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論文

Comparing local welfare policy and citizenship – Elberfeld system and its reception in Japan (1918)[1]

HIDETO HIRAMATSU

Introduction

Research by and large has tended to assess the potential for developing liberalism[2] as lower than for democratization in the political system of Japan since the Meiji-period. Through the introduction of parliamentarism, a constitution and electoral law for instance, the democratization movement succeeded at establishing certain, if only limited, institutional structures for channeling demands for political participation and legal entitlements vis-à-vis the state. In contrast, liberal ideas and principles remained substantially more vulnerable to state intervention.[3] With respect to national and ideational historical perspectives, preliminary research endeavors have recently emerged to conceptualize the cross-epochal traditions and parallels between both currents. However, this research has tended to concentrate primarily on systematically conceiving a linkage of continuity of democracy, particularly in the sense of political participation, at nation-state level between the categories of 'Meiji-Democracy', 'Taishō-Democracy' and 'Shōwa-Democracy'.[4] Thus, a gap in research remains not least with regard to the local political level; the same applies to the need for capturing continuity of liberalism, particularly in the sense of support for more individual liberty and self-determination,[5] in Japanese history since the end of the 19th century.

However, recent studies on local elections in the municipality of Ōsaka have pointed out that the 'liberal' groups managed in the course of the 1920s to gain an increasing number of seats in the local parliament and thus to strengthen their political position.[6] After this brief success though, the situation changed with the local election of 1929, that is, after the introduction of universal male suffrage in 1925 and the coinciding abolishment of census suffrage for local elections. On account of the rise of the labor movement, they were no longer able to exclude the candidates supported by the trade unions. These findings suggest that the institutionalization of the democratic system and parliamentarism since the enactment of the Meiji constitution of 1889 provided positive impulses for the emergence and development of democracy in the pre-war era and thus opened up opportunities for liberal movements.[7]

1. Working hypothesis and comparative approach

The emergence and development of local welfare policy in Ōsaka, which occurred in parallel with these political developments, can only be fully and more systematically comprehended in this context, which bore potential for liberalism and civil society in Japan before the second world war. In historical research on Japan, there appears to remain a predominant notion that, aside from a few exceptions in the areas of welfare, care and philanthropy, no 'civil society' existed in Japan prior to 1945.[8] Thus, the local welfare policy and the *hōmen iin*-system in Ōsaka represent an interesting case for investigating a possible civil-society (bürgerliche Gesellschaft) tradition of citizen participation and a space of action for liberal and democratic thought in Japan prior to the Second World War.

The findings from various research on the *hōmen iin*-system allow for a closer insight into how local welfare policy fit into a larger process of penetration of the mechanisms for establishing and stabilizing the imperial system of rule. Research of course has examined the influence of Taishō-democracy solidarism as intellectual pillars of the *hōmen iin*-system as well as their role among the urban middle class for implementation of this system.[9] A considerable interest though continues for the conditions of political rule as the decisive factor for how the *hōmen iin*-system worked. In recent studies however, attention has been given to behavioral principles and values such as self-reliance, individual responsibility and independent administration, which were of particular importance for activities related to poor relief.[10]

Accordingly, by studying individual personalities, these analyses come to more differentiated depictions of those social constellations.[11] What has not been inquired on the other hand are questions such as to how and to which extent the principles guiding behavior and values were significant not only for how the system functioned and developed, but rather for the voluntary commitment of citizens themselves, without which the whole system could not have worked over decades. Subsequently, it may be appropriate to conceive the *hōmen iin*-system as an arena for socialization of the middle class. This allows in turn to examine the values and behavioral principles expressed in activities related to poor relief not only on an individual level, but also at level of the operation of the *hōmen iin*-system as a whole in connection with this socialization process.

Against this backdrop, it likewise becomes appropriate to analyze this system in a comparative perspective with the civil society in Germany in order to gain more precise and comprehensive insights into the evolution and functioning of these processes in which diverse civil actors directly participated and thus codetermined the further development. The following however is concerned less with capturing the political-liberal moment of transposing of a civil model from Germany to Japan in the area of local welfare policy, but rather addresses and analyzes comparatively civil modes of political communication and practice in urban spaces.[12]

In the city of Cologne, the local poor relief served as an essential component of self-understanding or identity of the Cologne civil society and was a focus point of the public interest. The local poor administration in Cologne underlined this in an 1830 report on the municipal poor relief, in which they refer explicitly to particular significance of local poor relief for the "well-being of civil society".[13] The local poor relief was directly linked with the local self-administration, and it could claim more than any other branch of the public administration to fulfill general participation in self-administration.[14] In the second half of the 19th century on the other hand, differentiation processes in civil society accelerated along with the rapid urbanization and the corresponding societal changes. Consequently, the Cologne municipal administration expanded its areas of activity in the 1870s and 1890s substantially. Thus, it took the decisive steps in transition from a patron-led and rather self-restrained civil self-administration to a modern administration of services (Leistungsverwaltung).[15] Parallel to the increasing professionalization, bureaucratization and differentiation of local administration, a large number of citizens became mobilized in local affairs, especially in social issues. The local self-administration appeared to be a field of pursuit for the upwardly mobile liberal bourgeois of the 19th century, which saw its duty and responsibility to contribute directly to the common good and to the protection against social ills and risks through volunteer and charitable activities.[16] The goal of municipal poor relief thus corresponded to the political orientation of liberal ideals.[17]

2. Local poor relief and local self-administration in the context of industrialization and urbanization

The local citizenry in Cologne in the wake of the founding of the German Empire was likewise exposed to increasing industrialization and urbanization. They were confronted with a palpable transformation, in the cityscape but also the social relations and conditions of the municipal population. Further reaching differences and tensions between the various classes, but also within classes, became increasingly visible.[18] The local poor relief as domain for civic-minded, 'common good' oriented 'unpaid and educated men' faced increasingly new challenges in the late 19th century.[19]

The population development of this time in Cologne was directly linked with the spatial growth of the city. While the city increased in inhabitants from 49,275 to 129,233 between 1815 and 1871, the growth was limited due to the in part still existing city fortifications.[20] Further growth became possible only when the city fortifications were removed in 1883 and the first industrialized suburbs were annexed in 1888. By 1900 then, the population nearly tripled from 129,333 to 372,552. Cologne was highly attractive for proximate as well as distant regions due to its geographic location, its economic development and above all its cultural and municipal infrastructure.[21] Within Cologne, there was likewise high intra-municipality mobility, which affected in turn various parts of the city.[22]

The rapid growth in population likewise led to a clear change in the professional and social structure of the Cologne population.[23] Assessing the population by profession illustrates that the share of laborers of total population almost tripled after the industrialized suburbs were annexed to the city. In 1895, workers and their families thus represented almost half of the entire population of Cologne. The 50-% mark was not exceeded though even after the turn of the century, while the number of self-employed decreased considerably. The large increase in the share of employed persons was supported by the development of Cologne into a banking, insurance and trade center, as well as due to the growing group of technical and sales employees in the industrial sector.[24] With regard to income relations between 1871 and 1914, an overall improvement in real income of about 37% has been ascertained by Henning. It is also necessary to note though the general

increase in cost of living as well as the increasing differentiation in levels of salary due to specialization and qualification differences.[25]

As of 1860, the 'new middle class' emerged as a reference to salaried employed in the statistics of the city of Cologne and became increasingly significant as of the 1880s.[26] Furthermore, this class served together with the old middle class as a buffer or an 'intermediary class' against the polarization between capitalists and proletarian or proletarianizing labor societal groups.[27] Finally, emerging from the old middle class (artisans and merchants) were the upwardly mobile entrepreneurs as of the mid-19th century, which experienced the largest gains through invention or innovation upon existing and developing technologies.[28] Since the 1850s, they developed gradually into the driving force of economic growth in Cologne from the bottom up. Based on their economic success, they asserted more and more their position vis-à-vis the old bourgeois elites and their presence could no longer be overlooked by the local establishment.[29]

With regard to political life of citizens of Cologne, not all residents of the city enjoyed full civil rights, which constituted requisites for rights and duties in the local self-administration. The decisive criterion for access to civil rights and liberties and, linked with this, to suffrage rights for local council elections was still wealth and home or property ownership. Municipal suffrage rights were based on the census suffrage (or 'three-class suffrage') introduced in the Rhine Province government code of 23 July 1845.[30] Suffrage was allotted only to a small share of the population and there were also considerable discrepancies in vote weights reflecting as well discrepancies among the enfranchised citizens in social relations in general. Economic growth in Cologne between 1871 and 1914 was reflected in changes in the voting population.[31] The annexation of the suburbs in 1888 nearly doubled the number of enfranchised in the third (and lowest) voting class. By the eve of the First World War, 18% of the entire population was enfranchised. Thus, a larger share of the male labor class likewise possessed rights of political participation.[32]

Since the end of French rule, the Cologne bourgeois classes were at the center of the public poor relief. It was particularly from these cohorts that the poor relief authorities recruited. With regard to the relationship of the poor administration toward the local administration and the city council, the local poor relief was on the one hand decentralized and independent; with regard to internal structures on the other hand, poor relief administration was characterized by strict hierarchy, centralized decision-making as well as an utter lack of influence on part of the poor relief caretakers against the poor relief authorities in decision-making processes. Moreover, there was an inseparable linkage between civic and clerical elements in the public poor relief. This civil-clerical poor relief system faced an increasingly confrontational relationship with the municipal administration in the 50s and 60s of the 19th century. The municipal administration worked toward reshaping the system of poor relief to a purely civil public system by limiting the possibilities of clerical influence and appealing directly to the citizenry.[33]

In this sense, the Elberfeld system appeared to offer the municipal administration a model for reorganizing local poor relief from a civil-clerical toward a strictly civil poor relief system. This model placed the local administration in charge of poor relief but also voluntary service at its foundation, upon which poor relief would be carried out primarily by voluntary organizations. The Elberfeld Model was introduced in 1871 with its main basis on a civil self-administration,[34] while the influence of the Catholic Church was eliminated from the public poor relief system. At the same time, while the reform adopted the Elberfeld Model for the most part, it departed from its principle of decentralization, since the reform in Cologne did not allow for the autonomy and extent of co-decision competence to the poor relief caretakers, who by law had become obligated to take on this voluntary service. Strong centralization tendencies coupled with the strict limitation of opportunities to influence decision making on the part of the civil poor relief caretakers led finally to conflicts between the responsible departments and the municipal council on the one hand and the poor districts on the other. Moreover, during this time, an increase in relief recipients and the number of poor in total was recorded in Cologne despite the Social Laws passed at national level which had elsewhere already started to show initial effects. These detrimental circumstances made it clear to those involved that a further reform of the local poor relief system would be necessary. The central task would be to reconcile otherwise contradictory elements with one another such as decentralization and stronger citizen-based orientation on the one hand, and more rationalization and professionalization on the other.[35]

By the early 20th century, Japan attained a high level of urbanization and industrialization. Here the rapid industrialization and the coinciding growth in population in large cities were also accompanied by high rates of fluctuation in the urban population and intensification in social issues. Furthermore, the disturbances to the local order and, even more so, the political system of rule, e.g. the emergence of Taishō-democracy and the labor movement, were becoming increasingly noticeable. This period thus posed a turning point in the state welfare regime, which was officially expressed by the reform and poor-relief policy of 1908. These

policies were coupled with the state social reform policy, the primary goal of which was to promote through imperial charity the independence and self-reliance of individual members of the population toward becoming good subjects. At the center of both reform avenues stood the moral and intellectual betterment of individuals as well as improvement of public customs and hygiene, in order to be able to prevent poverty.[36] The state resorted however to the monitory and leadership role according to the subsidiarity principle so that actual preventative and health measures were up to the responsibility of first the individual, then the family, the neighborhood and finally the municipalities.

Wherever the state did not pursue the duty for poor relief, the task was left to private hands and the local level. In Ōsaka there had already been numerous private charity organizations founded in the 80s and 90s of the 19th century, which to a considerable share stemmed from initiatives of religious, mostly Christian, groups, and individuals, including women. After the 1880s, Ōsaka developed into a center of the industrial revolution and was the largest industrial city in Japan into the 1930s. The industrialization and increasing urbanization led in turn though to various forms of severe social deprivation. In the 1920s, about a third of the working population in Ōsaka worked as day laborers and found themselves in gravely poor living conditions. The local administration faced increasing demands by the population to pay attention to their concerns and take measures against the impoverished conditions. With regard to the local structures of rule though, the patrons, who traditionally took care for maintaining order, security and the wellbeing of the local society, had already lost their power and influence over local politics before the turn of the century.[37] Their position was being increasingly replaced by a bureaucratized and professionalized administration under the leadership of the mayor. They pursued through a new local and social policy to re-stabilize the disrupted local power order and to counteract the erosion of the older societal order spurred by 'top-down' politics.[38] To this end, the local administration resorted not only to police power and the old patron structure, but also and much more to the broad class of the urban citizenry.

During the Rice Riots of 1918 after the Russo-Japanese War, the social and political tensions and uncertainties reached their highpoint. The city of Ōsaka was likewise affected by the turmoil, which initiated in a village in Toyama. Hundreds of people took to the streets and demanded that the rice traders reduce prices. Given the high concentration of poor classes of society and in particular unskilled laborers there, the edges of cities and suburbs were especially adversely affected. The riots spread rapidly, above all through the mass media such as newspapers, but also personal networks. Not only rice traders, but also shops and wealthy individuals and even public offices such as police stations were targets of the protest. Approximately more than 230,000 people are supposed to have taken part in the protests in Ōsaka, while a total of 1794 people were arrested in the six days between 11 to 16 August. The riots were quelled finally by massive military intervention. Nonetheless, they represented not only the peak of social and political tensions stemming from increasing impoverishment as a result of industrialization and urbanization, but also an expression of critique of the social and economic policy of the Japanese government.

Moreover, the riots were the occasion for establishing the *hōmen iin*-system in Ōsaka. It was against this backdrop that social policy measures came to be viewed not as care for the emerging social and labor issues, but rather as a matter of utmost urgency in order to prevent or at least defuse the division of society among antagonistic classes.[39] Consequently, implementation of comprehensive and effective social policy measures shifted to the top of the political agenda. Indeed, the rice riots prompted a sense of crisis among the ruling elite as much as fears of a collapse of the political and social order and security. Now protective measures against the proletarization of workers became a primary goal of social policy. Just two months prior to the rice riots, the governor of prefecture Ōsaka, Hayashi Ichizō, announced that a new social policy institution would be formed under the name "*hōmen iin*" (literally meaning 'district committee'). The *hōmen iin*-system was set to serve the function of a central institution of social policy and local poor relief in Ōsaka. For Governor Hayashi as chief responsible authority for maintaining public order in Ōsaka, issues of security were priorities upon introducing the *hōmen iin*-system. Stability likewise had for him a moral dimension, which pertained to all residents, who were co-responsible for upholding and restoring order to their local community. In this respect, it was particularly important for Hayashi that the new local poor relief shift from an elite practice to a broader citizen program. It should extend beyond the mere charity of upper class members, and mobilize broader groups of the population for the common purpose of local poor relief and thus contribute to the public security in Ōsaka and the state. Accordingly, a community institution was to be built between local government and local society in order to enable a dense network in local poor relief.

While Governor Hayashi had set guidelines for the organization and implementation of the *hōmen iin*, a central role in project development and actual implementation was also played by Ogawa Shigejirō, a civil service officer in charge of social affairs in the prefecture and head of the poor-relief administration. Ogawa assigned more comprehensive tasks to the

new social institution of the *hōmen iin*-system that was to help finally solve further social problems. In his outline of the *hōmen iin*-system, Ogawa paid special attention to the 'Elberfeld Model' in Germany, but also to other established models in western countries and Asia, such as the 'probation officer' in North America, the 'social settlement work' in England, the block system in the 'Juvenile Protective Association' in Chicago, the fiver-groups in Japan or their predecessor, the baojia system in China.[40] Ogawa conceived of the *hōmen iin*-system as a rational and comprehensive social institution, under which various social measures and organizations could be integrated and harmonized through the service of *hōmen iin* and their mediator function. This scope ranged from poor, children and youth care, the resocialization of convicts, to social sanctions through the local self-administration such as with the fiver-group. With the introduction of the *hōmen iin*-system, the individual *hōmen iin* as member of the citizenry became the focus of this social monitory and care system, while the operation and success of the system depended on their service and competences.[41] Each individual *hōmen iin* according to Ogawa was to be convinced of their duty to social service so that they feel willing and prepared to work for the common good in good conscience. It would be in this manner that individual *hōmen iin* would be able to establish the high social respect and necessary authority for enabling the *hōmen iin*-system to serve as a center of societal sanctions, not least vis-à-vis the 'unworthy' poor. Therefore, the *hōmen iin*-system was considered a new social institution as much as for the lower classes of the population as for the individual members of citizenry participating in the *hōmen iin*. It offered the poor in principle assistance in the sense of help toward self-help, while for the participating helper it offered a platform where every individual *hōmen iin* could become a good and diligent citizen.

3. Organizational structure of local poor relief

The *hōmen iin*-system in Ōsaka was construed as a common platform for participation of the urban middle classes and their cooperation with the local level. It built upon the existing structures in the local self-administration. However, it did not involve the association of municipal residents on voluntary basis, or the exercise of civic voluntary offices based on civic rights and duties, which were incorporated into the Municipal Code of 1888. This system thus cannot be described as either state-driven institutionalization from above or as a bottom-up initiative by the urban citizenry. Although the system was initiated by a state measure, the aspect of citizen participation should not be overlooked. As part of their cooperation and carrying out of tasks, a degree of individual initiative and commitment was expected of the citizens participating as *hōmen iin*, upon whom the system fundamentally relied. The *hōmen iin*-system permitted the individual citizens room for maneuver in order to be able to adapt and exercise poor relief to local needs and interests, though while also having to uphold the given political and social rules.

Consequently, the carriers of this system, the local citizenry, should not be viewed merely as an object of political mobilization. They participated also on their own initiative and out of own interests in their tasks as *hōmen iin* and thus shaped local poor relief. The organization of the *hōmen iin*-system was not subordinated to the poor administration of Ōsaka prefecture, nor did it function as an executive body of the poor administration. It was a type of semi-official committee operating under the authority of the governor, in which volunteering citizens and prefecture as well as municipal civil servants convened. Shortly following the respective proclamation of Governor Hayashi, a total of 35 poor districts, or *hōmen*, were established and around 500 district poor relief providers, *hōmen iin*, were endowed with their duties by the governor. The districts were first set up in industrial and working class as well as peripheral areas, where the share of migrants and laborers were estimated to be particularly high.

For the election of the district director, a cooptation system was adopted; i.e., the district director was to be appointed by the governor on the basis of recommendation by *the hōmen iin*. The recommendation of the *hōmen iin* in turn was to be considered binding, which contributed to strengthening the authority of the district council vis-à-vis the administration. To serve as an interface between the districts and the Ōsaka prefecture and city, a district director assembly was set up to convene usually once a month. This forum involved all district directors and up to twenty *hōmen iin* from the 'Tsuki-ban'-(i.e. monthly) serving district and prefecture officers, each endowed with equal voting rights among the members, and meeting for exchanging on experience and deciding on all matters related to support services. Likewise attending were additional representatives and guests from all areas of welfare and poor relief. In the discussions, a high value was placed on recording minutes and making them accessible in print to the public. The assembly of district directors constituted not only the central decision-making body to contribute to harmonizing the activities carried out in the *hōmen iin*-system. It was considered even more so as one of the most influential educational institutions that could be aptly characterized as a practical 'social university' (Ogawa). Here the pure and sublime idea of social service and its practical application could be made accessible and imparted to the individual *hōmen iin* as well as the

broader public. On the one hand, in the institutionalization process of the *hōmen iin*-system, the initiative of the Ōsaka prefecture stood at the forefront. This was emphasized further by the administration, which referred to the establishment of this system as a "generous gift from the authorities".[42] On the other hand, the efforts by the districts to attain more independence were likewise unequivocal. Examples to this end include the establishment of a foundation and of an assistance organization by initiative of the districts. Individual district directors also strove to ensure their independence through establishing a permanent body to contribute to enhancing their co-decision capacity vis-à-vis the poor administration.

In each district, usually ten to fifteen *hōmen iin* were appointed, recruited among local civil servants, police officers, teachers and volunteering citizens. Each *hōmen iin* was appointed by the governor directly, and the exercise of such office occurred on a volunteer and unremunerated basis. There was no explicit obligation to take on the office of *hōmen iin*. Among the *hōmen iin*, there was a shared conviction that they stood under the authority and protection of the governor. This notion provided them with a source of raison d'être as well as honor while also heightening their position in relation to others, especially the poor administration. In personnel matters, the poor administration was in a difficult position to dismiss even disinterested *hōmen iin*, while the district directors maintained the view that they were responsible for personnel matters. With regard to the significance of volunteering, it would appear that the introduction of the *hōmen iin*-system was designed with principles analogous to the Elberfeld Model. The principle of volunteer service was postulated as a pillar of the *hōmen iin*-system. The *hōmen iin* were expected to carry out their office with utter abstention from personal ambition or reward. Yet, while the appointment by the governor was deemed de facto as a high recognition and the *hōmen iin* already enjoyed a good reputation commensurate with their social status, the desire for recognition and prestige among the *hōmen iin* was often unambiguous. Of course, a certain desire for recognition and reputation for volunteer service was accepted and even honored. However, there was likewise an air of caution and admonishment that honorary offices could not be self-serving, nor used to increase society prestige or political capital. Nonetheless, a study of the results of the Ōsaka city council elections in 1925 to 1933 revealed that the office of *hōmen iin* could often serve as entry to a successful political career. This is illustrated by the number of city council members among the *hōmen iin*, which early on was relatively small, representing a share of about 2.5% in 1925, but the number increased over time. Overall, the political and societal standing of this office was indeed quite significant, especially when compared with other civil honorary offices in the local self-administration.[43]

On 27 January 1888, after long deliberations and negotiations, the new Poor Law, the statutes for the poor department and the guidelines for poor district directors and poor relief providers were passed in Cologne. The new Poor Law established 48 new poor districts and the necessary poor district directors and poor relief providers were selected out of the citizenry. Decentralization of decision making, district-level poor relief and volunteer service by poor relief providers, which constituted the basic principles of the Elberfeld Model, represented the main components of the reform in Cologne. In contrast to Elberfeld though, specialized and paid personnel were recruited, as the poor administration department in Cologne considered paid civil servants more appropriate for the time as well as indispensable for a functioning public poor relief system. Yet despite the institutionalization of paid civil servants, an important role for voluntary service was maintained. A more effective and reliable service was supposed to be achieved through clearer division of labor among the volunteering citizens and the salaried civil servant specialists, the latter being attributed a supporting, but not necessarily monitory role toward the volunteers.[44] A common spirit between the poor administration department and the citizen volunteers in local self-administration was thus to be fostered,[45] also in order to encourage the support of the citizens for the public poor relief system. Their commitment was depicted not only as important with regard to the moral and ethical role of the poor relief providers to help the poor gain an independent, bourgeois way of life. Their service also was to enable the direct experience of civic commitment to the common weal, which in turn would help maintain value orientations and the cohesion of bourgeois society.

While the reform of 1888 laid a foundation for civic poor relief, its societal embedment through volunteer service by citizens secured the stable functioning of the new system. The individual poor relief caretakers in turn were granted more independence and responsibility. Furthermore these reforms amounted to more than a one-sided process of top-down institutionalization, as the citizenry also played a part in how the new Poor Law and the reforms of 1888 were designed, even influencing the municipal council.

4. Social structure of citizens involved in local poor relief

For the purpose of analyzing social conditions among the poor relief caretakers in Cologne, there is a list available of all members of the 24 poor districts, the 24 district directors and the 316 poor

relief providers from 1871.[46] When comparing this list with the list of registered voters (electoral roll), it is possible to produce a more accurate picture of their socio-economic conditions.[47] A particularly strong presence of members of the third voting class among the poor relief providers becomes observable, whereas persons belonging to the second and first voting classes make up two-thirds of the district directors. However, strong differentiation in socio-economic relations within the group of members of the third voting class become quite noticeable when also examining the tax registers from 1868 and 1872 and thus the different income levels, where poor relief providers can be identified who were otherwise missing from the electoral roll.[48] Forty-three of the poor relief providers had attained their civil rights through home ownership alone. This also adds 18 poor relief providers with an annual income lower than 400 Thaler. Among these 61 persons, 35 poor relief providers fell under the threshold of an annual income of 250 Thaler and thus were below the minimum living income or poverty line. The second group of poor relief providers had an annual income of 400 to 700 Thaler and comprised, with 87 persons or 44%, the largest group. The third group, with an annual income over 700 Thaler, remained a minority at 21% or 42 poor relief providers. However, when adding the relatively well-off poor relief providers from the upper half of the third voting group of enfranchised citizens with the poor relief providers registered in the first and second voting classes, they together represented, at 150 persons or 47%, the strongest social group. In contrast, the poor relief providers in the bottom half of the third voting class made up only a fourth of the total number of poor relief providers.

As for the quality and quantity of poor relief providers after 1888, the new organization of local poor relief had to deal with mostly unexperienced persons. For one, the new Poor Law stipulated that a poor relief provider by assigned no more than four cases.[49] This resulted in requiring 145 additional poor relief providers. The total number now amounted to 641, of which only 188 were in office for the minimum three-year period prescribed by the law.[50] However, already after five years, the number of poor relief providers with more than three continuous years in office grew substantially. In 1893, it had increased from 29% to 60%; and in 1908, 71% of the total 848 poor relief providers had more than three years of experience in office. Consequently, the number of experienced poor relief providers, with more than 10 years in office, increased as well, from 5% in 1889 to 32% in 1908. In the twenty years since the reform, the city of Cologne clearly managed to mobilize a broad part of the citizenry to long-term participation in public poor relief.

In the analysis of income levels among the poor relief providers in connection with their respective voting class,[51] it becomes apparent that the second voting class was clearly underrepresented. All the more astounding is thus the accelerated shift in favor of the second voting class in the first decade of the 20th century. A sudden increase occurred in 1903, and the number of poor relief providers from the second voting class soared to 59% in 1908. They now made up a clear majority, while the share of persons from the third voting class shrank. This at first baffling development may have coincided apparently with the Prussian Income Tax Law of 1891 and the reform of the electoral law of 1900.[52] The raising of the census categorization threshold for the second voting class in 1891 had reduced the number of enfranchised citizens eligible for the second voting class and relegated numerous citizens to the third class who had previously belonged to the second class. At the same time, the reduction of the census categorization to the third voting class expanded access to suffrage for those with low incomes. That reform resulted in massive discrepancies in income levels among citizens in the third voting class.[53]

The reform of 1900 to the electoral laws then enabled numerous citizens with an above-average tax burden, but previously in the third voting class, to now vote in the second voting class, while an additional reduction to the threshold of the census for the third voting class, from 900 to 660 Mark annual income, was introduced in 1907. The effects of the reform of 1890 also become evident when considering that 21 of 99 poor relief providers in the third voting class in 1898 switched five years later in 1903 to the second voting class, and 23 of 113 poor relief providers in the third voting class in 1903 switched to the second class in 1908. This indicates that there were a relatively large number of prosperous citizens among the poor relief providers belonging to the third class during the 1890s. The subsequent changes also point to a strong presence of poor relief providers from the second voting class. Their income levels appear even more privileged than in the 1870s and 1880s. On account of additional reductions in the census for the third voting class, suffrage and civil rights expanded to larger portions of the populace. Thus, they also received the right and duty to volunteer for community offices and, in the case at hand, the voluntary civil office of the poor relief provider. At the turn of the century, the door to this volunteer office was opened wider than ever before. Still, the citizens in the third voting class evidently did not comprise the main actors of local poor relief, even though they made up numerically the predominant share of enfranchised citizens in the city. Above all, the relatively prosperous citizens from the second voting class played the main role in the local poor relief. Their position increased year for year beyond the turn

of the century.

With regard to the composition of professional backgrounds,[54] the majority of the district directors stemmed from the bourgeois economic elite. Their income levels indicated that they belonged to the higher echelons of the upper class.[55] However, the share of bourgeois business elites among the district directors tended to decrease over time, while the presence of academically educated, petite bourgeoisie increased. The percentage of members of the old middle class on the other hand remained rather constant in comparison with the gradual increase of the new middle class. Overall, the growth of persons from the old and new middle class is quite salient, representing about one-fourth of the district directors. A similar tendency can also be observed among the poor relief providers.[56] The presence of members from the old middle class doubled from 23% in 1871 to 46% in 1908. The shares of the new middle class as well as the educated petite bourgeoisie however did not increase noticeably, in contrast to the demographic shifts among the district directors. The decline in share of business bourgeois among the poor relief providers was even stronger than in the case of district directors, sinking from 39% in 1871 to 30% in 1908. After the turn of the century, the old middle class made up, as the largest cohort, nearly half of the most active poor relief providers. Among the poor relief providers from the old middle class at this time, there were clearly more wealthy persons than was the case in the mid- to late 19th century.[57]

Considering the organizational structure of the *hōmen iin*-system in Ōsaka and the authority and legitimation mechanisms of the honorary office of a *hōmen iin*, there are immediately visible elements geared toward vertical channeling and implementing societally and politically dominant norms and concepts of order. However, aspects of horizontal cohesion should not be overlooked among the *hōmen iin* as the carriers of civic value orientations and principles of conduct, without whom the *hōmen iin*-system could not have functioned or lasted. It would likewise be overly narrow to assume a homogeny among the urban citizenry, for instance in the sense of a common set of interests or mentality. The diversity of social relations and positions as well as interests among the urban citizenry was reflected in the changes to composition of the *hōmen iin*.

Indeed, the majority of the first generation of *hōmen iin* was recruited from those citizens who were considered local patrons and elites already holding one or more civilian honorary offices.[58] Among the district directors in 1918, with a share of more than 60% being council members, it can be clearly ascertained that the upper classes of the city dominated these offices. Together with other citizens holding further civil offices, they made up about three-fourths of the district directors. The constellation among the normal *hōmen iin* provides a different picture on the other hand: the share of council members in these offices was only 21.6%. Together with the share of citizens in other honorary civil offices, about half of the *hōmen iin* held further public office. The single largest group of *hōmen iin*, with a share of 43%, was of those holding no further functions in the local self-administration. It remains unclear though, to which extent members of the upper class were represented among the regular *hōmen iin*. In order to come to further findings on the social structure of *hōmen iin*, it will thus be necessary to determine more precisely their respective income levels.

The person register of higher-class contemporaries in Ōsaka from 1910 and 1926 lists citizens who, first, resided in Ōsaka. Secondly, they are listed by those who paid more than 21 Yen income tax or more than 61 Yen business tax, or more than 21 Yen income tax and 51 Yen business tax (in 1918), as well as either more than 41 Yen income tax or more than 61 Yen business tax (in 1926). In order to have a tax burden of 41 Yen annual income tax, one would need to have had an annual income of over 2300 Yen, while the average annual income per household of laborers and employees in 1934 was about 1000 Yen.[59] It is safe to assume of course that there are also persons not included in the list, who however could be attributed to the group of wealthy citizens based on their income or wealth. Nonetheless, these lists still allow for determining tendencies of incomes among the *hōmen iin*. With a view to the share of district directors in 1918 who appear on these lists, it is worth noting that two-thirds of them were registered here and thus fell into the category of wealthy citizens. The overwhelming majority of district directors clearly stemmed from the upper class. Of the total 386 regular *hōmen iin*, 185 can be identified in the lists, which, at 47%, amount to nearly half. Compared with the district directors, the share of *hōmen iin* also serving as council members is, at 21%, considerably lower than the 61% of the former group. Again, from this follows that a large majority of district directors indeed were recruited from the upper wealthy classes, while the *hōmen iin* also demonstrate a similar tendency, but not to the same extent and encompass much more so the urban middle classes. To capture the urban middle class among the *hōmen iin*, it is also necessary to examine the occupational backgrounds of the *hōmen iin* in the city of Ōsaka more closely.

Among the district directors, the majority, at 51%, is comprised of those in the category of 'other' or without a profession, by far higher than the second largest group, at 28%, of persons from the business and services branches. In turn, about

half of those found in the category of other or without a profession are registered in the list of upper class; the same applies to the district directors from the professional categories of business and services as well as industry and entrepreneurs. Thus, the district directors possessed both high societal prestige as well as a high degree of resources such as money and time. In contrast to the professional composition of the district directors, among the regular *hōmen iin* those with professions in the areas of business and services made up the largest group, with a share of 35%, in comparison with the other career groups. The group of other and without profession represented the second largest group, followed thirdly by civil servants and police officers (16%). Self-employed merchants and industrial small and medium-sized entrepreneurs, together with members of business and services, industry and commerce as well as property and homeowners comprised 44% of the *hōmen iin* in 1918. With regard to income relations of the individual professional groups of *hōmen iin*, a relatively high share of persons can be concluded to have been generally wealthy or a member of the upper echelons of society. Among the regular *hōmen iin* thus, a socio-economic pattern can be ascertained akin to the district directors, though the dominance of the wealthy classes appears to be in the former somewhat lower than with the latter.[60]

Considering additional changes over time in the income relations among the *hōmen iin* between 1918 and 1926, a few developments become worth noting. The share of council members declines drastically both among the district directors and the regular *hōmen iin* from 61% to 21% and from 7% to 2% respectively. With regard to income levels, there is likewise a large decrease in the share of wealthy persons among the district directors from 67% to 33% and, to a smaller degree, among the *hōmen iin* from 47% to 40%. Thus, the share of wealthy among *hōmen iin* in total (i.e. including district directors) declined from 49% to 40%. A change in the professional composition is likewise salient. The share of self-employed merchants, business owners and entrepreneurs as well as property and home owners increases among the district directors and the regular *hōmen iin* from 37% to 44% and from 51% to 57% respectively, though the number of property and home owners reveals a particularly large increase. The share of the group of other and without profession on the other hand declines from 51% and 22% to 31% and 15% among district directors and *hōmen iin* respectively, while the share of police officers and civil servants among the *hōmen iin* also declines from 16% to 11%. This tendency continued and even intensified in the following years.[61] In 1936, the share of self-employed merchants, business owners and entrepreneurs including industrial entrepreneurs as well as property and home owners reached about 74%, while doctors, employees and clerics now represented about 8%, those without profession on the other hand only 6% of *hōmen iin*. The group of police officers and civil servants remained constant at about 10%. Accordingly, in 1936, the dominance of self-employed merchants and business owners among the district directors and the *hōmen iin* appears to have been solidified.

At the same time, although difficult to distinguish clearly, it is sensible to divide the self-employed business owners and merchants and the industrial entrepreneurs into two different categories.[62] The first category concerns those belonging to the wealthy upper class of self-employed businesspersons and industrialists. They associated, for instance, in the Chamber of Commerce and Industry, where they were more noticeably active on national-political issues such as through the initiative to abolish the business tax after the Russo-Japanese War of 1905. The second group comprised self-employed business owners, entrepreneurs and industrialists who, in comparison with the former group, may be described as small and medium-scale businesspersons and entrepreneurs and incidentally made up the larger of the two groups. Their activities as well as commercial interests revolve much more around the local level. They were active in serving the local common weal and the public interest of the community, as demonstrated for instance in an initiative to protect tenants or an initiative promoting more resident-friendly development of urban infrastructure through expanding gas and electricity supply or public transportation. The small and medium-scale businesspersons and entrepreneurs made up the core of the urban middle class, whose central role and position in the municipal self-administration was once summarized by journalist and local politician Miyake Iwao (1876-1936) ideally under the term of "city citizen".[63] Consequently, a differentiation within the general category of self-employed businesspersons, entrepreneurs and industrialists makes it possible to capture more precisely the attributes of and shifts in socio-economic structures among the *hōmen iin*: the position and significance of the urban middle class thus appears to have increased over time with the hōmen iin-system.

5. Conclusion

With the reception of the Elberfeld Model, a set of forms of civic action and perception were transferred from Germany to Japan. Yet in Japan, there remained a high risk of local poor relief becoming limited in practice to a mechanism of societal and political suppression and exclusion, as there were significantly fewer older forms of civic activity in a local context than in

Germany. Moreover, liberal thought and principles both found comparatively fewer channels for actualization and were considerably more vulnerable to state intervention. In the course of modernization processes however, the upwardly mobile middle classes experienced growing self-confidence and awareness as independent actors in a local-political context. In Ōsaka, the concept of the Elberfeld Model, the role of voluntary service in particular, served as a vehicle for their commitment to social issues. It thus provided the basis for a gradual emergence of a new, one may even say civic, mindedness of the urban middle classes.

In both cities, the core of local poor relief rested on the old middle class. Until 1914 in Cologne, voluntary and community service was carried mainly by the urban bourgeois society. In Ōsaka, a quite analogous development can be observed after 1918. Voluntary service was of fundamental importance in both cases. Poor relief with its new focus on voluntary service had both mobilizing and legitimizing functions. Larger circles of society indeed were called upon to civic duty and to more demanding service for the common weal. Accordingly, local poor relief served as a stage for socialization of the urban middle classes. All participants, the poor relief providers and the recipients, were by consequence to learn and internalize certain value and order orientations as well as patterns of behavior of civic society. More so than the material dimension, the system of poor relief provided a source of legitimacy of bourgeois society.

Local poor relief in Cologne stabilized the civil society (bürgerliche Gesellscchaft) in the dynamics of modernization and vis-à-vis the increasing challenges posed by the growing working class. Civic engagement offered thus a protective wall against poverty as well as a buttress against the erosion of the bourgeois society. The constellation in Ōsaka on the other hand demonstrated several differences. Through participation in the local poor relief, a large number of members of the urban middle classes attained responsible positions in their community for the first time, which had previously been reserved for the upper class. This contributed to a growing self-awareness and identity with the common weal among the urban middle classes as well as a sense of fellowship and belonging to the community as politically responsible and economically independent local citizens beyond their previously locally limited parochial interests and horizons. This system was deemed the historical roots of, in modern terminology, civil societal participation in social welfare, and played an important role in the development of a civil society in modern Japan.

At the same time, it remains necessary to address to which extent and in which regard political autonomy was possible in a system of pre-war Japan that did not allow any conventional political participation in the modern democratic sense and, in the area of poor relief, only permitted strictly limited decision-making competences to the poor relief providers. These questions require further and systematic investigation in future research, for instance in the broader context of the development of local self-administration after 1868 and especially with regard to the tensions between citizens claims to self-administration and state claims to regulate civic self-administration.

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[1] This is a revised edition of my article published originally in German: Hideto Hiramatsu, Zwischen Tradition und Fortschritt. Kommunale Sozialpolitik und Bürgerschaft in Köln und Osaka, in: Detlef Lehnert (Hg.), *Kommunaler Liberalismus*. *Großstadtprofile um 1900*, Cologne/Wien/Weimar 2014, pp. 113-144. This article can be published thanks to the help of Dr. Jared Sonnicksen (TU Darmstadt, Germany) with the English translation, whose contribution I gratefully acknowledge.

[2] This of course should not be construed as a definitive definition of "liberalism". Over time, the meaning and connotations of the Japanese term *jiyū* (freedom) has changed considerably. In the early Meiji period for instance, it had a dual meaning; it was a key term of national debates, being propagated often in the context of demands for liberating autonomous individuals from the bane of feudalism. It should be left up to them to take over public duties and construct the nation state. Among the populace on the other hand, the term came to be used as a slogan for individual emancipation. This referred in particular to liberation from the bonds of class society and was used in the movement for freedom and civil liberties in connection with demands for specific rights such as the right to political protest against state intervention or for rights of assembly and association. Such multiplicity of interpretation renders a conceptual historical approach to the concept of liberalism in Japan indispensable in order to capture its meaning(s) more fully. For the concept of democracy, there is already a conceptual historical study available: Harald Meyer, *Die „Taishō-Demokratie". Begriffsgeschichtliche Studien zur Demokratierezeption in Japan von 1900 bis 1920*, Bern 2005.

[3] See Jürgen Osterhammel, *Verwandlung der Welt. Eine Geschichte des 19. Jahrhunderts*, 3rd ed., Munich 2009, p. 1089; on the traditionally low level of autonomy among the middle classes vis-à-vis the state in Japan, see Masao Maruyama, *Denken in Japan*, ed. and trans. by Wolfgang Schamoni/Wolfgang Seifert, Frankfurt a. M. 1988, p. 54.

[4] Jyunji Banno, *Kindai Nihon no Kokka Kōsō*, Iwanami shoten 2009; ibid, Meiji Demokurashī, Iwanami shoten 2005.

[5] See Dieter Langewiesche, *Liberalismus in Deutschland*, Frankfurt am Main 1988, p. 7.

[6] Atsuki Shibamura, *Nihon Kindai Toshi no Seiritsu*, Shoraisha 1998, pp. 139–162.

[7] A number of central questions remain however unanswered and require further research with regard for instance to the social policy positions of liberal groups and their electorate, their campaign platforms, or relations and tensions with other political groups. This finding suggests that more research on local elections in the pre-war era and the influence of democratic and liberal groups could contribute to putting a

new and more differentiated light on several common assumptions such as that the local parliaments of the time constituted mere assemblies of local nobility and upper class. As such, they have been often viewed as neither willing nor able to formulate political demands or to assert themselves vis-à-vis the local and the national government.

[8] Shūsaku Kanazawa, Wohltätigkeit und westlicher Einfluss im Japan der Meiji-Zeit 1868–1912, in: Rainer Liedtke/Klaus Weber (eds.), *Religion und Philanthropie in den europäischen Zivilgesellschaften. Entwicklungen im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*, Paderborn 2009, pp. 174–200. The term shimin shakai has found gradually increasing usage in more recent historiography on the development of modern statehood; it seems however that it is often used without sufficient interrogation of its normative meaning.

[9] See Minoru Ōmori, Toshi shakai jigyō seiritsuki ni okeru chūkansō to minponshugi, in: *Hisutoria* 97 (1982), pp. 58–76. For a critique of Ōmori's thesis, see especially Takaaki Matushita, Ōsaka-shi gakku haishi mondai no tenkai, in: *Nihonshi kenkyū* 291 (1986), pp. 51–86.

[10] Tomohiro Yoshimura, Numata Kaichirō shōron, in: *Historia* 193 (2005), pp. 79–102, here p. 96.

[11] Shimada provides a differentiated picture of the urban patrons around the time of the rice riots, which were characterized by tensions between the traditional patrons and the ambitious new middle class. Katsuhiko Shimada, Kome sōdō to toshi chiiki shakai, in: Takashi Tsukada (ed.), *Ōsaka ni okeru toshi no hatten to kōzō*, Yamakawa shuppansha 2004, pp. 226–252; compare also Naoki Iida, Kome sōdō go no toshi chiiki shihai to Hōmen iin no katsudō, in: Tadahide Hirokawa (ed.), Kindai Ōsaka no chiiki to shakai hendō, Burakumondai kenkyūsho 2009, pp. 209–225.

[12] Michael Schärfer, review of: Lehnert, Detlef (ed.) Kommunaler Liberalismus in Europa. Großstadtprofile um 1900, Vienna 2014, in: *H-Soz-Kult*, 17 June 2015, http://www.hsozkult.de/publicationreview/id/rezbuecher-21234.

[13] Bericht über die Armenverwaltung zu Köln über den Zustand der städtischen Armenpflege, Cologne 1830. Quoted in: Gisela Mettele, *Bürgertum in Köln 1775–1870. Gemeinsinn und freie Association*, Munich 1998, p. 135.

[14] Mettele (1998), p. 135.

[15] See e.g. Friedrich Lenger, Bürgertum in rheinischen Großstädten, in: Lothar Gall (ed.), *Stadt und Bürgertum im 19. Jahrhundert*, Munich 1990, pp. 97–169, here p. 130 ff.; Jürgen Reulecke, Von der Fürsorge über die Vorsorge zur totalen Erfassung. Etappen städtischer Gesundheitspolitik zwischen 1850 und 1939, in: Jürgen Reulecke (ed.), *Die Stadt als Dienstleistungszentrum*, St. Katharinen 1995, pp. 395–416, here p. 403.

[16] Jürgen Reulecke, Formen bürgerlich-sozialen Engagements in Deutschland und England im 19. Jahrhundert, in: Jürgen Kocka (ed.), *Arbeiter und Bürger im 19. Jahrhundert*, Munich 1986, pp. 261–285, here p. 265.

[17] Hans-Walter Schmuhl, *Die Herren der Stadt. Bürgerliche Eliten und städtische Selbstverwaltung in Nürnberg und Braunschweig vom 18. Jahrhundert bis 1918*, Gießen 1995, here p. 36; see also Marcus Gräser, *Wohlfahrtsgesellschaft und Wohlfahrtsstaat. Bürgerliche Sozialreform und Welfare State Building in den USA und in Deutschland 1880–1940*, Göttingen 2009.

[18] Friedrich-Wilhelm Henning, Die Stadterweiterung unter dem Einfluss der Industrialisierung (1871 bis 1914), in: Hermann Kellenbenz (ed.), *Zwei Jahrtausende Kölner Wirtschaft, Vol. 2: Vom 18. Jahrhundert bis zur Gegenwart*, Cologne 1975, pp. 267–357.

[19] Iris Schröder, Wohlfahrt, Frauenfrage und Geschlechterpolitik. Konzeptionen der Frauenbewegung zur kommunalen Sozialpolitik im Deutschen Kaiserreich 1871–1914, in: *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 21 (1995), pp. 368–390.

[20] See Klara van Eyll, Wirtschaftsgeschichte Kölns vom Beginn der Preußischen Zeit bis zur Reichsgründung, in: Hermann Kellenbenz (ed.), *Zwei Jahrtausende Kölner Wirtschaft, Vol. 2*, Cologne 1975, pp. 163–266, here p. 165; Karlbernhard Jasper, *Der Urbanisierungsprozess am Beispiel der Stadt Köln*, Cologne 1977, p. 37; Hennig (1975), p. 269.

[21] Ibid., p. 54.

[22] The rate of moving for the entire population was, according to Jasper, on average over 40% for years 1891 to 1910 (ibid., p. 59); see also Henning (1975), p. 283.

[23] See Henning (1975), p. 248; see also Jasper (1977), p. 99.

[24] Ibid, p. 285; see also Jasper (1977), p. 101.

[25] Ibid., p. 334.

[26] Pierre Ayçoberry, *Köln zwischen Napoleon und Bismarck. Das Wachstum einer rheinischen Stadt*, Cologne 1996, p. 336; see also Aycoberry, Der Strukturwandel im Kölner Mittelstand 1820-1850, in: *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 1 (1975), pp. 78–98.

[27] Henning (1975), p. 286.

[28] Mergel (1994), p. 118.

[29] Ibid., p. 120.

[30] See. Deres (2001), p. 10; HAStK (ed.), *Stadtrat, Stadtrecht, Bürgerfreiheit. Ausstellung aus Anlaß des 600. Jahrestages des Verbundbriefes vom 14. September 1396*, Cologne 1996, p. 183 and 220.

[31] HAStK (1996), p. 185.

[32] Henning (1975), p. 338.

[33] See Norbert Finzsch, *Obrigkeit und Unterschichten. Zur Geschichte der rheinischen Unterschichten gegen Ende des 18. und zu Beginn des 19. Jahrhunderts*, Stuttgart 1990.

[34] See especially Christoph Sachße/Florian Tennstedt, *Fürsorge und Wohlfahrtspflege 1871–1929*, Stuttgart 1988; Christoph Sachße, *Mütterlichkeit als Beruf. Sozialarbeit, Sozialreform und Frauenbewegung 1871–1929*, 2nd ed, Opladen 1994; Rolf Landwehr/Rüdeger Baron (ed.), *Geschichte der Sozialarbeit. Hauptlinien ihrer Entwicklung im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*, 3rd ed. Weinheim 1995, p. 22; see also Emil Münsterberg, *Das Elberfelder System, Festbericht aus Anlaß des fünfzigjährigen Bestehens der Elberfelder Armenordnung*, Leipzig 1903.

[35] Jakob Zimmermann, Die Armenpflege der Stadt Köln, in: Eduard Lent (ed.), *Köln in hygienischer Beziehung. Festschrift für die Teilnehmer an der XXIII Versammlung des deutschen Vereins für öffentliche Gesundheitspflege zur Feier des XXVjährigen Bestehens des Vereins*, Cologne 1898, pp. 197–208.

[36] See Sheldon Garon, *Molding Japanese Minds. The State in Everyday Life*, Princeton 1997, p. 40.

[37] Since the introduction of a local community and city law in 1888, which was modelled after the Prussian city law of 1808, the local patrons were at the center of local politics. The term 'patrons' refers in the Japanese society to the ruling class of bourgeois society in the cities. They enjoyed a high reputation and deference on account of their wealth and position as well through their negotiation and administrative competence in local politics; they participated in the local self-administration whether as municipal council members or through leading positions in various civic voluntary offices. In addition to wealthy individuals, they were mostly members of medium and smaller sized trades. While there were comparable constellations in the Meiji- and Taishō eras, the position of the patrons were guaranteed in the local community and city law of 1888, which secured them political participa-

tion in local administration and rule. See further e.g. Keiichi Harada, *Nihon kindaitoshi-shi kenkyū*, Shibunkaku shuppan 1997, p. 10; Atsuki Shibamura, Seki Hajime no toshi seisaku, in: Katsuhito Imai/Satoshi Baba (eds.), *Toshika no hikakushi*, Nihonkeizai hyōronsha 2004, p. 91.

[38] Harada (1997), p. 138.

[39] Vgl. Takeshi Ishida, *Die Entdeckung der Gesellschaft. Zur Entwicklung der Sozialwissenschaften in Japan*. Hg. u. aus dem Japanischen übersetzt von Wolfgang Seifert, Frankfurt a. M. 2008.

[40] See Maik Hendrik Sprotte, Ein „Einig Volk von Brüdern"? Techniken der Mobilisierung und Solidarisierung in Nachbarschaften, in: Maik Hendrik Sprotte./Tino Schölz (eds.), *Der mobilisierte Bürger? Aspekte einer zivilgesellschaftlichen Partizipation im Japan der Kriegszeit (1931–1945)*, Halle 2010, pp. 23–33.

[41] Of course, voluntary service in poor-relief was likewise at the center of his attention regarding the Elberfeld Model. However, the citizen self-administration in Germany was less the focus for him and more the high societal reputation of voluntary service.

[42] Ōsaka Prefecture Archives: Best. B1–2007–2, No. 86, *Nishi-ku nai Hōmen iin secchi ni kansuru ken chōsa fukumei*.

[43] See Ashita Saga, Ōsaka-fu Hōmen iin no katsudō to toshi chiiki shakai, in: Ashita Saga (ed.) *Kindai Ōsaka no toshi shakai kōzō*, Nihon keizai hyōronsha 2007, pp. 257–288, here p. 280.

[44] See Karl Brinkmann/Jakob Zimmermann, *Ehrenamtliche und berufsamtliche Thätigkeit in der städtischen Armenpflege*, Leipzig 1894, p. 31; Sachße (1994), p. 43.

[45] *Bericht über die Verwaltung des Armenwesens* of 1888/1889, p. 62.

[46] HAStK, Best. 400 VIII 1B 17, No. 269 ff., Neues amtliches Verzeichnis der nach dem Gemeinde-Beschluss vom 15. und 22. Juni 1871 bestehenden 24 Ortsarmen-Bezirke der Stadt Köln nebst Personal-Nachweis.

[47] HAStK, Best. 400 VIII 1B 17, No. 269 ff.; *Verzeichnis der Gemeinde-Wähler der Stadt Köln*, Cologne 1871.

[48] Namentliches Verzeichnis der für das Jahr 1868 bzw. 1872 zur Gemeinde-Einkommensteuer eingeschätzten Steuerpflichtigen der Stadt Köln.

[49] Paragraph 84 der *Geschäfts-Anweisung für die Armen-Bezirksvorsteher und Armenpfleger der Stadt Köln* of 1888.

[50] *Bericht über die Verwaltung des Armenwesens*, 1888/89, 1893/94, 1897, 1902 and 1907; HAStK, Best. 400 VIII 1B 17, No. 269 ff.

[51] On account of limited available sources, it is only possible to examine the development of the social situation of poor relief providers that were in office for more than ten years without interruption. The selected years investigated are 1888, 1893, 1898, 1903 and 1908; see *Bericht über die Verwaltung des Armenwesens*, 1893/94, 1897, 1902 and 1907; *Bürgerrolle oder Liste der stimmfähigen Bürger der Stadt Köln*, 1893, 1898, 1903, 1907 and 1909; HAStK, Best. 400 VIII 1B 17, No. 269 ff.

[52] HAStK (1996), p. 185.

[53] In 1898 in Cologne, workers with an annual income of 900 Marks as well as an administrative district president or the chief justice of a high regional court voted in the third voting class; see Lenger (1990), p. 117.

[54] The analysis of the professional structures follows the criteria developed by Manfred Hettling; see Manfred Hettling, *Politische Bürgerlichkeit. Der Bürger zwischen Individualität und Vergesellschaftung in Deutschland und der Schweiz von 1860 bis 1918*, Göttingen 1999, p. 353.

[55] *Bericht über die Verwaltung des Armenwesens*, 1893/94, 1897, 1902 and1907; HAStK, Best. 400 VIII 1B 17, No. 269 ff.

[56] Ibid.

[57] The increasing participation and willingness of the old middle class in Cologne to serve on a long-term basis as poor relief provider can be conceived as an expression of their sense of duty on account of their economic wealth and social position to serve as bearers of bourgeois society.; see also Mettele (1998), p. 139.

[58] Here were not just the traditional patrons and elites of the local community, but also upwardly mobile citizens seeking to assert a position in their community commensurate with their new economic power.

[59] Kiyoko Eitō/Kayō Shintaku, Formation of Suburban Life Culture in Osaka and Kobe Region from the Viewpoint of Income Tax in the Gentleman Record, in: *Kōshien tanki daigaku kiyō* 28 (2010), pp. 15–22, here p. 17.

[60] For a personal account from the memoirs of a hōmen iin, see Ōsaka-shi minsei iin seido gojyusshūnen kinen-shi henshū iin-kai (ed.), *Ōsaka-shi Hōmen iin minsei iin seido gojyūnen-shi*, Ōsaka-shi 1973, p. 218.

[61] On the history of the *hōmen iin*-system during the Fifteen-year War, see Hideto Hiramatsu, Das kommunale Armenpflegesystem (*hōmen iin seido*) in der Kriegszeit Japans (1931–1945), in: Gesine Foljanty-Jost/Momoyo Hüstebeck (eds.), *Bürger und Staat in Japan*, Halle 2013, pp. 131–151.

[62] See Matsuo, *Taishō Demokrashī*, Iwanami shoten 1974, p. 126; Ryūichi Narita (2007), p. 11; Ishida (2008), p. 118; on the development of the Chamber of Commerce and Industry after the Russo-Japanese War, see Kazuhiko Mochizuki, Senkan-ki ni okeru „zaikai" no keisei, in: Takenori Inoki (ed.), *Senkan-ki Nihon no shakai shūdan to nettowāku*, NTT shuppan 2008, pp. 239–282, esp. p. 249.

[63] Miyake applies a concept of city citizens who have civil rights and thus (should) participate in the local self-administration; see Iwao Miyake, *Toshi*, Tōkyō 1906, p. 89.