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Family and Community Transformation in Metropolitan
Suburbs and Development of the Weak Expert System
—A Consequence of Policy Management Study for Integration of Social
Resources in Aging Community—

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Abstract

Metropolitan suburbs were developed rapidly in the 1960's and 70's and the first generation having started to live there was born in mainly the 1930's and 40's. They are referred as the "demographic transition generation" with the particular characteristics to have a lot of siblings. They were raised in the norm of stem family system in rural society and the "potential life-time out-migrants" except heirs and their spouses actually migrated to metropolitan region in large number against the background of the rapid economic growth. Those who came to metropolitan region formed nuclear family with two children in the suburb were internalized the norm of parent-child co-residence that could not be realized and the norm of patriarchy that remained in the behavior of the family head having role of importing necessary resources. But the family head that was an employee and commuting to the office became dependent on outside the community for those resources, therefore the relationship between the family and community weakened. Suburban community consisted of two groups of residents, the old one based on rural community and the new comer. The both tended to seek problem solution from expert system of municipality and failed to enhance their ability for solution based on community relationship. It can not be forgotten that full-time housewife in a "labor of love" made the dependence on expert system possible. However, the family of the first generation has been changing since 1990's with leaving home of children. Those at the forefront of the generation are currently entering the latter stage of old age and with the death of spouses are transitioning to living alone. In the situation of dependence on (strong) expert system and inadequate community network and family support, it is critically important to develop the "weak expert system" that empowers persons concerned to solve the problems through mutual independent support.

Key words: Metropolitan suburbs, Community, Norm of family formation, Demographic transition generation, Weak expert system

1. Introduction

This paper discusses the proposition that the reality of “partnership” only leads to the development of “weak expert system.” Until now, most of the debate surrounding “partnership,” in addition to the “new communal,” has taken place within a framework of local autonomy and municipal policy. This is due to the fact that in many municipalities “partnership” is perceived as an important issue that must be dealt with anew and has been implemented in various forms. Since the concepts of “partnership” and “new communal” are a work-in-progress, we have not yet seen a convergence taking place. First, though, a brief overview of this concept is provided. The “Basic guidelines of the Civic Partnership Promotion,” formulated in July 2004 by the city of Yokohama—a representative municipality that has been proactive in the implementation of “partnership”—is summarized below. “The Yokohama municipality is comprised of various constituents such as citizens, civic groups/NPO, corporations and government. In order to realize the full potential of these constituents, freedom and right of self determination is guaranteed where, at the same time, a partnership type society capable of cooperation is adopted. To this end, there is a need for various entities such as government and civic groups to develop the concept of the ‘new communal’ with mutual support through partnership while reviewing each roles.” Based on this principle, Yokohama city, as specific examples of Civic Partnership Promotion, has been providing the Civic Partnership Project Proposals system, setting up Citizens Empowerment Centers at the ward level, and system development of Civic Partnership Promotion Councils. However, these are still not sustainable or stable with everything pretty much being in the trial stage.

In the future, local governments will without doubt play an important role in the promotion of partnerships. However, in order to consider what an effective and sustainable functioning partnership structure is, it is necessary to understand the needs of persons concerned from the context of why a partnership is required and what the nature of the persons concerned that are responsible for that partnership is. Many of the model business themes chosen for the Yokohama City Civic Partnership Business Proposals System include aged persons, child and disabled persons care. However, being based on the existing welfare system, this suggests an inability to respond to required care needs. This means that the response of existing welfare system is inadequate for families who need support and become indirect persons concerned that are primary care givers for persons concerned such as aged persons, child and disabled persons that have a direct need for care.

We think that the essence of partnership is in the support system built around mutual self support between broadly defined parties, and the primary reason for its necessity is the

transformation of the Japanese family system of the post war era that became evident since the 1990s. This transformation came to prominence in metropolitan suburbs as a historical necessity. Suburbs were not in a condition of having attitudes in common to deal with this transformation, which is also a kind of historical necessity. Therefore, the creation of a new relationship became unavoidable with municipalities and citizens making provisions for a “partnership” framework. In addition to Yokohama, municipalities that have been proactive in incorporating “partnership” are Yamato City (Kanagawa Prefecture), Mitaka City (Tokyo Metropolitan), and Tama City (Tokyo Metropolitan)¹. It is no small coincidence that this list includes the municipalities of major metropolitan suburbs.

2. Transformation of the family system in Japan

2.1 Demographic transition generation and family of orientation

Born in the 1930’s and 40’s, the first generation to form metropolitan suburbs are an important witness to the family system transformation in Japan. They are referred to as the “demographic transition generation,” and from a demographic perspective have distinctive characteristics which are closely related to the transformation of the family system. Demographic transition and the family of orientation² of the generation born during this period are considered next.

During the modernization process of society, “demographic transition” refers to the transition from a high fertility and high mortality to a low fertility and low mortality. Since mortality rate decrease precedes fertility rate decrease, the intermediate stage including high fertility and low mortality. The decrease of mortality rate means the decrease of infant mortality rate. Therefore, the generation of “high fertility and low mortality” results in large numbers of children born growing up. In Japan, it is commonly accepted among demographers that the period between 1925 and 1950 was a period of high fertility and low mortality, with the particular characteristic of adults born of the “demographic transition generation”³ during this period having large numbers of siblings. According to the 3rd Survey on Household Changes by the National Institute of Population and Social Security Research, the average number of living siblings of each 5 years cohort of the early and late 1930’s, early and late 1940’s and early and late 1950’s was 4.6, 4.6, 4.2, 3.8, 3.3, and 2.9

1) Refer to Tokyo Metropolitan University (2006), Hayashi (2005), etc.

2) Family from the perspective of the individual is referred to as family of orientation when a child, and family of procreation when a parent.

3) Known as the “high fertility and low mortality generation” or the “transition generation.” The term “demographic transition generation,” first used in the 1996 Annual Report on Health and Welfare, was intended to help those other than professionals appreciate the degree to which the in-progress “demographic transition” generation influenced society. This author, who was at time collaborating with that task force, suggested this term and has continued using it. Among demographic research, “high fertility and low mortality generation” is generally used.

siblings respectively confirming that people born in the 1930's and 40's had large numbers of siblings.⁴

Although those born in the late 1940's were born after the war, families of orientation of those born in the 1930's and 40's have the commonality of stem family system formed prior to the war. The stem family system is supported by the substantive underpinnings of the discretion of the household head as relates to change of household members or address according to family registration law, and the concentration of property rights to the household head according to primogeniture of civic law. Teizo Toda, considered the father of Japanese family sociology, articulated exactly how families are formed within a society of stem family systems.

Based on the first census in 1920, Toda showed that 55.3% of the total number of households was already nuclear families (husband-wife only households and parent-child households). Although through the census of 1955 similar aggregations were never provided, it can readily be seen that compared to the maximum value for nuclear families of 63.9% in 1975, the level in 1920 was high. On the other hand, although Toda showed in the 1920 census that the percentage of households having more than three generations of direct descendants was only 29.1%, it is evident from demographic models leading to current family demography that the highest possible value for households having more than three generations of direct descendants is 39.5%. Thus, the actual formation level of households having more than three generations of direct descendants in the 1920 census was up to 74% (Toda, 1937). People in a position being able to form stem families did so actually. In other words, the prewar stem family system was tied to the normative consciousness.

Although in this sense the norm of stem family system was predominant in 1920 in Japan, due to demographic factors such as the short life span of parents and large number of children, many nuclear family households existed at the same time. Stem families are, from the perspective of parents, co-residing with a single married child of a family of procreation. When there are many children, excluding the eldest son and son's spouse, they are forced to create nuclear families. And, when there is co-residing, the stem family becomes a nuclear family at the death of parents. Teizo Toda's research is groundbreaking in that it demonstrates that the relationship between family system and family form in society is not solely defined by system and norm, but is also greatly influenced by demographic factors.

This, conversely, suggests that the norm of family formation can not be determined solely by family form. The situation in 1920 identified by Toda — that is, although stem

4) Format for the "Survey on Household Changes" was revamped with the 3rd edition, and that format continued through 2005. Although the number of sibling per generation was included from the 3rd edition, the reason that the 3rd, and not the 5th, edition is employed is because values, that to the extent possible eliminate the decrease in the number of siblings as a result of aging, are used.

families were not necessarily the common family form, the norm of stem families were widespread— basically continued through the 1930's and 40's. Revisiting to the original issue of this section, the families of orientation for the generation born in the 1930's and 40's were not necessarily all stem families, but families where the norm of stem family system was pervasive.

2.2 Pre-war families and communities

The core of the parental generation of those born in the 1930's and 40's was the 1900's and 10's. In 1950 they were 30-50's and their children were under 20 years old. According to the census of 1950, the industry of occupation for 25-59 year old males, including the parental generation, is 54% primary industry in rural districts with agriculture accounting for 48% of this figure⁵, or approximately half of males. Approximately half of cohorts born in rural areas in the 1930's and 40's were raised in a rural community as a member of a farming household.

Eitaro Suzuki, considered the father of rural sociology in Japan, researched the rural communities that they grew up in the 1930's and wrote "Principle of Rural Sociology in Japan" in 1940. Suzuki focused on the group integration of rural family and described as "family of cumulative community." Rural families have strong characteristics of economic groups from the viewpoints of production, consumption and household work and at the same time have characteristics of functional groups with beliefs, entertainment, education, and care for the old, young and infirm etc. Excluding those groups formed after the Meiji era, Suzuki pointed out that families are the basic unit of groups in rural communities. The family is the unit for all shares of common land, community work, and neighborhood groups, etc. Even in "Yui," a structure comprised of individual member units, it is a system of labor reciprocation within the partnership between family and family. The family head representing the family played the role of connecting rural communities and family as the "actual leader of individual groups that accumulate in family."

The family and local community that people born in the 1930's and 40's experienced in their childhood was the family management entity inclusive of function of life support based on production relationships, and the rural community as the village which shares water facilities, common land, and collaborative production base/relationships, along with the sharing of cultural mechanisms that supported these. Family ties and rural community ties are deeply interrelated. Although villages were closely knit, community management was the realm of patriarch with limited roles for women and children. It is assumed that

5) Aggregation by all cities and rural districts. 1950 was before the Town and Village Merger Acceleration Law with figures between cities and rural districts being roughly equal. This was 31.2 million for cities and 52.0 million for rural districts out of a total population of 83.2 million

these types of family and rural community ties existed even with small scale city traders and manufacturers. In other words, family based on production relationships inclusive of functions of life support and the neighborhood community based on production and trading relationships are deeply interrelated in a kind of “the world of downtown livelihood.” It is thought that many in the generation born in the 1930’s and 40’s, being in a society of few salaried workers, grew up in family and neighborhood communities with strong ties even when raised in cities.

The stem family system is a system where the family head assumes leadership of the family and, at the same time, has the role of importing production and life resources that do not exist within the family. In other words, it is a system that includes a patriarchal system. In prewar rural societies, since much of these production and life resources existed in the village, it could be said that the family head functioned as the link between the family and rural communities.

2.3 The family of procreation and the norm of family system for demographic transition generations

The generation born in the 1930’s and 40’s started forming families of procreation round the mid 1950’s. This is the first generation where marriage was consensual based on the new constitution put in place, and the first generation that extensively formed small nuclear families similar to advanced European and American states. For this reason, the families that they formed were seen as the birth of the “new family” embodied in post war democracy. Similar to Europe and America, the progression of the trend towards nuclear families was affirmed as diffusion of the universal family phenomenon.⁶ However, as to whether the increase of the number and the proportion of small nuclear families with average 2 children is the result of the transition from the stem family system to conjugal family system⁷ or not is not necessarily agreed upon even among family sociologist.

The prominent academic Kiyomi Morioka takes the position that the increase in nuclear families/conjugal families is a results of the spread of the conjugal family system, and that the post war family fluctuation is the transition or transformation from stem family system to conjugal family system.⁸ However, the citation that this transformation is not a

6) Although the form of the “nuclear family” defined by Murdock exists independently, “conjugal family” is the correct term of reference. Here convention is followed employing “nuclear family.” Murdock advanced the term “nuclear family” in 1949 which became part of the lexicon in Japan in 1958 (Morioka, 1993). This provided impeccable timing to explain the family change in post war Japan (Ochiai, 2004).

7) The conjugal family system is one generational being formed with the marriage of husband and wife, and lapses with their deaths. In comparison, the stem family system is a family system of generational succession through unigeniture. Families that are part of the conjugal family system are referred to as conjugal families, and families that are part of the stem family system are referred to as stem families.

8) Although this is consistent with Morioka, there is a degree of variation depending on when the paper was written.

uniform mutation of the various attributes of the stem family system to those of the conjugal family system should not be forgotten.

Morioka provides the reasons for this transformation as 1) Japan's economic development, 2) the effects of amendments to the civil code and, 3) development of social security. However, he has been becoming to emphasize reason 3 over 2 above.

A well developed social security system affects family function, and by extension, is certainly an important variable that changes family form. Recalling that the institutional design of the Nursing Care Insurance Law and Self-Sufficiency Law of recent years is headed towards a socialization of solution, and that the interrelation between social system and family system is becoming increasingly important, it is natural that Morioka was inclined to place importance on the social welfare system. At the same time, Morioka noted that with respect to the weakening of the norm of stem family system, "the simple dissolution of the one time norm of paternal inheritance lines without the creation of a new norm is, in truth, nothing short of formation of relationships among the member of family," and holds that a replacement for the norm of stem family system never developed (Morioka, 1993).

Emiko Ochiai takes a different position to Morioka in the "21 Century Family", 3rd Edition (2004), a work that has become something of a new textbook for family sociology. That is to say, Ochiai unequivocally states that the increase of the nuclear family ratio is a result of demographic condition, and that there was no decisive change in the stem family systemic norm of household formation. The demographic condition is that since the demographic transition generation had many siblings, even considering that the eldest son and his spouse co-resided with parents, the other siblings inevitably ended up with nuclear families when forming families of procreation. Ochiai referred to them as "nuclear families that dream of large families." Ochiai focused on the fact that "Family of 11," a mid 1960's drama portraying a large family was hugely popular, that is, the combination of the natures of the old family system and post war democratic family created the ideal image of family, and noted "the nuclear family which dreams of large family" therein. Further, Ochiai based her arguments on pioneering works by demographic researchers related to family formation of the demographic transition generation. These include works by Tatsuya Ito, works on the parent-child co-residence model by Kiyoshi Hiroshima (1983, 1984, and 1993), and more recently works by Akihito Kato (2005).

After the war, the debate surrounding the norm of family system has developed centered on the issue of "transition from the stem family system to conjugal family system" raised by Kiyumi Morioka. Morioka was careful to avoid debating this family system transformation from a philosophical standpoint preferring to measure the measurable. That is, he debated the issue from the perspective of the ratio of nuclear family households within

relatives households. Ochiai, critical of Morioka's transformation theory, took the view that a transformation from the stem family system had not occurred, but shared the position of debating the issue from the perspective of measuring the measurable basically. This can be understood as an implicit agreement to avoid pointless ideological controversy within family sociology research, and to accelerate the development of a robust academic field which, in and of itself, should be commended. However, based on the facts that the measurement, debated as the focal point, was related to the norm of parent-child co-residence, it was not adequate in discussing the norm of stem family system in its entirety, and, in addition, that the post demographic transition generation born around the 1960's and 70's had entered the family of procreation formation stage, I believe that it is necessary to revise discussion of the framework as relates to the norm of family formation.

As explained in the next section, the position of this author is, from the perspective of measurable measurements that the norm of stem family system has consistently weakened from the demographic transition generation through the next generation. However, it is not recognized that the conjugal family system has strengthened exactly to the extent of this weakening. Certainly, many of the stem family system substantive underpinnings that were lost, such as with the revision of the pre-war Family Registration law and Civic Law that supported the stem family system, the family management entity which regressed greatly, and the framework for the protection of old, young and infirm which was the responsibility of family and was resolved by the social security system, were replaced with the (current) social system. However, similar to both Ochiai and Morioka, I do not support the idea of whether the conjugal family built over this was supported by the shared value and internalized normative consciousness of creating a "Family Limited to a Single Generation" (Morioka, 2003) — in other words, the issue of whether the norm of the conjugal family system was formed or not.

2.4 Norm of stem family system, parent-child co-residence and patriarchalism

As already stated, this author recognizes the undisputable fact that household formation by the demographic transition generation resulted in the increase of nuclear families. However, this does not imply agreement of the position that there was "no decisive change in the stem family systemic norm of household formation."

The hypothesis of potential life-time out-migrants from Tetsuya Ito that Ochiai relies is briefly introduced. Ito (1984), based on the assumption that "as long as a society's basic prerequisite is society support of family system ("IE") and population reproduction," postulated that it is possible to classify children as 1) heirs, 2) spouses of heirs, and 3) potential life-time out-migrants, hypothesized that the majority of migrants from non-

metropolitan to metropolitan regions are potential life-time out-migrants, and showed that the migration rate in the 1960's rose as the demographic transition generation which had a large number of siblings entered a migrating age and drop in the 1970's.

Ito, assuming the hypothesis that potential life-time out-migrants disappeared with the end of the demographic transition and that demographic migration from non-metropolitan to metropolitan regions stabilized is correct, indicated that "there is no change in the fact that Japanese society's basic prerequisite is inheritance of family system ("IE") and population reproduction." That is, Ito concluded that the norm of stem family system was supported even in the 1980's.

However, the 1980's is the period when cohorts of the early 1950's were in their late 20's. With respect to the generation following cohorts of the late 1950's when the demographic transition was completed, Ito's research does not clarify whether the migration for those older than the late 20's is in equilibrium or not.

In order to clarify this point, we developed a measurement capable of accurately measuring the relationship between parental and filial generations, and employing data through 2005 analyzed whether there was a population outmigration that exceeded potential heirs (heirs and their spouses) on prefecture basis (Maruyama & Oe, 2008).

The results indicated that in the 30-34 age group, the resident population for cohorts of the early 1950's in all the 37 prefectures categorized into non-metropolitan regions was greater than potential heirs. However, for cohorts of the late 1950's, potential heirs could not be identified in 17 prefectures, and found that for cohorts of the late 1960's this number increased to 24 prefectures. In Ito's view, the migration from non- to metropolitan region that was in "equilibrium after 1970" later surpassed potential life-time out-migrants and included a certain level of heirs. Further, it was clear that this trend became more prominent with new cohorts. In other words, it could be said that the premise Ito employs for no change in the norm of stem family system does not stand up to scrutiny.

Research by Hiroshima (1984), which is referenced by Ochiai, shows that the co-residency rate can be decomposed into potential co-residency rates and actual co-residency rates, and is groundbreaking for showing that it is possible to understand co-residency selection behavior - the strength of the norm of stem family system - from the actual co-residency rate.⁹ Inheriting methods employed by Teizo Toda to analyze the relationship between actual formation of the stem family and the norm of stem family system, the research builds up an accurate demographic model. As is also acknowledged by Ochiai, one of the important results of this research is the clear articulation of the increasing trend of married children selecting not to co-residing with parents. However, following

9) The co-residence probability rate from the perspective of children increases with the lifespan of parents increases and with the decrease in number of siblings.

Hiroshima's assertion that co-residence after parents becoming old is a trend that is becoming increasingly difficult to ignore¹⁰, and based on Akihiko Kato's analysis (2005)¹¹ of National Family Survey Data showing that "regardless of the cohort the co-residence rate with parents converged at approximate 30% about 15 years after marriage," Ochiai expressed the view that "although the norm of stem family system is supported, a pattern of temporary separation after marriage developed"¹²

A different reality, however, surfaces from the census. Using the Hiroshima model, let us analyze the trend of co-residence after parents becoming old from the perspective of married children. The age group 10-15 years after marriage is set to the 35-39 bracket. Hiroshima (1993) previously calculated the actual co-residency rate for cohorts of the late 1930's through the early 1950's, that is the 4 cohorts from the middle of the demographic transition through to just about the end period. Values of 63.6%, 53.9%, 50.3%, and 43.2% indicate that even within the demographic transition generation, co-residency selection behavior was consistently decreasing. In addition, calculating the same values for the 3 cohorts of the late 1950's through the late 1960's produces 33.3%, 22.9%, and 16.4% showing a further continued decrease.¹³

From the above, the co-residence selection behavior of married children in their late 30's after 15 years of marriage, which includes those in the middle of the demographic transition, decreases gradually. Thus, it can be concluded that the norm of stem family system has weakened. Further, according analysis of data through the 2000 census by Shirai (2006), within every 5 year age bracket above 65, the co-residence rate with children by spouse, divorced and widowed regardless of sex was similar to new cohorts consistently low. Even from the perspective of parents, the co-residence rate was decreasing demonstrably.

From the above, and even including co-residence after parents becoming old, the phrase "Due to demographic factors, although people born in the 1930's and 40's formed nuclear families, the norm of stem family system was sustained" does not hold water; it is appropriate to view the norm of stem family system from the perspective of the norm of

10) Hiroshima's assertion, assigned a wide ranging future probability, was not definitive. Specifically, estimations were taken on 3 cases. Although in high-ranking cases co-residence after parents becoming old produced quite high results, in reality the rate in approximately half of the high-ranking cases were lower than the assumed low ranking cases.

11) The effective sample number for a survey implemented in 1998 by the Japan Society of Family Sociology was slightly less than 7,000.

12) Kato (2005) notes his wife, a cohort born in the 1960's, in the phrase "live separately right after marriage, but the co-residence rate increases 10 years after marriage." In published works Ochiai clearly states that the generation born after the 1950's following the demographic transition is in the norm of stem family system. Instead, "bilaterality" is suggested which creates somewhat of a contradiction.

13) The 35-39 co-residence rate for late 1930's to early 1950's cohorts exhibits either a flat or slightly increasing trend along the way. Despite this, the reason the actual co-residence rate declined is because the possible co-residency rate increased with new cohorts. This increase occurred after 1975 corresponding to the period when the decreasing death rate contributed greatly to increase in life expectancy at birth. In other words, the reason that the co-residence rate did not decline despite an increasing trend of children not choosing co-residency is because parents were living longer.

household formation (norm of parent-child co-residence) as having weakened to the extent of new cohorts.

2.5 Summary

A society with a pervasive stem family system is a society that has systemic and substantive underpinnings, and is a society where the normative consciousness - those in a position capable of forming stem families being proactive - is internalized in people.

In addition, the norm of stem family system includes not only the norm of parent-child co-residence of married children living with parents, but also the norm of patriarchalism where the household head leads the family and has the role of importing necessary resources. In Pre-war rural communities, since many societal resources were dependent of the community, the household head existed as a bridge between community and family.

After the war, the substantive underpinnings of the stem family system were lost, and the substantive underpinnings of the conjugal family system were created. Further, the conjugal (nuclear) family increased dramatically in the 1960's and 70's. Morioka took this as a transition from the stem family system to conjugal family system. For her part, Ochiai takes the position that the increase in nuclear families was the result of the demographic transition generation having a large number of siblings, that the norm of stem family system continues to exist in the form of nuclear families as "nuclear families that dream of large families," and that there was no decisive change in the stem family systemic norm of household formation.

Analyzing the stem family from various angles, the trend in co-residence of the number of people capable of co-residing, including co-residence after parents becoming old, is undoubtedly decreasing, and it is obvious that the norm of parent-child co-residence in recent generations has weakened. Thus, the position of this author is similar to that of Morioka. Further, the position of this author is the same as Morioka and Ochiai who both take the position that the post war nuclear family never developed a new norm of family formation. This point is considered below. That is, the generation born in the 1930's and 40's was raised in the norm of stem family system, and internalized that norm. The norm of stem family system is inclusive of the norms of parent-child co-residence and patriarchalism. The norm of parent-child co-residence has weakened affected by the change of lifestyle that accompanies urbanization, but the norm of patriarchalism has continued to exist from the sense of the family head having the role of importing necessary resources for the family. However, when the family head became dependent on importing societal resources from outside the community, the relationship between the family and community weakened.

3. Metropolitan suburban communities and families of the demographic transition generation

3.1 Family formation of first metropolitan suburban generation

First, the characteristics of the generation born in the 1930's and 40's who constitute the first metropolitan suburban generation, will be considered. The Tokyo region will be focused on in explaining actual conditions in metropolis.

The Tokyo region population in 1950 was 13.05 million. 20 years later in 1970 the population had increased 11.06 million to 24.11 million representing a rather large increase of about 15% every 5 years. People that migrated to the region during this period began residing in metropolitan suburbs in the 1970's. In-migrant into the Tokyo region was, regardless of the cohort, concentrated around early teens to early 20's. In the 20 years from 1950 through 1970, 5 year cohorts from early teens through early 20's constitute 4 groups of cohort (early and late 1930's, and early and late 1940's).

The population of these 4 cohorts in the Tokyo region in 1950 was 5.7 million, and in 1970 was 9.97 million. Discounting deaths, there was in a 20 year period net in-migrant of 4.27 million representing 38.6% of the total Tokyo region population increase of 11.06 million during this period. In addition, subtracting 4.81 million for the natural increase of the Tokyo region for this period from the total population increase produces a social increase of 6.25 million people. The net in-migrant of 4.27 million of the 4 cohorts in reality represents 68% indicating the large numbers in which young people born in the 1930's and 40's migrated to the Tokyo region.

They married in the metropolitan area, formed their own families of procreation, and resided in suburbs. These families were nuclear families that did not live with their parents (could not co-reside), and had an average of 2 children. The children were born mainly in the 1960's and 70's, and since the demographic transition had ended, became the "low fertility and low mortality" generation. Cohorts of the 1930's and 40's were raised in large sibling families of orientation in the norm of stem family system, and as previously stated, formed families of procreation with few children. This family formation is particular for the fact that it simultaneously imparts a communal contrast of the family of orientation experience in rural environments and family of procreation experience in metropolitan suburbs.

This is based on the following 2 factors: the accomplishment in a short period of the Japanese demographic transition in a single generation that accompanied the sharp birth rate decrease, and the rapid progression of urbanization. Incidentally, the fact that this generation is entering old age is the greatest factor providing impetus for the aging of society

in Japan. From 1995 through 2015 when they reach 65, the over 65 population in the whole country will increase from 18.26 million to 33.78 million increasing 15.52 million, or 1.85 times. In the Tokyo region this is a 2.31 fold increase of 4.95 million (3.78 to 8.73 million), which is by far the highest in the country.¹⁴ The rapid demographic transition and concentration in metropolis has brought about the rapid aging of society in metropolis.

Moreover, family change is progressing in the next generation. It is well known that continuing decline of the total fertility rate, is aggravated by the increase in percentage of unmarried people. Looking at the percentage of unmarried women 25-29 years old by generation, we see a gradual increase to 24% for women born in the early 1950's. However, the percentage is 31% for those born in the late 1950's, 40% for those born in the early 1960's, 48% for those born in the late 1960's, 54% for those born in the early 1970's, and 54% for those born in the late 1970's. The rapid increase started with cohorts of the early 1960's, and continues today. This was the advent of "Single with no dreams of a nuclear family." The percentage of unmarried women 25-29 years old born in the late 1970's is 64.2% in the Tokyo region and 70.1% in the Tokyo metropolitan, which is far greater than the national average. As can be seen, the trend away from forming families of procreation is particularly strong.

This suggests that they have not internalized the conjugal family system of creating nuclear families, through the agreement of both sexes to become husband and wife. According to the "Japanese National Fertility Survey" carried out by the National Institute of Population and Social Security Research in 2005, there is an increasing trend indicating an attitude of friction to male-female role assignments. Namely, looking at responses from women, the percentage who agreed to the question "after marriage, men should work, and women should stay at home taking care of the household" decreased greatly from 49.7% in the 1992 survey to 28.7% in the 2005 survey; compared to this, the percentage who agreed to the question "it is preferable that mothers do not work staying at home while children are young" decreased relatively little from 87.2% in the 1992 survey to 77.8% in the 2005 survey.

Although in families in metropolitan suburbs the norm of parent-child co-residence has weakened, the norm of patriarchalism inherited by the demographic transition generation and its gender role assignment can be thought of as casting a shadow on family formation of the next generation. Conversely, from a situation of internalization of the norm of gender role assignment in the next generation, it is possible to determine the strength of the norm of patriarchalism of the demographic transition generation.

14) According to "Population Projections for Japan (December 2006 monthly estimates)" and "Population Projections for Japan by Prefecture (May 2007 monthly estimates)" by the National Institute of Population and Social Security Research.

3.2 Two-tier communities in metropolitan suburbs

The discussion in this paper is developed based on the conceptual framework of Kiyoshi Morioka (1993) which postulates that “community” is “a social goal concept which indicates that an optimal processing system of common problems in local society is formed, and through this resident self-governance functions optimally.” Paraphrasing this, “community is a group of resident in a given area, regardless of whether explicit or implicit, aiming at the formation of an optimal processing system for common problems.”

Metropolitan suburbs constitute many regions that developed rapidly in the 1960's and 70's. Prior to development, these regions were almost all rural settlement and land being used as farmland and common forests. Farmers did not dispose of their land and abandon farming altogether. They sold off parcels as needed and continued on the remainder, either actually or nominally, farming. The actions of farmers, which were due in some part to post war agricultural land reform creating small scale independent farmers, led to urban sprawl beyond planned development areas. Essentially, suburban regions retained the characteristics of rural communities with new resident communities being developed over that.

In the old resident community of the former, essentially, the goal was recognition and resolution of “common problems” based on the interests of landowners and traditional social relationships. Since management of traditional community organizations such as neighborhood associations and residents' associations was primarily the responsibility of male household heads among old resident communities, the problem processing system involved lobbying of municipalities through consensual decision making in these associations and local lawmakers. On the other hand, with new resident communities, the goal was recognition and resolution of “common problems” centered on the protection of residential environment and development of insufficient physical and social common capital. New residents rarely participated in neighborhood associations or residents' associations and tended to seek solutions to problems arising directly from municipalities. Although the act of seeking problem resolution from municipalities is common to both, “common problems” that occurred in these two-tier communities were not necessary the same. Occasionally there were instances of conflict arising between new resident communities wanting to protect the residential environment and old resident communities wanting further development. Therein existed the seeds that furthered reliance on municipalities.

Michihiro Okuda (1993), who provided traction for the development of the studies on community in Japan based on the high growth period, organized the characteristics of the community theory for the period when metropolitan suburbs were formed as following. The first point was, for the newly emerged suburban lifestyle resulting from the large influx of new resident tier to metropolitan suburbs and its establishment starting in the

late 1950's, clarification of tasks through livelihood structure, consciousness and attitude, groups and organizations and other means while being stimulated by urban research in America. The second point was, for the "demanding type" and "preventing type" resident movement based on environmental destruction, and insufficient means in daily life of new residents brought on by urban sprawl of the mid to late 1960's, the discovery of novelty in controversial points and subjects. Further more, the demanding type resident movement is a movement seeking an increase in communal facilities and an enhancement of educational and welfare facilities, and the preventing type movement is one opposed to development that has the potential to negatively impact residential environment with pollution amongst others.

The studies on urban community, which intensified in the 1960's, was in any case primarily concerned with the new community. Okuda notes the importance of the resident movements. With the demanding type, the movement demanding improvement of facilities is rooted in a sense of entitlement of residents, and possesses the characteristics of being a direct movement that differs from the heretofore negotiating process with public authority. "Progressive municipalities" that proactively accepted these developed policy assumptions based on the civil minimum (derived from the phrase "national minimum" and refers to municipalities) of demands. Okuda concluded that, with the preventing type, the "publicness" of the act of development of public authority and private corporation became a controversial point, and rather than ideology, the salient feature was the objection rooted in community life. Certainly, it was possible for suburban municipalities formed based on old resident communities, through the experience of demanding and preventing type movements, to evolve by aligning policy framework with the demands of the times. On the other hand, however, the new resident community has, in becoming virtually dependent on the expert processing system of municipalities for common problem resolution, set a direction opposite to that which would, based on neighborhood relationships, enhance their problem resolution abilities.

3.3 Norm of patriarchy and the dependence of nuclear family life on the expert system assisted by housewife

The reason nuclear families that settled in metropolitan suburbs did not attempt to develop relationships in the community is intrinsic in the nuclear family itself. According to Ochiai (2004), the salient features of the modern family derived from research into the social history of families can be summarized into the 8 points that follow: 1) separation of family domain and public domain, 2) strong emotional relationship between family members, 3) child-centeredness, 4) male public domain female family domain division of

labor; gender role assignment, 5) strengthening of family collectivity, 6) withdrawal from social relationship and establishment of privacy, 7) elimination of non-relatives of household member and , 8) nuclear family. This applies exactly to the post war Japanese nuclear families in metropolitan suburbs – a salaried worker-husband, full-time housewife, and 2 children. In addition, it is well known that these salient features are also reflected in room layout in suburban houses. That is 1) dedicated dwelling house, 2) living and dining room, 3) Children’s room (study room), 4) kitchen, and 5) master bedroom, being symbolic of the bond between husband and wife which is the reason for the group being. Three bedrooms are ideal for a 4 person family, and combining the elements above gives for a 3LDK. There is no number 7, which is a drawing room for receiving visitors, or number 8, which is space for non-parental family.

The fact that housing in metropolitan suburbs was a vessel for the private domain of nuclear family life articulates that the activities which didn't fit be consigned to social structures. A lot of activities perceived as social are dependant on expert systems. For example, child education is established through an expert system based on schools (campuses are provided for with tax money), teachers (receive professional training, have diplomas, and are assigned by an education board), and is supported by laws such as the Basic Education Law, etc. According to Giddens (1993), expert systems are “systems of technical accomplishment or professional expertise that organize large areas of the material and social environment in which we live today,” and in “modernity,” where a separation of time and space relationship is established, “trust” which stabilizes relationships is attributed.

In the families of new residents that migrated from rural areas to metropolitan suburbs, the decision as to the how to form conjugation in the community was, within the norm of patriarchalism, entrusted to the fathers who plays the role of providing social resources.

Originally, the relationship between household head and community was one based on a production relationship. Obviously, families that migrated to metropolitan suburbs did not have a production relationship in the community, and as a result relations with the residential area, especially old resident communities, were diluted.

Although slightly vulgar in nature, the expression that human relationships in the rural community are formed in the father’s production workplace is appropriate. When the household head does not have relationships in the community, mother and children relationships within the community are also weak. However, since resident social strata and age bracket in planned development housing zones was comparatively uniform, although there were many cases where relationships amongst mothers and children themselves were robust, one can think of this as being limited in the all metropolitan suburbs. Children went

to expert systems that are schools, and from the fact that in economically well-off families children went to private schools, this is clearly evident.

Expert systems are, apart from management by administration systems, also managed through the market principle. Post war Japan saw a rapid expansion and spread of market based expert systems. New technology based on scientific knowledge was rapidly developed which lead to the mass production of consumer durable goods with automobiles at the top of the list. Beneficiaries of this were the nuclear families of metropolitan suburbs. With the advent of new electrical appliances such as refrigerator-freezers, various cookware, washing machines and vacuum cleaners, housewives were able to reduce the time appropriated for the role of housework “experts.” The time gained was used in the pursuit of part-time employment, PTA activities, and activities of hobby groups, etc. However, it is conceivable that the majority of this time was employed in the pursuit of activities related to family member well-being that could not be entrusted to expert systems; that is, activities that are not generally provided by market services and public services, and activities that bridged expert systems. Contrarily, it could be said that without the existence of housewives in the 1960-70’s expert systems would not have function adequately.

Expert systems provide designation with functions for the persons concerned that use their functions. For example, for schools there “students” or “pupils”, and for hospitals there are “patients.” That there are designations for these expert systems indicate that the provision of each of these functions is for a part of personality. On the other hand, family is a group consisting of the entire personality of family members with the housewife engaged in a “labor of love (Ueno, 1994)” at its center. Even more fundamental is “food,” that is preparing home-cooked meals for loved ones (husband and children), and washing and providing clean clothes to wear. Housewives doing this kind of work probably did not think of it as a job bridging family members and expert systems. However, for example, children going to distant private schools would not have been able to have a successful school career without mothers doing housework such as preparing lunch boxes, cleaning gym clothes and in certain cases picking them up and dropping them off at stations (Arai et al., 1996).

Internalizing the norm of patriarchalism and dependent on husbands for a relationship to society, housewives, in the limited domain that is the house, played the role of providing a “bridge” where family members could not be entrusted to expert systems while engaging family members with “full personality.” This is an activity that is socially difficult to evaluate, and is a role that is lost as children grow and become independent. This provided the backdrop for the identify crisis of wives as depicted in “Wives’ Autumn of Awareness” (Saito 1982).

3.4 Summary

The generation born in the 1930's and 40's, centered around potential life-time out-migrants, migrated in large numbers to metropolitan regions, married and formed their own families of procreation, and moved to suburbs. These families were "nuclear families" not co-residing with parents, and had on average 2 children born in the 1960's and 70's. These children provided traction to the tendency to marry later in life and have fewer children, and became "single with no dreams of a nuclear family." Although the norm of parent-child co-residence weakened in metropolitan suburban families, the generation born in the 1930's and 40's that inherited the norm of patriarchalism and corresponding gender role assignment cast a shadow on the family formation of the next generation.

Metropolitan suburbs constitute many communities that developed rapidly in the 1960's and 70's. Prior to development these areas were mostly rural areas, and suburban regions retained the characteristics of rural communities with urban housing projects and new resident communities being developed over that. In the old resident community of the former, essentially, the goal was recognition and resolution of "common problems" based on the interests of landowners and traditional social relationships. On the other hand, with new resident communities, the goal was recognition and resolution of "common problems" centered on the protection of residential environment and development of insufficient physical and social common capital. Seeking problem resolution from municipalities is common to both, and failed to enhance their problem resolution abilities based on neighborhood relationships.

This is the two sided relationship with the fact that expert systems have been developed in government and the market. Nuclear families in metropolitan suburbs were able to rely on expert systems for necessary social resources without the intermediation of the community. However, it can not be forgotten that in order for expert systems to function seamlessly, the domain that persons concerned receiving these services had to themselves cover were done so by full-time housewives in a "labor of love."

4. Development of the weak expert system

4.1 Necessity of the weak expert system in context

The 1990's saw a turning point in the Japanese family system. The 1990's was a period when those born in the 1930's and 40's went from their 40-60's to their 50-70's, and their children born in the 1960's and 70's went from their 10-30's to their 20-40's. For those people born in the 1930's and 40's it was the period where they entered old age, and the period when their children were contemplating leaving home and becoming independent.

Husbands were, with retirement, relieved of the role of providing social resources for the family, and set about figuring out how to spend their retirement. On the other hand, with the independence of their children, wives were relieved of their role of supplementing services received through expert systems. It is thought that through expanding relationships with acquaintances met via PTA activities, hobby activities, volunteer activities and the like, the necessity of obtaining social resources through husbands decreased. As a result, the norm of patriarchalism in the nuclear family of postwar metropolitan suburbs essentially lost its influence. For example, elderly couples do not resolve various problems associated with old age just between themselves which created an opportunity to open up to the outside. However, there are no structures in place in the community to adequately respond to this situation.

Those at the forefront of the generation born in the 1930's and 40's are currently entering the latter stage of old age and with the death of spouses are transitioning to living alone. It is thought that, with the development of situations such as restriction of movement from chronic diseases particular to old age, cooking hypobulia and nutritional bias, and difficulty of shopping and going out, they experience an increased sense of loneliness and insecurity in life. Expert systems responding to these problems have been erected over a systemic structure of medical systems, nursing care systems, and welfare systems. Further, services provided by the market augment part of this system, as do peripheral services. However, as we have already seen, provisions of services by expert systems are augmented by a "labor of love" from within the family. This is the personality of the expert system that allows for adequate provision for persons concerned. Elderly couple and elderly single households are short of resources to engage in a "labor of love" in their households. In other words, there is no response for cases where the family, which has provided primary care to parties that have a direct need for old age care, becomes the indirect party needing support, or where there is not indirect party. This is not only limited to the aged, but also is applicable to cases involving parental care and the disabled.

As describe above, after 30 years in metropolitan suburbs families have experienced, or are about to experience, the retirement of husbands, independence and moving out of children, and formation of wives' supportive networks in the community. In addition, against a backdrop of the limitation of problem resolution within the family and the weakening of the norm of patriarchalism, there will be a burgeoning demand for relationships with the community. And, a situation has arisen from the number of increasing elderly one person households where there is a need for more tangible support for the insecurity and difficulties of daily life. These are not needs that can be fulfilled with routine unilateral services; they have the personality of fulfilling needs by supporting self problem resolution of persons

concerned. For example, that which is required when an elderly male living alone loses the desire to cook is not the immediate provision of food delivery services, but the provision of opportunities to allow such a person to learn how to prepare meals high in nutritional value by enrolling in a cooking school, increase friends, and occasionally prepare and enjoy meals with friends. What is required now is the empowerment of communities to support independence in this manner.

Until the 1990's, residents in metropolitan suburbs relied on the expert systems of government and market. Primary activities of the old styled community organization were collaboration in the implementation of government policies, or to ensure that community resident's interests were consistent. The organization was poorly equipped to support persons concerned aiming for problem resolution in the community. As described above, support system development built on the foundation of mutual independent support between persons concerned is a pressing theme. This will be undertaken not by the current system, or "strong expert system," but by a "weak expert system," which is a new system between the "strong expert system" and respective persons concerned involved that supports problem resolution of the persons concerned. The "weak expert system" is the transitioning of the service domain from family system provision to social provision, that is, a structure to solve the "new communal" through "partnership." As a result of aging, the increase in elderly couple and one-person households is a family change that will definitely continue through the middle of the 21 century. Therefore, the "weak expert system" is a critically important structure the formation of which should be pursued relentlessly.

4.2 Weak expert system formation structure

The "weak expert system" concept is contra to the "strong expert system." The specific domain of strong expert systems, considering even only public services such as education, healthcare, childcare and nursing care is wide-ranging. The weak expert system is a structure that should be developed going forward, and although embryonic movements have arisen in various areas, in the future it will develop over a wide domain.

With respect to the salient features of a strong expert system, the example of healthcare is drawn upon. Just as the role of physicians is regulated by the Medical Practitioners Law, healthcare facilities must be in accordance with Medical Care Law, and the safety of drugs and medicines is guaranteed under the Pharmaceutical Law, services offered by professionals, specialized facilities, and specialist tools etc are strictly governed through the legal system. In addition, a robust educational system to produce physician is in place. Furthermore, these are economically viable, the health-insurance system ensures ready access to those in need of healthcare services, and a vast market has developed for medical

products and instruments. In other words, the strong expert system is a system that has strong professionals and corresponding nurturing system, exclusive space of service, strong safe guards and regulations, and a strong market system. And, it regulates service recipients to specific passive positions referred as “patients.”

The above is the basic system structure derived inductively from the strong expert system that currently exists. On the other hand, the weak expert system, which does not explicitly exist in society yet, will be created going forward. Employing abductive logic (hypothetical reasoning), with the structure considered in contrast to that of the strong system, the structure is organized as follows.¹⁵ That is, the weak expert system is a structure that has weak professionals and flexible nurturing systems, service spaces that have no specific function, weak safe guards and regulations, and weak market systems. Major differences with the strong expert system are that weak professionals interact with persons concerned on a personality basis, leverage of the potential persons concerned have, and support for persons concerned cooperating on problem resolution. The strong expert system places persons concerned in a passive role. However, what they require even when ill and disabled is the boosting of confidence specifically by helping others. That boost in confidence will also enable them to face their illnesses and disabilities themselves. The weak expert system is a structure that supports this kind of self recovery the prerequisite being the appropriate care of illnesses and disabilities. Another important point is that the weak expert system functions with the supported of the strong expert system.

There are several conditions required for establishment and function of the weak expert system, trust being one of the most important. With strong expert systems, using doctors as an example, trust is created based on the faith in a strong systemic foundation and extensive expert knowledge through which illness is cured. In comparison, trust in the weak expert system has been limited to a few domains since the system is still under development. Further, should the system be developed in the future, it is desirable to remain as a weak system to ensure a measure of freedom of activity for weak professionals. The element of trust in the institution will not become intrinsically great. It is presumed that trust in the weak expert system is achieved when persons concerned themselves, through support from the system, realize self-recovery and through the formation of networks that support this. Further, as the weak expert system exists in the community, intimate relationships are possible which is an important.

The weak market system is touched on next. A weak systemic foundation means that professional establishment as occupation is difficult. However, as long as a segment of weak professionals does not take up occupation, the system can not be sustained with the results

15) Many suggestions were received from the Bethel's House movement in Urakawa-Cho, Hokkaido. Please reference Ikuyoshi Mukaiyachi /Bethel's House (2006) and others.

that the needs of persons concerned will not be fulfilled. This begs the questions: Who is this segment of weak professionals? With respect to support where the persons concerned, who are the providers and recipients of services from the weak expert system, freely reverse roles, presumably the value of those services would not be paid for. This is because services are directly transferred. It is assumed that those instigating the transfer space that is those weak professionals having the role of building relationships become a “segment” of professional. Combining public support for the space where service transfer takes place is also conceivable. In any event, since various management structures are possible, the business viability needs to be established going forward.

4.3 Significance and development of the weak expert system

Yokohama City Care Plaza, Flat Station Dream and Group Living for the Elderly COCO Shonandai are all incorporate weak expert systems. These are not single business entities, but exist as a network of numerous business clusters with functions linking the networks. Some of these business clusters engage in routine activities with other engaging in regular and non-regular activities. Many of these activities are supported through volunteerism. However, at an individual level, the conscious decision to volunteer was not necessary strong, and there are cases of participation being an extension of hobby group activities.

It is clear from this that in order to obtain the necessary social resources from the community, the formation of a “join, it’s fun” and relaxed type of multi-layered network is important. For example, when the musical performance circle is asked to perform at money raising events for the concerns above, they become inspired in rehearsals, and are able to get a sense of satisfaction of being useful to people through entertaining the audience. Occasionally, they would be involved in volunteer activities that are totally unrelated to their circle through relationships of the circle. It is more than within the realm of possibility to perceive this as achieving a sense of enjoyment through cooperating in given roles, which is different to simply friends having a good time by themselves. The coordinating ability of central figures in the weak expert system is the key for this to become real enjoyment.

These are the functions that unit networks, and specifically refers to business cluster operation directors. That is, in weak expert systems there is the need for an administrative office that networks numerous business clusters. In order to activate the network, it is imperative to create nodes—spaces—where people from different clusters can interact seamlessly. In strong expert systems, there are specific spaces for offices and services (i.e. Healthcare—hospitals & clinics, education—schools, and child care—day care centers). In weak expert systems too, the establishment of administrative office and spaces for people to

gather for various events is an important element.

It is conceivable that the weak expert system will, going forward, gradually achieve a formulaic style in various fields. However, unlike the strong expert system that is operated based on a national institution, or even if business entities were able to establish a good structure in cooperation with municipalities, transfer (promulgation) would be difficult without a common framework. Further, there is no roadmap for improvement available to business entities. An intermediate support organization to support the weak expert system is necessary to adequately respond to these situations. However, such an intermediate support system naturally would not have centralized functions to communicate important know how and/or lobby government. It is an organization or network of which the primary role is analyzing field site events, debating, and creating new frameworks. One possible formula would be universities creating a platform which persons concerned, operating entities, municipalities, and legal entities such as corporations and associations participate in, debating issues from within in a horizontal relationship, implementing necessary surveys as part of the student curriculum, publishing results in reports and on the web, and holding symposiums and workshops for interested persons concerned.

This author defines Policy Management Studies as follows: Although governmental solutions and market solutions are inadequate, for issues requiring societal solutions a solution structure through cooperation of diverse entities is proposed through which the participation of demonstration experiments and pioneering examples clarify that structure's validity and areas of improvement, and when required lobby for participation of administrative and market organizations - Policy and Governance is the academic field that pioneers the promulgation (transfer) of this structure (Oe & Hirataka, 2006). We university researchers are part of the "strong expert system" and place value on existing therein. However, in order to venture into new problem domains, it is necessary to enter as weak professionals and to learn and give back what has been learnt. The platform described above makes it possible for those of us that are pioneering Policy Management Studies to be on an equal footing with persons concerned, and is, without a doubt, a position that is absolutely necessary to recapture our original role.

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