

Guest Workers or Fellow Citizens? Foreigners in Japan

by Gabriele Vogt

The single Chinese character for 'tree' means 'tree'. Two of it signify 'grove'; three stand for a full-grown forest. No problem so far. But four? A jungle? And do five characters designate something as lush as the vegetation along the Amazonas? Only Non-Japanese are capable of such thoughts. At least, that is what Saori Oguri claims in her manga-bestseller *Dārin wa gaikokujin* [My darling is a foreigner]. Since 2002 she has been portraying her life with her Italo-Hungarian husband Tony; by now, three volumes have been published. Apart from the couple's linguistic differences—she speaks English just *a ritoru* [a little] while Tony enriches the Japanese language with ideas on the Amazonas—food is a crucial point in their married life. Why does Tony refuse to eat his beloved Soba appropriately that is producing a bit of a sound? Is it mere defiance when one day he starts to slurp his Spaghetti?

Tony and Saori are part of the ever increasing group of foreigners living in Japan, respectively of Japanese in contact with foreigners. By now, the number of foreigners living in Japan is

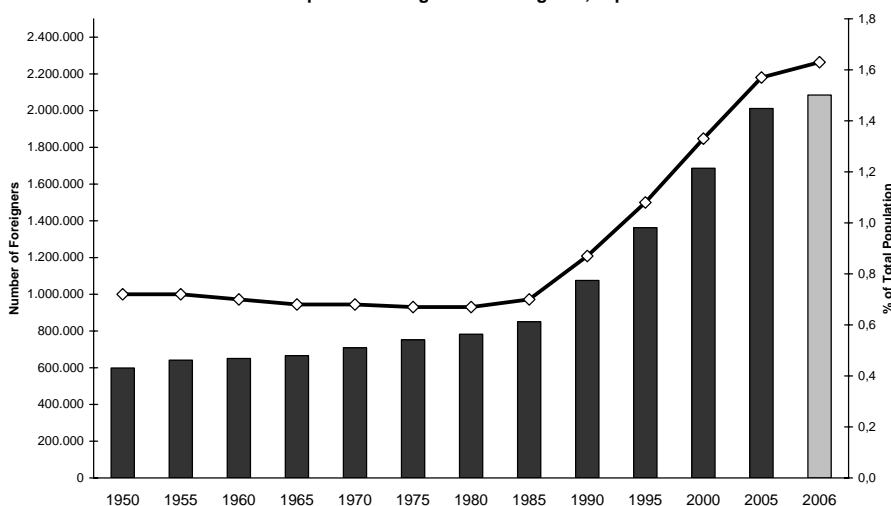
over two million which is just above 1.6 percent of the Japanese population. Compared with other OECD countries, however, these numbers are very low. Japan is not a typical country of immigration. A specific immigration policy, followed, for example, by Canada, has never been part of Japan's nation-building process nor has it ever recruited foreign guest workers out of purely economic reasons. There is no guest worker system similar, for example, to the immigration policy that Germany embarked on in the mid-1950s. The increased need of labor force due to post-war economic growth was covered mostly through domestic migration. The first big wave of migrants came to Japan in the late eighties when the bubble economy had created so many work places that they could not be covered by Japanese workers alone. Many migrants of this era came as non-registered workers; male migration mostly flew into the construction-, female migration into the entertainment industry.

By now, though, the tables have turned: if the development is a constant one, in the coming four to five decades there will be just about as

many working as non-working population due to demographic change. The social system based on the inter-generational contract will not be sustainable under these circumstances. Sometimes the economic competitiveness and the national security of an industrial country are also seen as being linked to its population size. Currently, however, the following question is being asked in Japan: Can a decrease of the working population be counteracted by labor migration?

Ministries, economic associations, trade unions, non-governmental and international organizations advocate very different policies regarding this question. Yet, all of them endeavor to influence the current process of revising Japan's migration regulations. Only recently did the Japanese government ratify an economic partnership agreement (EPA) with the Philippines that allows, among others, the migration of Philippine care workers to Japan. The agreement is noteworthy for three reasons: first, the ministries of Labor, Economy and Foreign Affairs were able to enforce it against the will of the Ministry of Justice. The latter is in charge of the immigration authorities and thus responsible for immigration issues. It opposes a sector- or nation-specific regulation of immigration. Sec-

Number and Proportion of Registered Foreigners, Japan 1950-2006



Source: Ministry of Justice. Design: Ralph Lützel.

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ond, on the basis of this bilateral agreement, migration of so-called medium- or lower skilled workers is being permitted for the first time. Up to now, labor migration to Japan has basically been limited to individuals holding a university degree or other special qualifications. Finally, the fact that the Japanese labor market is opening up in a sector particularly affected by demographic change is of interest: there are less and less young workers engaged in the care giving sector while the number of elderly citizens in need of care keeps on increasing steadily. So, Japan's new immigration policy is pragmatic and reminiscent a bit of cherry picking.

Demographic change seems to be making possible what hitherto has not even been thinkable: the opening of the Japanese labor market to foreign workforce. The case of the EPA with the Philippines reflects economic necessity, caused by changing demographic structures. It is a first step into a new direction. Also new in Japan's immigration debate is the realization that there can be no migration without integration. The Ministry of Justice is seizing this idea by, for example, proposing to require *nikkeijin* (ethnic Japanese) to prove their proficiency in Japanese before obtaining a permit of residence, just like all other potential immigrants. Up to now, they have been allowed to stay in Japan on the basis of their ethnicity. The debate is well-known in Germany, too: acquisition of the "host" country's language is taken as an indication of the migrant's readiness to integrate. It also proves that the newcomers want to be citizens, not mere guests. Some of the new fellow citizens might want to take up residence in their "host" country, maybe even change nationality. And there are more and more mixed marriages by people like Tony and Saori. In the past two decades alone the number of international marriages in Japan has more than tripled. Integration is already happening. Numerous non-governmental organizations are, for example, trying to set up school lessons for children with first languages other than Japanese. Trade unions are taking care of the foreign workers' concerns related to labor law. A national political framework for integration, though, is still missing.

Nevertheless, migration policy has become an issue in Japan. The country is facing new challenges regarding the re-shaping of migration and integration. Which role do factors such as demographic change, globalization and the demand of the national and international labor markets play hereby?

移住と統合



Migration and Integration

How are local and national political actors dealing with those challenges? In what way are non-governmental organizations participating in the process of forming a new migration policy and shaping of migrants' working and living conditions?

Those are the questions in the center of a two-day symposium on the subject of "Migration and Integration—Japan in a Comparative Perspective". The symposium will be held on October 23 and 24 in Tokyo, with the generous assistance of Japan Foundation and Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung. Researchers, politicians and representatives of business and civil society from several countries will come together to discuss the future of Japan's migration policy.

Glenda Roberts (Waseda University) and Gabriele Vogt (DIJ) are coordinating the meeting and looking forward to your participation. You will find the program of the symposium and an application form on the DIJ Homepage (<http://www.dijtokyo.org>).

CURRENT RESEARCH

Childcare and Low Fertility

Barbara Holthus

Japan's declining fertility rate is a complex problem, and thus there are no mono-causal explanations for it. Rather a combination of numerous different factors influence the birthrate.

A lack of attractive marriage role-models for young people, beyond traditional gender roles and expectations for married couples, such as the continuing social expectation of mothers to focus on their children, especially when they are young, and the "second shift", which continues to be stuck on women, add to the burden and undesirability of parenthood as well as even marriage itself. Also, higher education levels for women, higher rates of women's labor force participation, rising costs of living expenses, and of rearing and educating children in Japan are all contributing factors influencing Japan's birthrate, but are only part of the problem.

A number of social policies, such as the highly publicized Angel Plan (1994) and the New Angel Plan (1999), have focused on improving the daycare situation in Japan (more centers, longer hours), in order to entice Japanese parents to have more children. Yet, capacities in daycare centers in Tokyo, as well as in other large cities throughout Japan, still remain scarce in comparison to rural areas. And opening hours in public daycare facilities until 8 p.m. at the latest certainly do not meet the needs of dual-earner parents with long commutes, which are common particularly in Tokyo, or who have career-track professions with after-hour work commitments.

In order to understand the actual impact and effectiveness of daycare centers on the birthrate, Barbara Holthus, who recently joined the DIJ, uses a sociological, multi-method approach. One important component of the research is the analysis of parental experiences with daycare, by conducting qualitative interviews with parents who have at least one of their children at a private, licensed daycare facility in metropolitan Tokyo. Questions aim to understand how the availability of daycare in connection with parental workplace arrangements impacted the initial decision to have a child at all, and what other factors and persons were taken into consideration in that decision-making process.

Furthermore, due to having their children in daycare, are parents able to maintain a satisfactory work-life balance? What are parents' day-to-day struggles, sacrifices, and challenges in regard to having their children in daycare, and where are the limitations to the existing daycare system, such as when one's child gets sick or when working hours exceed the opening hours of the daycare facility? Do these factors influence the decision for or against a second child?

The research also includes a comparative angle to public policies about the situation of daycare facilities in Germany, a topic which lately has been enjoying a heated discussion among Germany's political parties and finds extended coverage in the media.

As part of this research project, Barbara Holthus, in cooperation with Axel Klein, also from the DIJ, organizes a conference on Japan's low fertility, to be held in Tokyo November 6-7, 2008.

Political Responses to Low Fertility

Axel Klein

To what degree is the modern constitutional state able to influence, or even govern, social change? This is not only one of the key questions of present-day political science, but also of a new DIJ-project conducted by Axel Klein that analyzes political responses to fertility decline in Japan. Using policy-oriented case studies, he will take a closer look at pronatalistic incentives and offers from the state, which are of special importance because population decline in Japan has already begun. In addition, no other industrial nation is ageing as fast as Japan is, so that political actors here—whether they like it or not—have to be pioneers in the struggle against the over-ageing of society.

This project will use the model of the policy-cycle as its first analytical tool and accordingly divide the complex political reality into several parts: the perception of the problem by the state, the state's statement to act, the policy-making process itself, the implementation (including political communication), and evaluation, which again can be seen as the beginning of a new cycle. Although nowadays this analytical framework has been widely substituted, among others, by network-analyses or so-called integrating approaches, it can be used in a modified form as a light house in a complex territory. As reality does not follow a strict sequence of events as described in the model, but rather has several processes running parallel or overlapping, it is preferable to look at it as a policy *spiral* instead. As such, this model is open to completion by a variety of approaches and analytical concepts, for example, the actor-centered institutionalism as proposed by Fritz W. Scharpf and Renate Mayntz, the concept of policy learning, and network approaches like the advocacy-

coalition framework. Although policy research is one of the younger branches of political science, it has tested and tried quite a number of methods and approaches from the social sciences. Accordingly, this project can profit from a considerable body of theoretical work.

The research design requires a number of concrete steps to allocate and collect information and material. Empirical data, bills, laws, administrative documents, protocols of parliament committee sessions, publications by parties (like electoral manifests), ministries and civil society actors are to be analyzed. Also, interviews with politicians, ministries, representatives of NPOs, academics and journalists are needed to get a clear picture of the topics at hand. Results will be presented, among others, at the annual meeting of the Association of Asian Studies 2008, a DIJ-conference scheduled for November 6-7, 2008 (with Barbara Holthus) and in several topic-related conferences in Japan.

Demographic Change and its Regional and Local Implications

New Challenges and Strategy Options for Regional Policy Actors in Japan

Volker Elis and Ralph Lützel

According to current population forecasts, even urban conurbations in Japan will soon be affected in various ways by the consequences of demographic change, i.e. by demographic ageing and population shrinkage, while the already strained situation in large parts of the non-metropolitan regions will further deteriorate. To get an idea on how the country is expected to change during this process, it is necessary not only to cover demographic change as such, but also to scrutinize its social and economic implications on a regional and local scale. Thus, the question arises, which policy options and concepts are favored by local actors in order to meet the new requirements. Because of the growth paradigm that has been prevailing for decades with regard to demographic and economic issues, it has also to be investigated to what extent the actors are aware of the problem. Still, many pamphlets issued by single municipalities to advertise development concepts include expensive projects which are



秋田県農林水産部森林整備課

When population shrinks the animals return. Attacks of the Asiatic Black Bear have recently developed into a serious problem in Akita prefecture. However, the concept of restoring areas to nature has yet to become a part of the public discourse about the future of Japan's countryside.

resting upon illusionary visions rather than facts.

The aim of the joint project by Ralph Lützel and Volker Elis is to examine the connections between the interdependent factors involved in the process. This is done by a general survey of the problems surfacing at the local level and an analysis of the factors contributing to their emergence to provide policy solutions for the affected types of municipalities. Special emphasis will be put on the interrelationship between different macroeconomic factors, population shrinkage and developments on the regional level. A further objective, to be focused on in the latter phase of the project, will be a comparative analysis of the situation in Japan and Germany. It has to be asked which measures are being selected in both countries to cope with the direct and indirect effects of ageing and population shrinkage and which measures will be particularly promising under different policy objectives.

An important part of the research agenda are several case studies in municipalities which are already severely affected by demographic change or will be affected in the near future. Already in progress is a case study on the demographic and socioeconomic situation in the wards of Adachi and Kita, situated in the rather stagnating north-eastern sector of Tokyo, and a study of the formerly independent town of Ani

(Akita Prefecture) located in the northern rural periphery of Japan, now a part of the newly created city of Kitakita.

Population Statistics in Japan

A Topics-related Bibliography of Current Population Surveys

Ralph Lützel

Japan has often been described as a heaven of statistics. This is certainly true to some extent, but the enormous number of statistical surveys is also due to the fact that Japanese governmental institutions do not always coordinate their respective activities. As a result, the same data sets often reappear in different statistical publications, or, worse, the same phenomena are measured by slightly different indicators opening the door to all kinds of misinterpretations. Furthermore, there are several important phenomena, such as homelessness or religious affiliation, which are either not directly documented or included in less used surveys only. Thus, there is a real necessity for bibliographies, which on the one hand, help to unravel the complexities of the statistical system and, on the other hand, show how to use surveys in order to analyze “hidden” or lesser-known facts. Related to the current research focus of the DIJ on “Challenges of Demographic Change”, Ralph Lützel is compiling a bibliography on current population surveys in Japan, to be published in the “Bibliographical Studies” series of the DIJ.

Due to the constantly growing possibilities of internet-based investigations, a conventional-type bibliography—i.e., a printed inventory of literally all surveys ever carried out, including short descriptions of main characteristics—is not appropriate anymore. In this case, therefore, the number of surveys considered will be restricted to current statistical series and more recent single publications generally accessible to the public in Japan. An alphabetic listing of these surveys, including very brief remarks on the issuing institution, purpose, items covered, internal structure, and the inclusion of similar results in other publications, will form the second chapter of the main part. The first, and more important, chapter, by contrast, will be structured in a topics-related manner. That means that the usability of the statistical works considered will be illustrated

by referring to important population phenomena. In the section “Population Ageing”, for instance, it will be demonstrated which surveys can be used to draw up so-called population pyramids, to calculate ageing indexes, or to get an impression of regional differences of ageing in Japan. Other sections will deal with family and household structures, the structure of the work force, the further extension of life expectancy, the fertility decline, the immigration, and difficulties in interpreting population forecasts. Each section will include a thematic introduction and a short list of the most relevant surveys in tabular form.

PhD projects

Globalization and the future of national social policy: A comparative study of recent labor market reforms and changing policy-making processes in Japan and Germany

Steffen Heinrich, University of Heidelberg

In Japan and Germany the public dispute of the last 10 to 15 years on the impact of globalization has been strongly influenced by a widely perceived sense of economic crisis. By now, there seems to be a general consensus in both countries that comprehensive reforms of economic and social institutions will be painful but are inevitable. Although Japan and Germany may not be unique in this respect, what sets the two countries apart from others is the fact that they are the prime examples of “coordinated market economies” whose success has relied at least partly on institutions of non-market coordination of economic activities, which, however, may no longer be functional. Yet, Japan and Germany differ considerably in those features of their policymaking structure that shape—according to conventional theories—a country’s ability to reform (e.g., the influence of unions, or the number of veto-players). Despite this, however, both countries are usually described as reluctant reformers.

This holds particularly true for the field of labor market policy: Here, employment flexibility and labor adjustment have been the main targets for reform, while traditional ideals of life-long employment (Japan) and the “Normalarbeitsverhältnis” (Germany) have so far lost little of their public and political appeal. Steffen Heinrich’s research project seeks to shed light on the

remarkable reform processes in both countries by analyzing the policy output (i.e., legislative measures) and, more importantly, the related policymaking processes (i.e., the involvement and guiding motives of main actors). Conventionally, studies in the field of comparative welfare research focus on either of the two perspectives; the combination should thus allow for a more comprehensive understanding of the impact of the widely discussed, but perhaps still little understood, influence of ‘globalization’.

The research design also offers the opportunity to redress a well-noted theoretical problem in the field of comparative welfare research, that is, the lack of explanatory power of existing theories when it comes to cases where, for instance, policy change does not happen despite a ‘favorable’ institutional environment. In order to illustrate the changes in the policymaking process in more detail, the analysis of recent labor market reforms will be compared to a case study of labor market policy reactions to the oil shock of 1973.

CONFERENCE REPORTS

The Third International Symposium on Politeness

(Leeds, July 2–4, 2007)

Peter Backhaus attended the Third International Symposium on Politeness in July, hosted jointly by the linguistic departments of the University of Leeds and the University of York St. John. He took part in a workshop on politeness in medical settings, where he gave a paper titled “Politeness in institutional elderly care in Japan: A comparative perspective”.

20th Annual Meeting, The Association of Japanese Business Studies (AJBS)

(Indianapolis, June 24–25, 2007)

Florian Kohlbacher presented a paper on “Knowledge Retention and HRM: Insights from the ‘Year 2007 Problem’ in Japan” in Indianapolis. The conference was held in cooperation with the Annual Meeting of the Academy of International Business (June 25–28), where Florian Kohlbacher presented two more papers.



2007 Annual Meeting of the Academy of Management

(Philadelphia, August 3–8, 2007)

Almost 10,000 registered participants convened at the largest management conference, which takes place annually in the United States. One of the highlights was the Booz Allen Eminent Scholar in International Management Award to the Japanese management guru Ikujiro Nonaka (Hitotsubashi University). DIJ research fellow Florian Kohlbacher gave two papers, one of them co-authored with Professor Nonaka. Besides, he received the 2007 Best Reviewer Award by the International Management Division.

3rd World Ageing & Generations Congress 2007 of the World Demographic Association

(St. Gallen, September 6–8, 2007)

The proclaimed aim of the World Ageing & Generations Congress is to address important topics related to demographic change and its effect on the labor market and social security, on health issues, on the development of new products and markets, and on changing lifestyles in society. Over 100 international speakers from business, politics and academia, and more than 500 participants from 45 countries took part in this event at the University of St. Gallen in Switzerland. The DIJ was represented by Florian Kohlbacher who, as Fellow of the World Demographic Association, was an invited guest to the event.

International Conference European Consortium for Political Research (ECPR)

(Pisa, September 6–8, 2007)

The University of Pisa, Italy, hosted the 4th General Conference of the European Consortium for Political Research. For three days political scientists and scholars of related disciplines discussed a broad variety of issues ranging from party politics and social movements to gender representation in politics. In the section on “Irregular migration: theoretical perspectives and current findings” DIJ research fellow Gabriele Vogt presented preliminary results of her ongoing research project on labor migration to Japan. Her presentation was entitled “Labor migration to Japan: legal loopholes under revision.”

BOOK REVIEWS

Ken Sakamura: *Kawareru kuni Nihon e: inobēto Nippon [Towards a Japan that can change. Innovate Japan]*. Tokyo: Ascii Co., 2007, 192 pp., ¥ 720 (ISBN 4-75-614891-3)

坂村健『変わる国・日本へ：イノベーション・ニッポン』、アスキー新書

Many people believe that Japan needs change. Ken Sakamura is one of them, but unlike most other proponents of change he has very specific ideas about what should change and how it could be accomplished. The catchword is innovation.

Sakamura jumps on a bandwagon that started rolling in the United States and Europe with the publications of professional reports in 2004 and 2006 entitled “Innovate America” and “Creating an Innovative Europe,” respectively. Japan must not stand back. That is Sakamura’s message. As an advocate of innovation he is well-qualified. An engineer by training, he is professor at Tokyo University’s Interfaculty Initiative of Information Sciences claiming computer architecture as his field of specialization. As the team leader of the TRON project of developing the tools of a fully computerized society, Sakamura made a name for himself in the late 1980s, and nowadays he is a driving force behind the “ubiquitous computing environment” project. His interest is in exploring the potential of artificial intelligence and telecommunications, but it is not limited to the technical aspects. Reflecting on novel uses and applications is just as important, although he is keenly aware that it lies in the very nature of technological advance that it produces unforeseen consequences. These, Sakamura argues, must be exploited in the best interest of society.

In his view, Japan’s present state of development is characterized by three crucial facts, (1) ageing and declining fertility, (2) a high demand for security and stability, and (3) a very weak innovation ability. The third point may come as a surprise to those who associate with innovation mainly electronic equipment, a field where Japan clearly is at the forefront. But that is too narrow a view. For in addition to technological development innovation also includes new forms of organization, infrastructure, and social institutions. That is, if you follow the most influential prophet of innovation, the Austrian economist Joseph Schumpeter and his ideas on capitalism and entrepreneurship. Sakamura draws heavily on

Schumpeter’s definition of innovation as “making new combinations of familiar things” and commercializing new technologies. Schumpeter taught that innovation is essential for generating profit which in turn is indispensable for development and prosperity.

If Japan is to secure its high standard of living in future, it must become more competitive in the world market and not just with product innovation where Japanese companies are quite competitive. To this end, Japan had better follow Schumpeter’s guidance. Unfortunately, thinks Sakamura, few in Japan are as familiar with his work as he is. The term “innovation” was coined by Schumpeter precisely to encompass all three aspects of development. In Japanese, however, it was translated as *gijutsu kakushin* or ‘technological reform’ which is why Sakamura prefers the loan word *inobēshon*.

Sakamura is a member of a government strategy initiative on innovation charged with designing an innovation policy targeting the year 2025 and therefore called “Innovation 25”. His book is of interest not least because it reveals divergent opinions between the government agencies involved in the commission and shows that the notion of innovation it uses as its point of departure deviates markedly from what innovation means to Europeans and Americans, being as it is largely limited to technology. For example, on the website of “Innovation 25” (http://www.kantei.go.jp/foreign/innovation/message1_e.html) the Minister of State for Innovation in the Abe cabinet, Sanae Takaichi, mentions medicine, engineering and information technology as exemplary fields of innovation.

What is needed to make Japan more competitive? This is the question Sakamura is asking. His answers are multifarious ranging from computer engineering to building standards, education, the legal system and social engineering. In order to accelerate innovation, the Japanese, he advises, should be less perfectionist and more willing to risk making mistakes. Sakamura’s recommendations also include turning the Japanese government into a sales promotion agency to respond in kind to what he regards as unfair trading practices by Westerners in Third World countries which, as former colonies, are prone to accept Western rather than Japanese industrial standards, even if the latter are superior.

Innovation means not just producing new ideas and combinations of familiar things, but making them prevail in the market. Sakamura considers this a national task. Although his general



stance is not necessarily pro-American, he subscribes to the American worldview that countries have to fight if they want to survive. He makes the case, convincingly, that, in the age of population decline, innovation is an important battle front. But one wonders whether he sufficiently appreciates the power of deeply ingrained cultural ways of pursuing and implementing innovation. Arguably, perfectionism is a retarding element that slows down innovation, but it is also one of Japan's greatest strengths that has secured the success of Japanese products around the world. It is a cultural trait that cannot be altered easily, and whether Japan would become more competitive by trying to do so is an open question. However, that Sakamura has tackled an important issue in a thought-provoking way cannot be denied.

(Florian Coulmas)

Fumio Inoue: *Sono keigo de wa haji o kaku!* [This use of honorifics will disgrace yourself]. Tokyo: PHP, 2007, 223 pp., ¥ 1,200 (ISBN 978-4-569-65262-7)

井上史雄『その敬語では恥をかく!』、PHP ハンドブック

A few years ago a researcher at the National Institute for Japanese Language shared an interesting observation with me. According to his impression, in Japan the public interest in language or, more precisely, its proper usage, tends to be particularly pronounced in times of economic recession. If this holds true, the post-bubble years must have been an exceptionally profitable time for authors and publishers specializing in Japanese language guidebooks. While this is an thought-provoking thesis that would deserve closer empirical investigation, even a most cursory look at the relevant literature shows that such books indeed seem to have been an integral part of the Japanese publishing world throughout all economic ups and downs since the late 1960s.

The book under review thus stands in a long tradition of what may be called *keigo* primers, books explaining how to properly use the complex system of Japanese honorifics. The author is a specialist in the field and has published extensively on this topic. His latest book especially targets an audience of young people who have just entered Japanese working life, so-called *shinshakaijin*. Its aim is to help these people improve their way of speaking in professional contexts and get rid of what Inoue refers to as *manyuaru keigo*, a

much disliked set of pre-fabricated expressions frequently used by young people on part-time jobs in convenience stores, family restaurants, and similar establishments.

The book consists of three main parts each focusing on one special *keigo* feature. Part one explains the proper usage of *kenjōgo*, humble language to be used when speaking of oneself or of people categorized as belonging to oneself. The second part is about *sonkeigo*, the set of expressions and morphological forms used to convey respect towards whom or what is spoken of. Part three provides directions about the systems of addressee honorifics (*teineigo*) and beautification (*bika-go*). It also critically discusses some frequently heard expressions part of the above mentioned *manyuaru keigo*. The closing chapter provides theoretical background knowledge about the *keigo* system and its components, including the categorization in the latest report by the government's Agency of Cultural Affairs (Bunkachō 2007).

Each chapter of the three main parts makes use of a quiz format by starting with two or more similar phrases or expressions which the reader has to evaluate. Though in most cases, a clear distinction between right and wrong is possible, some of the examples prove to be more complicated. The book discusses quite a number of instances that are wrong according to traditional *keigo* principles, but have nevertheless become commonly accepted and widely used in everyday speech. One example is the use of the passive (*-(r)areru*) as a marker of respect, a practice that was formerly confined to the Kansai area but is now well established in Kantō and other parts of the country as well. The author acknowledges these and other recent developments by using a triangle mark to indicate ambiguous cases in the quiz, in addition to a circle and a cross for clearly right and wrong expressions, respectively.

One of the strong points of the book is the inclusion of data on real language usage. In his explanation of the examples Inoue not only refers to recent language opinion polls but—as it is becoming more and more common in linguistic research in general—also tests the acceptance of problematic expressions by using the internet. All in all, this book provides some fascinating insights into the dynamics of the Japanese *keigo* system and the discrepancies between language planning and language usage. But of course, and not least because of this, it is also a most helpful tool for everyone wishing to improve his or her command of *kei-*

go—even if not happening to be a *shinshakaijin*.

(Peter Backhaus)

Makoto Ueda: *Shūgō jūtaku monogatari* [Stories of apartment houses]. Tokyo: Misuzu Shobō, 2004, 348 pp., ¥ 3,800 (ISBN 4-622-07086-3)

植田実『集合住宅の物語』、みすず書房

Toshio Ōtsuki: *Shūgō jūtaku no jikan* [The Time of apartment houses]. Matsudo: Ōkokusha, 2006, 222 pp., ¥ 1,900 (ISBN 4-860-73033-X)

大月敏雄『集合住宅の時間』、王国社

It is not the first time Tokyo seems to be in a state of complete change. But from the speed at which the number of 20-, 30-, or even 40-story buildings has been rising since the beginning of the millennium, and will in all likelihood continue to rise, we may assume that Tokyo's cityscape is changing as much today as it did in the 1950s and 1960s. For new construction it is inevitable to demolish existing buildings. In high density areas these changes are said to prevent disasters in case of earthquakes and fires. With the construction of new high-rise buildings—in many cases apartment houses (and this, too, is quite a new development)—, however, testimonies of the architectural history of the twentieth century and its social history of living will be irretrievably lost. A lot is vanishing unnoticed, but still some nostalgia about those old houses and buildings can be detected: One can find numerous websites such as “Japan's lost architecture” which shows photographs taken by amateur photographers. Makoto Ueda's *Shūgō jūtaku monogatari* and Toshio Ōtsuki *Shūgō jūtaku no jikan*, two very similar books, endeavor to document apartment houses—mostly in Tokyo—most of them destined for demolition. Both are interested in showing how much more is to be found in those buildings than just architecture. They reflect the historical, social, and economic conditions of the time of their construction, the concepts of architects and clients, and, last but not least, a way of living.

Ueda depicts 40 apartment houses, each in one short chapter, with excellent photographs by Hiroo Kikai. About two thirds of them were built before World War II. Ueda does not restrict his choice to the classic buildings of Tokyo's modern age architecture like the apartments of the Dōjunkai (1924–1941), a housing association which provided housing in To-

kyo and Yokohama after the Great Kanto Earthquake and whose apartments for affluent inhabitants became leading examples even after the war, or the quickly constructed apartment buildings and terraced houses of the postwar era and large-scale (public) housing estates of the late 1960s and 1970s. He also included, among others, employee houses, university dormitories, a row of shops with accompanying apartments, and a former "institution for the elderly, the invalid and the poor". He shows us a wide range of housing possibilities, some of them quite unusual from today's perspective.

Ueda did not intend to write an academic book. Personal impressions and interviews with inhabitants take up a lot of space. He provides information about the history, biographical details of the architects, describes the changes in the use of the buildings and ponders on the future of certain places of living. For many of the houses included the demolition date had already been set when the articles were first published in the magazine *Tōkyō Jin* between 1998 and 2001. Today, one would search for many of the buildings in vain. Instead, high-rising apartment buildings—uniform and exchangeable and with standardized layouts—are being constructed. Even if, as Ueda points out, the houses of the modern age architecture were an alien element in their surrounding when first built, they still would not be mass-produced but experiments of building and housing designed thoughtfully by their architects. Not only the diverse design of facades and layouts, but also the concepts of living the architects had in mind, which often included the neighborhood, left their mark on those places in a very specific way. This holds even true for some of the early public housing estates of the postwar era. Focusing our attention on the characteristics of the various apartment houses and describing them in a very comprehensible way is one of Ueda's commendable achievements.

In his book *Shūgō jūtaku no jikan* Ōtsuki uses a very similar approach. Unfortunately, it only includes small black-and-white photographs and ground plans. The 24-chapter book was also first published as a series in an architectural magazine (*Jūtaku Kenchiku*) between 2002 and 2003. Ōtsuki, who teaches housing architecture at the Tokyo University of Science, has published mainly on the Dōjunkai houses so far which are also part of this book as are some other classic apartment houses of the modern age archi-

ture. Surprisingly, Ueda's and Ōtsuki's books do not overlap much. Unlike Ueda, Ōtsuki describes some buildings in Ōsaka and small houses of more private nature are also included. Ōtsuki also interviewed inhabitants and owners about their personal relation to the buildings but, what is more important, he provides background information not only related to the time of construction but also to the construction of apartment houses today more generally. Some further aspects he focuses on are public and private housing and its financing, city planning and the almost non-existing protection of historical monuments in the field of secular buildings. Ōtsuki writes about the formerly outstanding apartment houses of avant-garde architecture in a somewhat melancholic way. Most of them have vanished from the cityscape without causing much of a stir. Lacking maintenance and, even more, the construction boom since 2002 in the wake of relaxed construction regulations (environment assessment is only obligatory for buildings of more than 180 meters in height, as against 100 meters formerly, or which cover an area of more than 15 hectares, as against 10 hectares formerly) have led to a radical decline in the value of old buildings. Ōtsuki considers renovation and conversion as an alternative to demolition and the construction of new buildings on the one hand and preservation in the "as is" state on the other. This alternative, however, is seldom made use of. As he writes in a quite determined way in the introduction and the epilogue, he does not intend to turn Japan into a museum of architecture. The motivation for writing this book was the wish of providing documentation of the gradually disappearing way of living and housing, because for him houses represent a kind of memory of life (*seikatsu no kioku*) and cities. He criticizes that only new houses were considered high in value which declines, however, heavily with growing age and—which is highly relevant at the present time of demographic change—he draws a comparison to the human being.

Ueda's book wins the reader's acclaim mainly by its visual presentation. Nevertheless, his short but illustrative descriptions of each of the apartment houses give us a predominantly informative insight into Japanese housing architecture. In accordance to the book title "Stories of apartment houses" he tells us about the history of everyday life in Japan. Ōtsuki convinces with sound explanations to the history of architecture and to the history of living, making his book a useful intro-

duction to the topic. Both books encourage the reader to take a closer look at his or her surroundings and may lead to the wish to start a search for what has remained of housing and living of the mid-twentieth century in Japan today.

(Maren Godzik)

OTHER MATTERS / OUTLOOK

Personnel News

Dr. Axel Klein joined the DIJ in June 2007 as a research fellow after previous positions as an Economic Adviser at the Japanese Embassy in Germany and Research Fellow at the Institute for Research on Modern Japan (University of Bonn). His dissertation (1998) analyzed possibilities and conditions of electoral reform in Japan, his habilitation-thesis is entitled "The Political System of Japan" (2006).

At the DIJ, Axel Klein will take on the "young" side of demographic change, dealing with political responses to and social aspects of fertility change (with Barbara Holthus). Other projects include questions of the interdependencies of TV-content and society, political communication and advertisement in Japan.

Dr. Andrea Germer, research fellow at the DIJ since 1 September 2001 and Head of the Humanities Section since 1 May 2005, left the DIJ at 30 June 2007 and took up a post as Lecturer for Japanese Studies at the School of Modern Languages at the University of Newcastle (England) in August 2007. During her time at the DIJ, Andrea Germer conducted research in the fields of gender studies, history, visual and cultural studies and published books as well as numerous articles in refereed journals and essay collections. She co-organized the History and Humanities Study Group as well as the DIJ Forum and planned and organized various DIJ events such as the International Workshop on "Gender, Race, and Culture in Wartime Japan and Germany" (December 2006) and the International Symposium on "Gender and Nation: Historical Perspectives on Japan" (June 2004) as well as several DIJ panels at International Conferences. Andrea Germer can be reached under her new email address Andrea.Germer@ncl.ac.



Dissertation Fellows

Deniz Günal, Japanese Studies, Chinese Studies/Modern China and Philosophy, Law, University of Cologne, "Mergers in Japanese Company Law" (09.2007–06.2008).

Uwe Holtschneider, Japanese Studies and Economics, University of Duisburg, "Sustainable Supply Chain Management of MNCs in less developed Countries—A Japanese-German comparison at the example of China" (06.2007–12.2007).

Alexandra Wittig, East Asia Studies and International Relations, Trier University, "Regionalism in Europe and Pacific-Asia: A comparison of Germany's and Japan's Roles" (09.2007–02.2008).

DIJ Forum

Kensaku Yoshida, Professor, Sophia University: "English in elementary schools? An overview of the issues" (September 13, 2007).

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