
Nora GILGEN:

Networks for the Employment Promotion of People with Disabilities in Japan

For my research on the employment of people with disabilities in Japanese companies, it is very important to conduct in-depth interviews with representatives of companies and organizations on site. Interviewing people with disabilities about their job-hunting experience and their experiences as employees is just as crucial. Only through personal interviews can I gain new insights into how changes in legislation and demographic change promote or limit the opportunities of people with disabilities in the Japanese labor market.

After having collected data during an eight-month research stay in Japan two years earlier, my research stay in Japan, which was made possible by the Toshiba International Foundation Fellowship, from June to September 2019 was an extremely important opportunity for me to conduct further interviews and discuss my findings with Japanese scholars, experts in companies, and also with people with disabilities. The fellowship enabled me to visit many companies and organizations throughout Japan. I also could meet with a lot of people from different fields who shared their thoughts and insights on the employment of people with disabilities with me.

Insights gained from fieldwork

During my stay I gained many important insights for my research project. It became clear, for example, how the professional opportunities of people with an intellectual or psychological disability are changing. Since Japan has a legal employment quota (2.2% for private enterprises at present), most companies are obliged to employ a certain number of people with disabilities. The quota has been increased regularly in recent years. This poses a challenge for many companies, as they must constantly hire new employees with disabilities. In the past, most companies preferred to hire people with a physical disability, as they were seen as being “more employable” than people with other types of disabilities. However, as the number of people of working age with a physical disability gradually decreases due to medical progress and improved road safety, among other things, many companies are now considering strategies to employ people with an intellectual or psychological disability in order to meet the quota. On the one hand, the legal requirements together with demographic change lead companies to find innovative solutions for integrating people with special needs and reduced performance into the work process. Some of the companies I interviewed use the knowledge gained from employing people with disabilities to improve the working conditions of non-disabled employees as well. Strategies and methods used in disability management are used, for example, to organize work processes more efficiently or improve work-life balance for all employees. In some companies, this has led to higher overall employee satisfaction and a better retention rate among disabled as well as non-disabled employees. My research therefore shows

that the changing conditions have a positive influence on employment opportunities especially for people with an intellectual disability, but also for people with a mental disability. Furthermore, the knowledge gained through disability employment also has the potential to help companies improve human resource strategies and workplace management.

On the other hand, my research has also highlighted various problems that arise from the increased pressure on companies to employ people with disabilities. For example, some companies find it difficult to provide work for people with an intellectual or psychological disability that is related to the core business of the company. This leads to the widespread phenomenon that people with disabilities often work in standardized jobs which were especially created for them by the company, such as cleaning, sorting mail or printing documents. Special schools, knowing what kind of jobs are available for people with disabilities, often train their pupils to do such tasks in order to prepare them for job hunting. It is therefore quite difficult for people with a disability who have different career aspirations to find a company which hires them for a non-standardized job.

Another important aspect of disability employment in Japan is the fact that especially people with intellectual disabilities often work in a setting separated from the regular company environment. The Japanese Law for Employment Promotion of Persons with Disabilities (*shōgaisha no koyō no sokushin tō ni kansuru hōritsu*) allows for the employment of people with disabilities in so-called "special subsidiaries" (*tokurei kogaisha*). Depending on the company, "special subsidiaries" in many cases do not provide opportunities for disabled and non-disabled employees to meet and interact on a regular basis. Especially large companies often set up a "special subsidiary" in order to efficiently employ people with intellectual disabilities or people with severe disabilities of any type. Disability rights activists and researchers often criticize "special subsidiaries" as being a means to actively exclude people with disabilities from regular workplaces and society. It is often argued that "special subsidiaries" should be abolished because the Japanese Act for Eliminating Discrimination against Persons with Disabilities (*shōgaisha sabetsu kaishō hō*) forbids any kind of discrimination against people with disabilities. In my interviews, however, especially people with an intellectual disability, but also people with other types of disabilities, said that they appreciate the separate setting at "special subsidiaries". The very fact that companies offer jobs at "special subsidiary" seems to make them more attractive as employers to some people with disabilities. To gain a better understanding of the advantages and disadvantages of "special subsidiaries" from the perspective of people with disabilities, I plan to conduct further interviews during my next stay in Japan.

Some thoughts on the practical aspects of fieldwork

During my research stay I gained many fascinating new insights into my research topic. Just as importantly, I also learned a lot about the more "practical" aspects of doing fieldwork.

When I started with my research project some years ago and planned to conduct interviews in Japan for the first time, it proved to be extremely difficult and time-consuming to make appointments at companies. However, the situation totally changed when a professor for human resource management at a Japanese university agreed to introduce me to some company representatives. The professor's cooperation was decisive for the progress of my fieldwork. During my first research stay in Japan, I volunteered as a teacher at a non-profit organization for adult education. This also gave me the opportunity to meet many people with and without disabilities, who all showed great interest in my research project. They helped me find interview partners and introduced me to companies and organizations. During my research stay, I could not have conducted some of the interviews if it had not been for the kind help of President Omori and Mrs. Kuwayama. Starting out with a research project can be a frustrating and sometimes intimidating experience for young researchers. It was for me. However, my project took a good turn thanks to the help of many people. I would like to encourage young researchers to actively seek advice and support. Connecting with people from various backgrounds is not only helpful to advance one's research project, it also makes research much more fun and rewarding.

Since I had already spent some time in Japan for my research before, I was able to draw on some experience and contacts when planning my fieldwork during the stay. Nevertheless, there were still things that did not go just as planned. In qualitative research, it is common that you deal with human beings. Therefore, unpredictable things can sometimes happen. For example, an interview appointment may be postponed or cancelled at short notice. In order to be prepared for such an event, it might be a good idea to schedule interviews or other appointments that are particularly important as early as possible during the stay. Doing so will allow for enough time for rescheduling in case the original appointment gets cancelled.

It may also happen during interviews that interviewees get emotionally upset. Such situations occurred several times during my interviews with people with disabilities. As an interviewer one should be aware of which parts of the interview may be emotionally upsetting to interviewees. In my interviews, the relationship with parents, experiences at school as well as personal experiences with discrimination are particularly sensitive topics. It is important to be sensitive and not to push interviewees into situations which make them feel uncomfortable. However, despite all caution, emotionally challenging situations may arise. As an interviewer one should be prepared emotionally as well as practically. I always carry handkerchiefs, water and sometimes candies to offer to my interview partners in such situations. This proved to be very helpful. I repeatedly tell interviewees that they can stop the interview at any time, but so far nobody ever chose to do so.

Together with the valuable data I collected during my fieldwork, I also took a lot of wonderful memories back to Switzerland after my research stay. During the three months in Japan I met

so many people who shared my interest in disability employment and Japanese society in general. For example, I had the opportunity to participate in a summer festival with disabled and non-disabled employees at Toshiba. They all warmly welcomed me, and some even shared their stories with me.

Thanks to President Omori and Mrs. Kuwayama, I also enjoyed a guided tour of the Toshiba Science Museum in Kawasaki. It had nothing to do with my research at all, but it was a fascinating insight into the history of science and technology in Japan and at the same time into the everyday life of previous generations. I can warmly recommend all fellows to visit the museum. It is a perfect place to take a break after busy fieldwork days.

Julia MAY:

Self-empowerment of Right-Wing Women in Japan and Europe through Transnational Networking: Activism and Gender within a Neo-Nationalist Framework

Research project

My thesis aims at exploring female participation in the Japanese right-wing scene, especially in the form of right-wing women's groups, to examine their engagement in heated combats on the battlefields of so-called "history wars", shaping the (inter)national discourses on and the commemoration of Japanese war crimes during the Pacific War. Visible female participation in Japanese right-wing groups is a recent phenomenon, and their involvement in the right-wing scene marks a striking shift of their roles from "helpers in the background" to female activists visible to the general public. The form of their activism aligns with so-called "female qualities", ascribed to them by a patriarchal society in the conservative rhetoric, of being a "carer and nurturer": caring about their country's reputation, right-wing women's activities are seen as an attempt to instill a sense of national pride not only in their children, but also in their fellow Japanese.

Smiling, well-dressed, and claiming to be "ordinary women", female activists present a soft and inviting image, using simple language to attract an audience during their street oratory. Taking advantage of gender stereotypes, these women are remodeling the Japanese nationalist discourse: Vocal and well-connected right-wing activists, they are not only operating within their home countries, but reaching out to likeminded individuals and groups in the U.S. and Canada. One example for the significance of this development in their networking is the scope of their revisionist endeavors. Japanese right-wing women's groups are going to some lengths in their pursuit of spreading what they claim to be "historical truth", for instance, concerning the topic of the so-called "comfort women". Meanwhile, they are campaigning for municipalities in the U.S. to take on revisionist views on war crimes committed by Japan during the Pacific War. Backed up by an alliance of likeminded groups both in and outside Japan, their efforts go far beyond, as they claim, "educating" local communities, and extend to the level of lobbying at the United Nations.

Fieldwork in Japan

I arrived in Tokyo on 4 September, 2019. During the almost three months of my fieldtrip, I spent the first half in Tokyo, and the second half in the Kansai region, in particular in Osaka. Before I departed from Frankfurt International Airport, I filled my schedule with visits to libraries and museums, meetings with scholars working on related topics, interviews and observation trips. After overcoming the usual jetlag, I immediately went to register at the National Diet Library

(NDL) in Chiyoda, for I knew I would spend a considerable part of my time in Tokyo viewing their materials. I had already compiled a lengthy list of requests containing research materials that are only available in the NDL. Therefore, my first two weeks were dedicated to viewing and sometimes copying materials from the NDL stacks. I also paid many visits to bookstores in Jimbōchō, while the second-hand bookshop Book Off also proved to be a goldmine providing me with a sizeable number of books I was looking for.

Another place I visited several times during my first month was the Women's Active Museum on War and Peace (WAM) in Shinjuku. Opening its doors in 2005 to provide information on Japanese aggression during the Pacific War, this museum focuses on the personal histories of the so-called “comfort women” victims. This place, located within walking distance from Nishiwaseda station, on the second floor of the Avaco Japan Building, was as rewarding as it was hard to find at first and I would make the trip many more times during my stay in Tokyo. As an MA student when I was working on the “comfort women”, I had read articles about this tiny museum dedicated to telling the stories of the women whose lives were disrupted by the war. Being able to visit the WAM in person, I spent whole afternoons going through the small but powerful exhibition and browsing the vast amount of materials that are half-displayed and half-stored within the single room that comprises the museum. Since not many other visitors came to the museum on the days I visited, I had the opportunity to chat with the lady at the small reception, ask questions about the WAM and talk about my research.

While preparing my stay in Japan, I had read about the anti-hate speech group “Norikoenetto”, which deals with many of the groups on which my research focuses. To widen my focus and to gather information from diverse sources, I decided to include a meeting with representatives of said group. Before embarking on my field trip, I contacted the group to introduce myself and the purpose of my stay. They immediately agreed to an interview, and two of Norikoenetto’s members met with me one afternoon in late September to answer my questions about their activities, thereby sharing their knowledge about the right-wing groups that they encountered on a regular base. We talked for three full hours, during which the two of them encouraged me to ask all of my questions and readily provided me with all sorts of extra information. Before we parted ways, they told me about a counter-demonstration their group was organizing the next weekend on the occasion of Sakurai Makoto, a well-known right-wing figure, speaking in person. A right-wing rally, joined by members of the women groups we had talked about, was scheduled to be held in the Kinshichō area. Thanks to Norikoenetto sharing information on their own schedule, I was presented with the chance to observe a big-scale right-wing demonstration in person. Even though the experience was not pleasant, it was important because I succeeded in recording videos and taking photos of protesters with their posters on both sides.

A while later, I got an invitation for Norikoenetto’s annual meeting, a gathering of activists from different parts of Japan, which presented a good occasion to network with activists residing in

the Kansai area, where I was headed to next. I met an important figure within the group who organized counter-demonstrations in and around Osaka and we exchanged contact information to set a date for a meeting during the latter part of my research trip.

In addition to observing right-wing rallies and meeting with anti-right activists, I also met with scholars working on topics related to my own, but who were much more advanced than I was. Thankfully, they kindly shared their experiences of working in the field, gave me valuable advice and new ideas on how to tackle the difficulties I encountered, and made suggestions on what steps I should take next with my research project.

Another point I could check off my list during my time in Japan was to watch the movie "Shusenjo: The Main Battleground of the Comfort Women Issue", which featured many influential male and female right-wing activists I had encountered during my research.

After three months of intensive fieldwork in Tokyo and Osaka, I returned to Germany with a lot of new information, memories and notes of my research, as well as an extra suitcase full of second-hand books and copied journal articles. The information and materials I gathered in Japan will occupy my time in the weeks to come, marking the beginning of a long process of reading, note-taking, evaluating, and writing.

Acknowledgements

I would like to express my sincere gratitude to the Toshiba International Foundation for giving me the opportunity to undertake a three-month research trip through their generous funding. I am particularly thankful to the President of the Toshiba International Foundation, Mr. Keisuke Omori, and Senior Program Officer Ms. Mariko Kuwayama, with both of whom I had the pleasure of meeting during my stay in Tokyo, for welcoming me to Japan and for their interest in my research. Communication with Ms. Kuwayama prior to my arrival in Tokyo was very pleasant and amicable and she kindly took my schedule into consideration when arranging our meetings. Furthermore, I would like to thank the European Association for Japanese Studies for selecting my research project and for their support in the process of preparing my research trip, thereby ensuring a smooth process. I would also like to thank my supervisor Prof. Dr. Hans Martin Krämer for supporting my application for the TIFO Fellowship, and for his invaluable suggestions and feedback on every stage of my fieldtrip.

Natalia SOLOMKINA:

Benefactive Constructions in Japanese Informal Speech

My research project

My current research project is focusing on benefactive constructions in modern informal Japanese. Although researchers often confine themselves to studying such constructions only with 'give' auxiliary verbs (e. g. *-te kureru*, *-te morau*) I also include constructions with 'receive' auxiliaries (*-te morau* and *-te itadaku*) into my research.

Japanese benefactive constructions have been extensively studied both in as well as outside of Japan. The most fine-grained work in Japan has been conducted by Toshihiro Yamada [Yamada 2004]. In my research I am taking the typological approach and relying on the general overview of benefactive constructions across the languages presented in the book *Benefactives and Malefactives* [Kittilä 2010] and an article by Andrey Shluinsky [Shluinsky 2014].

The typological and contrastive approach to Japanese benefactives was taken in works of Masayoshi Shibatani [Shibatani 1994, 1996], Aleksandr Kholodovich [Kholodovich 1979] and Prashant Pardeshi [Pardeshi1998], the last being my current host researcher at NINJAL. Bernard Comrie [Comrie 2003] also finds Japanese benefactives very distinctive typologically because, though they have what is called the recipient person suppletion in the verb give, the distinction is not precisely in the person. I am also extensively using a concept of empathy from functional syntax, proposed by Susumu Kuno and Etsuko Kaburaki [Kuno, Kaburaki 1977].

Existing research, though quite abundant, mostly applies to standard Japanese, and I focus on informal and oral speech, trying to get typologically relevant information on modern Japanese benefactives using a large scope of language data (NINJAL BCCWJ, CSJ and NPCMJ corpora) as well as interviewing native-speakers. I also hope to capture the current changes of benefactives usage in informal speech — the most rapidly evolving and unstable part of the language.

All the material is analysed according to the following parameters, each corresponding to a separate chapter of the dissertation:

1. Directionality vs. grammatical person in Standard Average European languages (e. g. English and Russian).
E. g. *-te yaru* constructions are most often depicted as describing an action directed from 1st person to 2nd or 3rd person (or from one 3rd person to another), but it is far from the truth for informal speech.
2. Demantics of the construction: benefactive, malefactive, permissive, depreciative, positive emotivity (event benefactive) etc.

3. Valency frames of the main verbs and their correspondence to the (in)acceptability of the benefactive construction.

For this I am using a set of valency frames proposed in ValPal online database [Kishimoto 2013].

+ Additional parameter: A choice between *ni* and *kara* case markers in case of benefactive constructions with *-te morau* and *-te itadaku* and its correspondence to the animacy of the transferred object.

During my stay I have been mostly working on analysing main verb valency patterns and deictic nature of Japanese benefactives.

Stay in Japan

I have arrived to Japan on 27 January 2020 with the plan to stay here until 31 March. I am writing this report in the middle of March since it needs to be finished before the end of fiscal and academic year, so it is more of a progress report.

I was accepted as a special joint research fellow at the National Institute for Japanese Language and shortly after my arrival I headed there to meet my supervisor Prof. Prashant Pardeshi and get access to NINJAL library and other facilities. I need to notice that NINJAL is a perfect place for my research since I am extensively using their tools, and Prof. Prashant Pardeshi is the best possible supervisor taking in consideration topics of his previous research: he made a typological study of benefactives in Japanese and Indic languages and his own thesis was supervised by Prof. Masayoshi Shibatani, whose work on Japanese grammar guides researchers across the globe. So indeed I was very happy to get a chance to work at NINJAL for a while.

Since Prof. Prashant Pardeshi is a leader of the NINJAL Parsed Corpus of Modern Japanese (NPCMJ) project, I was immediately invited to the corpus tutorial on the 1st of February, and this new corpus turned out to be a real asset. Since it has syntactic markup, it gives information about the participants of the benefactive event, even if the noun phrases are ellipsed. It was also a pleasure to meet the corpus project members Dr. Nagasaki Iku and Dr. Alastair Butler and to receive their advice.

In February I have participated in two other NINJAL events: salon '*Does Language Hit the Beat?*' led by Dr. Tamara Rathcke and colloquium led by Prof. George Tsoulas and themed '*A Comparative Perspective on the Grammar of Particles*'. The last one was especially insightful, giving me new ideas on deixis in Japanese benefactives and the representation of pragmatics in syntactic trees.

I have also visited a linguistic library at UTokyo, where my friend and specialist in Russian linguistics Dr. Watabe Naoya, who is currently in charge of the collection, has helped me to

obtain some rare articles for my work.

Since February and March are the busiest times of the year, I have visited the Toshiba International Foundation office only once on 21 February 2020. TIFO President Keisuke Ōmori and Ms. Mariko Kuwayama kindly invited me for lunch. They showed a deep interest in various linguistic matters and overall encouraged my future research.

Unfortunately, my stay in March is overshadowed by the coronavirus outbreak: all the conferences and events have been cancelled or postponed, it is recommended to telework and avoid crowded places etc. Regarding the virus, I try to comply with the recommendations of local authorities. I am finishing an article about valency frames and transitivity of main verbs in Japanese benefactive constructions, and also trying to lay the groundwork for the next months back home by gathering literature and interviewing native-speakers, though the latter should rather be done remotely taking the epidemic situation into account.

It is recommended to include some practical example or advice for future TIFO students into the report, so I probably need to mention that I have brought my one and a half year old daughter with me for the research stay: in the end of January and in February my husband took care of her, and in March she was attending a day care center. I guess young parents pursuing their PhD have no reason to be discouraged, provided they find an option that works for the whole family. In my case everyone I met was extremely helpful and understanding.

Acknowledgements

Firstly, I would like to express my sincere gratitude to TIFO for making this research stay possible. I would like to thank both Mr Ōmori and Ms Kuwayama for welcoming me in Tokyo and separately Ms Kuwayama Mariko for helping me with the visa application. I am very grateful to the EAJS for having faith in my project and personally to Mr Lorenz Denninger for help in organizing the trip.

I wish to thank my supervisor at NINJAL Prof. Prashant Pardeshi for his guidance and for showing me new opportunities. I also thank NINJAL visiting researchers Prof. George Tsoulas and Dr. Tamara Rathcke: it was a pleasure to work by their side and get new insights. I am grateful to administrative staff at NINJAL for their support, to Dr. Nagasaki Iku, Dr. Watabe Naoya and Dr. Alastair Butler for various assistance in my studies. Last but not the least, my special thanks goes to my supervisor from my home university Prof. Vera Podlesskaya, who has always backed my projects and recommended me for the TIFO Fellowship Program.

I hope the remaining weeks will be fruitful and positive despite the threat of the Corona virus and will enable me to finish my studies and contribute to Japanese language research.

References

1. Comrie, B. (2003). "Recipient person suppletion in the verb 'give'". In *Language and life: Essays in memory of Kenneth L. Pike* (265-281). SIL International and the University of Texas at Arlington.
2. Kholodovich, A. A. (1979). *Problemy grammaticheskoj teorii [Problems of grammatical theory]*. Nauka, Leningr. otd-nie.
3. Kittilä, S., & Zúñiga, F. (2010). *Benefactives and Malefactives. Typological perspectives*.
4. Kuno, S., & Kaburaki, E. (1977). *Empathy and syntax. Linguistic inquiry*, 627-672.
5. Pardeshi, P. (1998). *A Contrastive Study of Benefactive Constructions in Japanese and Marathi. Kobe papers in linguistics* 1, 72-92.
6. Shibatani, M. (1994). "Benefactive Constructions-A Japanese-Korean Comparative Perspective". In *Japanese-Korean Linguistics*, 4, 39-74.
7. Shibatani, M. (1996). "Applicatives and Benefactives: A Cognitive Account". In M. Shibatani and Sandra, A. Thompson (eds.), *Grammatical Constructions: Their Form and Meaning*, 157-194. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
8. Shluinsky, A. (2014). "Tipologija recipientno-benefaktivnyx konstrukcij i tipologičeskaja odnositel'nost' sintaksičeskoj organizacii predloženiya" ["A typology of recipient-benefactive constructions and the cross-linguistic relativity of the sentence structure"]. In *Acta Linguistica Petropolitana* 10(3). (Studia typologica octogenario Victori Khrakovskij Samuelis filio dedicata.), 692-710.
9. Yamada T. (2004) *Nihongo no benefakutibu : "teyaru" "tekureru" "temorau" no bunpō*. Tōkyō : Meiji Shoin.

Websites

1. Kishimoto, H. & Kageyama, T. (2013). "Japanese (standard) Valency Patterns". In: Hartmann, Iren & Haspelmath, Martin & Taylor, Bradley (eds.) (2013). *Valency Patterns*. Leipzig: Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology. (Available online at <http://valpal.info/languages/japanese-standard>, Accessed on 2019-03-10)
2. NINJAL Corpus Reference Application 'Chunagon' (Available online at <https://chunagon.ninjal.ac.jp>, Accessed on 2019-03-10)
3. NPCMJ (NINJAL Parsed Corpus of Modern Japanese) (Available online at <http://npcmj.ninjal.ac.jp>, Accessed on 2019-03-10)

Anna TOMASZEWSKA:

Rehabilitative Model of Prison in the Modern Japanese Penitentiary System

Research project

Although I have completed my master's thesis in Japanese Studies, my main interest regarding Japan were sociological topics. I have therefore decided to pursue my PhD in sociology, more specifically on Japan's penitentiary system. It is impossible to explain my surprise when I was notified that my application was successful and that I would receive a Toshiba International Foundation Fellowship for a three-month research stay in Japan in the first year of my Ph.D. studies.

Prison is a complicated and multi-faceted social institution whose rules of operation are mainly the result of the criminal policy of a particular state. However, the construction of a prison model in a given country depends not only on political decisions, but also on larger historical, religious and cultural contexts. From a sociological and pedagogical perspective, it is difficult to find a more dysfunctional institution than a closed correctional facility, whose sole purpose is the inhumane isolation of "human waste" from the rest of society. Unfortunately, no substitute form of sanctions which fulfills the functions of both special and general prevention has been invented. Currently, developed countries aim at making prisons to function within a framework of the social rehabilitation model and focus mainly on special prevention, i.e. the resocialization of individual convicts in penitentiaries. In the literature on the subject, rehabilitation in prison is defined in various ways. It can be treated as a process of beneficial change, the aim of which is to re-adapt the sentenced person to life in society and to comply with its norms. One country with such an important tradition of rehabilitation is Japan.

As I mentioned earlier, before I came to Japan, I was at a very early stage of research. I therefore focused on trying to pose the correct research questions:

- What are the characteristics of the Japanese prison system that can be considered a rehabilitative model?
- How is the rehabilitative model of prison defined in Japan?
- What is the role of military-like discipline and how can it affect future social behaviors?

I believe that I have succeeded in fulfilling my goal for this research stay. Moreover, this stay allowed me to forge fruitful contacts and meet people who provided me with both theoretical and practical knowledge about prisons in Japan. I believe that these contacts will enable me to continue my research even after my return to Poland.

My stay in Japan

I have arrived in Tokyo on 3 October 2019 on a beautiful, sunny morning and immediately felt inspired to start my research journey. Unfortunately, the President of the Toshiba International Foundation, Keisuke Ōmori, was not able to meet with me at the beginning of my stay. But fortunately I managed to arrange a meeting with the very helpful TIFO Senior Program Officer Ms Mariko Kuwayama, who warmly welcomed me in Japan, treated me to a delicious lunch and walked me to the shinkansen station. She lifted my doubtful spirit and encouraged me to focus on my studies but also to enjoy Japan as much as possible during this beautiful autumn season. On that day I boarded the train to Kyoto where I would spend the next two months of my stay. In Kyoto I was staying in a private dorm in the Fushimi Momoyama area. The dorm was managed by Kyōritsu Maintenance Co. Ltd. and it was the most suitable choice I could have made. I had a single room with bathroom, toilet and a small kitchen with all the necessities. The room was very clean and spacious by Japanese standards, and it felt very cozy. I believe that the best thing about this accommodation was that it provided home-made meals for breakfast and dinner. I must say that these delicious dishes were true lifesavers during an extremely busy schedule. Moreover, it was located in close proximity to my university, which made my daily commute easy. As soon as I found out that I had been granted with the fellowship, I contacted Ryūkoku University in Kyoto. This university hosts the Ryūkoku Correction and Rehabilitation Research Center (RCRC), which is one of a kind. I believe that there is no other institution that specializes in penitentiary studies in Japan and I felt honored when RCRC admitted me as a visiting researcher for the duration of these three months. I have been working under the supervision of Prof. Hamai Koichi, an expert in the field of prison studies and criminology. He is a specialist with both theoretical and practical knowledge, which he acquired during his years of work in the Ministry of Justice. Prof. Hamai was of great help to me; he allowed me to attend his weekly criminology lectures and seminars with other students and fulfilled the role of my gate-keeper by introducing me to other professor and experts from the field. Without his help I would not have been able to gain access to some of the institutions, for example the Training Institute for Correctional Officers (jap. 矯正研修所大阪支所). Besides Prof. Hamai, many other prominent figures of Japanese criminology and penitentiary studies work at Ryūkoku University, such as Prof. Ishizuka Shin'ichi, Akaike Kazumasa, Fukushima Itaru and many others.

During my first month in Japan I focused mainly on desk research. And with access to the library of Ryūkoku University, I was able to collect a staggering amount of material on the structure of Japanese prisons, the cultural and religious background of punishment, the Japanese system of probation officers, and current problems of the penitentiary system. What surprised me the most was the efficiency of the VPO system (the Volunteer Probation Officer). The United Nations Standard Minimum Rules for Non-Custodial Measures (the so called Tokyo Rules) highlight the importance of community acceptance of successful reintegration of offenders. I believe that, because of the social bias towards offenders, it would be impossible to achieve this without the VPOs. They are appointed by the government to support the work of

professional probation officers by supervising and supporting the offenders on their way to reintegration. They provide not only guidance on probation rules but also offer emotional support and are always there to listen to parolees concerns. The other thing which caught my attention during my desk research was the overwhelming number of elderly prisoners in Japan. At first I thought that this might just be a catchy topic for the media, but in fact this is one of the biggest concerns of the current prison system. This problem is clearly visible among female offenders, among which one in five are at least 65 years old. Many of those prisoners chose to commit a petty crime, because they know that they will be put into prison, where they will obtain healthcare, sustenance and companion of other prisoners. These are all “luxuries” which they could not afford in the outside world. Therefore they had made a conscious decision to commit a crime and go to prison. This is a very serious social problem in modern Japan. It has caught my interest and I would love to devote more time to it during my research in the future.

During the second and third month of my stay I focused mainly on field research. With the help from my professors at Ryūkoku University I managed to visit many prisons on different occasions. My first visit was to Osaka Prison during correctional convention (Jap. 矯正展). During this convention I was able to talk to prison officers, probation officers, police officers and employees of the Ministry of Justice. I could also buy goods such as wallets, handbags, leather goods, furniture etc., which were made by the prisoners in their workshops. I was amazed at the detailed craftsmanship that some of these goods required. This convention also made me realize how much closer Japanese society is to prison society. Many people were interested in the prisoners’ living and working conditions. They wanted to understand the reality of correction and rehabilitation. Many visitors even brought their children. Such conventions are not organized in Poland, and therefore I was surprised by the proximity between regular citizens and prisons in Japan. I think it is crucial for society to understand what happens behind the prison gates; understanding is the first step towards social acceptance, and social acceptance is the first step towards rehabilitation.

Besides visiting the Osaka Prison for the correctional convention, I was also able to view the entire prison and to observe the everyday life of inmates. Besides the Osaka Prison, I was also able to visit the Kyoto Prison, the Nagoya Prison and the Kyoto Juvenile Training School. During these visits I was able to observe the prisoners’ behavior during their work time, the bilateral relations between prisoners and prison officers, the methods of conducting discipline by prison officers and general living conditions in the prisons. These observations affirmed my previous assumptions: the high level of discipline is crucial when it comes to prison security. It is thanks to the constant enforcement of this discipline that Japanese prisons are among the safest in the world. The prison officers do not have to carry fire weapons because they usually do not have to use them. The prisoners have to obey many rules, such as limited time for talks among themselves or marching in military-like manner. Such rules make Japanese prisons highly successful in terms of security and prevent the further criminalization of offenders. However, I

believe that they on the other hand impose artificial conditions of existence that are very distant from those in the real world. Therefore, it is still debatable whether the rules for serving a sentence in Japanese prisons are rehabilitative or not. A great role in the rehabilitation of prisoners is played by institutions functioning outside of prisons, such as aforementioned VPO or the “Toastmasters Club”. The “Toastmasters Club” is an international non-profit organizations specialized in promoting communication, public speaking and leadership. One of these clubs which is based in Saitama prefecture organizes Toastmasters meetings for prisoners and teaches them the art of public speaking, which can be very important for them when they leave prison, but also increases their morale during their days behind bars. They invited me to join them in a meeting with Nagoya Prison employees in order to discuss the possibility of conducting Toastmasters meetings for prisoners. I am so happy that I have met people who understand the problems of modern prisons and who actually commit their time and effort to do something about it. Nowadays people are becoming more and more punitive and less and less forgiving and they keep forgetting that dominant number of inmates are in prison not for violent crimes, but because of pure survival instinct. Many of them were unlucky enough to be born in the wrong families and social classes. Prisons are highly dysfunctional and dreadful places which take what is left of human dignity and self-respect and throw it into the garbage. Yet our society still believes that by depriving people of their liberty, humiliating them and making them live in the worst conditions will somehow miraculously discourage them from committing yet another crime.

Acknowledgement

First of all I would like to thank everyone at the Toshiba International Foundation and at the European Association for Japanese Studies for believing in my research and for acknowledging its importance among Japanese Studies. Without your support and this fellowship I would not be able to proceed with my studies. Many thanks to President Ōmori Keisuke for meeting me during his busy schedule and for showing so much interest in my findings. I am grateful beyond words to Ms Mariko Kuwayama for providing me with moral and technical support during my stay in Japan and for recommending beautiful places for autumn foliage viewings in Kyoto. Moreover, I would like to thank Mr Lorenz Denninger for supporting and guiding me during the application process. I would also like to thank Professor Hamai Koichi for providing me with superb guidance and support, but also other professors and researchers of the Ryūkoku University: Prof. Shinichi Ishizuka, Pprof. Kazumasa Akaike, Prof. Itaru Fukushima, Dr. David Brewster and Chantal Pioch. I found out that the life of a researcher can sometimes be very lonely and frustrating, and that it was a blessing to have such supportive people around me for whom I could not be more grateful. Finally, I would like to write a few words for the future TIFO Fellows. Please do not doubt your possibilities. There are many people in the world who believe in your work and who will find it highly interesting. Moreover, please do not be afraid to be respectfully intrusive. Of course, people tend to have a very busy schedule, but remember that you are here to do your job and that asking for help more than once is nothing to be ashamed

of. Once again, many thanks to everyone who made this research stay possible, and I am looking forward to meeting you in the future!

Julia Alyssa WHITE:

The role of conflict during the adoption of agriculture in Japan: Late–Final Jōmon and Yayoi Period Traumatic Lesions

Project during research stay in Japan:

Analysis of traumatic injuries in Yayoi skeletons at the Kyushu University Museum, Doigahama anthropological museum, and Nara National Research Institute for Cultural Properties

Project background and aims

The aim of my doctoral project is to analyze the extent and variability of skeletal traumatic lesions related to violent conflict during the Late to Final Jōmon period (ca. 2550– 500 BC) through the Yayoi period (ca. 900 BC – 250 AD) in northern Kyūshū and southwestern Honshū of the Japanese archipelago. Due to its relatively isolated geographic location, as an island and situated at the margins of East Asia, both the archipelago’s prehistoric and historic inhabitants have had extended periods of cultural isolation and of dramatic transitions with the introduction of new groups, technologies, and subsistence lifeways. The Jōmon people were hunter-gathers who long continued their subsistence economy despite contact with and proximity to continental Neolithic and Bronze Age agricultural groups, particularly the Cheulmun and Mumun cultures of Korea, across the Sea of Japan. The beginning of the Yayoi period is marked by increased contact between immigrants from the mainland and locals in the southwestern Japanese archipelago, resulting in the beginning of large-scale agriculture, metallurgy, contact with imperial China, increasing social complexity and consolidation of power into chiefdom-level groups, and what is understood to be a significant increase in violent conflict for the first time in Japanese prehistory.

The Jōmon are famous for being one of the few pre-historic hunter-gather societies with little to no evidence of violence throughout its duration. Conversely, within a relatively short time frame, incidences of clear interpersonal violence appear to have increased during the Yayoi period, later resulting in full-scale warfare during the Kofun period and beyond. The transition from the Jōmon to Yayoi period is largely thought to have been peaceful, with violence only increasing from the Middle Yayoi onwards. Although it is true that archaeological indicators of formalized, group-level conflict only begin to become prominent during this period and thereafter, it does not necessarily follow that a true escalation of violent action began then. Material indicators of violent conflict, especially those that indicate a special regard for it, represent a related, but distinct cultural phenomenon from physical violence, which can be carried out with even the most basic of tools or none at all. Most analyses of violence using evidence of skeletal trauma during the Yayoi have focused on the ‘type’ of warfare found during

that period, i.e. whether it can be described as warfare at all or something closer to raiding, and on the details of specific examples of injured skeletons. Studies have relied on original site reports that do not examine the skeletons in a consistent manner, which would help to ensure accurate interpretation. Moreover, there has been no systematic analysis of the prevalence of violence by demographic, locale, or time period for the Jōmon or Yayoi periods. Therefore, at this time it is difficult to determine how violent conflict ties into the transition from the Jōmon through the Yayoi period. My study aims at addressing this issue by systematically examining human skeletal remains for evidence of trauma linked to violent conflict in the southwest, where rice agriculture first appeared in Japan, during this transitional period.

My research trip

In order to conduct this research, it was necessary to re-examine skeletal collections in detail for evidence of violent trauma and to quantify how well preserved the remains are. Skeletal completeness and surface condition will influence how much of the body remains for examination and how well one is able to identify any lesions and their cause. The TIFO grant funded my final data collection trip from May to July of 2019. While in Japan, I successfully examined 51 Yayoi individuals from 6 sites and collected data on all the traumatic injuries present. I spent six weeks at the Kyushu University Museum, one day at the Doigahama anthropological museum, and two days at the Nara National Research Institute for Cultural Properties collecting data.

When examining each skeleton in the laboratory, it is always like putting together a puzzle, a puzzle with several pieces missing and many pieces faded. I must reconstruct the skeleton, determine their age and sex as best as possible, and assess whether the lesions they show are of traumatic origin. This requires a very careful examination of each set of remains and evaluation of how consistent any lesions that I find might be with common characteristics of healed traumatic injuries or injuries acquired around the time of death that never healed. This can be a difficult assessment, and the manner in which I have chosen to account for any uncertainty is by incorporating a two level ranking system for whether a lesion is traumatic in aetiology (i.e. Low, Medium, or High certainty) and whether it is likely the result of violent conflict (i.e. Low, Medium, or High certainty). I decided that only those that were ranked as medium to high in both categories will be included in my final analysis.

While at the Kyushu University Museum, I examined individuals from the Ohtomo (大友遺跡), Nakanohama (中の浜遺跡), Doigahama (土井ヶ浜遺跡), Koura (古浦遺跡), and Hirota (広田遺跡) sites. As this was my final data collection trip, I was focused on analyzing sites outside of northern Kyūshū and expanding the geographical coverage of my study area. Thanks to the kindness of those at Kyushu University, I was able to access the department's collection of site reports and to examine literature on the sites that I analyzed. This kind of grey literature is

difficult and much more expensive to acquire outside of Japan, so being able to access this resource was incredibly useful. Dr. Shiori Yonemoto and Dr. Kyoko Funahashi were indispensable during my visit, and even helped me to take radiographs of bones which I suspected of showing evidence of healed fractures. Additionally, the local museum dedicated to the Kanenokuma site (金隈遺跡) in Fukuoka city recently re-opened. I examined the remains from this site previously and took the chance while nearby to visit the reconstruction of the jar burials (金隈遺跡).

After finishing my examination of the remains at Kyushu University, I headed to Shimonoseki, where I stayed while commuting to the Doigahama anthropological museum. The director of the museum, Dr. Takayuki Matsushita, was kind enough to give me a ride from the museum twice and even helped me visit the nearby site of Nakanohama one afternoon. Thereafter, I visited Nara for two days and examined two individuals from the Shibu site (四分遺跡) at the Nara National Research Institute for Cultural Properties where Dr. Kentaro Katayama, an associate fellow, went out of his way to help me track down relevant literature on the site.

At the Doigahama anthropological museum and the Nara National Research Institute for Cultural Properties, I recorded the extensive injuries on three individuals (one female and two males) from the Doigahama and Shibu sites. If the extensive and varied injuries, from arrow injuries to blunt force fractures, on each individual were inflicted before death, they represent prime examples of 'overkill', or instances where more injuries are present than can be reasonably be explained as resulting from trying to efficiently kill or incapacitate an individual. A re-examination of these traumatic injuries resulted in the uncovering of injuries that have yet to be reported and integrated into the analysis of these individuals' stories. Examples of overkill are not common among the injuries from the Yayoi period that I have examined thus far, and they do not simply represent an instance of intensified warfare. Therefore, it will be of particular interest to incorporate these cases into my analysis.

Finally, I visited the Toshiba International office during my last week in Japan and very much enjoyed meeting and chatting with Mr. Keisuke Omori, Ms. Mariko Kuwayama, and another TIFO fellow, Ms. Nora Gilgen.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank all those mentioned above and everyone at the institutions that I visited and that greeted and helped me with genuine kindness and support. This research trip would not have been possible without the generous support of the Toshiba International Fellowship. I would like to extend my heartfelt thanks to the foundation and to the European Association for Japanese Studies for their support and, especially, for remembering me from last year's application round. Finally, I would like to extend my continual appreciation to my supervisors,