid. 6) p.124
9) Ibid. 6) p.125
10) Ibid. 6) p.132

11) Ibid. 6) p.135
12) Ibid. 6) p.136
13) Kaneshiro, N. (2002), p.75
14) Ibid. 13) pp.79-80
15) Ibid. 13) p.80, Lebra, W. (1980) pp.111-134
16) Ibid. 13) p.81 and Sakihara, M. (1975) pp.69-62
17) Ibid. 13) p.81
18) Ibid. 13) p.83
19) Ibid. 6) p.139
20) Honolulu Star-Bulletin Hawaii News
URL: http://starbulletin.com/2003/05/31/news/story7.html
21) Shirota, C. (2002), pp.120-129

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Honolulu Star-Bulletin Hawaii News
URL: http://starbulletin.com/2003/05/31/news/story7.html

This paper is an English translation of a revised and abridged paper of the same name, which appeared in *Bunkagaku Nenpo* [Annual Reports of Humanities and Social Sciences] No. 26 (2007).

The Visceral Food Geographies of *Washoku*:
Re-evaluation of *Washoku* and the National Geographical Imagination

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Introduction

In 2013, *washoku*, or Japanese traditional cuisine, was registered as Intangible Cultural Heritage by UNESCO. Since the preparation for its registration, the movement to promote *washoku* has been active, and even now there is strong interest in *washoku* in Japanese society. This trend can be seen in the number of books published about *washoku*. In the collection of the National Diet Library, there are five books about *washoku* in 1990 and 29 in 2000, but the number increases after its registration; 29 books about *washoku* were published in 2013, 58 in 2014, 73 in 2015, 57 in 2016, 37 in 2017, and 40 in 2018. Although the surge in publication following registration is fading, quite a few books concerning *washoku*, most of them general books, have been published in Japan. Moreover, restaurant guidebooks including the Michelin Red Guide and food-spotting sites cover a large number of *washoku* restaurants. *Washoku* is now keeping its brand name status and becoming a highly-valued commodity.

How can we investigate the recent social conditions surrounding *washoku* in the diversified human geography research of food? In recent years, geography of food has changed drastically. As stated in the introductory chapter of *Alternative Food Geographies* (Maye, Holloway, and Kneafsay 2007), since the late 1990s the focal point has changed from the conventional approach to agro-food relations to production-consumption relations. Their book, which examines businesses engaged in activities grouped under the "alternative food networks" umbrella, declares that in the construction of "alternative" food geographies in different geographical contexts, insights are drawn from a whole range of actors involved in the creation of "alternative" products: from producers to consumers, processors, retailers, and the institutions engaged in the governance of such activities. In other words, the recent trend in food geographies tends to stress the multiple and ongoing relationships between people, institutions, and places. The research scale also varies from personal to national and global. In addition, Araki et al. (2007) proposed possible approaches and theories for food geographies, such as the food regime perspective, commodity chain, food deserts, food network, economics of conventions, and actor-network theory, in order to understand the complicated process of food production to consumption.

This paper also gives attention to production-consumption relations in the broader sense. Above

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all, it considers the way in which *washoku* became cultural heritage and worthy of being valued, produced, and consumed. The title of cultural heritage is not given but constructed through social processes according to their own conceptions of "cultural heritage" (Koch 2019). Based on German and European examples concerning cultural heritage and memorial cultures, Koch discusses the problems of the institutionalization of memorial cultures, memory making, and the social process of cultural heritage, which is called meta-cultural production[1)], from the perspectives of critical heritage studies. *Washoku* as an intangible cultural heritage practice can also be considered from the same perspective as Koch. Memory cultures and the dietary culture of *washoku* are both intangible cultural heritage, but there is an obvious difference between them. Iwamoto (2019) pointed out the difference in social attitudes toward cultural heritage. In contrast to Germany, which has long hesitated to make a decision about the problem of past memory and cultural heritage and consequently only ratified the Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage in 2013, Japan ratified the Convention in 2004. Iwamoto (2007) explained the Japanese condition concerning intangible cultural heritage including memory cultures by using the problematic term *furusato*, which literally means hometown but actually plays an important role in referring to the past and shaping the future in Japanese society. Japan's national and local governments have been fostering the recycling of *furusato* (hometown), and *furusato* and folk cultures have been applauded and commodified with a massive boost in popularity from the mass media and major industries. We can find the following nostalgic phenomena in parallels throughout Japan: the local movements toward the registration of tangible and intangible world heritage, the preservation movements for the cultural landscape often symbolized by rice terraces, the social movements toward slow living and slow food, the growing trend of looking back on the Showa period, and the healing boom[2)]. The intangible cultural heritage of *washoku* was born within these social trends in Japan. As in Cwiertka and Yasuhara's research on the cultural history of *washoku* (2016), clarifying the social and political process in which *washoku* was effectively positioned as cultural heritage is integral to the next generation protecting and inheriting it.

In considering *washoku* cultural heritage, it should be remembered that *washoku* is not only something rich in social meaning but also something that our bodies consume materially. It is important to see *washoku* as the food that physically constructs our bodies, that is, from the perspective of the visceral geographies of food[3)]. This paper pays attention to the recent social trends concerning *washoku* in Japan and explores *washoku* from three points. First, it considers how *washoku* became an intangible cultural heritage practice symbolizing "Japan" or "Japanese culture." Second, it examines the changing social meaning of *washoku* after its registration as an intangible cultural heritage practice. Finally, this paper discusses dietary culture and national geographical imagination, focusing on embodiment and materiality.

The Attention Paid to *Washoku* is a Recent Phenomenon

The dictionary definition of *washoku* is simple: *washoku* literally means "Japanese food" or "Japanese-inspired food" and it forms an apt parallel to *yoshoku*, or "Western food." This rough and simple definition posed a fundamental problem during the process of achieving the UNESCO registration. How could we define *washoku* as a cuisine that we had to protect and inherit? It is

not difficult to count examples of *washoku*, but it is impossible to clarify the essence of *washoku* through the sum of these examples. At its registration as Intangible Cultural Heritage in 2013, *washoku* was defined not as food but as a social practice based on an essential spirit of the Japanese, namely, their "respect for nature." It contributes to a healthy lifestyle and strengthens familial and communal ties.

One of the characteristics of the definition of *washoku* is its respect for health, spirituality, and communality. This characteristic has not been taken for granted nor has it been fixed since the beginning. Let us examine *Shinsen kaji mondo*, an introductory book published in 1905 that intended to teach domestic work based on scientific knowledge to young women, especially would-be housewives (Kondo 1905). This book includes a description of the cooking methods *washoku* and *yoshoku* (Western food) and shows that *washoku* was seen as something separate from *yoshoku*, which was introduced in modern times. It is notable that *washoku* is not a cooking method that is directly inherited and passed down from mothers to daughters in everyday life, but rather a professional cooking method. That is, *washoku* was not considered part of family life.

In the health discourse that continued until the 1960s, we find a statement that *washoku* lead to undernutrition in Japanese people. For example, a newspaper from November 22, 1951[4)], ran an article with the title "Relying heavily on rice as a staple food." The argument was that because the white rice-dominated dietary habits of *washoku* lead to undernutrition, dietary modification was needed to help people consume more proteins, fats, calcium, and vitamins more effectively. In other words, *washoku*, a dietary habit prevalent in everyday Japanese lives, has not been valued from home economics or nutritional perspectives. Its weak points were not only nutritional. An article in 1965 introduced the Ministry of Health and Welfare's report that the percentage of stomach cancer patients was larger among people eating *washoku* than in people eating yoshoku that included milk and green and yellow vegetables, and it stressed the relations between *washoku* and illness[5)]. Half a century ago, *washoku* was not considered a healthy diet.

Figure 1 indicates the number of articles concerning *washoku* published in general magazines in Japan from 1955 when only one article was found in 2018. The first article in 1955 was to recommend a restaurant specializing in Buddhist vegetarian cooking in Muko-jima, Tokyo. Following this first article, until 1983 most articles concerning *washoku* were introductory reviews about *washoku* restaurants, except for the following three articles: an article in 1960 wrote about a nutritionist's comment on the inferior characteristics of *washoku,* an article in 1975 detailed actor Tony Dyer saying that he loved *washoku*, and an article in 1982 dealt with *ryotei seiji*, a secret meeting of politicians held in the back of high-class Japanese-style restaurants. However, we see that the number of articles started to increase in the mid-1980s. At that time, a considerable number of articles with "*washoku*" as a keyword began to be featured in women's magazines. The number rapidly increased in the mid-1990s. How did *washoku* evolve past its association as a dietary habit that needed improvement or an introductory review about *washoku* restaurants?

Consider the fact that many articles covered stories and information about *ryotei*, high-class Japanese-style restaurants that were frequented by leaders in financial and political circles. In this context, when *washoku* was mentioned in magazines, it was connected to the public sphere and to powerful men. However, since the 1980s, conditions have changed and women's magazines specializing in fashion and lifestyle have started to cover *washoku*. Table 1 shows the titles of

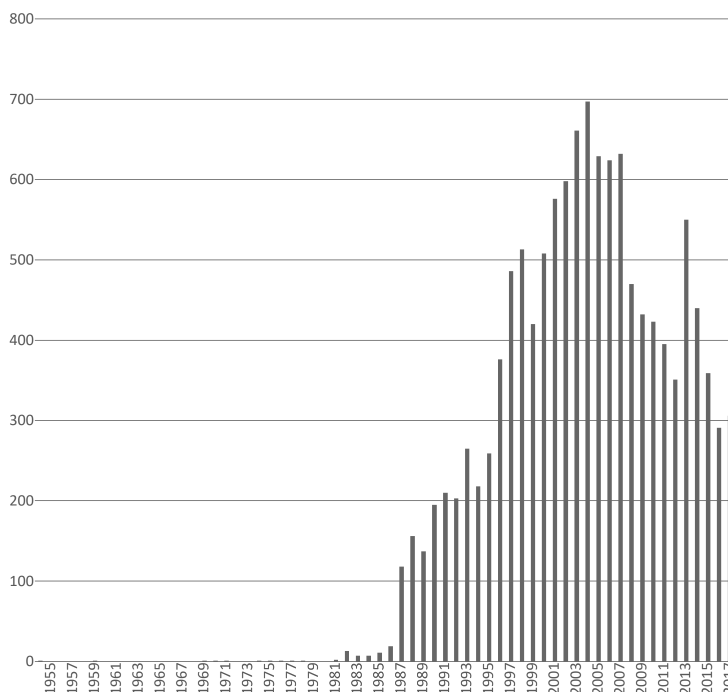

Figure 1. The number of articles published in Japanese magazines

From the retrieved data of the database "Web OYA-bunko."

women's magazines that printed articles about *washoku* in the 1980s. Since 1983, the number of articles concerning *washoku* has been rapidly increasing. Except the gossip and scandals in show business that used *washoku* as a prop, these articles can be divided into the following five categories. The first is the restaurant review, which shed light on the expensive but affordable *washoku* restaurants and the chefs and mistresses who ran them. The second is about the various kinds of plates and utensils suitable for the *washoku* table; these articles wrote about fascinating travel destinations for finding folk art, namely *mingei*, and the plates and utensils that should be kept at home to project an air of wealth. The third includes cooking methods—from basic recipes to useful hints—for bringing the professional tastes of high-class restaurants to the home kitchen. The fourth type of article revalued *washoku* based on beauty, diet, and health, and we found many articles introducing beautiful actresses' and fashion models' practices and experiences of eating *washoku* to obtain their fit bodies. The fifth is about the style of *washoku* dining, and this type of article taught proper and elegant manners to their female readers. It is notable that *washoku* became a universal luxury around this time. "Enjoy meals not at a café but at a '*Washoku*' restaurant"—this title from 1985 in women's magazine *an·an* shows that *washoku* came to be considered a prized commodity that was not limited to certain classes, but was for everyone; consequently, it became a value-added commodity with a brand-new style through which consumers could feel a kind of luxury.

The frequent coverage of *washoku* in articles in women's magazines was closely linked to the changes in the publication of magazines for women since the 1970s. Furuta (2008) pointed out

Table 1. Articles about washoku published in women's magazines (1981-1990)

Year of publication	Topics	Magazine title	Number of articles
1981			0
1982			0
1983	*washoku* restaurant	"CROISSANT" "*an ・ an*"	10
	tableware	"*non ・ no*"	1
1984	*washoku* restaurant	"CLASSY" "*an ・ an*"	4
1985	*washoku* restaurant	"SOPHIA" "CLASSY" "*an ・ an*" "Ef"	6
1986	tableware	"SOPHIA" "*an ・ an*"	7
	washoku restaurant	"More" "CROISSANT"	3
	cooking (method and recipe)	"SOPHIA" "CLASSY" "*an ・ an*" "More"	3
1987	*washoku* restaurant	"CLASSY" "Avenue" "*Rurubu*"	5
	cooking (method and recipe)	"SOPHIA" "CLASSY"	2
	tableware	"CLASSY" "Ef"	2
	beauty, diet, and health	"COSMOPOLITAN"	1
1988	*washoku* restaurant	"*Hanako*" "*Katei gaho*" "CLASSY" "SAY" "*an ・ an*" "*Josei sebun*" "CROISSANT" "*Fujin koron*" "*non ・ no*" "*Kurashi no techo*" "ELLE JAPON" "Mrs"	31
	tableware	"CLASSY" "SOPHIA" "*an ・ an*" "MINE" "COSMOPOLITAN" "*Shukan Josei*"	16
	cooking (method and recipe)	"Katei gaho" "CLASSY" "SOPHIA" "*Josei sebun*" "*Shufu no tomo*" "*Fujin kurabu*"	9
	beauty, diet, and health	"*Hanako*" "*an ・ an*" "ELLE JAPON"	3
	table manners	"*Josei sebun*" "*non ・ no*"	2
1989	*washoku* restaurant	"Clique" "CLASSY" "SAY" "More" "Mrs" "CROISSANT" "COSMOPOLITAN" "*Fujin gaho*"	27
	tableware	"CLASSY" "*an ・ an*" "Ef" "Mrs" "SOPHIA" "MINE" "*Katei gaho*"	21
	cooking (method and recipe)	"*Shukan Josei*" "MINE" "More" "CROISSANT" "LEE" "*Katei gaho*" "ELLE JAPON"	10
	beauty, diet, and health	"MINE" "*an ・ an*" "With" "La Seine"	10
	table manners	"SAY" "*Josei jishin*" "MORE"	3
1990	tableware	"MINE" "CLASSY" "Katei gaho" "*Shufu no tomo*" "SOPHIA" "CROISSANT"	24
	washoku restaurant	"*Josei jishin*" "With" "*Katei gaho*" "SOPHIA" "*Hanako*" "*Fujin koron*" "Clique" "CLASSY" "SAY" "COSMOPOLITAN" "*Shufu no tomo*"	15
	cooking (method and recipe)	"Clique" "LEE" "*Katei gaho*" "With"	4
	beauty, diet, and health	"*an ・ an*" "LEE"	4
	table manners	"SAY"	1

From the retrieved data of the database "Web OYA-bunko."

that women's magazines changed drastically from earlier ones that presupposed gender roles and intended to give guidance for everyday home life[6]. The publication of *an·an* and *non·no* proved that women's magazines were segmentalized by age and lifestyle, and in the 1980s the publication of women's magazines boomed. It can be said that *washoku* was discovered as a commodity with a close relationship to segmentalized and diversified women's lifestyles. Since then, *washoku* has been re-valued as a fashionable commodity and even now it is of strong interest in Japanese society. This paper considers the recent increasing interest in *washoku*, focusing on the process leading up to the registration of *washoku* as an Intangible Cultural Heritage.

Toward the Registration of *Washoku* as an Intangible Cultural Heritage

Another institutionalization of Japanese food occurred prior to the UNESCO registration, namely, a quality certification system for *washoku* served outside of Japan run by the Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry, and Fisheries (MAFF), which was ironically referred to as the "Sushi Police." In 2006, the MAFF planned to certify the food served at many Japanese restaurants around the world during the Japanese food boom. This system received severe criticism and the MAFF made policy changes, abandoning the official certification. It should be noted that authentic Japanese food was certified while numerous variations on Japanese food were being created outside of Japan during the Japanese food boom.

However, Japanese society never lost interest in *washoku*, which they considered authentic and traditional, and this is true even now. In 2011, the Japanese Culinary Academy, which was organized mainly by expert chefs in 2004 in Kyoto and was designated to develop, research, and promote Japanese cuisine[7], proposed the protection and inheritance of *washoku* culture and its registration as a UNESCO cultural heritage practice for Kyoto Prefecture. Kyoto Prefecture immediately demanded that they embark on the registration process, and the MAFF launched a committee to discuss the registration of traditional Japanese cuisine. The chair of the committee was Isao Kumakura, a Japanese cultural historian specializing in the history and art of the Japanese tea ceremony, and several other committee members were also members of the administrative board of the Japanese Culinary Academy. The goals of the committee were 1) to confirm and promote Japanese food culture, 2) to revalorize Japanese cuisine, and 3) to make Japanese traditional cuisine a UNESCO intangible cultural heritage practice. The committee meeting minutes indicate that while the committee members discussed what should be preserved as cultural heritage and how the government promoted and developed the movement toward registration, they tended to recognize and applause the essence of Japan and of "Japaneseness."

In 2012, it was agreed that the Japanese Government aimed to submit *washoku* culture to UNESCO, and the UNESCO Intangible Cultural Asset Promotion Council[8] was established in order to promote this registration. Consequently, in 2013 at the Intergovernmental Committee for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage in Baku, Azerbaijan, *washoku*, or Japanese traditional cuisine[9], was registered as an Intangible Cultural Heritage by UNESCO, following French, Mediterranean, Mexican, and Turkish cuisines. The leaflet that was published for its registration explains the nature of *washoku* by mentioning these four points (Figure 2);

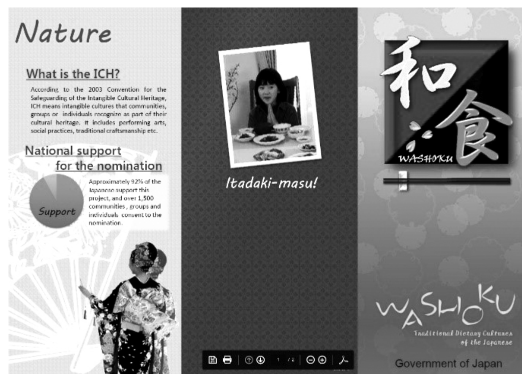

Figure 2. Leaflet published by the Japanese government introducing *washoku*
https://www.maff.go.jp/j/keikaku/syokubunka/ich/pdf/leaflet_e2ok.pdf (Retrieved 24 Jan 2020)

1) Various fresh ingredients and using their natural flavors: The ingredients used in washoku are diverse, fresh, and available within four distinct seasons. Washoku requires minimal cooking and processing.
2) Well-balanced and healthy diets: Washoku contributes to a long, healthy life and to the prevention of obesity among the Japanese, since it constitutes a well-balanced and low-fat diet.
3) Emphasis on the beauty of nature in presentation: The beauty of nature and the changing of the seasons are emphasized in the presentation of *washoku*. Plates are decorated with leaves, flowers, and bamboo, and natural motifs are represented in decoratively-cut food. Decorating tables and rooms with objects matching the season is also closely associated with *washoku*.
4) Connection to annual events: *Washoku* has developed using traditional knowledge and customs that are closely associated with nature and connected to annual events. Sharing meals together strengthens the bonds between family and community members, helping them appreciate the ingredients that were gifted by nature[10)].

These characteristics—namely diversity, health, beauty, and tradition—have been highlighted through leaflets and magazines published by the MAFF and have been practiced in various kinds of promotional projects.

The Various Supporters of *Washoku*

As clarified in the definition of *washoku* as more than food, diverse groups of people are engaged in its revaluation. Who revalued *washoku* and in what contexts was it valued?

First, it should be noted that it was not the Cultural Affairs Agency but the Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry, and Fisheries (MAFF) that took the initiative in the registration of *washoku* as an Intangible Cultural Heritage. This is not completely unrelated to the drastic changes in agricultural, forestry, and fishery policies in Japan at the end of the 21st century. A revision of the basic agricultural law in 1999 shows this shift clearly. While the previous law, which was enacted in 1961, laid down the fundamental principles for agricultural production and farmers, the new

basic law—the Basic Law on Food, Agriculture, and Rural Areas—covers the multifunctional characteristics of agriculture, including national land conservation, watershed protection, formation of better landscape, and dissemination of culture. In addition, the recent agricultural policies in Japan give weigh to food and food culture as closely related to regional communities. Today, *washoku* plays a crucial role in Japanese agricultural policies. From its review over the past five years since the registration[11)], it is clear that the MAFF values the consumable and profitable nature of *washoku*. The review explains that *washoku* draws international attention, showing this through the increasing number of Japanese restaurants abroad[12)]; the increasing export of agricultural, forestry, and fishery products[13)]; the increase in visitors to Japan; and the value of the tourist market[14)].

Second, professional cooks, especially *washoku* chefs, assume a large role in heritage politics. As mentioned before, the first step toward UNESCO registration was advanced by the Japanese Culinary Academy, which was composed mainly of professional chefs such as Yoshihiro Murata, a notable chef from Kikunoi, a high-class Japanese restaurant. The *Washoku* Association of Japan, a primary promotional body that was established in 2015 after *washoku's* registration, is actively involved with cooks, chefs, and entrepreneurs in the food industry. They were all concerned that *washoku* was a dying tradition and launched the organization to establish *washoku's* authenticity and to educate people around the world.

Third, we cannot deny the academic appreciation of *washoku*. Due to the nature of food, *washoku* is studied in various academic disciplines. Among them, a scientific approach to its efficacy is considered significant in promoting *washoku* culture. We find examples of this in scientific explanations to authenticate the potency of traditional fermented food products and specific fungi, such as *Aspergillus oryzae* (e.g. Kusumoto 2017). *Washoku* is now an important arena for various academic disciplines. This leads to the foundation of the academic associations concerning *washoku* and the establishment of departments and educational courses involved in interdisciplinary studies of food in universities.

Fourth, dietary education plays a crucial role in the *washoku* movement. As is clear from the Basic Law on Dietary Education enacted in 2005, dietary education has recently been considered a mainstream project at the national level in Japan. The project strongly recommends a Japanese-style diet that is based on rice, and places considerable value on *washoku*. As shown in the MAFF's project "Let's Wa-gohan!," the Japanese government aims to protect and promote *washoku* culture through dietary education. Dietary education mobilizes many people and organizations, including agricultural administrators from regional to national levels, educators at schools and communities, parents with children, and various companies involved in the food industry. Though dietary education may be merely a vehicle for other economic, social, and political goals, it is obvious the *washoku* diet is commonly seen as authentic.

Fifth, there is the matter of the complex relationship between a region and a nation. While environmental diversity is emphasized, social diversity does not come to the surface. We seldom recognize the diversified dietary cultures that are created through human migration and by minority groups when considering the cultural heritage of *washoku*. *Washoku* is a powerful tool for enhancing the national geographical imagination by obscuring the social differences within Japan. The phrase "All Japan" was frequently used in the discussion to prepare for the UNESCO

registration. However, there is an exception. The city of Kyoto has played a specific role in affirming and consuming Japanese tradition, and it took an active role in the registration of *washoku*. For example, Kyoto Revitalization PR posters with the pleasant-sounding but ambiguous phrase "Nihon ni Kyoto ga atte yokatta (We are happy there is Kyoto in Japan)" shows Kyoto's special position within the whole of Japan. The project started in 2007 and aimed to revitalize Kyoto as a national strategy. In other words, Kyoto is not a "region," but emblematic of Japan as a whole.

Concluding Remarks

As clarified in the process to register as an intangible cultural heritage practice, *washoku* is not merely a kind of food or a dietary genre. It is not only food, but also more-than-food. As Goodman (2015) noted, research on food geographies is developing and becoming integral to questions about the materialism of food and space, body and affect, embodiment, and cultural practices. Food is now being studied in terms of its relationship to time, society, materiality, and space. This perspective is useful for the consideration of *washoku*. While *washoku* is consumed as food, it is representative of the beauty of food, utensils, and space, and of what "Japanese culture" should be. *Washoku* as more-than-food is recognized and promoted to symbolize "Japaneseness," and it can be a powerful economic and political tool.

Washoku possibly has something in common with the cultural elements that are reconfigured and recreated as national tradition. However, we should pay attention to its specific nature. We experience *washoku* through the practice of eating; thus, we need to consider it from the national geographical imagination that is constructed viscerally. As Crew (2001) noted, food is something that both viscerally segregates us and radically bring us together; therefore, *washoku* creates our identity, especially the Japanese national identity, and makes a visceral distinction between different cultural groups.

Food creates our bodies personally and socially. However, eating is often considered natural for human beings. Through eating a variety of foods, our bodies are socialized without realizing. What do we eat and how do we behave? *Washoku* culture is considered the way it should always be, and it is inscribed on our bodies. What is Japan and who are the Japanese when appreciating *washoku* culture? Under such social conditions, how does the individual practice of eating negotiate with the visceral formation of national identity? We can say that *washoku* is a powerful system of values, regulations, and beliefs.

Acknowledgments

This paper was originally presented at the International Symposium on the History of Geographical Thought "Geographies of Identities and Imaginations" held at University College Dublin on July 10-12, 2019.

Notes

1) Originally, the term meta-cultural production was used in Kirschenblatt-Gimblett's essay on intangible heritage (2004). In her discussion of meta-cultural production, she stressed following three points; 1) tensions between the identity-forming meaning of cultural heritage and its instrumentalization for nationalist purposes, 2) the valorization of commodification and alienation, and 3) the importance of cultural heritage in shaping the future.
2) The author published research about the commodification of local culture and government policies (Fukuda 2005), and the rural landscape and the politics of aesthetics (Fukuda 2017).
3) Though they never used the term "visceral geographies" in Japanese, Fujiwara (2005) and Yuzawa (2018) are both highly vaunted books that interpret history and geography by focusing on the practice and space of eating.
4) "Shushoku ni tayorisugiteiru" *Asahi Shimbun*, 22 November 1951.
5) "Igan, washoku no hito no houga ooi" *Asahi Shimbun*, 22 January 1965.
6) "*Fujin koron*" (started in 1916), "*Shufu no tomo*" (first published in 1917), "*Fujin gaho*" (first published 1905), and "*Fujin kurabu*" (first published in 1920 and suspended in 1988) are examples of early magazines that targeted women readers.
7) The director of the Academy is Yoshihiro Murata, a representative executive of an established Japanese restaurant, Kikunoi. In order to promote the global understanding of Japanese cuisine and contribute to the next generation of Japanese food chefs, developing projects such as the food education project, the Japanese Culinary Art Competition, and the Japanese Culinary Fellowship are aimed at top-level chefs overseas.
8) It is the predecessor of *Washoku bunka kokumin kaigi* (National Council for Washoku Culture), namely *Washoku* Japan.
9) The official registration name is "*Washoku*, traditional dietary cultures of the Japanese, notably for the celebration of New Year."
10) Cited from the leaflet (Figure 2).
11) "Washoku no UNESCO mukei-bunka-isan toroku 5 shunen (5 years after the registration of washoku as UNESCO Intangible Cultural Heritage.)"
https://www.maff.go.jp/j/keikaku/syokubunka/wasyoku_unesco5/unesco5.html (Retrieved 24 Jan. 2020)
12) The number increased from 55,000 restaurants in 2013 to 118,000 restaurants in 2017.
13) The number increased from 550.5 billion yen in 2013, to 745.1 billion yen in 2015, to 807.1 billion yen in 2017.
14) Visitors increased from 10.4 million in 2013, to 19.7 million in 2015, to 28.7 million in 2017. Foreign tourists' consumption increased from 1417 billion yen in 2013, to 3477 billion yen in 2015, to 4416 billion yen in 2017. The survey shows that the first things that inbound visitors want to do is go to the spa and partake in nature tourism, and the second is to eat local food.

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The Politics of Human Excreta:
Urban-Rural Metabolic Rift in Modern Japan, 1920s

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Introduction

The relationships between human society and human excreta vary from time to time and from place to place. Rockefeller (1998) pointed out that in Europe there was an ambivalent attitude toward the agricultural value of human excreta in comparison to that in Asian cultures. This cultural or social taboo causes an obstacle to the reuse of human excreta for agriculture or other economic activity and the spatial and temporal inequalities in access to sanitation (Jewitt 2011a; 2011b).

The issues of human waste so far mainly remained in the domain of technology and engineering, and social sciences were also the primary concerns to environmental policy and urban planning. Moore (2012), however, insisted that "the attempts to understand waste from multiple vantages are fruitful avenues for a politics of things", by mapping waste as resource or commodity, hazard or risk, and disorder or "actant" (hybrids). We may be able to address the characters of each social, cultural and spatial formations by clarifying the categorization, the ways of treatments and the politics of human or non-human waste including human excreta.

Over the last few decades, some critical geographers, particularly urban political ecologists, who have paid attention to urbanization as the complex and uneven process of socio-environmental changes, have been trying to consider urban environment as metabolic process involving circulations and flows of materials, people and energy mediated through uneven power relations, and investigate the dialectical politics of human and non-human actants in urban-rural metabolic circulations (Swyngedouw 1996, 2006; Gandy 2004; Braun 2005). In these researches, water becomes a key subject. Since water is considered as material, political, and biopolitical simultaneously (Bakker 2012; Cantor 2017), the study of water can prompt us to reconsider the evolving and contradicting relations between the modernity and "nature" (Kaika 2005; Gandy 2014).

Regarding the metabolic circulations and urbanization, human excreta also seem to be an interesting matter. While night soil was considered as a valuable fertilizer, its reuse in agriculture sometimes can produce a terrible situation in the city because of the unpredictable character of those materials (Rockefeller 1998). It can threaten food security and individual bodily health. Therefore, historical studies of the issues of human excreta can also give us a new perspective on the construction of modern urban infrastructure. The uneven provision of infrastructure (e.g. sewage network and water supply) in urban spaces can be understood more deeply by focusing on

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the relations or articulations of modern infrastructure vis-à-vis "traditional" ways of disposal or reuse of waste. It seems that we can reconsider the complicated processes of modernization and urbanization of society by investigating some changes in the "social position" of waste including human excreta.

Until the 19th century, not only in China and Japan but also Britain and France, human excreta were used as a fertilizer in agricultural fields (Goddard 1996). These urban–rural relations in East Asia, however, could not be maintained under urbanization and industrialization, and a "metabolic rift" between city and country was produced due to the development of the capitalist mode of production (McClintock 2010). Karl Marx mentioned the issues of the recycling or reuse of human wastes and excreta in the development of the capitalist economy in his *Capital* (Marx 1981: 195-196).

> The natural human waste products, remains of clothing in the form of rags, etc. are the refuse of consumption. But there is a colossal wastage in the capitalist economy in proportion to their actual use. In London, for example, they can do nothing better with the excrement produced by 4 1/2 million people than pollute the Thames with it, at monstrous expense.
>
> The increase in the cost of raw materials, of course, provides the incentive to make use of waste products. The general conditions for this re-utilization are: the massive presence of this refuse, a thing which results only when labour is carried on on a large scale; the improvement of machine, so that materials that were previously unusable in their given form are converted into a form suitable for new production; and finally, scientific progress of such waste products. Of course, great economies of this kind can also be found in the small-scale, almost horticultural agriculture carried on in Lombardy, southern China and Japan. In general, however, agricultural productivity is obtained in this system only at the cost of a great prodigality in human labour-power withdrawn from other spheres of production.

As Marx pointed out, the capitalist economy or urbanization disrupted the metabolic relationships between human and nature dramatically. It destroyed human body as well as land, produced the metabolic and social rift between nature and society and the unsanitary urban environment. Moreover, Marx also recognized that the system in Japan was based on the huge investment of labor-power.

In this case study of Fukuoka city and its surrounding areas, northern Kyushu region, and western Japan, which I deal with in this paper, I shall consider the transformation of urban-rural metabolic relations or circulations in the 1920s by investigating the issues regarding the treatments of human excreta. I focus on a rural union and its movement in 1921. It seems that this movement became one of the moments which changed urban-rural metabolic relations of human excreta or "night soil" and organized peasants within and across rural communities in the Fukuoka region. As Kira (2002) discussed a similar movement that occurred in Yokohama city and its surrounding area in 1921, we can consider that this issue served as a symbolic event at the time of nationwide urbanization. This paper has three parts. First, I trace the basic characteristics of human excreta as fertilizer and their changes throughout modern Japanese society. Some farmers or peasants felt that some traditional ideas and customs of rural society became out-of-date under urbanization and "global" economic activities. Therefore, human labor that dipped up human excreta, was regarded as "dirty work" by peasants themselves as well as urban residents. The issues of night

soil seem to show economic, social, and cultural contradictions of urbanization that farmers and peasants faced in those days. Second, I pay attention to the processes of negotiations between the union and urban residents concerning the reduction of the fee of night soil. I focus on the movement's policy or tactic of the union that tried to oppose the city to the country and then urban landlords to its tenants in the city. Finally, I briefly describe the activities of the union after 1921. This union continued to grapple with this issue, and some members were engaged in the organization of the branch of the peasant movement in the Fukuoka prefecture.

Human Excreta as a Fertilizer: An Aspect of Urban-Rural Metabolic Relations

In Japan, since the Medieval Period or the Premodern Age, human excreta of city residents have been utilized as a precious fertilizer to develop agriculture in suburban area (Watanabe 1983). "A night soil" was an integral part of the relationships and circulations between city and country. For example, farmers, peasants, and daily laborers went to the city to sell their agriculture products and dropped into some houses to dip up human excreta from their toilets. They poured them into a tube and carried those tubes using their honey wagon. This was considered very hard works and it took about eight to nine hours per day to dip up human excreta from several houses. Landlords and farmers or peasants had a contract in terms of the fees and the frequencies. Farmers or peasants sometimes competed against each other for profitable contracts. There were also cases in which middlemen dipped up human excreta and sold them to farmers or peasants. Plural routes circulated human excreta between city and country (Hashimoto 1935).

It was the custom that farmers or peasants paid urban landlords a large amount of glutinous rice, vegetables, and other materials as fees. Human excreta had an economic value for city residents as well as peasants. In general, the fee of feces was more expensive than that of urines. The fee differentials depended on the distance from the city to the rural area, topographical conditions of the house, the number of people (i.e. adults and children) within a household, and so on. These urban-rural relationships varied from place to place. Moreover, human excreta were not always valuable materials. When peasants were reluctant or canceled to dip them up during rainy seasons or at the time of an epidemic of infectious disease (e.g. cholera), human excreta immediately turned into dangerous, valueless, and uncanny materials which threatened everyday life in the city.

In those days, human excreta would be a kind of "commons" for urban residents (Gidwani 2013). For example, human excreta in public schools, offices, and hospitals were the resource of revenue for municipal government. Since the 1910s, municipal governments have been planning to do the municipal disposal of human excreta in order to maintain urban sanitation and ensure revenue under rapid urbanization. However, landlords sometimes objected to this project, because they lost their source of income, considering that they were able to appropriate this as highly valuable commodities, while their tenants were given its benefits only partially. For both urban residents and rural ones, human excreta were unevenly distributed resources that depended on their social position and ability to access that is embedded in the socio-economic and spatial context.

After the Russo-Japanese War and during the First World War, Japanese society experienced radical transformation, such as rapid heavy industrialization, especially the boosting of steel manufacturing, and rapid urbanization of not only large cities like Tokyo and Osaka, but also secondary ones like Fukuoka. As many people, especially the young generation, moved from rural areas to the cities to work as factory laborers and the like, the economic structures, social relations and control, and cultural attitudes also drastically changed in the rural area. Given these circumstances, it was difficult to maintain the traditional ways of reusing human excreta in agriculture little by little.

In the case of Fukuoka city many conflicts and negotiations between the city and its surrounding rural areas had already occurred in terms of the fee of human excreta since the Meiji period. For example, in February 1892 gentleman farmers in the Kasuya district (Gun 郡) asked landlords to reduce the fee because of bad harvest, bad weather, and economic crisis. When they canceled to dip up them, urban landlords denied their request and made a plan to establish a private company to dispose of human excreta. In the end, the mayor of Fukuoka city undertook mediation and resolved this conflict (Fukuokashishi Henshuiinkai 2015).

In 1921 conflicts on night soil happened again. We focus on the process of negotiations between Fukuoka city and the union organized by farmers and peasants who lived in its surrounding areas, and investigate some changes in urban-rural metabolic circulations in Modern Japan.

The Birth of "the Union of Fukuoka Urban Agricultural Reform"

On March 26 1921, Takasaki Masato and his comrades held the founding rally to organize "The Union of Fukuoka Urban Agricultural Reform" (*Fukuoka Toshi Nōji Kumiai* 福岡都市農事改良組合) at Hakozaki public hall, Kasuya district. This union was composed of gentleman farmers, local farmers, and peasants who lived in three districts (Kasuya, Chikushi, and Sawara) including 48 villages and towns around Fukuoka city. They amounted to form around 5,000 households. The main leaders of this union were the members of the district assembly, the officials of agricultural association and so on. Takasaki was born in the Fukuoka prefecture in 1890 and worked as an agricultural engineer at the Public Agricultural Experimental Station in the Kasuya district. In the latter parts of his life, he organized the school and other group activities for peasants and played a leading role in establishing a peasant movement and especially Kyushu branch of "The Union of National Peasants" (*Nippon Nōmin Kumiai* 日本農民組合) (Moritani 1983). It seems that the establishment of the Union of Fukuoka Urban Agricultural Reform was an important starting moment of his later activities of grass roots peasant movement. He tried to change the ideas and actions of peasants and improve their daily lives.

The horticultural agriculture flourished in these suburban areas, especially in the town of Hakozaki located on the east side of Fukuoka city. Various sorts of vegetables like white radish, cucumber and pumpkin, were produced and consumed in Fukuoka city. These were also exported to the neighboring metropolitan areas and to Northern China. However, farmers and peasants in these areas were faced with economic difficulties in those days. One of the reasons was a fall in the price of rice and cocoon (*Kyushu Nipō,* March 16, 1921), because the Japanese government had imported rice from the Korean peninsula and other Southeast Asian regions to stabilize the

price of rice. In addition to the foregoing, rapid urbanization had started to influence these suburban areas, particularly the Kasuya district, since the First World War. Increasing urban residents suffered from a housing shortage in the city and demanded their housing site in this surrounding area. In this district, there were also many coal mines. These caused the rising of land price, the decline of farmland, and the outflow of agricultural laborers in suburban areas. On the contrary, the increase of the urban population raised the demand for various vegetables and prompted the peasants to develop horticulture agriculture further. It seems that urbanization had negative and positive effects on agricultural production in this suburban area. Some gentleman farmers realized that there were no longer national boundaries on economic activities and they had to change their habitual or outdated ideas and behaviors concerning the ways of agricultural productions and the rural economy as a whole.

As an agricultural engineer, Takasaki was also keenly aware of being required for increasing the productivity of agriculture and improving the poor circumstances of the rural economy and society. He considered that reforming the way of utilizing night soil as one of the main fertilizers might become a first step towards the revitalization of the rural economy. According to the estimation by a local newspaper, as in Fukuoka city, the total fee of night soil was equivalent to around 450,000 yen per year, it became a heavy burden for the rural economic condition. In the case of other metropolitan areas in the Fukuoka prefecture and in the Kyushu region, this fee became cheaper or urban landlords even had to give the peasants small amount of money in order to have them dip up human excreta. Some municipal governments in the Fukuoka prefecture had already launched on the municipal management of the disposal of human excreta (Onjo 2004). While it was a very heavy task to dip up excreta and carry it from individual urban houses to the rural areas, many urban residents regarded this labor as "dirty work". It seems that the peasants had ambivalent affections toward this kind of work which some peasants called "the mission of Japanese peasants". The experience of this harsh labor could be a measure to awaken a sense of solidarity or entitlement to peasants or daily laborers. Therefore, this union aimed at reducing the fees in order to not only cut down on the costs of production, but also to unify peasants across the various rural communities.

About 500 concerned people gathered at the founding rally and Takasaki addressed them as follows:

> As the people in Fukuoka prefecture purchases a lot of vegetables and fruits produced in other prefectures, we must cut down the fee of human excreta in consultation with urban landlords or landowners in order to reduce the cost of production and develop our production. If we can reduce the cost, we can hire good agricultural engineers and build a fine agricultural experimental station. …… Above all, we, our hard-working farmers and peasants, have to unite each other.
>
> (*Kyushu Nipō*, an evening edition, March 27, 1921)

Many participants were in favor of this assertion, but there were various opinions about the policy of this movement from the beginning, especially those concerning the reduction percentage in the fees and the ways of negotiations with urban residents. The union policy seems to be

broadly divided into two poles. The first one is a moderate group. This group considered that the customary contracts and reciprocal social relationships between the farmers or peasants and the urban residents had to be retained, if possible, since they still regarded human excreta as one of the valuable fertilizers and they did not hope to excessively aggravate the relationships with urban residents. Many of them claimed the reduction of 50 or 70 percent. A participant was worried that the competitions over excreta among peasants could become too intense and, as an effect, weaken their solidarity or unity, especially if it should become free of charge. In addition, many peasants were not yet accustomed to engaging in such a collective movement. Therefore, they asked their leaders to make discreet negotiations. The other pole consisted of the hard-liners who insisted on the cancellation of dipping up excreta, if urban landlords would not consent to reduce the fees (*Kyushu Nipō*, March 27, 1921). They requested the reduction of 70 percent or free of charge, because they could already use other artificial fertilizers or import night soil from the neighboring cities.

These oppositions among participants roughly depended on class, generation, distance from the city, and so on. Where many hard-liners relatively belonged to a lower class and younger generation, the moderate group members were from upper- and middle-class and older folks. According to what Takasaki explained, while many peasants who lived in the neighboring areas and dipped up only urine requested the reduction of 70 percent, those who came from far away and dipped up feces requested free of charge (*Fukuoka NichiNichi Sinbun*, April 12, 1921; *Kyushu Nipō*, May 6, 1921). In the end, the union was unable to bring their discussions to a conclusion at this rally. After the rally leading members opened a small committee and decided to claim the reduction of 70 percent. Although many leading members including Takasaki seemed to be in favor of the moderate policy, they needed to pay attention to the hard-liners to raise their solidarity and vitality within this new-born union. Takasaki conveyed this request to the mayor of Fukuoka city, Kuze Tsuneo (*Kyushu Nipō*, March 28, 1921).

The position of municipal government was difficult and ambiguous in terms of this affair. Both the mayor and the members of the municipal assembly did not have the authority to make any decision about this affair, because the fees were basically determined by the customary negotiations and contracts between individual urban landlords and peasants, as we mentioned above. Thus they hesitated to be involved in these complicated interests and hoped to resolve it through individual negotiations. However, the municipal government could not let this problem run its course due to its impacts on the urban economy and sanitary condition. Hence, they began to inquire into the circumstances of other cities and calculate the costs needed for the disposal of excreta through municipal management or a contract with private interests (*Osaka Asahi Sinbun* Kyushu edition, April 2, 1921).

In mid-April the union released an official statement explaining why the economic value of human excreta as a fertilizer declined in these suburban areas (Nishinippon BunkaKyokai 1986).

1. The effects of industrialization and urbanization on regional agriculture.

   The development of Fukuoka city and its surrounding coal mining areas attracts many agricultural laborers. This migration causes the lack of agricultural labor powers and the skyrocketing of wage, freight, and other production costs. The agricultural lands where the peasants have invested a lot of night soil are transformed into housing, factories, and other

urban land use.

2. The changes of the traditional ideas and customs of the peasants.

   As the youth are gradually influenced by urban prejudices and the urban frivolous way of thinking, they are sometime even reluctant to be engaged in dipping up human excreta. They are sometimes even reluctant to engage in dipping up human excreta. They begin to regard these basic tasks for the peasants as “dirty work”. Some of them chose to abandon agriculture and make a course to become a factory laborer. The traditional conservative idea of the peasants is turbulent by these changes.

3. The situation of human excreta in other neighboring cities.

   The fees of human excreta in Kitakyushu region are already cheaper than in Fukuoka city, and landlords pay the peasants the fee in some cities. The fee in Fukuoka city is very high, compared to other cities.

4. The development and diffusion of artificial fertilizers.

   The rational ways of using other fertilizers including chemical ones could be developed in recent years. The price of them also declines. We could model the agriculture in European countries and use them instead of the night soil. The price of vegetables and wheat would fall at half price, if we utilize other fertilizer. Therefore, night soil becomes uneconomical as a fertilizer now.

We take notice that this statement also mentioned the problem of urban housing rent. It insisted that if the fee of human excreta would be reduced, this cost was responsibility that should be borne by the landlords, as in the case of other cities. Therefore, tenants would not need to worry about the rising of their rents. Takasaki also pointed out later that landlords banned their tenants from cultivating even their small family-type gardens using excreta, so that almost all tenants had sympathy with our assertion (*Kyushu Nipō* May, 6, 1921). It seems that the union might have two strategies by focusing on the material of human excreta. On the one hand, it opposed the peasants to urban residents in order to strengthen their fragile solidarity as well as reform economic condition. On the other hand, it tried to oppose urban landlords to its tenants in order to gain the support from the tenants.

The negotiations between the union and Fukuoka city at 1921

On the morning of April 11, some leaders of the union entered into negotiations with the mayor and some municipal councilors (*Kyushu Nipō*, April 12, 1921). On this first occasion a leader of the union explained to the mayor as follows:

> …The fee of night soil in Fukuoka city isn’t already reasonable.… We would ask you to accept our claim. We aren’t influenced by the situations of other cities and our claim of the reduction is based on the rational calculation by ourselves. We wish you to admit that our movement isn’t the confusion of the moment.… Especially the youth differ from ours in terms of the ideas about a work. They hesitate to be engaged in non-reasonable work. As we require them to do various works, we can barely maintain agricultural production. Some of them insist to dip up night soil free of charge.…
>
> (*Kyushu Nipō*, April 12, 1921)

The leaders tried to insist on the rationality and validity of their claim and the necessity of their movement by referring to some deeper changes in the situations of rural community and economy. They hoped that the mayor could convey their claim to the members of the municipal assembly, the heads of neighborhood associations (*Cho Sōdai* 町総代), and the heads of neighborhood sanitary associations (*Eisei Kumicho* 衛生組長) who could thereafter discuss it with individual landlords or residents more directly. The former was about 270 in Fukuoka city, and these heads were expected to reply to the claim of the union as the representatives of neighborhood associations or play a role in mediating between landlords or residents and the union individually.

Although they also asked the opinion of the mayor in this meeting, he did not commit himself to anything definite about the reduction. As mentioned above, the interest was complicated relations and the mayor hesitated to intervene in this affair officially. However, on this afternoon the mayor met with the leaders privately and proposed the compromise of 50 percent reduction. He told them that it would be possible to obtain the agreement at the municipal assembly, if they would agree on the reduction of 50 percent (*Kyushu Nipō*, April 12, 1921). Since this affair could raise not only an urban-rural antagonism but also a sanitary crisis and social unrest or discontent within the city, the mayor wished to avoid making it more complicated and radical. However, both failed to come to an agreement on this occasion, since the leaders of the union also had to persist on their own claim (*Osaka Asahi Sinbun* Kyushu edition, April 13, 1921).

On April 18 the mayor made a report of this talk at the municipal assembly. As most of the members were indecisive in this affair, it was determined that the mayor had to hear the opinions of the heads of neighborhood organizations and sanitation organizations and meet the leaders of the union again (*Kyushu Nipō*, April 19, 1921).

The leaders of the union held their committee on May 5. This committee also presented new members who dipped up human excreta from coal mines around Fukuoka city. More and more farmers and peasants became interested in this movement. Takasaki used the term "civilized farmers or peasants" and insisted on "peaceful or organizational negotiations" in explaining the characteristics of this movement. He tried to creat an appealing significance or new impression of their movement in order to enlighten and encourage the peasants who were unenthusiastic about this affair (*Kyushu Nipō*, May 6, 1921). He endeavored to transform the traditional customs based on the individual contracts into "formalized and collective rule" and to boost the sense of entitlement of peasants in moderate ways. However, the union did not become monolithic concerning its policy. Some hard-liners said:

> It is certainly inappropriate for the refusal to dip up night soil. We don't want to do such thing. But if the answer of the landlords wouldn't be understood by us, the time of definite decision, in short the cancelation of dipping up night soil, may come.
>
> (*Kyushu Nipō*, May 6, 1921)

On May 10 the heads of neighborhood associations came together for discussion, but they were not able to reach an agreement. As in Fukuoka city human excreta still sustained its economic value as a fertilizer to a certain extent and landlords retained their dominant right to dispose of it, thus, it would be difficult for even the heads to reach a consensus of urban residents beyond

the different and complicated interests of each neighborhood association. This affair could cause a class opposition between the landlords and their tenants, as Takasaki mentioned. In addition to that, one head expressed his dissatisfaction to the union as follows:

> From the outset the union seems to look upon the residents of Fukuoka city as an enemy.…According to newspaper, some members of the union insisted on the cancelation of dipping until the solution of the negotiations.…However there were the mutual economic and commercial reciprocities between Fukuoka city and its surrounding country so far.… The villagers must continue to dip up the excreta until we would reach an agreement.…
>
> (*Kyushu Nipō*, May 9, 1921)

Four leaders of the union and three delegates of the heads entered into negotiations on May 20. A newspaper reported that, at first, the negotiations were anticipated to reach an agreement smoothly and peacefully, however neither side yielded to one another, and the atmosphere became more and more hostile. The thing is that the heads could not reply to the percentage of the reduction even at this point. They said:

> The claim of the union is quite right, and we feel a deep sympathy for the villagers. We can't declare, however, that we will reduce the fee of night soil by 70 or 50 percent. We wish you to resolve this affaire by the individual negotiations between landlords and yourselves. If the negotiations failed, we shall undertake the trouble to arbitrate willingly.
>
> (*Kyushu Nipō*, May 21, 1921)

This ambiguous answer made the leaders of the union angry, since the union had an aim of collective negotiation. As farmers and peasants could not change the traditional contract and request urban landlords to reduce the fees through an individual power (*Fukuoka Nichinichi Sinbun*, May 21, 1921), the collective negotiation was a basic policy of the union. After a lot of back and forth argumentation, the heads requested the leaders to wait until May 30. A leader of the union said with an uncanny smile:

> About fifty days already have passed since our first meeting with the mayor of Fukuoka. The urban residents shall leave this affair undecided. However, the feelings of villagers got gradually excited about this response to such an extent that some villagers criticized even us as weak-kneed. The rainy season will not be before long, when we don't need excreta. We wait the urban response preparing for the cancellation of dipping up excreta.
>
> (*Kyushu Nipō*, May 21, 1921)

On the meeting on May 28, the heads of neighborhood associations finally replied to the union regarding the fee reduction by 50 percent. As the union stuck to its own claim of 70 percent, they could not agree with each other and they had anoter appointment to meet on June 15. According to a newspaper, the leaders of the union showed two postcards to the heads in the middle of this talk. In the postcards for a leader of the union, it was written that the argument of the heads was just only with regard to the protection of the interests of landlords and almost all urban tenants did not suffer any damage from this reduction (*Kyushu Nipō*, May 29, 1921). As the reduction of house rent also became one of the urban social problems in those days, the union seems to have

gotten a concession from the heads by hinting indirectly at class opposition in the city.

On June 15, the union proposed the reduction of 60 percent and asked the heads for a concession. The delegates of the heads accepted this proposal. It took around three months to reach a compromise with each other (*Fukuoka Nichinichi Sinbun*, June 16, 1921; *Kyushu Nipō*, June 16, 1921).

The urban-rural relationships after 1921

What kind of activities did this union engage in after this first movement? Fukuoka city suffered from a Cholera epidemic from August to September in 1922. The number of cases amounted to 170 and the deaths amounted to approximately 100. As it was said that peasants might refuse to dip up human excreta that turned out to be "dangerous and unvalued materials", municipal officers negotiated with the leader of the union in order to solve this crisis. From the experience of the opposition during the previous year, the union became the formal organization to contact about this affair between city and country for municipal government. Some leaders insisted on the dipping free of charge, because the cholera epidemic was not completely over and everybody was reluctant to dip up "the excreta as contaminated, dirty, and uncanny material". It was natural that they saw the deterioration of sanitary conditions as the rational reason for reducing fees or further getting fees from urban landlords. In the end, they decided to dip up excreta on the same condition to meet a happy compromise with urban residents (*Kyushu Nipō*, September 21, 1922).

The municipal government and the union might have each account for taking a cooperative policy instead of opposition. On the one hand, many leaders considered the last negotiations as successful and did not want to stimulate radical change in urban-rural relationships, because human excreta were still one of the main sources of valuable fertilizer. On the other hand, according to *Fukuoka Nichinichi Sinbun*, the municipal government launched secretly upon the research of the chemical disposal of human excreta through a private company. As there were, however, some obstacles in realizing this plan, it was advisable to maintain the urban-rural circulations (*Fukuoka Nichinichi Sinbun* November 26, 1922).

In March 1923, some members of the union tried to embark on a new movement that was aimed at disposing free of charge. On this occasion, they were divided into two groups: the hard-liners and the moderate ones. The decision of the policy was carried over until the next union meeting in autumn. Many of them thought that networks or solidarities within the union were still weak and insufficient to have them engage in the new struggle against Fukuoka city, because it could not set a local branch in each village and town, and it has yet to organize many farmers and peasants completely. (*Kyushu Nipō*, March 27, 1923).

In May 1926, the union opened a meeting wherein they tried to prevent the peasants competing with each other for human excreta. It resolved as followed:

1. The farmers and peasants in three districts are banded together and believes in the power of their reciprocities to improve and develop their rural life and economy.
2. During the summer and the rainy season or the time of the epidemic we positively reject to dip up human excreta, unless landlords should pay thirty sen (銭) per a bucket.
3. We never elect the people who haven't engaged in agriculture and also had an experience of dipping up human

excreta, as a town and village councilperson or a member of the Diet.

(*Fukuoka Nichinichi Sinbun*, May 15, 1926)

While the union seems to still have a problem in terms of their solidarity, it is interesting that it tried to apply the affair of human excreta in various political activities, election in particular, more directly. The leaders continued to regard this affair as an effective measure or a symbol of the time to unify the rural communities and raise the political consciousness of peasants.

Takasaki and other leaders were also engaged in the establishment of "the Kyushu branch of the Union of National Peasants". On March 25 1925, this union held its second conference at the town of Hakozaki and discussed the agenda including the conflicts between landlords and peasants around arable land, or the request of payment of human excreta by urban landlords during the time of sanitary crisis (*Fukuoka Nichinichi Sinbun* March 24, 1925).

Concluding Remarks

Facing rapid urbanization since 1920s, the rural leaders tried to protect and develop the rural economy and society. However, it was difficult for wealthy farmers, the other farmers, peasants, and daily agricultural laborers to share their interests and identities in rural society. As individual farmers or peasants continued to compete for night soil, their social relations were antagonistic in many cases. Therefore, it was necessary for the leaders to promote an identity of "the rural" beyond different social strata and regions, and human excreta became an important material for this movement in a symbolic meaning as well as an economic one.

This movement also came to awaken the peasants to "class consciousness". With this union, the peasant movement started to discuss the issue of farm rent and fight against the dispossession of peasant's entitlement of cultivation in an aggressive manner. These movements fluctuated the traditional social hegemony or control and the power relations based on a kind of "paternalism" or "benevolent practices" in rural areas.

For a municipal government, the disposal of human excreta gradually became an essential urban problem. However, many municipal governments could not instantly construct large infrastructure like sewage networks due to a lack of revenue source. They were forced to depend on the informal relations and traditional customs on the individual and neighborhood scale which government authority could not intervene in easily. That could be one of causes of maintaining traditional power relations in the city economically and politically. Given that the role of municipal government and assembly was limited in this regard and many landlords did not consider the problem of the disposal of human excreta in the urban scale, it could also result to an uneven provision of public service in the city under the decline of the use of night soil in the rural area. From the urban-rural circulation of human excreta and the changes that came with it, we will also be able to reconsider some characteristics of the power relations regarding the urban policy concerning public goods and services in modern Japan.

This work was supported by JSPS KAKENHI Grant Numbers JP17H02430, JP17K03250.

This paper was originally presented at the 8th Meeting of the East Asian Regional Conference in Alternative Geography held at the Hong Kong Baptist University (Dec 7, 2016).

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The Development of Resident Movements of the Ryukyu Arc during the 1970s and 1980s:
The Rise of New Regional Identities and Aspirations for Independence

NAKASHIMA Koji*

Introduction

The region commonly known in contemporary Japan as "Okinawa" refers to an arc-shaped chain of islands in the southwest of the country that is set apart from the Japanese mainland. However, from the early fifteenth century to the late nineteenth century, this chain of islands was governed by the independent Ryukyu Kingdom. Following annexation in 1879, the islands of the Ryukyu Kingdom were incorporated into the Japanese empire under the title of Okinawa Prefecture and remained under colonial rule until Japan's defeat in 1945. Although the administration of Okinawa was eventually returned from the US to Japan in 1972, Okinawa has been situated in a neo-colonial context under the regime of the sovereign state of Japan, as suggested by the unreasonable concentration of US bases in Japan on Okinawa Island.[1)]

Over the last two decades, independence has become increasingly visible as a horizon of possibility for a growing number of people (e.g. Matsushima 2012, 2014; Miyahira 2016) in the Ryukyu Arc [*Ryukyu-ko* 琉球弧]—the long arc of islands extending from the Amami Islands in the north to the Yaeyama Islands in the south.[2)] For example, in May 2013, several prominent Ryukyu scholars and activists joined together to form an association to lay out pathways to independence: The Association of Comprehensive Studies for Independence of the Lew Chewans[3)] (ACSILs), which definitely aims at independence of the Ryukyuan nation. Although this orientation toward independence for Ryukyu is in part a reaction against the neo-colonial governance of the Japanese government, it is also spurred by an increasingly palpable geopolitical identity for Ryukyu. This is because, as Takahashi (2016) points out, claims for the political independence of the "Okinawan" islands have developed in dialogue with the growing calls of indigenous people around the world for self-determination since the late 1990s. This is clearly suggested in the Charter of ACSILs (2013), "By gaining independence from Japan and removing all military bases from our islands we Lew Chewans wish to achieve our long sought-after goal of becoming a sovereign island of peace and hope that exists in friendship with other countries, regions and nations of the world."

This paper traces recent calls for independence back to a long and evolving series of resident movements that began in the early 1970s over energy development plans and continue even today

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in the ongoing movement against the US bases in Okinawa.[4)] In the early 1970s, a series of resident movements originated out of an opposition movement against the construction of Okinawa CTS—a Central Terminal Station for oil storage tanks and refineries—at Kin Bay. This anti-CTS movement helped to spur a series of diverse movements including environmental, anti-pollution, anti-base, women's, youth, and village revitalization movements throughout the Ryukyu Arc: the island groups of Amami, Okinawa, Miyako, and Yaeyama. More specifically, the paper examines how local battles morphed over time into aspirations for independence through a process of regional networking that led to the emergence of a new Ryukyu Arc identity.

While some activists and scholars have reported on and researched these resident movements in a piecemeal fashion, Okinawan historian and sociologist Kozue Uehara has been the first scholar to conduct a comprehensive study of the anti-CTS movement of Kin Bay that illustrates the practical and philosophical significance of this movement for subsequent movements. Regarding this influence, Uehara (2019: 157) argues that 1) active exchanges between socially and spatially diverse movements throughout the archipelago led residents to recognize their local island as an interconnected piece of the "Ryukyu Arc" and that 2) the various concrete actions of these movements to secure local livelihoods and ways of life were essential precursors to later efforts to advance the cause of autonomy and independence. However, while Uehara convincingly argues that the development of these resident movements of the Ryukyu Arc has led to the rise of aspirations for independence, she has not fully considered the complex relationship between the emergence of the "Ryukyu Arc" regional identity and the growth of calls for independence.

This paper sheds light on the process whereby resident movements 'jumped scale' from the local site of Kin Bay to the inter-regional scale of the Ryukyu Arc by focusing in particular on how new regional identities and aspirations for independence emerged in this process. Neil Smith (1992b: 66) defines scale as "an active progenitor of specific social processes" and suggests "political possibilities for resistance inherent in the production of specific scales, the abrogation of boundaries, the jumping of scales." As detailed in subsequent sections, the resident movements of the Ryukyu Arc originated as local communities attempted to confront the relentless imperatives of economic development and national security advanced by a Japanese state propelled by regimes of global capitalism and statism. The diverse resident movements of the Ryukyu Arc have opposed and resisted these regimes by networking with other resident movements in the island chain beyond their local context. They have thereby jumped scale beyond the imposed jurisdictional boundaries of municipalities, prefectures, and countries to construct their own emergent regional identities of "Ryukyu Arc" and "Ryukyunesia" through which they have searched for autonomy and independence. Focusing on this process brings to light the theoretical and practical implications of the politics of scale in social movements (Smith 1992a; Yamazaki 2013) as well as in the resident movements of the Ryukyu Arc.

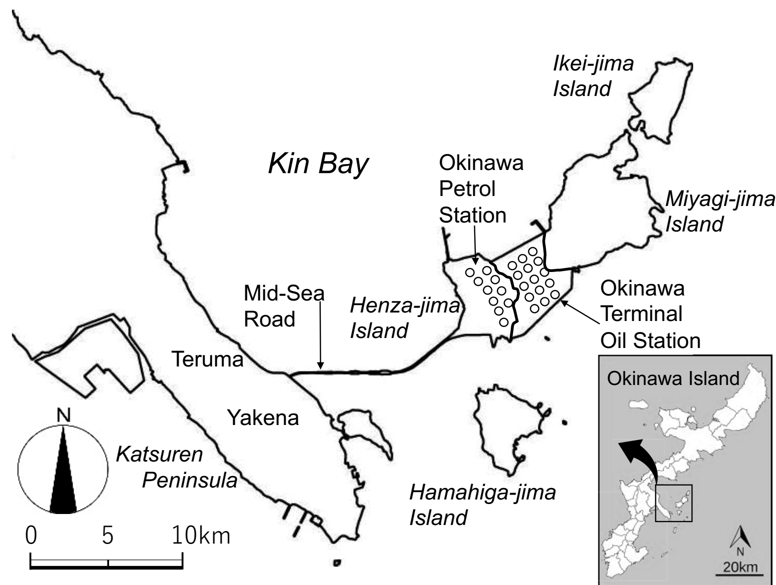

Figure. 1 Kin Bay and Okinawa CTS

The Development of Resident Movemenmts in the Ryukyu Arc

1. The anti-CTS movement in Kin Bay: "right to life" and "power of the commons"

The beginning of the resident movements of the Ryukyu Arc was the opposition movement against construction of the Okinawa CTS on land reclaimed from Kin Bay on the eastern coast of Okinawa Island in the early 1970s (Fig. 1). Plans for constructing the Okinawa CTS were based on a report conducted by the Japan Industrial Location Center[5)] that was commissioned by the Prime Minister's Office of Japan in 1969. This original plan was applied to "Development project of Kin Bay" of Yonagusuku Village, the municipal government with jurisdiction over Kin Bay, in February 1970, then developed into the "Long-term Economic Development Plan of Okinawa" of the Government of the Ryukyu Islands in September 1970.

During the final years of US occupation, the Government of the Ryukyu Islands eagerly promoted the development of "peace industries" under a reformist regime that aimed to breakaway from a base-dependent economy. As suggested by the "Koza riot" of December 20, 1970, fierce anger and frustration against frequent incidents and accidents caused by US troops and related persons intensified among Okinawans during the final years of the US occupation. The Ryukyu government could not ignore peoples' growing hostility to US troops, and it adopted policies aimed at developing energy industries, including thermal power generation, strategic petroleum reserves (e.g. CTS), and even atomic power generation[6)] by funneling foreign and Japanese capital into Okinawa. Even after the reversion of administrative authority over Okinawa to Japan, this economic development plan constituted a framework for the "Developmental Promotion Plan of

Okinawa" of the Okinawa Development Agency of the Japanese government in December 1972. As suggested by this process, the construction plan of the Okinawa CTS was developed as a core project for industrial development in Okinawa and Japan that was expected to form a key energy supply source for the economic development of Japan during the period of high economic growth (Teruya 2014a).

In 1970, the US company Gulf Oil established an Oil Storage Station on Henza-jima Island in Kin Bay and, in the following year, constructed an associated project known as the Mid-Sea Road.[7] In the same year, the Okinawa Mitsubishi Development Corporation, an affiliated company of the Mitsubishi industrial conglomerate, also applied to the Government of the Ryukyu Islands for permission to reclaim Kin Bay to construct a new oil storage station, and this application was approved in 1972. However, these rapid projects of Okinawa CTS at Kin Bay brought about unexpected accidents. During construction of the Okinawa CTS in the early 1970s, several CTS-related oil spill accidents occurred. In October 1971, Gulf Oil discharged 190 tons of crude petroleum from a tankship due to valve trouble. In January and September 1972, crude petroleum flowed out two times at the sea berth of Gulf Oil. Then, in October 1973, 300 kiloliters of crude petroleum flowed out of the oil refinery of Nansei Petroleum at Nakagusuku Bay (Uehara 2019: 70, 259).

To confront these situations, some local residents of the settlements of Yakena [屋慶名] and Teruma [照間] and also members of local environmental groups formed the Association for Saving Kin Bay (hereinafter ASK) in September 1973. ASK conducted intense non-violent direct actions including hunger-strikes and demonstrations as well as direct negotiations with and submission of open letters of inquiry to the Governor of Okinawa Prefecture aimed at stopping the reclamation of Kin Bay and the construction of the CTS. Furthermore, ASK filed a lawsuit to block reclamation in 1974, and a lawsuit for injunction against construction of the CTS in 1977. However, in the end, ASK lost both cases and construction of the CTS was eventually completed in 1980.

Through its oppositional movement against construction of the CTS, ASK proposed two novel and significant ideas. First, the guiding principle of ASK was the notion of a "right to life" [生存権]. Seishin Asato [安里清信, 1913-1982], one of the joint managers of ASK, argues that this notion of a right to life implies the right to a livelihood rooted in local nature as the basis of one's subsistence and thus the right to protect this nature from destruction (Asato 1981a). Yoshiaki Taira [平良良昭, 1944-present], a member of ASK, interpreted Asato's notion of a "right to life" as a more radical expression of "environmental rights." He argued that Okinawan people acquired their own "power of life" that was neither given nor secured by the state, but realized through "the sea, the land and the power of the commons" (Taira 1983a). Second, ASK (1978) emphasized the significance of the "power of the commons" as well as the "right to life" in the brief of a lawsuit submitted to the Naha District Court in 1978. In the brief, ASK (1978) argues that what enabled Okinawan people to survive the hard times of the Battle of Okinawa was, on one hand, local nature (the sea and the land) as a basis of their subsistence and, on the other, people's cooperation through which they shared crop fields, sweet potatoes, fish, shellfish, and seaweed. ASK (1978) attempts to elaborate an original image of Okinawan people's "right to life" amidst the survival context of the Battle of Okinawa and to retrieve local nature and cooperation

as the conditions of possibility for this image. Relying on notions of "regionalism" and the "commons" as expressed by Yoshiro Tamanoi and Ivan Illich,[8] Uehara argues that ASK's "narrative of the 'power of the commons' can be recognized not only in the context of 'solidarity' that implicates a provisional connectivity among individuals and organizations but also in the search for 'communality' as a new foundation of the commons on which resistance movement is based beyond the concept of 'resistance' itself" (Uehara 2019: 188).

2. Association for spreading the resident movements of the Ryukyu Arc: development of networking among resident movements

In 1973, one year after the establishment of ASK, several Okinawan researchers, journalists, and lawyers joined together to form the Association for Spreading the Anti-CTS Struggle (hereinafter ASACS) in Naha City. ASACS was founded to support ASK's opposition movement against the construction of CTS through fund-raising campaigns, anti-CTS lecture meetings, protest statements, and panel discussions. ASACS operated primarily in urban areas such as Naha City to provide information about issues pertaining to CTS construction in Kin Bay and to arouse public opinion against the CTS among urban residents. At the same time, however, ASACS was also actively engaged in making exchanges between resident movements throughout the islands of the Ryukyu Arc.

In early January 1976, ASACS held a seminar titled "Anti-pollution and resident movements" as well as a meeting given the title of "Resident movements of the Ryukyu Arc" in Naha that was attended by 1,500 participants from Okinawa Prefecture and beyond. This was the first time for ASACS to use the geographically-uniting phrase "Resident movements of the Ryukyu Arc." In this seminar and meeting, some members of the Uken Villagers Council of the Amami Oshima Islands participated even though these islands belong, in a jurisdictional sense, to Kagoshima Prefecture. In Uken Village, construction of another CTS as well as oil refineries was planned by an oil company from the Japanese mainland in the middle of 1970s. Additionally, during the same period, construction of a nuclear reprocessing factory was also planned in Tokunoshima Island, another island in the Amami chain, and residents of these islands also advanced oppositional movements against these plans. As Arasaki (2014) notes, construction plans for CTS were spreading over the islands of Ryukyu Arc beyond the jurisdictional boundaries of Okinawa Prefecture and, accordingly, the networking between resident movements against these plans also needed to go beyond prefectural boundaries to confront this incursion of industrial capitalism. As a result, the "Ryukyu Arc" become established as the basis for networking of resident movements beyond prefectural boundaries.

After its first seminar and meeting in Naha in 1976, ASACS organized three subsequent meetings (1976, 1979, 1982) and held ten annual exchange camps for resident movements from 1979-1988 (Fig.2). The first exchange camp was held at Kin Bay in 1979 and subsequent camps were held throughout the Ryukyu Arc in the islands of Amami, Yaeyama, Miyako, and Ishigaki. In these exchange camps, various activists and residents from throughout the islands of the Ryukyu Arc convened to give updates regarding their oppositional activities and to exchange opinions all day and well into the evening. By attending these exchange camps, participants could share information regarding local movements throughout the islands and establish lines of communication

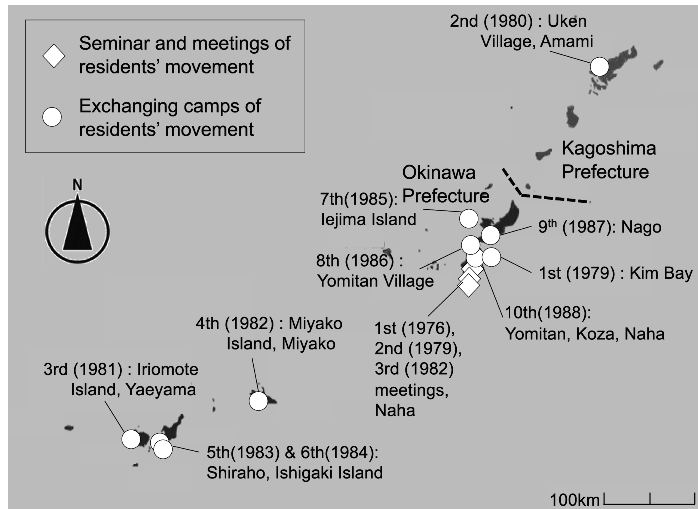

Figure 2. Distribution of meetings and exchanging camps organized by ASACS

Figure 3. Cover of *Resident Movements of the Ryukyu Arc* *(Ryukyu-ko no jumin undo)* No.1

between these areas, thus strengthening the sense of a Ryukyu-wide solidarity.

Furthermore, ASACS has issued its periodical[9] journal Resident Movements of the Ryukyu Arc *(Ryukyu-ko no jumin undo)* (Fig. 3) since 1977 to distribute information and provide a platform for communication among resident movements of the Ryukyu Arc.

Along with the development of ASACS's activities as described above, its focus gradually shifted from the support for the anti-CTS movement of Kin Bay to the promotion of linkages among various resident movements of the Ryukyu Arc through creating various places for the intercommunication and exchange of information among different islands. As a result of this shift, ASACS was eventually renamed the Association for Spreading the Resident Movements of the Ryukyu Arc (hereinafter ASRM) in August 1982. The foreword of *Resident Movements of the Ryukyu Arc* No.20, ASRM (1982) notes, "the phrase of 'resident movements of the Ryukyu Arc' first used at our gathering meeting in January 1976 has now become acceptable and taken on its own momentum…So, we changed the name of our association according to the actual state of our activities."

In total, 72 resident movement groups were included in *Resident Movements of the Ryukyu Arc* between 1977-1990.[10] As detailed in Fig. 4, this total figure included 12 groups from the Amami

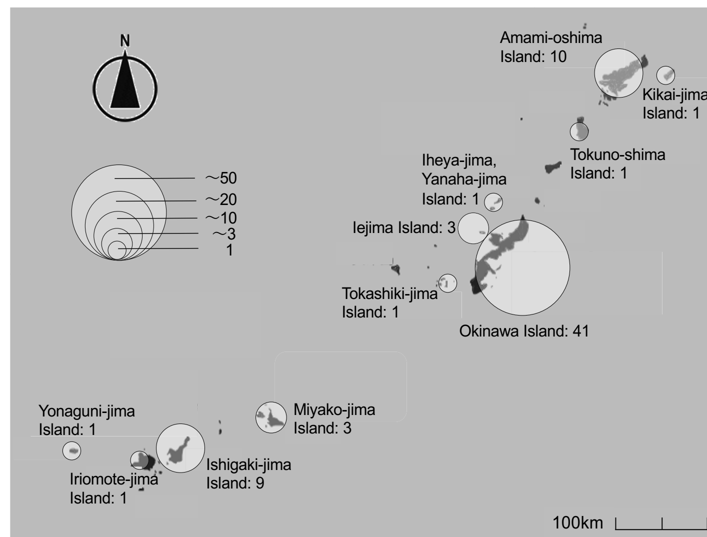

Figure 4. Distribution of resident movement groups of the Ryukyu Arc

Islands, 46 groups from the Okinawa Islands, 3 groups from the Miyako Islands, and 11 groups from the Yaeyama Islands. Although the largest number of groups came from the most populous Okinawa Islands, groups involved in ASRM came from every island chain of the Ryukyu Arc, from Amami in the north to Miyako and Yaeyama in the south. Thus, it can be said that ASACS and ASRM succeeded in establishing a network between resident movement groups throughout the islands of the Ryukyu Arc.

New Regional Identities and Aspirations for Independence

1. The rise of new regional identities

In issue No.10 of ASACS's journal *Resident Movements of the Ryukyu Arc*, one member of the editorial staff wrote in some detail about the decision to use the term "Ryukyu Arc": "Although there was no clear consensus among our members on the use of the name 'Ryukyu Arc,' there seemed to be a common recognition that it could be an actual task for resident movements to establish a sense of solidarity beyond the boundary of 'Okinawa' and with the Amami Islands which jurisdictionally belong to Kagoshima Prefecture" (Anonymous 1979: 22). Although the term "Ryukyu Arc" was originally a geographical term, the Japanese novelist and essayist Toshio Shimao [島尾敏雄, 1917-1986] first used this name to invoke specific cultural associations. Shimao (1977) coined the word "Japonesia" as a general term to refer to the entire Japanese Archipelago and its composition of diverse regional cultures, as differentiated from Japan, i.e. the centralized modern nation-state. Like other regions, such as Tohoku in the north of Honshu Island, the Ryukyu Arc is an important constitutional component of "Japonesia." According to Shimao (1969), the Ryukyu Arc is a general term for the chains of islands extending from Amami Oshima through Yonaguni and Hareruma that constitutes a unique cultural area located at the southern edges of the Japanese Archipelago.

Many authors who contributed to *Resident Movements of the Ryukyu Arc* referred to Shimao's conceptual notion of the Ryukyu Arc and suggested that the geographical images afforded by this concept had helped to bring the entire chain of islands into focus as the field of activity for resident movements. However, in the context of these movements, the Ryukyu Arc does not only carry the cultural associations elaborated by Shimao (1969), but also carries critical political connotations established in the confrontation between the "core" areas of Japanese mainland and the "peripheral" islands of the Ryukyu Arc under the regime of the sovereign state of Japan. An editor of *Resident Movements of the Ryukyu Arc* argued that "Since before and after the reversion of Okinawa to Japan, the Japanese government has made clear its intention to situate the islands of the Ryukyu Arc as an energy supply base…In addition to the issue of having military bases concentrated on Okinawa Island, another issue is the energy supply base spreading over the islands of Ryukyu Arc which have become a new target of struggle for people living in these islands. It is precisely because of this situation that we need to establish a sense of solidarity beyond the boundary of Okinawa. And the participants of resident movement in each area have begun holding the 'viewpoint of the Ryukyu Arc' in common" (Anonymous 1979: 22). In this recognition, we can see that the "viewpoint of the Ryukyu Arc" has arisen as a counter regional identity against the role of energy stations forced by the Japanese government.

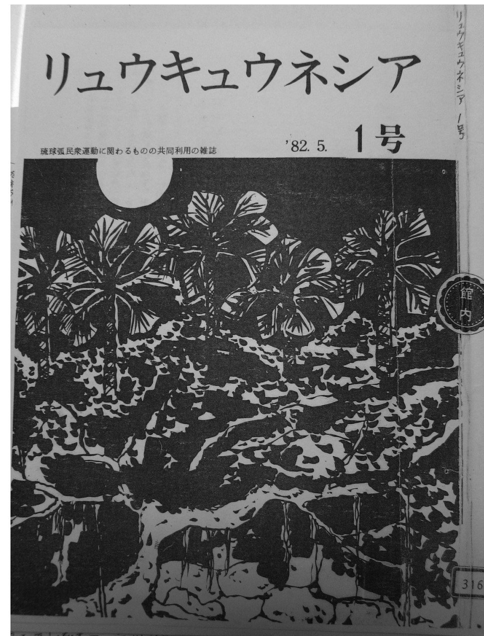

Figure 5. Cover of *Ryukyunesia* No.1

In July 1981, another journal titled *Ryukyunesia* (Fig. 5) was inconspicuously established by three young activists, Yoshiaki Taira [平良良昭], Hirofumi Aramoto [新元博文], and Tsuyoshi Haemi [南風見剛]. The subtitle of *Ryukyunesia* is "a journal of common use for persons who are engaged in the people's movement of the Ryukyu Arc." Most of the contributors to this journal were the three editors and their friends and comrade in the movement. Although this annual journal was published only four times between 1981-84 and did not have such a strong influence on resident movements as a whole, it suggests a clear recognition of the new regional identity of "Ryukyunesia" as differentiated from the Ryukyu Arc.

The term "Ryukyunesia" had already been used by Kazuo Tatsuno [辰野和男], a journalist of a Japanese newspaper, previous to the publication of the journal of *Ryukyunesia*. In 1973, Tatsuno published a book titled "*Ryukyunesia*," a collection of essays about the Ryuyku Islands. Tatsuno (1973) used the word "Ryukyunesia" to suggest the social and cultural similarities between the Ryukyu and Polynesian Islands, both of which are conceptualized as "anti-civilization spheres." In that sense, Tatsuno (1973) had a similar recognition of Ryukyu Islands in common

with Shimao's (1969) Ryukyu Arc.

However, Taira (1983b), a prominent leader of the editorial committee of *Ryukyunesia*, asserts that he did not know of Tatsuno's book and had not even read any of Shimao's books, suggesting that he had discovered the term Ryukyunesia independently from existing literatures and concepts. This is because, for Taira, the individual identity of "Ryukyunesian" precedes the regional identity of "Ryukyunesia." According to Taira (1983b: 77), in the face of an identity crisis,[11] he found the new identity of "Ryukyunesian" that could be reduced to neither "Uchinanchu (Okinawan)" nor "Yamatonchu (Japanese)" and dreamed of a republic or society of "Ryukyunesia" built by the "Ryukyunesians."

The other implications of the term "Ryukyunesia" flowed from Taira's experiences of the exchange camps organized by ASACS and ASRM. Taira (1983b: 78) raises a question, "how could we represent the new linkages of people produced through the exchange camps?" In considering the history of Ryukyu Kingdom that violently ruled the islands of Amami, Miyako, and Yaeyama, he rejects simply returning to the integrative relationship of the islands of Ryukyu Arc based on the domain of the former Ryukyu Kingdom. Instead, he dreams of a "Ryukyunesian movement" as a coalition formed from the movements of Amami, Okinawa, Miyako, and Yaeyama that makes possible the self-government and autonomy of each area. He attempts to redefine the actual movement of exchanges of resident movements of the Ryukyu Arc as a "movement to create Ryukyunesia" (Taira 1983b: 79).

2. Aspirations for independence

In my interview with Taira,[12] he stated: "Publication of *Ryukyunesia* included an orientation towards independence while *Resident Movements of the Ryukyu Arc* did not have such a clear orientation. So, I could not envisage vistas of the future with the latter." "What expectations could we have? Where will our critical thought against state and capital lead to? That was a sentiment of our own at that time." As suggested in Taira's words, the new regional identity of Ryukyunesia was a response to this sentiment of exploring possible future horizons. And, for Taira, one possible future horizon was the independence of Ryukyunesia.

Taira published two articles on the independence of Okinawa titled as "Theory of Ryukyunesia Part 1 and 2" (Taira 1981, 1982). In part 1, subtitled "Okinawa, its autonomy and independence," he carefully compares and contrasts "autonomy" and "independence" to shed light on the significance of "independence." He critically examines the use of the word "autonomy" in the context of Okinawan discourse and points out the multiplicity of its use in the discourse of liberalists and conservatives, economists and politicians, and labor and management. While the word "autonomy" implicates retaining existing relationships of self and others, the word "independence" implicates the cutting and re-configuration of existing relations. Relying on Czech philosopher Karel Kosík, Taira (1981: 8-10) redefines "independence" as a movement through which human beings attempt to create mutual relationships based on freedom and equality not of the ruler and the ruled. Then, in Part 2, subtitled "The right to life and self-determination," Taira (1982) searches for a philosophical way of establishing both the right to life and self-determination. Through his own experiences of the anti-CTS movement of ASK, he learned of the necessity of an independent way of life and self-government for the Okinawan people that would be realized

through acquisition of their own rights over sea and land as the “root of life.” It is the fundamental thought of ASK to acquire the right to life on the basis of the sea, the land and the power of the commons. Taira (1983a) clearly defines the right of self-determination as a political expression of the right to life. While these thoughts on the right to life and self-determination developed through the experience of the anti-CTS movement of ASK were certainly based on the uniqueness of the area of Kin Bay, we can see a universality of those thoughts that is applicable to the whole area of the Ryukyu Arc (Taira 1982: 10).

In the journal Resident Movements of the Ryukyu Arc, some articles focused on the independence or autonomy of Okinawa, with a total of twelve articles using the word “independence” or “autonomy” in their titles. In that sense, at that time, the topic of independence or autonomy was certainly laid on the table for consideration in the context of the resident movements of the Ryukyu Arc. However, the narrative of independence was rather complicated. In my interview, Taira told me of a private memory of Seishin Asato, a joint manager and influential leader of ASK. When Taira brought his article “Theory of Ryukyunesia part 1: Okinawa, its autonomy and independence” to Asato’s house, Asato fiercely scolded him, stating that “The people of Okinawa have already become independent. You are thinking of independence in the abstract!” This topic was taken up in a round-table discussion of the three members of the editorial committee of *Ryukyunesia* (Haemi et al. 1983). In this discussion, Taira identifies and describes a kind of contradiction in Asato’s thought on independence. According to Taira (1983a), Asato repeatedly referred to the necessity of independence for Okinawa at a discussion meeting and in a lecture in the final years of his life, sometime in 1980-1981. For example, in his very last lecture at these meetings titled “From the Japanese rule to the Okinawan rule” in November 1981, Asato mentioned that Okinawa will be destroyed by the rulers of Japan and the US unless we struggle for independence (Taira 1983a: 4). On the other hand, an as alluded to above, Asato often used the phrase: “Okinawa has already become independent.” Aramoto argues that this phrase of Asato’s implicates the “independence of soul,” which means the “the soul of Okinawa is autonomous, and does not need Japan” (Haemi et al. 1983: 2). Furthermore, Taira interprets Asato’s phrase as meaning that the Okinawan people survived the hard times of the Battle of Okinawa without depending on the state and they lived their autonomous and independent lives on the basis of “the sea, the land and the power of the commons” (Haemi et al. 1983: 2-3). Haemi concludes that Asato had a real feeling and confidence of being autonomous and independent at past and present times in the local context of Yakena and Kin Bay (Haemi et al. 1983: 3).

3. From Ryukyu Arc to the Pacific Islands

The networking of resident movements of the Ryukyu Arc was not limited to this chain of islands. In the early 1980s, ASACS and ASRM spread their exchange camps across the Pacific Ocean. In October 1980, David Rosario, a representative of the “Mariana Alliance against the Pacific Ocean Disposal of Radioactive Waste,” visited Okinawa, and met members of the anti-CTS movement groups and local people at a community center of Yakena. At the meeting, Rosario proposed for solidarity between Micronesia and the Ryukyu Arc against Japan’s planned disposal of radioactive waste in the Pacific Ocean (Rosario 1980). Responding to his proposal, Taira (1980) suggested to accept political waves from Micronesia to Ryukyunesia.

Furthermore, in January 1981, Seishin Asato, Kantoku Teruya (lawyer), and Hirofumi Aramoto (Uken Villagers Council, Amami Oshima) visited Guam and the Republic of Palau (Belau). Guam is an organized territory of the United States and many US military bases are located on the island. Palau (Belau) was formerly the United States-governed Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, but it approved a "nuclear-free" constitution by referendum in July 1980 and became the Republic of Palau in January 1981. Asato mingled with the local people and met the first President of Palau during his stay. This trip to Palau deeply impressed Asato. He experienced empathy with the realities of direct democracy of Palau and strongly felt the necessity to use this experience as a source of feedback for resident movements in the Ryukyu Arc (Asato 1981b). In June 1981, ASK and other resident movement groups in turn invited women's group from Palau to Okinawa and Minamata to share their experiences with each other. According to Taira (1983), these experiences of exchange with the people of Micronesia stirred up aspirations for the independence of Okinawa in Asato's heart.

It can be said that, for Asato, the concept of independence has already been embodied in the concrete forms autonomous way of lives of the Okinawan people that are neither given nor secured by the state but realized through context of local nature (i.e. the sea and land) and the community (i.e. the power of the commons). However, once the people's "right to life" is threatened by the destruction of local nature and community in violent development projects under the sovereign power of the state, the people's resistance against development goes beyond the local context of each area and leads to the rise of a new regional identity, through which different local areas are networked with each other and aim for independence from the existing sovereign state.

Conclusion

Uehara (2019) argues that the power of the commons proposed by the anti-CTS movement of ASK is the critical basis upon which local residents are able to live independently and autonomously from the state and its national borders and the common ground through which they are linked together in their ordinary lives beyond the political context of the resistance movement. The power of the commons cannot be reduced to local community limited by spatial boundaries. Rather, this power can be continually redefined, embodied and extended in the extra-local, extra-regional, and extra-national context of resident movements. In that sense, the emergent new regional identities of the Ryukyu Arc and Ryukyunesia that emerged from resident movements suggest the possibility of a flexible"jumping of scales" that goes beyond the spatial boundaries of the state. Furthermore, the notion of "independence" elaborated in the resident movements of the Ryuyku Arc suggests the possibility of sovereignty that is not reducible to the sovereign power of the state.

While some recent movements are pursuing the politically more radical goal of constructing an alternative Ryukyuan (Lew Chewans) state independent from Japan[13)] as suggested by the founding of the Association of Comprehensive Studies for Independence of the Lew Chewans, there are diverse opinions and discussions on the independence of the Ryukyu Arc in contemporary Okinawan literary circles. For example, since the publication of the journal of *Urumanesia*[14)] in 2000, diverse articles have discussed the independence of the Ryukyu Arc. In its special issue

on “The Ryukyu Arc, next step,” Oshiro (2001: 3) argues that “the Ryukyu Arc is originally a geographical concept…, however it combines political, cultural, economic, and geopolitical contexts and goes beyond simple geographical context. I would like to design the autonomy and independence not only of the Ryukyu Arc but also on the global scale.” In the same issue, Ben Takara (2001), an ex-member of ASACS and ASRM, avoids confining the Ryukyu Arc to the fixed relationships and situations of Japan and Okinawa and proposes to grasp it from the viewpoint of solidarity among indigenous peoples all over the world. Furthermore, Yoshiaki Taira himself is recently energetically engaged in the project of “Cornerstone of World Peace” [Sekai-ban Heiwa no Ishiji], a project of spreading the ideas and practices of “Cornerstone of Peace” [Heiwa no Ishiji] of Okinawa[15)] to the world. Although he also joins ACSILs, his perspective of the movement is not confined to the Ryukyu alone. He said in my interview, “Independence of Okinawa will become possible only when it is connected to peace of the world.” What the resident movements of the Ryukyu Arc brought about is developing further, ever expanding our horizons of possibility.

Acknowledgement

I would like to express my gratitude to Mr. Yoshiaki Taira for his cooperation in my interview. This paper was presented at the 4th Workshop on “the Geopolitical Economy of East Asian Developmentalism” of East Asian Regional Conference in Alternative Geography (EARCAG) on November 27th, 2019 at Osaka City University, Japan. I am grateful to the participants of the workshop for their constructive comments. Furthermore, this paper owes much to the thoughtful and helpful comments of Jay Bolthouse. This work was supported by JSPS KAKENHI Grant Numbers 17H02430 and 19K02118.

Notes

1) According to *Defense of Japan 2019* (Ministry of Defense 2019: 333), about 70% of the US bases for exclusive use in Japan are located in Okinawa, while Okinawa occupies only 0.6% of the national land of Japan. It can be said that this is quite an uneven distribution with regard to the area of US bases in Japan.
2) Although “Ryukyu Arc” is nearly synonymous with “Ryukyu Islands,” the latter is used only in administrative contexts.
3) “Lew Chew” is a historical English name of “Ryukyu” and “the Lew Chewans” means Ryukyuan people. The Association of Comprehensive Studies for Independence of the Lew Chewans clearly defines Ryukyuan people as a nation.
4) This series of resident movements continues today in the ongoing movement against the planned construction of a new US maritime base following the relocation of Futenma Air Station (Teruya 2014b; Uehara 2019).
5) The Japan Industrial Location Center was a Japanese thinktank founded by Japanese central and local government and industrial circles in 1962. Its main role was to formulate industrial development plans for coastal industrial regions and inland industrial parks according to the

Comprehensive National Land Development Plan [全国総合開発計画] of the Japanese central government that has long formed the basic framework of land development of Japan from the first plan of 1962 through the fifth of 1998.

6) According to the construction scheme of coastal industrial zone originally planned by the Japan Industrial Location Center in 1970, an atomic power plant was planned to be constructed on land reclaimed from the central part of Kin Bay (Kin Bay Development Project related document No. 149, part 1, Okinawa Prefectural Archives).

7) The Mid-Sea Road which connects Henza-jima Island and Katsuren Peninsula was constructed by the Gulf Oil in return for its construction of Oil Storage Station on Henza-jima Island. The people of Henza-jima Island had attempted the construction of a connecting road between Henza-jima Island and the Katsuren Peninsula several times since the early 1960s but these resulted in failure due to the shortage of funds and damage of typhoon. Therefore, they accepted the construction of Oil Storage Station of Gulf Oil on their own island in exchange for the construction of the Mid-Sea Road (Uehara 2019: 51).

8) Tamanoi, a famous Japanese economist and then professor of Okinawa International University (ex-professor of University of Tokyo) welcomed Asato to his “regionalism study meeting” as a lecturer in 1979. Tamanoi met Illich at Asato’s house when Illich was invited to Kin Bay by ASK in 1980. Illich revisited Japan in 1982 and had a dialogue with Tamanoi on a significance of “commons” with regard to the anti CTS movement (Uehara 2019: 172-173).

9) *Resident Movements of the Ryukyu Arc* had been published quarterly during its first five years (1977-1981), but was later published two or three times in a year. In total, 34 volumes were published from 1977 to 1990.

10) Although *Resident Movements of the Ryukyu Arc* was published from July 1977 (No.1) to December 1990 (No.34), this included two years suspension of publication from 1984 to 1986 due to diminishing sales, lack of time of the editorial staff, and diversification and dispersion of topics to be tackled in ASRM (Anonymous 1984).

11) In Taira’s marriage with his Japanese wife in the Japanese mainland, he was confronted with an identity crisis. Therefore, he wanted their two children to be neither “Yamatonchu” nor “Uchinanchu,” and searched for a new identity beyond two split identities of the parent (Taira 1983b: 76-77).

12) I conducted interviews with Mr. Taira on June 5th at Nago and 6th at Naha in 2019.

13) In my opinion, the construction of an alternative state of the Ryukyuan (Lew Chewans) could be a necessary step toward a future possible society without the state.

14) The subtitle of *Urumanesia* is “*a controversial journal on autonomy and independence of the Ryukyu Arc*.” As this subtitle suggests, some contributors to this journal were individuals directly and indirectly engaged in resident movements of the Ryukyu Arc during the 1970s and 1980s.

15) Cornerstone of Peace [Heiwa no Ishiji] was built in the Okinawa Prefectural Peace Memorial Park for commemorating the Battle of Okinawa, on which the names of people who lost their lives are inscribed without distinction of enemies and allies. Cornerstone of World Peace [Sekai-ban Heiwa no Ishiji] aims at recording on the website the names of people who lost their lives in every kinds of wars all over the world. We can see more detailed information about this

project on the website.
https://www.facebook.com/pg/sekaiheiwanoishiji/posts/

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Representation and Urban Planning:
Conservation of the Historic District and Social Exclusion in the Marais, Paris

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Introduction

This paper is a condensed version of my doctoral dissertation submitted to Hitotsubashi University (Tokyo, Japan) in 2009, and my book based on it, titled *Mythology of Paris and Urban Landscape: Logic of Sanitization and Exclusion in the Preserved Sector of the Marais* published in 2011. Although the Marais is a world-famous historic district, few studies have considered the process of its state-sponsored preservation. By analyzing historical documents, literature, and statistical evidence, I argued that various representations of the district and the social realities there profoundly influenced the evolution of the Marais' urban transformation.

I held this perspective during my early studies and presented it to first doctoral course in the French educational system (DEA) at *L'École des hautes études en sciences sociales*, (the School of Advanced Studies in the Social Sciences); the evaluation might be divided. My grade was not decided on the day of the announcement; some days later, when it was announced, I was told that the number of examiners had become four, rather than the normal two. One examiner, Isabelle Backouche, expostulated with me that historical facts did not exist indefinitely in the air, but only in historical documents. Her book in 2016, *Paris transformé: Le Marais 1900-1980*, might be a textbook for me as a study of historical research which had to be done. She attentively showed non-linear ways in which the Marais evolved using lengthy and complex documents.

However, I propose that the way a city, region, or country is perceived and represented has a decisive role in urban planning. When the Malraux Act established the French system of heritage preservation in 1962 by legally defining the *secteur sauvegardé* (preserved sector), the Marais was discussed in the Senate[1]. At that time, it was already perceived as a historic district worthy of protection. However, the Marais was not a unified neighborhood the way Parisians viewed it. Its redevelopment plan was not approved until 30 years later, when the Malraux Act was considered somewhat anachronistic. Why was it decided in the 1960s to conserve the Marais as a unit? To answer this question, we cannot ignore the role of its representation in shaping public and political discussions.

Paris has long been represented in all types of media. Pierre Citron demonstrated the way that Paris, through literary representations of it, was "mythologized" starting in the 1830s (Citron 1961). In a context of turbulent change, French society confronted the challenges of modernity by

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sharing representations of Paris. Roger Caillois argued that they were "created from every piece through the book, nevertheless quite spread to the point of becoming part of the collective mental atmosphere and next gaining a certain force of constraint" (Caillois 1958: 153, translated from French by this article's author). The purpose of this paper is to clarify the way this compelling force emerged.

Some scholars considered the transformation of the Marais as gentrification that lagged behind other cities. Consequently, Carpenter and Lees (1995), Smith (1996), and Clerval (2013) focused on the influences of the housing policy of the 1970s, although the socio-economic transformation of the Marais' population started in the 1960s and stabilized in the 1980s (Aramata 2005)[2]. The housing policy of the 1970s was influential, but I argue that it was so because of the pre-existing perceptions that promoted investments and the established political positions that justified it. Thus, this paper focuses on the antecedent period.

First, I analyze two concomitant trends in urban planning and the representations of the Marais during the 19th century. Second, I explain the role of *La Cité*, a historical society, in developing the perception of the territory of the preserved sector of the Marais, which constrained the architects planning its redevelopment. Although the discussion is mostly drawn from my doctoral dissertation, I emphasize that the topic raises a question about the way geographical knowledge is created by focusing on the relationship among Place (the Marais), Material (buildings), and People (knowledge builders, such as historians, writers…) as this research group's theme.

1. Urban planning in the 19th century and two perceptions of the Marais

In the 19th century, Paris went through a rapid modernization in the form of urban planning. The most apparent case was the urban renovation of Paris conducted by Baron Haussmann during the Second Empire. By collecting data and with strong political support, Haussmann built broad straight roads as if he wanted to dissect the city's inextricably narrow streets. He used a method called over-expropriation, meaning that the government could buy more land than was required for the roads based on the logic of improving urban sanitary conditions.

During the first half of the 19th century, migration from rural areas doubled the city's population. Most of these new residents lived in dense distressed areas. Having been stricken by the cholera pandemic, fear in Paris of its propagation was the motive for large-scale renovation. These areas of the city were also the locations of several public riots of the 19th century, and razing them was considered a way to preserve order.

The idea to preserve historic buildings also developed during the 19th century in France. After the Revolution, Grégoire and others criticized the plundering and destruction of structure associated with the monarchy and considered it acts of vandalism. They defended the perspective that art works were not anti-revolutionary and should be used for educational purposes (Grégoire 1989). Supported by Romanticism, the preservation idea gained traction throughout the 19th century. Even Haussmann's urban renovation, which promoted razing the old buildings, included excavation of a Roman arena to protect the city's history.

Thus, urban planning in France was dominated by two ideas: sanitization and historicization. Both orientations ultimately were applied to the Marais, but the district was not part of the 19th

century's urban renovations. How was the Marais regarded at that time?

Urbanization of the Marais began during the early part of the Middle Ages. After the king Henri IV period, the area developed during the 17th century as an aristocratic residential area. Then, one after another, these residences were sold when the Royal Court moved to Versailles, and new trends called for more spacious lots in the beginning of the 18th century. By 1790, just 6.5% of the French aristocracy lived in the Marais (Coquery 1998: 191), and the area gradually became a neighborhood of artisans and laborers.

Then, the Marais became a popular setting in 19th century literary works. Balzac, lived there and described the residences of the local artisans in *Le Cousin Pons*:

> The staircase drew its light from sliding windows giving on to a little court. It was clear that except for the owner and the egregious Fraisier, the other tenants were manual workers. The muddy stairs bore the marks of every known trade, strewn as they were with brass chipping, broken buttons, scraps of gauze and shreds of esparto straw. (Balzac 1968: 184, original published in 1847, translated by H. J. Hunt)

Many literary descriptions of the Marais emphasized the area's poverty. George Orwell's *Down and Out in Paris and London,* published almost a century later, is a typical example of this view. However, this perception coexisted in 19th century literature with a persistent association of the neighborhood with the French aristocracy. Alphonse Daudet, who lived there, wrote in *Contes du Lundi* on the juxtaposition of the Paris Commune and the Fronde:

> What they called, in the past, the winds of the Fronde, were blowing in the Marais. On the pediment of the grand building, the joyful grimace of stone masks seemed to say, 'I know this.' (Daudet 1973[1873]: 126, translated from French by this article's author)

The contrast between the aristocracy and the common people was highlighted in other works by Balzac and Daudet and, as far back as the 18th century, Rétif de la Bretonne. The circumstances by which the aristocratic district transformed into a lower-class neighborhood was valuable enough to be used in literary works, but the background of many works, included the fact that the buildings materially existed and could be employed in settings. In Daudet, architectural adornments (such as stone masks), provided inspiration to artists; sometimes, the descriptions and representations surpassed the realities of district.

From this 19th century social context, the Marais began to transform at the beginning of the 20th century. In the next chapter, we analyze the sociological situation until World War II.

2. *La Cité* and the boundary of the Marais

Marais' toponym entered usage during the 17th century (Léri 1987: 40), but the boundaries suggested by name have varied across time. In 1773, the Jaillot map shows the name *Le Temple ou le Marais* to indicate an area north of the currently preserved area. During the 19th century, the "Marais" name referred to an administrative district included the Place des Vosges with, boundaries delineating an area much smaller than the currently preserved one. The creation of the 3rd

and 4th *arrondissements* (Parisian administrative district) as the Marais was a relatively recent development. I argue that *La Cité*, a local historical association, played an instrumental part in reaching that understanding.

La Cité is an abbreviated name for the *Société d'Études Historiques et Archéologiques du IVe arrondissement* (Society of Historical and Archeological Studies of the 4th *Arrondissement*) founded in 1902. At the time, several historical societies existed that limited their studies to specific part of Paris, and *La Cité* was the most active and prolific among them. According to its journal's published membership list, most members were upper-class citizens, such as doctors, lawyers, architects, clerics, and councilors, who lived and/or worked in the 4th *arrondissement*. *La Cité's* headquarters were in the governmental office of the 4th *arrondissement,* and it was closely connected to the administration.

In 1908, *La Cité* broadened its research scope to include the 3rd *arrondissement*. The assembly's report of this decision justified it thus:

> The old Marais is cut into two parts by the Franc-Bourgeois Street, one of the parts is in the 3rd, the other in the 4th *arrondissement*. We decided to establish, for the entire Marais, a special section of the Society [*La Cité*], which will have particular value for objective historical study of aristocratic buildings of this region. (*La Cité* 1909, 24:474. Translated from French by this article's author)

It was believed that the Marais comprised the 3rd and 4th *arrondissements* and that the aristocrats living there were important research topics. As outlined by *La Cité*, the Marais' boundaries became more like the currently preserved sector. Its previous aristocratic residents gave the area its prestige, and *La Cité's* members expressed more interest in the buildings than in the social situations of the contemporary inhabitants.

An examination of the first issue of *La Cité's* journal reveals the society's characteristics. The first article discussed the Prévot hotel, one of the previous aristocratic residents (Sellier 1902). However, the topical choice seems modest among the options in the 4th *arrondissement*, such as the Notre-Dame de Paris. The next article was on the Vieuville hotel, a 16th century building (Lambeau 1902). This choice was even more humble because a famous building of a similar period was on the same street. It is generally believed that the buildings discussed in *La Cité's* journal were at risk of being destroyed and the articles were written to protest destruction. Thus, information about targeted buildings was continuously reported in the journal. Protecting the area's historicity was the underlying motive for *La Cité's* passionate research activities.

La Cité's other main activity was the study of celebrities related to the area. Along with Victor Hugo (memorialized by a museum), Racine, Voltaire, Ninon de Lenclos, Vidocq, Gautier, and others were described in the journal as concretely connected to the sites and buildings of the Marais. Through these studies, the 3rd and 4th *arrondissements* gained a reputation as a prestigious area.

On the other hand, at the end of the 19th century, Jewish people fleeing persecution in Russia and Poland began to settle in the Marais. While they worked in various industries (notably, producing hunting caps), French society considered them outsiders. Arita (2000), a historian of the Jewish people in France, pointed out that Russian and Polish Jews were at the bottom of the social

hierarchy that privileged, in ascending order, Eastern European immigrants, colonial Jews, and Alsatian Jews, based on notions of assimilation into French society directly correlated with poverty. The media defined the Marais as a ghetto, and its boundaries, according to a researcher of that age (Lauzel, 1912), almost corresponded to the currently preserved sector.

Several *La Cité* reports described the Marais' residents. A 1915 article by Charles Fegdal titled "The Contemporary Parisian Ghetto" is particularly revealing. Fegdal described the residents as wearing worn-out, strange, patched clothing; unable to speak French; and apparently helpless. Their living conditions were overwhelmingly dirty and dusty, not because they were poor but because they wanted to be favored by God (Fegdal 1915). Another contributor wrote, "our criticism pointed to the dregs of foreign populations who only brought us disorder and disease" (Hartmann, 1920 : 147) and appealed for action to monitor and to expel them. Members of *La Cité* blamed the unhygienic conditions on the Jewish immigrants' inexplicable behavior instead of their poverty.

The Marais was not the object of a major urban renovation project during the 19th century; however, in the 1930s, new citywide planning was underway to its south. Paris had 17 so-called "unsanitary" blocks at the time, and the 14 hectares between the Saint Gervais church and the Saint Paul church were designated as such. The designation of an area as unsanitary block was an emergency response to a deadly tuberculosis epidemic in Paris. The southern part of the Marais (block 16), became a target of renovation relatively early because of its central location. The 1936 proposal could lead to near-total destruction of the area, sparing just several important buildings, such as churches.

Then, in 1941, under the German occupation during World War II, the government simplified and enforced the expropriation process, which rapidly advanced urban renewal of the Marais. Simultaneously, interest in protecting the area's historical heritage increased, and, after the government was petitioned, total destruction of the designated area was withdrawn in 1942, and conservation of the "exterior physiognomy of the 17th century" (Gady 1993: 257) was adopted. Aristocratic buildings were considered the most important representative features of the area.

While urban planning began incorporating historical heritage preservation in 1942, Parisian Jews were being deported on a large scale, which removed the population that had, from the public's perspective, created the unhygienic conditions of the area. The expulsion of the Jews was unrelated to urban renovation, but "it would be difficult to claim that the expropriation of the block 16 was coincidental" (Janin, 2005: 437). Sociologist Fijalkow (1998) suggested that the real reason behind the operation was the exclusion of low-income people, especially Jews, from the area.

In sum, between the turn of the century and the end of World War II, with almost identical boundaries, the two representations of the Marais – historic district and unsanitary Jewish settlement – coexisted and mutually influenced the destruction and the protection of the Marais. This tension was the foundation of the creation of the preserved sector of the Marais.

3. After World War II until the redevelopment plan

The Marais' "physiognomy" was protected under the *curetage*, defined as a process of demolishing a building's interior while retaining its façade untouched. *Curetage* also has a pathological connotation because unsavory buildings are gutted to protect architectural heritage. First used by architect Albert Laprade in the western area of block 16, it became the usual approach to redevelop the Marais.

For about 20 years, the Seine administration gave Laprade control of the research for the Marais' redevelopment. The area as delineated by the 1957 contract[3)], was a little wider than the currently preserved area. The prefect of the local administrative department, Jean Benedetti, laid out the redevelopment plan:

> But let us be careful not to condemn irrevocably 'this sanctifying occupation of small work and handwork' to which [Jean] Giraudoux gave in 1939, in *Plein Pouvoir,* the merit of having protected from pure and simple demolition so many old, aristocratic hotels, whatever temporary injuries the occupation had made[4)]. (translated from the French by this article's author)

Clearly, Benedetti's intention was to upgrade the socioeconomic status of the Marais to a social class reflecting the aristocratic buildings. Artisans and laborers had temporarily remained and protected the area from demolishment; however, they were not considered suitable residents for the area, and they had to leave. Laprade declared to the commission of the old Paris,

> The center of Paris must be a park where people will have the extremely rare joy of being able to walk around on foot[5)].

Parks are set apart from everyday responsibilities for rest and recreation, and Laprade apparently thought that the preserved area did not need to be used for business and commerce. He asked for aerial photographs reflecting the Turgot map of 1739 enlarged to 1/2000[6)], apparently envisioning restoration of the old Paris to its aristocratic magnificence with, little interest into the realities of the city as it had evolved for more than a century.

Then, when Marais was designated as a preserved sector in 1964, and when that was enlarged in 1965, four architects were chosen to elaborate the redevelopment plan. The first proposal completed in 1968 based on previous research, including Laprade's, and, aiming to align it with the Turgot map the extensive *curetage* approach was retained for the entire area. The proposal was disclosed to the public in a journal for urban planning published by the city of Paris:

> 'Threatened by the encroachment of shops, the nobility abandoned the Place Royal, the surrounding areas at the center of Paris, and crossed the River.' This passage, taken from the *Duchess de Langeais* [of Balzac], signals the starting point of a change that would drive the aristocratic residential area, which formed the Marais in the golden age of the 17th century, to the extreme degree of decline. (*Paris Projet* 1970: 47) (Translated from French by this article's author)

The 1968 plan to restore the Marais to its aristocratic splendor entailed making a radical change

to its social stratification. The perceptions of the area had persisted since the 19th century and developed into a concrete urban plan. As I pointed out above, the Marais was transformed into a residential area for the middle and upper classes before the 1980s.

However, the government did not approve the Marais redevelopment plan. First, the state determined that all costs were non-real, and the plan was revised. The 1976 plan rejected the entire *curetage* of the first proposition, and just the control of the lots was proposed, which was criticized as overly restrictive. By 1980, the idea of allowing the residents to keep their buildings while economic activities were ongoing was put forth[7)]; however, in 1981, the architect of the plan died, and the new architect changed the target age of the structures to the 19th century[8)]. The plan was finally approved in 1996, but, in the 19th century, almost all of Paris was formed to the actual state. Ultimately, the preserved sector of the Marais was approved as an area with many historic buildings and not as a special area.

Conclusion

Currently, the Marais is considered a historic district, but its boundaries are far from consensual. Only in the 1950s and 1960s was the preserved sector regarded as an area that should benefit from political protection, and research revealed that not everyone shared this perspective. Consequently, research and intellectuals (starting with *La Cité* during the first half of 20th century) played a central part in recognition of the Marais as appropriate for preservation, and advocacy after the World War II to identify the Marais as an aristocratic neighborhood through urban planning.

A redevelopment plan was not adopted until 1996, but the perception of it as a historic area promoted investment and the Marais became a neighborhood of the middle-class and upper-class. There already had been several discussions of gentrification, and neighborhood of artisans and laborers had transformed into a neighborhood crowded with clothing shops and art galleries, demonstrating the ways people acted under the influence of the myth.

Because of the limit of length, this paper described the perceptions and representations of the Marais and the urban planning relevant to its development. It did not address particular individuals who worked on planning and implementing changes in the area. However, the Marais' transformation was influenced by the evolving interactions among the district's material environment, the aristocratic buildings and the actors – from writers to historians to architects – invested in its preservation. To fully understand an area, it is necessary to understand the perceptions that orient the plans as well as clarify the urban planning. Space does not exist "naturally," but is constructed, sometimes against reality. We should remember this process and the ways it influences people who live in evolving areas.

Notes

1) Journal Officiel de la République Française, Senat – Séance du 7 décembre 1961.
2) Aramata 2005 was revised paper based on the second half of my DEA thesis which shows a statistic change of the preserved sector after its designation.
3) Archives Nationales, 403AP115, 116.

4) *Lumière sur le Marais*, Bibliothèque administrative de la ville de Paris, Cote 45 484
5) Procès-verbal de la Commission du Vieux Paris, Séance du 28 avril 1959.
6) *Le quartier du Marais 1959*, Extait de la Conjoncture Economique dans le Département de la Seine du 3e trimestre et du 4e trimestre 1959, Présentée par M. Jean Benedetti, Préfet de la Seine.
7) Préfecture de Paris, 1980, *Plan de sauvegarde et de mise en valeur du Marais: à Paris 3ème et 4ème arrondissements.*
8) Préfecture de Paris, 23/8/1996, *Plan de sauvegarde et de mise en valeur du Marais: à Paris 3ème et 4ème arrondissements*, Rapport de Présentation 1.

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Paris Projet. 1970

Development of Social Inclusion in Japan

MIZUUCHI Toshio*

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III. Complementary Materials

Acknowledgement

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I. Formation of Social Inclusion Policy and its Background

1. The Lost 10 Years and the sudden appearance of homeless people

The 1990s in Japan are often referred to as the Lost 10 Years. Japan's economy suffered a serious setback because of the financial uncertainties caused by failing financial policies and high-profile bank collapses. When the asset bubble burst in March 1991, the long, stable period of growth, which began after the economy recovered from the 1973 oil crisis in December of that year, came to an end in February 1991. It had lasted for 17 years and 3 months.

Many companies were being liquidated or merged with financial organizations, whilst bankruptcies and large-scale layoffs (restructuring) were also prevalent. This economic downturn came to an end after the Koizumi Cabinet implemented urgent structural reform in January 2002.

Japanese social welfare during this stable period of growth was supported by companies, communities, and families. Even the social strata that were not supported by these three pillars were able to survive in one way or another because of abundant employment possibilities during the buoyant economy. However, with this pool of employment disappearing, the strata not supported by the three pillars had no safety net to rely on, and in some cases, people were faced with suddenly becoming homeless.

Homelessness rapidly increased in the latter half of the 1990s, causing a visible impact on society. Many were not allowed to benefit from the last safety net of "livelihood protection" services for the reason of not having an address. They wound up in urban parks, under flyovers, on river banks, and on the streets.

During a visit to Osaka in November 1998, Prime Minister Obuchi was confronted by the city's mayor on the homelessness matter. The reason for confrontation, and for the eventual initiation of related policymaking, was that local governments were not able to solve the issue by themselves, and thus required the help of the national government. A lower house member elected from Osaka presented this issue to the Diet Commission for the first time in December 1998. This was followed by the establishment of a Homeless Issue Liaison Council between the Ministry of Labor, Welfare, Home Affairs, Construction, the National Police Agency on behalf of the national government, and the Tokyo Metropolitan Government, Osaka City, Kawasaki City, Yokohama City, and Nagoya City on behalf of local governments. The Council released the Temporary Action Plan on the Homeless Issue, and a research meeting on assistance measures for self-dependency was initiated by the Ministry of Welfare, which in turn released the Self-dependency Assistance Measures for Homeless People policy in 2000. This marked the sudden beginning of homelessness policy in Japan.

In the following sections, we will describe the development of social inclusion in Japan. The total outline of these related policies and their background information is illustrated in the Table 10, which you can find it in the last part of III. Complementary material in this chapter.

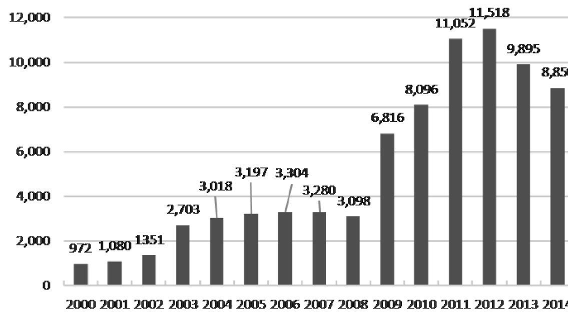

Figure 1. Trend in budget for homeless assistance programs (in thousand yen, by fiscal year)

Source: the author illustrated this figure by the data given by MHLW

Table 1. Breakup of budget for homeless assistance at the beginning of the policy

fiscal year	2000	2004
	in thousand yen	in thousand yen
Total Cost of Homeless Countereasures	972,062	3,017,858
Self-dependency Assistance Project	892,456	1,185,368
Skill Courses Project for Daily Laborers Etc.		494,443
Shelter Project		444,311
General Counseling Promotion Project (outreach activity)		317,302
Trial Employment Project for the Homeless Etc.		235,500
Staff for Vocational Counseling for Self-dependency	79,606	176,427
Promotion of Effective Use of Talent Project		87,065
Promotional Staff for Career development		42,436
Hygiene Improvement Project		24,980
Health Service Assistance Project		10,026
Job-hunting Assistance Project for the Homeless		

Source: the author illustrated this figure by the data given by MHLW

2. Assistance of escaping homelessness

During this process, non-profit organizations (NPOs) became an active force in homelessness assistance. By involving Diet Commission members who shared an interest in labor unions and homelessness issues, a bill sponsored by a cross-party group of lawmakers named The Act on Special Measures for Self-dependency Assistance for the Homeless was enacted. Based on this law, surveys on the actual state of homelessness and the Basic Measures for Self-Dependency Assistance for the Homeless policy were initiated.

The core of this law consisted of homeless self-dependency support centers, outreach consultations, and job consultation / support / skill courses. As an array of policy for social inclusion, it was a meticulous and revolutionary program that combined housing, work, and consultation. Local governments dealing with high numbers of homeless people established their own basic plans. Nationwide, ten local governments implemented homeless self-dependency support centers, which formed the core of the support structure.

The above Act was implemented by Diet Commission members under the strong initiative of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and the Labor Movement Organization. In that sense, was is the first legislative act of its kind to represent the homeless. Additionally, it was notable event of increasing the power of NGOs in the legislative and bureaucratic arenas.

Figure 1 demonstrates the trend of the budget for homelessness assistance after 2000. Before the homelessness legislation of 2002, Tokyo and Osaka were the first to introduce self-dependency support centers, followed by Nagoya, Yokohama, Kyoto, etc. The graph reveals that after 2003, the total budget for this program became stable. It remained around the amount of three billion yen until 2009, when a sudden rise in the budget occurred due to the collapse of Lehman Brothers bank, which was followed by an increase in unemployment and homelessness. Table 1 lists the

service contents and volume of the budget by purpose in 2000 and 2004. The three largest services are the provision of self-dependency assistance centers, outreach activities, and shelter services. These are followed by several job-finding and training services. Thus, there is a variety of available services to assist homeless people effectively. Because of this, around half of the service users are able to gain employment and return to their lives and communities after leaving the center, despite the budget being smaller than that of “livelihood protection” services.

3. Advent of the memorial commission regarding social inclusion

Thus, homelessness assistance policy ran first in the arena of social inclusion, when no consensus about it had been attained. Outside the mainstream of social welfare, this legislation and policy were started in very specific and unique manners; however, they certainly stimulated discussion about social inclusion. The first and memorial commission, entitled the Investigative Commission for Considering the Government Stance for the Social Inclusion of Those in Need of Social Assistance, was established in September 2000. It studied relevant cases from European countries and pursued the creation of a new social wellbeing system in Japan.

The committee was established under the direction of the Department of Social Assistance at the Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare (MHLW). This was an epoch-making event, since the central government, for the first time, referred to “social inclusion.” The government released a handout, the first part of which included the important statement clarifying the government’s recognition of the changing social atmosphere following the economic collapse at the beginning of 1990s.

The statement was as follows,

The Report of the Investigative Commission for Considering the Stance for the Social Inclusion of Those in Need of Social Assistance, published in December 2000.

Basic Concept

During the period after WWII, Japan transformed itself from a poor society into a wealthy one. We should surely appreciate the contribution made by social welfare, which sought to escape poverty during that time. However, we cannot deny that the following urbanization, the trend toward nuclear families, industrialization, and internationalization have caused people to lose their common ties. Moreover, even though society has become economically wealthy, we must acknowledge the fact that new challenges have presented themselves, and respect for one another has been weakening.

Further, social welfare-related institutions have constantly been trying to modernize themselves under these social changes. There has been a generalization from a selective social welfare based on helping the poor in a poor society to a social welfare that underpins the livelihood of Japan’s citizens, so that everybody can feel secure in the face of the falling birthrate and the aging population.

However, in recent years, and despite a robust social welfare system, we have been witnessing various cases where society and social welfare have not been able to provide for those who require social backup. From the start, Japan’s social welfare has been supported by the social solidarity between its citizens, but in contemporary society, we must realize that the “ties” between people are created by social welfare.

Especially, in contemporary society, the development in the proficiency of electrical devices such as computers is heavily sought after. However, we believe that there is a role for welfare to focus on human relations that can

overcome prejudice and discrimination by setting up "ties" between people. Therefore, we suggest that the "ties" in this case are a form of coexistence, and we must ensure that this is based on the recognition of diversity.

The Law on Partly Amending Social Welfare Projects Etc., which was recently passed by the ordinary Diet Commission, is a "basic structural revolution in social welfare." It is shifting away from a remedial measure system toward system that respects user choices the way a social welfare system of a wealthy society does.

Together with this, it is a systemic revolution that goes back to the point of origin of social welfare being a service for the people, by the people. As it is clear from the newly added chapter on "the promotion of community welfare," one can also consider it an amendment to reconstruct "ties" among communities.

Furthermore, in England and France, "social inclusion" has become a policy objective. This can also be read as effort towards the reconstruction of societal "ties." Such attempts in several countries indicate that even in the few cases where society and social welfare have not been able to deliver to those who require social backup, there is a visible concentrated attempt at leading the way toward the reconstruction of societal "ties" and integration.

In the investigative commission, we have conducted our approach not from institutional theory, but from theory based on real-world conditions. In other words, it is an investigative method where we refer to actual cases happening now, look for concrete solutions catered to each issue, and implement them. When we examine the current status of social welfare, we would like to point out that this investigative method is a potent method.

4. Issues and people targeted by social inclusion

The main target of conventional social welfare was poverty; however, nowadays, the following overlapping and complex issues need to be examined on a new axis (see Figure 2):

- Disability and Anxiety (social stress issues, alcoholism, etc.),
- Social Exclusion and Conflict (death on the streets, Japanese children left behind in China at the end of World War II, exclusion of and conflict with foreigners, etc.),
- Social Isolation and Solitude (solitary death, suicide, domestic violence and abuse, etc.).

This matrix is very important, since it illustrates for the first time in an official document of the Japanese Central Government the recognition of phenomena regarding social inclusion issues in Japan at that time.

Tables 2 and 3 were made by the staff of MHW (Ministry of Health and Welfare, before its merger with the Ministry of Labor), which relied on several statistical sources and some estimation. In Table 2, the target number of people was calculated using the official

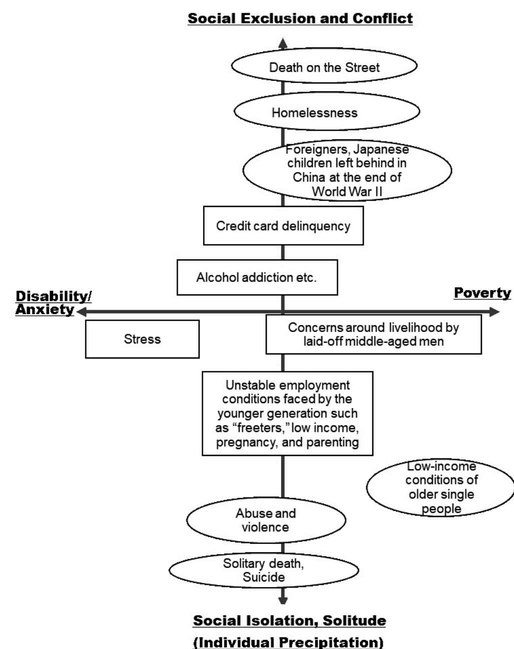

Figure 2. Social welfare issues in contemporary Japanese Society

Source: www.mhlw.go.jp/www1/shingi/s0012/s1208-2_16.html

Table. 2 Trend in the number of recipients of various social security measures

	the number of target people		
	1955	1975	1995
1. Low income (1) Aided persons	19,219,408	1,349,230	882,229
2.Help-needed old person			
(1)Bedridden old person	*140,000	*1,480,000	*970,000
(2)Demented old person			*150,000
(3) Weak old person			*106,000
(4)Aged single person	2,400	611,000	2,199,000
3.Handicapped			
(1) Physically handicapped children/person (home)	512,000	1,407,800	3,014,600
(2) Mentally handicapped children/person (home)	319,000	312,600	297,100
(3) Psychic disorder	—	1,390,000	2,167,000
4. Children / Family			
(1) Support needing Children	*768,054	1,799,755	2,014,497
(2) Fatherless family	486,000	374,000	483,000
(3) Matherless family	—	65,000	84,000
5. Tuberculosis, intractable diseases			
(1) Specific diseases	—	21,694	320,330
(2) Patients with tuberculosis	*954,102	435,902	65,167
(3) dialysis patients	—	13,059	154,413
6. War victims			
(1) The war disabled	*67,842	151,435	105,342
(2) Bereaved family Etc.	1,839,562	975,721	350,774
(3)Atomic bomb victim	*200,984	356,527	328,629
7. Offenders rehabilitation			
(1) Probation	61,265	44,958	71,851
(2) penal code offenses	558,857	830,176	970,179
(3) penal code offenses under the age of 20	121,753	196,974	193,308
8. China residual Japanese nationals r	—	1,098	16,051
9. Foreigners			
(1) Number of registered foreigners	674,315	749,094	1,362,371
Permanent foreigners	—	—	626,606
(2) illegal overstayer	—	—	286,704

Source: www.mhlw.go.jp/www1/shingi/s0012/s1208-2_16.html

Table 3. Trend in estimations of those who are excluded

Target	number of target people / cases		
	1955	1975	1995
II Current subjects (except for elderly living alone etc.and other whom already mentioned)			
1. Homeless etc			
(1) Homeless people	—	—	over 20,000 in 1998
(2) Starvation and illnesses or even die en route etc.			
① starvation and illnesses or even die en route	—	—	1,152
② illnesses en route	—	—	—
2. personal bankruptcy	1,949	14,625 in 1985	43,414
3. Alcohol dependence etc.			
(1) Alcohol-dependent patient	—	14,720 in 1968	23,800 in 1996
(2) Drug criminal offense	34,126	9,703	19,425
4. Unemployment · Freeter	↓in 1970		
(1) Unemployed	590,000	1,000,000	2,100,000
20's	240,000	360,000	730,000
30's	110,000	190,000	330,000
40's	80,000	170,000	340,000
50's	60,000	120,,000	280,000
(2) So-called "Freeter"	—	500,000 in 1982	1,510,000 in 1997
5. Domestic-violence victim	—	—	2,418 in 1999
6. Suicide	22,477	19,975	21,420

Source: www.mhlw.go.jp/www1/shingi/s0012/s1208-2_16.html

statistics. In the case of Table 3, it was found that the number of cases was calculated by estimation, as there were no policies dealing with those social groups at that time.

This commission also proposed a new line of thinking on social welfare to address these issues. It stressed the creation of a "new public sector" to deal with these new difficulties.

Principles for addressing new social issues

(1) Creating a "new public sector"

In order to reconstruct "linkages" protect all people from solitude, isolation, exclusion, and friction, and realize healthy and cultural livelihoods, we need to seek a social welfare sector that can include these people as members of our society (social inclusion).

Therefore, we need to seek a flexible public system and reconstruct a voluntary support for communities. In particular, we expect local public agencies to include residents in their planning process, so that a "mutually supporting society" may be realized upon the formulation and operation of the community welfare plan, based on the "social welfare" law, which will be enforced in April 2003.

Moreover, by linking various institutions, organizations, and groups active in communities such as "social welfare councils," local administrative bodies, general cooperatives, agricultural cooperatives, and volunteers, it is hoped to create a "new public sector."

5. The change in fiscal policy under the Koizumi Cabinet in the 2000s

To understand the background of the first incarnation of social inclusion policy, we have to consider the fiscal policy in Japan during the early 2000s. Some say that this change is related to the “small government” rhetoric of neoliberalism. Certainly, the policy orientation of Structural Reform Without Sanctuaries during the Koizumi Cabinet (Apr. 2001 to Sept. 2006) was regarded as a typical response from the central government. However, it needs a more detailed explanation.

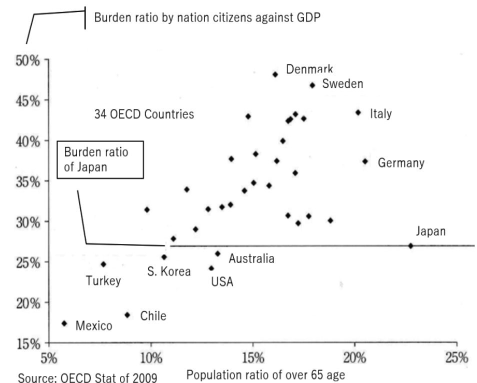

Figure 3. Trend in and comparison of resident's social security expenses
Source: OECD Stat of 2009

Figure 3 demonstrates the smaller tax paid by Japanese residents toward social security expenditure. This is despite the trends of a low birth rate and high proportion of elderly people, which mean that Japan is rapidly moving toward an aging society. There is a risk of having to survive with a social pension that will be too small to support the next generation in the near future.

Thus, the international comparison demonstrated in Figure 3 illustrates, in principle, that the Japanese government’s fiscal role in social security is small. Under the influence of “Thatcherism” in the UK, countries in Europe and America discussed and manipulated their fiscal policy and social security issues to reduce the burden of government expenditure. However, in the case of the Japanese, the issue of a small government requires a different explanation. This difference seems to influence the advent and introduction of the idea of social inclusion imported from Europe. It might be explained that the two main reasons for this introduction should be understood by the government’s concern regarding the growing fiscal burden of social security and by the lack of balance between the taxation systems of the central and local governments.

The Structural Reform Without Sanctuary policy by the Koizumi Cabinet, composed of a “three-part integrated reform and financial reconstruction plan,” was initiated in 2001. The objective of this reform was to reduce state subsidies and to fiscally restore the local allocation tax, in the guise of decentralization. The objective of the Fiscal Investment and Loan Program reform was to make a revision of this unique financing system based on the abolishment of the Trust Fund Bureau (which was financing funding to the huge public infrastructures works from the Japan Post savings), the curtailment of special governmental corporations that had deep connections within the government, and the curtailment of accepting local bonds.

With the abolishment of the Trust Fund Bureau, the Public Works Project was heavily reduced. Calculated from General Finances, Japan’s large public investments were those of a small government. This is because the use of special funding was not reflected in the national tax rate but in public investment. It was actually a large government playing a hidden trick.

However, from a social security point of view, it was a small government, and structural reform during this period had made the role of the central government even smaller, allegedly leading to the widening of inequality. In fact, during the first Abe Cabinet (from September 2006), the internet café refugee and working poor issues were exacerbated, but nothing could be done. During the following Fukuda Cabinet (from September 2007), the mess of this structural reform had to be cleaned up, and it was expected that reform would be implemented in another direction. It was at this point that the discussion on an integrated reform of social security and taxation began. However, the Fukuda Cabinet also came to an early end and was immediately followed by the global financial crisis and the emergence of the tent village for the jobless (lasting from December 2008 to January 2009).

During the Hatoyama Cabinet of the Social Democratic Party (SDP), the plan to increase consumption tax was put on hold. It was reinitiated during the following Kan Cabinet due to fiscal revenue issues. Because it was considered unbeneficial that social security would change with every regime and each time mount into political dispute, the ruling and opposing parties came to an agreement (Three Parties Agreement of June 2012). In December 2012, the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) regained power, eventually leading to the enactment of the Self-dependency Assistance for Needy Persons Act (2013).

In summary, the structural reform of 2001 was the first of its kind, and its course was corrected between the regime change of the LDP to the SDP in the latter half of 2009. The current toward a "new public sector" became stronger, and a specially assigned team for social inclusion (explained below) was established in 2011. This happened in the context of decentralization, in which the notion of community welfare became prevalent, as outlined below.

- Investigative Commission on the Future of Social Welfare for Persons in Need of Social Relief (2000).
- Shift from the notion of normalization to inclusion (harmonious coexistence) after the amended social welfare law (around 2000).
- The important perspective of "coexisting society building" (social inclusion) and the Principle of Municipal Community Welfare Planning and Prefectural Community Welfare Assistance Planning (2002).
- Research Commission on the Future of Community Welfare (2007).

6. Growing attention to the NGO as a bearer of a new public sector

In addition to the above, the involvement of the private sector in encouraging self-help and mutual help was promoted. This made it possible to address issues under the notion of social inclusion that were not formerly addressed within the framework of conventional welfare.

What we need to understand is that from the perspective of social inclusion, the rounds of structural reforms in the mid-2000s were striving to lessen the dependence on "livelihood protection," which was the last safety net in the cut-backs to in social security. This was done through the promotion of self-dependency assistance as separate from "livelihood protection," in order to improve the "livelihood protection" system. In particular, in order to promote

self-dependency assistance, the “Safety Net Assistance Countermeasures” project was initiated in April 2006, with the objective of mobilizing communities and the private sector. The report from the Research Commission on the “future of community welfare” of October 2007 would eventually provide the theoretical backup for this. I will introduce the main parts below.

The 2007 Research Meeting on the Future of Community Welfare report succeeded the investigative commission of 2000. This official report strongly recognized the reality of the malfunctions in the existing welfare system. Ite focused its attention on community welfare, which highly regarded the idea of social inclusion. The following part demonstrates their intentions.

Diverse welfare issues in the communities

The public welfare service has dramatically evolved, especially in the field of the elderly and the disabled. However, at the same time, there are livelihood issues in communities that cannot be properly addressed by mere public welfare services. There are problems that originate from insufficiently comprehensive responses in public welfare services and from a lack of understanding of communities and exclusion.

<<Livelihood issues that cannot be addressed only by public welfare services>>

The following are livelihood issues that cannot be addressed only by public welfare services:

(1) Taking out the garbage of the elderly and disabled, as simple a task as changing a light bulb, it is not cost-effective to have a business provide such public welfare services. Additionally, joining somebody to go to a movie or visit a grave might be deemed necessary as a public welfare service, or not, depending on the person. As such, these needs cannot be picked up by the system,

(2) Addressing “persons in system gaps.” These persons experience various issues which do not fall under the conditions for receiving services from the conventional public welfare services,

(3) Addressing persons who cannot solve problems by themselves or who do not have the ability to solve problems, like stay-at-home single men who die a solitary death, elderly singletons with dementia, who do not realize that they are having problems. Although they have access to information from public welfare services, these persons often cannot judge whether to make use of the services and do not have any relatives or friends to depend on for help.

These are local issues which can only be seen by the residents of a community, and which cannot be detected at an early stage without being near.

<<Problems occurring due to lacking comprehensive response from public welfare services>>

Problems occurring due to lacking comprehensive response from public welfare services can be considered as, for example, not being able to support the household in which there is a parent in need of nursing care or a disabled child, a mother who has been the victim of domestic violence, or a delinquent child. This is owing to the fact that there is no necessary bundle of services available for households with complex problems.

<<People and minorities who easily become the target of social exclusion and low-income issues>>

Additionally, there are problems in dealing with persons who easily become the target of social exclusion, problems arising from misunderstanding of minority communities, and sometimes bias and discrimination (toward foreigners, ex-convicts, etc.). Further, low-income problems including new types of poverty such as homelessness can be considered as community issues.

<<An appeal for a “transition to communities”>>

Under the Self-dependency For Disabled People Act, as of the end of 2011, 19,000 disabled persons have made a transition into communities. In addition, 37,000 mentally challenged persons are prospected to transition from

Table 4. Subsidized programs of NPOs for supporting each initiative

Initiative	Program
Job creation in the community	Hometown Employment Revitalization Special Fund Program
	Emergency Job Creation Program
	Job creation in priority areas
Occupational and livelihood support for the disabled	Implementation of employment support programs closely tied to localities, by merging employment and welfare schemes
	Employment and livelihood support for persons with disabilities (Livelihood support etc.)
	Grant for facility maintenance expenses such as social welfare facilities
Occupational courses and assistance	Public vocational training (Commissioned training)
	Public vocational training (Outsourcing training for persons with disabilities)
	Emergency human resources development support program (Emergency Human Resources Development/Employment Support Fund) Plan a job seeker support system from FY 2011
Assistance for youngsters such as NEET etc.	Local youth support station
Child and child-rearing assistance	Infant home visits (Hello Baby program)
	Child-rearing support visits
	Regional childcare support program
	Temporary daycare program (local, local-based type II)
	After-school day care (clubs for after-school activities for children)
	Child-rearing support programs
	Volunteer development support programs
Healthcare and nursery	Training programs for cancer screening workers
	Programs supporting NGOs for people infected with HIV
	Subsidy for regional nursing care and welfare space/facility improvement
	Subsidy for regional nursing care and welfare space improvement
	Grants for community support programs
Suicide countermeasures	Suicide prevention programs
Assistance for war-displaced Japanese people left behind in China	Sakhalin etc. Temporary shelter for Japanese returning
	Social rehabilitation support for Japanese returnees from China
	Promotion of Social Rehabilitation Support
Community welfare and homelessness countermeasures	Promotion of stop-at-home
	Local settlement support
	Social welfare promotion
	Promotion of healthy growth for children
	Aid for recipients of livelihood support having trouble returning to work
	Special support programs to promote community welfare
	Safe life creation programs
	Prevention of homelessness
	Programs supporting protected persons' occupation
Others	Overseas repatriated remains asbestos information collection project
	Assistance on temporary staffing expenses

source: www.mhlw.go.jp/web/t_doc?dataId=00tb4083&dataType=1&pageNo=1

hospitals into communities. This is illustrative of the fact that the transition out of facilities and hospitals into communities is in progress and that there is a need for a framework to support the communal lives of these people.

The founding of the Safety Net Assistance Countermeasures Project meant the start of a fiscal budget aiming to increase cooperative projects between mainly the MHLW and NPOs. For the 2009 fiscal year, a cooperative project between the MHLW and NPOs was planned. Its main topics were: job creation in the community; occupational and livelihood support for the disabled; occupational courses and assistance; assistance for youngsters such as those not in education, employment, or training (NEET), etc.; child-rearing, healthcare, and nursery assistance; suicide countermeasures; assistance for war-displaced Japanese people left behind in China; and community welfare and homelessness countermeasures. Table 4 provides a list of subsidized NPO programs for fostering each type of assistance activity.

Collaboration between the MHLW and NPOs was a policy that materialized from the national strategy of the "new public commons" care pillar introduced during the Hatoyama government. In April 2004, the Research Commission on Social Place-making for Livelihood Protection Recipients and the New Pubic Commons was established. It brought up the importance of creating a second safety net to supplement "livelihood protection" because of the overconcentration of financial burden it was facing. The "new public commons" would be in charge of this new safety net. The Hatoyama period was followed by a LDP government, during which the promotion of the "new public commons" was put on hold. Yet, up until this day, a budget is being allocated for cooperative projects between the MHLW and NPOs. The fields that would assume the necessity of the "new public commons" were envisioned along the line of lists shown in Table 4.

As such, when examining the effective use of "livelihood protection," the leading example

of the "new public commons" was introduced by the meeting's constitutive members. It was a leading example of how the "new public commons" was functioning through the use of concepts like "place-making," which could not be defined under the existing system. Under the following Kan Administration, this current would transform into the development of a safety net pertaining to social inclusion and covering additional strata experiencing livelihood difficulties, not only the recipients of "livelihood protection". This would be embodied in the establishment of the Special Team on Societies that Include Each and Every Person of January 2011. Considered from the perspective of social security tax integration reform, it was as an effort to realize a mid-scale, yet highly functional form of social security by means of developing a multi-layer safety net as a countermeasure to poverty and inequality. This would become the second safety net. Put concretely, it was a promotion of social inclusion based on close support for strata with complex difficulties, personal support, and a one-stop service.

7. Special Task Team for Societies that Include Each and Every Person in January 2011

The most important event considering the influence of the idea of social inclusion was definitely the establishment of the Special Task Team for Societies that Include Each and Every Person in January 2011. The Cabinet office took the initiative of organizing this team and astonished the general audience when Makoto Yuasa, a well-known homeless assistance NPO leader, was nominated as its head. At the end of 2008, he acted as the chairman of a tent village workers, who quit their previous contract work and moved into Hibiya Park in central Tokyo. With a membership including government officials, this task team gathered several representative NPO activists and progressive civil servants at each of its meetings and wrote the ambitious final report to the government.

At the start of this meeting, handout materials introduced Prime Minister Kan's keynote address at the National Diet on June 11, 2010, which was considered highly impressive in its address of "social solitude."

The Kan Government's Opinion on Social Solitude

The 174th Parliament Meeting's policy speech address by Prime Minister Kan

(The realization of "a society that includes each and every person")

In addition to this policy, I emphasize the efforts taken against the new social risk of "isolation." For two years, together with the head of the Anti-poverty Network, Mr. Makoto Yuasa, I have been providing support to people residing in poverty and hardship in places such as tent villages for the jobless. While engaged in these activities, I made the reconfirmation that there are two meanings to the word "homelessness." One meaning is "houselessness," which pertains to lacking a physical home to live in. The other, which is an even more important meaning, is when a person suddenly runs into various difficulties and "does not have any family near to support him/her." Nobody can live just by themselves. We can only bounce back when there is someone present at times when we are distressed, disheartened, or down. In Japan, this supportive role was previously taken by families, communities, and even corporations. However, this role has suddenly been lost and issues such as social exclusion and inequality have increased. Regardless of gender or age, the number of people falling into solitude has increased, as exemplified by the youth who seek shelter in internet cafés and elderly singletons who live detached from their communities. In order to be liberated from constraints, the strong would opt to increase their freedom; however, for those in weak

positions, there is a risk of their precious lives ending in solitary death.

I deeply sympathize with Mr. Yuasa's idea of a "personal support" system. It is a mechanism to provide required support in an individually catered and continuous way by breaking free from rigid vertical regimes and organization structures, so that specialized personal support workers can frequently address the needs of those who are in distress for various reasons. One-stop services, which pool the various city hall counter services in one place, need to be continued as well, however limited they are in terms of available time and place. Personal support, which consists of "close assistance/joint progress" support, can surpass this limit as a "one-stop service by people, for people." Through this effort, in addition to employment, and pertaining to the fields of elderly and disabled welfare, advocacy for human rights, and even anti-measures to suicide (which surpasses 30,000 cases yearly), the goal is to realize a society in which individuals are not excluded from mutually supportive networks. In other words a "society that includes each and every one." The "new public commons" plan, which was vigorously advocated for by former Prime Minister Hatoyama, supports the potential of these activities. This does not mean that only conventional government institutions and public servants will be in charge of operating these public activities. We also support the participative spirit of community residents helping each other in education and child-rearing, community planning, crime and disaster prevention, healthcare/welfare, consumer protection, etc.

After this prime minister's statement, this report showed the current recognitions to several difficulties related to issues of social inclusion.

1 Changes in families

(Increase of single households and single parents)

Parallel to the decline in birthrate and a growing proportion of elderly people, delayed marriages and divorces are on the rise, too. From this we can derive that the percentage of single households will rise in the future.

2 Changes in employment and occupation

(Problem of non-regular workers)

As a result of the worsening employment conditions in the 1990s, the amount of irregular workers (part-time workers, dispatched workers, temporary workers, etc.) has increased to one-third of the total workforce. Among these are many workers who have unstable incomes and lives.

3 Current Living Difficulties According to Field

(Children)

Violence toward children is rising. On the other hand, the number of school-quitters and school absentees is decreasing.

(Elderly Singletons)

Compared to general households with elderly members, single elderly households (elderly singletons) experience more living difficulties and some do not have any communication partners except direct relatives.

Additionally, in other regards, it is becoming increasingly obvious that they have many living difficulties.

(Suicides)

Since 1998, the yearly number of suicides has surpassed 30,000 and continues to rise.

(Youth)

The so-called "Freeters" and NEET have become a social problem. Among the NEET, there is a considerable proportion of young people who have struggle with human relations. Additionally, the number of unemployed young people is also high, with additional cases of social withdrawal (not leaving their homes).

(Women)

There are many issues that need to be addressed, such as the high rate of irregular workers among women, wage inequality between men and women, the M-shaped curve, etc.

(Households with living difficulties)

Poverty is increasingly becoming a serious issue. There have been reported cases of persons not being able to secure their daily necessities, as well as cycles of poverty that affect the education of children.

(Domestic violence)

The number of consultation cases on domestic violence has been increasing each year.

(Depression)

The number of persons with depression tripled between 1996 and 2005, and has been increasing in 2008 as well.

(The relationship between families, communities, and work)

The relationship between families, communities, and work is weakening.

The handout material contained large amounts of data and information regarding phenomena related to social inclusion. The main phenomena detected by the statistics were described as follows.

The appearance of “isolation” as seen from non-official data ①

<(E.g.) solitary death>

(1) Detached society “The Shocking Reality of 32,000 Unattended Deaths” (NHK’s Detached Society Project)

(2) Increased risk of solitary death after 40 (Bureau of Social Welfare and Public Health, Tokyo Metropolitan Government)

(3) The number of single resident casualties in Urban Renaissance housing estates (Urban Renaissance Corporation).

The appearance of “isolation” as seen from non-official data ②

<(E.g.) At schools (quitting, poverty, and scholastic performance)>

○ The increasing number of high school dropouts and examination fails (On-site report)

◆ 6-7% of enrollees quit school before graduation

◆ Poverty and scholastic performance

○ The relationship between the career paths of high school students and their parents’ salary (Tokyo University)

Table 5. Themes presented at each meeting by specialists and their affiliation and status

Theme	Affiliation and status
Overview	Professor of social and labor policy
Suicide	NPO director
Foreigner	Board director of general incorporated foundation
Multiple debts	City government staff (tax affair)
Irregular work	Labor movement activist
Elderly people	Local social welfare council, section head
DV	NPO secretary general
Disabled person	NPO deputy secretary general
Suicide	Local city mayor
Homeless people	NPO board director
Women	NPO director
Study support	Voluntary network, board director
High school	Professor of sociology
Developmental	Public service assistance center, head
Social care	NPO board director

Source: the author made this table using the following website. www.kantei.go.jp/jp/singi/housetusyakai/dai1/gijisidai.html

The appearance of “isolation” as seen from non-official data ③

<(E.g.) Suicide>

The “actual condition of suicide,” according to the results of an interview survey of families who have lost a family member to suicide (Interview survey of approximately 5,000 people by the NPO Life Link)

Table 5 demonstrates that influential NPOs and academics with expertise in the relevant fields were invited to make presentations to ensure best practice.

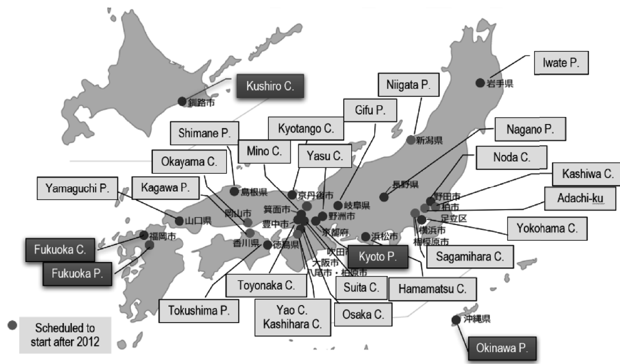

Figure 4. Distribution of authorities adopting personal support programs

source: www.kantei.go.jp/jp/singi/kinkyukoyou/suisinteam/PSSmp2/index.html
Outline characters' cities indicate the five leading runners adopting this program.

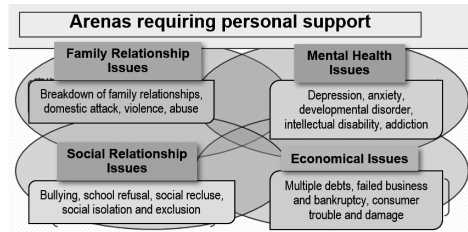

Figure 5. Arenas requiring personal support

source: www.kantei.go.jp/jp/singi/kinkyukoyou/suisinteam/PSSmp2/index.html

8. Pioneering preliminary introduction of the Personal Support Program

After 7 months' discussion, the task team submitted the final report to the Prime Minister in August 2011. It proposed urgent implementation of three programs: (1) Survey of factual findings regarding the risk of social exclusion, (2) Implementation of the advanced service program, (3) Establishment of national consulting service stations for the construction of a society without social exclusion. The second personal support program included comprehensive assistance services, which could cover persons at risk of social exclusion.

This scheme was originally developed under the preliminary personal support program, which began before the task team was established. The new SDP cabinet of Hatoyama launched the New Growth Tactics program. Of the 21 featured programs, the personal support service was selected to be introduced as part of the realization of an effective safety structure. A team of selected government officials from the Cabinet Office swiftly acted to set the program in motion after researching candidate local authorities with positive intentions and heritage to develop this program. As illustrated in the map of Japan in Figure 4, five authorities volunteered to apply this program. Later, at the end of fiscal year 2010, another twenty could join the forerunners. The program's main aim was originally focused on supporting the generation of the working-age unemployed. However, after the Great East Japan Earthquake on March 11, 2011, a more comprehensive consultation resulted in the inclusion of general livelihood difficulties.

Figure 5 indicates the four areas requiring personal support and demonstrates the issues to be tackled. Forerunner city governments freely chose their priority programs, with consideration of specific local socio-economic conditions. They nurtured their heritage of collaboration between NPOs and city officials. These cities were often praised for their good practices and were nominated members of a commission regarding this advanced accumulation of skill and knowledge.

9. Preparation for new legislation by the Council of Social Security

Differently from other programs developed by the Cabinet Office, this program would be succeeded by the new Assistance for People in Need Act, which was later approved at the National Diet in December 2013 and implemented in April 2015 in every local authority.

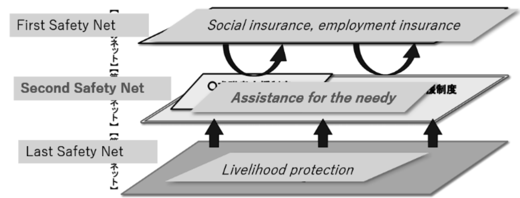

Figure 6. Model of three-layered safety net
source: /jp/singi/kinkyukoyou/suisinteam/PSSmp2/index.html

In this process, the Special Division within the Council of Social Security took on the crucial role in establishing the new integrated system of assistance for needy persons to prevent them becoming "livelihood protection" recipients. This is demonstrated in Figure 6 as three layers. Between the upper layer of social insurance/employment insurance and the bottom layer of "livelihood protection," creation of a new layer of assistance for the needy was planned.

The ideal scheme was drawn (Figure 7) under the principle of establishing consultant service hubs to prevent needy persons from dropping in gaps between policies and malfunctioning of institutional organizations. Except for recipients of livelihood protection, needy persons in general had not been receiving relevant consultation-based assistance. To strengthen the support for the kind of needy person not yet receiving livelihood protection, the special division planned to form a comprehensive and attentive reception hub in the social security network's center. The functioning of the consultations would rely on how the network mobilizes available resources to organize help for those in need. Using a combination of these resources, assistance would be developed around (1) the comprehensive consultation center, (2) support for job seekers, (3) provision of various job opportunities, (4) housing support including rent subsidies, provision of

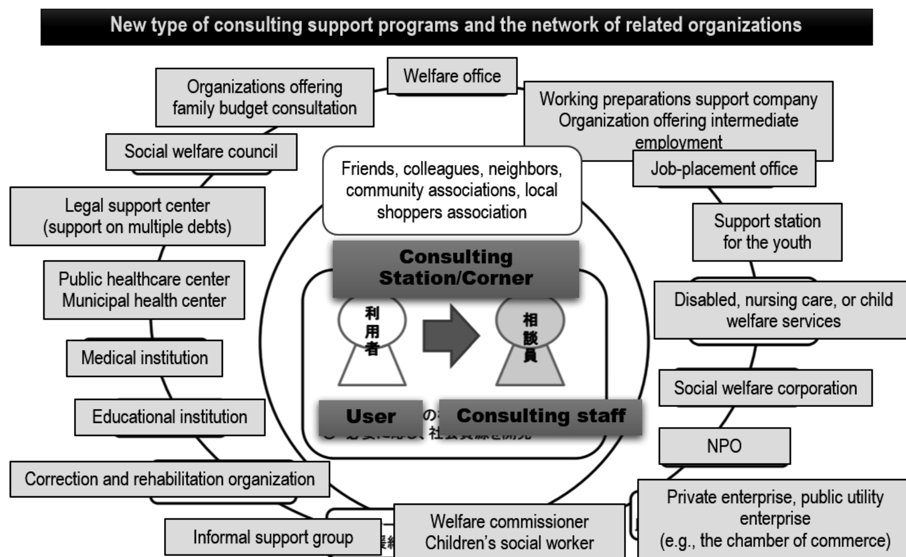

Figure 7. New consultation support programs and the network of related organizations
source: www.mhlw.go.jp/stf/shingi/2r9852000002tpzu-att/2r9852000002tq1b.pdf

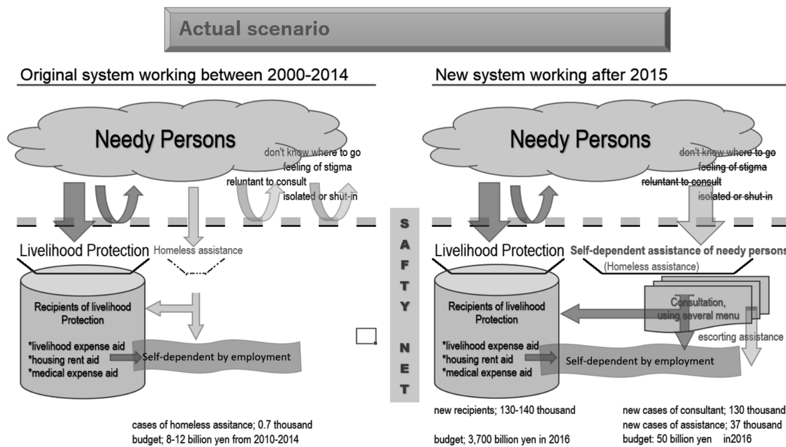

Figure 8. Comparison of original model (Figure 6) and current model

https://www.mhlw.go.jp/file/06-Seisakujouhou-12000000-Shakaiengokyoku-Shakai/seidogaiyou.pdf

rental housing information, introduction of transit housing, (5) household budget consultations, (6) health support, and (7) support for children and youth.

Regarding the reforming and restructuring of national social security issues, the Social Security Council holds a mission to orient future policymaking and the government normally hears out and put their suggestions into practice. After the advent of the memorial commission of 2010, with participation of the leader of a civic movement, this commission organized its membership to include representative NPO leaders and progressive city officials. During the period of the meeting, in order to share the current attainments, they presented their activities and outcome at the same time, the commission invited other influential figures who work for good causes such as assisting the needy.

The final report was submitted to the MHLW in January 2013. The change of administration from the SDP to back to the LDP had already occurred in December 2012, with Abe once again as Prime Minister. However, according to the Three Parties Agreement, social security legislation which is tied strongly the system of taxation should be attentively dealt with and free from political debate. With this report acknowledged by the LDP and with a slight change of wording, the Self-Dependency Assistance for Needy Persons Act was passed in the National Diet in December 2013 in tandem with an amendment to the Livelihood Protection Act.

10. New Assistance for Needy Persons legislation and its newly developed contents

This Act was realized after a series of implementations of a model program by influential NPO leaders and progressive government bureaucrats. Without any objection among the political parties, it was implemented in April 2015 by all local authorities as the mandatory program to serve needy person who were previously not covered by the existing social security system. Due to the pressure of a growing budget for livelihood protection, especially after the 2009 New Year period, a homeless tent village called "Hakenmura," which was actually a tent colony for the

jobless, opened at Hibiya Park in Central Tokyo. Need for the development of another safety net was strongly recognized to prevent people becoming recipients of "livelihood protection", as is demonstrated in Figure 8.

This "last safety net" of "livelihood protection" is elaborately structured, with many individual benefits and access to free medical treatment. However, because of societal stigma and the rigid screening process through methods such as means testing, many felt reluctant to go to the welfare office or receive help. The new system was anticipated to provide more opportunities to receive consultation without stigma, since there were few financial benefits available. The system began with consultation and made a link to the other safety net system available, whilst offering continued escorting assistance (see the explanation on the right side of Figure 8).

Later, this unique style of escorting assistance is explained in some detail. As is shown in Figure 8, it should be noted that originally, this new system might appear to work as a gateway to reaching new services other than using livelihood protection. In reality, the breadth of this gateway varies among local authorities, which use livelihood protection in some cases, while using new options that the new legislation presents in others.

Statistics from 2017 demonstrated that 73% of recipients of employment assistance found new employment and a quarter received more income than before. At the same time, 26% of people who received consultation were transferred to another system such as livelihood protection (39%), the social welfare council for a small loan or defending right (10%), small emergency loans, etc.

It is interesting that comparison between the expenditure of livelihood protection and the new system (shown in the right-hand figure of Figure 8), the total expenditure of livelihood protection was 3,700 billion yen for 2.1 million recipients in 2016, with 270,000 new recipients in 2016. On the other hand, the budget of the new system required 50 billion yen for 130,000 of those consulted. In terms of financial expenditure, the new system works efficiently with a small budget to assist people in need, even if 10% of them eventually use livelihood protection.

Table 6. Outcome by type of support in the program of self-dependence for needy people (fiscal year 2017)

Prefectures	population of target region (28.1.1)	newly received consultation	plan made	target of employment support
total	**128,066,211**	**229,685**	**71,293**	**31,912**

use of projects based on low					
housing secure	temporary livelihood	household budget consultation	employment preparation	employment training	self-independent employment
5,539	**17,155**	**9,466**	**3,146**	**389**	**28,173**

others		number of workers		number of people whose income increased	
lending daily life support-related funds	livelihood protection employment independent		used for employment support plan		used for employment support plan
4,454	**14,745**	**25,322**	**17,958**	**6,390**	**4,414**

FY2017 Support for the self-independence of needy people (from April to March)

source: www.mhlw.go.jp/content/000331087.pdf

11. The character and outcome of the new program

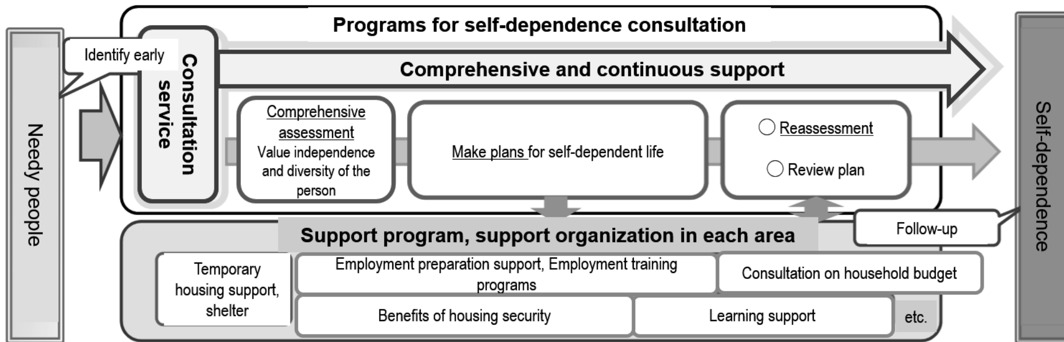

Figure 9. The flow of support under the new model

source: www.mhlw.go.jp/file/06-Seisakujouhou-12000000-Shakaiengokyoku-Shakai/seidogaiyou.pdf

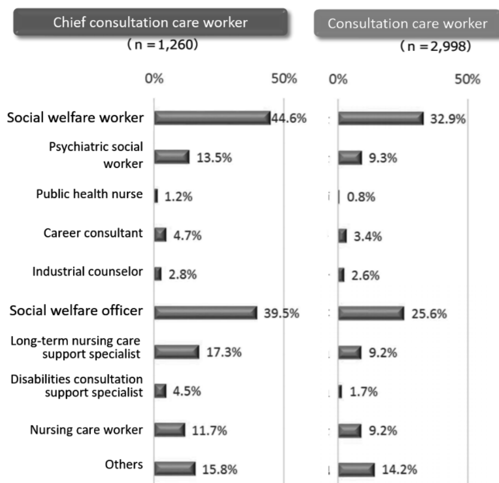

Figure 10. Qualification of care workers by types (2017)

source: www.mhlw.go.jp/content/000363182.pdf

Table 6 demonstrates the total number of uses of each assistance option in 2017. It reveals that 0.2% of the total population (230,000) received consultation, with a third of these cases going well to the stage of plan making. The most significant index is considered by governments to the degree of percentage of people whose income increased; however, this varies significantly among local authorities.

Figure 9 shows the basic structure of the new system. There are six programs in which comprehensive consultation services and housing rental loan are mandatory. The other four programs are optional, to be chosen by each local authority. The mandatory programs' consultation process consists of assessment, making a plan and a reassessment, and a review of the plan. This takes time, and in some cases, continued escorting assistance.

what kind of care workers are engaged in the new program? As demonstrated in Figure 10, both chief and ordinary care workers possess most of the qualifications of social welfare. They are followed by local government officials from the social welfare department. Specially qualified psychiatric social workers, nursing care workers, and care support specialists are also involved. Career consultants and industrial counselors also take part, especially in the employment support program. Additionally, financial planners and consumer counselors work in the area of household budget management.

The most prominent characteristic of this program is in the strong influence exercised by NGOs. The upper column of Table 7 demonstrates the share of direct management by local

Table 7. Implementation of the mandatory and optional projects by types of institute, program, and management in fiscal year 2018

	Operating system	Direct	Trust	Direct+ Trust
[1] Comprehensive consultation for self-dependence	**n=902**	**35.1%**	**54.7%**	**10.2%**
[2] Employment preparation support programs	n=435	8.0%	86.7%	5.3%
[3] Temporary livelihood support programs (shelter provision)	n=277	38.3%	57.4%	4.3%
[4] Consultation on household budgets	n=403	11.9%	85.4%	2.7%
[5] Children's learning support programs	n=536	22.4%	66.6%	11.0%

Trustee (multiple answers)	Number of local governments (n=585)	[1] Rate (/585)	[2] Rate (/400)	[3] Rate (/171)	[4] Rate (/355)	[5] Rate (/416)
Social welfare corporation (except below)	51	8.7%	17.8%	32.7%	4.8%	9.6%
Social welfare council	446	76.2%	27.8%	14.6%	70.1%	20.4%
Medical corporation	1	0.2%	0.3%	0.0%	0.0%	*16.8%
Company etc.	34	5.8%	18.0%	2.9%	2.3%	0.0%
Incorporated association, foundation	35	6.0%	10.5%	18.7%	3.9%	17.1%
NPO	69	11.8%	30.3%	39.2%	7.3%	39.2%
Cooperative association	13	2.2%	2.8%	4.1%	10.7%	17.1%
Others	15	2.6%	14.0%	13.5%	5.6%	19.0%

*tutoring school

source: www.mhlw.go.jp/content/000363182.pdf

authorities or trust to the management by other private organizations. Differing from the management of Livelihood Protection, percentages of direct management are much lower, especially in employment and household budget support. As Table 7 shows, NGOs and other related corporations, as a new public sector, are beginning to play a central role in implementing these programs.

The lower columns of Table 7 illustrate the kinds of organizations engaged in different types of programs. The most influential place in community welfare is normally assigned to the "social welfare council" of each local government. Just like its original form established in the beginning of 1950s, this council is semi-publicly maintained as the reception of ordinary community well-being. Thus, they tend to obtain the task of acting as the general consultation center and providing household budget consultation. Other programs such as employment support, shelter provision, and children's learning support are managed more directly by NGOs and related associations

Regarding the increase of the adoption of option programs, Figure 11 demonstrates a great difference among local governments' intention and enthusiasm toward them. The rate adoption by governments has been growing annually. As of 2018, 50% of governments have adopted the option program in all areas except shelter provision.

How much difference by prefecture can be detected? In Figure 12, the upper graph indicates the adoption rate by local authorities among prefectures. Whilst there is a prefecture where every local authority has adopted the option program, in contrast, some prefectures attained only a 20% adoption rate. The most difference can be seen in the shelter provision program, which ranges from 0% to 100%.

This difference reflects the competitive attitude toward the adoption of new programs by local governments. At the same time, it reveals, what we call, the bureaucratic "culture" which reveals the difference between conservative- or progressive-operated bureaucracies. This characteristic

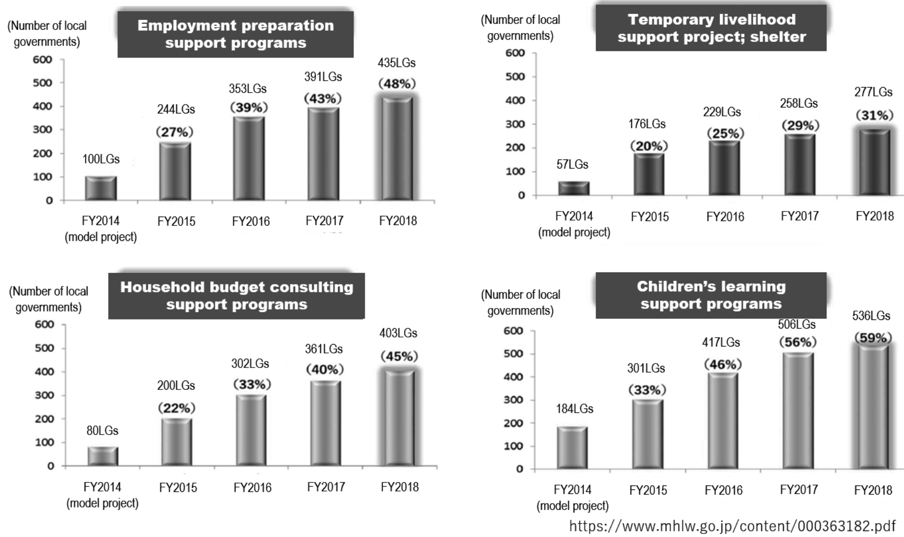

Figure 11. Trend in the implementation of the optional programs

https://www.mhlw.go.jp/content/000363182.pdf

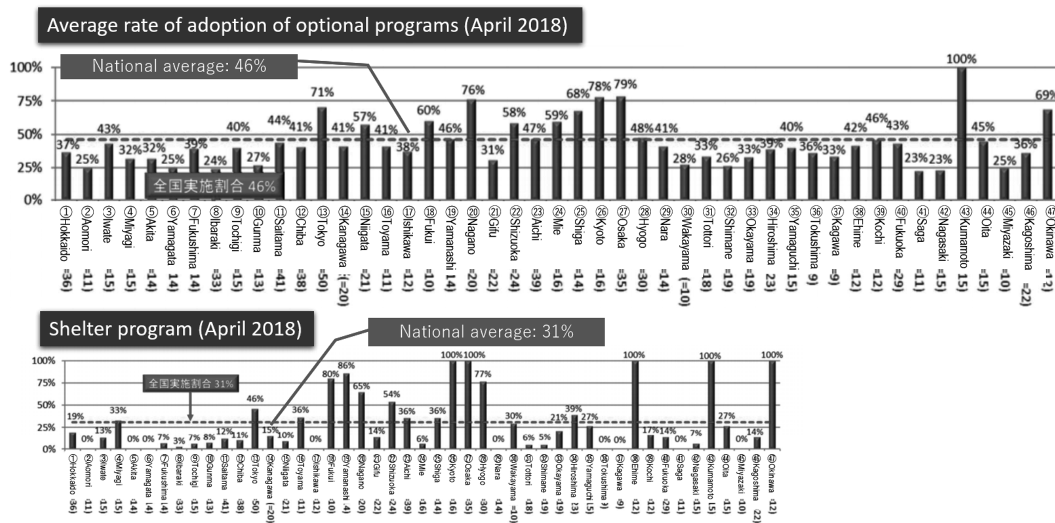

Figure 12. Implementation of the optional programs by prefecture (April 2018)

source: www.mhlw.go.jp/content/000363182.pdf

is defined as one specific to the Japanese administrative manner, that is competitive nature of local governments. In some cases, this character strengthens the safety net locally and provides good stimulus to the neighboring local authorities.

II. Development of Individual Policies Related with Social Inclusion

Thus, I explained the mainstream trends of social inclusion policies, which started in the beginning of 2000s. Now, I show individual safety net policies which did not seem to be directly formulated as a social inclusion policy. But for the fuller understanding the development of social inclusion policy in Japan, it is necessary to learn historical formation and current outcome in each related arena of social inclusion.

12. Number of foreign residents and their status

The relationship between foreigners in Japan and social inclusion is rather complicated. As demonstrated in Figure 1, in the year 2000, the position of foreigners in the report mentioning social inclusion for the first time was located along the axis of exclusion with a slight tendency toward poverty. However, the state of exclusion does not entirely reflect the situation of Korean residents residing in Japan known as Zainichi, who were Japan's largest foreign population until the 1980s.

Table 8 demonstrates the top 13 countries of resident foreigners per visa status and the distribution of their visa statuses as of June 1, 2018. One can notice the typical share of "special permanent resident" visa holders, with 65% held by South Koreans and 98% by "Koreans." Owing to a direct result of colonial domination, this "Koreans" is an original label applying to anyone from Korea except in 1947. After the independent of South Korea in 1948, some "Korean" started to change to hold South Korean nationality. This visa status is representative of "Korean residents residing in Japan," although the actual numbers have been decreasing as new applications are no longer accepted. On the other hand, many former visa holders have naturalized into Japanese citizenship.

Further, the category of "long-term residents" is also characteristic. Following the revision of the Immigration Law in 1990, a visa system was introduced for foreigners to work in Japan. It was limited to South Americans of Japanese descent and their spouses, Indo-Chinese refugees,

Table 8. Status of residence by nationality (June 2018)

	Nationality	Total	Percentage of "Professor" in "Cultural Activities"	Percentage of "Technical Intern Training"	Student	Dependent	Designated Activities	Permanent Resident	Spouse or Child of Japanese National	Spouse or Child of Permanent Resident	Long-term Resident	Special Permanent Resident
Total		2,637,251	12.7%	10.8%	12.3%	6.6%	2.4%	28.8%	5.4%	1.4%	7.0%	12.4%
1	China	741,656	16.9%	10.1%	16.6%	10.3%	1.4%	34.2%	4.3%	2.0%	3.8%	0.1%
2	South Korea	452,701	7.2%	0.0%	3.8%	2.7%	1.0%	15.5%	3.0%	0.5%	1.6%	64.7%
3	Vietnam	291,494	10.7%	46.0%	27.7%	4.5%	2.0%	5.3%	1.2%	0.6%	1.9%	0.0%
4	Philippines	266,803	4.0%	10.8%	1.0%	1.2%	3.5%	48.1%	9.9%	2.2%	19.2%	0.0%
5	Brazil	196,781	0.5%	0.0%	0.3%	0.3%	0.0%	57.7%	8.7%	1.8%	30.7%	0.0%
6	Nepal	85,321	25.7%	0.2%	32.8%	27.9%	5.8%	5.0%	0.9%	0.7%	0.9%	0.0%
7	Taiwan	58,456	22.1%	0.0%	17.3%	3.6%	7.7%	36.4%	7.6%	0.4%	2.7%	1.9%
8	USA	56,834	35.0%	0.0%	5.6%	7.3%	0.4%	30.3%	17.0%	0.4%	2.2%	1.4%
9	Indonesia	51,881	6.8%	44.8%	12.9%	5.4%	9.1%	12.2%	3.9%	0.5%	4.0%	0.0%
10	Thailand	51,003	9.5%	16.9%	8.6%	1.5%	0.5%	39.0%	14.2%	1.4%	7.6%	0.0%
11	Peru	48,266	0.2%	0.1%	0.3%	0.1%	0.1%	70.3%	3.5%	3.6%	21.8%	0.0%
12	India	33,271	44.6%	0.1%	5.2%	24.1%	4.0%	17.6%	1.3%	1.0%	1.6%	0.0%
13	Korea	30,181	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	1.5%	0.1%	0.0%	0.4%	98.0%

Source: www.moj.go.jp/content/001289225.pdf

Table 9. Short-term stays by nationality

Source: www:jnto.go.jp/jpn/statistics/vosotor_trends/

Visitor Arrivals in 2018

(Preliminary figures by JNTO)

	Country/Area	2018
	Grand Total	31,191,900
1	China	8,380,100
2	South Korea	7,539,000
3	Taiwan	4,757,300
4	Hong Kong	2,207,900
5	U.S.A.	1,526,500
6	Thailand	1,132,100
7	Australia	552,400
8	Philippines	504,000
9	Malaysia	468,300
10	Singapore	437,300
11	Indonesia	396,900
12	Vietnam	389,100
14	Canada	330,500
15	United Kingdom	334,000
16	France	304,900
	Others	1,198,500

and their spouses and children. Brazilians and Peruvians of Japanese descent are representative of this category and their numbers as a foreign workforce increased rapidly.

The highest number of "permanent residents" are stable visa holders who have been living continuously in Japan for more than 10 years. The Chinese hold the highest share in absolute numbers in addition to the Brazilians and Peruvians, who are followed by the Filipinos, Thais, Taiwanese, and Chinese. 54% of the total are visa holders who can work and are guaranteed a stable residence in Japan. Meanwhile, other visas are for temporary stays. Regarding temporary work visas, Japan has its own training program for foreign workers under a "temporary intern training" status, in which the Vietnamese and Indonesians are the largest group.

Besides their visa holders, Table 9 demonstrates the top 8 countries and their number of visitors under the short-term stay status. China, Taiwan, and South Korea were the "big three" of these countries in 2018. This number is growing every year, reaching over 30 million visitors. It is noted that some of these visitors are working illegally using visitors' visas for up to three months and repeatedly leaving and returning to work. In other cases, they continue to work by overstaying the limit of their permitted stay.

13. Social inclusion and policy for foreign people

As such, Japan uses various visa qualifications in which the level of work choices and social security coverage differ. Seen from a social security legislation perspective, as shown in Figure 13, nationality provisions were abolished through the ratification of the International Human Rights Treaty of 1979 and the Refugees Act of 1982.

From the perspective of social inclusion, numerous Korean residents in Japan were treated as foreigners and were faced with many disadvantageous conditions until the nationality provisions were removed. Economically, however, they developed businesses through their own personal networks, such as self-employment and pachinko parlors in the light industries sector. Having their own financial institutions, they improved their own livelihood foundations, without depending on Japan's government. This is also why no policies were made. As shown in Figure 13, the social security system was opened to foreigners between 1979 and 1982, yet before that, the rights for Korean residents were realized by social movements during the 1970s. Among these were the court battles on the discrimination of large corporations against second- and third-generation residents and the movement against nationality provisions in the public housing sector.

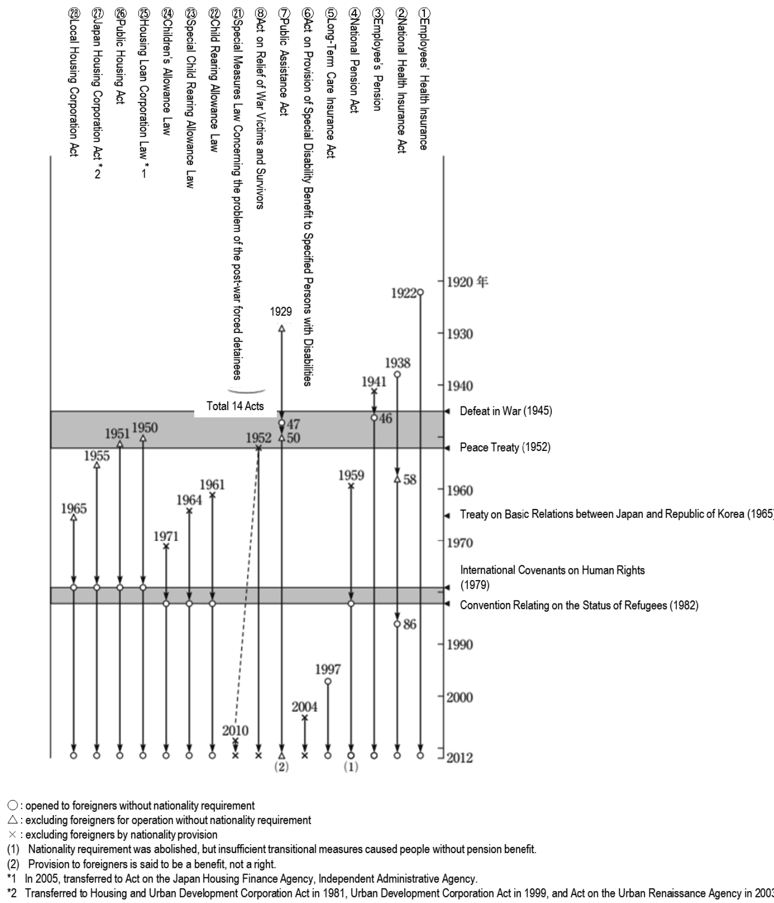

Figure 13. Trends in Treatment of Foreigners in Social Security Legislation

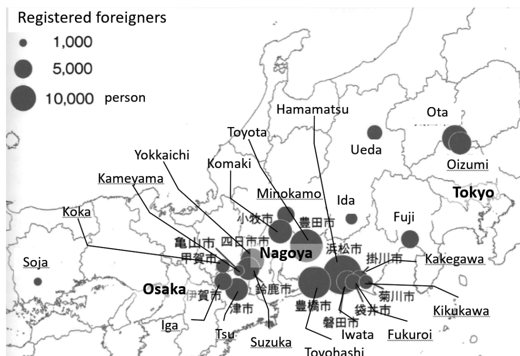

Figure 14. Distribution of municipalities that participated in the Meeting on Foreign Settlement Cities in 2017

Source: www.shujutoshiojp/member/pdf/2017member.pdf

These demands were first met by local governments such as Osaka and Kawasaki in 1975.

Following the ratification of the International Human Rights Treaty and the Refugees Act, the social rights of foreigners were considered basic human rights. Nationality requirements were abolished according to the respective laws and notifications were sent out on the legislation's application to foreigners. In particular, the policies on employing South Americans of Japanese descent became pivotal and efforts were made to improve the quality and stability of their employment rather than extending social security. Autochthonous community efforts, especially from local governments encouraging culturally diverse coexistence played a crucial role in this. The Meeting on Foreign Settlement Cities network with its accumulated share of discussions, unemployment offices involved in the employment, welfare, and education of foreigners, as well as the MHLW, were supported by local governments. The distribution of municipalities of this network is illustrated in Figure 14, which demonstrates the high concentration of working laborers and their families from Brazil and Peru, also known as the Nikkei. It also worth mentioning that

the role of NPOs providing livelihood protection was crucial in the improvement of important policy.

Regarding the employment of foreign workers under "technical intern training," especially in their first year, they were not even recognized as "workers." Thus, they were left out completely from worker welfare such as eligibility to disaster insurance etc. This was however rectified after the legislation revision during the mid-2000s. Civil organizations that had their base in labor unions were involved in addressing issues such as runaways and unpaid wages of special technical intern trainees. Some organizations also had a background in the struggle for Korean residents' rights.

The idea of letting Japanese orphans left behind in China after World War 2 regain their "Japaneseness" was at the core of inclusion and social security policy, for this category was fairly systemized in comparison to other foreigners. However, through the extension of this category to second- and third-generation orphans and their families, this system reached its limits and they eventually had to be treated as foreigners again.

Put briefly, although efforts were made to incorporate them into the Japanese social security system, South Americans of Japanese descent were not granted employment insurance. Some hoped to have that share added to their salary, whilst others complained about low pension returns, which in the end caused many to opt out of this system. From the perspective of social inclusion, we cannot deny that this was partly glorified as an ideal way of culturally diverse co-existence.

14. Prominent outcomes of public housing policy in Japan, Dowa assimilation programs

The Public Housing Act in Japan was implemented in 1951, under an initiative by the Ministry of Construction (now MLIT). The target population class for housing was determined as households with an income level in the lower 33%. Later, in 1955, the Housing Corporation Act followed, covering wealthier classes and including the provision of detached houses. In essence, both Acts were designed to cover the nuclear family. They lacked consideration for the housing welfare point of view and did not include any welfare services. In total, over two million houses (with an additional 750,000 by the Japan Housing Corporation) were provided, which amounted to 5% of the total number of households in Japan. This number is not high; however, at the same time, the housing allowance from the Livelihood Protection Act was functioning separately, providing funds to pay for private rental housing.

Aside from this general provision, there was another supply of public housing through the Housing District Renewal Act of 1960. The introduction of this Act was supported by requests from local authorities that could not cope with upgrading deteriorated housing i.e. slums and squatters districts, which were the unwelcomed product of the confused post-war recovery of land use.

In many cases, this Act began an adaptation to the clearance of slums populated by societal outcasts, such as in the case of the Buraku people's ghetto, whose residents otherwise received discriminatory treatment. This programs were later succeeded by the most famous affirmative legislation of the Special Measures for Assimilation Projects Act (Dowa Counter-measure Act)

of 1969. This Act was formalized by the strong push from the Buraku Liberation Movement, based on the landmark report by the authorized central government council of “Fundamental Measures for the Solution of Social and Economic Problems of Buraku Areas” in 1965.

According to this Act, most of the 1.2 million Buraku people (320,000 households) would benefit from the renewal of their residential atmosphere or receiving enough compensation to move out of their homes. Figure 15 illustrates the transition of the budgets of the central and local governments. Taking advantage of special financial treatment of 100% central government funding, local governments invested in building not only housing, but also welfare facilities, a small business regeneration fund, subsidies to educational expenses, etc. in line with the various ministries’ programs. This Act was valid from 1969 to 2002, and the geographical outcome of transforming the former Buraku ghetto is illustrated in Figure 16 as an ideal example of the allocation of welfare-related facilities to cater for everyone using the famous phrase of ‘guaranteed security from the cradle to the grave’.

Generally, Dowa projects were evaluated as a highly successful urban renewal programs. They provided useful knowledge and skills to the participants. Thus, from a physical perspective, the Buraku district, formerly a ghetto, has been completely renewed and is now indistinguishable from any ordinary non-Buraku public housing district. However, with this renewal of the former slum into a public housing estate, wealthier residents who had originally owned their houses tended to move out of Buraku, and companies and workshops sustaining typical Buraku industry were obliged to move into the broader area. This erased the industrial production function from Buraku, rendering it a purely residential district.

Moreover, other problems were added when the fundamental revision of the Public Housing Act in 1996 declared the future abolition of preferential treatment for Dowa public housing under the new principle of privatization. Open to the housing market mechanism, this revision introduced the new rent determination system according to one’s income. Thus, wealthier tenants tended to or were pushed to leave public housing, into either renting privately or purchasing their own. Therefore, public housing became allocated mostly to the very poor, the disabled, and the aged. Not only in Dowa housing, but in general, the characteristics of public housing residents were severely limited to disadvantaged people, segregating welfare recipients and concentrating them in these housing estates.

In the late 1990s, this public housing policy change failed to receive as tenants the recipients of livelihood protection, especially those who were single. Thus, when the homelessness problems arose during the same period, public housing was useless for coping with it. Regarding the idea of social inclusion, this misconnection was a typical case of the gaps between policies and malfunction of institutional organizations, especially between MLIT and MHLW, in which the latter ministry took an initiative in the area of social inclusion policy.

15. The result of foreign residents accommodated in public housing estates

Among these trends in welfare housing characteristics, one unique development was the reception of foreigners who could work in Japan based on their Japanese decent, such as the Nikkei

Brazilians and Peruvians, Japanese orphans who were left behind in China, etc., as well as refugees from Vietnam and their wives and children. Before the abandonment of the Nationality Clause of entering public housing in 1979, some Japanese-Korean Zainichi were able to access public housing in progressive municipalities. However, after the opening to non-Japanese people, not only public housing estates run by prefectures and municipal governments, but also those run by the Japan Housing Corporation (now the Urban Renaissance Agency (UR)) began to welcome them or to be selected by them. Especially after the wider reception of visa holders other than "permanent residents," this tendency accelerated, and in 2005, there were 39,000 non-Japanese households living in public housing, compared to the 12,000 in 1995. In Housing Corporation estates, there were 25,000 non-Japanese households, compared to the 3,000 in 1995 (Inaba, 2008). According to Inaba, (2008, www.jusoken.or.jp/pdf_paper/2008/0730-0.pdf), the foreign population percentages of specific estates reached between 40% and 70%. In the case of the Nikkei, especially in the industrial area of central Japan between North Kanto and Tokai regions etc. (see Figure 17), once they settled in estates located near their workplace (generally not convenient locations for most Japanese people and built in the early 1970s with somewhat obsolete accommodation and vacancies), they tended to live together. In the case of the Japanese orphans and Vietnamese refugees, housing estates were picked according to the local governments' decisions.

As described in chapter 13, to help with problems that arose between foreigners and the Japanese, this concentration of foreign residents in housing estates produced some positive practices by community associations, pioneering NGOs, progressive local governments, and branches of the Housing Corporation. Positive practices by community associations are noted as initiatives and ideas implemented by Japanese and foreign community leaders, such as swift assistance in coping with livelihood troubles. In the case of NGOs, both parents' and children's language education services were a prominent example. Meanwhile, the public sector's main contribution was the Municipalities Congress of the Concentration of Foreign Residents, which

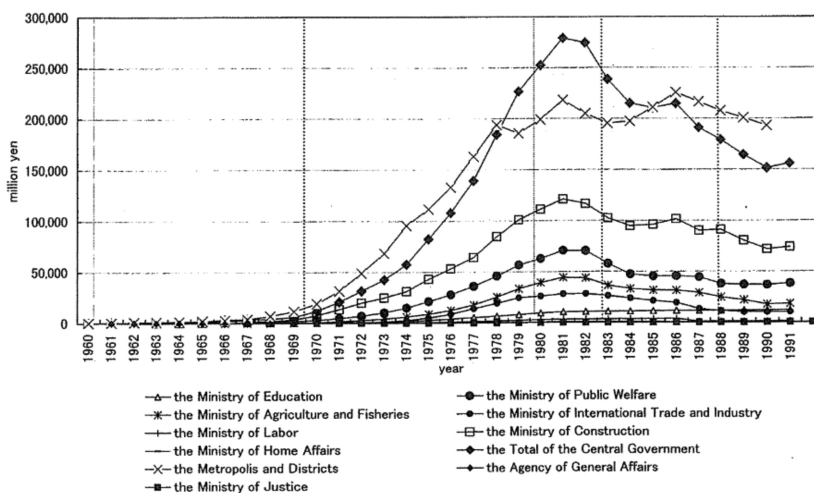

Figure 3. Budget for Dowa projects (1960–1991)

Figure 15. Trend in budget for Dowa assimilation projects by ministries
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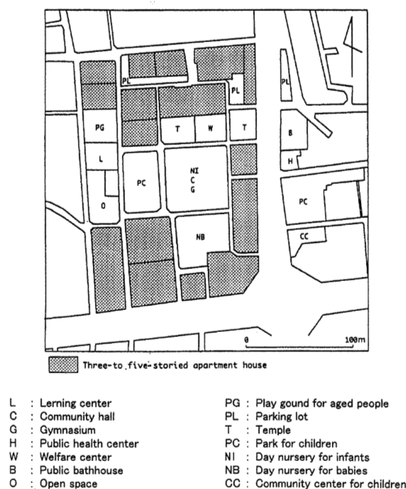

Figure 16. Present conditions of land use in a revamped buraku
https://dlisv03.media.osaka-cu.ac.jp/il/meta_pub/G0000438repository_KJ00000565555

was established in 2000. It was highly influential in summing up the foreign residents' issues and pushing the central government to cope with these by developing new services under the principle of coexistence of multicultural societies.

16. The growth of transit housing and its inclusive housing welfare

Returning to the effect of revision of the Public Housing Act in 1996, except for relevant functioning as a safety net for newly arrived foreigners' demand for housing, public housing explicitly lacked collaborative relation with welfare issues and excluded the homeless, vulnerable, aged singletons, etc. Criteria for selection was strongly becoming affected by the income level; however, in reality, there were many other criteria other than low income affecting selection.

In 2007, the MLIT, for the first time paid attention to more appropriate collaboration with housing welfare issues and launched the new Housing Safety Net Act. In its clauses, they defined the target population for public housing as "those people in need of consideration for adequate housing." This term implies As described in chapter 13, to help with problems that arose between foreigners and the Japanese aged singletons, married couple, disabled persons, and households with children regardless of income level. Additionally, in terms of housing provision, the MLIT changed their mind to introduce alternative concept of public housing using more positively the private rental housing as borrowing their good stock, or mobilize the idle housing which can use after reforming.

Unfortunately, at the time, this change in the public housing sector did not correspond with the transit housing provisions made by homeless assistance NPOs, since their mode of transit housing included various types of shelters, dormitories, lodging, partitioned rooms, urban hostels, SRO (Single Room Occupancy) style flats, and group homes. These types of housing did not attain the MLIT's minimum standard of 25m2 area for single occupant households. The housing provided by NPOs was deemed unsatisfactory due to always being between 3.3m2 to 18m2 in size, despite providing housing welfare assistance. The first full-scale collaboration policy between the MLIT and the MHLW was the introduction of the housing scheme of "residences with health and welfare services for the elderly" in 2011. This scheme provided the facilities of their kind, with fairly reasonable rent fees and rigid minimum standard of between 18m2 and 25m2 of living area. This requirement, set as a minimum qualification for subsidies, excluded the participation of homeless assistance NPOs due to the small sizes of their existing transit housing.

Reflecting further demand for proper housing for socially excluded people, the transit housing

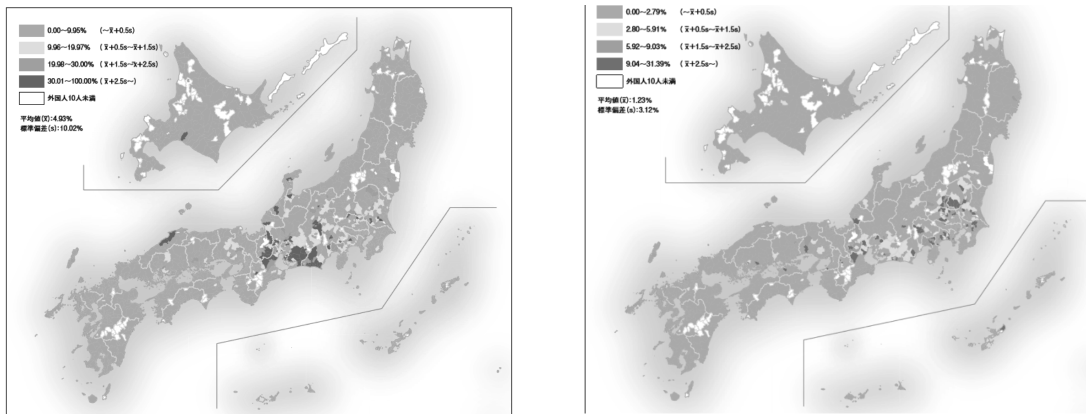

Figure 17. Distribution of Brazilian (left) and Peruvian (right) residents in the 2015 census
Source: Ishikawa Yoshitaka ed. Mapping foreign residents in Japan, 2019, Nakanishiya shuppan

market had been growing, driven by homeless assistance. In a formal response for this housing market growth, two important legislative actions were implemented in 2017 and 2018. The first was the revision of the Housing Safety Net Act in 2017, introducing the newly authorized "organization of housing welfare assistance" and a subsidy system for "registered housing" for "people in need of consideration for adequate housing" and the above organizations. The second action was the formalizing of transit housing such as "lodging facilities" under the Social Welfare Act, and of the so-called "welfare apartments" as "housing facilities with daily life support" under the revision of the Livelihood Protection Act in 2018.

The former system was evaluated as collaborative effort between the MLIT and the MHLW in the housing market for disadvantaged people, in line with the idea of social inclusion. The second system, for the first time, was regarded as authorized and provided appropriate funding for the assistance work done by NPOs and other related bodies in the third sector, the area of transit housing.

17. Discovery of child poverty

In describing child poverty in Japan, one significant achievement is the implementation of the Child Poverty Act of 2013 by the Diet. This establishment is considered as one of the results of rising interest in social inclusion, strongly shared by the SDP administration, which took over from the LDP in 2009. The general outline of this policy consists of assistance with education, livelihood, employment for parents, and provision of financial support, in addition to the periodic public announcement of information regarding the poverty rate. Especially significant was the declaration of the basic principle that the central government "should realize a society which is not destined under the influence of a disadvantaged upbringing environment."

The introduction of this legislation, supported by Diet members, was in no doubt a reflection of the rise of social inclusion discussed in chapter 7. Additionally, it was influenced by the discovery of new types of poverty, which began with the recognition of homelessness at the beginning of the 2000s. The recognition of child poverty was assisted by the external pressure of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) report. The OECD

Economic Survey of Japan in 2006 pointed out that the country's relative poverty rate was the second highest in the world at 13.5%, after the USA (13.7%). Moreover, the rate of child poverty was also high, and more than half of one-person households were in the condition of poverty. This report was received with shock.

Under the growing recognition of poverty triggered by the OECD report, the Anti-Poverty League was established in 2007 as a representative civic movement. It was initiated by activists from the legal profession, and the League enthusiastically took up child poverty cases. Furthermore, as Figure 18 shows, the National Institute of Population and Social Security Research revealed the shocking research outcome that the rate of child poverty actually became worse after the redistribution of social security by taxation. Thus, the rate of child poverty was calculated first by the OECD, whilst the central government lagged behind, publishing its calculation in 2009 after the SDP took over the administration.

18. Poverty of fatherless families

Prior to the recognition of child poverty, it was often considered that the poverty of parents was the basic root of their impoverishment. The income level of fatherless families was considerably lower, and among OECD countries, the poverty rate of fatherless families was strikingly high. Worse still, only in Japan, the poverty rate of working one-parent families was higher than of those who were not working *.

Note* Such external pressure historically thrusted the reform the domestic legislation regarding this kind of social security, since Japan had already experienced the series of abandonment of eligibility limited by nationality among the related acts such as public housing and livelihood protection shown in Figure F1 by the assignment of International Covenants on Human Rights in 1979 and Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees in 1982. In addition, as the other precedents, the assignment of Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women pushed the legislation of Act for Equal Employment Opportunity of Men and Women in 1985, and that of Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities moved the legislation of Disability discrimination cancellation Act in 2013.

Historically, fatherless families (for motherless family, this security was adopted later) that were separated by death were served by "surviving family pensions." Meanwhile, families with parents who were alive but separated were served by "child rearing allowances." Families who could not afford to live on their income plus pension or allowance were eligible to receive "livelihood protection." The rate of this protection was ten to fifteen times higher than the national average, even though over eighty percent of fatherless families were working. The problem was rooted in the excessively lower level of female wages, essentially constructed by the predominantly male workforce in Japan.

In order to improve the incomes of fatherless families, the most influential factor was determined as putting energy into employment assistance rather than increasing livelihood protection options. However, in reality, most jobs for women were in irregular employment and raising wages was difficult. The affirmative policy for housing of fatherless families was also poor, only providing a small number of houses for mothers with children. Worse still, within the

redistribution of taxation to social security, only in Japan among all developed countries, housing allowance was not included. The so-called "classic" type of poverty remained, overlapped by a new phase of child poverty.

To help counteract this, as was already mentioned, the Child Poverty Act was implemented in 2013. However, due to limitations of the legislation by Diet members, this Act was considered as a suggestion of the ideal scenario, and had not been allocated a concrete budgetary program. Thus, the action program it proposed was later realized by the Needy Persons Assistance Act of 2015. It owed a great amount to the "learning assistance program for children" and "housing budgetary assistance" programs of the former Act. Along with its increase in society at large, the "children's cafeteria" program, which offers free food to "poor" Japanese children, has provided effective reflection of contemporary poverty in Japan. The increasing number of these cafeterias is somewhat good index of the growing concern for child poverty, and has enlightened and motivated ordinary people to engage with the various complex issues and difficulties in Japan. However, it is not enough to treat the symptoms of poverty – it is the causes which need to be addressed. Fundamental and radical solutions to this issue are to be pursued continuously.

19. Domestic violence assistance

The establishment of a shelter to support victims of domestic spousal violence (the term "domestic violence" did not exist yet) in Yokohama in the 1980s led to the first initiatives on domestic violence assistance. It was started by a Christian organization and developed nationwide as a private initiative of supportive shelters. Thus, this type of assistance from the government was also initiated following external pressure. In 1995, the World Women's Meeting was held in Beijing, featuring discussion on the prevention of violence against women. This event sparked interest among female activists in Japan for engaging in the issue of domestic violence, in turn leading to the first nationwide shelter symposium in 1998. The idea of shelters as temporary housing gained significant attention and become the core element of assistance.

Inspired by this movement, a joint initiative among female Diet members led to the creation of the Domestic Violence Prevention Law under lawmaker-initiated legislation in 2001. Until then, domestic violence was generally considered a spousal dispute; however, through this law, the government become responsible for protecting victims. Based on the law, the function of a spousal violence consultation was added to the nationwide consultation offices for women, with the purpose of protecting victims. Thus, protective measures were put in place through these consultation services. Through temporary care and public protection, they stood in connection with shelters, maternal and child living support

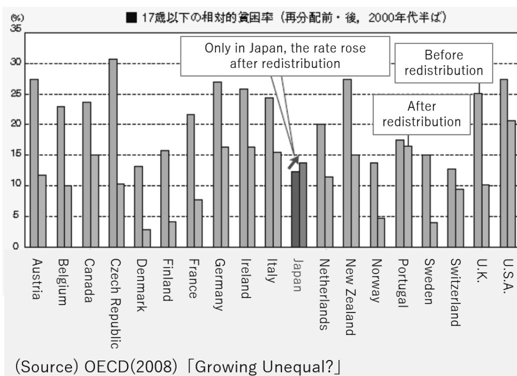

Figure 18. The relative poverty rate of those under the age of 18 years (before/after redistribution, in the mid-2000s)

Source: www.mext.go.jp/b_menu/hakusho/html/hpab200901/detail/1296707.htm

facilities, and, depending on the situation, also “women’s protection facilities.”

In Japan, the legal resources available to women are the Women’s Protection Law (related to the prevention of prostitution), the Single Mother’s and Widow’s Welfare Law (related to assistance for single parents) and the Child Welfare Law, which has jurisdiction over the Maternal and Child Living Support Facilities. Compared to the legal resources for men, these laws for the protection of women form an extensive safety net. Yet, for victims of domestic violence, the effectiveness of these laws in consideration of the transition into transitory facilities is done on a case-by-case basis. Protective orders are issued by the court, through which public administration offices provide support such as issuing insurance cards and cancelling the sustainer rights of the husband. As such, protection is provided by distancing the victim from all kinds of ties. After coping with these problems, social inclusion comes into effect in the form of self-dependency support.

In 2001, the team assigned with “including each and every person into society” raised the topic of social inclusion. The NPO leaders who presented in this team meeting made demands on stricter national standards, fundamental reforms from court-issued “measures” to “human rights-based relief,” systematic organization of personal assistance, the development of human resources through private support organization-led programs, etc. However, recent trends show that an increasing number of victims do not wish to make use of this framework owing to reasons that they consider life under social support is restrictive.

20. Support for ex-offenders

In Japan, a protective system for ex-offenders was set up based on the 1950 Law for Immediate Aid to Offenders and the 1958 Prevention of Prostitution Law. This involved a protective monitoring system following discharge, in which aid facilities served as transitory housing. In 2007, reforms were made to abolish the 1950 law and set up an Offenders’ Rehabilitation Act, which actively includes the ex-offender into society. These reforms could be considered as efforts toward “inclusion.” Around the same time, Mr. Koji Yamamoto, who was a former Diet member for the Social Democratic Party and had served time in prison, published his books “Prison Window Diaries” (2004) and “Recidivist Offenders with Disabilities” (2006), in which he vividly depicts how prison was becoming a place for disabled people and how weak the link was between the judiciary and welfare. Further, in 2006 an incident occurred in which a homeless ex-offender set fire to Shimonoseki Station. Following this event, private support organizations for the elderly and disabled began making demands for solid ties between Rehabilitation Services (Ministry of Law) and Livelihood Protection (Ministry of Welfare MHLW), which, in an accelerated fashion, led to the establishment of Community Life Settling Support Centers for disabled and elderly ex-offenders in 2009 in every prefecture in Japan.

The MHLW at that time was concerned with this issue owing to the fact that there were increasing numbers of ex-offenders among homelessness services, which it was looking to solve. Out of the discussion on elderly and disabled ex-offenders followed the idea of jobseeker services for offenders and ex-offenders through a joint effort between prisons and work-placement offices. The centers were rapidly established on the belief that persons with hardships had to be

actively included and that this had to happen through supra-ministerial policy.

However, the Special Team on Societies that Include Each and Every Person team considered ex-offenders an issue of “age” and/or “disability” and thus had not prepared for a separate section for “ex-offenders.” Differing from other systems, the services of the Community Life Settling Support Centers were not enacted under a special law. Originally, these were the duties of the protective monitoring offices, and because ex-offenders with emergency needs were being released on a daily basis, it was impossible to wait for an appropriate law to be passed. Thus, this was brought under the legal framework of welfare for the elderly and the disabled. As such, it can be considered as an administrative response to frame it under existing laws. Anyway, this system opened up a new support system, and helps ex-offenders alongside at least elderly and the disabled to live normally in the community.

III. Complementary materials

In the Part I, I introduced the main stream of advent of new policy for social inclusion, and later in the Part II, I showed the individual policies related with social inclusion. There are remaining to introduce their trajectory of policies such issues of suicide and LGBT. Here I just refer them in the following table (see Table 10), which illustrates the general outline of the development of social inclusion policies. The first page shows the outline of policies related with Part I, the latter does Part II. Policies for social inclusion is still developing and should be investigated continually.

Acknowledgment

I thank to the former research fellows of URP, Professor Geerhardt Kornatowski, and Ms. Nanami Inada, and Lisa Kuzunishi for their appropriate instructions, and to my students Ms. Moe Wakabayashi, Ms. Jiayi Wang, and Mr. Yaming Yao for their editing and translation work about figures and tables.

Table 10. Historical Outline of Social Inclusion Poliicies in Japan

Ministry of Health, Labor and Welfare(MHLW)

Welfare by MHLW

Main Six Welfare Acts with the Initiative of Japanese Welfare Regime | Residual Welfare

Year	Month	Events
1960s to 1980s		1 Livelihood Protection Act 2 For Aged 3 For Single Mother 4 For Children 5 For Physically Disabled 6 For Mentally Handicapped Special Policy for Day Laborers, Yoseba Last Safety Net of Relief / Rehabilitation Facilities Special Policy for Outcaste People, Buraku
1990s		The Lost 10 Years: in the 1990s After the Burst of Bubble Economy
		Main Stream of Policies for Social Inclusion / Newly Invented Target People / Institution Arising the Introduction of Conception of Social Inclusion
2000	9	The Report of the Investigative Commission for Considering the Stance for the Social Inclusion of Those in Need of Social Assistance People in Need of Social Assistance↑
2002	1	Investigative Project for the New System of Livelihood Assistance toward the Low-Income People
2002	8	Implementation of The Act on Special Measures for Self-dependency Assistance for the Homeless Homeless People↑ Begining of Social Inclusion policy The Big Fiscal Policy Reform from 2001- Structural Reform Without Sanctuaries during the Koizumi Cabinet From Apr. 2001- Sept. 2006 1:Abondonment of fiscal investment and loan program in 2001 2:Three-part Integrated Reform Apr. 2006; Launching Financial Programs for Subsiding the Assistance of Safety Net Formation
2007	10	Oct. 2007; The Research Report of the Future of Community Welfare
2009		The fiscal year of 2009; List of Collaboration Programs of MHLW with NGOs. showing the acceleration of collaborations between NGOs ad MHLW
2009	4	Apr. 2009; Establishment of Assistance for Community life toward the People Exiting Jail jointly with Min. of Law Apr. 2010; Study Meeting on Socially 'Place Making' for Recipients of Livelihood Protection (Public Assistance) and the Conception of 'New Public' Encounter of Citizen Movement and Progressive Bureaucrats and Introductions of Good Practices Nov. 2010; Joint Reforms of Social Security and Taxation (Under the Democratic Party Administration from Spt.
2011	11	Special Task Force Team on Societies that Include Each and Every Person (From Cabinet Office CAO to MHLW)
2011		Jun. 2012; Three Parties Agreement on the Joint Reforms of Social Security and Taxation
2011	12	Personal Support Program by CAO
2012	4	Advisory Council of Social Security: Special Division of Meeting of the Future Livelihood Assistance for the People in Need People in Need↑
2015	4	Implementation of Self-Dependence Assistance for People in Need Act
2016	10	(Joint Combination of MHLW and MLIT) ↓ Liaison Council of Strengthening Cooperation Between Policies of Welfare and Housing ↓
2017	4	Revision of Housing Safety Net Act People in Need of Consideration for Aquiring Affordable Housing↑ Corperation of Housing Welfare↑
2017	5	Advisory Council of Social Security: Special Division Meeting of Assisting Self-Dependence of People in Need and Reform of Livelihood Protection ↓
2018	6	Revision of Self-Dependence Assistance for People in Need Act, and Public Assistance Act Institutional (Intermediary or Transit) Housing for Social Welfare↑

Ignorance by Policy, Self =dependent Society

Zainichi / Korean residents living in Japan

1960s to 1980s

Employment / Housing | **Minority/ Ethnicity** | **others**

Public Employment Security System

Public Housing

Japanese war-displaced orphans left in China etc.

Refugees from Vietnam

Nikkei of Japanese descent Japanese Brazilian, etc.

1990s

Revision of Immigration Law in 1990

Reception of foreign workers by the legislative introduction of Technical Intern Training Program in 1993

Revision of Public Housing Act of 1996

big change to welfare and aged person oriented

Arising of livelihood assistance and legal aid for by citizen's movement in 1990s

2000 9

2002 1

The Committee for Localities with a Concentrated Foreigner Population

2002 8

-2001.5 Municipal Governents initiative

Mar. 2006; Promotion Program of Multicultural Coexistence in Localities

By the Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications MIAC

Apr. 2006; Establishment of Local youth support stations, helping of job finding or consulting livelihood Affairs by the Cabinet Office

2007 10

Apr. 2007; New Assistance Package for Japanese war-displaced orphans left in China etc.

Dec. 2007; Revision of Public Housing Act, which accelerated the public housing for more aged or welfare tenants oriented

Dec. 2007; Implementation of Housing Safety Net Ac by MLIT

2009

Jan. 2009; The Tentative Countermeasure Program for Nikkei: persons of Japanese descent working and staying in Japan by CAO

2009 4

2011 11

2011

2011 12

2012 4

Aug. 2012; Act on Child and Child Care Support

Fiscal Year of 2013; Countermeasure to Poverty of Children

2015 4

Policy on Cohesive Society by the Cabinet Office

2016 10

Dec. 2016; New General Principles of Counter-Measure against Suicide

2017 4

Introduction of New Copcept of Affordable Housing≠ Public Housing

2017 5

Nov. 2017; Research Review on LGBT in Japan by House of Councilor

2018 6