

# JASPS Bulletin

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## Objective and Outcome of Setting the Plenary Session

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The plenary session was held under the theme “New Horizon of Social Policies for the Post-Olympic and Paralympic Games.” Although the Tokyo 2020 Olympic and Paralympic Games have been postponed despite their preparation being almost completed, it is nevertheless possible to examine the legacies the Games are expected to bestow upon Japan.

Under the vision that “The Tokyo 2020 Games, as the most innovative in history, will bring positive reform to the world,” Diversity & Inclusion was set as a catalyst for realizing the vision. However, conservative family norms are stubbornly persistent in Japan, where same-sex marriage has not yet been recognized legally. The World Economic Forum’s “Global Gender Gap Report 2020” ranked Japan 121<sup>st</sup> among 153 countries in terms of gender equality. This gender gap status alone indicates that Japan should realize Diversity & Inclusion domestically before introducing it as a global innovation. In Japan, expectations are high for the Games, mainly with respect to their economic effects. But at the same time, negative

aspects have also been pointed out, such as large-scale urban redevelopment that could promote social exclusion. Thus, under this special theme, we examined the negative aspects to be brought about by large-scale urban redevelopment and discussed expected legacies, such as the promotion of social participation by the disabled and of gender/SOGI (Sexual Orientation and Gender Identity) policies.

The first report was submitted by Naofumi Suzuki of Hitotsubashi University under the title “What will Tokyo be left with after the Olympic and Paralympic Games?”

First, he clarified the difference between the short-term effects and long-term legacies the Games will give to the city, and confirmed that a legacy means structural transformation to be brought about by the event. Then, he examined the economic effects to be brought about by the Games. Tokyo, the host city, estimated the final economic effects of the event as 20 trillion yen for Tokyo and 32 trillion yen for the country. The figures, however, include not only the net increase

(impact) of local revenue but also economic contributions derived from the event, which are also overly calculated. Analysis of previous games revealed that there has been only minor economic impact, and it is not expected that the Games will bestow long-term effects (legacies) on the tourism industry in the host city.

On the other hand, impetuous urban development for the Games marginalizes those who are socially weak, while building communities beneficial for the wealthy. For the Tokyo Games, homeless people were forced off the streets and municipally owned houses were demolished to construct the New National Stadium and develop the surrounding area. A smaller number of people may have been evicted compared to previous events, but in light of that, more people-friendly measures should have been considered.

Lastly, he used Boykoff's concept of Celebration Capitalism to examine the problems raised by the Tokyo Games. Although they are officially adorned with spectacular vision and beautiful values, the Games actually increase the social gap and enhance the authorities of governance structure. Such characteristics of Celebration Capitalism are recognized in the Tokyo Games as well. Suzuki concluded his report saying that the festive mood of the Games makes uneven distribution of wealth and other hidden structural changes invisible, but it is necessary to confront the problems and once again argue about whether it is appropriate to hold the Games next year.

The second report was submitted by Nobuko Tanaka from Toin University of Yokohama under the title "Impact of the Paralympic Games on the development of social policies in Japan."

Japan has hosted the Paralympics twice, once in Tokyo (1964) and once in Nagano

(1998), and the 2021 games are scheduled to be held in Tokyo once more. The Paralympics have been not only had a great effect on the development of disabled sports in Japan, but also have had effects on the development of policies for the disabled. The 1964 Games encouraged the disabled in welfare facilities to live in local communities, and to support such movement, and occupational rehabilitation was actively promoted with sports as an enabling tool. The 1998 Games made people recognize an aspect of competition in disabled sports. And for the coming Tokyo Games, social environments surrounding the disabled have been changed drastically, as seen in their contribution to the inclusive society the Organising Committee touted and by the participation of para-athletes as members of government councils.

There are three changes the Paralympics have brought to Japan. First, in supporting the lives of the disabled, more attention has been paid to the importance of their right to access sports culture. Second, the elite Paralympians have contributed to erasing the negative image of the disabled, although there remain various issues to address. Third, it has been pointed out globally that it is necessary to start in childhood a mindset that is not prejudiced against the disabled in order to change society. However, Japanese society remains locked in a phase where able-bodied people simply try to experience para-sports or take educational programs, and has not yet reached the level where the disabled can enjoy sports as a matter of course. From the above, she concluded her report with the comment that the Paralympics, despite their various problems, have brought positive legacies to Japan.

The third report was submitted by Shino Naito from The Japan Institute for

Labour Policy and Training (JILPT) under the title “Tokyo Olympic and Paralympic Games and Gender/SOGI Policies.”

The International Olympic Committee (IOC) revised the Host City Contract in 2017 and included new obligations such as the implementation of the United Nations Guiding Principles on Business and Human Rights. In accordance with the revised Guiding Principles, the Tokyo Organising Committee positioned “creation of a society considerate of human rights, labor practices, etc.” as a legacy. In specific, regarding the manufacture and distribution of goods to be purchased by the Organising Committee, it required the compliance of the “procurement code” based on global human right standards, such as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women. The code requires prohibition of gender- or SOGI-based discrimination and harassment, which is significantly meaningful. However, the code is applied only to relevant companies, with certain limits to the planning of a legacy of the “creation of a society considerate of human rights, labor practices, etc.” It is essential for the national and local governments, including Tokyo, to enact effective laws and ordinances to prevent and resolve discrimination and harassment issues at any workplace.

In 2018, the Equal Employment Opportunity Law was amended to include the duties of employers with respect to preventing and addressing workplace sexual harassment, but there is no legal provision requiring

the prohibition of harassment activities themselves. Furthermore, the methods of enforcement of sexual harassment prevention as well as remedies are not adequate. Although the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) also called on the Japanese government to “establish a legal framework with effective sanctions,” this amendment shelved the enhancement of sanctions. The Tokyo Metropolitan Government enacted “the ordinance to realize the Olympic Charter goal of respect for human rights” in 2018, and specified that “the city government, citizens, and enterprises may not unduly discriminate on the basis of gender identity or sexual orientation.” However, there is no provision regarding administrative guidance or dispute settlement procedure in case of violating the ordinance. She concluded her report by pointing out that a reconsideration, including regarding legislation, is required to ensure “the creation of a society considerate of human rights, labor practices, etc.” as a legacy to leave.

The chairperson followed up on the three reports with his comments and presented an opportunity for the audience to have a question-and-answer session. All these reports and discussions were shared in a virtual space with Zoom in the midst of the novel coronavirus pandemic. Despite a smaller-than-normal audience of 170, it provided a good opportunity to examine what kind of legacies the now-postponed Olympic and Paralympic Games could leave to Japanese society.

# What would Tokyo be left with after the Olympic and Paralympic Games?

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## 1. Introduction

The COVID-19 pandemic resulted in the postponement of the Olympic and Paralympic Games, which was supposed to be held this summer in Tokyo. The decision was made on March 24th, which was rather late, as other necessary responses to prevent the spread of virus were being put on hold while the Japanese government were in negotiation with the International Olympic Committee (IOC). This delay obviously cost a number of precious lives which could have been saved. If social policy means the set of policies conducted to protect people's lives, the Olympic and Paralympic Games have worked against it. Yet again.

In fact, the Olympic and Paralympic Games and social policy do not go along together very well. While the language of 'inclusiveness' is in abundance in Olympic and Paralympic-related documents, in reality the Games often exacerbate social exclusion. In fact, the candidacy to host the Games has increasingly become unpopular, with many candidate cities withdrawing their bids for the Games in 2022 and 2026 [Suzuki, 2016, 2017]. It is known worldwide nowadays that the enormous spending for preparing the Games would return very little to the host city.

This article was originally aimed at predicting what would Tokyo be left with after the Olympic and Paralympic Games this summer. And it was going to argue that the future was not bright. Now that the

Games were postponed, hopefully it will help us reconsider whether or not we should still host the event next year.

Hence, this article will examine what are the likely consequences of hosting the Olympic and Paralympic Games from the standpoint of the host city, in particular that of the people who live there, based on the existing literature.

The following sections, first, explain the conceptual framework, distinguishing short-term 'impact' and long-term 'legacy', and then cover four separate but inter-related themes of 'economic effects', tourism, urban development, and celebration capitalism.

## 2. Short-term 'impact' and long-term 'legacy'

As a simple analytical framework to consider the consequences of holding the Games to the host city, this article distinguishes between short-term 'impact' and long-term 'legacy'.

In economic terms, impact means the net increase in regional income that is attributed to an event, and this should not be confused with economic contribution, which equates the mass of economic activities related to it [Watson et al., 2007]. In fact, the ex-ante commissioned studies of the Games' economic effect often estimate the contribution, but many people seem to misunderstand it as the impact. Contribution is always larger as it includes the economic activities that would happen regardless of the event, while impact should only include

the ones that would not exist without it. This article applies this distinction in considering not only economic but also broader social effects.

On the other hand, 'legacy' means the lasting effects that remain long after holding an event. IOC has become to emphasize its importance relatively recently, and 'legacy planning' has been mandatory in bidding for the Games after London 2012 [International Olympic Committee, 2013].

This is considered to be a response to the criticisms against the negative 'legacies', such as underused sporting facilities and enormous debts left to host municipalities. 'Legacy planning', in IOC's terms, is not only to plan for effective use of sporting facilities, but also to create a wide range of positive changes in terms of sport, culture, education, social participation, environment, urban infrastructure, and economy, inter alia.

This political intention of IOC notwithstanding, there has been some effort to define the term as an academic, analytical concept. Gratton & Preuss (2008) defines that 'Legacy is planned and unplanned, positive and negative, intangible and tangible structures created through a sport event that remain after the event.'

It is important to note that legacies equate the *structural* changes that an event brings about. That is, no matter how large an initial impact may be, it would not be called a 'legacy' unless it accompanies changes in structure, whether that be economic, social, physical, environmental, institutional, and so forth.

Preuss [2019] has further developed this definition as an elaborate evaluation framework, consisting of six dimensions: (1) urban development (transport, redevelopment, housing, etc.), (2) environmental enhancement (air and water quality, carbon emission,

greening, etc.), (3) human development (skills and knowledge, social network, etc.), (4) intellectual property (technology, the arts, entrepreneurship, etc.), and (6) social development (sporting participation, perceptual changes, etc.).

Although it is beyond the scope of this article to closely examine all of these aspects, they are referred to when necessary.

### 3. The lies and truth of 'economic effects'

#### (1) The (un)reliability of ex-ante estimates

As a city bids for the Games, it normally releases an estimate of 'economic effect', as if it would justify the enormous public spending on hosting the event. Tokyo, for instance, originally claimed that it would accumulate to about 1.7 and 3.0 trillion JPY for the city and the nation respectively [Tokyo Metropolitan Government, 2012].

More recently, however, it released a much-inflated estimate of 20 and 32 trillion JPY [Tokyo Metropolitan Government, 2017]. Other estimates have been published by private think-tanks, which all emulated the pattern of the official ones, jumping from 2.5 trillion to around 20 trillion JPY or more [see Suzuki, 2017]. Meanwhile, the estimated cost also increased from 0.7 to 3.0 trillion JPY. Few could deny that these renewed, more lucrative estimates were crafted to dodge the criticism towards this increased expenditure.

In fact, economists have repeatedly pointed out that the commissioned studies have always overestimated the economic benefits of sporting events [Crompton, 1995; Noll & Zimbalist, 1997; Zimbalist, 2015]. Usually, in estimating the economic impact, it is assumed that an event would bring in additional income (i.e. initial spending) from outside the city, which then would be circulated within it so that the overall impact become larger than the initial

spending (i.e. multiplier effect). Overestimate could happen either/both in terms of initial spending and multiplier.

Particularly noteworthy, though, is the fact that the estimates of Tokyo 2020 appear disproportionately large compared to the previous Games, partly due to the confusion concerning the difference between economic *impact* and *contribution*. For example, Vancouver 2010 and London 2012 officially claimed 1.07 and 1.7 million USD, respectively [Zimbalist, 2015]. In the case of London 2012, two longer-term estimates are available; Oxford Economics [2012] says the net benefit is 1.65 million GBP during twelve years from 2005 to 2017, and the British Government [2013] officially states 4.1 million GBP until 2020. These estimates as well are considered to be exaggerated.

While the initial estimate of 3 trillion JPY during the seven-year period from 2013 to 2020 may have been roughly in the same category as those of the recent Games, it is apparent that the current one of 32 trillion JPY is extraordinary. The author has pointed out the problems concerning this estimate elsewhere [Suzuki, 2017], which can be summarized in four points:

- 1) A large proportion of the amount included as ‘initial spending’ of 14 billion JPY is considered to be public spending, and thus it should literally be understood as ‘spending’ rather than ‘income’ from the standpoint of taxpayers;
- 2) These public expenditures could be spent on other public services, were there not for the Olympics and Paralympics, and thus it should not be considered as net increase in initial spending, while its evaluation should be based on its comparative advantage vis-a-vis the opportunity

costs;

- 3) It includes as initial spending about 12 billion JPY of the ‘legacy effects’ during the ten-year period after the event, but they are composed mostly of the items irrelevant to the Games, which thus would have been spent without it; and
- 4) the items other than the public expenditures that are included as ‘increase in demand’ actually have no empirical ground.

If this is an estimate of contribution, it may not be a complete ‘lie’, but one might suspect that the number was manufactured to mislead the public, knowing that the majority of the masses would misunderstand it as the ‘return’ for the public investment.

#### (2) The ex-post economic studies

The existing economic literature indicates what Tokyo should reasonably expect from hosting the Games. Indeed, economists have reached the agreement that the host city should not expect that the Olympics and Paralympics would bring about economic growth. In the past three decades, a number of studies have attempted to measure the economic impact of the event in terms of various indicators such as household income, employment, GDP, population size, the number of foreign visitors, and so on, and the results can be summarized as ‘negligible, at best’ [Kavetsos & Szymanski, 2010, p.158].

In terms of short-term impact, it is either unobservable or very small on job creation or average income, and can be negative on household spending and commercial revenues [Baade & Matheson, 2016]. The increase in the number of visitors is always below expectations [Preuss, 2004], there seems to be a negative effect on population growth [Nitsch & Wendland,

2017], and no significant change can be seen on GDP growth rate of the host nation [Mitchell & Stewart, 2015].

In terms of long-term legacy, the growth in tourism is rare, the raised international recognition would not last long, and the increase in foreign direct investment and international trade tends to be larger for failed bidders [Baade & Matheson, 2016].

The next section focuses on tourism, so as to further illustrate why the Games fail to boost the city's economy.

#### 4. The effect on tourism

The literature on tourism has revealed the mechanisms behind the counterintuitive reality concerning the lack of positive impact or legacy on the economy of host city. It is undeniable that the Olympics and Paralympics draw a number of foreign visitors in the shapes of athletes, officials and spectators. Overall, however, the Games do not seem to add much to the tourism industry of the host city and nation, either short- or long-term.

##### (1) Short-term impacts

In terms of short-term impacts, it is generally assumed that the Olympics and Paralympics would attract a large number of foreign visitors, injecting enormous extra spending into the host city and/or nation. In reality, however, that the number of visitors is likely to be lower than expected, and the multiplier effect is considered to be smaller than the normal time.

Preuss [2004] studied the seven summer Games between 1972 and 2000, and found that, although the number of foreign visitors tended to increase during the month or year the event was held, it was always fewer than expected. This also meant that, coupled with the increased number of beds, the occupancy rates stayed lower than usual. In

more recent cases of Salt Lake City, Beijing and London, Zimbalist [2015] reports that the number of visitors were fewer than the year before.

The reason why the significant number of visitors attending the Games do not lead to a net increase in the overall number of visitors is known as the 'crowding out' effect. As much as the Olympics and Paralympics attract the pro-event visitors to the city, they also put off a significant proportion of normal visitors as well, due to the soaring prices of air tickets and accommodations, as well as the image of congestion caused by the perceivably increased number of visitors. If these potential visitors chose to visit other destinations, it should be considered as net decrease caused by the Games.

Or some of them would change the time of visit either before or after the Games. They are called 'time switchers'. There could also be those who change the time of visit to the period when the Games are held, while original intention would have been some other time. In these cases, they do not change the total number of visitors for the year, or the few years overarching the year of the Games.

As an indication that crowding out effect is indeed at work, it is known that the normal tourist destinations in the city become vacant during the time of the event. The Sydney Zoo experienced a massive decline in visitor numbers [Preuss, 2004]. In London the western quarters of the city were deserted, and the taxi drivers suffered a significant loss [Boykoff, 2014].

The time switching effects have been also evident, as European Tour Operators Association [2006] reports the hosts of the recent Games experienced dips in growth rates before and after the year of event, cancelling out the slight increase on the

year. Sydney saw a slight increase in visitor numbers in 2000 and then decreases in the following three years in a row, while Salt Lake City had fewer ski visitors in 2002 but it sprang back in the next year [Zimbalist, 2015; Baade & Matheson, 2016].

It is likely that the patterns of spending by the Olympic visitors differ from the normal ones, leaving the levels of initial spending and multiplier lower than usual. It is said that because the spectators have already spent a lot of money on admission fees, airfares and accommodations, they tend to refrain from spending much on food or other tourist attractions. The increased accommodation fees would not be reflected in employees' salaries but sucked in by the global capital that owns the hotels [Baade & Matheson, 2016].

The event visitors naturally spend most of their time in and around the Games' venues, and thus they do not have enough spare time to visit normal tourist attractions as well. This means that most of their money is spent on the official sites, where only the official sponsors are allowed to do business. Therefore, local businesses are prevented from cashing in [Duignan & Pappalepore, 2019]. The visitors' spending would not get circulated in the regional economy but leak out as the revenue of the global sponsors.

## (2) Long-term legacies

The effect of the Games on tourism is also limited in terms of long-term legacies. It is often presumed that the Olympics and Paralympics would expose the host city to the global audience so that it appeals to them as their potential holiday destination in the future. In reality, though, only two cities, Barcelona and Salt Lake City, have seen their tourism industry grow in a long run after holding the Games [Baade &

Matheson, 2016]. Ritchie & Smith [1991] found that Calgary indeed gained a global recognition thanks to the Games, but that effect rapidly diminished within only a few years.

Even the 'success' of Barcelona may not be credited to the Olympics and Paralympics altogether. It is a fact that the city has seen a long-term growth of tourism industry since 1992 and maintain the reputation as one of the most attractive tourist destinations in the world. Between 1990 and 2001, the number of beds, tourists, and overnights got doubled, the average room occupancy and length of stay improved, and the proportion of foreign visitors jumped by twenty percentage points [Gratton & Preuss, 2008].

This certainly counts as structural transformation in Preuss's terms [Preuss, 2004]. However, there are reasons to doubt that this was a legacy of the Games that would have never happened, had it not hosted the event. First, Barcelona had already been filled with cultural heritages to attract tourists [Zimbalist, 2015], and second, there had been well elaborate plans to regenerate the city since 1970s, well before bidding for the Olympics and Paralympics [Abe, 2009]. European Tour Operators Association [2006] point out that Dublin and Prague, which possessed similar conditions in terms of population size and cultural heritages, grew faster in tourism during the same period, and cast doubt on the positive effect of the Games.

Despite the fact that the short-term impact is likely to be below expectation and the long-term legacy cannot be expected, the hotels in the host city invest to increase the number of beds [Preuss, 2004]. And excessive investment would inevitably result in recession. This was materialized in the case of Nagano 1998 [Nakamura & Suzuki, 2017]. The local community expected an increase



in domestic ski visitors, which never materialized, and suffered a number of bankruptcies after the event.

Meanwhile, the village of Hakuba, one of the five host municipalities of the Nagano Games, managed to come back from the initial downturn almost twenty years later. The business community of Hakuba capitalized on the Japanese government's Welcome Japan campaign, utilizing the legacies of the Games such as the English skills (human development), social network (social development) and unused facilities (urban development). It can be construed as an example where some of the structural changes caused by the Games functioned as the leverage to help propel the local economy.

## 5. Urban development and forced evictions

### (1) The impact and legacy of urban development

The Olympics and Paralympics transform the urban infrastructure. The Olympic-related urban development includes not only various sporting facilities but also such things as the athlete village and new urban transport systems. Recently, the host cities have exploited this opportunity to comprehensively regenerate a certain quarter of the city.

Whether it should be considered positive or negative depends on where you stand. The concentration of investment during the several years before the event could be considered as a short-term impact as it would induce additional employment and a net increase in GDP. This effect, however, is only temporary, and it should be considered that much of these investments would have been made sooner or later but was only brought forward due to the Olympics and Paralympics. If so, it is apparent that the city would suffer a vacuum of investment

after the event (just like the 'time switchers' in the context of tourism). Therefore, only limited part is considered as the net increase in regional income [Suzuki, 2017].

Of course, these urban infrastructure upgrades, or the changes in physical structure, should be evaluated as legacy, as they are to serve the city's future. It is well-known that sporting facilities would be likely to become financial burdens of the local municipality for years to come, as there would never be another chance to host an event as large as the Olympics and Paralympics.

In terms of transport and urban redevelopment projects, the hosting of the Games provides a rare opportunity for the city planners and developers to accelerate the process, which would have been very slow without the event [Suzuki, 2015]. This may appear positive from their viewpoints, but it is undesirable to squash the democratic process for the citizens to reach an agreement. It is also pointed out that without a well thought through urban planning before bidding for the Games, there is a risk of chaotic overdevelopment [Kassens-Noor, 2012].

### (2) People affected by the Olympic-related urban development

From the standpoint of urban inhabitants, the urban development projects induced by the Olympics and Paralympics could affect negatively on their lives both short- and long- terms. As a short-term negative, it is known that the rigid deadline is often used as an excuse to fast-track the process of urban development [Steinbrink et al, 2011]. In a long run, the Games tend to accelerate gentrification, undermining the livelihood of vulnerable people.

The most serious of all is the forced evictions coerced upon some of the most

vulnerable population in the city. A large-scale infrastructure development project, whether Olympic-related or not, usually requires land acquisition and thus commonly induces displacement of inhabitants. Normally, however, it takes time, as it should, to reach the agreements for compensation with all of the landowners and inhabitants. The hosting of the Games tends to shorten this process so radically that it results in forced evictions without fair deals.

It is estimated that 15,000 to 1.5 million people were displaced coercively building up to the 2008 Beijing Summer Games [Centre on Housing Rights and Evictions, 2007]. In Rio de Janeiro, more than 770,000 were displaced, and the media repeatedly reported the violence by the police in the process of eviction [Talbot & Carter, 2018].

The 'sanitization' of urban space also occurs, as the host city prepares itself for the exposure to the eyes of international media and foreign visitors. The most likely victims are rough sleepers, and thus the movement for the rights to housing for the homeless people was strongly connected to the anti-Olympic activism in Vancouver [Boykoff, 2011].

Exclusion of relatively poor population from urban space also happens in the form of gentrification, as was typically observed in Vancouver and London [Kennelly, 2016]. The athlete village is often converted into housing after the event, at least part of which is offered as luxury apartments, inducing the influx of subsequent private investment in the surrounding areas. This results in the elevation of property prices as well as those of daily products, and so the whole area becomes unaffordable for low-income households. It is said that one of the main aims of London's bid for the 2012 Summer Games was to regenerate the East End area that had suffered relative

deprivation for several decades, but it resulted in the agglomeration of luxurious apartment complexes alienating the traditional working class communities in the neighborhoods [Watt & Minton, 2016].

### (3) Tokyo's case

The same patterns have been certainly observable in Tokyo. While it is reported that the 'Olympic-related' urban development amasses to 10 trillion JPY, it includes a number of projects that are not directly needed for hosting the Games, such as installment of new transport systems, opening of a new railway station, extension of the metropolitan expressway, and so on [Osada et al., 2015; Development Bank of Japan, 2016]. This means that only a small portion of it could be counted in as the short-term impact.

One of the typical projects where the process had been stalled but was reignited by the Games was the relocation of the Tsujiki market to Toyosu, which open the way for the extension project of the Ring Road 2 directly linking Toyosu to Toranomon, where private redevelopment projects are booming. This example shows how convenient the hosting of the Olympics and Paralympics is to accelerate urban development even during the period of long-term recession.

The sanitization of urban space also happened in relation to the reconstruction of the National Stadium. It destroyed the lives of the rough sleepers who lived in the park surrounding the old stadium as well as the residents, mostly in their eighties and nineties, of the social housing estate right next to the site [Suzuki et al., 2018]. They got evicted very violently, being clearly ignored the rights to adequate housing, though this fact never entertained the mainstream media. The total number of

those who got evicted were two to three hundred, which may not have been as large as that of some of the previous Games, but it cannot be an excuse for not paying proper attentions to compensating them.

#### (4) Summary

To sum up this section, it should be stressed again that hosting the Olympics and Paralympics would not contribute to the city's economic growth, either short- or long-term. Thus, if the Olympic-related urban development is mostly to benefit the affluent, it only means to expand the economic disparity within the city. Even the investment in infrastructure, which is supposed to serve the long-term economic development, is not justifiable, because the evidence suggests that it does not contribute to the city's economic growth. The urban infrastructure is to serve the needs of the people who live there. If it is not realized through a democratic process, then it should not be. Nevertheless, the urban development 'related to the Olympics' would not stop, because it is only an excuse to remove the obstacles for the subsequent redevelopment projects that have been lined up for years.

### 6. The legacy of celebration capitalism

#### (1) The Olympics and celebration capitalism

So far, it has been shown that hosting the Olympics and Paralympics does not add to the city's economic growth either short- or long-term, while the investment in the Olympic-related urban development nonetheless is escalated, victimizing the vulnerable population.

The concept of 'celebration capitalism' explains how these fragments form the components of one massive system that accelerates global capital accumulation in the host city. The concept was proposed by an American political sociologist Jules

Boykoff [2014]. In his thick historical analysis, starting with Los Angeles 1932 and leading up to London 2012, he describes the process by which the Olympic and Paralympic Games have grown into a system that structurally accelerates the maldistribution of wealth in the host city.

His critique is not a commonplace criticism towards commercialism, but it shows that the accumulation of actions by diverse actors establishes a power structure that widens social inequalities and brings about an uneven distribution of wealth. This power structure is not a one-time thing for the host city, but a legacy that will remain after the Olympic and Paralympic Games are gone. All of the falsehoods about 'economic effects' and the contradictions concerning the associated urban development that have been described so far are sub-systems that underpin this structure of celebration capitalism.

In line with the definition of legacy by Preuss [2019], celebration capitalism could be construed as a project that starts with the permanent changes on the governance structure, and, relying heavily on the means of transforming the physical structure, ultimately aims to transform the economic structure.

#### (2) Celebration capitalism as the legacy of the Games

Thus, it is attempted here to reinterpret Boykoff's [2014] conceptualization of celebration capitalism as the long-term structural transformation brought about by the Olympic and Paralympic Games. According to Boykoff, celebration capitalism consists of six 'tenets'. While there might not be enough materials to examine all these tenets, it is attempted to explore what kind of economic, social and political structures may be emerging in the context

of Tokyo 2020.

The first tenet is the ‘state of exception’, where the national government and local authority become to exercise extrajudicial power in the face of the absolute deadline promised to the international community. This allows for a variety of policy decisions to be made while omitting the administrative processes that would normally be taken.

Deregulation and other institutional changes that take place in this state of exception will remain after the Olympics and Paralympics. It is what Preuss [2019] calls a structural transformation in policy and governance.

In the case of Tokyo, when the forecasted costs skyrocketed in 2015 over the construction of a new national stadium, a single voice from the prime minister led to a blanket decision to withdraw the design, and a decision was made for the metropolitan government to partially cover the cost of construction despite the fact that the stadium is a national public facility. When the Kasumigaoka housing estate was demolished, a negotiated contract was used, even though it should have been put out to competitive tendering given the scale of the work.

The second tenet is that Olympic and Paralympic-related projects, many of which are carried out in public-private partnerships, promote the transfer of capital from the public to the private sector. It is part of this tenet that promises to generate significant economic benefits by keeping the cost of hosting the event down, while in reality it increases endlessly.

While the introduction of private funds is supposed to reduce costs, in reality, it can easily fall into a situation in which the public bears the risk and lets the private sector take the profits. It often results in public land being paid off to the private

sector at a discount or the public having to make up for the failure of a project.

This transfer of profit to the private sector also takes the form of deregulation. The surrounding area of the National Stadium had been designated as a scenic area with height restrictions of 15 meters or less. This was raised to 80 meters to allow for the realization of the former Zaha Hadid proposal, and subsequently construction of 200-meter skyscrapers has been permitted [Nomura et al., 2019].

The area from Route 246 through Chichibunomiya Rugby Stadium and to the first and second Jingu baseball stadiums is also the subject of the “Basic Memorandum of Understanding on Urban Development of the Jingu Gaien District” concluded by the Tokyo Metropolitan Government in 2015 with the landowners Meiji Shrine, the Japan Sports Promotion Center, and three private companies [Tokyo Metropolitan Government, 2015]. There is a plan for a ‘chained’ development, which is to swap the locations of the stadiums, and the first step was to demolish one of the baseball stadiums so as to use the land for parking and material storage during the Olympics [Kensetsu Kogyo Shinbun, 2019].

Thirdly, festive commercialism will boost public support for the Olympics. In the run-up to the year of the Games, highly sophisticated marketing techniques are used to effectively promote the event, and the Cultural Olympiad and other related events gradually add to the atmosphere.

However, as it has already been mentioned above, because the right to use Olympic and Paralympic-related trademarks during the preparation and hosting period is strictly limited to the official sponsors, the local economy cannot be expected to take advantage of this commercialism.

It has also been found that the temporary

happiness of people in the host city increases during the Games, and negative aspects such as increased costs are easily forgotten [Hiller & Wanner, 2015].

Fourth, tightly enforced urban security will stifle opposition. Security at the Olympics and Paralympics has got increasingly tighter and more expensive recently. It is primarily the American security industry that benefits from this. Coupled with the first tenet, it is also customary for the authorities to intensify surveillance.

In Japan, during the parliamentary deliberations on 'conspiracy charges', security during the Olympic and Paralympic Games was mentioned as one of the reasons. In Vancouver and London, CCTVs were installed throughout the city, which would continue to be used to monitor the citizens after the Games. There are concerns that the pressure to 'clean up' urban spaces would be maintained, and rough sleepers would struggle to find the space to spend their nights.

Fifth, considerations for environmental and social sustainability are touted without being accompanied by reality. Despite the promises for the 'environmentally friendly' Games, the environmental impact of the event is higher than usual, making the individual initiatives to showcase the most advanced technology for protecting environment rather trivial.

The recent Games have increasingly highlighted the participation of relatively vulnerable people such as indigenous people and refugees, but that does not cancel out the fact that low-income people in the city suffer from the Olympic and Paralympic-related urban development.

In the run-up to the Tokyo Games, promotions featuring para-sports and para-athletes were particularly notable, but the removal of the homeless people and the

demolition of the Kasumigaoka estate did not receive a significant coverage in the mainstream media.

Not all of the efforts for sustainability may be empty, but they must not be used to cover up the social injustice that is occurring on the other side.

Sixth, the 'success' of the Games will be staged through spectacles such as the torch relay and the opening ceremony. Since the masses cannot see what goes on behind the scenes, it is easy to make up the impression of 'success' in the visible part. This is also why the 'economic effects' are touted without reality, because what matters is what the general public believe.

It is hard to deny the values exhibited in the opening and closing ceremonies featuring the Olympic philosophy of peace and participation, as well as the tradition and culture of the host country. In Tokyo, the decision to postpone the event was made just before the start of the torch relay, so it is not clear what the spectacles would have looked like.

However, even in the debate over postponement, the decision-making process is never made clear to the public. This divide between the 'performers' and the 'viewers' is, according to Boykoff, the essence of the spectacle.

Thus, while ostensibly being decorated with glamour and beautiful values, the reality is that social disparities are widened, and the authorities gain more control over the public. This is 'celebration capitalism'. The remade physical structure of the city, as well as the transfer of wealth from the public to the private sector and the tightened security systems, will long remain in the host city even after the Games. If this is the case, then the legacy of the Olympic and Paralympic Games is a system that alienates urban dwellers and fosters the

maldistribution of wealth.

## 7. Concluding remarks

The Olympic and Paralympic Games are talked about as if hosting them will enrich the people who live there. They are touted as bringing wealth to countries and cities, bringing excitement through sport, and bringing social benefits in many ways. This paper has argued that there is no empirical evidence for many of these, and in fact, the negative impacts are significant.

And through the analysis combining Boykoff's celebration capitalism and Preuss's concept of legacy, which is defined as the structural transformation that events bring about, it is suggested that the legacy left in the city may be the power structure that accelerates the maldistribution of wealth within the city.

From a social policy perspective, the major downside is that policy resources that could be invested in protecting the livelihoods of the wider population are likely to be siphoned off and used to induce wealth to a limited number of wealthy people, at the expense of some urban residents whose livelihoods are physically destroyed behind the scenes. In the end, the Olympics and Paralympics perpetuate the physical, institutional and economic structures that increase inequality.

The festive atmosphere of the Olympic and Paralympic Games provides a cover for these hidden structural transformations. This is because the short-term euphoria for many people clouds their eyes to see the essence of the event. The public never learns the details of what the IOC and politicians are up to behind the glamorous spectacle. Through the lens of celebration capitalism, it is not hard to see why they hastily decided to hold the Games only a year later, when the end of COVID-19

pandemic could not be foreseen.

With cities around the world no longer participating in the bidding war, it is not surprising that the event continues to be held in the mega-cities of London, Rio, Tokyo, Beijing, Los Angeles and Paris, given that they are the sites of global capital accumulation.

Since most of the tenets of celebration capitalism are realized in the preparation period, considerable damage has already been done in Tokyo. With that in mind, hopefully this article will help reignite the deliberation on whether or not to hold the Games in Tokyo next year.

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# Japan Association for Social Policy Studies (JASPS) 140th Conference

23-24 May, 2020, at Tokyo Metropolitan University, Tokyo, Japan

**DAY 1 (23 May 2020)**

## **SPECIAL THEME SESSIONS**

Special Theme Session 2: **An international comparison of the policy initiatives aimed at supporting people who face difficulties gaining employment**

As the employment circumstances worsened in Japan in the 1990s, the nature and degree of assistance for people who face difficulties seeking employment has attracted greater academic and social attention. That assistance has mainly stemmed from private-sector initiatives such as youth support groups. As a result, it would be difficult to describe it as an established Government policy. That situation was meant to have changed with the Job Assistance Program that was introduced under the Act on Self-reliance Support for Needy Persons, in 2015. To date, however, the implementation of this policy has been full of trials and errors hence its success remains questionable.

On the other hand, looking overseas, there are many countries where assistance programs are more formally embedded within national welfare policies. That embeddedness means that they are operationalized alongside policies on unemployment benefits or public assistance. Such an approach, however, is not immune from criticism as many people argue it constitutes a form of ‘work-fair’.

The aim of this session is to examine some of the characteristics of the Japanese case via international comparisons from Korea and Germany. This will enable us to more deeply evaluate the policy characteristics of Japan’s approach in this social policy area.

### **1. National Basic Living Security and Self-Sufficiency Program in Korea**

**MATSUE Akiko (International University of Health and Welfare)**

Equivalent to the Public Assistance System in Japan, a public assistance program in Korea called the National Basic Living Security is intended for the poor and needy, regardless of their ability or inability to work. However, the program in Korea differs significantly from that in Japan, as it states that those who are able to work should participate in an employment support program called the Self-Sufficiency Program in order to receive their benefits.

Despite the criticism that imposing such a condition forces benefit recipients to work, it also assumes an important role in combining the benefits with “employment support,” in which a self-sufficiency support program is prepared for individual recipients. Various

opportunities and places to work are provided by the national and local governments, and by the private sector, in order to support the recipients' self-sufficiency.

The objective of this report is to examine the background to this condition being added for people of working age in the National Basic Living Security in Korea, and how the Self-Sufficiency Program has been positioned within it and developed. The report also aims to find the implications for the Public Assistance System in Japan.

## **2. Current Situation and Problems of German Job Assistance Policy for Persons with Difficulty in Employment**

**MORI Chikako (Takasaki City University of Economics)**

In Germany, the main institution of job assistance for persons with difficulty in employment is the Basic Income Support for Needy Jobseekers, which was enacted in 2005. It is a public assistance system for needy people who are capable of working, and provides, besides income security, intensive job assistance and livelihood support. However, due to the large discretion of "Jobcenters" which run the institution, and are operated by both municipals and Arbeitsagenturs (almost equal to "Hallo-Work" in Japan), the quality and quantity of job assistance and livelihood support are different in each area.

The presentation overviews the current status and problems of job assistance and livelihood support of the Basic Income Support for Needy Jobseekers and examines the situation which is called "Combi-Wage (Kombi-Lohn)" where people with difficulty in employment receives benefits while engaging in low-wage jobs.

## **3. Examining some of the characteristics of Japan's "Job Assistance" Policies for people who face difficulties entering the world of work**

**ABE Makoto (Oita University)**

Although "employment assistance" includes various employment measures, our focus in this presentation will be on people who encounter difficulties entering the world of work. Employment assistance initiatives for one-parent households and persons with various types of disabilities has a long history, but these have been a part of support policies for specific targeted people. It can be said that "job assistance" initiatives for people with difficulties in employment has begun with the efforts of youth support groups, such as NPOs for the youth, since 1990s, though some local governments have expanded their similar program.

The Job Assistance Policy was established as a national policy by the Act on Self-reliance Support for Needy Persons which was introduced in 2015. In terms of the actualization and effectiveness of this policy for which local governments are responsible, however, the picture looks very mixed.

In this presentation, I will summarize the current situations of the job assistance in Japan. I will also examine its characteristics of Japan, comparing with the case of Korea and Germany, in terms of the institutional structure of job assistance, its relationship with income security and its position in the welfare policies.

## PAPER SESSIONS

### Paper Session 1: Labor and Policy

#### 1. Youth Policies and Youth Movements in Korea and Japan: Focus on frame work act on youth policy

**PARK Jaeho (Graduate Student, Tokyo Metropolitan University)**

Both Japan and Korea were known as a family-centered welfare state. Since 2000, youth policy has increased in Korea and Japan to deal with youth unemployment and NEET problems. so this paper is to clarify the characteristics youth policy in Japan and Korea through a comparative analysis. this study, in particular, focused on the case of ‘frame work act on youth policy’ in Japan and Korea. As a result, I have found a difference in youth policy between youth targets and Participation in the policy-making. I argue that these differences stem from the social movement and the political environment in Japan and Korea.

#### 2. Analytical Perspective on Workfare: International Comparative Studies and Implications for Japan

**KOBAYASHI Hayato (Nihon Fukushi University)**

There have been policy developments in North America and Western Europe since 1990s, which have required recipients of minimum income benefits to work or participate in work related activities. They have also influenced public assistance reform debates in Japan. Welfare reform in the US, called workfare, provided an idea for labor market and social security reform in Western Europe. However, there are various names of the reform in Western Europe. It has been a hot issue whether it is workfare or not.

This paper clarifies some important points to analyze on workfare by considering main international comparative studies. First, I analyze previous studies on workfare in Japan and show that their argument is complicated and influenced by both the US and Western Europe. Second, I clarify how a way to use workfare has changed in international comparative studies. Third, I propose that it is important to consider a logic of policy which has caused a change of workfare for a long-term.

#### 3. Irregular Employment among Private Middle and High School Teachers: Based on Labor Dispute Research and Employment Systems

**KONNO Haruki (POSSE)**

More than 40 percent of educators teaching in private middle and high schools are on fixed-term, irregular employment. Teachers on such contracts have become integral and indispensable in everyday operations in many schools with some being assigned the task of managing the yearly curriculum and extra-curricular activities such as school sports clubs. However, their compensation and benefits fall far behind their counterparts who are on permanent, regular employment. Also, their employers often choose not to renew their

contracts to avoid being held accountable by the regulation mandated by the Labor Contracts Act. As a result, many critics point out the decline in the quality of education offered to students in such schools.

This paper shows labor management practices implemented in private schools by conducting approximately twenty semi-structured interviews of educators on temporary contracts employed by private schools in the Kanto region who are/were in a labor dispute. The paper also discusses the effects of the employment system implemented based on the “permanent-irregular employment portfolio”.

## Paper Session 2: Care Provision

### 1. The ethics of care and social policy – Implications for the Japanese disability policy

SUZUKI Tomoka (Graduate Student, Hitotsubashi University)

The purpose of this report is to investigate theoretically the ideal of social welfare typically exemplified by social policy from the perspective of the ethics of care. The ethics of care, unlike the ethics of justice (the most notable example is J. Rawls’s *Theory of Justice*), has long been considered as a moral value applicable only to the private sphere represented by ‘care’ for children or the elderly, for example. This article first explores the ways in which ‘the ethics of care’ has been developed since the 1980s. It examines how theorists have started to apply the ethics of care to the sphere traditionally deemed public. In so doing, policy implications for the contemporary Japanese disability policy will be indicated. The Law for Comprehensive Support for Persons with Disabilities that succeeded the Law for Independence of Persons with Disabilities aims to enable disabled persons to live together with ‘ordinary’ people in their communities. This implies what Rawls calls ‘social cooperation’. However, it is highly unlikely that severely disabled people enjoy such social cooperation. Thus, this report argues that we must critically question what is the ideal social policy that urges social cooperation from the perspective of the ethics of care.

### 2. A study of social policies to make preschool education and day care services free — Focusing on various arguments that surround non-registered day care facilities —

MATSUMURA Satoshi (Tokyo Metropolitan University)

The purpose of this paper is to mention the significance of non-registered day care facilities in social policies with a full understanding of the quality and waiting lists of childcare services, based on various forms of discussions at the councils toward making preschool education and day care services free.

As a result, non-registered day care facilities have coped with the increase in two-income families resulted from women’s participation in society, but on other hand they have felt anxiety about the deterioration of the quality of day care services. Securing the quality of day care services is the key to propelling the social policies in accordance with the times. Such knowledge will be helpful in grasping that qualitative security plays significant roles in the adjustment and cross-linkage of the fairness and necessity in a

social policy while quantitative increase should be ensured.

### 3. Building a Long-Term Care System in China and Thailand: Challenges of Policy Development in Low- and Middle-income Countries

MIYOSHI Yusuke (HelpAge International)

Global challenges in eldercare are particularly felt in developing world of low- and middle-income countries (LMICs), where population ageing outpaces the development of eldercare policies and services. Previous research has reviewed the long-term Care (LTC) system in individual countries; however, they did not identify the similarities and differences of the systems between the countries. This research used systematic cross-national comparisons to discuss the different development of LTC systems in China and Thailand, and related it to wider experiences in LMICs. The Chinese government has prioritised economic development and focused on supply-side development, and generally does not provide social services directly, relying instead on other social actors, especially private enterprises. In Thailand, community-based volunteer programmes play an important role, based on a universal coverage health scheme and previous experience of government-supported community health volunteering. In both countries, the role of governments is limited, and state service provision relies on families, communities, and the private sector. Therefore, poorer and non-family caregivers are particularly vulnerable in both countries as a result of unequal LTC strategies.

#### Paper Session 4: Income Security

### 1. The Redistribution Effects of Introducing Housing Benefit: A Micro-Simulation Approach

TANAKA Soichiro (Kanto Gakuin University)

WATANABE Kuriko (National Institute of Population and Social Security)

YAMADA Atsuhiko (Keio University)

The main purpose of housing policy was to promote the ownership of houses, but it does not sufficiently take into account elderly people who were unable to accumulate housing assets. If people are not able to purchase a house during their working age, securing steady housing during elderly years will be difficult due to increasing rent payments and the need to secure guarantors. Indeed, the poverty rate of elderly people living in private rental housing is high.

In this study, we measure the Redistribution Effects of introducing Housing Benefit using micro-data. Specifically, we estimate the affordability indexes by household types and housing tenure types. To secure financial resources, we investigate effects of decreasing public pension deductions by using a microsimulation. From these analyses, we discuss the new benefit system for elderly people.

## 2. Effects of the Early Claim and the Shortened Minimum Qualifying Period on Pensioners

YAMADA Atsuhiko (Keio University)

According to the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), Japan's replacement rate of old-age pension is relatively low compared with other member countries. In addition, some institutional arrangement such as the early claim or the shortened minimum qualifying period may even lower the old-age pension benefit on average. The early claim system allows people aged 60 and over to receive public pension before the ordinal pensionable age 65 at some reduced rate. Depending on the age of early claim, the reduced rate varies and 30% is the maximum. Once the claim is determined, the reduced rate lasts for entire receipt period. In addition, the qualification period has been shortened from 25 years to 10 years since August 1, 2017. This reform may also affect benefit level of old-age pensioners. In this paper, we examine how these systems affect the livelihood of low-pension recipients, utilizing micro data sets (e.g., "Survey on Old-age Pension Benefits" conducted by the Ministry of Health, Labor and Welfare).

### DAY 2 (24 May 2020)

#### SPECIAL THEME SESSIONS

##### Special Theme Session 7: Precarious Employment for Faculty and Staff Working at Universities

Japan's 18-year-old population is expected to decrease rapidly due to the low birthrate, placing university administrations in a difficult situation. Local private universities are facing especially difficult situations. Therefore, the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology has tightened standards for granting subsidies and for admission quotas. For example, universities that exceed quotas (siphoning students away from other universities) are not permitted to establish new faculties. In addition, no new universities have been allowed, in principle, in Tokyo's 23 wards for the past 10 years. Yet while the Japanese government is attempting to restrict enrollments in private universities in urban areas in order to promote regional revitalization, it is also seeking to raise the global rankings of Japan's universities, with the aim of strengthening international economic competitiveness. A so-called umbrella system has been used to improve managerial efficiency. But even at national and public universities, fewer research grants are available, leading to a serious decline in research capabilities. Another serious problem is that labor disputes have sometimes occurred when universities have dismissed employees in order to hold down labor costs. Non-regular faculty members who work at universities can become permanent if their employment period exceeds five years, but some are terminated before five years have elapsed.

In this session, we will study the problem of insecure employment of university faculty members working under increasingly strict university management in Japan, and also comparatively examine problems of university employment in Germany and the United

States.

## 1. Precarious Labor Rights in American Higher Education

WEATHERS Charles (Osaka City University)

A changing political and social environment threatens the mission of American universities, along with the livelihoods of employees. Budget cuts have forced universities to cut costs, and to rely ever more heavily on low-paid and non-regular faculty and staff. American universities have steadily increased their reliance on low-wage employees to operate over the past four decades. The ratio of tenured and tenure-track university faculty fell from 45 percent to 30 percent from 1975 to 2015, while that of contingent faculty rose from 55 percent to 70 percent, even though the latter have the same classroom-performance responsibilities and expectations. Furthermore, graduate students and support staff provide services, ranging from research and teaching to technical support, that are more vital than ever, yet they also suffer poor employment conditions.

In reaction to these trends, unionization efforts and campaigns for faculty and staff rights have been gathering momentum. Unsurprisingly, these struggles are consistently undermined by the unfriendly political environment that has for years hampered the labor union movement. The obstacles include Supreme Court rulings that have upheld employer-friendly interpretations of labor laws, making it difficult for faculty, staff, and graduate students to claim rights to organize unions and conduct collective bargaining. On the other hand, the recent upsurge in union activism, notably in public education, has provided moral and material support for labor activism, helping to bring improved conditions for some employees. This paper will examine the current situation of faculty and staff employment in higher education, with special attention to organizing activities and to the ways in which the political environment assists or hinders union activity.

## 2. Employment Structure of Researchers in Universities in Germany

TANAKA Yoko (University of Tsukuba)

Based on research from the IAB, education and public service stand out from all industries in Germany with their high ratios of fixed-term employment. Researchers, in particular, constitute a critical variable in this high ratio. The Law for Fixed-term Contracts for Academia (Wissenschaftszeitvertragsgesetz), established in 2007, has promoted fixed-term employment in academic institutions, so, as a result, most of the newly employed researchers have been employed under fixed-term contracts.

Historically, and especially for academic researchers in Germany, a significant status disparity has existed between professors and other employees, just as Max Weber described in his 'Academic as Profession' at the beginning of the 20th century.

This paper investigates the structure of employment for German researchers, examining their status, periods of employment, level and gradation of salaries, and other working conditions, along with their career perspectives, based on the division of academic researchers and non-academic support staff. The impact of the 2016 legal revision on the

structure of working condition would be also examined.

### **3. The Non-Regularization of Faculty and Staff in Public Universities**

**KANBAYASHI Yoji (Japan Research Institute for Local Government)**

There are presently 93 regional public universities in Japan, a number that has expanded in accordance with the central government's regional revitalization agenda. Unfortunately, even as the university system has expanded, funding from local governments has fallen, and employment conditions for faculty and staff have suffered as a result.

In 2005, the ratio between core instructors and instructors hired from the outside in regional private universities was an even 50:50, and stood at a similar 49:51 in regional public universities. In 2019, these ratios had changed little, at 49:51 in regional private and 48:52 in regional public universities. The situation for staff has been similar, with increasing utilization of dispatch and contracted employees. In short, institutions of higher education have seen an advance in the non-regularization of both faculty and staff.

Furthermore, 82 public institutions have converted to corporatized (hojin) status since the introduction of this system in 2004. This shift (which partially obscures distinctions between public and private status) has made it possible to apply labor contract law to employment conditions, and to transfer employees from non-regular employment to regular (permanent) employment status.

This report will examine the transformation of university employment conditions in recent years, with special attention to the non-regularization of public university faculty and staff.

### **4. The Possibility of Employee Majority Representative: New arrangements in the Labor-management Agreement based on Article 36 of the Labor Standards Law (36 Agreement)**

**IMAI Taku (Nihon University)**

Nihon University has been dismissing part-time lecturers and to eliminating many of their classes, a policy that the Union of University Part-Time Lecturers in the Tokyo Area began to actively oppose in November 2017. As the Employee Majority Representative in the Faculty of Economics since the 2018 academic year, I am calling for the following two policies.

First, if the Dean of College of Economics continues to dismiss part-time teachers, to refuse to renew their teaching contracts, or to decrease their classes, I will oppose the policy with all my authority as Majority Representative. More concretely, I will refuse to agree to an Article 36 accord (which is necessary to allow employees to work overtime legally).

Second, the teaching or educational burden of full-time teachers, which exceeds the standard of class hours and requires overtime work, should be limited in any 36 Agreement that is concluded. In concrete terms: 1) The standard for class time, five classes a week, should be considered to be a 40-hour work week over the course of the entire year; this is based on the understanding that full-time teachers need to conduct class preparation,



conduct research, and perform obligatory administrative tasks. 2) Other classes, such as graduate school courses, should be regarded as “excess” classes requiring 120 hours of overtime per year per class. 3) Full-time instructors who teach these excess classes should receive overtime payments, not the usual excess class allowance. 4) The Article 36 agreement should limit total overtime work to 360 hours per year.

If we can establish a firm partnership between the Majority Representative, the Nihon University Staff Faculty Union, and the Union of University Part-Time Lecturers in the Tokyo Area, we will be able to ensure that full-time faculty can continue their research programs, and that the work conditions of non-regular and part-time faculty are greatly improved.

**Special Theme Session 8: Youth Assistance Approach Revisited: From the Perspective of Labor, Housing, and Family Relationship**

Encouraging the youth to be “self-reliant” has become one of the most debated issues, and a number of policies have been implemented to urge and assist the youth to be independent and self-reliant. Analysis of personal issues and characteristics of those who need assistance has dominated mainstream discourse, while problems within the labor market and issues inherent in current social institutions have been largely ignored. As a result, the primary approach is to have them “adapt” to society as it is currently structured.

This session analyses assistance to the youth from various perspectives, including labor, housing, and the role of family members. Based on qualitative research, the first paper discusses workplace issues many young workers living in care facilities face. By focusing on the role of employer-provided housing or dormitories, the second paper is an analysis of the relationship between workplace issues and the loss of housing. Through analyzing the effects of family members have on the mental health of young people, the third paper shows that family relationship is an obstacle in assisting them to be independent.

**1. Qualitative Analysis on the Youth in Care Facilities Aimed at Helping Them to be Self-Reliant Through Finding Jobs**

**WATANABE Hiroto (Graduate Student, Tokyo University)**

Because the number of the youth who are in need of support from outside of family due to various reasons such as not being taken care of from his/her family members, encouraging such youth to be self-reliant through having jobs has become one of the major social issues. Support institutions encourage those who need support to have jobs by focusing mainly on their personal issues and characteristics such as their “motivation to find new jobs”, “communication skills”, and their “ability to form relationships with others”. It is rare for anyone to question the working conditions of jobs the youth are applying for.

Based on the research interviewing the youth from age 15 to 20 living in care facilities

aimed at helping to be self-reliant through having jobs on their life histories, this paper aims to show the importance of considering not only the personal characteristics of assistance recipients but also labor issues in the workplace they are in. The paper shows that the working conditions of jobs they have may be the main factor in preventing them from being independent and self-reliant.

## **2. Loss of Housing and Use of Company Provided Housing for the Working Poor: Based on Analysis of Miyagi Housing Poor Research**

**MIKAMOTO Satomi (Rikkyo University)**

As the number of workers employed by “black companies” and on temporary contracts increases, the number of working poor who struggle to find housing is increasing as well. This phenomenon is exemplified by the use of the term “internet café refugees”. The 2018 research conducted by Tokyo Metropolis showed that the majority of those staying in internet cafes were workers with jobs. What led them to lose their housing and what is preventing them from finding a new place to stay?

Based on the research interviewing those who have lost their housing, this paper shows the process of workers becoming homeless and how they try to avoid becoming homeless through having access to various “safety nets”. In some cases, one had no access to, and thus was unable to avoid becoming homeless. Although the “safety nets” in this context can include anything from support from other family members to assistance from local governments, this paper focuses specifically on dormitories and other forms of company housing provided by dispatching agencies, analyzing their role in the process.

## **3. Assisting Young Workers with Mental Illness to be “Self-reliant” and their Family Relationship: Based on Case Study and Interviews**

**IMAOKA Naoyuki (POSSE)**

As the policy of “three-generational housing” the government is trying to implement shows, numerous policies have been implemented to have family members support other members in need instead of depending on social welfare. On the contrary, through conducting interviews this paper shows how family relationship can have detrimental effect on the mental health of other family members which can sometimes lead to homelessness.

In some cases, due to experiencing abuse from parents during one’s childhood, one develops mental illness and is unable to work because of the illness which prevents one to live on one’s own and sometimes lead to worsening symptoms. In other cases, family members with little knowledge or sympathy for treating mental illness force one to live on one’s own which in the end lead to homelessness. The paper discusses necessary policies and assistance programs based on the analysis of these cases.

## PAPER SESSIONS

### Paper Session 1: Theories and Concepts

#### 1. Tadashi Fukutake's study of social policy and his interpretation of Max Weber

TANAKA Ryoichi (freelance researcher)

Tadashi Fukutake has been highly evaluated by Japanese scholars who have been influenced by British social policy studies because of his extended concept of social policy, which differs from that of Kazuo Okouchi. However, they have not investigated the relationship between the structure of Fukutake's study of social policy and his extended concept of social policy. In contrast, this presentation examines the relationship between Fukutake's study of social policy and his interpretation of Max Weber. Three points are noteworthy in the structure of Fukutake's study of social policy by means of focusing on his interpretation of Weber.

First, he criticized Weber's concept of Wertfreiheit from the perspective of his intention of monism as a link between being and value. Second, pursuing integration between theory and practice, he asserted the autonomy of cognition from practice. Third, he did not monistically synthesize the above two points, but tried to intermedate them indirectly.

This presentation clarifies the relationship between the above-mentioned features of the structure of Fukutake's study of social policy and his extended concept of social policy. Then, it presents Japanese scholars who have been influenced by British social policy studies who have admired Fukutake but have not inherited his thought process.

#### 2. Struggle to translate "social security" into Japanese

SUGANUMA Takashi (Rikkyo University)

Here I examine historically the process of translation of English words "social security" into Japanese words "shakai hoshou". When and after the United States enacted "the Social Security Act" in 1935, there arose a problem of translation of these words into Japanese. A variety of translated words were "invented". Similar problems arose when I.L.O.'s report "Approaches to Social Security" in March 1942 or "Beveridge Report" in November 1942 were published. In February 1946, the Supreme Commander for Allied Powers who ruled Japan after WW2 drafted "New Japanese Constitution" which mentioned "social security". Japanese members of the parliament searched for proper Japanese words and nominated words were changed several times and in the end, "shakai hoshou" were chosen.

#### 3. Defining "Coordination" in the Collective Action Interpretation of Social Policy

TAKAHASHI Satoshi (Iwate Prefectural University)

Collective action theory addresses the difficulty of achieving balance between individual/collective rationality, especially as it the difficulty of achieving collective goals.

Within this context, “Coordination” is a concept that express the nature of such challenges.

In social policy research, coordination can be considered a key concept for described hereafter. Cases addressing challenges in the context of governance require a macro-level methodological approach distinct from cases that address interactions between individuals, which are typically examined using model analysis or experimental studies. In this report, challenges are configured as a two-tired social dilemma: a normal social dilemma between the individual and the collective, and a “sociality dilemma” mediated by the collective moral order. Thus, we discuss the structure of social rights based on an equivalent two-tired citizenship corresponding to the political collective and individual institutional collective. Example fields will be labor, housing and education.

#### Paper Session 6: **Disability and the Public Sphere**

### 1. The transition of the “public nature” concept in social welfare: focusing on the welfare service supply system

**LIN Sun (Graduate Student, Doshisha University)**

Social welfare is essentially a service business field with “public nature”. However, it has been pointed out that although the social welfare is said to be inseparable from the public nature, the substance of the public nature concept has not yet been specifically analyzed. On the other hand, the history of social welfare suggests that the concept of public nature in social welfare is transiting due to the changes in welfare service supply system.

In this study, we focused on the welfare service supply system, and 2 clarified its constituent elements, “policy subject”, “resident (client)”, and “practice subject”. The official/public/private trialism was used as the keyword to analyze the concept of public nature in social welfare and we organized the transition in the public nature concept based on the analysis. It has been revealed that nowadays, the public nature of social welfare is reflected by the behaviors of the practice subject, including the social welfare corporations, NPO corporations and so forth.

### 2. Exploring Livelihood Support Needs Using the Citizens’ Advice Services

**IZUMIDA Nobuyuki (National Institute of Population and Social Security Research)**

**SHIRASE Yumika (Hitotsubashi University)**

In 2019, the Japanese Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare set up the Commission on Promoting the Community-based Inclusive Society and considered the measures to prepare a nationwide comprehensive support system. The commission’s report suggested that municipalities should transform the current system to a more flexible and collaborative one, so their staff could engage in comprehensive support.

However, some municipalities have already provided general recommendations and consultations, regardless of issues and recipients’ attributions, under the citizens’ advice services; moreover, they implemented intersectoral collaboration in the municipal office.

This case study was based on the documents and statistics of the citizens' advice services, published by the special wards of Tokyo, with the following objectives: (1) to identify current citizens' needs regarding institutionalized and non-institutionalized livelihood support services; (2) to evaluate the intersectoral collaboration and contact system, including the relationship with other consultation services in the social welfare sections; and (3) to envision desired consultation services corresponding to future socio-economic structural changes.

### 3. Using the leader's promotional measures under qualitative analysis in the field of disability football

KONDO Saya (Graduate Student, Toin University of Yokohama)

HIBINO (TANAKA) Nobuko (Toin University of Yokohama)

In 2013, Tokyo was selected to be the venue of the Olympic and Paralympic Games, 2020. One of the game's vision is 'Unity in Diversity'. To be specific, 'regardless of one having disabilities we will work towards a positive and symbiotic society. The Olympic and Paralympic Games is an opportunity for this.' Therefore, action is being taken for this to happen.

Using soccer as an example, Japan Football Association (JFA) started 'Football For All, bringing soccer to more people'. This resulted in 'JFA grassroots declaration'. Furthermore, in 2016 Japan Inclusive Football Federation was set up with a goal to make the symbiotic society happen. The leader plays a key role in the game's development and popularization in the field of football and disability football. This is also the case for disability sports. The report states that JIFF will announce policy making process that face inclusive football until the Leander's system is introduced.

## CONFERENCE PLENARY SESSION

### **New Horizon of Social Policies for the Post-Olympic and Paralympic Games**

The Tokyo Olympic and Paralympic Games, the leading sports events in the world, were scheduled to occur in the summer of 2020. In contrast to the intent of the Olympic Charter, the mainstream media tends to focus on medal counts and the economic effects the games have in the host country. While the Olympic and Paralympic Games generate an economic impact, they are also recognized for their value as a sporting event. Hosting the Olympic and Paralympic Games as well as the relevant policies involved with doing so impact our daily lives.

One such policy involves diversity and inclusion (D&I) initiatives. Though the Tokyo Olympic and Paralympic Games have a clear vision of focusing on the value of D&I, are their enforced policies appropriate?

In response to hosting the games, gentrification is taking place in Japan, including the demolition of municipally owned housing and renewal of

metropolitan areas. The Tokyo Metropolitan Government has appealed measures in their policy plan for street people, but these measures ignore the will of the people and need to be reexamined.

On the other hand, the Paralympic Games are presented as being able to eliminate these negative aspects. Officially occurring alongside the Olympic Games since the Beijing Olympic Games of 2008, the Paralympic Games are considered the keystone of D&I. Sports for the disabled have been promoted in Japan with the expectation for generating understanding for and normalization of this community through their social participation in the Olympics. However, are these expectations for the disabled community realized or are they becoming “legacy”?

From this point of view, this plenary session will discuss the theme of D&I as it pertains to gender, legacy/housing, and the disabled. While these subjects likely vary from previous session topics, it is fruitful to introduce new social policy to learn from various fields and thus create a new dimension of social policy study.

#### **What would Tokyo be left with after the Olympic and Paralympic Games?**

**SUZUKI Naofumi (Hitotsubashi University)**

What will Tokyo be left with after the Olympic and Paralympic Games this summer? This presentation demonstrates that the previous Games have not left much positive legacy to the host cities, and that there seems to be no reason to expect otherwise for Tokyo. Applying the definition of “legacy” as “structural changes” caused by a mega event (Gratton & Preuss, 2008), it is argued that the widely claimed “economic impact” is unlikely and should not be considered as legacy. Then it introduces the concept of celebration capitalism as a theory that explains the comprehensive structural change that the Games truly brings about. Focusing on the urban development and its consequences of cost overrun and displacement of inhabitants, it is argued that celebration capitalism seems to materialize itself in Tokyo as well.

#### **Impact of the Paralympic Games on the development of social policies in Japan**

**HIBINO (TANAKA) Nobuko (Toin University of Yokohama)**

In addition to the 1964 Toyo and 1998 Nagano Paralympic Games, Japan will be hosting the Tokyo Paralympic Games in 2020. Those Paralympic Games have given big impacts on social policies in relation to the disabled as well as the development of disability sports but also. For example, after the 1964 Games, the disabled came to leave welfare institutions and live in communities. In addition, vocational rehabilitation was also promoted to make the disabled live in communities, independently. Then the Nagano Paralympic Games encouraged the disabled to compete in sports. Tokyo 2020 Olympic and Paralympic Games Organising committee has shown the 3 visions of the games and one of them states that the games may contribute to the creation of inclusive society. In addition, after the bidding for the Tokyo 2020 Paralympic Games, the Act for Eliminating Discrimination against Persons with Disabilities implemented and other legislations have

enacted. Paralympians came to take part in the policy making processes at national and community levels. There are lot of changes after the bidding for the Tokyo 2020 in 2013. This report discusses how those Paralympic Games have given impacts of the development of social policies in Japan.

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**Tokyo Olympic and Paralympic Games and Gender/SOGI Policies**

**NAITO Shinobu (Japan Institute of Labour Policy and Training)**