Notes

1 Introduction: civil society, welfare, and Japan in comparative studies

1. There is a vast and growing literature on alternative modernities and civil society, some of it referenced in the sections that follow on civil society and comparative studies.
2. The argument that Japan is simply a welfare laggard, given its situational characteristics as a Gerschenkronian "late industrializer" lends itself too easily to the logic of the convergence thesis: as late developers "catch up" the social problems, and solutions they encounter will more likely resemble those of already developed societies. The shortcoming of this claim is not that it mis-specifies the common structural characteristics that typify late industrializers, but that it fails to take into account the full implications of the alternative logic set into motion by the distinctive institutionalization of both state and market. Institutions created to deal with the problems typical of late industrializers do not simply lose their distinctiveness once those goals are met, but may indeed by virtue of their institutional organization, memory, and constitutive role continue to develop goals and implement policies in distinctive ways. Japan may not simply be a "welfare laggard," but may indeed have institutionalized the provision of welfare differently.
3. The point here is that the assumption of uniformity of welfare needs across nations may be untenable. If this is right, then welfare regime theory, the bedrock of contemporary scholarship, which takes this assumption as its starting point in order to classify different states along a welfare continum, may be questionable.
4. Michael Hardt's claim that 'the society we are living in today is more properly understood as a postcivil society' makes the case that due to changes in the sphere of wage labor, but also 'desiring production, intellectual creativity, caring labor, kin work," (Hardt 1995: 41), in sum the nature of labor itself, what is often loosely described as the post-modern condition, is better understood as a 'postcivil society' (Hardt 1995). Hardt's argument is a provocative one and merits close attention; because, however, it applies, as Hardt himself suggests, to what Jameson in another context refers to as late capitalism, not the historical period that is primarily the focus of this study of Japan, I do not engage this argument here.
5. Dipesh Chakrabarty, the noted historian points to the legitimate and effective deployment of the language of rights in the Indian context, in anti-colonial national struggle and by oppressed minorities against the Indian state, in contrast to and the dissonance generated by the use of this language of rights to negotiate the gamut of family and kin connections. His point is that while the language of rights works in certain areas of social life in non-Western contexts, it does not, indeed cannot, encapsulate others. He is right

on this but, and this is crucial, not as a particularistic claim relevant to the case of India alone, but equally, I would suggest, in the case of Western societies as well. To the extent that the language of rights has entered the realm of the family in the West, it has done so in violation of a relationality that is deemed the 'ethical domain' of family life. Chakrabarty is, however, right in his insistence on recovering what he calls the "deep history" of the subject of non-Western, in this case, Japanese modernity. This entails, he suggests, an "effort to recover the richer, older, more complex histories of the training of the senses . . . the history of embodied practices of subjectivity" (1998: 285–296). See his afterword to Vlastos (1998) for an insightful engagement with the essays on Japanese modernity.

6. Post-colonial critique that the categories of nation-state and capitalism render other (non-Western) histories outside the temporal and spatial ordering of modernity is a powerful one, highlighting the alienation and anxiety producing effects of the hierachialization of forms of being that have accompanied the spread of capitalism via colonialism. What they may have perhaps overlooked is the categorical imperative of 'alienation' that is internal to capitalism and at play in all capitalist societies. The experiential forms alienation takes are, arguably, different, depending on one's location in the West or non-West, the one seen as culturally consistent, a product of one's own lived time, the other experienced as an external (cultural) imposition.
7. That many of the more well-known civil society associations (the End Poverty campaign or the anti-globalization movements) take as their platform and mandate an essentially reformist agenda (of humanizing rather than repudiating capitalist structures of social organization), focuses critical attention again on the underlying disregard of material processes of civil society in the Tocquevillean celebration of civil society *qua* associational life and, help account in large measure for its success in capturing the political imaginary of policy-makers, politicians, academics, and activists alike.
8. Birnbaum's identification of the paradox at the heart of de Tocqueville's thesis on associational life is also instructive here: the individual, the basis of the free social and political associations, is both the object and subject of associational life (Birnbaum 1977). See also Woldring (1998) for a good discussion of this tension.
9. In Japan, Tsujinaka (1998, 2002), Yamamoto (1999, 2002), and Amenomori (1997) are especially relevant on the growth of interest-groups and the non-profit sector. Tsujinaka Yukata's landmark research project "Civil Society, the State and Culture in Comparative Perspective" at the University of Tsukuba, 2005–2010, which empirically investigates civil society structure and conducts comparative surveys of civil society organizations in various countries, provides the template within which civil society studies of Japan are typically located. Collaboration with partner institutions like the Civil Society in Asia project organized by the East–West Center (Hawaii) have also yielded important studies, influential in framing questions about civil society in Asia for a new generation of researchers (see Alagappa 2004). Keio University's Center for Civil Society with Comparative Perspective has also been active in organizing symposia around its project, "Designing toward the ordering of political society in a multicultural and pluri-generational world"

under the government's twenty-first-century Center of Excellence funding scheme. Numerous government-funded efforts to establish links between social activism and voluntary groups between Japan and other countries have been gaining visibility. The Japan Foundation Newsletters regularly carry featured articles and announcements about these links. See especially its July 2002 issue (see also Yamamoto and Ashizawa 1999, 2001). A singularly influential collection of essays on civil society in Japan, Schwartz and Pharr's edited volume (2003) includes essays by leading Japan specialists Sheldon Garon, Andrew Barshay, and Susan Pharr, among others. Pekkanen (2006, 2004), focuses exclusively on the Tocquevillean approach, reflecting a new generation of Japan scholars working on the non-profit sector and volunteering in Japan. See also Ogawa (2004); Shipper (2002); Hirata (2002; 2004); Sorensen (2001). Maclachlan (2002) is an exception here since she focuses on the relationship between market and civil society (as the plurality of voices and identities). Funding agencies such as the Japan Foundation, the Japan–United States Friendship Commission have been especially active in promoting workshops and symposia on civil society in Japan. See especially the civil society project directed by the Center for Global Partnership. Papers by Deguchi (1999), Imata (1999), Chanin (1999), and Bestor (1999) are also accessible online at http://www.us-japan.org/dc/cs.objectives.htm.

10. In contrast to the literature on civil society in the non-West briefly discussed above, where critiques of the 'NGOization of civil society," the presumed hegemony of liberal organization of civil society effectively elides (and delegitimates) what Nancy Fraser has referred to as subaltern counter-publics, the uncritical view of civil society qua associational life effectively domesticates and manages the question of an oppositional politics in the Asian context.
11. The term *shimin shakai* combines *shimin* meaning either city (*shi*) inhabited by people (*min*) or simply people as used in social movement of people (*shimin undou*) or revolution (*shimin kakumei*). As a transliteration of the English term 'civil society," *shimin shakai* points to the gap between the set of meanings signified by the English and Japanese terms.
12. This distinction between internationally oriented NGOs and domestically oriented small groups (NPOs) is distinctive to Japan, and significant, as discussed further along in this chapter; in the West all NPOs are included in the wider group of NGOs.
13. Fujitani (1992) offers an excellent mapping of the *tennosei* discourse in Japan, as well as a critique, suggesting that rather than the transhistorical "empty center" notion formulated by Roland Barthes, post-1989 productions of the "symbolic emperor system" depends rather on its mediaization. Tokyo University's T. Tetsuya suggests that the deeper roots of the "*Yasukuni* controversy" are to be found in the profound reluctance to separate church and state within significant sections of the political elites as well as the powers-that-be at the *Yasukuni jinja* (shrine). To what degree this reluctance shadows the collective unconscious in contemporary Japan is open to debate. The point here is not to discount the significance of the changes in the tenor of political life in post-war Japan, but rather to inject a note of caution in attributing determinacy to claims about a neat rupture between imperial

subjecthood of pre-war Japan and a *sui generis* citizen-based subjectivity post 1946.

14. In the context of the *Yasukuni* shrine controversy, this claim merits serious attention.
15. This informal sector provided the bulk of the 17 billion yen in charitable donations in the aftermath of the Kobe earthquake, compared with the institutionalized non-profit sector that provided only 3 million yen in contrast.
16. Keishi Saeki, a staunch critic of the current civil society boom in Japan articulates the gap that structures celebrations of civil society on the one hand, and its potential to propel a real transformation in Japan on the other. He suggests that calls for civil society in Japan are superficial, lacking substance, and driven by a heightened sensitivity to political correctness in the absence of any real commitments to resolving social and economic problems. This sensitivity to international discourse echoes a long-standing theme in Japanese history, namely an acute vulnerability and attentiveness to its image in the world, especially in relation to the United States.
17. Pekkanen categorically rejects all claims about what he terms "civil society modernization theory," suggesting that the path dependencies associated with the dual structure of civil society he identifies forecloses any convergence between Japan and Western (especially North-American) civil society.
18. In Japan, an important distinction is made between NGOs, non-profit organizations with legal status, monitored by the government largely concerned with overseas development, human security, and human rights issues, and NPOs unincorporated not-for-profit-organizations made up of citizens groups, neighborhood associations, and so on concerned mostly with domestic issues. No such distinction is made in the West, where the language of NGOs includes all of these groups.
19. In the case of Japan, it is debatable whether the short-lived New Associationist Movement, formed by Karatani Kojin Nishibe Makoto, Kuchiki Sui, and Asada Akira in 2000, with its strategy of "counter-act" (*taiko*) (anti-state and anti-capital, although not workerist as in socialism) would meet the criteria to be included as a civil society social group in the Schwartz and Pharr volume.
20. See Hirata's (2005) review of the Schwartz and Pharr (2003) collection.
21. The term *bokuminkan* (shepherds of the people) is a term that pre-war bureaucrats invoked to describe their position vis-à-vis the people. Arguably, this inherently pastoral orientation, with its associated co-dependencies between shepherd and flock can be seen to be at work in post-war Japan as well.
22. This is not to be confused with Fred Hirsch's (1977) famous thesis on the *Social Limits to Growth* that addressed the question of positional goods, social scarcity, and its implications for economic growth. In deploying the term "social limits of the market," I mean to invoke the idea, rooted in a Hegelian understanding of political economy, that the market's capacity to facilitate and impinge on well-being requires limits placed on it in accordance with the criteria appropriate to the ideal of social individuation, not efficiency as in neo-classical economic theory, or equal distribution as in socialist critiques, but justice, seen here as social self-determination. See Levine (1995).

23. See for instance Anderson (1993), Emi (1983: 1–10), Fujita (1982), Garon (1987), Gould (1983:57–67), Hoshino (1988: 241–69), Lee (1982), and Campbell (1992).
24. Takayama (1982) and Yamada (1990: 327–63).
25. Most of the literature on Japan's post-war welfare state concurs with this description including the following: Andersen (1993), Shinkawa (1990), Fujita (1982), Shiratori (1985: 200–23), and Matsuura (1981: 3–17).
26. In addition to the literature already identified above, see also Campbell (1992), Esping-Andersen (1990), Lee (1987), Pinker (1986), Bennett and Levine (1976: 391–438), and Chubachi and Taira (1976: 439–92).
27. Roger Goodman and Ito Peng echo a similar sentiment: "These debates in North American and Western Europe about Japanese social welfare tell us more about those countries – and their own concerns – than they do about Japan.... In most cases, analyses have sought to fit Japan into one of a variety of pre-existing social welfare models conceptualized from a Western framework rather than examining it in its own terms." See their chapter in Esping-Andersen (1996a:192–224).
28. Consider, for instance, the debate about the difficulties attendant on creating a standardized system of welfare provision in the European Union (EU). The central claim that variations in the provision of a range of welfare goods within the different states that make up the EU defy standardization due to the "irreversibility" of welfare gains made by distinct groups of people fails to notice that the irreversibility claim resonates not so much because of institutional rigidity, but rather as the result of differential antecedent underlying normative understandings of what counts as an appropriate measure of individual welfare. At the heart of these normative judgments are the meanings attached to personhood and social worth that vary in different societies, rendering societal understandings of personhood central to considerations of welfare state failure, reform, or restructuring. I develop this argument further in the following chapter.
29. Hoshino (1988); Nakagawa (1979:5–51); Gould (1993); and Reed (1989). Nakagawa Yatsuhiro suggests the success of this mix has earned Japan the status of a welfare superpower, whereas Arthur Gould faults it for being "divisive and controlling." Steven Reed on the other hand suggests this mix should not be judged by European standards as it serves the distinctive welfare needs of Japan.
30. Distinguishing between a system that is "plan-rational" and one that is "market-rational," Johnson suggests that the latter "concerns itself with the forms and procedures ... the rules ... of economic competition, but it does not concern itself with substantive matters." The plan rational developmental state, on the other hand, sets substantive social and economic goals via industrial policy. Taking the opposite view, Shinkawa (1990) has argued that the development of social policy in the 1970s was the result of a "crisis of social integration" in the late 1960s that compelled the state to briefly shift its focus from the needs of capital accumulation to social integration.
31. A similar point can be made with regard to Garon (1997).
32. Halliday (1975); Dower (1975); Morris-Suzuki and Seiyama (1989); Moore (1983); and Itoh (1990).
33. Esping-Andersen (1997: 179–89).

34. There is by now a fairly robust and ongoing discussion of the reconstitution of area studies. On Japan and Asia specifically, see Johnson (1974; 2005); Gibson (1994); Fowler (1996); Gordon (2004); Reader (1995); Steinhoff (1993); Bowen (1989); Tansman (2003); Cumings (1997); and Miyoshi and Harootunian (1993).
35. Alan Tansman (2003) offers a comprehensive survey of this debate and a persuasive argument about prioritizing the archive over theory for the scholar of Japanese literature especially. What deserves greater attention, however, is how in many instances English-language scholarship by the Japanese-speaking scholar, as in other language-intensive areas (Arabic or Chinese for instance), depends on the translation of ideas, insights, debates, and arguments produced within the Japanese scholarly community, valorized now as the contributions of Western "area experts" to the field of Japan Studies. Unlike projects of direct translation (of books, articles, etc. produced in one language translated for consumption in another, heavily weighted, in this case to the translation of non-Japanese language books into *Nihongo*), this is a more perilous enterprise where mastery of language enables appropriation and authorization of ideas that would otherwise never enter the commoditized circuits of academic exchange. This is not simply a claim about originality or due acknowledgment of sources, but rather one that gestures toward the fundamentally colonial mode of knowledge transfer that is implicit in even the most *intentionally* benign acts of translation, given the larger objective structure of power and knowledge. See Conrad (1999) for an astute discussion of the ramifications of this larger problem in the construction of Japanese historiography.
36. As noted in the acknowledgements, a Long-Term Postdoctoral Fellowship from the Social Science Research Council and the Japan Study for the Promotion of Science enabled me to spend 2 years in Tokyo (November 2003–December 2005). During this time I had the opportunity to meet with a number of people working on social policy, immigration, and citizenship-related issues, including activists, welfare workers and recipients, bureaucrats, academics, officials in government at the national and ward-office levels, and especially, officials, social workers, and student activities in the *Kamagasaki yoseba* (day laborers) in the Airin district of Osaka.

2 Theoretical contestations: state, market, and the individual

1. Challenging the claim that appears now to have become orthodoxy in the policy-making circles of the OECD countries as well as international economic institutions like the IMF and World Bank that welfare states constitute a drag on the economy, and concomitantly that drastic cuts in public expenditure are positively correlated with economic growth, comparative data suggests otherwise. In fact the OECD has had to acknowledge in one of its reports that 'there is not an immediate link between unemployment rates and unemployment benefit entitlements' (cited in Navarro

1998: 639). Similarly, the neoliberal claim that countries with comprehensive programs of social protection are more likely to register decelerated economic growth rates is called into question by data that suggest that indeed the opposite is true: Germany, Denmark, Ireland, and Norway, all with extensive social protection programs registered a higher annual growth rate of total output per capita between 1979 and 1997 than those that instituted neoliberal economic policies, including reductions in public expenditures, especially the United States and Britain.

2. Christopher Nock (1988) points out that 'in order to meet Friedman's criteria of freedom, persons should be free to enter or not enter market transactions. To accomplish as much, individuals should have access to a means of livelihood that alone can make the decision to enter the market an authentically voluntary one. To the extent that the welfare state, in theory, can do this, welfare states can be seen as necessary rather than inimical to market-centered conception of freedom' (1988: 757–769).
3. Mitchell Dean points out that the OECD's study *The Future of Social Protection* (1988) notes a 'growing syndrome of deprivation' which leads to a 'ghetto existence' 'with no stake in official society and as heavily dependent on welfare and prone to illegalities as to exhibit a marked behavioral contrast with the mainstream' (Dean 1995: 579).
4. For a good overview of conservative arguments against the welfare state, see Furniss and Tilton (1977: 51–66).
5. See especially Sanford Schram (1995) for an exhaustive critique of the dependency argument along these lines. In detailing how poverty and what are deemed 'pathological behaviors' are more appropriately seen as the results of the structural problems of a capitalist economy, he rightly draws attention to the ideological undertow of neoliberal analyses of welfare.
6. The French Regulation School that developed in the 1970s attempted to use Marxian categories to show how specific constellations of institutional forms and social norms create 'regimes of accumulation' that enable structural reproduction and transformation. By taking Marxian theory, as David Kotz (1990) puts it, 'to a lower level of abstraction,' Regulation theorists hope to show how forms of capitalism, especially the institutional/accumulation nexus, change, even as the structure of capitalism remains the same. While seemingly departing from the economic determinism of orthodox Marxian theory, Regulation theorists betray a similar propensity to assume that the changes necessary to facilitate capital accumulation (as it enters a putatively new phase) will automatically ensue, thus ascribing an economistic inevitability to what are in fact social and, more importantly, political processes, contingent on the collective agencies exercised in favor of alternatives to existent institutional arrangements. For good critical discussions of the Regulation school, see Kotz (1990: 5–28) and Bonefeld (1993: 113–121). For representative works, see Lipietz (1988: 7–35; 1989); Aglietta (1979); and Jessop (1983: 89–112; 1995: 307–333).
7. For the difficulties of theorizing the individual within a Marxian theoretical framework, see Leonard (1983).
8. The worker has nothing to sell but his labor-power when he becomes free in the double sense: as a free man he can dispose of his labor-power as his

own commodity and he has no other commodity for sale; and he is short of everything necessary for the realization of his labor-power (*Capital*, Vol. I, 1867, 1967a: 169). Labor-power refers to the capacity to labor. Since, for Marx, capitalism is a system of production for exchange, it results in the commodification of all elements brought into exchange. Since the worker sells his capacity to labor in exchange for wages, his labor-power is itself a commodity (albeit a fictitious one as Polanyi points out) that its owner, the worker, is compelled to sell.

9. This distinction is drawn by Caporaso and Levine (1992: 61). This section draws on their chapter on Marxian Political Economy in the same book (1992: 55–78).
10. Marxists distinguish between a class-in-itself and a class-for-itself; the former exists *qua* class due to an objective reality, the latter subjectively in the minds of those who objectively belong to the class. In the first case, a worker belongs to the proletariat class even though she may not be conscious of it; in the second, the worker is now conscious of her class location and is therefore now a class agent. Given this distinction, a matter of great controversy for Marxist political theory has been to account for the transformation of a class in itself into a class for itself. In the welfare state literature, for instance, working-class consciousness is seen to have been the basis for a collective demand for state-sponsored welfare, and the subsequent emergence of the welfare state in several countries. As discussed below, the social democratic version of class politics has been particularly influential in studies of the emergence of welfare states.
11. My purpose here is not to assess the role of subsistence in economic theory *per se*, but to examine how the idea of subsistence lends itself to a particular notion of the individual and welfare, and the implications of this for the relation between state and individual posited by Marxian theories of welfare state capitalism.
12. Sherover (1979), comparing Hegel's and Marx's notion of the poor, points out that, for Marx, the poor carry an ontological and moral significance that both grounds Marx's view of the proletariat as the subject of history, as well as introduces a tension in it. This is worth a brief comment, however, since it helps shed light on Marx's problematic use of the idea of subsistence. As Sherover describes it, Marx takes the view that the poor are the "elemental class of human society" in that, like for Hegel, they do not belong to civil society. For Hegel, this exclusion is not simply material but constitutes a denial of the poor's participation in the modern human community and therefore denies them "civil honor," or the social relations of mutual recognition necessary to be counted as somebody. For Marx, on the other hand, the poor, precisely because they remain outside the sphere of civil society, remain untouched by the false conceptions and artificial values, fetishism, and the corruption of private property. By virtue of being untouched by civil society, the poor display a moral insight that is inherently superior to that of members within civil society; their very existence amounts to an immanent critique of civil society. Marx's notion of the poor as a naturalized site of revolutionary consciousness can illumine, in part, his central focus on the idea of subsistence. Not only does the idea of subsistence ground his theory of exploitation (via the production of surplus value), but it helps

make better sense of how, for Marx, the proletariat constitutes the revolutionary subject. To the extent the poor "seem to have the correct (morally right) [i.e. revolutionary] perceptions and values *a priori* simply by virtue of their poverty," workers, in so far as they subsist on the bare necessities of life, come closest to approximating Marx's ontological view of the poor. In other words, Marx is able to transpose his ontological-moral and eventually political view of the poor (non-members in civil society) to the proletariat (members of civil society) in part as the result of attributing to the latter the fixity of subsistence need based. This is by no means to suggest that Marx romanticized the actual living conditions of the proletariat, but rather to point to the continuities between the poor and the proletariat via the idea of subsistence need in Marx's ontology. To the extent that Marx's notion of the poor provides the antecedents of his conception of the proletariat, it reveals a tension. In the former instance, the proletariat is by virtue of their very nature and existence the revolutionary subject; in the latter, they acquire revolutionary consciousness only via a long process of education and praxis.

13. Some recent attempts at developing a Marxian theory of the state actually argue for such a position, even though, for Marx, capitalists are characterized by the pursuit of their private-interest and remain by and large unaware of their structural or objective identity as a class *qua* class. Miliband's notion of the state as an instrument of the ruling class, or Poulantzas's idea that the state rules on behalf of the ruling class, though not at its behest, attributes agency to capitalist *qua* class that Marx himself did not claim. The only collective interest among capitalists that Marx visualizes was a shared systemic interest in maintaining a capitalist social order. Jeopardizing a capitalist social order (right to private property and its alienation, for instance) would threaten the very existence of the capitalist.
14. See Levine (1995) for a compelling argument that because they consume, rather than use objects, it is the capitalist rather who fails to individuate.
15. For discussions of problems of state interventionism in the economy broadly sympathetic to a Marxian vantage point, see the following: Barrow (1993); Berger (1990: 103–122); Blanke *et al.* (1976: 68–126); Gough (1975: 53–91); Holloway and Picciotto (1978); Lindberg *et al.* (eds) (1975); O'Connor (1973); and Urry (1981).
16. Offe (1984: 257). Despite Marxian claims about the stabilizing activities of the state in deferring the crisis tendencies of the capitalist economy, it is clear that Marxists remain skeptical about the long-run impact of social policy. As one critic writes, 'the practice of social policy and administration can only be seen in the logic of Marxian social theory as a snare and delusion or as a heresy,' cited in Carrier and Kendall (1986: 327). Offe takes issue with the standard Marxian view in that he makes the case that the structural contradiction of the capitalist state's welfare role is *political*, not economic, at root. Thus, he takes political intervention, ostensibly the temporary solution to economic crisis on most Marxian accounts, to be the principal source of crisis in late capitalist democracies.
17. In other words, the commodification of labor (i.e. the laboring capacity of healthy and appropriately skilled workers exchanged for wages) provides the central dynamic of capitalist accumulation. Only the exchange of labor

power for wages can simultaneously sustain the worker and the process of capital accumulation. Offe thus makes exchange-relations, specifically the 'commodification' of labor, pivotal to the idea of a 'market' (or capitalist economy).

18. Marx (1976: 1005).
19. Offe writes, "State policies which attempt to reproduce the commodity form (i.e. the profitable exchange of labor and capital) through decommodified means have the unintended effect of undermining both the institutionalized power and legitimacy of commodified processes" (Offe 1984: 25).
20. Offe's claim about de-commodification applies principally to labor. That is, the state's efforts to bring the 'paralysed commodity-form of labor' back into the realm of exchange as a commodity inadvertently create conditions that no longer compel the worker to commodify her capacity to labor.
21. It should be noted that while others have employed the language of "de-commodification" to analyze the consequences of welfare statism, Offe's conceptualization differs from most in its emphasis on the erosion of the normativity of exchange as the analytical cornerstone of "de-commodification." For other, more descriptive, uses of the term, see Esping-Andersen (1990), Kolberg (1992: 77–111), and Western (1989: 200–221).
22. Offe (1983) clarifies this: 'Collectively binding decisions cannot be reached if a logically prior decision has not already been made. This prior decision concerns the procedures according to which the decisions shall be made. . . . The fundamental procedural rules of collective decision making acquire a curious double status: On the one hand, they must be presupposed as unquestionably valid whenever decisions have to be made; on the other hand, their validity can be presupposed only if their validity claims can withstand questioning' (Offe 1983: 709–11).
23. Offe (1984: 19).
24. The environmental movement in particular has drawn some criticism for overreaching its claim to being a critical paradigm. By laying emphasis on behavioral change (patterns of consumption, etc.) environmentalists not only ignore the structural basis of inequality both within and between countries, but also do not give primacy to the eradication of extremes of wealth and poverty. A predominantly single-issue movement, environmentalism must be seen, these critics argue, as yet another expression of an essentially liberal (not radical) politics.
25. On the dual nature of capitalist exchange relations, see Hirschman (1982: 1463–1484) and Hirsch (1977).
26. This is by no means to point to a celebration or vindication of existent vast inequities of wealth that typically characterize capitalist societies but simply to draw attention to the dual nature of capitalist social relations.
27. On a related note, Offe's inclination to see the relationship between the economic and the non-economic aspects of capitalist social relations in mutually exclusive terms stems, in part, from his use of systems analysis. Thus, the dominance of the exchange principle in late capitalism is eroded to the extent that the non-economic sub-systems no longer remain "subordinate" to it (as, he argues, was the case in the period of liberal capitalism).

28. This is, of course, the general theme of Habermas modernist rejoinder to those who reject as false the Enlightenment's privileging of the "Promethean self." See Benhabib 1992.
29. Recall Adam Smith's statement that 'the only sensible question worth pursuing is the division of labor between state and market' (cited in Katznelson [1988: 521]).
30. O'Malley and Palmer (1996: 139).
31. This phrase is taken from the title of Nikolas Rose's article (1996: 327–356). For related arguments, see Dean (1995: 559–583) and Hunter (1993: 123–136).
32. See Schram (1995); Fraser and Gordon (1994: 309–336); Reed (1992: 21–38); and Fox Piven and Cloward (1983).
33. Benhabib's (1992) sustained critique of the Foucauldian position is that it develops an "overly constructed view of the self." See also Newton (1998: 415–447).
34. For critical discussions of postmodernism's notion of the death of the subject and its consequences for social theory, see in particular Callinicos (1989); Glass (1994); Gitlin and Norris (1990); and Roseneau (1992).
35. Agency refers to the source of action: to speak of the subject as an agent is to see the individual as having intrinsic purpose. Insofar as humans are self-interpreting beings, capable of reflecting on their desires and transforming their desires and action on the basis of this evaluation, the notion of agency refers essentially to reflexivity. See Taylor (1985).
36. Patterson (1989) offers a similar view: 'If there is no foundation or "one true account" of a social practice against which to measure the worth of competing claims for the logic of the enterprise, then everything is up for grabs, and practical reasoning – that is, arguments about what we as a society or group should be doing–cannot and will not be resolved. In short, the debate will be interminable' (Patterson 1989: 1667).
37. In my attempt to understand the structure of Hegel's thought, I have found the following particularly helpful: Beiser (1993); Brod (1992); Kincaid (1991: 28–47); Kolb (1986); Lamb (1987); MacGregor (1992); Plant (1983); Rose (1981); Smith (1987: 99–126); Stillman (1987); Taylor (1975) (1979) and (1985); Stace (1955); and Westphal (1992).
38. I have relied here on the work of social theorists who have taken as their particular focus this specific claim: Levine (1988) and (1995); Pelczynski (1984); and Winfield (1988) (1990) and (1991).
39. Monological conceptions of the individual, on the other hand, cannot provide an account of differentiation. Richard Winfield puts it well:

    > Monologically defined, the will is something all selves possess as such, which means that it cannot serve to differentiate their agencies or actions from one another. So conceived, the free will is automatically reduced to a solely universal faculty containing no element of particularity that could individuate one will from another through its own freedom.
    >
    > (Winfield 1988: 162)

    The monological self, on the other hand, as a desiring subject confronts a world of objects it has had no role in shaping. Because its will lacks content and is only abstract, content can only be given to it from the external world. In confronting the world of objects (the world of culture or meaning), the desiring empty self can only take in the meanings that exist independent of him. Like the natural self, the monological self cannot act, but remains acted upon.

40. The post-structural view also subscribes to a deterministc view of persons. On this view, subjects are variously seen as contingent effects, a position in language, or simply constructs of particular spatial-temporal political and historical contexts. For a critique of conceptions of the subject as a 'preconstituted center of the experience of culture and history,' see in particular Callinicos (1989); Glass (1994); Gitlin and Norris (1990); and Roseneau (1992).
41. Brod puts it thus, 'consciousness of oneself as an individual can never be an initial given but can only emerge as a result of a process of differentiation from the starting point of one's own environment' (Brod 1992: 64).
42. Hegel's For an extended discussion of this, see David P. Levine (1997) *Self-Seeking and the Pursuit of Justice* Brookfield VT: Ashgate (Avebury Series).
43. Maletz refers to this as the source of the inherent directedness that characterizes persons (1989: 33–50).
44. This does not mean, literally, that actually existent markets fulfill the demands of the ideal of freedom *in principle* possible only through the system of exchange relations. Hegel's work relates to the logic of the market principle and this is what concerns us here. That existent markets institute the principle of exchange such that it is debilitating of the freedom and welfare of many leading to vast inequalities of poverty and wealth is a question about the history of different embodiments of the market principle, not its immanent logic.
45. For the classic statement on this, see the section on master–slave relation in Hegel's *Phenomenology of Mind* #178–196. For helpful discussions of this idea, see Kojeve (1969); Taylor (1975); and Kelly (1972).
46. Hegel's distinctive conception of labor was one that Marx was to later take and re-work into a theory of the exploitation of labor, but which would also provide the basis for an alternative socialist conception of the freedom of all men. It should also be noted that, for Hegel, labor was crucial to reconciling what was merely particular with the universal. Insofar as individual labor takes shape only within the context of a social division of labor, the activity of laboring manifests in concrete form the interconnectedness of the social world from which it springs. The significance for Hegel, of course, is that this overcomes the otherness of the objective world, thereby actualizing freedom. Labor is a central category of the system of needs, but it is far more than that for Hegel. It is central for self-consciousness and for knowledge of objects in the natural world. "It was labor, with its twin dimensions of developing the subject's consciousness and manipulating external objects, that helped to solve this problem for Hegel. It was in labor that the reconciliation between subject and object was overcome for him" (Plant 1977: 104). Thus, for Hegel, Labor is a personally liberating facet of human activity.
47. Quoted in Scholz (1993: 359).
48. Hegel writes, 'The shape does not become something other than himself through being made external to him for it is precisely this shape that is

his pure being-for-self, which in this externality is seen by him to be the truth. Through this rediscovery of himself by himself the bondsman realizes that it is precisely in his work wherein he seemed to have only an alienated existence that he acquires a mind of his own' in *Phenomenology of Spirit*, #196.

49. A feminist reading of Hegel has tended to discount Hegel's treatment of civil society as the realm of self-formation and self-seeking due to his distinction between the public and the private realms, and his relegation of the woman's ethical role to the family. The thrust of the critique is that in ascribing a familial role to women, Hegel conceives women as being subject to natural forces, capable only of passive (because it is not self-created) reproduction. See Butler (1987); Easton (1987); Scholz (1993); and Pateman (1988). For a sympathetic reading of Hegel from a feminist standpoint, see Brod (1992). Brod correctly notes, '...bringing feminist theory to bear on Hegel means more than simply looking at Hegel's writings on women' (Brod 1992: 177). A feminist reading of Hegel, by focusing narrowly on his explicit statements on women, is much too hasty in dismissing his theory as being altogether incompatible with a feminist agenda and social theory. Hegel's work, insofar as it provides a compelling argument for a conception of justice in which social self-determination and mutual regard are the very foundation of a social order, may be singularly conducive to a feminist standpoint committed to the idea of the self-determination of women.
50. In this context, Raymond Plant writes, 'The conception of human nature which Hegel brings to bear on the sphere of need is not one in which man is prey to need, or subject to need; rather, man is if anything the sovereign of need, developing needs as a result of the growth of his own self-consciousness' (Plant 1977: 92).
51. Baker (1992: 61).
52. To suggest that commodification, participation in civil society, the use of property, and capacity to engage in "exchange" in the market are necessary to individual welfare, the process of self-formation, self-seeking, and self-expression is not to claim, as critics of Hegel do, that individual creativity, expression, or worth are exhaustively realized in the market. It is simply to argue that the economy is, as Hegel put it, a necessary "moment" of human creativity, expression, and freedom. As Hegel's writings clearly articulate, human expression in the family, art, religion, and so on is vital to the full realization of man's creative knowledge and experience of the world.
53. Linking property rights to the use of objects in accord with the realization of individuality renders the capitalist production process (production for exchange) as opposed to a system of production for use, especially appropriate to the realization of individuality. In artisanal production the producer leaves her mark on the object produced (a painting, for instance) thus limiting the use of the object in a way that makes manifest *only* the personality of the consumer. In a capitalist economy, however, "machine-based mass production occurs independent of the will or personality of any particular individual" since only those objects that fulfill a social need are produced. As Baker puts it, 'An object produced in a capitalist production process is freed to meet a set of social needs that is totally unrelated to the

particular personalities of the individuals involved in its production' (Baker 1992: 76).

54. Although taking the argument in a direction markedly different than the one developed here, Baudrillard makes a similar point, that is that consumption is not simply an economic or material act but also symbolic. It is symbolic since by consuming or using an object the consumer identifies with a set of meanings or values that are associated with the object. Bocock (1993), discussing Braudillard's view, observes, 'Consumption is to be conceptualized as a process in which a purchaser of an item is actively engaged in trying to create and maintain a sense of identity through the display of purchased goods' (Bocock 1993: 67).

    Of course the difference between the personality theory of property developed here and Baudrillard's is that whereas the latter sees identity as the creation of objects of consumption, Levine, elaborating Hegel, sees consumption as an expression of identity. The difference is a subtle though crucial one and merits attention, especially in light of recent attempts to employ Hegelian theory in service of an argument that is the antithesis of Hegel's core claim about the link between individuality and consumption. For Baudrillard (and others who argue in the same vein), people consume commodities not in order to realize or express who they are, but in effect to become that which is symbolized by the object itself. Quoting Bocock's commentary on Baudrillard again, 'Baudrillard suggests that consumers do not purchase items of clothing, food, body decoration, furniture or a style of entertainment, for instance, in order to express an already existing sense of who they are. Rather, people create a sense of who they are through what they consume' (Bocock 1993: 68). The thrust of Baudrillard's argument, like much of postmodernism, is that the individual's sense of self is wholly contextual; the subject does not exist as an integrated idea of self that is then externalized, but is, in effect, a composite, reductively determined by different contexts. This emphasis on an external determination of the self of an individual not only denies the very idea of a subject *qua* agent, but also conceives the individual as necessarily enslaved by the process of consumption. The consumer, on this view, does not use or consume the object, but insofar as she is determined by the object, is consumed or made use of by the object instead. Baudrillard writes, "This suggests that there are no limits to consumption. If it was that which it is naively taken to be, an absorption, a devouring, then we should achieve satisfaction. If consumption appears to be irrepressible, this is because it is a total idealist practice, which has no longer anything to do (beyond a certain point) with the satisfaction of needs nor with the reality principle. (Baudrillard 1975: 24–25). While providing a valid critique of biologically or naturally determined needs, Baudrillard's attempt to link the individual to the signification of objects of consumption goes too far. If individuals are simply produced by the meanings associated with objects of consumption, the essence of what it means to be an individual (a self-determined, self-conscious being) is lost.

    Hegel's original argument, elaborated by Levine in his theory of consumption, both anchors the idea of individuality within the self (in a notion of agency implying an independent, self-sustaining autonomous will) and embeds the idea within a social context. Unlike utilitarian theories of consumption that require an atomistic, pre-social notion of the individual, Hegel and Levine's argument that the individual externalizes the self via consumption preserves the idea of individuality while at the same time grounding it in an inter-subjective world of meanings denoted by the idea of social determination. Hegel and Levine's consumer is not necessarily one enslaved by objects of consumption, as the consumer on Baudrillard's definition must be. Unlike Baudrillard's consumer for whom there cannot be any limits to consumption (since the individual is simply the set of meanings signified by the objects he/she consumes), Hegel and Levine's consumer's pattern of consumption is necessarily self-limiting. Only insofar as objects externalize a particular (self-limited or bounded) mode of life can a claim to objects of consumption be legitimated. Whereas, for Baudrillard, consumption must incessantly change, given the speed and rapidity of the proliferation of new products dictated by technological innovations, gripping the consumer in an unending immediacy of consumption, Hegel and Levine's consumer, insofar as she externalizing a self, mediates and (changes) her selection of objects in accord with the self-conscious development of personality.

55. David Levine (1995) 'On Justice and the Economy: the Limits of Distributive Justice,' Unpublished paper, 1995.
56. The collapse of communism in the Soviet Union and the rise of market socialism in China speaks to this point. Among the many contributing factors, the denial of the expressive and constitutive role of the market vis-à-vis the individual contributed to the loosening of state control over society. That in both cases today, civil society appears denuded of a secure juridical/legal base, a terrain of rampant consumerism and lawlessness, resilient to he social seen either as civility, law, or mutual recognition, points to the force of this need as much as to its unmediated, and hence untempered expression in erstwhile state-led communist societies.
57. Even within neo-classical economics, traditionally hostile to anything other than a pure-market understanding of capitalism, the idea of basic needs has gained prominence through the work of noted economist Amartaya Sen (1985).
58. Communitarian theorists (including among others, Alasdair McIntyre, Michael Walzer, and Michael Sandel) lament the decline of moral and political communities in advanced capitalist democracies and urge instead the creation of institutions that would recognize the primacy of the social community, rather than the autonomous individual of political liberalism. While an extended discussion of communitarian thought is beyond the scope of the present endeavor, suffice it to say here that by failing to interrogate the nature of communities, whereby the organizing principle of different communities may be held up to scrutiny, communitarians tend to assume *a priori* the virtue of community *per se*, without questioning the demands different communities make upon individuals, or whether, more crucially, they impinge upon or enable individuality. While the challenge of "building community" may indeed offer a way out of the moral dilemma faced by contemporary advanced industrialized societies (how can alienated, atomized, un-connected, "morally impoverished" individuals solve social

problems), communities that require the subsumption of individual self-determination to group agency end up repudiating rather than enabling social individuality. Without careful attention to the nature of communities, the danger of simply replacing the disembedded atomized individual with communities that subordinate the individual would simply substitute one set of problems with another.

3 Self, state, and civil society in modern Japan

1. Fujitani (1998: 307).
2. Benedict (1964).
3. Nakane (1970).
4. On a different note, by comparing the Japanese and Western self in dichotomous terms, this approach lends itself easily to the charge of orientalism (constructing and valorizing a view of self by making the other the repository of disavowed parts of the self). The dualisms of individual/society, modern/tradition, reason/intuition, and so on thus serve to construct Japan as the "other" group-self so as to posit a view of the Western self as self-determined.
5. MacIntyre (1990: 490).
6. Doi (1981). For recent applications of his theory about the relation between individual and society based on differences in ways of relating, see Bachnik and Quinn (1994).
7. Lebra (1976).
8. Richard Winfield (1991) has also shown how the notion of inter-subjectivity, in fact, presupposes subjectivity: without an account of the latter, inter-subjectivity is rendered purely abstract, ill suited to ground substantive accounts of identity formation.
9. Bourdieu (1973).
10. Najita (1993: 13–30).
11. Eisenstadt (1996: 192).
12. Eisenstadt (1996: 25).
13. Garon (1987: 10).
14. Rozman (1973) cited in Ramseyer.
15. Miyoshi (1991: 150).
16. The controversy over the nature of pre-war capitalism in Japan, whether it retained feudal remnants (Kozha school of thought) or not (the Rohnoh school) continues to inform neo-Marxian debates about the nature of contemporary capitalism. For a detailed description of this debate, see Germaine Hoston (1985). For a good overview of the debate, see Shibagaki (1988: 29–56). See also Albritton (1980) and Itoh (1988; 1990). Baba (1985: 26–53).
17. Kaichiro Oishi (1971).
18. This is Kazuo Shibagaki's term (1973: 70–87).
19. Shozaburo Fujino (1966: 59).
20. Kuniko Fujita (1982: 59).
21. Sheldon Garon (1987:10).
22. As the result of its victory in its wars with China in 1894–1895 and with Russia in 1904–1905, Japan gained territorial concessions in both China and

Korea, which were to prove to be an important source of labor, raw material, and markets in the pre-war years.

23. Ikegami (1995: 185–221).
24. Eisenstadt (1996: 30).
25. Eisenstadt (1996: 37).
26. Miyoshi (1991: 151).
27. In what may constitute one of the most subtle portrayals of the individuating moment unleashed by the spread of exchange relations, Kawabata's *Master of Go* captures the transmutation of a quintessentially traditional Japanese game into a modern one, one bearing, nonetheless, the specific face of Japanese modernity. Kawabata tells the story of how in a game widely watched and reported in the newspapers in 1938, the master was caught off-guard by a challenger who changed the game. Rather than playing the game in the traditional Japanese way, in which the symmetrical co-construction of the pieces on the board brought the two players into a cooperative venture, the young challenger plays a game in which winning is all. In an attempt to demonstrate and be recognized for his individual prowess, the young challenger disregards the age of his opponent and substitutes competitiveness for deference. For Kawabata this was a metaphor for the transformation of Japan, one in which modernity did not assault directly the structures of tradition but, by resisting the re-contextualizing strategies of an existent cultural rationality, subsumed all other forms into the rationality of exchange.
28. Silverberg (1993: 116).
29. For a more abstract rendering of the nature of modern Japan's collective consciousness, see Samuel N. Eisenstadt. For a more detailed exposition of this argument, see Eisenstadt (1996). He notes that Japan's collective consciousness has been constructed on the basis of a 'scared particularity,' not on the basis of a transcendental universalistic mission (1996: 29).
30. For an exhaustive description of the system of permanent employment, see especially Clark (1979); Dore (1973); and, more recently, Harcourt (1996: 177–202).
31. The modern family-corporation traces its lineage to the *dozoku*, commercial household confederations.
32. Tanaka (1982: 24).
33. Morishima (1995: 611).
34. Weiss (1993: 325–354).
35. Andrew Gordon (1997: 245–283).
36. Although Kondo's argument about the relational self in Japan serves to substantiate a claim about the de-centered nature of subjectivity, consistent with post-modern understandings, I draw upon her work simply to substantiate an empirical claim about the social meanings attached to work, to elaborate an alternate (modernist) account of personhood.
37. Silverberg (1993: 121).
38. Silverberg (1993:121).
39. See especially Ivy (1993: 239–258).
40. See William Kelly (1991); Rosenberger (1994); and Tobin (1992). See also Anderson and Wadkins (1991: 129–134). Anderson and Wadkins find a parallel between the *shinjinrui* and the culture of consumption that emerged in the United States at the turn of the century in which selfhood becomes

tied to consumption rather than production. This heightened emphasis on consumption, however, is to be understood in the context of the multiplication of need that advanced capitalism makes possible (the seemingly limitless choices produced as a result of technological innovation and increased productivity generates what appears as limitless demand or consumerism). It does not, however, indicate a reverse process – the diminishing role of production in constituting selfhood. In this vein, Francis Fukuyama's claim that in the late twentieth century work no longer affords the means for recognition due to the incessant demands to constantly reinvent oneself professionally, given the economic velocity of these times, also mistakes changes in the conditions of capitalism as a subversion of its logic.

41. The linkage between the multiplication of wants, constitution and expression of the self, and wealth is certainly a valid one, central in fact to the theory of social self-determination that grounds this study. Where the consumerism/individuation thesis falters, however, is in working through the conceptual inter-connections between these three elements. The multiplication of wants necessitates a dynamic notion of individuation which makes the idea of subsistence highly problematic to notions of individuality. However, affluence *per se* also repudiates the idea of individuation depending on the *nature* of consumption. I can use an object (to enable expression of a part of myself) or I can be used by the object (who I am is simply determined by the social status accorded to that object). By failing to probe the notion of individuation implicit in the alleged connection between consumerism and individuality, scholars tend to take what is very often tantamount to a disavowal of self through the consumption of commodities for its very expression. What is missing in the postulated nexus between consumerism and individuation is a conceptualization of individuality.
42. Of course, Marx had made a similar claim but in the context of the specific notion of alienated labor.

4 Social need and the welfare state in modern Japan

1. Makoto (1999) makes a similar observation: '... [O]fficialdom monopolizes the public realm while the people, the masses, are permitted the pursuit of private gain, personal welfare, and individual happiness insofar as these things lie within the legal and political frameworks dictated by the government. This tradition has largely demarcated the realms of public and private in Japanese society' (Makoto 1999: 51).
2. Brian McVeigh (1998) offers a provocative account of how the modern Japanese state subjects focuses on the creation of the 'bureaucratized self,' but takes as its empirical focus the education system's role in shaping subjectivities.
3. Hiwatari Nobuhiro (1993), a noted political scientist at the University of Tokyo notes, "Drastic reforms in health care and public pensions, the two major public welfare programs in Japan took place in the mid 1980s. Such measures did not ignite strong protests nor did it polarize the political spectrum ... instead of being penalized, the ruling party responsible for the reforms was awarded, while the major opposition party, the Socialists, could

not attract those discontent with the reforms to turn around their declining electoral fortune." See his paper, "Sustaining the Welfare State and International Competitiveness in Japan: The Welfare Reforms of the 1980s and the Political Economy," presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, D.C., September 2–5, 1993. Similar observations (about the absence of advocacy or resistance to welfare among the population at large) have been noted by Goodman and Peng (1996).

4. Japanese Joint Organizing Committee, *Social Services in Japan* (1958: 26–27). See also Linhart (1983: 703–715).
5. See the detailed description provided by "The Development of Social Welfare Services in Japan," *Social Services in Japan* (1958), Akimoto (1989), and Anderson (1993).
6. For good overviews of the historical origins of Japan's welfare system, see Kyung (1982).
7. Eisenstadt (1996).
8. Cited in Eisenstadt (1996).
9. Takahashi (1997).
10. Takahashi (1997: 35).
11. Takahashi (1997: 36).
12. Garon (1997: 11).
13. Takahashi (1997: 36).
14. Komatsu (1992: 128–147).
15. Takahashi (1997: 37).
16. Takahashi (1997: 40).
17. Ishida (1989: 270–271).
18. Gluck (1985).
19. For a persuasive argument that links the state's active attempt to foster industrialization to the needs of the military, see Weiss (1993: 325–354).
20. Johansson and Mosk (1986: 415–440).
21. Takahashi (1997: 43).
22. Yoshida (1994).
23. The classic formulation on the role of ideology in crafting social order is, of course, Antonio Gramsci's. In his account, though, the source of hegemony in civil society (social consent with regard to a specific belief structure) is class-based. Thus, a specific class in society garners consent for its class-derived interests by penetrating the myriad avenues of civil society. The components of the ideology, in other words, have social, not individual, roots. Similarly, fascism and Nazism as ideologies were deeply social, with firm roots in the material and ideational reality of mid-twentieth-century Italy and Germany, not merely the artifacts of states or individual leaders.
24. Mary Douglas (1987) suggests that institutions gain legitimacy by 'the naturalization of social classification' and further 'There needs to be an analogy by which the formal structure of a crucial set of social relations is found in the physical world or in the supernatural world. So long as it is not seen as a socially contrived arrangement. Being naturalized (institutions) are part of the order of the universe and so ready to stand as the ground of argument' (1987: 35).
25. This is the thrust of Samuel Eisenstadt's argument in his monumental *Japanese Civilization* (1996:25).

26. This term is borrowed from Ozawa (1991).
27. By this I do not mean to suggest that, analytically, family and civil society are identical. Where the one treats individuals as members of a group, the other enables the constitution and actualization of a self-determined mode of being. However, to the extent that the self-chosen wants that enable individuals to create a self-chosen mode of life via the objects they use are central to constructing the home as a private realm of expression, consumption within the home must be seen as central to individuation. This is especially so in the case of Japan since it is primarily consumption rather than production-related activities that individuate.
28. For a comprehensive review of changes that were initiated see the report, *Japanese Social Insurance Systems Through 30 June 1950,* Rohrlich and Metterst (1951).
29. Takahashi (1997: 55–69).
30. Quoted in Takahashi (1997: 63–64).
31. Shindo (1994: 55–62). Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 1994.
32. Takahashi (1997: 60).
33. Quoted in Takahashi (1997: 64).
34. Ozawa (1991: 4). Statistics on welfare expenditure in the United States typically include expenditures on education, thereby suggesting a wider disparity in welfare expenditures between the two countries. Once the US figures are corrected to exclude spending on education, the two countries show a much greater similarity in quantitative terms; the real difference, then, in the welfare programs of the United States and Japan has to do with the nature of goods provisioned with the former providing a much larger number of what are referred to as individuated goods, whereas the latter directs the larger percentage of its resources to the provision of goods that meet social need.
35. The sweeping transformation of Japan into *fukushi kokka* (welfare state) with the reforms of 1961 has been variously interpreted as the result of the ruling Liberal Democratic Party's approach of "crisis and compensation," a response to a crisis in accumulation, or as the result of the prescience of leading LDP politicians, especially Prime Minister Ikeda. Debates among Japanese scholars of welfare reveal differing interpretations of the notion of welfare that was brought into play with the health and pension reforms of 1961. Ichibangase Yasuko, interpreting Article 25 as guaranteeing the right to life (*seikatsu kenri*) along Western lines, is critical of the 1961 reforms as being insufficient to the realization of self-fulfillment on the part of all citizens. Takashima Susumu taking a class struggle approach to the development of social policy sees the 1961 reforms as an attempt by the capitalist class to ensure the reproduction of labor.
36. *Nihonjinron,* literally, "discussions of the Japanese," is a form of discourse about Japan that attempts to 'define the specificity of Japanese identity' by emphasizing its uniqueness, in cultural and racial terms. As a self-conscious practice of 'cultural nationalism,' *Nihionjinron* emphasizes, even creates, the myth of an unbroken cultural continuity between Japan's past and present; among the categories through which an ever present past is evoked, *ie* or the Japanese family figures prominently. See Dale (1986).

37. In contrast to the taxable average income of American chief executives (estimated at $645,000 in 1986), top businessmen in Japan earned an average of $186,000 in 1985. Moreover, the upper level income tax in Japan is much heavier than the upper level US tax rate, reaching 50 percent for taxable income greater than $148,148 in Japan, whereas in the United States. the top marginal rate is approximately 31 percent. *Japan Economic Institute*: 5–6. Among OECD countries, Japan has consistently recorded the lowest Gini coefficient score (the standard measure for distribution of income), indicating that the distribution of income is most equitable in Japan. In an interesting extension of Chalmers Johnson's notion of the "developmental state," Bai Gao has recently argued that the state was able to solicit support for its developmental agenda within civil society by providing not only an increase in standards of living but rather by ensuring that this was equitable; that is, equity in Japan is a necessary correlate of the "developmental state."
38. Murakami, a theoretical economist, first advanced the homogeneity thesis using data from a social attitude survey conducted by the Prime Minister's office in which over 90 percent of Japanese responded that their standard of living was in the middle income level. The homogeneity thesis is quite widely accepted in studies on Japan despite criticism, mostly by Marxian scholars like Kishimoto who argued that "increased consumption and homogeneity of life style are surface phenomena and the basic principle of the society as a whole is the 'bipolarity' between capitalists and workers." For a good review of this debate, see Ishida (1989: 66).
39. For good overviews of Japan's Health Care System see the following: Steslicke (1989); Campbell (1992); Kobayashi (1994: 197–208); Ikegami and Campbell (1995: 1295–1299); Iglehart (1988: 807–812); Campbell and Ikegami (1998); Levin and Wolfson (1989: 311–323); Norbeck and Lock (1987); Powell and Masahira Anesaki (1990); and Sonoda (1988).
40. Ikegami (1992: 614).
41. *Japan Economic Institute Report,* #12A, March 27 (1987: 5).
42. Tierney and Tierney (1994: 210).
43. Ikegami (1992: 614–618).
44. Ikegami (1992: 615).
45. Ikegami (1992: 615).
46. *Japan Economic Report*, #12A, March 27, 1987: 3. See also Gould (1983: 57–67).
47. *Japan Economic Report*, #12A, March 27, 1987: 2.
48. Ozawa (1985: 476–495); Takayama (1982: 71–91).
49. For discussions of the pensions system, see in particular Noguchi (1983: 43–68); Fujita (1986: 15–27); Hiwatari (1996); and *Outline of Social Insurance in Japan, 1990.*
50. This may be seen as a central reason why a feminization of poverty has not occurred in Japan, in contrast to other cases of welfare state capitalism. For a general comparative assessment on this theme, see Axinn (1990).
51. Mikanagi (1997:15).
52. Takahashi (1997: 127).
53. I have relied on Takahashi's rendering of Miura's thought. See Takahashi (1997: 131–136).
54. Goodman and Peng (1996: 218).

55. Takahashi (1997: 142–154).
56. For an assessment of the family-as-provider argument, see Ogawa and Retherford (1997: 59–94).
57. For analysis of the problems of elderly care in contemporary Japan, see especially Hoshino (1996: 37–55) and Campbell (1998).
58. For overviews of Japan's policies on elderly care, see the following: Palley and Usui (1995: 241–257); Miyajima (1994: 3–23); Emlet (1998: 97–113); Lawrence (1985: 677–697); and Okamoto (1992: 305–403).
59. Emlet (1998: 98).
60. Clark and Ogawa (1996: 449). See also Bass (1996: 57–58).
61. Centers provide work for members by contracting with businesses or individuals in the community (for service such as baby-sitting, cleaning, weeding, tourist assistance, housework, etc.) or with the city for public service work (such as maintaining parks, cleaning public offices, doing calligraphy for award certificates, and generate their own income-producing activities by making souvenirs, etc.). Members are paid dividends (*haibunkin*) according to the hours they have worked. See Roberts (1996: 115–132).
62. For a good discussion of Baba's ideas, see Takahashi (1997: 157–158).
63. See Maruo (1974).
64. Findings from research supported by the Commonwealth Fund reveal that in five countries, namely the United States, Canada, Britain, West Germany, and Japan, older people are more interested in work than their counterparts in the three other nations. Reported in Scott Bass (1996: 65).
65. The close connection between work, self-mastery, and its role in constituting the self in relation to society, by creating a sense of belonging to the workplace an individual shares with coworkers is vividly highlighted in films such as *Takarazuka*, in which one of the main tasks of new entrants is to meticulously clean every nook and corner of the dance hall. See also Ian Buruma's insightful essay (1995: 246–257).
66. Milly (1999).
67. Seeleib-Kaiser (1995: 276). For a general overview of the development of unemployment assistance, see Woodsworth (1977).
68. *New Statesman and Society*, January 21, 1994:10.
69. See also, Seeleib-Kaiser (1995: 269–293).
70. Japan's minorities include over 200 000 Korean immigrants and descendants not given citizenship rights, 300 000 former outcasts or *eta*, and 10 000 *burakumin* or "hamlet people"; the *Ainu*, the original proto-Caucasian inhabitants of Hokkaido, and foreign laborers in Japan also stand in need of social services that the government has been reluctant to provide.
71. For a dense, early history of poverty in Japan, see Chubachi and Taira (1976).
72. Marr (1997: 229–250).
73. Stevens (1997).
74. Goodman and Peng (1996: 164).
75. Goodman and Peng (1996: 218).
76. Takahashi and Hashimoto (1997: 309).
77. The implications of this for re-visiting claims about civil society as associational life may be significant.
78. Goodman and Peng (1996: 212).

79. The Manpower Development Research Corporation of New York studied a similar effort that was made in Minnesota, United States. Its early reports indicate greater levels of improvements in children's behavior and school performance, an increased marriage rate, enhanced marital stability, decreased domestic abuse, and enhanced prospects for self-reliance among recipients.
80. See Kimura (1996: 177–189).
81. Takahashi (1997) notes, "the increased interest in *komyuniti* since the late 1960s seems to indicate that in the term *komyuniti* it is expected to create a new type of community on the basis of non-hierarchical solidarity and spontaneous participation . . . neither the pre-war type of rural communities nor pre-war type of family institutions are available in contemporary Japan" (Takahashi 1997:195).
82. Cited in Takahashi (1997:197).
83. The response to the Great Kobe earthquake of January 1995, which killed over 5000, is instructive in this regard. The claim that volunteerism could never take root in Japanese society due to the selfishness of Japanese youth (in contrast to the selflessness of older generations) was seriously challenged as close to 1 million individuals came forward to participate in the task of reconstruction and support for the 320 000 left homeless by the earthquake.
84. In August 1994, 244 000 companies with a total of 5.75 million employees qualified for this subsidy. See Seeleib-Kaiser (1995: 280).
85. Esping-Andersen (1997: 180–181).

5 Welfare reforms in recessionary Japan

1. There is an interesting counterargument to claims about the self-generated causes of stagflation and deflation in Japan developed in Ikeda (2004). Countering what he dubs 'essentialist' claims based on the national economy as a the unit of analysis, Satoshi Ikeda outlines a world-system perspective based on Immanuel Wallerstein's work: Emphasizing the global economic crisis triggered by global financial deregulation and liberalization, with the United States at its epicenter, Ikeda suggests that the roots of the problems of the Japanese economy are to be found in the 'limits of capitalist development on a world scale' (Ikeda 2004: 382). For a good discussion of theoretical frameworks that offer competing explanations about theHeisei recession, see Yoda's comprehensive essay on millennial Japan (Yoda 2001).
2. Gregory Kasza not only makes a strong case demonstrating the similarity, indeed 'convergence' in pension and health policies between Japan and other OECD countries, but also acknowledges a significant divergence in employment policy. Attributing this divergence to a 'uniquely long period of high speed growth' (Kasza 2006: 112), rather than 'traditional culture' that warrants the label of a 'Japanese-style welfare society,' Kasza insists on the likelihood of convergence in this policy domain as well, as changes introduced in the 1990s shape employment policy in Japan along lines long familiar in other industrializing countries.

3. A provocative alternative explanation is offered by Kwon (2005), who suggests that the Japanization of American and German management practices, specifically a move from mass to lean production systems via industrial restructuring, contributed significantly in altering the global competitive environment for Japanese firms and led directly to worsened economic conditions domestically for Japan.
4. The notion of 'work-ethic' often advanced to capture the sense of diligence, duty, and perfectionism that characterizes all manner of labor in Japan – from the early acculturation of children to sweeping classroom floors, the honing of window-sill-cleaning skills by trainees in the wildly popular *Takarazuka* dance academy, to the quality circles of production teams in Japan's leading export industries. The lack of wide gaps in wages between workers in the tertiary, service, and manufacturing sectors, until very recently, also underscores the absence of distinctions between mental and manual work in Japan.
5. Leonard Schoppa suggests that, paradoxically, it is globalization that has made possible the continuation of what he terms an 'obsolete' life-time employment system, since the declining cost of investment and conducting business overseas has 'thrown Japanese manufacturers a lifeline.'
6. The comparable fertility rates were 2.04 for the United States, 1.89 for France, 1.32 for Germany, and 1.29 for Italy (Masaki 2006). In a recent Cabinet Office Survey, only about 40 percent of Japanese parents said they would like to have more children, the lowest among five countries' survey. The large majority cited financial reasons for their reluctance to have larger families.
7. Itoh suggest that if public corporation costs of purchasing necessary land are added to the highway construction total investment in public utilities, the total amounts to a staggering 50 trillion yen. His view, however, is that this heavy capital injection was not just to restore macro demand, as per conventions of Keynesian demand management, but because a large portion of bad loans were related to real estate, construction, public expenditure outlays were driven by a political intention to help offset losses.
8. Suggestions by the Koizumi government that Japan should open its doors to allow entry to foreign workers in fields not currently open to them (nursing for instance and as indeed has already occurred in the case of IT software programmers from India), and as indeed has already occurred in the case of IT software programmers from India, was met with resistance from the HLW Minister Kawasaki Jiro, who cautioned against allowing more foreign workers into Japan.
9. Newspapers in Japan have only intermittently reported on tragedies that highlight the plight of single mothers. Among these, the death of a baby who died of starvation in Utsonomiya city in Tochigi prefecture in February 2000 was reported by the *Yomiuri Shimbun* and the *Mainichi Shimbun*. For a discussion of these events and their representation in the media, see Sean Curtin (2002).
10. Japan's population, currently 127.7 million, is estimated to shrink to a third in 100 years; children below 14 years of age comprise only 14 percent of the population.
11. Garon observes the contrast between Japan's 'modest program for lower-income Japanese . . . and the expanding programs of universal entitlements'

but does not attribute this distinction to the logic of the institutions of modern Japan's political economy but rather to continuities in the state's management of the problem of poverty and its role in shaping societal mores in relation to it (Garon 2002: 1).

12. See Dore's (1958) influential study of a Tokyo ward in 1951, where he describes the experience of dealing with *minseiin* recounted to him by interviewees as both personally demeaning and dis-empowering, as the details of an individual's personal circumstances were to be fully bared, subject to the judgment of the individual welfare commissioner who dispensed or withheld assistance not as a legally sanctioned right, but as a 'favor' to be acknowledged with an appropriate level of gratitude and indebtedness.
13. During 2003–2005, I visited the Kamagasaki *yoseba* several times on visits that ranged from 7 to 10 days each to speak with officials in the Kamagasaki Job Placement Office, volunteers with the Kamagasaki Night Patrol, and local non-profit groups and people living in the *doya-gai*. This research was conducted under the auspices of an SSRC/JSPS fellowship award for a project on changes in the modalities of citizenship under conditions of globalization in Japan.
14. My own efforts, at the end of a 2-year stay in Tokyo, to locate an organization willing to accept a stroller, toys, and two suitcases filled with sweaters, jackets, shoes, and miscellaneous items of clothing for adults and children for distribution among the 'needy' failed quite abysmally. I recruited the help of the Director of my son's *hoikuen* (day-care center) as well as the teachers at my daughter's elementary school and our combined efforts suggested my best option was to travel at least an hour and a half by train to the Salvation Army's warehouse to drop off the bags. In the end, I donated many items to the *hoikuen* itself and to friends of my children whose mothers were not averse to making use of 'hand-me-downs' in good condition.
15. Gregory Kasza points out that these numbers are based on pure anecdotal estimates and range from 10 to 45 percent. 'If these estimates were far wrong,' he writes, 'the MHLW could easily correct them by publishing authoritative figures. It has not' (Kasza 2006: 99–100).
16. Paradoxically, demographic changes in Japan, specifically a rapidly aging population and a declining birthrate and workforce, have rendered the prospect of a severe labor shortage imminent, despite the slowdown of the economy. With Japanese workers reluctant to undertake low-paid, unskilled work (euphemistically called the 3Ks: *kiken*, dangerous; *kitanai*, dirty; and *kitsui*, stressful), the twin compulsion to loosen restrictive immigration policy while keeping out unskilled laborers poses a real problem for state managers. Due to Japan's citizenship policy, however, which is based on the principle of *jus sanguinis* (citizenship by descent, i.e. birth), large numbers of native-born Korean and Chinese residents of Japan do not qualify for citizenship. In addition to legal migrants, comprised mainly of 'oldcomers' *zainichi* (Japan-born Korean and Chinese), *nikkeijin* (foreign-born, mostly Brazilian–Japanese), trainees from Asia (about 1.2 million in all), illegal workers (visa-overstayers or illegal entrants) are currently estimated to number 232 000 (Ministry of Justice Immigration Bureau, 2001), made up predominantly of East Asians from China, South Korea, Thailand, Philippines, Iran, and

South Asia (Bangladesh and Pakistan), bringing the total foreign population in Japan currently to over 2 million. The surge in the numbers of legal 'documented' *nikkeijin* is largely the result of the Immigration Reform Act of 1990, which allowed second-generation foreign-born Japanese and 'trainees' (mainly from China and South Korea) legal entry as unskilled 'trainees.' The majority of foreign residents in Japan are thus Asian (Koreans 32 percent, Chinese 24 percent, and Philippines 99 percent), with Brazilian *nikkeijin* constituting 14 percent of the population. A small percentage is North American (United States 2.5 percent, Canada 0.6 percent, and United Kingdom 1 percent) (*Shutsunyukoku kanri tokei* – Annual Report of Statistics on Legal Migrants, 2004). Finally, there are the refugees. Japan's rate of acceptance of refugees is notoriously low. Despite having ratified the 1951 Convention on Refugees in 1981, Japan was compelled to amend its Immigration Control and Refugee Recognition Act in 2004, following harsh criticism of its treatment of asylum seekers. Between 1982 and 2004, Japan received 3544 applications for refugee status but granted only 330 requests, accepting a total of 15 refugees in 2004 (in contrast to almost 13 000 by the United Kingdom and 21 000 by the United States). Against recommendations from the UNHCR, the practice of holding asylum seekers in detention centers continues in Japan, harsh publicity from the attempted suicide of several Afghani asylum seekers and changes in the Immigration Control and Refugee Recognition Act in 2004 notwithstanding. Vulnerable to exploitative labor conditions (withholding of wages, confiscation of passports, etc.) 'denizen' rights (by virtue of residency) do not apply to this group, since public services are closed to all but legally registered migrants, leaving them exposed to the demands of full payment of services including high medical fees (400 000 yen for delivery of a new born, for instance). Although the total foreign population in Japan is still comparatively low (2 percent), the concentration of ethnic communities in specific areas has generated a varied response in localities, bringing the 'migrant' more sharply into view in some places as compared to others as the object of racialized otherness.

6 Conclusion

1. Discussions about the vested interests of the United States in privatizing capital-rich sectors of the Japanese economy are now commonplace. Thus speculations about where Japan's postal savings and insurance funds – some $3 trillion and more – would end up included discussions of their potential role in financing the US budget deficit that has resulted from excessive military spending related to the Iraq War coupled with the tax cuts made by a two-term Republican administration in the United States. The Washington Consensus refers to the tacit political agreement between the IMF, the World Bank, and the US Treasury to rationalize global markets.
2. Kaneko Masaru, a leading critic of the government's neoliberal reforms, is often referred to as Japan's Third Way intellectual. His criticisms of the Koizumi administration, especially the reform strategy of Takenaka Heizo, the Minister of State for Economic and Fiscal Policy, have been reported widely in the media.

3. Much of the debate, it bears noting, especially among those focused on endogenous explanations, is essentially a contestation about proximate causation.
4. As indication of this shift Dore (2006) points out that the Stock Analyst's Association in Japan which had a mere 1000 members when it instituted its professional examination in 1981 now boasts 21 000 qualified members. And even more striking is the change in emphasis from the good of the social whole to private profits are indicated by the following examples: in the late 1980s, as Japan entered a period of recovery after a brief recession, wages increased by 19 percent and dividends only by 2 percent. In contrast, in the 2001–2005 recovery period wages have gone down by 6 percent while dividends have increased by 175 percent (Dore 2006).
5. The term *hikikomori* refers to 'those suffering acute social withdrawal' defined by the government as youths who confine themselves to a room in their parents' home for 6 months or more. Estimates of the total number vary from many thousands to over a million. Along with NEETs, *hikikomori* represent a growing social problem among the young that has given rise to a new class of social workers devoted to offering counsel and care.

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