
Japan Day by Day
Ulrich Möhwald

www.marafiki.org

Group Marafiki – Friendship and Art

The name of the group comes from Swahili and it stands for “friendship and art”. Promoting international friendship and understanding through art is the main purpose of the group. **Marafiki** is composed of artists from various countries who have close ties to Japan.

Marafiki has the following major objectives:

1. Promoting cultural exchange between foreign artists and the Japanese community.
2. Furthering the dialogue between Japanese and foreign artists.
3. Providing mutual cooperation and assistance among foreign artists in Japan.
4. Organizing exhibitions and other art events that further international friendship and understanding.

グループ マラフィキ — 友情とアート

マラフィキというグループの名称はスワヒリー語から由来し、「友情と芸術」を表わします。マラフィキの主な目的は芸術を通して国際的な友情と相互理解を促進することです。マラフィキは日本との親密な関係を持つ、様々な国々から来た芸術家によって構成されています。

マラフィキの主な活動目標は以下の通りです。

— 外国人の芸術家と一般住民の間における文化交流を促進する。
— 日本人と外国人の芸術家の間における交換を促進する。
— 日本に滞在する外国人芸術家の相互協力・相互援助の場を提供する。
— 国際的な友情と相互理解を助長するために、展覧会とその他の芸術イベントを開催する。

Ulrich Möhwald

Japan Day by Day – A Picture book for My Sister Dagmar

Photos 1987–2001

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Preface

Since I came to Japan with a one-year research grant in September 1987, I have recorded Japanese everyday-life with the camera. At first my major motive had been to collect photos for my classes on Japanese society at German universities. And this still remained to be the center of my interest even during the years when I worked at the German Institute for Japanese Studies in Tokyo. But after several years at Chubu University, this motive has increasingly lost importance, and documenting the environment in which we live moved into the center of my interest.

I have been interested in photography since I was fourteen. But it took until 1974 that I was able to buy my first own camera. That was a Yashica TL Electro-X, which I still use today from time to time. Until 1978 I shot **exclusively** in black & white, and I also did my own development of films and photos in my own darkroom in Marburg. Initially, I took photos of any possible subject, but photos of people always formed the center of my photographic interests. Besides portraits, I especially took photos of people in their normal environment, in everyday-life as well as at festive occasions. In the summer of 1978, I used for the first time a color slide film. I had been on the road with a band called *Blue Ridge* taking photos of their gigs. The last one had been in a club in the countryside near Arolsen in northern Hesse and we were on our way back to Marburg on a beautiful Sunday morning (which meant that no shops were open). After two hours driving along country roads, we took a break at Waldeck castle, a real scenic spot. The band did some rehearsing in open air and they wanted additional photos, but my last film had been used the night before. Fortunately, Waldeck castle is a major tourist attraction and there existed several stalls that also sold films, but only color negative and color slides, and a slide film seemed more useful than a negative film. During the next two years I used slide films from time to time. Mostly when I was asked to take photos at weddings or other celebrations. In 1980, Yasuo HANDA from Tôhoku University in Sendai came for two years as a guest professor to Marburg University, and a close friendship developed between us. One of Yasuo's tasks set by his department had been to shoot slides of German everyday-life that could be used in class. But he was much too timid to take photos of people that were completely unknown to him. So I offered to take these photos for him and started to shoot a slide series of German everyday life. In hindsight I have to say that these slides didn't differ very much from many of my black & white photos. When Yasuo returned to Sendai, he didn't take any of these slides back with him, but in his last year as a professor at Tôhoku University he held a lecture on Marburg and on life in Germany for which he borrowed these slides. Only one or two years ago I noticed that there exists even a name for the kind of photos that I mainly take. In the U.S. they are called *street photography* and the Japanese use the expression *kiroku shashin*, which means *documentary photos*.

There comes a time, when every photographer, and that also includes every hobby photographer, wishes to show his photos to a wider public. For me this wish came true, when Japanese friends from Tachikawa City near Tokyo asked me to show the photos that I shot in Japan between 1987 and 1989 at the Tachikawa City Community Center. At that time we selected sixty photos and the exhibition took place in various Community Centers in Tachikawa City from March 15th through April 19th, 1991, under the title "Views of and Thoughts on Japan: Camera Diary of a German Researcher". The same exhibition was shown in Sendai in December 1992 and March 1993 and in Nagoya in September 1994. The exhibition in Sendai was organized by Yasuo HANDA, and the one in Nagoya by the German Culture Forum Nagoya. In the summer of 2000, Emi and Takaichi YOSHIZAWA from Tachikawa City asked me to organize another exhibition of my photos from Japan in Tachikawa City, ten years after the first exhibition. In 1991, Takaichi had been in charge of the planning of the exhibition from the side of the Tachikawa City Community Centers, and now he and his wife owned their own gallery, *Irori no Gyararî Sayû*, in which they also regularly show photos. That exhibition took place in July 2001 under the title of "Japan Seen through the Eye of the Camera: Photo Sketches of a German Researcher". On the occasion of each of these exhibitions I also gave a lecture with slides.

The core of photos in this album is formed by the photos from these two exhibitions. In the texts, additional photos from the slide-lectures are included, as well as a number of photos that have never been shown before.

Views of and Thoughts on Japan – Camera Diary of a German Researcher

Photos 1987-1991

日本に見たこと・考えたこと

ドイツ人研究者のカメラ日記

1: Matsuri (1). Nakadôri Shôtengai, Kôenji, Suginami-ku, Tokyo, September 13, 1987.
When this shot was taken, I had been merely two weeks in Japan. During the first month in Tokyo I lived in Kôenji. At that time, Kôenji was a very lively quarter with a decidedly “old” Tokyo downtown atmosphere: a close-knit community, a great number of small shops, restaurants and bars that were open until late at night. This photo was taken during a procession for the festival of the Umahashi-Inari Shrine in Kôenji. One of the Japanese visitors thought that a photo together with the *tengu* would be a good souvenir for a foreigner.
Pentax A3 Date S, Cosmicar 35-70 mm, Fujichrome 100. 1980.

2: Matsuri (2): Traffic Regulation. Kôenji, Suginami-ku, Tokyo, September 13, 1987.

When I came to Japan, I was rather surprised by the fact that so many people were engaged in - from the German point of view - rather unproductive kinds of services. Everywhere, especially at construction sites and parking spaces of shopping centers, you can see uniformed *guardmen* and sometimes it is difficult to tell them from police officers. But this guy belonged to one of the neighborhood associations and he was in charge of traffic regulation for the procession. He took himself very seriously, but his orders were largely ignored by participants and spectators of the procession.

Pentax A3 Date S, Cosmicar 35-70 mm, Fujichrome 100. 2007.

3·4: Matsuri (3). Suwa Shrine, Tachikawa, Tokyo Prefecture, August 27, 1988.
My first stay in Japan not only started, it also ended with a *matsuri*. Four days before my departure, my friends in Tachikawa had organized a farewell party. Before the party we visited the festival of the Suwa Shrine, which is the oldest and biggest Shintô Shrine in this region. Hence in the festival of this shrine, *o-mikoshi* (portable shrines) from all areas of Tachikawa take part. Before being paraded through the streets of the quarter from where they come, the *o-mikoshi* are first brought to the shrine to receive the gods to which they are dedicated.
Pentax A3 Date S, Cosmicar 35-70 mm, Fujichrome 100. 4303, 4298.


88 8 27

5. Children's *Sumo*. Suwa Shrine, Tachikawa, Tokyo Prefecture, August 27, 1988.
Outside of Japan, Japanese wrestling - *sumô* - is normally associated with huge, fat wrestlers. But *sumô* is closely related to *Shintô*, a fact that is even still visible in professional *sumô*. Many *Shintô* Shrines are equipped with a *sumô* circle in which fights between amateurs take place during the shrine festivals. At Suwa Shrine the fights were a festival highlight for the children, and they were executed with great earnestness and zeal.
Pentax A3 Date S, Cosmicar 35-70 mm, Fujichrome 100. 4287.

6·7. Tokyo's *awaodori*. Kôenji, Suginami-ku, Tokyo, August 28, 1988.
Awaodori - street dance - is the best-known festival of Kôenji. It attracts visitors from all over Tokyo and the whole Kantô region. The festival takes part on the last weekend of August. In 1987 I arrived in Tokyo after the festival, and in 1988 it fell on the same day as the festival of Suwa Shrine in Tachikawa. So we visited the festival after we came back to Tokyo in 1989.
Pentax A3 Date S, Cosmicar 35-70 mm, Pentax AF 280 T, Fujichrome 100. 4664, 4654.


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祭

Matsuri – Festivals

Matsuri – festivals are held in Japan throughout the whole year. But there are especially many festivals during July, August, and September. Many of these festivals have a religious background, which means that they are directly connected with festivals of the local Shintô shrines or Buddhist temples. But there are also many festivals like the *awaodori* in Kôenji, which have no direct religious connection. Festivals in Japan are basically organized by local committees that comprise of representatives from the various groups and organizations that participate in the festivals, from the organizations of local business and from the local administration.

Important parts of any Japanese festival are various kinds of parades and processions. In many cases non-religious parade and religiously motivated procession are mixed with each other. An example of this is the parade of the warriors during the festival of the Uesugi shrine in Yonezawa. Most festivals of Shintô shrines comprise of a procession of *o-mikoshi*, which are portable shrines, or of *danjiri*, which are rather huge carts. Both are rather heavy (*o-mikoshi* weigh between two hundred kilograms and one-and-a-half ton, *danjiri* may weigh several tons). Therefore a lot of people are necessary to move the things, especially because the shrines and *danjiri* are supposed to dance along the street and hence the carriers have to change in short intervals. In the summer heat the spectators pour buckets of water over the carriers to cool them. In former times the carriers were composed only of men, albeit in some festivals participated groups of women with much lighter *o-mikoshi*. Recently one can see increasing numbers of women among the carriers (if the groups would not open themselves up to women, they would encounter severe shortage of new recruits because of the smaller number of children). Like in any real festival, alcohol is an important ingredient, mostly Japanese *sake* that that is distributed for free to the carriers by the owners of local shops along the road of the procession.

Behind the *o-mikoshi*, *danjiri* etc. stand local associations which in most cases are based in one quarter of a city or town or in one part of a quarter. They also need the support and sponsoring of the business of their quarter, because the shrines, clothes of the carriers etc. are very expensive. Therefore festivals are very lively in those quarters where exist to a certain degree a stable proportion of inhabitants that reside in the quarter for several generations as well as prospering business. One example for such lively festivals is Tokyo's Monzen Nakachô. This is a downtown area (*shitamachi*) in the Kôtô-ku in eastern Tokyo. In this quarter exist many small and middle size manufacturing companies which recruit their workforce largely from the local population, and around the stations exist prosperous shopping streets with many small and middle size shops, drinking and eating places. And, especially important, in this quarter exist many Buddhist temples and Shintô shrines that have their festivals during July and August. Despite considerable fluctuation within the quarter's population, there exists a relatively stable population nucleus of families which reside in the quarter since two, three or more generations. Each neighborhood has several festival associations and throughout the whole summer many festivals take place. The associations celebrate in the street with all inhabitants of the quarter and spectators from the whole of Tokyo participating.

If one of these two elements, either local businesses as sponsors, or a stable population nucleus of families that reside in the quarter for several generations and hence guarantees a secure base of new recruits for the associations, is lacking or disappears, then the organization of the festivals moves into the responsibility of local administrations or the PTAs of kindergartens or schools, and they become mere children festivals. This is clearly visible in the quarter where we live in Nagoya. This is a pure residential area that has been developed since the 1960s. It has few businesses and a high population fluctuation. Festivals during summer are mainly organized by the PTAs and the participants are largely limited to parents and small children.

Besides processions with *o-mikoshi* or *danjiri* also parades in fancy dresses like in the first photo of the 1991 exhibition or in the photo from the festival of the Uesugi shrine in Yonezawa are very popular. During the latter festival a parade of people dressed as *samurai* who later participate in a huge mock battle that takes place on a big sports field.

The festivals also include various events like the making of *mochi* (sticky rice cakes), fire works (only during summer, they are too dangerous during winter because of the dryness), *bonodori* dance and, of course, booths for food, drinks, sweets, toys etc. And it is important to celebrate (and foreigners who happen to pass by are spontaneously invited).

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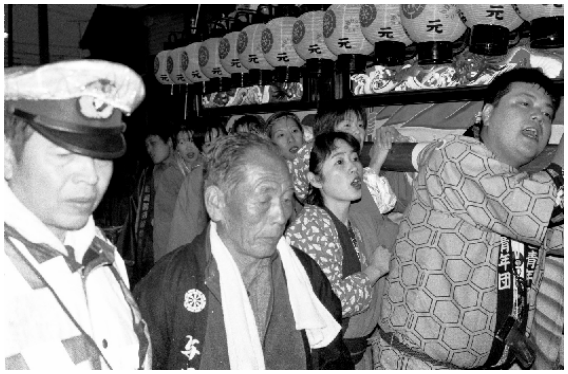

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1. For moving a *danjiri*, a large group of people is necessary, especially since the carriers have to be changed in short intervals.
   Ise, Präfektur Mie, March 17, 2001. Contax T VS III, Vario Sonnar 30-60 mm, Fujichrome Provia-F 400. 8943.
2. Although moving a *danjiri* is heavy work, the carriers have much fun.
   Ise, Präfektur Mie, March 17, .2001. Contax G2, Planar 45 mm, Contax TL 200, Kodak T-MAX 400. S-KB42-31.
3. *Danjiri* are rather tall and this sometimes leads to problems with the low-hanging power lines.
   Ise, Präfektur Mie, March 17, .2001. Contax T VS III, Vario Sonnar 30-60 mm, Fujichrome Provia-F 400. 8953.

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4. After they have received the God at the shrine, the *o-mikoshi* are carried from house to house, and at each shop *sake* is offered to the carriers.
Kôenji, Suginami-ku, Tokyo, August 12, 1987. Pentax A3 Date-S, Cosmicar 35-70 mm, Fujichrome 400. 1924.

5. Each of the *danjiri* associations from Saijô has its own costume.
Ise, Prefecture Mie, March 17, 2001. Contax T VS III, Vario Sonnar 30-60 mm, Fujichrome Provia-F 400. 8947.

6. This veteran of a*danjiri* association from Saijô really had fun.
Ise, Präfektur Mie, March 17, 2001. Contax T VS III, Vario Sonnar 30-60 mm,, Fujichrome Provia 400. 8914.

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7. In Tokyo's Monzen Naka Chô one can see *o-mikoshi* dancing along the streets throughout the whole Summer.
   Monzen Nakachô, Kôtô-ku, Tokyo, August 12, 1990. Pentax Spotmatic F, Takumar 50 mm, Kodak Tri-X Pan. S-KB3-11.

8. In Monzen Naka Chô, after the *o-mikoshi* have arrived back in their quarter, the carriers in the street with all neighbors. Passing-by foreigners are spontaneously invited to participate.
   Monzen Nakachô, Kôtô-ku, Tokyo, August 12, 1990. Pentax Spotmatic F, Takumar 50 mm, Kodak Tri-X Pan. S-KB3-13.

9. Too much alcohol leads to an early dropout of some of the participants.
   Ise, Präfektur Mie, March 17, 2001. Contax T VS III, Vario Sonnar 30-60 mm, Fujichrome Provia-F 400. 8911.

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10. In Ise young and old participate in the city's festivals.
    Ise, Präfektur Mie, March 17, 2001. Contax G2, Sonnar 90 mm, Contax TL 200, Kodak T-MAX 400. S-KB42-18.

11. In the town Saijô on Shikoku exist 120 *danjiri* associations. Of course for them the next generation of recruits is very important. The children of the head of the youth organization of the Saijô's *danjiri* associations are integrated almost naturally into the festivals.Ise, Prefecture Mie, March 17, 2001. Contax T VS III, Vario Sonnar 30-60 mm, Fujichrome Provia-F 400. 8918.

12. In this quarter of Nagoya it is the task of the PTA to accustom the children with the traditional festivals. But this remains a sterile endeavor, because the necessary environment for the festivals is lacking.
    Shiroyama Hachimangu, Chikusa-ku, Nagoya, March 17, 1993. Pentax A3 Date S, Cosmicar 35-70mm, Fujichrome 400. 6579

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13. Only one among the many *salary men* disguised as warriors during the festival of the Uesugi Shrine in Yonezawa had the air of a real *samurai*.
Yonezawa, Präfektur Yamagata, May 3, 1988. Pentax A3 Date S, Cosmicar 35-70mm, Fujichrome 100. 3932.

14. Most festivals include various fringe events, like mashing rice for *mochi*.
Ise, Prefecture Mie, March 17, Contax T VS III, Vario Sonnar 30-60 mm, Fujichrome Provia-F 400. 8921.

15. The costumes and hair style of the *mochi* group in Ise catches the eye.
Ise, Präfektur Mie, March 17, 2001. Contax T VS III, Vario Sonnar 30-60 mm, Fujichrome Provia-F 400. 8904

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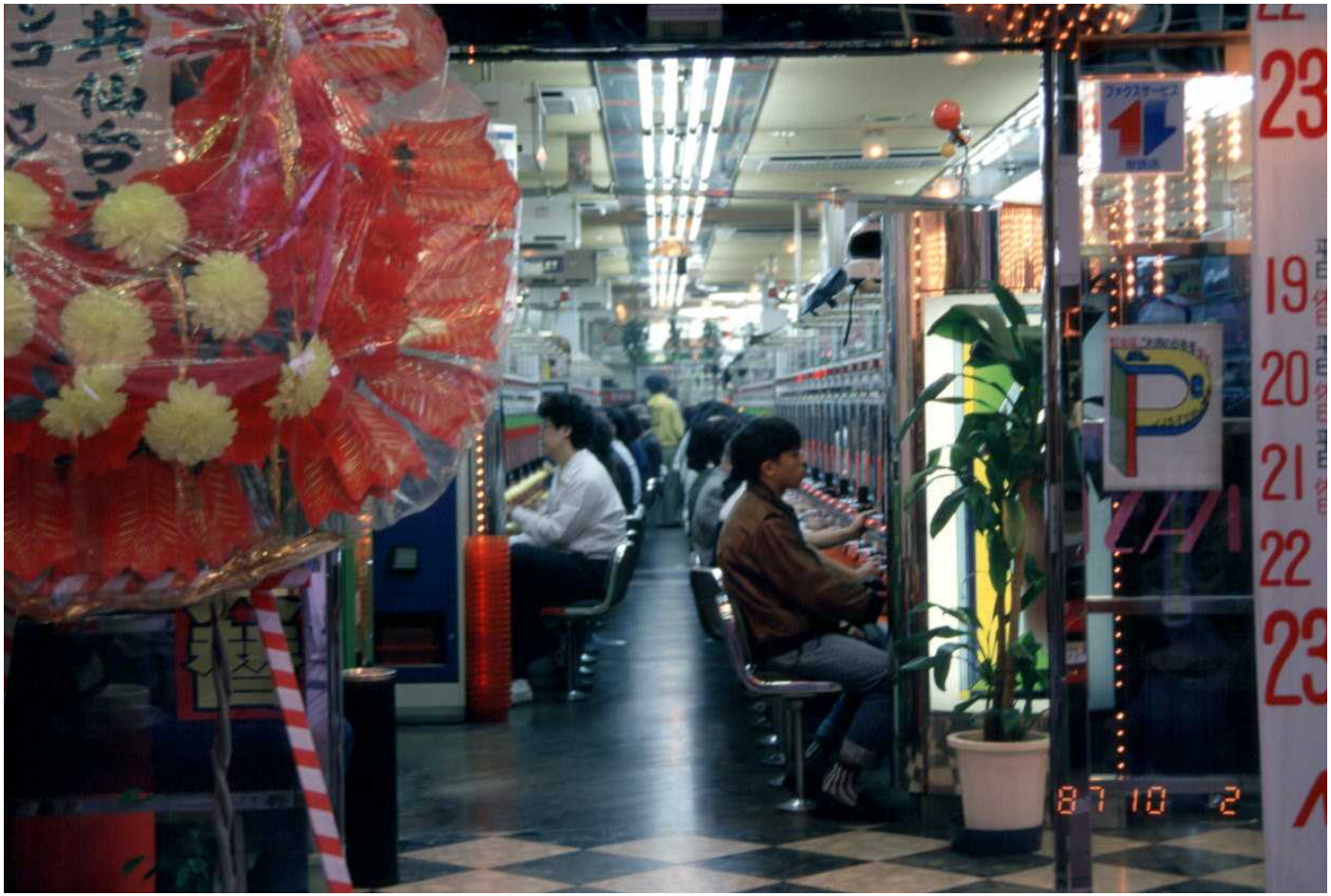
16. In August *bon odori* are held everywhere, not only during festivals. In Tokyo the *bon odori* were especially lively and everybody of the quarter participated.
Takaido Nishi, Suginami-ku, Tokyo, August 25, 1991. Pentax A3 Date S, Cosmicar 35-70mm, Fujichrome 400. 5303.

17. At the side of the *awa odori* in Kôenji people were heavily celebrating and called passers-by to participate.

Kôenji, Suginami-ku, Tokyo, August 28, 1989. Pentax A3 Date S, Cosmicar 35-70mm, Pentax AF 280 T, Fujichrome 100. 4666.

8. View from Kôenji in the Direction of Ikebukuro. Kôenji, Suginami-ku, Tokyo, September 9, 1987.
When I came to Japan in 1987, I didn't bring a camera. I thought, you could buy a used Nikon in Japan. But during my first week in Tokyo I was much too busy to visit a used camera shop, and on the weekends these shops are closed. But the many new impressions increased the motivation to start shooting; hence I bought a new camera on my first Sunday off. This frame stems from the first film. It was taken after a typhoon in the late afternoon from the roof of the building in which I lived during my first two months.
Pentax A3 Date S, Cosmicar 35-70 mm, Pentax AF 280 T, Fujichrome 100. 1877.

9. Miscellaneous Goods Store. Toyoake, Aichi, September 27, 1987.
Most of the old shops in Japan have an open front and the display of the goods continues from the pavement into the shop. At my first visit in this kind of miscellaneous goods stores I got a real shock. Inside they are extremely crammed and you can find an incredible chaos of knock-down furniture, hardware, paint, household goods, electric appliances etc. It is impossible that a customer can find anything in this mess. But the owner produces within seconds anything desired. Another typical feature is the *futon* hanging out of the window for drying.
Pentax A3 Date S, Cosmicar 35-70 mm, Pentax AF 280 T, Fujichrome 100. 2265.



10. *Pachinko.* Sendai, Miyagi, October 2, 1987.
One of the most popular past-time activities of the Japanese is *pachinko*. The machines resemble vertical pin-ball machines, but it is not possible to influence the ball, once it is shot off. In the game you win balls, which might later be exchanged into “prizes” of dubious value. Public gambling is forbidden in Japan, but in the vicinity of any *pachinko* parlor you find a small shop where you can change your prizes into money. Inside of these parlors exists a terrible racket from hundreds of machines and awfully loud military marches.
Pentax A3 Date S, Cosmicar 35-70 mm, Pentax AF 280 T, Fujichrome 100. 2363.

11. Show Case of a Confectionery. Kamakura, Kanagawa, April 19, 1988.
Despite urban development and the rapid change of the lifestyle and consumption preferences of the Japanese, one still finds many old, traditional shops. The show case of this confectionery with its candy glasses (that contained rice crackers) stirred up wistful memories of our childhood.
Pentax A3 Date S, Cosmicar 35-70 mm, Pentax AF 280 T, Fujichrome 100. 3634.

12. Dolls. Shizuoka, Prefecture Shizuoka, February 28, 1988.
Traditional Japanese dolls play an important role during the girls' festival (*hina matsuri*) on March third and during the boys' festival (*tango no sekku*) on May fifth. But traditional dolls are also an important collector's item, so they can be found in any Japanese city. But they are expensive. At the girls' festival the whole imperial court is displayed. A single doll easily costs fifty dollars or more. In this shop they had arrangements for the girls' festival that amounted to more than twenty thousand dollars.
Pentax A3 Date S, Cosmicar 35-70 mm, Pentax AF 280 T, Fujichrome 100. 3321.

民家

Minka – Traditional Houses

Minka – traditional Japanese residential houses – can be seen today almost only in open-air museums or decidedly museum-like towns which overwhelmingly live from tourism. But in the moment that tourism becomes of only minor economic importance and other sources of income become central, there always exists the danger that streets lined with old houses, or parts of them, become the object of “city redevelopment”. The preservation of historic residential buildings or townscapes does not rank high in Japan, because the way of thinking of Japanese administrations is still characterized by the same kind of belief in progress and modernization ideology that had been typical for Germany too until the 1970s. If old things interfere with development, then they have to go. Only where preservation, modernizing of the furnishings and economic benefit are compatible with each other, old houses are preserved. Nevertheless, even in Japanese big cities one can still find remainders of old houses from the Taishô- (1913–1925), Meiji- (1868–1912) or even Edo-Period (1600–1867). Although landscapes and cityscapes do not form the center of my photographic interest, I have always taken shots of such remnants from the past.

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1. Tsumagome、which had been a postal station on one of the important highways during the Edo period is a typical museum town in which the traditional townscape is still preserved. From spring to autumn the town is filled with tourists and without the income from tourism it would be impossible to preserve the old houses.
   Tsumagome, Kiso-chô, Präfektur Gifu, September 12, 1999. Pentax Spotmatic-F, SMC Takumar 50 mm, Kodak T-Max 400. S-KB38-13

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2. Despite the heavy damages from the great Kanto earthquake in 1923 and the carpet bombings in 1945, I still could find in 1988 in the downtown areas (*shitamachi*) of northeastern Tokyo, which had been characterized by blue collar workers' quarters and entertainment and red-light districts, many old houses from the late 19th and early 20th century. But just around that time many of these houses became the victims of a city redevelopment boom.
Nezu, Taitô-ku, Tokyo, July 12, 1988. Pentax A3 Date-S, Cosmicar 35-70 mm, Fujichrome 100. 4082.

3. Yûnishikawa-Onsen, which lies deep in the mountains of Tochigi prefecture lives from its hot springs. The old houses of the *Heike Buraku* are all used as restaurants or pensions. In this business the charm of the more than 150 years old houses constitutes an important advertisement asset.
Heike Buraku, Yûnishikawa-Onsen, Tochigi Prefecture, March 14, 1993. Mamiya 645 Super, Mamiya Sekkor 80 mm, Fujichrome 400. R127.

4. This beautiful old house in Tokyo is a traditional Japanese restaurant in the old entertainment district of Asakusa. At this place geisha-parties are also organized and the patrons have to be rather solvent. But neighboring this old house are rather ugly concrete buildings.
Asakusa, Taitô-ku, Tokyo, January 25, 1992. Pentax A3 Date-S, Cosmicar 35-70 mm, Fujichrome 400. 5620.

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5. The house of this fishmonger was built in the late 1920s. But this style of shops already appeared in the late Edo period and it was popular until the early Shôwa era.
Miyamae, Suginami-ku, Tokyo, August 15, 1992. Rollei 35E, Sonnar 40 mm, Fujichrome P 1600 D. 5965.

6. Every day when we saw this old toy shop in front of Kugayama Station, we asked ourselves how long it would continue to exist. It was framed on each side by banks and redevelopment was going on in the quarter. At the latest when the old people who run the shop die, it will disappear. With the horrendous land prices in this area, the heirs will have no option but to sell the plot of land in order to be able to pay the inheritance tax.
Kugayama, Suginami-ku, Tokyo, March 10, 1991. Pentax A3 Date-S, Cosmicar 35-70 mm, Fujichrome 400 D. 4884.

7. In the peripheral areas of Japanese big cities one can find from time to time old farm houses. Typically, the façades are covered with corrugated iron to avoid the strenuous work of yearly repainting and repairing of the wooden façades.
Takabari, Meitô-ku, Nagoya, December 4, 1993. Pentax A3 Date-S, Cosmicar 35-70 mm, Fujichrome 400. 6599.

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8/9. Despite all problems with the preservation of old residential houses, in Kyoto's famous Gion quarter there still exist quite a number of old town houses from the Edo period that are not used for tourism. They are not even protected as monuments (the majority of the owners want to avoid the obligations coupled with protection). In this area an association of the residents engages in preservation and until now they have resisted all attempts of redevelopment.
Gion, Kyoto, August 9, 1994. Mamiya 645 Super, Mamiya Sekkor 90 mm, Fujichrome 400. R239, R240.

10. It has become rather rare that on can see the traditional method of building a house, in which first the pillars and beams with the roof are erected, then the windows are put in and finally come walls an floors etc. Nowadays in the building of wooden houses too the modular assembly concept using prefab walls dominate (how solid the houses then are is another question).
Miyamae, Suginami-ku, Tokyo, December 18, 1990. Pentax A3 Date-S, Cosmicar 35-70 mm, Fujichrome 100. 4811.

13. Sunday in Tokyo. Ichigaya, Shinjuku-ku, Tokyo. September 23, 1987.
Tokyo is an incredibly crowded and busy city. Nevertheless, even in this overcrowded *megalopolis* one can find really quiet and peaceful spots. After three weeks of commuting from Kôenji to Tokyo University‘s Hongô campus during rush hour, I decided on my third Sunday in Tokyo to walk those interesting roads that I had seen every day from the over-crowded train. Between Ichigaya and Suidôbashi I found this peaceful scene of fishing on the *sotobori*, the outer moat of the Imperial Palace.
Pentax A3 Date S, Cosmicar 35-70 mm, Fujichrome 100. 2116.

14. Grandmother and Grandchild. Tsurugaya Sanohara, Sendai, Miyagi. October 2, 1987.
Traditionally, the Japanese carried toddlers on the back. In the winter they are carried under the coat, and that looks sometimes like the mother has two heads. In 1987 one could sometimes see baby carriages in the big cities. But they were extremely rare and thought of to be rather inconvenient in the crowded traffic. Instead one could see quite often the Western style of carrying the children in front. Meanwhile baby carriages have become abundant and the traditional way of carrying small children has become rather rare.
Pentax A3 Date S, Cosmicar 35-70 mm, Fujichrome 100. 2363.

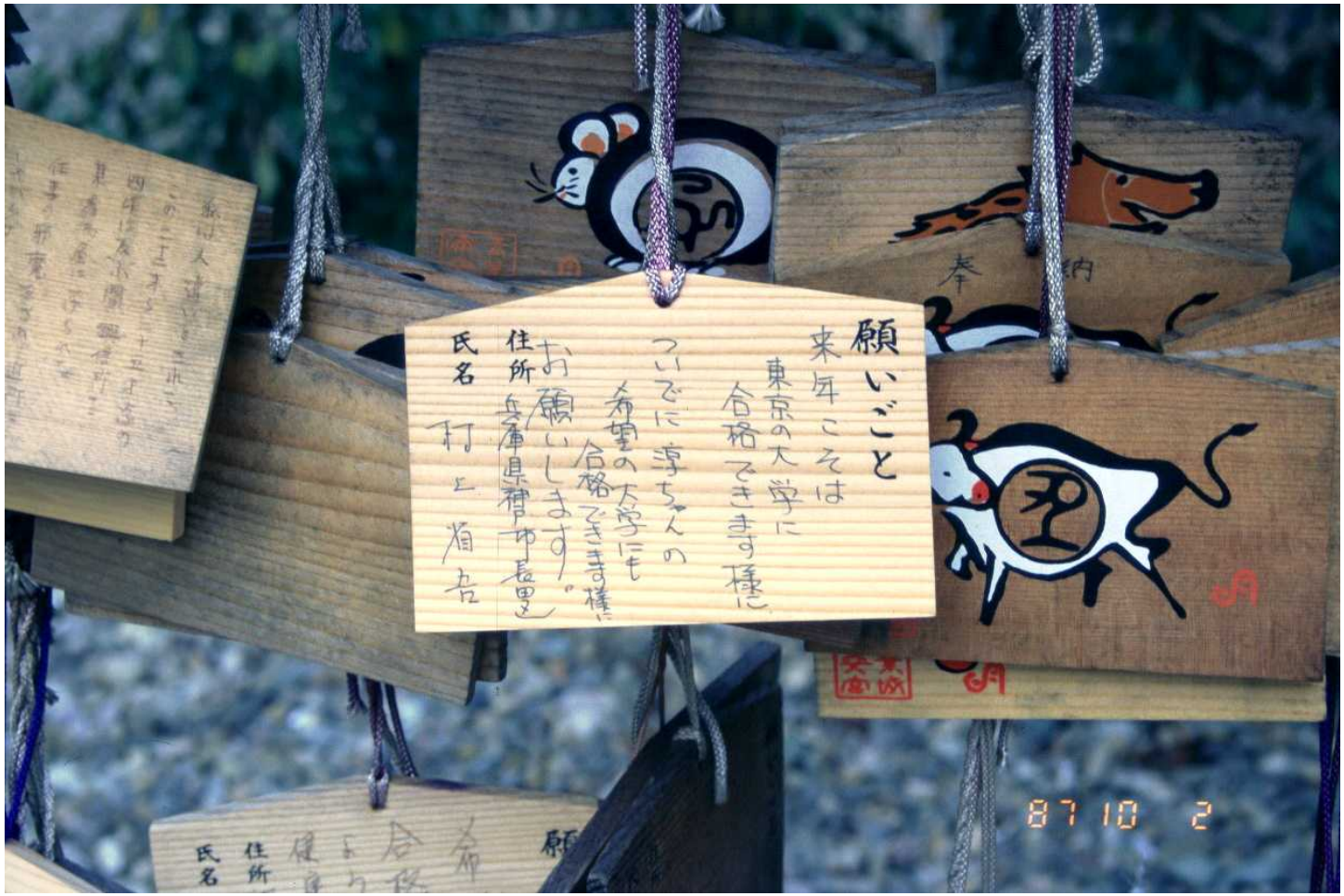
15. Shoe shiner. Yaesu side of Tokyo station, Chûô-ku, Tokyo, October 23, 1987.
In 1987, shoe shiners were still a common view at any of the big stations in Tokyo. Besides shoe shining, they also repaired shoes. Most of these shoe shiners were elderly women and men above sixty-five. Nowadays they have completely disappeared from Japanese life.
Pentax A3 Date S, Cosmicar 35-70 mm, Fujichrome 100. 2692.

16. Street Orator. Hachiko-square in front of Shibuya station, Shibuya-ku, Tokyo, February 16, 1988.
Political orators that are addressing the people from the top of mini buses are a common view in Japan, not only during election campaigns. They especially prefer crowded places like here in front of Shibuya station. This guy is from a rightwing group ‘s campaign for the revision of the constitution and the return of the northern territories that have been occupied by the Soviet Union since World War II. Their language is extremely formalized and hardly intelligible and normally the speakers are completely ignored by passersby.
Pentax A3 Date S, Cosmicar 35-70 mm, Fujichrome 100. 3304.

17. Sweet-potatoes vendor. Shirokanedai, Minato-ku, Tokyo, April 3, 1988.
Throughout the whole year you can see in Japan street vendors with small carts. During summer they sell ice cream or water melons, in autumn roasted chestnuts, and during the winter roasted sweet potatoes. They use cassette recorders for advertising their products in a kind of speech song. When I heard them for the first time, I thought they must be some kind of religious chants and it took me a few days to discover the real cause for these chants.
Pentax A3 Date S, Cosmicar 35-70 mm, Fujichrome 100. 3479.

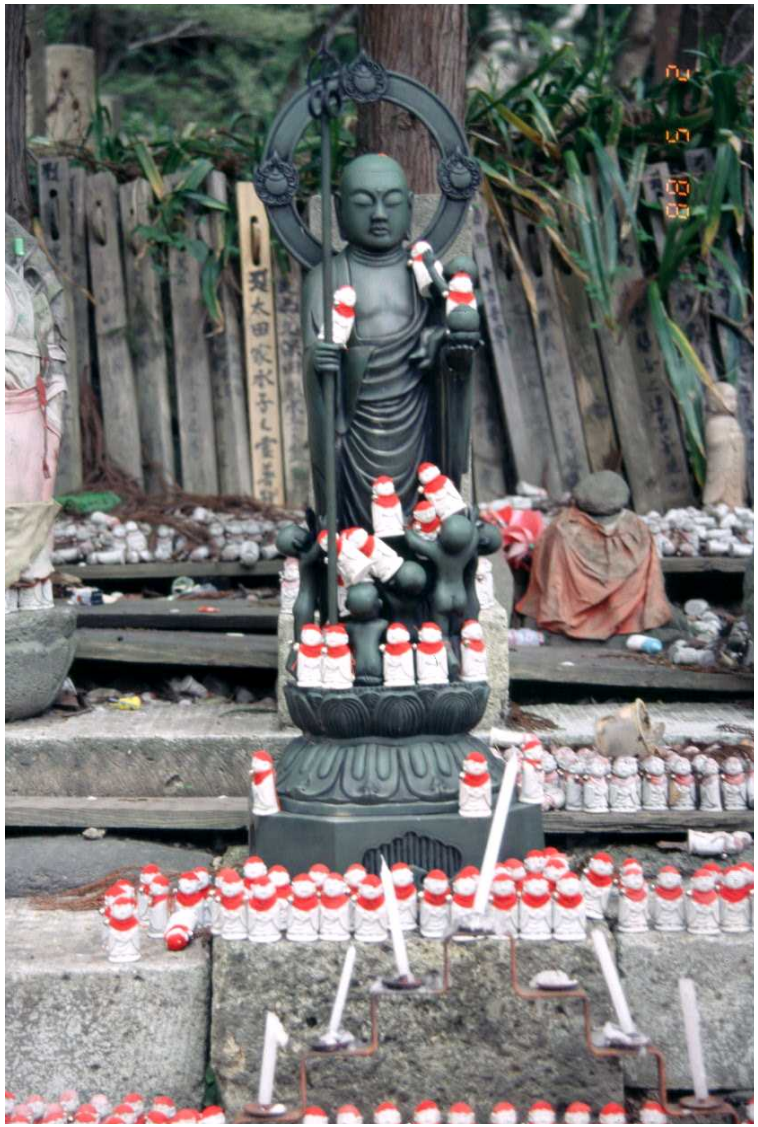
18. Homeless. Miyanoshita-Park, Shibuya-ku, Tokyo, April 10, 1988.
In 1988, homeless people were less common in Japanese cities than in German ones. But nowadays the parks of any big Japanese city are crowed with homeless and their shanty towns made from cardboard and plastic tarpaulins. Many of them are recruited from old and sick day-laborers who could no longer find work after the construction boom burst with the bubble economy. But since the Heisei recession has become more and more severe, dropouts from all walks of life have swelled their ranks.
Pentax A3 Date S, Cosmicar 35-70 mm, Fujichrome 100. 3495.

19. Strenuous Climb. Asakusa Kannon Temple, Asakusa, Taitô-ku, Tokyo, April 18, 1988.
For an old woman climbing the many stairs up to the main hall is rather strenuous.
Pentax A3 Date S, Cosmicar 35-70 mm, Fujichrome 100. 3606.



20. Votive Tablet. Ôsaki Hachimangu Shrine, Sendai, Miyagi, October 2, 1987.
At all Buddhist temples and Shintô shrines one finds racks with votive tablets (*ema*). On them the fulfillment of all kinds of wishes are asked from the Gods. Safety in traffic or work, health for the family, success in an examination. The person who wrote this votive tablet came from Kôbe and asked for success in the entrance exam of any university in Tokyo.
Pentax A3 Date S, Cosmicar 35-70 mm, Fujichrome 100. 2332.

21. Small Shrine. Sakurajima, Kagoshima, April 28, 1988.
At many places in Japan, at roadsides or somewhere in the middle of fields, one can find small Shintô shrines or Buddhist statues. In most cases sacrificial offerings are arranged in front of them. Mostly rice, rice wine, rice crackers, flowers, coins. This small shrine was erected at the place where the lava from the 1914 eruption of the volcano on the isle Sakurajima in Kagoshima Bay has connected the isle to the mainland. The shrine contained a surprising amount of offerings and we asked ourselves whether they are enjoyed by the mice and the monkeys.
Pentax A3 Date S, Cosmicar 35-70 mm, Fujichrome 100. 3813.



22. *Mizunoko Jizô*. Yamadera, Yamagata, May 2, 1988.
The Buddhist God *Jizô* is the patron of travelers, children, and pregnant women. The *Mizunoko Jizô* cult is devoted to the well-being in the afterlife of children who have died before birth due to abortion or miscarriage. Abortions are legalized in Japan, and because of the long prohibition of oral contraceptives, Japan has an extremely high abortion rate. Up to the 1980s about 60% of the married women had at least experienced one, and 30% two or more abortions. Since the mid-1970s the *Mizunoko Jizô* cult has become very popular everywhere in Japan. Typically, small white figurines are offered before the statue of the *Jizô* to pray for the souls of the aborted children.
Pentax A3 Date S, Cosmicar 35-70 mm, Fujichrome 100. 3851.

23. Devil ʻs Tile. Hôryûji, Nara, November 2, 1989.
From the 6th to the 8th century, the Imperial Court resided in the contemporary Nara prefecture. Hence, this prefecture has the oldest Buddhist temples and monasteries in Japan. The oldest among them is Hôryûji, which was founded in 607. There we saw for the first time this kind of tile in the form of a grinning devil‘s head.
Pentax A3 Date S, Cosmicar 35-70 mm, Fujichrome 400. 4728.

宗教

Shûkyô – Religion

If you ask for religion in Japan, everybody thinks immediately of Shintô and Buddhism. Shintô is the original native religion. It's an animistic cult of nature worship which on the local level was connected with the agricultural fertility rites, but on a supra-regional level with political power. The kings and princes of ancient Japan were at the same time the priests of powerful Shintô Gods, and their political charisma was derived from these sacred functions. The most prominent among these Shintô cults was the cult of the Sun-Goddess *Amaterasu O-Mikami*, whose priests had been the princes of Yamato in central Japan, in the region of contemporary Nara. The Japanese Imperial family traces its origins from these priest (and from the Sun-Goddess herself), and according to the myth it reigns the Japanese empire since two thousand six hundred and sixty-five years in uninterrupted succession (in fact, it would rather be fifteen hundred to sixteen hundred years – still quite remarkable and unique in world history, but there had also occurred several interruptions of the direct succession line). The claim of descent from *Amaterasu O-Mikami* formed the basis of the Yamato dynasty's supreme political position and charisma among the rival dynasties of regional princes of Japanese antiquity. Even today the performance of the agricultural fertility and harvest rites play a central role among the religious tasks of the Tennô. Shintô in its original form does no longer exist. In the course of the centuries it has changed considerably, it came under the influence of Buddhist theology and Confucian moral teachings and developed its own doctrinal system, the so-called High Shintô. Only on the local level of rural villages many elements of the agricultural and nature cults of the folk religion have been preserved.

Buddhism came to Japan from Korea and China during the fifth and sixth centuries. The introduction of Buddhism too did not only spring from religious motives. It was closely connected with the political power struggles for supremacy between the regional princes and the Yamato dynasty. Buddhism offered the opportunity to subordinate the regional and local Gods and cults to a universal religious system, and hence it also offered an additional source of a universal kind of religious charisma that transcended the claims to power of the regional princes. At the same time, Confucianism with its teachings concerning rule and administration was introduced together with Buddhism. This provided the basis for the evolvement of a Japanese state and the consolidation of the supremacy of the Yamato dynasty during the seventh and eighth centuries. Up to well into the thirteenth century the influence of Buddhism was limited to the elites of court and warrior nobility. It flourished during the feudal era of warrior rule (1185-1490) and the era of civil war and unification of the country from the mid-fourteenth to the early seventeenth century. During this period first occurred the development of Zen Buddhism as the religion of the *samurai*, which expressed their life experiences and moral and ethical thoughts. And from the mid-thirteenth century new missionary sects developed that propagated more popular teachings and spread Buddhism among the common people. During the sixteenth century these new sects even succeeded in some regions to break the power of the warriors and to establish religious-fundamentalist forms of rule. In the course of the unification of the country several decades of warfare were necessary to finally break the political cravings of these powerful Buddhist sects and monasteries.

In the final period of this era of civil war and unification of the empire also occurred Japan's first direct contact with Europe and Christianity in the mid-sixteenth century. Christianity was first perceived as a new Buddhist sect coming from South-East Asia. Thus the Portuguese and Spanish missionaries of the Jesuit and Franciscan orders succeeded within a few years to convert thousands of Japanese to Christianity. Important for the tolerance of the warrior princes towards the Christian mission was the trade with the Portuguese, which was controlled by the Jesuits, because this trade gave the princes the opportunity to acquire access to new resources, knew knowledge and new technology, especially military ones. But then the missionaries started to meddle intensively with internal Japanese political affairs. Once bitten by the wars with the Buddhist sects what concerns the political cravings and the meddling with political affairs on the part of religious

groups, the original tolerance towards Christianity quickly ended and it was replaced by the prohibition of Christianity and the violent persecution of the Christians and this finally led to Japan's seclusion.

In the course of the roughly tree hundred and fifty years of peace and economic prosperity during the Edo period (1600–1867) also occurred a major change of the relation of the Japanese with religion. On the one hand, Shintô shrines and Buddhist temples were submitted to an extensive political control, integrated into the new administrative system and used for the control of the common people on the local level. At the same time, a progressing intermixing of the religious teachings and practices of Shintô and Buddhism took place. On the other hand occurred a far reaching secularization of the life of the Japanese, and religion's role was reduced to providing some few ceremonies and rites in the course of the year or human life.

Despite the recurrent flourishing of new religions and sects in the times of crisis since the mid-nineteenth century, this has remained until today the basic attitude of the Japanese towards religion. In an opinion poll from 1998, the majority (71%) of the respondents claimed that they did not belong to any specific religion or religious denomination. But this does not mean that the Japanese are a people of agnostics, they rather have an indifferent and tolerant attitude towards established religions, confessions and religious communities. Namely, in the same poll almost seventy percent of the respondents regarded religiosity for important. In another poll of the same year one can see that only short of thirty percent of the Japanese claim that they don't believe in any religious things, but in the same poll eighty-nine percent stated to participate more or less regularly in religious practices.

The only problem is that religious practices in Japan differ considerably from that, what we first of all regard as such. Neither Shintô nor Buddhism (with the exception of several missionary sects and new religious communities) practice church services or church-service like congregations. Besides the ceremonies for special or recurrent occasions in the course of the year ore one's life, mostly rites for personal or individual occasions are performed. To the first type of occasions belongs New Year, fertility rites in spring, the Festival of the Dead in August, Thanksgiving, birth, marriage, death etc. New-born children are brought to the Shintô shrine during their first year in order to introduce them to the God. Three- and seven-year old girls and five-year old boys visit a Shintô shrine on November 15 to pray for their future. In mid-August the Buddhist Festival of the Dead *o-bon* takes place. On this occasion ceremonies at the temple and a visit of the grave of the ancestors have to be performed. On New Year, that means during the first seven days of the new year, one visits shrines and temples, offers money and prays for the things that one wants to get or to avoid during the new year. During the New Year's night all hell breaks lose at all famous Shintô shrines and Buddhist temples. Marriages are today mainly confirmed through Shintô rites (but in many cases a Christian wedding ceremony takes place afterwards, because one never knows and safe is safe). Death and funeral is the domain of Buddhist temples. These are more or less occasions that are connected with religion in Germany too. But the personal and individual occasions for religious practices are multifold.

The first place is taken by amulets. Amulets can be bought at Shintô shrines as well as at Buddhist temples. Amulets for anything: Traffic safety, protection against illness, for oneself or for one's family, success in one's occupation, in school, business, love and so on, peace in the family, to name only a few. Not everything at every shrine or temple, but only there where Gods or Buddhas are revered, which are known to be efficacious for the special occasion. In 1998 thirty-one percent of the Japanese have bought such amulets. The second place is taken by requests for the fulfillment of specific wishes like safety during travel, health, success in a business, success in an examination and so on through prayers by a priest or votive tablets (*ema*). These things too can be performed at shrines as well as at temples. In 1998 twenty-nine percent of the Japanese have performed such requests. And the third place, stated by twenty-three percent of the Japanese, is taken by various forms of fortune-telling like drawing lots at temples or shrines, chiromancy, I-Ching divination and so on. In many cases various religions are mixed to be sure that the wishes are really fulfilled. It is not rare that a candidate for an entrance examination offers *ema* at various shrines and temples and then also offers a candle in a Catholic church. Religious or quasi-religious practices as well as the occasions for them are multifold: Consecrecation of a new car, construction site, a new building etc. are mainly performed by Shintô priests. Before a betrothal or other important decisions in one's life the future-tellers are consulted, persistent misfortune in the family is countered by a thorough research of one's karma, this is the

specialty of esoteric Buddhism, the doctors of the I-Ching, or the shamans (which one can especially find in the North of Japan). In some cases the results of this research lead to a change of the names of all family members. Miscarriages, abortions or the death of a child request prayers and offerings for the soul of the child, mainly through offering small figurines to the *Mizunoko Jizô*, the tutelary God of children. If a farmer kills a snake with the harvester, he draws a picture of a snake and offers it at a shrine and thus pleads for forgiveness (otherwise the unappeased ghost of the snake will haunt him in his dreams).

Not everything can be named here. But despite all the distance towards religion of the Japanese, their life is imbued with a multitude of religious or quasi-religious practices – and this is true not only for the old people, but also for young, albeit they are not always aware of it. And religious objects are ubiquitous. Everywhere – in the big cities as well as in the countryside – one comes again and again across small Shintô shrines or Buddhist statues with offerings in front of them. If one walks at night through the amusement districts of the big cities, one sees at the roadside small tables with lamps at which the doctors of the I-Ching and other fortune-tellers are sitting. Therefore one has to be cautious what concerns the assertion that "religion doesn't play any role in the life of the Japanese", which I found some time ago in the description of a research project.

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1/2/3. Despite the rather agnostic attitude of the Japanese religion is ubiquitous in Japan. Everywhere, sometimes at the most unlikely places in big cities as well as in the countryside one comes along Buddhist statues or small Shintô Shrines. Sometimes they look already rather derelict and dilapidated, nevertheless even before those one almost always sees offerings, mostly bowls with rice or tea, small bottles of drinks, or coins.

1: Shironishi-machi, Nishi-ku, Nagoya, July 31, 1999. Contax G I, Planar 45 mm, Fujichrome Provia 400. 8320.

2: Ijika, Toba-shi, Mie prefecture, July 18, 1993. Pentax A3 Date-S, Cosmicar 35-70 mm, Fujichrome 400. 6477.

3: Iwakiri, Miyagino-ku, Sendai, Miyagi prefecture, July 25, 1992. Pentax A3 Date-S, Cosmicar 35-70 mm, Fujichrome 400. 5890.

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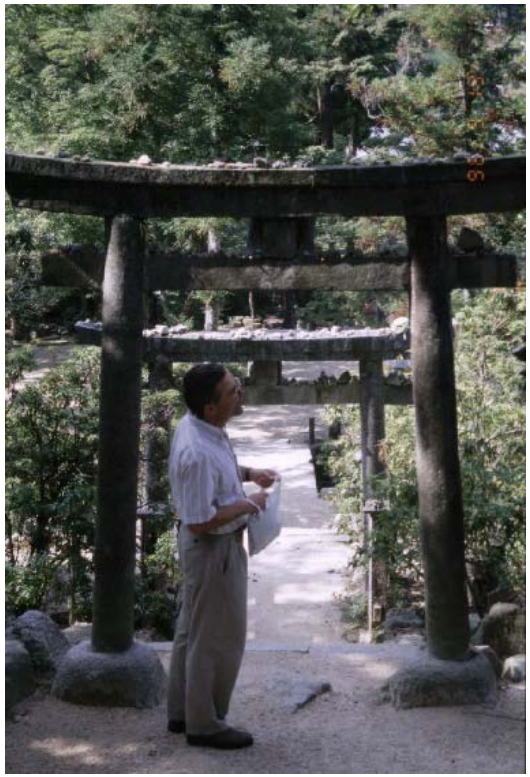

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4/5. Shintô shrines can be recognized by the *torii*, the typical gates to the shrine area. In most cases these *torii* are red, but sometimes one also *torii* that remain in the natural color of the material with which they where erected. On the second photo one can see stones on the transverse girders of the *torii*. These are put there by pilgrims on their way to the shrine to plead for the fulfillment of wishes. Similar things one can also see with Buddhist statues.

4: Iwakiri, Miyagino-ku, Sendai, Miyagi prefecture, July 25, 1992. Pentax A3 Date-S, Cosmicar 35-70 mm, Fujichrome 400. 5891.

5: Momijidani-Kôen, Miyajima, Hiroshima prefecture, September 19, 1996. Pentax A3 Date-S, Cosmicar 35-70 mm, Fujichrome 400. 7220.

6. The Great Buddha of Kamakura dates back to the 13th century. That was a period in which Buddhism blossomed among the *samurai*. Today he is a very popular tourist attraction especially for middle school excursions. But in 1860s it was almost sold to an American company as scrap metal.

Kôtokuin, Kamakura, Kanagawa prefecture, April 19, 1988. Pentax A3 Date-S, Cosmicar 35-70 mm, Fujichrome 100. 3656.

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7. At the entrance of each shrine or temple stands a water basin, at which one cleans oneself ritually before entering the sanctuary, i.e. one rinses one's mouth and both hands.
   Kôenji, Ôsu, Nagoya, July 23, 1994. Mamiya 645 Super, Mamiya Sekkor 80 mm, Fujichrome 400. R181.

8. Also at each shrine or temple one can see animal statues that represent tutelary deities. At Buddhist temples these are normally *shishi*, which resemble lions and originally came from China. But this statue rather resembles a fox and that would be a Shintô deity.
   Sôkenji, Ôsu, Nagoya, July 23, 1994. Mamiya 645 Super, Mamiya Sekkor 80 mm, Fujichrome 400. R183.

9. Especially in temples one can find many other kinds of statues and figurines. In the garden of this temple exist an incredible number of stone statues of toads in all sizes and variations
   Tôshôji, Takabari, Meito-ku, Nagoya, 4.12.1993. Pentax A3 Date-S, Cosmicar 35-70 mm, Fujichrome 400. 6595.

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10. One of the strangest collections of statues we found in the yard of a brand-new Buddhist temple in Western Tokyo Prefecture. There were lined up in over-life size General Douglas MacArthur, Chang Kai-Sheik and a leader of the Burmese independence movement of the 1940s
Unryûji, Yamada-chô, Hajiôji-shi, Tokyo prefecture, May 19, 1991. Pentax Espio 115, AF Zoom 38-115 mm, Fujicolor HG 400. C-KB24-18.

11. Buddha-Statues in Buddhist temples and other places are often draped by the devotees with caps, aprons and other pieces of clothing.
Kitano Tenmangu, Ôsu, Nagoya, July 23, 1994. Mamiya 645 Super, Mamiya Sekkor 80 mm, Fujichrome 400. R201.

12. A custom that we hadn't seen until then exists in a small temple in Nagoya's Ôsu quarter. In this case too, it is a cult related to *mizunoko* – the children who died immediately after birth or due to miscarriage or abortion. In the case of this temple wet sheets of paper are pasted on a Buddha statue and through this pleaded that the Buddha takes care of the souls of the dead children. In the course of the year the statue changes into a big shapeless white slab.
Sôkenji, Ôsu, Nagoya, July 23, 1994. Mamiya 645 Super, Mamiya Sekkor 80 mm, Fujichrome 400. R196.

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13. Not only in the case of the Mizunoko Jizô, putting-up small Buddha figurines at designed places, also serves for the fulfilling of wishes.
Hase-Dera, Kamakura, Kanagawa prefecture, January 26, 1992. Pentax A3 Date-S, Cosmicar 35-70 mm, Fujichrome 100. 5623.

14. Resembling Catholic churches, in this small Buddhist temple of the Shingon sect candles are offered in front of Bodhisattva statuettes.
Nagoya Nachisankai Honbu, Kakuôzan, Chikusa-ku, Nagoya, April 21, 1996. Nikon F3, Nikkor 35-70 mm, Nikon Speedlight SB17, Fujichrome Provia 400. 7018.

15. At many Buddhist temples one can see large cinder vessels in which are put burning incense sticks as offerings. The smoke is said to possess healing powers, therefore the devotees push the smoke with their hands to those parts of their bodies where they have aches.
Nittaiji, Kakuôzan, Chikusa-ku, Nagoya, April 21, 1996. Nikon F3, Nikkor 35-70 mm, Fujichrome Provia 400. 7057.

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16/17. The Buddhist priests and media of the esoteric sects are also said to possess healing powers by imposition of hands. On the 21st of every month, the day of the market at the Nittaiji in Nagoya, one can see these so-called spiritual healers which belong to a Shingon sect opening up shop at small temples for their tutelary deities in an area below the Nittaiji temple. On other days these small temples are closed.
Nittaiji, Kakuôzan, Chikusa-ku, Nagoya, April 21, 1996. Nikon F3, Nikkor 35-70 mm, Fujichrome Provia 400. 7014, 7017.

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18/19. Bringing new-born children to the shrine during their firs year of life in order to have them introduced to the deity, belongs to the more important practices among Shintô rites.
Shiogama Jinja, Shiogama, Miyagi prefecture, November 22, 1987. Pentax A3 Date-S, Cosmicar 35-70 mm, Fujichrome 100. 2868, 2865.

20. Another Shintô custom is *shichi-go-san*. During this festival three- and seven-year old girls and five-year old boys visit the Shintô shrine. Nowadays, these traditional customs are often intermingled with elements of popular culture, like cartoon characters.
Shiogama Jinja, Shiogama, Miyagi prefecture, November 22, 1987. Pentax A3 Date-S, Cosmicar 35-70 mm, Fujichrome 100. 2886.

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21. On New Year the Japanese visit shrines and temples. At the shrines big *mochi* (cakes from mashed rice) are offered.
Takagamo Hachimangu, Mizaki-chô, Toyoake-shi, Aichi prefecture, January 1, 2000. Contax G II, Sonnar 90 mm, Fujichrome Provia 400. 8368.

22. Before New Year one can see everywhere along the streets booths that sell *shime kazari*. This is the decoration that is put up at the entrance of houses or apartments on the last day of the year to greet the New Year and at the same time to protect from evil spirits.
Hiroo, Minato-ku, Tokyo, December 31, 1987. Pentax A3 Date S, Cosmicar 35-70 mm, Fujichrome 100. 3132.

24. Buddhist mendicant monks can be seen quite often. Mostly they stand at busy places with a bowl in their right hand and a bell in their left. They are not allowed to ask people for alms, the gift must come from the persons own will. When they are walking from house to house in a shopping district or residential area too, they have to wait outside of the door after having announced themselves, to see whether somebody will come and ask them to come in. If this doesn't happen, they move to the next house.
Takiko-chô, Shôwa-ku, Nagoya, March 19, 1994. Pentax A3 Date S, Cosmicar 35-70 mm, Fujichrome 400. 6662.

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24. Through the intermingling of esoteric Buddhism and Shintô colored by shamanistic practices the esoteric cult of the *Yamabushi*, which hold their rites deep in the mountains evolved during the Edo period. In the course of the creation of state Shintô during the Meiji era (1868-1912) the cult was divided by the authorities into a Buddhist and a Shintô branch and the Shintô branch was cleaned from all Buddhist elements. Since at this occasion of the separation of the two branches almost all scriptures and ritual utensils were allocated to the Shintô branch, a strong enmity that still exists today has developed between the two groups. The most famous among the *Yamabushi* are those from Haguro in Yamagata, but one can also see them in other places from time to time if one visits temples or shrines that are located deep in the mountains.
Mitake-san, Ôme-shi, Tokyo prefecture, May 12, 1990. Pentax A3 Date-S, Cosmicar 35-70 mm, Fujicolor 400. C-KB23-27.

25. One quasi-religious practice in which many Japanese engage is consulting chiromancers and fortune-tellers.
Inokashira Kôen, Kichijôji, Musashino-shi, Tokyo prefecture, July 20, 2001. Contax TVS III, Vario Sonnar 30-60 mm, Fujichrome Provia F 400. 9058.

26. Drawing lots at shrines or temples is another way to inquire one's future. One can the immediately pray for the fulfillment or non-fulfillment of the predicted matters, according to whether they are positive or negative. In any case, the lots have to be left at a consecrated place inside the shrine's or temple's premises, otherwise bad things might happen.
Senge Jinja, Shizuoka, Shizuoka prefecture, February 28, 1988. Pentax A3 Date-S, Cosmicar 35-70 mm, Fujichrome 100. 3332.

24. Morning on Chita Peninsula. Chita-Okuta, Aichi, November 15, 1987.
During the first few years of my residence in Japan I traveled a lot to participate in conventions. During the 1980s, many Japanese private universities left the city centers where exploding land prices made campus enlargements impossible, and built new campuses in the countryside. Nihon Fukushi University was one of these. It left the city center of Nagoya and moved to a small fishing village on Chita peninsula. This photo was shot when I took a walk on the beach in the morning before breakfast during a convention there.
Pentax A3 Date-S, Cosmicar 35-70 mm, Fujichrome 100. 2759.

25. Japanese Cat. Sagami-Ôno, Kanagawa, February 5, 1988.
In Japan one sees many cats with a stump tail. Many foreigners think that the Japanese cut the tails, but these short tails are natural for the pure-bred Japanese cat.
Pentax A3 Date-S, Cosmicar 35-70 mm, Fujichrome 100. 3195.

26. Light and shadow. Shirokanedai, Minato-ku, Tokyo, March 12, 1988.
Between October 1987 and August 1988 I lived in Tokyo University's guest house in Shirokanedai. When younger Japanese heard my address, they admired it. At that time Shirokanedai was popular among the young famous and rich and it had the image of shockingly expensive mansions, boutiques and restaurants. It is true that at that time residential buildings of the top price class mushroomed in this quarter, but there still also existed a lot of old apartment blocks with cheap flats.
Pentax A3 Date-S, Cosmicar 35-70 mm, Fujichrome 100. 3373.

27. Take Care of the Environment! Kawakuchiko-machi, Yamanashi, April 17, 1988.
The town Kawakuchiko at Lake Kawakuchi is situated at the foot of Mt. Fuji and its main industry is tourism. Protection of the environment and environmental consciousness are rather inconsistent issues in Japan. After a number of environmental catastrophes during the 1950s, 1960s, and the increase of smog in the early 1970s, citizens' movements and litigation led to a very advanced system of controlling air cleanliness. But any other area of environmental protection, like sewage treatment, the use of agro-chemicals or refuse disposal has for a long time been rather neglected. Perhaps the worst is that everybody, may it be an individual or a company, feels free to throw his waste away where he likes. So at any famous, beautiful place that is visited by masses of people you encounter an incredible amount of thrown-away waste.
Pentax A3 Date-S, Cosmicar 35-70 mm, Fujichrome 100. 3581.

28. Gossiping on the Street. Iwakiri, Tsurugaoka, Sendai, Miyagi, November 21, 1987.
The administrative reforms since the 1950s have led to the incorporation of many rural villages into neighboring cities. This photo was shot during the market of the agricultural cooperative of a village on the outskirts of Sendai. At the time when this photo was shot the village became the target of urban residential development and in the meanwhile it has completely lost its rural character.
Pentax A3 Date-S, Cosmicar 35-70 mm, Fujichrome 100. 2809.

29. Market. Central market hall, Sendai, November 21, 1987.
In many Japanese cities you find market halls. These halls are extremely crowded and rackety, because every vendor advertises his products yelling loudly. Coming from Germany the amount and sorts of seafood offered are unbelievable.
Pentax A3 Date-S, Cosmicar 35-70 mm, Fujichrome 100. 2827.

30. Market Vendor. Central market hall, Sendai, November 21, 1987.
Hachimaki, a rolled-up towel tied around the head, is a sign of hard physical labor. One can see it quite often among vendors on the market or small shops, construction workers, the porters of *o-mikoshi* during religious festivals, but also among salaried workers when they engage in the great house cleaning at the year's end.
Pentax A3 Date-S, Cosmicar 35-70 mm, Fujichrome 100. 2831.

31. Mask. Shizuoka, Shizuoka, February 28, 1988.
During autumn, winter and spring one can see many people wearing a mask that covers mouth and nose. They either have caught a cold and do not want to infect other people, or, especially in spring, they suffer from hay fever and use the mask to avoid inhaling pollens.
Pentax A3 Date-S, Cosmicar 35-70 mm, Fujichrome 100. 3318.

32. Fish-Monger. Megurodôri, Shirokanedai, Minato-ku, Tokyo, March 12, 1988.
For somebody who likes seafood, Japan is paradise. Even at the small fish-mongers that you can find in any residential area, the choice is greater than in any big shop in Germany. And seafood is rather cheap. We like buying it in small shops or on the market, where you can communicate with the vendors and easily can get a good snip of fish.
Pentax A3 Date-S, Cosmicar 35-70 mm, Fujichrome 100. 3378.

33. Market Street. Okachimachi, Taitô-ku, Tokyo, July 30, 1988.
Between Ueno and Okachimachi stations in Tokyo along and under the Yamanote line exists a market street of about two kilometers length. It is called *ameyoko* because during the occupation this was a street of bars catering to American soldiers. In this street you can buy any kind of foodstuffs, but also imported watches, jewelry, cosmetics, stationary, clothes, liquors etc. It definitely has the flair of an oriental bazaar.
Pentax A3 Date-S, Cosmicar 35-70 mm, Fujichrome 100. 4119.

34. Live House. Penguin House, Kôenji-kita, Suginami-ku, Tokyo, August 25, 1988.
In Tokyo there exist an incredible number of live houses and bars that regularly present live music. In most cases they specialize in a certain musical style. This place in Kôenji I discovered in late 1987. Their specialty is blues and rock, but sometimes they also have jazz bands. It had been one of my regular places when I lived in Tokyo. The band in the photo is Nakada Shûko & Midnight Special, a rhythm & blues band that was at that time the house band of the bar.
Pentax A3 Date-S, Cosmicar 35-70 mm, Fujichrome 100. 4261.

35. *Nijikai*. Shinjuku, Shinjuku-ku, Tokyo, March 17, 1988.
There are many more or less formal occasions for parties in Japan. Typically people rent a place in a hotel, restaurant, or bar for two to three hours. But in most cases, after the party has ended officially, people attend a second, less formal party, which is called *nijikai* (sometimes they continue with a third or fourth party).
Pentax A3 Date-S, Cosmicar 35-70 mm, Fujichrome 100. 3408.

飲み屋

Nomiya – Drinking Places

Drinking places exist in Japan numberless as the sands – in all price categories, every variation, and for every possible target group. This is at least true for the big cities. But despite the great range of variations, some general remarks concerning Japanese drinking places are nevertheless possible.

Of course, drinking places live from their patrons. For most drinking places it holds true that the regular customers are much more important for their existence than chance customers. Raising and nursing a stock of regular customers is a matter of course in Japanese drinking places, especially if it is a small bar whose owner also stands behind the counter. Sometimes the regulars also become patrons of their bar in the real sense, i.e. they grant the owner a cheap interest credit. Because of the difficulties Japanese small businesses encounter in acquiring cheap credits, this is sometimes very important. In this sense, the change of the drinking-places culture since the 1960s is closely related to the social change of the Japanese society as a whole, especially its becoming a society of company employees. Not only in Japan are drinking places in the big cities concentrated in so-called amusement quarters (where they can fall under the influence of organized crime). Nevertheless one can also find scattered drinking places in pure residential areas. But normally they are lacking in the big apartment block and terrace house areas of modern city development (those are normally equipped with shopping centers, but these include only some fast-food restaurants that are only open during the opening hours of the center). This kind of city development has led to the development of a new type of quarters characterized by a mixture of small shops, restaurants and drinking places around the stations of commuter trains – especially the terminals and nodal points.

Although taverns, i.e. places where you can drink and sometimes also eat something exist already since the dawn of human civilization, the evolvement of a highly developed drinking-place culture is closely related to the spreading of wage labor and the separation of place of living and place of work that is connected to it (and of course with the way in which the wage-dependent masses spend their leisure). The archetype of drinking places in Japanese cities had been the roadside booth or small shop with Japanese rice wine (*sake*) and spirits (*shôchû*) and some simple meals as one could and can still find them in the neighborhoods of working-class quarters, where they have been mostly patronized before and after the shifts. The menu of this kind of drinking places is strictly oriented to the limited budget of its customers. During the 1960s the inner-city amusement quarters were dominated by the *cabaret* and the *bar*, which offered more exotic drinks like beer, wine, and whisky, and depended upon customers that disposed of a much greater budget than blue-collar workers. Hence they targeted the elites of self-employed and higher educated functionaries of companies and the bureaucracy (including university teachers). *Cabarets* were characterized by performances on a stage, especially striptease. They also included other young women as hostesses too, who had to take care of the customers. It was not rare that *cabarets* were controlled by organized crime and included illegal prostitution. *Cabarets* grew out of fashion during the 1980s. This was mainly due to a change of taste, but at least in part also of sexual morals. But this doesn't mean that places with explicitly sexual offers have disappeared, their forms have changed and differentiated into a plurality of styles (in these days when any amount of naked meat can be seen for free in the night shows of commercial TV channels, interest in the rather expensive pleasure of seeing striptease on a stage has simply vanished). *Bars* have been managed mainly by elderly women, the *mama-san*, according to the size of the establishment that may range from less then ten seats to more than fifty, young women as hostesses can also be found (these are often female students' jobs). In most *bars* no food except so-called snacks like peanuts or chocolate are offered (this type of *bars* use the term *snack* already in their name). *Bars* are typically visited after one has already eaten and drunk at a different place, they are places for *nijikai*, the second party after another, more formal one. Hence, in most *cases* bars are not frequented alone, but in groups (only in the small

establishments one can find greater numbers of single customers). In these places people drink mostly *mizuwari* – whisky or sometimes brandy mixed with water. Nowadays many *bars* also dispose of *karaoke* equipment, and some of them are completely specialized in *karaoke*.

The 1970s saw the rapid spreading of a new type of drinking places that combine elements of the traditional working-class pub and the *bar*. Its customers were mainly recruited from the masses of ordinary white collar employees, the *sarariman*, whose numbers rapidly swelled during the years of two-digit economic growth in the 1950s and 1960s. This new type of drinking places is mostly called *izakaya*, but in the business they are called *kemuri*, which means *smoke*. The latter term indicates to a common feature of these places, i.e. to prepare food on a (charcoal) grill. They are then differentiated according to the kind of food they prepare. In a normal *izakaya* grilled salted fish and various kinds of skewers with meat and vegetables are typical. In general they have also a number of single dishes that are not prepared on the grill but in the kitchen. Some places are completely specialized in skewers. Some mainly on fish and vegetables and some kinds of meat, and the *yakitoriya* offer skewers with various parts of chicken meat (and selected vegetables, mushrooms and other sorts of meat, but never fish). One drinks *sake*, beer, *shôchû*, wine, whisky etc., i.e. almost everything which contains alcohol. Prices are more reasonable than in restaurants and *bars*, but still relatively expensive. An important source of income for most *izakaya* besides the regulars are the many parties which are organized throughout the year by Japanese organizations (that starts with a New Year party (*shinnenkai*) in January continues in early April with a welcome party for the new colleagues and ends in December with a party for forgetting all bad things that have happened throughout the year (*bônenkai*), but in between a lot of parties are additionally organized for any event that needs celebration). The *master*, in most cases the owner who stands himself behind the counter, knows all his regulars and if one has shown up three times within a short span, one is regarded as a regular and will be naturally integrated into the communication structure around the counter.

Izakaya were flourishing from the early 1970s until the early 1990s since then they have experienced a crisis. Like most Japanese drinking places they depended upon the core of their regular customers and its renewal, and this had been mainly *sarariman* who drank with their colleagues after hours. Since most sarariman dispose of only very few pocket money (their wives keep them on a short leash), these daily drinking hours were mainly paid for out of company expense accounts (at least because the drinking was thought to help maintain a good work climate). The following factors now have been mainly responsible for an interruption of the continuous renewal of this kind of regulars, and hence crisis of the *izakaya*: First, in the early 1990s a number of changes in company taxation laws were introduced, which made it extremely difficult to use company expense accounts for after-hours drinking. Second, as a result of the value change in the direction of individualistic values of self-actualization, many younger employees have developed a strong aversion to spending their free time in the ritualized drinking parties with their colleagues. Third, tastes have changed generally and a considerable pluralization of types of drinking places has occurred. The traditional *izakaya* with its rituals of the elder employees now is regarded as 'unclelish' (*ojisanppoi*) by the younger generations, no longer up-to-date and by no means 'cool'. They are simply lacking the flair of the new wine bars and Western style cafés that are a fad among young women. Fourth, the traditional *izakaya* are confronted wit the cut-throat competition of cheap chain-*izakaya* that are oriented to the budget of college students (who are also jobbing in these places). Fifth, the continuing economic recession since the mid-1990s led to a sharp reduction of the income of elder employees who therefore have been forced to reduce their frequency of visiting drinking places in order to keep up with their reduced budgets. The traditional *izakaya* that are managed by an owner-master therefore on the one hand lost new recruits for their regulars, on the other hand the number of parties was reduced as well as the number of visits by their old regulars. In the Rokumonsen in Nagoya, for instance the number of customers and the turnover dropped between 1997 and 1999 by roughly twenty percent per year (and this became the main reason for closing the place).

Between *izakaya* and *bar* one can find nowadays a big range of all kinds of mixed types of drinking places. And although the continuing economic recession gives many owners of drinking places a hard life, new places that try to cater to the tastes of a new customer segment open incessantly. But with the continuing pluralization of values and life styles, tastes have become extremely fluid. A place might be buzzing like hell for one or two years and then suddenly find itself without any customers because some place tending to some new fad has opened up. Important are the location and the design of the place, the quality of the food and the price. New types are the cheap chain-*izakaya* and the rather expensive wine bars that especially attract the rather well-of segment of young,

unmarried, female employees. Live music and other events are an additional means to attract new customers or to keep old ones. But even in chain bars, cultivating ones regular customers still is the most important. In all Japanese drinking places, those managed by a master as well as those managed by a *mama-san*, the person behind the counter always takes pain to integrate all customers into the communication around the counter. A guy behind the counter who does not talk with his customers, especially new ones, simply is unthinkable in Japan.

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1-4: Rokumonsen in Nagoya had been a typical *izakaya*, in which the master stood at the grill behind the counter. This place depended more ore less upon its regular customers and upon the parties that were held by companies on various occasions throughout the year. It became a typical victim of the crisis of the *izakaya*.
Rokumonsen, Imaike, Chikusa-ku, Nagoya, February 21, 1996. Nikon F3, Nikkor 35-70 mm, Nikon Speedlight SB 17, Kodak Tri-X Pan. S-KB16-8, S-KB16-21, S-KB16-23, S-KB16-36.

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5-7: *Izakaya* exist in many sizes and they offer various kinds of foods. A common feature is that they provide space for parties. The place in number 5 was specialized in sukiyaki from horse meat, the place in number 6 provided various dishes, but its specialty was a hot-pot with meat, and in number 7 all kinds of fish dishes were on the menu.

5: Sagami Ôno, Kanagawa prefecture, February 5, 1988. Pentax A3 Date-S, Cosmicar 35-70 mm, Pentax AF 280 T, Fujichrome 100. 3226.

6: Tachikawa, Tokyo prefecture, January 24, 1988. Pentax A3 Date-S, Cosmicar 35-70 mm, Pentax AF 280 T, Fujichrome 100. 3162.

7: Sendai, Miyagi prefecture, December 19, 1992. Pentax A3 Date-S, Cosmicar 35-70 mm, Pentax AF 280 T, Fujichrome 400. 6338.

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8-10: I In all bars and drinking places all regular and new customers are integrated into the communication at the counter. Typical are the rows of bottles of whisky and other selected spirits, mostly *bottle keep* for regulars.

Penguin House, Koenji-Kita, Suginami-ku, Tokyo June 25, 1993. Pentax A3 Date-S, Cosmicar 35-70 mm, Pentax AF 280 T, Fujichrome 400. 6457,6459, 6440.

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11-12: This is a typical diminutive bar with only eight places. Therefore during summer customers sit outside in the street.

Kakuôzan Bar, Kakuôzan, Chikusa-ku, Nagoya, August 10, 2000. Contax TVS III, Vario Sonnar 30-60 mm, Fujichrome Provia-F 400. 8604, 8605

13: Penguin House in Kôenji has changed its style several times throughout the years and thus has always been able to attract new customers. Nowadays they have every night hip-hop and rock live music.

Penguin House, Kôenji-Kita, Suginami-Ku, Tokyo, August 2, 2000. Contax TVS III, Vario Sonnar 30-60 mm, Fujichrome Provia-F 400. 8591.

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14-15: Some drinking places are a mixture of bar and restaurant. This place was specialized in cheap Indian curry, on the weekends they had an all-you-can-eat buffet for ¥ 1,000. That also attracted high-school students, albeit they are not allowed to drink alcohol.

B, Issha-Minami, Meitô-ku, Nagoya, July 28, 2001. Contax TVS III, Vario Sonnar 30-70 mm, Fujichrome Provia-F 400. 9083, 9084

16: Many drinking places present live music or other events to keep their regulars or to attract new customers.

Pelican Pete's, Ikeshita, Chikusa-ku, Nagoya, April 28, 2001. Contax TVS III, Vario Sonnar 30-70 mm, Fujichrome Provia-F 400. 9007.

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17-19: In Japanese big cities with many expatriates *gaijin bars*, which are mainly frequented by foreigners (and very often also by young Japanese women who want to catch a foreigner) are typical.

17: Jerry's Uno, Kasugai City, Aichi prefecture, July 28, 2000. Contax GI, Planar 45 mm, Contax TLA 200, Fujichrome Provia 400. 8561.

18-19: Pelican Pete's, Ikeshita, Chikusa-ku, Nagoya, August 1, 2001. Contax TVS III, Vario Sonnar 30-60 mm, Fujichrome Provia-F 400. 9086, 9085.

36. Do Your Best! Ano-chô, Toyoake-shi, Aichi, September 26, 1987.
During a visit at a friend's house the sports meeting of his son's kindergarten took place. In these kinds of sports meetings in kindergartens and schools the parents and the staff of the school have also to participate. Before the start of the competition, encouraging speeches are made by the head teacher and the head of the PTA etc. But in this case a local politician used the opportunity for a very long election campaign speech.
Pentax A3 Date-S, Cosmicar 35-70 mm, Fujichrome 100.

37. Commemoration Photo. In front of the Great Buddha, Kamakura, Kanagawa, April 19, 1988.
Spring and autumn are the seasons when Japanese middle schools go on their school excursions. If one visits any famous place during theses seasons, it is always packed with hordes of pupils in school uniforms. Commemoration photos in front of every important spot are an essential part of these excursions; in many cases they are more important than seeing the monument itself.
Pentax A3 Date-S, Cosmicar 35-70 mm, Fujichrome 100. 3662.

38. Bride. Tsurugaoka-Hachimangu, Kamakura, Kanagawa, April 19, 1988.
Until now I have had the opportunity to attend Japanese weddings twice. An extremely formalized event that normally takes place in hotels or special wedding halls. Many Shintô Shrines also possess such wedding halls. After two hours filled with speeches and other events (and during which one barely finds time to eat or drink), the party is over. But in many cases in the evening a bit less formal *nijikai* is organized by the friends of the newly wed.
Pentax A3 Date-S, Cosmicar 35-70 mm, Fujichrome 100. 3631.

39. Rice Reaping. Sanohara, Tsurugaya, Sendai, Miyagi, October 3, 1987.
When I visited Northeastern Japan in October 1987, it was during the season of rice reaping. Nowadays farmers use normally small combines for this task. But throughout September of that year many typhoons had occurred that had flattened the rice, so it had to be cut strenuously with the sickle.
Pentax A3 Date-S, Cosmicar 35-70 mm, Fujichrome 100. 2367.

40. Break. Sanohara, Tsurugaya, Sendai, Miyagi, October 3, 1987.
These farmers just had their lunch-break after finishing the field. When they saw me walking by, they talked to me, asked me where I came from and what I was doing in their village, and at the end, they gave me an apple. In 1987/88 everywhere in the countryside it was very easy to talk with people. In many cases I was the first foreigner whom they had ever met and they were very curious and friendly.
Pentax A3 Date-S, Cosmicar 35-70 mm, Fujichrome 100. 2373.

41. Rice Transplanting. Sanohara, Tsurugaya, Sendai, Miyagi, May 4, 1988.
Rice is first sown in special fields and later transplanted when it has reached a certain height. Until the 1970s this was a very strenuous labor that had to be done by hand with the help of all family members and often other relatives and neighbors, because it had to be done in a few days during which the fields could be flooded before the water moved on to the next level. Nowadays mechanical transplanters are used, but in some fields this work still has to be done by hand, even today.
Pentax A3 Date-S, Cosmicar 35-70 mm, Fujichrome 100. 3954.

42. Mechanized Rice Transplanting. Sanohara, Tsurugaya, Sendai, Miyagi, May 4, 1988.
Combines for harvesting rice had been developed already in the 1950s. Compared to them, the mechanization of rice transplanting proved to be a more difficult task. Mechanical transplanters became available in the 1970s and now the work has become much easier.
Pentax A3 Date-S, Cosmicar 35-70 mm, Fujichrome 100. 3995.

43. First a Beer! Fujishima-Sasabana, Tagawa-gun, Yamagata October 7, 1987.
In October 1987 I had the opportunity to visit several villages in Yamagata Prefecture with a professor from Yamagata University. When we arrived at the first farm family, the Young Men's Association of the village were already waiting for us with a crate of beer.
Pentax A3 Date-S, Cosmicar 35-70 mm, Pentax AF 280 T, Fujichrome 100. 2486.

田舎

Inaka – In the Countryside

Although we quite often make trips out of the city to the countryside, I have relatively few newer photos of rural Japan. Two reasons are responsible for this. On the one hand, photos of landscapes are just not my cup of tea; on the other hand, we normally just drive through the villages until we arrive at the place from where we start hiking. Thus the more interesting aspects of rural life are passed-by, and what are left shooting are only landscapes.

But when I was alone in Japan in 1987-88, I could shoot quite a few photos of rural Japan. At that time rural sociology still was one of my research fields, and I had several times the opportunity to visit villages. I got my first impressions of rural Japan already in early October 1987 in a village in the outskirts of Sendai, where the rice harvest was just under way. Throughout the whole of September *taifun* had brought heavy rain and storms along the whole east cost from Aichi prefecture in Central Japan to Iwate prefecture in the North-East. Due to the heavy rain, in many places in the North-East the rice was lying flat on the ground and combines were only of limited use for the harvest. Therefore the farmers sometimes had to cut the rice with the sickle like in old times, and afterwards they fed the haulms into the combine. At that time, my travel continued from Sendai to Yamagata prefecture and there to the Shônai plain, the largest region of rice cultivation in contemporary Japan. There I also got the chance to accompany a professor from Yamagata University visiting two farm families and several offices of agricultural administration. The first of the two families still cultivated rice as their main product, but several years before our visit they had started to diversify their production and cultivate various vegetables and breed pigs. The second family had become completely innovative and concentrated on the cultivation of cut flowers for the big-city market. They grew rice and vegetables only for their own consumption. From Yamagata I traveled after a short overnight stop in Tokyo on to a village in Aichi prefecture, where I visited a friend. The climatic conditions in Aichi prefecture differ considerably from those in the North-East and therefore the crop-rotation is also scheduled differently. In Aichi the rice harvest had not even begun, while it was already completely finished in the Shônai plain when I left. So I could see in Aichi for the first time in my life rice standing on the haulm. In the spring of 1988 I visited again the village on the outskirts of Sendai together with my wife, and this time there it was the season of rice-transplanting (*taue*). In this way I saw the different stages of rice cultivation in reversed order.

Except for another visit in the village in the Shônai plain in February 1990, I had until 1993 no more chance for a visit to a Japanese village that gave the opportunity to take photos of rural life. In July 1993 I was asked by a friend from Mie University to accompany him to field research in a fishing village on Shima peninsula. The characteristic feature of that village is that there still live female divers (*ama*), who dive for abalone and other seafood to depths of up to 50 meters without using oxygen tanks. His research project was a study of the impact of pollution caused by progressing industrialization and tourism on the *ama's* traditional method of fishing by reconstructing their life-history. Therefore he had to conduct lengthy interviews with the *ama*, and I have the suspicion that his main reason to invite me to participate in his research was the fact that he couldn't handle very well the dialect of his informants. His idea had been that the participation of a foreigner during the interviews would entice his informants to speak standard Japanese, what they eventually largely did. The visit in this village also gave me some insight in the functioning of the fishery cooperatives which basically control all aspects of fishing and the marketing of the seafood.

If one looks at Japanese agriculture, rice is by far the most important product. But the agricultural policies since the early 1950s had led to a veritable rice mono-culture, and in the course of changing dietary habits of the Japanese, to a considerable over-production of rice. Since the late 1980s therefore agricultural policy switched to the encouragement of a diversification of agricultural production and the closure of rice fields that are less profitable. Nowadays, besides rice

all sorts of vegetables, fruits, and in Yamagata prefecture also flowers are grown. Some prefectures are quite famous for their special products (cherries from Yamagata, apples from Aomori, grapes from Yamanashi and Nagano, tangerines from Aichi, vegetables from Kyoto, to name just a few). Compared to Europe the sizes of agricultural land are tiny. The average farm size is 1.5 hectare; only on Hokkaidô exist larger farm sizes. These tiny farm sizes are a major impediment for acquiring a decent livelihood from agriculture. Hence the proportion of full-time farms is very small. In the late 1980s/early 1990s more than half of all Japanese farms were mere side-line businesses and another quarter depended upon non-farm income. In this type of agriculture, papa works throughout the week in an office (or as unskilled laborer in construction or manufacture, depending upon his educational credentials) and grandpa, grandma, and mama take care of agriculture. Papa helps only on the weekends and during the labor-intensive phases of rice transplanting and harvest (then he takes his yearly vacation). But since the second half of the 1990s this pattern is rapidly disappearing, because the children, whose parents took over the farms during the 1960s and 1970s are much better educated than their parents and have much more opportunities for careers outside of agriculture, and they don't see any point to do the hard farm work for just a few yen of sideline-income. But until quite recently selling one's land, even if one gives up farming, was unthinkable, because the preservation of the family's landed property was regarded as a duty towards one's ancestors. Leasing the land doesn't make sense either, because the strict legal regulations concerning the lease of farm-land, which date back to the times of the land-reform of the early 1950s, make it impossible to acquire a decent rent. Then it is better to lay the land fallow (and eventually collect fallow-money for giving-up the production of rice). In this way the amount of fallow land is rising, while the full-time farms are lacking the necessary land for an economically sound business. Only in the areas around the big cities, where a dynamic development takes place, farm land is increasingly converted into building land, what has led to the evolvement of a new class of new-rich (most of the fields in the outskirts of Sendai, which I photographed in 1987 and 1988 also do no longer exist). Despite the phenomenon of the so-called u-turn, in which urban employees give up their job and return to the countryside, the rural regions are more and more depopulated. This is especially true for the mountain-regions, where agricultural labor is hard and the yields are low. In such regions exist villages that are only populated by old people. Nevertheless, there exist also regions where agriculture blossoms, because the climatic conditions allow up to three harvests per year, intensive vegetable culture with a decent income has developed that produces for city markets, and where the structural change of Japanese industry during the 1970s and 1980s has eradicated job-opportunities alternative to agriculture. Nagasaki prefecture is such a case, where the disappearance of coal mines, ship-building and steel mills has let to a veritable de-industrialization.

But rural Japan also possesses great landscapes, especially in spring, summer and autumn, where the development of domestic tourism progresses. But I have only very few pictures of such landscapes.

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1. If it has rained a lot before the harvest, the rice haulms have first to be lined-up for drying before they can be threshed.
   Tsurugaya, Sanohara, Sendai, Miyagi prefecture, October 3, 1987. Pentax A3 Date-S, Cosmicar 35-70 mm, Fujichrome 100. 2400.

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2. If the rice haulms lie down flat, the harvest cannot be done with the combine alone. The husband drives ahead with the combine, and the wife follows and cuts all that was left by the combine with the sickle.
   Tsurugaya, Sanohara, Sendai, Miyagi, prefecture October 3, 1987. Pentax A3 Date-S, Cosmicar 35-70 mm, Fujichrome 100. 2410.

3. A typical landscape of rice-fields after the harvest.
   From the train, south-east Nagano prefecture, October 14, 1987. Pentax A3 Date-S, Cosmicar 35-70 mm, Fujichrome 100. 2676.

4. Before the rice can be transplanted in spring, the fields first have to be prepared. This work is mainly done by the wife, the grandfather and the grandmother.
   Sanage, Aichi prefecture, April 29, 2000. Contax G I, Sonnar 90 mm, Fujichrome Provia 400. 8532.

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5/6. Nowadays rice-transplanting has been mechanized, but the machines are adapted to the tiny size of most fields. During the transplanting the fields are irrigated, but irrigation stops immediately thereafter. During Summer the fields are 'dry', apart from the fact that that rice fields are characterized by a roughly one meter deep morass, which still exists even years after the field has been laid fallow..
Tsurugaya, Sanohara, Sendai, Miyagi prefecture, May 4, 1988. Pentax A3 Date-S, Cosmicar 35-70 mm, Fujichrome 100. 3955, 3969.

7. In Yamagata prefecture nowadays cut-flowers are an important alternative to growing rice. The farmer in this photo grows only a tiny amount of rice and vegetables for the family's own consumption.
Amarume-chô, Yamagata prefecture, October 7, 1987. Pentax A3 Date-S, Cosmicar 35-70 mm, Fujichrome 100. 2499.

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8. In Northern Japan much radish is also grown that will be pickled in salt and processed into *tsukemono* (pickled vegetables). But it has first to be dried before it can be pickled.
   Tsurugaoka, Iwakiri, Sendai, Miyagi, November 21, 1987. Pentax A3 Date-S, Cosmicar 35-70mm, Fujichrome 100. 2816.

9/10. During autumn the agricultural cooperatives hold markets in central villages. You can buy anything there what a farmer needs for his production or his household, from piglets to fertilizer, from work-clothes to household utensils.
   Tsurugaya, Sanohara, Sendai, Miyagi,prefecture November 21, 1987. Pentax A3 Date-S, Cosmicar 35-70 mm, Fujichrome 100. 2805, 2799.

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11. The old farm women also take the products of their vegetable gardens to city markets to sell them directly to the consumers.
    Asaichi, Chûô-ku, Sendai, December 19, 1992. Pentax A3 Date-S, Cosmicar 35-70 mm, Fujichrome 400. 6335.

12. In this fishing village *ama* (female divers) still exist. Normally the husband sits in the boat. From a distance it looks like he only sits idle, while his wife does the hard work. But he has to keep the boat constantly over the place where his wife dives and to watch, if something unusual or an accident happens, in which case he has to bring her up immediately.
    Ishika, Toba-shi, Mie prefecture, July 19, 1993. Pentax A3 Date-S, Cosmicar 35-70 mm, Fujichrome 400. 6503.

13. After the boats have returned, the catch is put into the basins of the fishing cooperative that is responsible for the marketing (selling privately directly to customers is strictly forbidden).
    Ishika, Toba-shi, Mie prefecture, July 19, 1993. Pentax A3 Date-S, Cosmicar 35-70 mm, Fujichrome 400. 6419.

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14. The whole village participated in this festival in a fishing village on Hokkaidô's east coast.

    Nemuro, Shibetsu-chô, Notsuke-gun, Hokkaidô, August 18, 1990. Pentax A3 Date-S, Cosmicar 35-70 mm, Fujicolor 400. C-KB10-35.

15. During the 6th and 7th centuries the Korean peninsula experienced endemic warfare between three kingdoms, one of which had close relations to the Japanese imperial house. When this kingdom was conquered, many of its nobles and their followers resettled in Japan. The shrine Kôma Jinja and the adjacent temple Shôten-in in Saitama prefecture near Tokyo belong to the oldest relics of this resettlement of Koreans in the Kantô region during Japanese antiquity. Both are favorite sightseeing spots and like at any of this kind of places, drink dispensers are erected at the street that leads to the place. It's sheerly impossible to die of thirst in Japan.

    Kômagô, Irima-gun, Saitama prefecture, April 29, 1992. Mamiya 645 Super, Mamiya Sekkor 80 mm, Fujichrome 400. R36.

16. In the countryside too one can find temples with beautiful old Chinese gardens.

    Shôten-in, Kômagô, Irima-gun, Saitama prefecture, April 29, 1992. Mamiya 645 Super, Mamiya Sekkor 80 mm, Fujichrome 400. R50.

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17-23. These photos are examples of Japanese landscapes during Spring, Summer, and Autumn.

11/18: The valley of the Katashina-gawa, Gunma prefecture, November 15, 1990. Pentax A3 Date-S, Cosmicar 35-70 mm, Fujicolor 400. C-KB15-1, C-KB15-2.

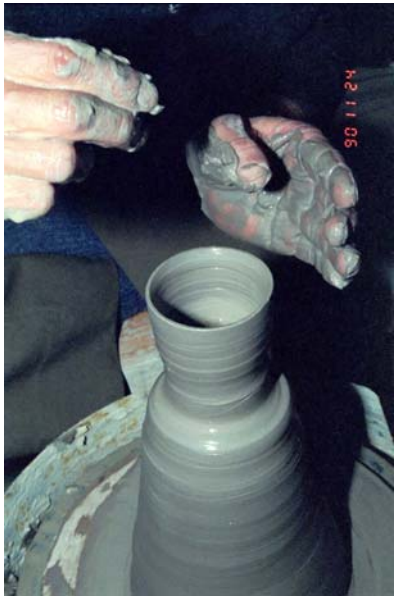
19-21: The Kataichi cataracts, Tsukichi-gawa, Gifu prefecture, September 11, 1999. Contax G I, Planar 45 mm, Fujichrome Provia 400. 8331, 8332, 8336.

22. Kamimura-gawa, Hiraya-mura, Shimoina-gun , Nagano prefecture, October 25, 1997. Contax G I, Planar 45 mm, Fujichrome Provia 400. 7624

23. Akazawa, Agematsu-chô, Nagano prefecture, April 29, 1996. Mamiya 645 Super, Mamiya Sekkor 80 mm, Fujichrome 400. R291.

44. Colonial Region. Horokonai, Uryû-gun, Hokkaidô, August 24, 1990.
In Hokkaidô that was colonized by the Japanese only since the late 19th century one can find many settlements in the colonial style. Sometimes they give the impression of being in a western movie.
Pentax A3 Date-S, Cosmicar 35-70 mm, Fujicolor 100. C-KB12-25.

45. Return of the Fishing Boats. Shari, Utoro-chô, Shari-gun, Hokkaidô, August 18, 1990.
Shari is situated on the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk. Because of the cold currents in this region, the water is even during summer quite cold and the fish caught here has a quality that one can get in other places only during winter. The *sashimi* was extremely good! The boats leave the harbor early in the morning and return in the afternoon. Most of the fish is immediately send to Tokyo by plane, to arrive there for next morning's auction.
Pentax A3 Date-S, Cosmicar 35-70 mm, Fujicolor 400. C-KB11-8, C-KB11-5, C-KB11-14, C-KB11-13.



46. A Friend from Tachikawa. Kashiwa-chô, Tachikawa-shi, Tokyo, November 24, 1990.
Every year our friends in Tachikawa used to organize a small private exhibition of pottery. There used also to be given an opportunity to try it oneself. These hands belong to Mr. S., an older potter who shows how the work has to be done.
Pentax A3 Date-S, Cosmicar 35-70 mm, Fujicolor 400. C-KB16-23, C-KB16-16, C-KB16-17, C-KB16-19.

48. While Waiting for the Last Train. Tachikawa station, Tachikawa-shi, Tokyo, December 27, 1990.
December in Japan is the month of drunken people. As the yearend approaches, every firm, university, administration, or organization has its “forget the year party” (*bônenkai*), which is normally followed by a *nijikai.* Late night trains are packed with drunken people. These photos were taken shortly after eleven o‘clock p.m. A drunken guy had lain down on the platform to sleep. The police arrived after about 15 minutes, but it took them another half an hour until they called an ambulance.
Pentax A3 Date-S, Cosmicar 35-70 mm, Fujicolor 400. C-KB17-33, C-KB17-37, C-KB18-1, C-KB18-2.

48. New Year's Visit at the Shrine. Ômiya-Hachimangu, Eifuku-chô, Suginami-ku, Tokyo December 31, 1990 - January 1, 1991.
New Year is perhaps the most important holiday in Japan. It's a family affair. An important part of it is the first visit of the year at a Shrine or a Temple, which has to take place between the 1st and 7th of January. On New Year's Eve masses of people are queuing up at the entrance to any of the famous Shrines or Temples, waiting for midnight, when the doors are opened. Here the queue was about two kilometers long. The front of the signs reads "please move on silently" and the back "please wait a moment".
Pentax A3 Date-S, Cosmicar 35-70 mm, Pentax AF 280 T, Fujicolor 400. C-KB18-8, C-KB18-31, C-KB18-17, C-KB18-18.

Japan Seen through the Eye of the Camera
Photo Sketches of a German Researcher

Fotos 1991-2000

ファインダーから見た日本ードイツ人研究者のカメラ・スケッチ

1. *Chindonya*. Ôsu daidô chônin matsuri, Ôsu, Nagoya, October 12, 1997.
The quarter around Ôsu Kannon Temple in Nagoya resembles in many ways Asakusa in Tokyo. It is very popular among young people as well as among the old. Every year on the third weekend in October a great festival of street performers takes place in this quarter, in which artists from all over Japan participate. This rather famous *chindonya* troupe from Ôsaka participates every year. *Chindonya* are groups of street musicians that in former times existed everywhere in Japan. They were especially engaged by shops and other businesses for advertising events. Since the 1960s their number has shrunk rapidly and only very few troupes exist nowadays.
Contax G II, Planar 45 mm, Fujichrome Provia 400. 7599.

2. Juggler. Ôsu daidô chônin matsuri, Ôsu, Nagoya, October 12, 1997.
Flying knives — that was fascinating for the children, which followed the performance of the juggler with keen curiosity. Since this festival takes place on a weekend, it is attended by many children and their parents.
Contax G II, Sonnar 90 mm, Fujichrome Provia 400. 7594, 7593.

3. Spice Vendor. Ôsu daidô chônin matsuri, Ôsu, Nagoya, October 12, 1997.
Red pepper - *tôgarashi* - is an often used spice in Japan. In most cases it is not used in its pure form, but mixed with other spices. The ingredients vary according to the food for which they are used. This vendor produced the various mixtures with an incredible speed and at the same time amused the passerby with funny commentaries and stories. He is also quite famous.
Contax G II, Sonnar 90 mm, Kodak Ektachrome Dyna EX 100. 7576.

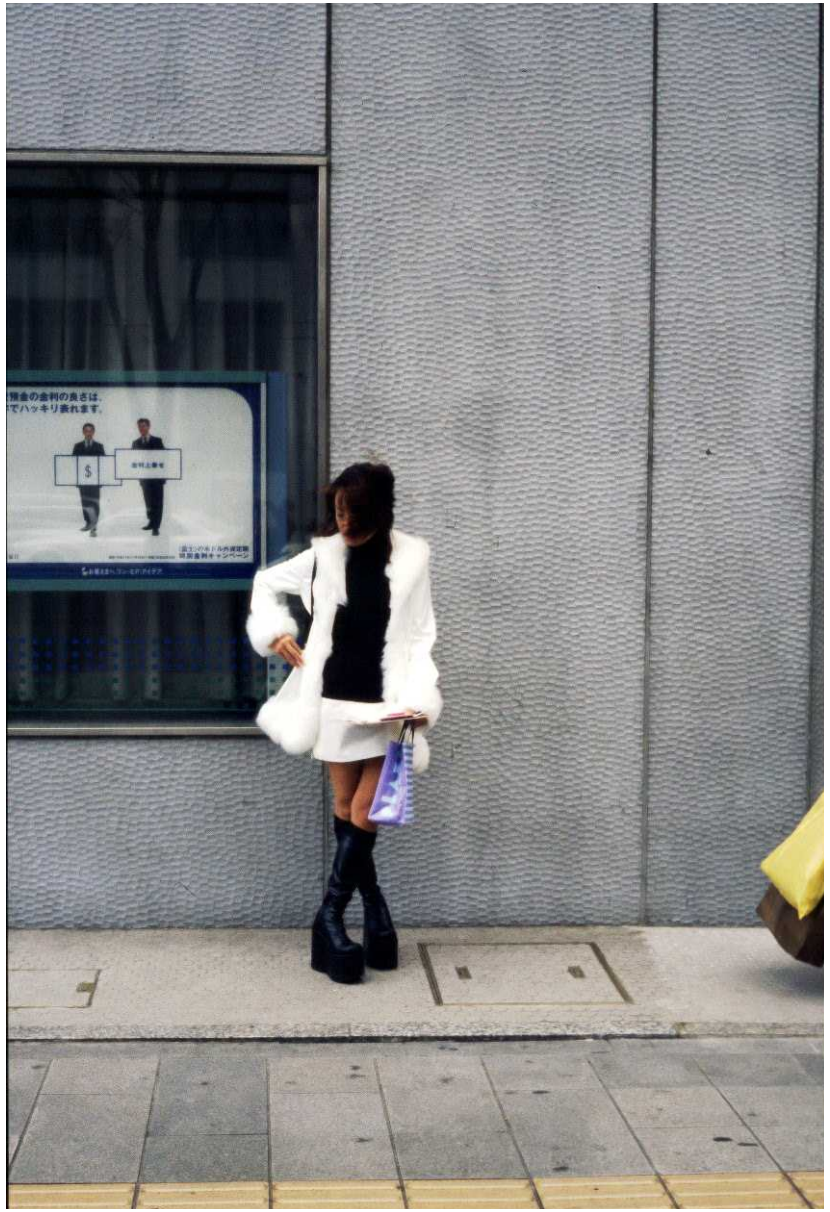
4. Bamboo Craftsman. Central market, Sendai, Miyagi, July 25, 1992.
Bamboo is a material that has been used in Japan for many appliances and utensils. Hence in former times bamboo craftsmen could be found everywhere. But crafts no longer make a mint in this country and the competition from cheap imported bamboo goods from East and South-East Asia has added to the difficulties of the Japanese craftsmen. This photo was taken ten years ago, nowadays has become almost impossible to find this kind of craftsmen at markets.
Pentax A3 Date-S, Cosmicar 35-70 mm, Fujichrome 400. 5882.

5. *Ama.* Ishika, Toba-shi, Mie, July 19, 1993.
Ama are women divers who dive for abalone and other seafood without any technical equipment to depths of fifty meters and more. Once they could be found everywhere along Japan's coasts, but today their exists only few regions with *ama* fishing villages. One of them is Shima Peninsula in Mie Prefecture. I visited this village in the summer of 1993 together with a colleague from Mie University who did research in this village. He wanted to have a foreigner with him, because then the locals would use standard Japanese instead of their dialect. Among the Japanese the general image of *ama* is that of strong-willed beautiful young women diving naked. But in reality nowadays the average age of the *ama* lies well above sixty. The women are strongly opposed to their daughters following them in this dangerous and strenuous profession. And they never dive naked, because of the cold water temperature in greater depths. Nowadays they wear diving suits made from Neoprene, in former times several layers of white cotton clothes. Because of the cold men cannot do this kind of work, their fatty tissue is too thin to isolate against it.
Pentax A3 Date-S, Cosmicar 35-70 mm, Fujichrome 400. 6532.

6. ***Ama.*** Ishika, Toba-shi, Mie, July 19, 1993.
An *ama* ʻs workday is not finished with diving. They still have a lot of other work to do, and often they have to prepare their catch before selling it. Like in this case where so-called *bafun-uni*, small sea urchins that resemble horse droppings are prepared for canned food.
Pentax A3 Date-S, Cosmicar 35-70 mm, Fujichrome 400. 6550.

7. University Graduation Ceremony. Chûbu University, Kasugai City, Aichi, March 23, 1994.
My first graduation ceremony at Chûbu University. After a very formal ceremony with more than 1000 graduates in the university's gymnasium, the different colleges and departments separately hand out the graduation diploma. At this occasion many female students wear traditional attire like a *kimono* or, even more typically, a *hakama*.
Pentax Spotmatic F, SMC Takumar 50 mm, Fujichrome 400. 6731.

8. *Konpa* with students. Kasugai City, Aichi, July 18, 1998.
Normally two or three times a year I have a party with the students from my seminars that are called *konpa*, which is an abbreviation of the English word *company*. This group belonged to my fifth seminar that graduated in March 1999. One of the girls I met accidentally in June 2000 at Nagoya Airport where she works now for an airline. A week later she came to visit me at the university and brought photos from the graduation party.
Contax G II, Planar 45 mm, Contax TLA 200, Fujichrome Provia 400. 7752.



9. Waiting for a Date. Sakae, Naka-ku, Nagoya, December 1, 1999.
Sakae is the center of Nagoya where many young people meet. Mini-skirt and boots with platform soles in which it is rather difficult to walk, and a short white coat, thinking of the temperature on that day, that was really impressive.
Contax G I, Planar 45 mm, Fujichrome Provia 400. 8361.

10. Contemporary Beauties. Sakae, Naka-ku, Nagoya, June 7, 2000.
Blonde Japanese girls - that is something which didn't exist in former times. New hair-dying products made this possible, and since they appeared on the market in the late 1990s, there exist almost no young Japanese who don't dye their hair. When I arrived at Narita Airport in 1987 I almost got a shock seeing only masses of black haired heads around me - unbelievable today!
Contax G I, Sonnar 90 mm, Contax TLA 200, Fujichrome Sensia 100. 8549.

11. Young women on the train. Chûô Line, Nagoya, Aichi, July 9, 1999.
There exist a number of universities along this line and in the trains one sees many students commuting to school. Compared to the tired and worn out middle aged men on their way back home, these two gave a very awake and cheerful impression.
Pentax Spotmatic F, SMC Takumar 50 mm, Kodak T-Max 400. S-KB35-33.

12. Late Night on the Train. Chûô Line, Nagoya, Aichi, July 2000.
The faces a bit red - that indicates consumption of alcohol. Most of the younger people nowadays don't like drinking with colleagues after hours, but among the elder generations of salaried employees, which are now between forty-five and sixty-five, Going out drinking with colleagues is still regarded as very important to keep up social contacts.
Contax G I, Sonnar 90 mm, Contax TLA 200, Fujichrome Sensia 100. 8557.

13. On Nagoya's Subway. Nagoya, Higashiyama Line, November 4, 1997 and Meijô Line, January 26, 1998.
During my daily rush-hour rides on over-crowded subways in Tokyo and Nagoya I made an astonishing discovery. Despite the cramped conditions people hold up and mutually respect something like a symbolic space of privacy. These photos are part of a project that was inspired by Walker Evans' New York subway portraits from the late 1930s/early 1940s, which I had seen in 1997 at the 10th Documenta in Kassel. On both shots I even used the same camera type as Evans, an old Contax II. Since my camera had also originally been produced for the American market, the distances on the focusing scale are only given in *feet*, what causes me considerably problems to recalculate this unfamiliar measurement into *meters* while setting the focus, because these photos are not taken using the finder.
Contax II, Sonnar 50 mm, Kodax T-Max 400. S-KB27-1, S-KB28-7.

地下鉄

Chikatetsu – Underground

Having been living in villages and small towns until well in my thirties, I had my first experiences riding an underground (or a subway in American) as a tourist in Paris and London in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Of course the underground was not very crowded when we used it and we were much too busy understanding the system and keeping track of the stations to bother with the people around us. But we learned our way around the city – in the underground.

My first experience with the underground in metropolitan rush hour came in 1973. I had arrived at 7 a.m. at Paris *Gare de l'Est* on the night train from Frankfurt and stupidly decided to take the underground to *Gare du Nord*. So what would have been a short walk of about 200 meters on the surface, turning right just after the wicket of the arrival of the *trains de grandes directions*, climbing a number of stairs and then passing through the *Rue entre les deux Gares* to the entrance to the *trains banlieu du Nord* that were supposed to take me to my destination in the *Departement de l'Oise*, it took me almost one-and-a-half hours just to arrive at the underground platform of *Gare de l'Est*. The masses of people advanced just a meter or two with each departure of the underground below. This time I had ample leisure to study my fellow commuters. They looked as extremely tired as I felt and I got an instant understanding of the lyrics of Eddy Mitchell's song *Metro, Boulot, Dodo*.

After I moved from Marburg to Berlin in 1984, commuting to work via the underground became part of my daily routine. In Berlin, as well as later in Tokyo and now in Nagoya, I have spent about two hours daily on the underground mostly during rush hour, when the trains are overcrowded. In over-crowed trains it is almost impossible to avoid corporal contact with strangers. Hence, in a strictly psychological sense, the boundaries in which the self feels comfortable are continuously transgressed. Nevertheless, I could observe that even when corporal distance shrinks to zero people tend to uphold and mutually respect an 'aura' of personal privacy (with the exception of gropers, of course). Coming from Berlin, the underground in Tokyo was a great surprise. In Berlin most people were constantly on the watch, suspicious and hostile, always ready to react aggressively to any alleged or real disturbance of their private sphere. Not so in Tokyo, nor in Nagoya. Even in the most crowded conditions during rush hour people seem to be rather relaxed and completely centered on themselves. In Tokyo I had for the first time the impression that people at least try to uphold their privacy in a mental sense, if it is impossible physically. One expression of this relaxation of the Japanese on the underground is their habit to sleep on the train. One can see this not only in the case of overworked *sarariman* on their way to the office in the morning or back home late at night, this is a general phenomenon in which everybody indulges.

The underground in Japan differs from that in Germany in other ways too. In Japan much more personnel is present, on the platform as well as on the train. All trains include a conductor who has a compartment at the end of the train. He and one or two officers on the platform guard coming-in and leaving the station and getting on and off the train. It would be sheerly impossible that a train leaves the station while somebody is jammed in the door (as it had happened in Berlin from time to time). And there are people busy all the time cleaning the station. Advertisement is omnipresent. One can spend one's time on the train by checking it (and learning Japanese this way).

Although riding on the underground has been an integral part of my daily life since my arrival in Japan, I shot only very few photos in the underground prior to 1997. Light was a problem, which I did not know how to approach. Using a flash seemed not to be a good idea, because it would disturb the other passengers and at the same time draw attention to the fact of being photographed. For the few photos that I shot prior to 1997 in the underground I used high-speed films of 1600 ASA. But the results were not very satisfying because of big grain, flat colors and a strongly green color cast.

The idea for a new approach to photographing in the underground came, when I visited the Documenta X in Kassel in 1997. This was the first Documenta in which a larger number of photos were exhibited. It especially included important examples of the American so-called *street photography* from the late 1920s to the early 1940s. Here I saw for the first time the famous *subway portraits*, which Walker Evans had shot in New York's underground between 1938 and 1941. Evans relied on the light that existed in the underground and he tried to take the photos without being observed. He did not use the finder of the camera, but hid it under his coat with the lens sticking out between the buttons. He then posted his body in the direction of the person, whose portrait he wanted to take.

Seeing Evans' photos, suddenly everything just fell into place. His photos showed that it is important to hide your intentions, if you want to shoot interesting photos of people in the underground. And they turned my attention to black and white films. Using monochrome material would largely solve all the problems with light that are related to color. Once the problem of film was settled, what remained was the question, which camera to use. A reflex camera was out of question because of its conspicuous size and the noise during shutter release and film transport.

Checking the available light, I found out that a 400 ASA film would allow an exposure of 1/50 to 1/60 second at aperture 1:2. Based on this information, the decision to use a Contax II from the 1930s came almost automatically. I had found this camera accidentally in a recycle shop in Tokyo in the early 1990s, but had used it only two or three times. This camera type was produced from the mid-1930s until the mid-1950s and it is equipped with a Zeiss Sonnar lens of 50 mm focal length and 1:2 maximum aperture. Its shutter release is extremely silent and so is its film transport, because it is not equipped with a quick-cocking lever. The only problem for me is the fact, that its lens was originally produced for the American market and the focussing scale uses only *feet*, and I am not used to think distances in this kind of measurement and have to recalculate them into *meters* before setting the focus. Some time after I had shot my first photos with it in the underground, I found out that Walker Evans had used exactly the same camera type for his photos in New York's subway. But the fastest film he could use at that time had been a 200 ASA Kodak Double-X Film and there existed much less light than in today's Japanese subways, hence his exposure was three to four times longer than mine in Nagoya and he had to wait for a train stop to shoot in order to avoid blurring caused by train vibration.

I made my first trials with the Contax II in November 1997, followed by further ones in January 1998 and March 1999. In July 1999 I took several shots with a Pentax Spotmatic-F using the finder. And in March and July 2001 I tried my Contax G II that is equipped with auto-focus. The photos that I shot with the latter are quite good, but the camera is too conspicuous because of its size, especially the size of the lens, and because of the noise of the motor drive. So it's really difficult to remain unobserved. In October 2002 I returned to the Contax II. In November 2002 I used again the Spotmatic F and the Contax G II, and from October through December 2002 I tried a Sony Cybershot DSC-F505 digital camera. The project itself was finished in December 2002, but this does not mean, that I will completely stop taking photos in the underground. In this sense, it's a continuing project. The subway portraits are included in a different book therefore I show here only some examples.

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1/2: In all Japanese subways and trains a conductor sits in the last wagon. During entering and leaving stations he has to look out the window and watch whether he has to make an emergency stop...

Inokashira-Line, Tokyo, April 3, 1992. Pentax A3 Date-S, Cosmicar 35-70 mm, Fujichrome P 1600 D. 5712, 5719.

3: On the platform too, officers watch over coming-in and leaving of the train and getting on and off.

Ginza-Line Ueno Station, Tokyo, January 25, 1992. Pentax A3 Date-S, Cosmicar 35-70 mm, Fujichrome 400. 5616.

4: Mid-August, when school holidays fall together with the holidays of many companies, is the only time of the year when there is less congestion while changing trains at this station in the morning.

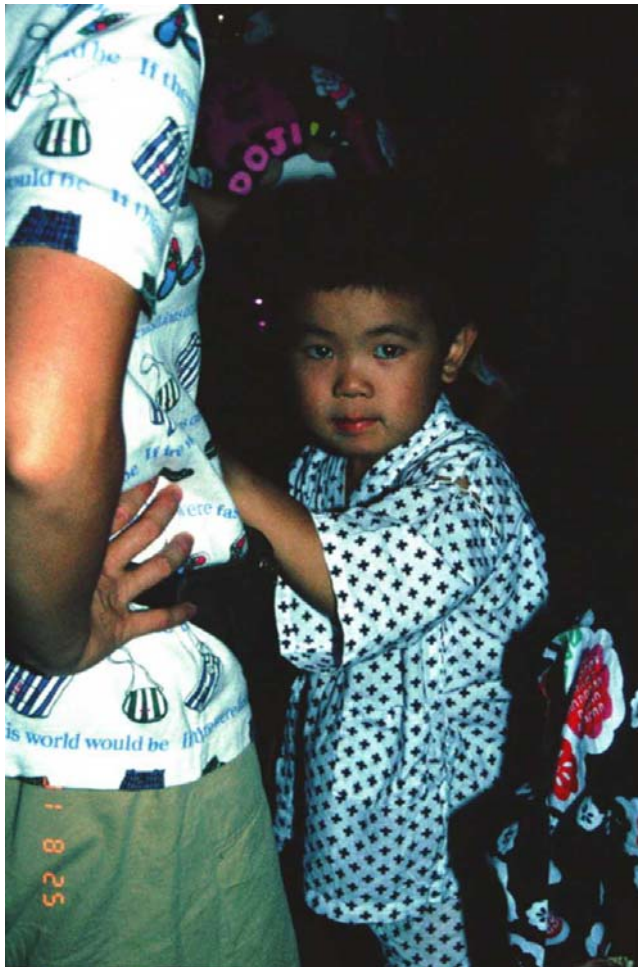
JR-Line Chikusa Station, Chikusa-ku, Nagoya, August 8, 2000. Contax G I, Sonnar 90 mm, Contax TLA 200, Fujichrome 400. 8623.

5. In Japanese subways advertisement is omnipresent.
   Higashiyama-Line, Nagoya, July 9, 1999. Pentax Spotmatic-F, SMC Takumar 50 mm, Kodak T-MAX 400. KB35-35.
6. When shooting with color films in the subway, using a flash gives good results, but with it one always attracts attention.
   Higashiyama-Line, Nagoya, August 5, 2000. Contax T VS III, Vario Sonnar 30-60 mm, Fujichrome Provia 400.
7. Higashiyama-Line, Nagoya, January 27, 1998. Contax II, Sonnar 50 mm, Kodak T-MAX 400. KB28-31.
8. Higashiyama-Line, Nagoya, March 28, 1999. Contax II, Sonnar 50 mm, Kodak T-MAX 400. KB32-5.

14. Summer Holidays. Ishika, Toba-shi, Mie, July 20, 1993.
On the first day of the summer holidays in this fishing village one saw many children playing outside. During the six years that we had lived in Tokyo we almost never saw any children playing outside without being supervised by an adult. Where were live now in Nagoya it is much more common than in Tokyo, but it can still not be compared to rural regions.
Pentax A3 Date-S, Cosmicar 35-70 mm, Fujichrome 400. 6556.

15. School is Out! Takama-chô, Meitô-ku, Nagoya, September 7, 1996.
These kids from a primary school in our neighborhood really had fun on their way home from school.
Mamiya 645 Super, Mamiya Sekkor 80 mm, Fujichrome 400. R303.

16. Throwing rings together with Father. Kakuôzan Summer Festival, Kakuôzan, Chikusa-ku, Nagoya, July 24, 1999.
This summer festival was organized by the neighborhood. There were many attractions for children and a flea market for adults. During the summer holidays one can also see fathers accompanying their children.
Pentax Spotmatic-F, SMC Takumar 50 mm, Kodak T-Max 400. S-KB37-11.



17/18. Children at *bon-odori*. Kugayama, Suginami-ku, Tokyo, August 18, 1991 and Takaido-Nishi, Suginami-ku, Tokyo, August 25, 1991.
In this area of Tokyo everybody, young and old participated in *bon-odori* festivals, which therefore were very lively and interesting. Especially the children had a great time. Where we live now in Nagoya only families with small children participate and it's quite a sterile event.

17: Pentax A3 Date-S, Cosmicar 35-70 mm, Pentax AF 280 T, Fujichrome 400. 5271.

18: Pentax A3 Date-S, Cosmicar 35-70 mm, Pentax AF 280 T, Kodak Ektachrome 200. 5313.

19. Street Performance. *Ôsu daidô chônin matsuri*, Ôsu, Nagoya, October 13, 1996.
This photo was shot when we went to the Ôsu Street Performers Festival for the first time. This Chaplin imitation was especially popular among the kids.
Nikon F3, Nikkor 35-70 mm, Kodak Tri-X Pan. S-KB21-37.

子供

Kodomo – Kinder

In November 1992, the sister of a friend from our time in Berlin visited Tokyo and I took a bit care of here. Later she sent us a selection of her photos from Asakusa, where her hotel had been. Among them were several really excellent shots of children. At the time when we received these photos, I was just busy with preparing my exhibition in Sendai and had a good memory of the photos I took between September 1987 and early 1991. When I saw her photos, it came to me with a shock that I practically hadn't shot any photos of Japanese children during this time. Actually, children and also old people are rather easy to photograph, because they mostly don't mind the camera and keep a natural pose. However when I looked through my photos for the 2001 exhibition, I was astonished that in the meanwhile I have shot a number of interesting photos of Japanese children.

If one reads older reports about Japan from Western observers, one again and again comes across the statement that Japan is a paradise for children, because here the unyielding strictness is lacking that is typical for child education in Western societies (or had been typical until well into the 1960s). Until the end of elementary school Japanese children have a rather easy life even today. No doubt, Japanese children are at least from age three on enrolled in kindergartens, but strictness is taboo in Japan and children are decidedly spoiled. Although there exist cases in which the mothers start to drill their children from kindergarten age on for a school career that leads to Tokyo University, for most children the severity of life – that means cram schools and examination stress – only begins from the second year of middle school on, when they are about thirteen or fourteen years old. Until that time children are allowed to spend their time rather freely, albeit today playing outside with friends has been substituted for TV and video-games. Especially pre-school children are normally treated very kindly and they get away with a lot of things that would not be tolerated in Germany. Even during elementary school and the first years of middle school permissiveness is the basic attitude of the teachers towards the children. Correspondingly many Japanese children appear decidedly curious and open-minded, but these are traits that rapidly disappear from the second year of middle school on.

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1-2: As a matter of fact there exist some earlier shots of Japanese children in my archive, but the firs really interesting ones were taken during *bon-odori* iin the Summer of 1991. In Tokyo always the whole quarter predicated in the dances, and the children hat great fun imitating the complicated hand gestures and steps of the adults.

1: Takaido-Nishi, Suginami-ku, Tokyo, August 25, 1991. Pentax A3 Date-S, Cosmicar 35-70 mm, Kodak Ektachrome 200. 5312.

2: Takaido-Nishi, Suginami-ku, Tokyo, August 25, 1991. Pentax A3 Date-S, Cosmicar 35-70 mm, Fujichrome 400. 5264.

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3: It is especially easy to shoot children during festivals, because their attention is attracted by other things than the guy with the camera. During this street festival children could climb into an inflatable basin and catch living eels.
Summer Festival of the Niômon Shôtengai, Ôsu, Nagoya, July 23, 1994. Mamiya 645 Super, Mamiya Sekkor 80 mm, Kodak Tri-X Pan. SW-R12-10

4. Elementary-school kids are really up to mischief on their way home and they seem not at all to be to much exhausted from school.
Takama-chô, Meitô-ku, Nagoya, September 7, 1996. Mamiya 645 Super, Mamiya Sekkor 80 mm, Fujichrome 400. R304.

5: In front of many toy shops are placed video-game machines. Often the boys of the quarter cluster before them.
Hamadayama, Suginami-ku, Tokyo, February 28, 1993. Mamiya 645 Super, Mamiya Sekkor 80 mm, Fujichrome 400. R310.

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6: During this festival a group of kindergarten kids a much fun to make a performance on stage.

Ise, Mie prefecture, March 17, 2001. Contax T VS III, Vario Sonnar 30-60 mm, Fujichrome Provia 400. 8937.

7-8: Summer festivals give the children many opportunities for activities with their parents.

Kakuôzan Summer Festival, Kakuôzan, Chikusa-ku, Nagoya, July 24, 1999. Pentax Spotmatic-F, SNC Takumar 50 mm, Kodak T-MAX 400. KB37-31, KB37-16.

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9: It's really sad that the ice is gone so fast.
Nagoya Matsuri, Sakaemachi, Cûô-ku, Nagoya, July 29, 2000. Contax G I, Sonnar 90 mm, Contax TLA 200, Fujichrome Provia 400. 8570.

10: During the hot summer an electric fan brings refreshes outside too and additionally its quite an fascinating machine.
Katachi cataracts, Tsukichi-gawa, Gifu bprefecture, September 11, 1999. Contax G I, Planar 45 mm, Fujichrome Provia 400. 8334.

20. Fortune-Teller (*inyôshi*). Monthly market at Nittaiji, Kakuôzan, Chikusa-ku, Nagoya, April 21, 1996.
What surprised me lot after my arrival in Japan was the great number of all sorts of fortune-tellers that you can see everywhere in the big cities. The Japanese have no interest in other-worldly things, that's a joke!
Nikon F2, Nikkor 35-70 mm, Fujichrome Provia 400. 7050.

21. Shopping. Shichijô-dôri, Kyoto, September 8, 1994.
On certain days of the month a big outside market takes place along Shichijô-dôri. We love these kinds of markets, because of the many unusual things you can see, the bargain prices, and the contact you can get with the vendors. But the young Japanese prefer shopping in department stores and they have no sense concerning the charm of the markets. On this market too, the majority of the customers were old people.
Mamiya 645 Super, Mamiya Sekkor 80 mm, Fujichrome 400. R236.

22. Giving Loud Orders. China Town, Nagasaki, March 25, 2000.
Compared to the 1980s and early 1990s, nowadays we rarely have a chance to travel in Japan. In March 2000 we had a rare opportunity to travel to Nagasaki and its surroundings. Nagasaki has the oldest China Town in Japan, but compared to those in Yokohama and Kôbe it is rather small. We were there just looking for a place for lunch, when we saw this old man giving loud orders. Presumably he was one of the elders of the quarter.
Contax G II, Sonnar 90 mm, Fujichrome Provia 400. 8449.

23. *Igo* in the Afternoon. Tsurumai-Park, Nagoya, March 28, 1998.
Tsurumai-Park is the largest park in central Nagoya. Like in many other parks in Japanese big cities, here too they have a corner where people can play games like *go*, *shôgi* and checkers. But overwhelmingly it is old men that meet each other here. In one corner we also saw a game of *mahjong*, which normally is played for money. But the guys playing it didn't like to be photographed.
Contax G II, Sonnar 90 mm, Fujichrome Provia 400. 7705.

老人

Rôjin – Old People

One of the first things which attracted my attention in 1987 was the great number of old people working. They were everywhere. Guardmen at construction sites, cleaning personnel in the underground, weeders in parks and gardens, shoe-shiners, street-vendors, employees in small companies – mostly jobs with a decidedly low occupational status and prestige.

Nevertheless, I only understood the real size of this phenomenon a few years later when I studied the results of an international comparative survey on the life of old people that had exactly been executed in the Autumn of 1987. While in Europe only 20-25% of the old men in the age bracket 60-65 years were still working, the proportion in Japan was more than 80%. In Europe the proportion of working men dropped after sixty-five to less than 2%, but in Japan it was still more than 70% in the age bracket 65-70 years, only in the age bracket 70-75 years it dropped to 20% and only after seventy-five it was close to zero. Also among old Japanese women the proportion of working people was very high until seventy, though not as high as among the men. In 1987 more than half of the old Japanese gained their livelihood from own gainful employment, in Europe that was true for only 10-15% of the old people. Only barely 20% of the old Japanese lived from pensions compared to more than 80% of the old Europeans. In Japan another barely 20% of the old people lived from the support by their children; this was practically non-existent in Europe. During the 1990s the situation in Japan changed drastically. The proportion of men who worked dropped in the age bracket 65-70 years to roughly 35% and it neared zero after seventy. Accordingly the proportion of old people who gained their livelihood mainly from own gainful employment dropped, while the proportion of those who receive pensions rose drastically. The proportion of old people who depend on support from their children also dropped considerably, although it is still much higher than in Europe.

If one asks for the reasons for this development, no easy answers are possible. For instance there is the pension system. A general pension system was institutionalized in Japan rather late, during the 1960s, and only since the early 1990s a larger (and continuously increasing) number of old people receive a pension of such a height that one can comfortably live with it. There is the practice in many big companies to set retirement age between sixty and sixty-three, but a pension can only be received when one is sixty-five and has paid premiums for at least twenty years. Furthermore, many households of old people are still in a situation of cumulated debts when the husband retires. This is caused by housing loans for a house or an apartment (usually acquired between thirty-five and forty-five, with mortgage terms of twenty to twenty-five years), loans for the education of the children (tuition fees have to be paid from high school on, nowadays about 96% of the young Japanese go to high school, and about 60% continue their education afterwards in a university, junior-college, or occupational schools); until receiving a B.A. from a university, a child might easily cost six to seven million yen in tuition fees alone (at current exchange rates between fifty-two thousand and sixty-one thousand U.S. dollars, the average cost for bringing up a child in Japan is calculated to be about twenty million yen, about 172,000 USD), loans for the marriage of a child (on the average weddings cost between three-and-a-half and four million yen, depending on the region) etc. The husband simply has to seek a new job after retirement, but that is generally accompanied by a considerable occupational downturn and loss of income, what leads to a further prolongation of gainful employment. Additionally there exist traditional conceptions according to which seventy is the appropriate age for retirement and that the eldest son is responsible for supporting his parents. During the 1990s several of the parameters in this equation changed drastically. The proportion of old people who had paid pension premiums for twenty-five and more years increased rapidly, and so did the average amount of pensions received. To retire after thirty or more years of gainful employment is no longer regarded as 'improper' and contemporary old people dislike becoming a burden for their children. But the job-opportunities for people who are older than sixty-five also worsened. The contemporary generation of old people of the 1990s and 2000s is

regarded as the one that for the first time in Japan disposes of a safe and relatively well-off retirement, but it is predicted that the general situation of old people in Japan will worsen again after 2010.

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When I arrived in Japan in 1987, I was astonished by the great number of working old people: Shoe-shiners and cobblers on the street in front of big stations, weeders – mostly old farm women – in Kyoto's temple gardens, vendors on street markets etc.

1: Cobbler on the street, Shibuya Station, Shibuya-ku, Tokyo, March 31, 1992. Pentax A3 Date-S, Cosmicar 35-70 mm, Fujichrome P 1600 D. 5699.

2: Weeders. Kinkakuji, Kyoto, April 25, 1988. Pentax A3 Date-S, Cosmicar 35-70 mm, Fujichrome 100. 3799.

3: Street vendor, market at the Nittaiji, Kakuôzan, Chikusa-ku, Nagoya, April 21, 1996. Nikon F3, Nikkor 35-70 mm, Fujichrome Provia 400. 7088.

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In the traditional crafts, which have great problems to recruit young people, one can especially often see old people. Examples of this fact are the scribe who wrote wooden name-plates with a brush, or the maker of wooden boxes with complicated marquetrie. Sometimes this kind of work rather is a volunteer activity like in the case of the old man who displayed the making of straw-sandals in the *Nihon Minkaen*, the biggest open-air museum of traditional Japanese houses.

4. Name-plate scribe. Asakusa, Taitô-ku, Tokyo, December 20, 1987. Pentax A3 Date-S, Cosmicar 35-70 mm, Fujichrome 100. 3042.
5. Macquarie craftsman. Hata-no-chaya, Hatajuku, Hakone, Kanagawa prefecture, March 16, 1991. Pentax A3 Date-S, Cosmicar 35-70 mm, Fujichrome 400 D. 4897.
6-7: Straw-sandal maker. Nihon Minkaen, Kawasaki, Kanagawa prefecture, October 15, 1989. Pentax A3 Date-S, Cosmicar 35-70 mm, Fujichrome 100. 4710, 4711.

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8: Not everything that looks like work is really work. These two guys belong to an association which preserves a knock-down kabuki-stage from the 19th Century. This stage was used for a performance of rural kabuki. After having set-up the stage, the guys were free until the next day and they spent their time drinking beer. They didn't catch anything of the performance.

Akigawa, Tokyo Prefecture, October 25, 1992. Pentax A3 Date-S, Cosmicar 35-70 mm, Fujichrome 400. 6071.

9: Old people playing *gate ball*, could be seen everywhere during the late 1980s and early 1990s. The game was introduced by the Ministry of Health and Public Welfare as a measure to give old people something to do. Nowadays one rarely sees this kind of a scene.

Asagaya, Sanohara, Sendai, Miyagi Prefecture, October 3, 1987. Pentax A3 Date-S, Cosmicar 35-70 mm, Fujichrome 100. 2376.

10: Shopping is a popular activity among old people, especially on markets, which are almost not visited at all by younger people.

Monthly market at the Nittaiji, Kakuôzan, Chikusa-ku, Nagoya, March 21, 1996. Pentax A3 Date-S, Cosmicar 35-70 mm, Fujichrome Provia 400. 6988.

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11: As old people have more and more free time for themselves, they use it for all kinds of leisure activities. Traveling is one of them, also in its traditional form as pilgrimage. The group in this photo is on such a pilgrimage visiting a number of famous temples.

Kôshôji, Yagoto, Nagoya March 16, 1996. Mamiya 645 Super, Mamiya Sekkor 80 mm, Fujichrome 400. R280.

12-13: The free time is also used for learning new things. Painting and photography are hobbies that have become quite popular among old people. In any case the skills are first learned in a formal course (and the teachers also sell the equipment). Taking photos of or painting flowers is a very popular topic. In any park you can see hordes of old people with top camera equipment shooting the seasonal flowers.

12: Inokashira-Park, Kichijôji, Musashino, Tokyo Prefecture, October 10, 1992. Mamiya 645 Super, Mamiya Sekkor 80 mm, Kodak Tri-X Pan. S-R5-47.

13: Nishi-chô, Ise, Mie Prefecture, March 17., 2001. Contax T VS III, Vario Sonnar 30-60 mm, Fujichrome Provia-F 400. 8936.

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14: Performances of traditional arts, like *nô*, are also visited mainly by old people.
Geku, Ise, Mie Prefecture, March 17, 2001. Contax G I, Sonnar 90 mm, Fujichrome Provia-F 400. 8932.

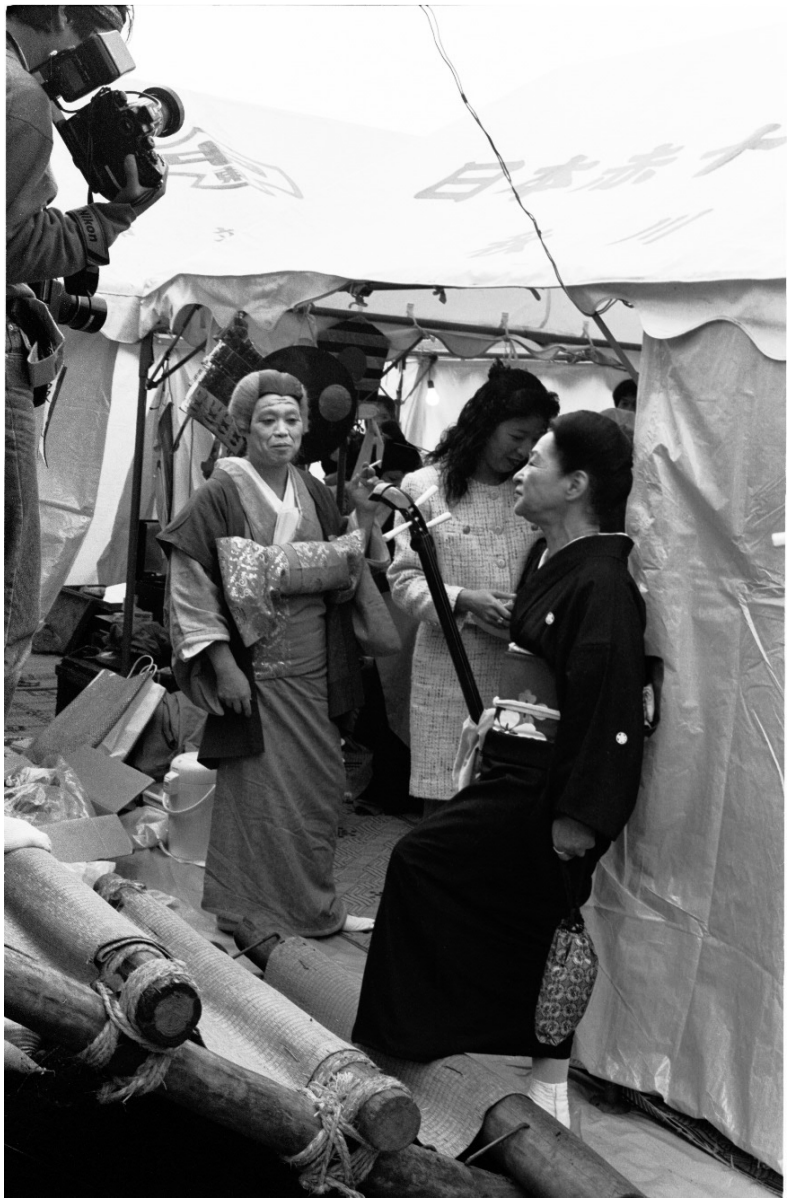
15: In traditional city quarters one can see in summer old people chatting outside of their houses.
Kakuôzan, Chikusa-ku, Nagoya, August 5, 2000. Contax G I, Sonnar 90 mm, Fujichrome 400. 8609.

24. Father and daughter. Ôsu, Nagoya, August 12, 2000.
Ôsu is a quarter with many small shops that sell almost anything. The specialties of the quarter electric appliances and electronics. During summer many events also take place in Ôsu and one sees many children with their parents. Because of the large amount of overtime and weekend-work, Japanese fathers have the image of being non-existing in family life, but lately one often sees more and more fathers taking care of their children.
Contax T VS III, Vario Sonnar 30-60 mm, Fujichrome Provia 400. 8605.

25/26/27. Rural Kabuki. Akigawa-shi, Tokyo, October 25, 1992.
Kabuki is a traditional form of Japanese theater that developed during the Edo Period (1600-1867) as a favorite past-time of the affluent burghers of the big cities. Therefore it also contained many popular elements. Today kabuki mainly exists as a rather formalized form of theater, which is concentrated on the big and famous city theaters, but well into the 1950s there still existed many kabuki-troupes that traveled the rural regions. In Akigawa this tradition of rural kabuki was revived in the early 1990s and we had the opportunity to visit its first performance and also look behind the stage. The impression really differed from “high kabuki” in that its rural form is very popular and lively. Elder people were dominant among the spectators.

25 u.26: Nikon F2, Nikkor 35-70 mm, Kodak Tri-X Pan. S-KB6-21, S-KB7-5, S-KB7-11

27: Pentax A3 Date-S, Cosmicar 35-70 mm, Fujichrome 400. 6076.




足袋製造卸
洋品類小
仕立物一式賣
福生
篠崎商店
駅前
電話三三番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28. A drunkard with good manners. Kugayama, Suginami-ku, Tokyo, August 18, 1991.
The evening before I shot this photo, a big *bon-odori* took place in Kugayama. Perhaps he had drunk too much on that occasion, couldn't make his way home, and lay down to sleep in the entrance of a shop. I saw him there when I went to work early the next morning. What was really impressive was that he had taken off his shoes just like before entering a *tatami* room and had arranged them very orderly on the street.
Pentax A3 Date-S, Cosmicar 35-70 mm, Fujichrome 400. 5242.

29. Saving a place for *hanami*. Inokashira-Park, Kichijôji, Musashino-shi, Tokyo, April 4, 1992.
A *hanami*-party under cherry blossoms is a really important event in spring for the Japanese. “Looking at the blossoms” is less important than drinking, eating, and partying. Tokyo has a number of parks that are famous for this event, because of the many cherry trees and these places get extremely crowded, finding a place for the party is difficult to secure. Inokashira-Park is one of the most popular places for *hanami*. Companies that plan a party there send out people to save a place the night before the event. This photo was shot at 7 a.m, and the flowers were still closed due to the cold.
Mamiya 645 Super, Mamiya Sekkor 80 mm, Fujichrome 400. R24.

30. Amateur-Baseball. Issha Chûô Kôen, Issha-Minami, Meitô-ku, Nagoya, August 20, 1995.
Baseball is perhaps the most popular sport in Japan. Its popularity is not only reflected in the large number of visitors to professional league games, but also in the existence of rather active amateur leagues. During the summer, a number of amateur-league games take place every weekend in this park near Issha station. The photo shows the coach of the club, who poses in the same way as those of professional clubs.
Nikon F3, Nikkor70-210 mm, Kodak Tri-X Pan. S-KB15-33.

仕事

Shigoto – Work

‘Men at work’ is a topic which for some strange reasons was not included in my two solo exhibitions. Of-course, the opportunities for photos of people at work are limited, if one observes people mainly from the street. But for some reasons, besides the nowadays almost exotic appearing photos of farmers during rice transplantation and harvest, none of my photos of working people draw enough attention among the Japanese organizers of my exhibitions, to make it to the short-list in the selection process. Nevertheless, I think that work is such an important life area that I want to include a chapter on it. Forms of work that can be observed from the street are extremely limited. Those are mainly construction sites, street vendors and vendors on markets, and sometimes craftsmen who work in the windows of their shops, and that’s almost it.

Especially construction workers attracted my attention right from the start. When I came to Tokyo in 1987, it was right in the middle of a big construction boom. Everywhere old residential houses and shops were torn down and replaced by the steel skeletons of office high rises. The construction workers draw my attention first solely because of their clothes. Wide flared Knickerbockers plus four- and three-quarters-under-the-knee length boots made from canvas, with the big toe separated from the rest of the foot. These are the clothes of traditional carpenters who were sitting on the beams and held the drills with the big toe in line, because they needed their hands to move the bow. But this kind of shoes doesn’t provide any safety for the feet in modern steel and concrete building. Quite often one can see construction workers with badly crippled feet. In difference to helmets, safety shoes are not part of safety regulations for Japanese construction sites. You can see them only in the case of regular employees of big construction companies who are mostly the supervisors on the site. The real work on construction sites in Japan is mostly executed by small sub-contractors who hire day laborers who are responsible for their own equipment and whose contracts are limited to the duration of a building project. As in the first photo, construction workers have mostly fun being photographed by a foreigner. In the photos 8 and 9 they even posed hard working.

Other forms of work that can be observed quite often from the street are the vendors in shops with an open front, vendors and craftsmen on markets, and street vendors who can be found anywhere where larger groups of people assemble. Other photos were shot rather accidentally like the postman on his bike, the employee of a fast-food restaurant who hands out leaflets on the street, firemen during a fire, and the cook of a noodle restaurant who prepares noodles in the window of his shop. Some photos are also shot inside, like the cooks of a Chinese restaurant, the women behind the counter of a student restaurant, the potter, and the *kokeshi*-puppets’ craftsman in their workshops

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1: Break during the demolition of a house.
Hongô, Bunkyô-ku, Tokyo, October 29、1987. Pentax A3 Date S, Cosmicar 35-70 mm, Fujichrome 100. 2707.

2. Unloading of steel girders.
Hongô, Bunkyô-ku, Tokyo, December 7, 1987. Pentax A3 Date S, Cosmicar 35-70 mm, Fujichrome 100.

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3: Construction of an office high rise

Hongô, Bunkyô-ku, Tokyo, December 3, 1987. Pentax A3 Date-S, Cosmicar 35-70 mm, Fujichrome P 1600 D. 3001.

4-5: Subway construction.

Motoyama, Chikusa-ku, Nagoya, March 16, 1996. Mamiya 645 Super, Mamiya Sekkor 80 mm, Fujichrome 400. R285, R286.

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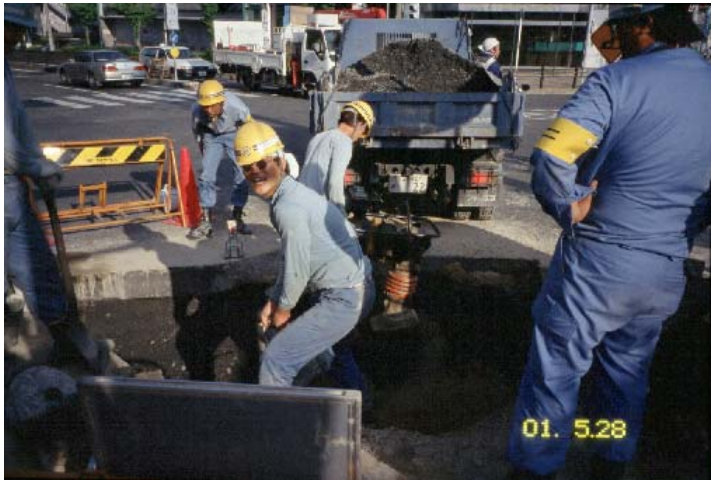

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6: Cutting of sewage pipes

Kamenoi, Meitô-ku, Nagoya, July 28, 2000. Contax G I, Sonnar 90 mm, Fujichrome Provia 400. 8650.

7. Construction workers who are waiting for bus of their company to pick the up after the work is finished.

Kakuôzan, Chikusa-ku, Nagoya, August 5, 2000. Contax G I, Sonnar 90 mm, Fujichrome 400. 8613.

8-9. Water pipes' work.

Nishiyamaguchi, Meitô-ku, Nagoya, May 28, 2001. Contax T VS III, Vario Sonnar 30-60 mm, Fujichrome Provia-F 400. 9047.

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10: Guard man who regulates the traffic at a construction site.

Nishiyamaguchi, Meitô-ku, Nagoya, May 28, 2001. Contax T VS III, Vario Sonnar 30-60 mm, Fujichrome Provia-F 400. 9047.

11: Vegetable vendor

Okachimachi, Taitô-ku, Tokyo, January 25, 1992. Pentax A3 Date-S, Cosmicar 35-70 mm, Fujichrome P 1600 D. 5608.

12: Knife vendor.

Market at the Kôshôji, Yagoto, Nagoya, December 5, 1993. Pentax A3 Date-S, Cosmicar 35-70 mm, Fujichrome 400. 6615.

13: Wood carver.

Kakuôzan summer festival, Kakuôzan, Chikusa-ku, Nagoya, July 24, 1999. Contax G I, Planar 45 mm, Fujichrome Provia 400. 8295.

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14: *Takoyaki* booth.

At the Yamazaki-gawa, Mizuho-ku, Nagoya, April 1, 2001. Contax T VS III, Vario Sonnar 30-60 mm, Fujichrome Provia-F 400. 8970.

15: Postman.

Kamenoi, Meitô-ku, Nagoya, September 7, 1996. Pentax A3 Date-S, Cosmicar 35-70 mm, Kodak Ektachrome 400. 7180.

16: Employee of a fast-food restaurant distributing leaflets.

Shibuya Sentâgai, Shibuya-ku, Tokyo, February 9, 1991. Pentax A3 Date-S, Cosmicar 35-70 mm, Fujichrome 100. 4821.

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17: Firemen during a fire of a residential house.
Takama-chô, Meitô-ku, Nagoya, July 28, 2001. Contax T VS III, Vario Sonnar 30-60 mm, Fujichrome Provia-F 400. 9081.

18: Cook of a *soba-ya* rolling out the pasta dough.
Ebisu-ya, Meitô Hondôri, Meitô-ku, Nagoya, September 14, 2001. Contax G I, Sonnar 90 mm, Fujichrome Provia-F 400. 9201.

19: Cooks at a Chinese restaurant
Tôen, Kichijôji, Musashino, Tokyo prefecture, July 20, 2001. Contax T VS III, Vario Sonnar 30-60 mm, Fujichrome Provia-F 400. 9063

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20: Women behind the counter of a student restaurant.
Student restaurant No. 2, Chûbu University, Kasugai, Aichi, prefecture July 2000. Contax G I, Sonnar 90 mm, Fujichrome Sensia 100. 8556.

21: Potter at work.
Tokoname, Chita peninsula, Aichi prefecture, May 3, 1994. Pentax A3 Date-S, Cosmicar 35-70 mm, Fujichrome 100. 6748.

22. The *Kokeshi*-doll carver Hiraga Ken'ichi in his workshop.
Sakunami Onsen, Sendai, Miyagi prefecture, July 24, 1992. Pentax A3 Date-S, Cosmicar 35-70 mm, Fujicolor HG 400. C-KB29-32.

時間の流れ

Jikan no nagare – In the Course of Time

During the almost nineteen years that I live in Japan now, Japanese society has changed considerably. This change concerns values and attitudes as well as social practices and the behavior of the people. Japan has become more varied and diverse (if she ever had been uniform). Individualization, social differentiation, pluralization, de-hierarchization, post-modernization etc. are the catchwords with which social researchers try to approach the phenomenon of an accelerated social change in Japan since the 1980s. In my own research on value change and on the change of the family I have found enough evidence for these trends of social change, but here I want to keep it brief in this respect.

When I arrived in Japan on September 1 in 1987, the country was in the middle of the overheated economic boom of the *bubble economy* that was caused by the opening of Japan to the international financial market. The ensuing construction and city development boom led to a gigantic speculation in landed property and securities. The prices of land and securities skyrocketed to staggering highs (for instance the price of the apartment that a friend of mine had bought in the early 1980s in the vicinity of the Yamanote Line in Tokyo for 40 million yen had raised to 150 million yen by the end of 1987). In the end even housewives engaged in the securities' speculation and risked their families' savings. But the *bubble* also caused Japan's integration into global society and division of labor and an internal internationalization of Japanese society to an unprecedented degree. It also led to a rapid structural change of Japanese industry, the full blossoming of the society of mass consumption and a considerable general thrust of welfare. Large parts of industrial production were increasingly moved to East-Asian and South-East-Asian countries, service and information industries became more and more important, manpower shortage enforced an increasing integration of women into gainful employment and furthered the legal equality and social emancipation of women, and real income almost doubled during the 1980s. The majority of the Japanese gained considerable affluence and the consumption opportunities of the varied social strata became more equal during these years. Many things that were regarded as luxury in the early 1980s had become standard consumption goods by the end of the decade. The burst of the bubble in late 1991 not only cut in half the prices of landed property and securities. Many companies suddenly found themselves on debt-mountains they were no longer able to repay, and many banks were stuck with bounced loans that were no longer covered by the deposited securities whose value had sunk dramatically. And many private household had lost a good part of their savings. But it got even worse. Next came the great earthquake in Kôbe, the Sarin attack on Tokyo's subway, and then the Asian financial crisis, which caused an economic recession in Japan that is still continuing. Life has become more insecure. Bankruptcies and unemployment are increasing, and the latter has reached European levels. It is no longer sure that one will have a job immediately upon graduation from high school or university, and if one finds one, it no longer provides the security that was the rule for the generation of the fathers (but which has also disappeared). Forming a family has become more insecure. Of those who are twenty today, about a quarter will not find a marriage partner, and the marriage of one third of those who find a partner will end in divorce. Life planning has become increasingly insecure, and for the moment we can only guess what this will mean for the future of Japanese society.

But first of all we experience the change in everyday life. Polite language and honorific expressions are used less frequently than it was the case in the 1980s; on the whole language and the forms of conduct have become more egalitarian. And in some areas the change is especially visible. For instance we can see the change of the drinking places, the change of the office environment, the change of family practices, and first of all, the change of the way of life and the life-style of youth.

I have already addressed the change of the culture of drinking places. It is not limited to the disappearance of the *izakaya*, but it is also visible in bars that continue to exist. They have adapted to the change of the tastes of their patrons and the change of their customers. A good example for this is our former regular bar Penguin House in Kôenji, that I still visit from time to time when I'm in Tokyo (photos no. 1 and 2).

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The master of Penguin House in Kôenji, 1988 und 2000.
1: Penguin House, Kôenji-Kita, Suginami-ku, Tokyo, 25.8.1988. Pentax A3 Date-S, Cosmicar 35-70 mm, Pentax AF 280 T, Fujichrome 100. 4260
2: Penguin House, Kôenji-Kita, Suginami-ku, Tokyo, 2.8.2000. Contax T VS III, Vario Sonnar 30-60 mm, Fujichrome Provia 400. 8590.

During the late 1980s and early 1990s, the Penguin House was a typical bar for people with a rather modest income. The majority of the regular guests were students and younger employees of small- or middle-size companies. Some were also university lecturers or assistant professors, who had already come to the Penguin House while they had been students. Communicating with each other was the central interest of the guests, and quite often they organized parties and other events outside of the bar. Three to four times per month there was live music; most times the house-band Nakada Shûko & Midnight Special, sometimes jazz or blues bands, very rarely rock bands. The bar could live quite comfortably from the income generated by the regulars, and the live concerts brought additional guests. Once or twice per month they had also private parties. As it had been a typical custom in Japanese bars since the 1920s, they guys behind

the counter wore a white shirt and a tie. But around 1995, the bar started to loose its customary regulars. After one long-time employee had left and opened his own place, the atmosphere around the counter was no longer right. But more important was that many of the employees of small- and medium-size companies could no longer afford their regular visits of the bar, and that there were no more new students coming to replace the old regulars. The newer student generations since the mid-1990s differ in many ways from their predecessors. For them a university is nothing special. They attend it, because everybody does it. And they have no relation with the cultural traditions of daily life of former student generations. And their tastes concerning leisure, drinking places and music styles has changed considerably. For the young students, the atmosphere of a bar with white shirts and ties, communication around the counter and from time to time a jazz or blues concert simply appears ‘unclelish’ and completely un-cool. Their music styles are techno and hip-hop and so on. Hence the bare had to adapt its style. The clothes of the employees became more youthful, including those of the master who is of the same age as me. The bar has become a real live-house with concerts every night, of bands that are popular among the students at the moment, and the music style tends to hip-hop and rock.

A second area in which the change is striking is the appearance of Japanese offices. Sometimes one can’t even believe that one is in the same country (photos 3 and 4).

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Japanese offices 1991 and 2001

3: Office of the local newspaper Asahi Towns, Tachikawa, Tokyo prefecture, March 3, 1991. Pentax A3 Date-S, Cosmicar 35-70 mm, Kodak Ektachrome 200. 4866.

4: Office of the College of International Studies, Chûbu University, Kasugai, Aichi, prefecture, March 23, 2001. Contax T VS III, Vario Sonnar 30-60 mm, Fujichrome Provia-F 400, 8996.

When I went to the Japan Foundation for the first time on September 2, 1987, and later on the same day when I went to Tokyo University’s Institute of Social Science, and much later on, when I visited the offices of city administrations, ministries, and various firms, I always was really shocked by the mess that existed

in these places which had been presented to us at university as the model of efficiency and work productivity. All correspondence was written by hand, because typewriters for the Sino-Japanese characters are real monsters and handling them is very strenuous and time-consuming. Therefore they were only used for special occasions. The development of a usable Japanese language electronic word processing with personal computers or *word processors* (which were machines of PC or laptop size that included only word processing software) and the memory capacity and printers with higher resolution necessary for that task had just begun, and so had their use in offices. In most offices existed only one or two of these new machines and in most cases only one person who could handle them (about this time typewriters with electronic memory and small displays made their short-lived triumphal advance into German offices – despite the opposition of many German secretaries – only to be replaced by PCs two or three years later). All desks in Japanese offices were covered with meter-high piles of papers and files. The main task of the *office ladies* (OLs), the female office helpers, was to resort these piles several times a day, in order to guaranty that the work progressed according to urgency and order of receipt. During the 1990s at first a rather slowly, but then faster and faster progressing rationalization of Japanese offices occurred. In the beginning through the use of *Word Processors*, for which only very limited application software besides word processing was offered, then, from the second half of the 1990s on with the development of a Japanese version of Microsoft DOS and Windows, which gave access to a wide range of office application software, through the use of PCs. Today not only the paper piles have disappeared and they have been replaced by PCs of all sizes; the functional hierarchy of office work has also changed. The ability to handle the new technology, especially of the new software packages has become a must, and in this area young women have won a considerable lead over young men.

The third area in which change can be seen are certain appearances of family life that are visible in public. Of course, on the street one can only observe minor things, which nevertheless seem to be connected with more important changes of family life (photos 5–7).

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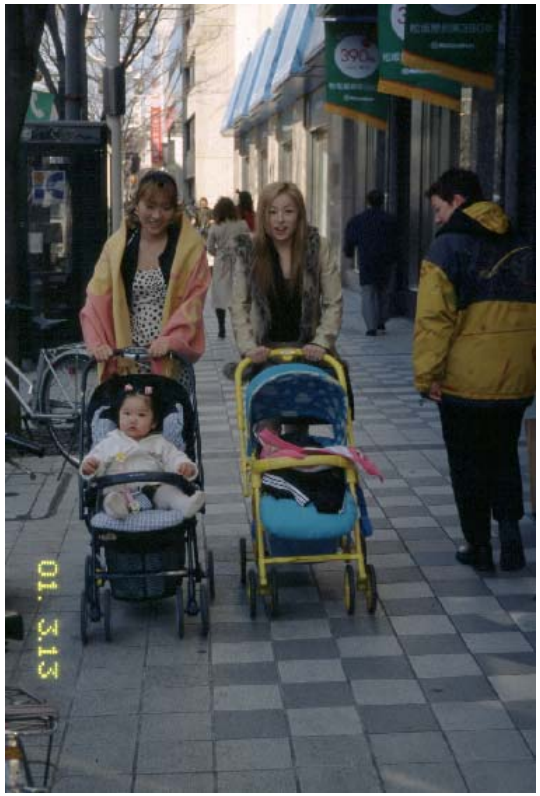

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5: Woman with a child on her back
Kôtokuji, Kamakura, Kanagawa prefecture, January 26, 1992. Pentax A3 Date-S, Cosmicar 35-70 mm, Fujichrome 400. 5621.

6: Young family walking under cherry blossoms.
At the Yamazaki-gawa, Mizuho-ku, Nagoya, April 1, 2001. Contax T VS III, Vario Sonnar 30-60 mm, Fujichrome Provia-F 400. 8963.

7: Young women with baby carriages.
Sakae, Nagoya, March 13, 2001. Contax T VS III, Vario Sonnar 30-60 mm, Fujichrome Provia-F 400. 8859.

When I came to Japan in 1987, one couldn't see any baby carriages at all. The standard answer to questions concerning the use of baby carriages was that they were simply impractical in the cramped conditions of inner-city bustle, and a real nuisance on trains. In those days children were carried on the mother's body. In the country side overwhelmingly in the traditional Japanese way on the mothers back, in the big cities one could also see among the young, modern women that children were carried before the mother's breast according to the contemporary Western fashion. One never saw fathers carrying children. And one seldom saw fathers together with their family, even on Sundays and Holidays. Working hours were long, overtime the rule and people often had to work even on the weekend. And of course, if one was a young employee who wanted to get promoted, one had to go out drinking with one's colleagues and boss after work was finished. Fathers were practically not present in the family. They left the house early in the morning before the children got up, and they came back home late at night when the children were already in bed. Transfers without any consideration for the family situation of an employee were frequent. Many men lived as *tanshin-funin* – alone apart from their family, which they visited only once or twice a month. In the mid-1990s one of my female students told me that until she entered elementary school she didn't know that the guy who came to visit her family from time to time was her father. Quite recently the media and experts have started to blame this absence of the father from the family for many youth problems and the Ministry of Health and Welfare even started an advertisement campaign with a pop star to remind the fathers of their family duties. Nowadays one sees baby carriages everywhere; in shops and trains they are sometimes a

real nuisance. One can see only rarely that children are carried on the back. Nowadays on can even see fathers with the family and they even carry children or push the baby carriage. This is the result of value change and the economic recession. Overtime is less frequent, career planning more insecure and the family has become more important. At the same time many young employees refuse to go drinking with their colleagues. They prefer to organize their free time according to their own wishes, tastes, and ideas, and many young men regard the family as more important than work or the interests of their company.

8

9

Middle school students 1988 and 2000.

8: Kôtokuin, Kamakura, Kanagawa prefecture, April 19, 1988. Pentax A3 Date-S, Cosmicar 35-70 mm, Fujichrome 100. 3655.

9: Tsurugaoka Hachimangu, Kamakura, Kanagawa prefecture, April 19, 1988. Pentax A3 Date-S, Cosmicar 35-70 mm, Fujichrome 100. 3621

10: Hoshigaoka, Chikusa-ku, Nagoya, July 31, 2000. Contax G I, Sonnar 90 mm, Fujichrome Provia 400. 8584.

11: Sakae, Nagoya, July 7, 2000. Contax G I, Sonnar 90 mm, Fujichrome Sensia 100. 8551

10

11

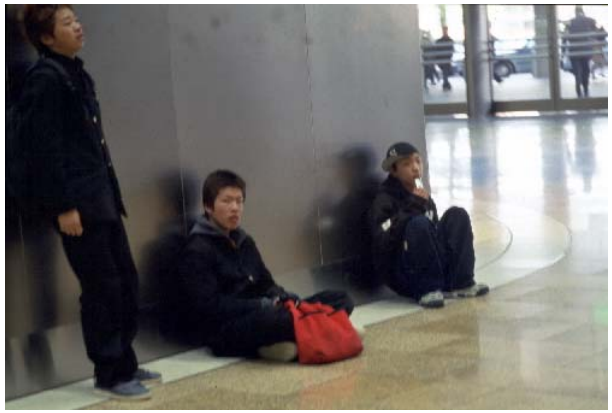
But the area in which the change is most striking is youth. At the end of the 1980s the so-called ‘controlled education’ (*kanri kyôiku*) was in full blossom. School uniforms were a matter of fact and boys had to crop their hair millimeters short. School rules regulated the appearance and behavior of the students up to minor details. Everything was stipulated: The length of the skirt, color of the shoes, length of the hair (up to millimeters, and that was regularly controlled with a rule), hair style, simply everything. Dyeing one’s hair, makeup, jewelry, and wearing any accessories or clothes that were not part of the school uniform were forbidden as well as jobbing or taking a motor-bike driving test (possible from age sixteen in Japan). Especially severely forbidden was to carry things along to school that were not used in class (therefore many students disposed these things in the morning in coin lockers at the subway or train stations). Being late to school was impossible. At eight o’clock sharp before the start of classes the school gates were closed, and who came late had to miss the whole day. Shortly before eight o’clock started the run for the school gates, but the heavy sliding gates were slammed shut without consideration whether anybody was trapped between them. In the late 1980s and early 1990s a series of heavy accidents occurred at school-gates and for many parents enough was enough when a thirteen year old girl was squeezed to death by an automatic school gate one minute after eight o’clock. The multitude of nonsense interferences with the life of the students outside of school were increasingly understood as encroachments on children’s human rights. This was a completely new concept in a society that had always understood children only as the quasi-property of the family. Even within the Ministry of Education and Culture a process of re-thinking started that culminated in Japan’s ratification of the International Treaty on the Rights of Children. The influence of this treaty appeared immediately in a number of

litigations and court decisions against schools. From this moment on controlled education went down rapidly and the system collapsed as unceremoniously as the former East German Democratic Republic. The result is an incredible permissiveness that even goes into the other extreme. The photos 8-11 show middle-school students 1988 and 2000. Eighteen years ago the contemporary appearance of pupils would have been simply unthinkable.

What's catching the eyes of most people with regard to youth are the *loose socks* of female students and the trousers with the seats hanging down to the hollow of the knee in the case of boys, platform shoes and super-short mini skirts of the girls, and, of course the dyed – mostly blond – hair. Real disapproval (and sometimes even fear) is caused in many adults by the hanging and sitting around of young people at stations, on the street, and other public places, which can increasingly be seen. When I was fifteen, this was called "gammeln" (goofing around) in Germany, and it was disapproved by the contemporary "orderly" Germans as much as it is by the Japanese today.

12

13



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12: *Lose socks*. Sakae, Nagoya, March 10, 2001. Contax G I, Sonnar 90 mm, Fujichrome Provia-F 400. 8885.
13: Female students at a crêpe booth. Central Park, Sakae, Nagoya, March 13, 2001. Contax T VS III, Vario Sonnar 30-60 mm, Fujichrome Provia-F 400. 8869.
14: Students hanging around at a station. Nagoya Central Station, March 9, 2001. Contax G I, Planar 45 mm, Fujichrome Provia-F 400. 8879.
15: Youth sitting around at a smoker's corner. Meieki, Naka-ku, Nagoya, August 7, 2000. Contax G I, Sonnar 90 mm, Contax TLA 200, Fujichrome 400. 8615.
16: Youth sitting on the street eating their *bentô*. Issha, Meitô-ku, Nagoya, July 13, 2001. Contax T VS III, Vario Sonnar 30-60 mm, Fujichrome Provia-F 400. 9053.
17: Girl in the subway late at night. Higashiyama Line, Nagoya, January 1, 2001. Contax T VS III, Vario Sonnar 30-60 mm, Fujichrome Provia-F 400. 8823.

Even if one sees from time to time also somewhat dangerously looking guys like those in photo 18, it has to be said that the majority of Japanese youth today is divided into a multitude of groups which all cultivate their very own style. Groups that tend to delinquent behavior are the exception, and in most cases they even don't understand their style as shocking, although it might look like that for adults. Despite their 'wild' look, many young people are really open-minded and well-behaved, as I could see again and again among my students. And there are still schools that pay attention to the appearance of their students, albeit the rules have become less strict and nonsensical in detail. Love and partnership are very important for many young people and the experience with the other sex starts several years earlier today than at the time when I came to Japan. Traditions like visiting festivals in the summer clad in a *yukata*, the light summer-*kimono*, are also still cultivated.

18

19

20

18: Loafers (their job is it to recruit girls for sex-clubs).
Sakae, Nagoya, December 11, 1999. Contax G I, Planar 45 mm, Fujichrome Provia 400. 8360.

19: Break during a ball-game.
China Town, Nagasaki, March 25, 2000. Contax G II, Planar 45 mm, Fujichrome Provia 400. 8462.

20: Weekend seminar wit students.
Chûbu Daigaku Ena Kenshû Sentâ, Ena, Gifu prefecture, November 8, 1996. Pentax A3 Date-S, Cosmicar 35-70 mm, Fujichrome Provia 400. 7251.

21

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23

21: Female high-school students on their way to school.
Hoshigaoka, Chikusa-ku, Nagoya, September 25, 2000. Contax T VS III, Vario Sonnar 30-60 mm, Fujichrome Provia-F 400. 8728.

22: Lovers.
Meiji Mura, Inuyama, Aichi prefecture, March 11, 2001. Contax G I, Sonnar 90 mm, Fujichrome Provia-F 400. 8890.

23: Young women on their way to a festival.
Kakuôzan, Chikusa-ku, Nagoya, August 5, 2000. Contax G I, Sonnar 90 mm, Fujichrome 400. 8611.

終わりに

Owari ni – What's Left to Say

Now I have reached the end of the book for you. It took much longer than planned and promised, but it was also much fun, because selecting the photos for the book gave me insights into my archives as never before. If one takes photos on the street, there are some scenes that appear again and again, while other areas of life can't be caught at all. Some things you will find missing too. But no photo exhibition and no book can show everything. Some areas and some single scenes were so interesting that I would have liked to add many more photos. But at a certain point one has to stop or it becomes a never-ending task. Not at least because there are always new photos shot. But all in all, this volume contains 292 photos. At the end three photos that one could name cityscapes. The rest has to wait until a new book will be prepared.

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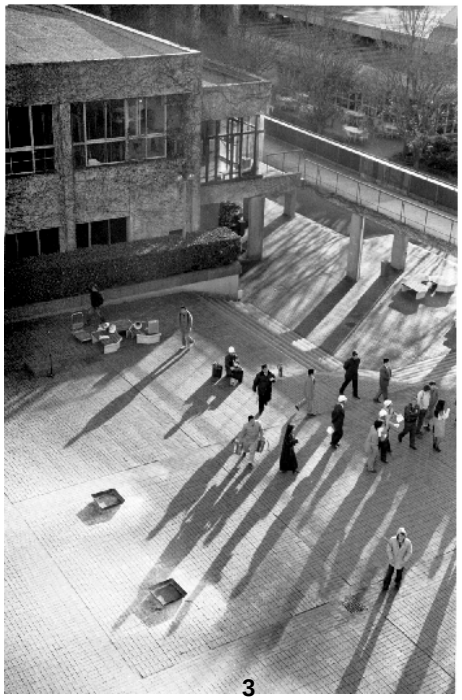

3

1: Over the roofs of the olt town rises the factory.
Oji Seishi, Kasugai, Aichi prefecture, February 19, 1997. Pentax A3 Date-S, Vivitar Series 1 70-210 mm, Kodak Ektachrome 400. 7367.

2. Expressway junction in construction.
Kamiyashiro, Meitô-ku, Nagoya, July 12, 1998. Contax G II, Planar 45 mm, Fujichrome Provia 100.

3. Disaster training.
Chûbu Universität, Kasugai, Aichi prefecture, December 10, 1997. Contax II, Sonar 50 mm, Kodak T-MAX 400. KB27-22.

Title photo: School festival of the Nagoya International School, Moriyama-ku, Nagoya, November 11, 2000.
Digital photo, Sony Cyber-Shot DSC-F505, 2.1 Mega Pixels, Zeiss Vario Sonnar 7.1-33.5 mm.

Ulrich Möhwaldlooking for motives.
Miyajima, Hiroshima prefecture, September 28, 1997. Pentax A3 Date-S, Cosmicar 35-70 mm, Fujicolor 400. C-KB55-17, C-KB55-18. Photos by Brigitte Möhwald.

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Studied sociology, Japanology, Sinology, and ethnology in Marburg.

March 1981-July 1984	Assistant, Department of Japanology, Marburg University.
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Mai 1989-September 1993	Researcher, German Institute bfor Japanese Studies, Tokyo.
Oktober 1993–März 1996	Assistent-professor for Soziology, College of International Studies, Chûbu University, Kasugai.
since April 1996	Professor for Soziologiy, College of International Studies, Chûbu University, Kasugai.

Photo exhibitions, which became the basis for this book:

“Views of and Thoughts on Japan“

Tachikawa-Shi Chûô Kôminkan (March 15-21, 1991), Tachikawa-Shi Nishisuna Kôminkan (March 23-April 4, 1991), Tachikawa-Shi Saiwai Kôminkan (April 6-19, 1991), Tachikawa.

Sendai-Shi Chûô Shimin Sentâ (December 2-6, 1992), Sendai-Shi Ichibanchô Shimin Sentâ (December 9-12, 1992), Sendai-Shi Tôbu Shimin Sentâ (December 15-20, 1992), Eru Paruku Sendai (March 2-14, 1993), Sendai.

Chûbu Denryoku Denki Biru Shôrûmu Hâmonî Puraza (September 1-6, 1994), Nagoya.

“Japan Seen through the Eyes of the Camera“

Irori no Gyararî Tîrûmu Sayû (July 11-21, 2001), Tachikawa.

The captions of the photos are based on the Japanese ones used in the exhibitions. They have only been slightly amended and actualized.

Editing of the Texts

“Views of and Thoughts on Japan“: Nobuko TAKEUCHI, Takaichi YOSHIZAWA, Emi YOSHIZAWA, Ulrich MÖHWALD

“Japan Seen through the Eyes of the Camera“: Takaichi YOSHIZAWA, Emi YOSHIZAWA, Ulrich MÖHWALD

All other texts: Ulrich MÖHWALD

Postscript 2016

In the spring of 2001 my sister Dagmar visited us for several weeks in Nagoya. It was a celebratory occasion: I had just turned fifty in early February and my wife Brigitte was about to turn forty in mid-March. As it turned out, for Dagmar it became the last time to spend three weeks of holidays away from her home town until 2008, because the health of my parents started to deteriorate just a year later, and she had to stay close to them for emergencies, which my father started to have any time when she was about to leave town for a few days. Dagmar had visited Japan twice before, but this was the first time she came alone and the first time she stayed longer than a week. She got much more involved with our daily routines and life in Japan than in her prior visits. It was also a time when I was in intensive preparation for my second photo exhibition at *Sayû*. The intense experience of life in Japan, combined with intense discussions of my photo archive, deepened her interest in Japan. This led her to ask me to prepare a photo album on Japan with explanations for her, something I had done for my parents after the exhibition in 1991. I agreed and promised to send it to her as a Christmas gift. Alas, the promise of a definite deadline turned out to become one of those, I better should not have made. A bit later after she had left Japan, I had to prepare a catalogue of my photos from the 1991 exhibition, and I got into digitizing my photos, even bought myself a film scanner. And once all the work was possible on the computer, I got into the fine details of planning texts and photos. Simply using the photos of the exhibitions with slightly enhanced translations of the captions was not a good proposition, so I decided to insert a number of topics and additional photos in order to give a more comprehensive understanding of Japanese Society. Suddenly the photo album had become a much bigger project than I had intended when I made my promise, and that took more time than I had anticipated. The German texts of this book were finished in 2003, just before we went to Germany for the summer. The copy I took with me was printed on A3, using a mixture of Microsoft Word and Power Point for editing and printing the book. Immediately after I came back to Japan, I started working on an A4 version of the complete book on Microsoft Word, and after I was finished with that I started to work on an English version that was essentially completed in the fall of 2005. I learned a lot about working with Microsoft Office during that time.

But this period between the spring of 2001 and the fall of 2005 was also a period in which major changes occurred in my life. The first change concerned my academic career and the prospects of my life in Japan. I had been promoted to Department Head of the Department of Comparative Culture of the College of International Studies of Chubu University in 2000 and had to see it through the next three years of difficult education reform. This, together with Brigitte's full-time employment at Mie University since 1999 worked to enforce our decision to stay permanently in Japan and we seriously explored our chances to apply for permanent residency, which we did in 2004. The second change concerned my relation with photography and art. After the exhibition at *Sayû* in 2001 I had become very motivated to push my photographic work into the world. This let to my participation in the Nagoya Foreign Artists' Exhibition in November 2002, another solo-exhibition and the founding of *Marafiki* – Friendship and Art by Julius Njau, Francis Marie, me, and a quite reluctant Joe Sichi in the spring of 2003, the first *Marafiki* exhibition in June of the same year, and a flurry of exhibition activities over the next two years. Then suddenly major crises in the personal lives of the group members happened. In my case, Brigitte was diagnosed with *glioma blastoma*, a kind of brain cancer, in July 2004. She immediately had surgery and spent the next two months in the hospital. The operation went well and she recovered enough to return to work in autumn. We even visited Europe together in March 2005. But back in Japan we found out that the cancer had started to grow again and did that with incredible speed. Brigitte had to go back to the hospital at the beginning of April and she died three weeks later.

The *Marafiki* exhibition activities continued until 2011, albeit at a much muted pace. But the work on Dagmar's book was pushed back by other, more urgent projects. While the German A4 version had been finished to the point that I printed a PDF version, work on the English version remained suspended for the next eleven years. After moving to a new house in 2012, a lot of things have not yet been correctly stored. Recently I have had some difficulty in locating several files and I presumed that they were saved on different media than those which I have mainly used since 2011. After finally locating a big stack of MO disks, I am now looking through all of them in order to back-up important files. In the course of this process, I also found the latest versions of Dagmar's book. Before backing the file up, I wanted to have a look at it to see how far the work on the book had progressed. The results were interesting. The translation was completed and

the text had already been proofread at least once. What was left to be done was a final proofreading and some layout editing.

Reading through the texts that had basically, in their German version, been finished thirteen years ago, and seeing the photos of which a good deal have been taken almost thirty years ago, I have to say that the book is no longer up-to-date for giving an understanding of contemporary Japanese society. The changes of Japanese society, which I have addressed at the end of the book, have progressed with growing speed since 2003, and they go deeper than I could have anticipated at that time. But I decided to refrain from updating and revising the book, mainly for three reasons. The first point is that I have no time for completely rewriting and updating the texts, which also would necessitate a lot of reading of more recent research, since my own research activities have been centered on European studies for several years now. Second, despite its deficiencies for understanding contemporary Japan, I regard the current text as very good for understanding the Japan of the late Shôwa and early Heisei periods; it has in my opinion a certain historical value. And third, I simply don't have the photos to back up a revised and updated text. My photographic interests have changed quite a bit since 2010. In that year I included for the first time landscapes among the photos of an exhibition, and the number of landscapes and cityscapes increased from one exhibition to the next in the following years, because they were demanded by the organizers of the commercial exhibitions that have become the main avenue of my artistic activities. My landscapes rather provide a unique aesthetic that is quite different from the clean advertisement-style aesthetic that dominates contemporary Japanese landscape photography. They sell quite well among art collectors. I still do street photography, but I don't have the body of work that accumulated between 1987 and 2005 from which to choose for a revised edition of the book.

Nagoya, Sakae, 2015

MN135-FILM159-N35-2015, Contax G II, Sonnar 90 mm, Kodak Tri-X 400

Nagoya, Sakae, 2015

MN135-FILM159-N29-2015, Contax G II, Sonnar 90 mm, Kodak Tri-X 400

Nagoya, June 2016