



Planning for the Ageing Countryside in Britain and Japan:
City-Regions and the Mobility of Older People

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Research Report to the Daiwa Anglo-Japanese Foundation

February 2008

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Executive summary

Introduction

- Both the UK and Japan are wealthy, densely-populated island nations facing demographic transition. Their populations are ageing and retirees are healthier and wealthier than any previous generation. The choices that these people make about their lives and the locations in which they will live have important consequences for society. This research aims to conduct a comparative investigation of the urban to rural movement of older people in Japan and the UK.

The 2007 Challenge in Japan

- The Japanese population reached its peak in 2005 (127.8 million) and is now declining. Simultaneously, the number of people aged 65+ reached 25.6 million, exceeding 20% of the total population for the first time. The *dankai* generation, born in 1947-1949, is a mass cohort of the population (9% of the total population in 2005) that started retiring in 2007. This new event inevitably brings challenges, including structural changes to businesses and the labour market, and to the social security system.
- On reaching retirement age, some people prefer to permanently relocate to small urban areas. Others prefer a new lifestyle called 'multiple-habitation' (*kōryū-kyojū*): retaining a first home in metropolitan areas and a second house in more remote rural areas. The market expects the rapid growth of a 'senior' market, particularly in housing and tourism, in the wake of the concept of 'multiple-habitation'. In response the Japanese Government has launched the 'multiple life course' & 're-challenge' strategy.
- 80% of the *dankai* generation hopes to continue to work to maintain their financial position and in their pursuit of personal development. This has led to an increase in the numbers seeking voluntary work, a new trend in Japan where the voluntary sector has traditionally been underdeveloped.

Japan Case studies

- Hokkaido Prefecture Government is one of the most active in promoting 'multiple-habitation', working with the private sector to market their region through websites that provide regularly-updated information on houses, jobs, local facilities, transport and medical care for potential in-migrants.
- Local municipalities play a critical middleman role in providing free and independent information on rural living to potential in migrants. While from a rural communities'

perspective, local municipalities are seen as well placed to understand their needs and to broker the interface between them and new residents.

- Nanporo Town with a declining and ageing population launched a 'silver' (older people) housing project in 2001 that has provided new care homes and sheltered housing in the centre of their town as well as a network of home care services for older people in family dwellings.
- A rise in the amount of abandoned agricultural land led to Yuni town developing farming land for new housing targeted at incomers. This model aimed to promote immigration, to make the best use of rural land, and to avoid uncoordinated development. The project plan explicitly emphasised community development approaches, such as the introduction of a 'construction corporative mechanism', in which potential buyers are engaged in the process of land allocation, area layout and public space management, with the local municipality and existing rural communities.
- Kuriyama town has developed a unique social welfare system over the last 15 years. The town boasts a high number and a diversity of care services and facilities based on three social welfare principles: community-centred, community-based and universal design. As a result they have introduced a personalised 'care management' system, a home repair service using local building companies, and trained home care helpers, to name a few. Involving local business as well as community is one of the most significant aspects in achieving the community-based social welfare system.
- Shien Co., a social care provider, established by a young local entrepreneur in 2003, is a new type of rural enterprise in Kuriyama. Its business is growing and diversifying at a great rate ranging from social care management, home care service delivery, nursery support for families with young children, housing for older people, and to furniture design, which brings together young designers and retired craftsmen.
- To ensure and support independent living with dignity for older people, the emphasis of social welfare service provision is shifting to community-based, small scale, and flexible multi-functional facilities. Healthy Home Mitaka, opened in 2006 in Minato city, Tokyo, is one of these pilot projects. On the lowest floors of a social housing block owned by Tokyo Metropolitan Government are senior co-housing flats, group homes for people with dementia, day care for older people and a round the clock care station.
- Life Science Co. is one of the leading companies in social care provision based on a 'power to the residents' principle. Collaboration with a user group allows the company to attract more public attention and concentrate on the provision of more desirable houses. Nippori Community, one of the company's projects that opened in 2003 in Arakawa city, Tokyo, has flats for older people, assisted homes, and a multi-generational collective house. A clinic, nursery, and a restaurant run by a workers' collective operate for the benefit of all residents and the wider local community.

Demographic ageing in rural England

- The UK population is now projected to increase due to increased overseas immigration. Within this the population aged over 60 is expected to increase markedly over the next 25 years, reflecting the retirement of the first baby boomers (born in the late 1940s and early 1950s).
- The proportion of older people is lower in the population of the London region and higher in the South West. At sub-regional level, rural areas have a higher proportion of older people than urban areas. Within rural areas, there are variations, with the most sparsely populated areas tending to have fewer older residents. Older people are more likely to be living in larger villages and small towns, where access to services is better.
- The current older population is more diverse in terms of its cultural and ethnic background, skills, wealth, lifetime experiences, health, mobility and geographical location. Those now approaching pre-retirement and retirement have different attitudes to later life and their role in society.

UK Case studies

- Berwick-upon-Tweed Borough, in North East England, has an increasingly ageing population and it is estimated that one third of the population will be retired by 2011. This is more acute in some of its seaside communities which are also popular destinations for holiday home owners. The Borough is now facing critical issues of how to ensure a balanced population structure and how to support a broad spectrum of needs, from social services for older people to the demand for housing for young families.
- To ensure that older people can continue to live independently and safely in isolated rural areas a multi-agency approach run by Northumberland STARS provides a 'handyperson service', offering small DIY jobs and a safety check of the property, free of charge. The personal contact and seemingly small level of help is a cost effective means of supporting older people's independent living.
- The Bell View project is an innovative community-based initiative in Belford. It is run by a charity body with local volunteers and provides 'Day-Care' and 'Resource Centre' facilities (including a café and free public internet and PC access), and five sheltered housing bungalows on site. The Centre also provides transport services for the facility users. Addressing social and rural isolation, the centre encourages community participation so as to become a hub for rural communities, for whom access to, and choice of, services and information would be otherwise very poor.
- Responding to the challenges of an ageing population in an urban context, the Quality of Life Partnership was established in Newcastle City in 2005. At the centre of the Partnership are the voices and experiences of older people heard through the Elders Council of

Newcastle, established in 2001 and now with more than 1,000 members, which promotes the benefit and social inclusion of elders. The Partnership has developed a strategy called 'Everyone's Tomorrow' and launched an innovative, user friendly website to provide information on issues identified by older people.

- Greater consideration of the role of space in determining quality of life for older people has led to new thinking about specialist housing. One example is Milecastle House, a twenty year old local authority owned sheltered scheme. The modernisation of flats is combining two small studio flats into one bedroom larger units. Another example, Park View Grange – an extra care scheme - accommodates older residents with high level and low level support needs. Personal care is managed by a not-for-profit provider, but social activities are planned by a residents' committee.
- The Dementia Care Partnership (DCP), founded in Newcastle in 1993 as a charity, has been leading the way in delivering health and social care services for people with dementia and their carers. Based on its person-led philosophy, the DCP's activities cover flexible round the clock home care services; houses for supported living; day care with various social activities; residential short break services and a carers' support service.

Lessons to be learnt

- The ageing of the population and the diversity of older people calls into question the dominant modernist three stage life course and associated spaces of youth-school, adulthood-workplace, and old age-home. The creation of age segregated living spaces has contributed to ageism: spatial separation leading to social separation. Our urban case studies both in Japan and the UK reveal new person centred approaches to the design of older people's living spaces, as well as new forms of integrated care and housing that respect individual lifestyles.
- Post retirement migration raises a number of key issues for a rural economy. The Japanese case studies show a positive attitude toward older people. 'Multiple-habitation', for example, can be seen as a spring board for bringing about overall improvement in living environments for everyone, not just the old, living in rural areas. However, this will only be achieved if efforts are made to build cohesive communities that see potential in the knowledge and skills of active retirees. There is a real danger that what might result is a highly mobilised consumer group which maintains some economic stability but at the cost of local identities and increased environmental damage created by higher use of unsustainable transport modes.
- Rural locations are very attractive to retirees but these same people may place heavy pressures on the poorer resources of local municipalities as they grow to frailty. In the UK and Japan the difficulty in delivering services in remoter areas remains unacknowledged by Central Governments' allocation of expenditure. In this respect, the UK case studies show

the strength of the schemes that are operated by voluntary organisations such as the Bell View Resource Centre in Belford and the Dementia Care Partnership in Newcastle. Emerging equivalent models to this in Japan can be seen in urban areas, led by private sector companies with a social remit, but these are still rare in rural areas.

- In the UK, a change of attitude towards older people is long overdue. As seen in the case studies in Hokkaido, putting older people at the heart of the community in terms of place making and community development could result in a place that is more welcoming, accessible and enjoyable for all its citizens.

1. Introduction

1.1 Aims of the study

Both the UK and Japan are wealthy, densely-populated island nations facing a demographic transition. Their populations are ageing and far from being the frail of body and empty of purse these retirees are, generally, healthier and wealthier than any previous generation of older people. The choices that these people make about their lives and the locations in which they will live have important consequences for society.

Japan reached its 'peak population' in 2005, and the Japanese population is now declining. Urban populations have continued to rise, matched by rural depopulation, but there are new counter trends amongst the '*dankai*'¹ generation (baby-boomers born in 1947-49), who soon will be retired. Some of this generation form a major group in buying new apartments in city centre areas, where the building of tower apartment blocks is now booming. A rise in the numbers of vacant houses in suburban areas is expected. Others are looking for a rural idyll though landownership, community, family and social patterns make many absent owners unwilling to sell or let houses in rural villages. However the '*dankai*' generation is relatively wealthy and still socially active and therefore not only willing to be involved in various community activities but often the driver of rural community and neighbourhood initiatives.

In the UK, agriculture and traditional rural industries have become less significant in terms of employment and income and some rural communities have been fragmented by commuting. Continued counterurbanisation and strong housing markets have led to significant shifts in the demographic characteristics of rural areas, but not large-scale depopulation – in fact most rural areas (excluding some of the more remote ones) have experienced repopulation since the 1970s. Proportions of older people are growing in British rural areas, as families with children and mature people have either bought second homes or moved from the cities or suburbs and then stayed. As in Japan, a generation is approaching retirement who, born in austerity and grown into affluence, are more vocal and mobile than their predecessors.

Is the countryside a good place for older people to live? To what extent are rural towns and villages responsive to their service needs or their lifestyle aspirations? In Japan, with no tradition of retirement relocation, local authorities are looking to stimulate a desire in older people to live in the countryside as the result of a need to build a greater critical mass of population that will uphold local services and stimulate service employment. Can this strategy revive rural places? Can these communities absorb older urbanites without being threatened by them?

¹ '*Dankai*' literally means 'massive group'. The term was coined by novelist Taichi Sakaiya in his 1976 book '*Dankai no sedai*' [*dankai* generation], Bungei syunju.

What are the impacts of in-migration on the host areas and how might spatial planning respond? This project aims to conduct a comparative investigation of the urban to rural movement of the retiring generation (those approaching retirement and those just retired) in Japan and the UK. In particular, we are interested in:

1. The effects of multiple-habitation (having homes in both city and rural areas), and whether this results in empty second-home dominated villages, or whether more complex forms of social and community life are emerging which might be beneficial.
2. The possible changes to family relations (e.g. care for grandchildren), social activities (e.g. participation in community activities) and social care (expectation of medical care in later life from families, state or private services).
3. The impacts on local communities of a large cohort of older incomers that skews the population balance.
4. The changes to the individual social life and life experiences of older people themselves. Too often it is assumed that incomers as a group 'have an impact' on place, whereas we are equally interested in how place, and movement between places, changes the quality of life and the social contribution of older people, especially as older people increasingly retire later and remain active in informal and voluntary work.

1.2 Research methodologies

This report draws on a wide range of previous studies and policy documents on demographic ageing, particularly the current issue of the migration of the 'baby boomers' in Japan and longstanding trends of rural migration in UK. This report highlights some thematic findings from the case study research conducted both in Japan and UK, followed by a discussion of the lessons that can be learned from each other.

Case Study in JAPAN:

Between the 14th and 22nd of April 2007, 4 staff members from Newcastle University conducted case study research in rural towns near the large urban centre in Hokkaido (northern Japan); and urban districts in Tokyo. These case studies were chosen based on the preliminary meetings held in Hokkaido in November 2006, and the researchers' existing experience and networks. Two seminars were held during our stay in Japan on the issue of demographic ageing and its implications for urban and rural spatial planning at Hokkaido University and at Waseda University, Tokyo, the Japanese partners of this study.

Japan Case study areas	Themes	Informants
Rural	Hokkaido's Promotion of Immigrants	Hokkaido Pref. Government and Waseda Seminar
	Town Planning and housing for older people	Nanporo Town
	New housing developments for incomers	Yuni Town
	Community-based social care network	Kuriyama Town
	New community business and entrepreneurship	Kuriyama Town
Urban	Increasing social enterprises in the senior housing market	Life Science Ltd., the Elder People's Housings (NPO), Arakawa City
	Evolution of housing for elder people	Mitate, Shinagawa City and Waseda Seminar

Case Study in UK:

In September 2007 the Newcastle team hosted a three day visit to the University by academics and policy makers from Hokkaido, who were keen to see how the city region was responding to the challenge of the ageing population. On the first day, we held a well attended seminar in the Beehive at Newcastle University at which British, Japanese and American speakers shared research and strategies on ageing and place making and the challenge of growing appropriate local solutions. The two days that followed saw our Japanese delegation visiting and talking with policy makers and service providers in a range of rural and urban locations. Local authority officers in Berwick discussed the need to preserve environmental quality while increasing housing opportunities and improving access to local services. In Newcastle visits to a range of housing with care schemes illustrated the greater range of choices available to older people.

UK Case study areas	Themes	Informants
Rural	Local Development Plan and issues facing small towns	Berwick upon Tweed Borough Council
	Initiatives for older people	Northumberland STARS, and Berwick upon Tweed Community Development Trust
	Community-based social care services	'Bell View', Belford, Northumberland
Urban	Housing and care schemes	'Park View Grange' and 'Milecastle House', Newcastle City Council
	Community-based dementia care services	Dementia Care Partnership
	Older people's quality of life and partnership approaches	The Elders Council, The Quality of Life Partnership, and Northern Architecture,

The details of the case study visits and participants in the UK and Japanese delegations are shown in Appendix.

2. The 2007 Challenge – The impending *dankai* generation retirement in Japan

The *dankai* generation, born in 1947-49, created the established post-war lifestyle of the nuclear family living in a dream home in the suburbs (Japan Centre for Economic Research, 2006). Their access to higher education and permanent employment assured their economic and material wealth. As a stereotypical life course, the *dankai generation* left their home towns/villages for employment in the large cities in the late 1960s. Most of them married and started having a family in the early 70s. Their children, often called '*dankai junior*', were born in 1972-74. They bought their first homes in the early 80s, when the housing demand in metropolitan areas was such that rented flats in the city centres or houses in the outer ring of suburbs were the only affordable choices. At the beginning of this century loan repayments on their homes are almost finished. Their children have grown up and left home, or have at least moved out of costly education, although, while seemingly independent in their own dwelling, they may be in insecure employment and are less likely to have married and had children of their own (Miura, 2007). Their old parents are still living in their home towns or villages and soon may need care. The *dankai* generation has started retiring, and this new event inevitably brings challenges, including structural changes to businesses and labour market in particular, and to the social security system.

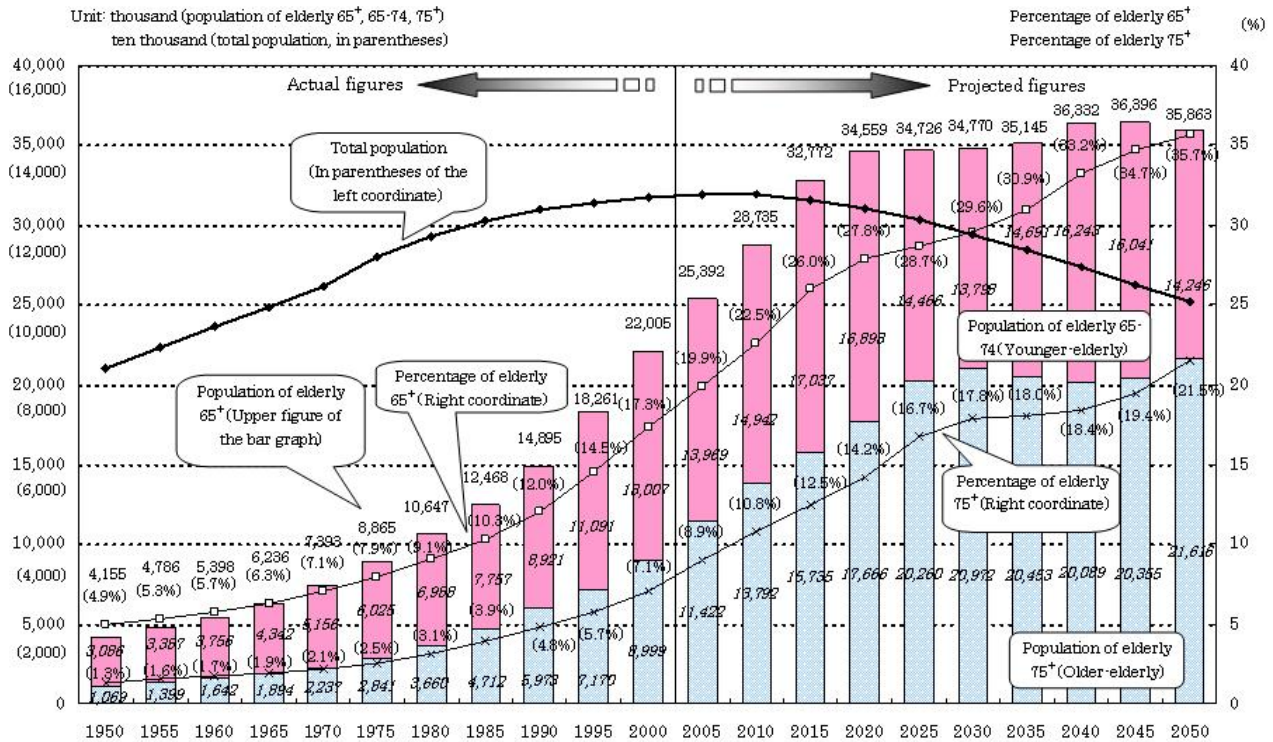
In this section, we will briefly present the current demographic situation, the spatial distribution of population, and the characteristics of today's *new older* population – the *dankai* generation in Japan. This will give us a perspective of what a hyper ageing society would be like in future and how a better quality of life for older people should be created.

2.1 Population ageing and declining

The 2005 Census² showed that the total population of Japan stood at 127.8 million, down 20,000 (-0.02%) from previous 2000 Census - the first population decline in the postwar period (see Figure 1). Simultaneously, the number of people aged 65+ reached 25.6 million (20.04% of total population), exceeding 20% for the first time. Of the older population, the '*young-old*' population (aged 65-74) was 14.0 million, while the '*old-old*' population (aged 75+) was 11.6 million. There were 28,395 people aged over 100 at the end of September 2006 (85% of whom are female). The older population is expected to continue to increase rapidly until 2020 and stabilise thereafter.

² <http://www.stat.go.jp/data/kokusei/2005/kekka.htm> (accessed on 12 December 2007)

Figure 1: Shrinking and ageing population



Source: Cabinet Office Japan (2005): Up to 2000, Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications, "Population Census of Japan". After 2005, National Institute of Population and Social Security Research, "Population Projections for Japan," January 2002.

Note: Regarding Okinawa in 1955, the population of persons 70+, 23,328, was divided into the age groups 70-74 and 75 or older, based on the ratio of the population 75+ to the population 70+ in the former and later years.

Since World War II, average life expectancy has drastically increased in Japan. In 2005 it was 78.6 years for males and 85.5 years for females (see Table 1). Average life expectancy at the age of 65 was a further 18.02 years for men and 23.04 years for women. Population decline is partly a result of the low birth rate. The total fertility rate has rapidly declined since the postwar baby boom, falling steadily from 3.65 in 1950 to 1.75 in 1980 and to a new low point of 1.29 in 2003 (see Table 2). These factors are driving Japan towards a hyper-ageing society: the older population will reach 26.0% of the total population in 2015 and 35.7% in 2050. This is the highest rate in the world (see Figure 2).

Table 1: Changes in life expectancy in developed nations

	Japan		USA		UK		France		Sweden	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
1950	59.6	63.0	65.6	71.3	66.5	71.2	63.6	69.3	70.5*	73.4*
1980	73.4	78.8	70.0	77.5	71.1#	77.1#	70.4#	78.8#	72.8	78.8
Current	78.6 (2005)	85.5 (2005)	74.8 (2003)	80.1 (2003)	76.6 (2003)	81.0 (2003)	75.9 (2003)	82.9 (2003)	78.4 (2004)	82.7 (2004)
2020 Projections	81.3	89.2	76.9	82.3	80.4	85.1	78.5	85.3	80.6	84.9

*1953; #1981

Source: UN, Demographic Yearbook. UN, World Population Prospects: The 2004 Revision. UK National Statistics.

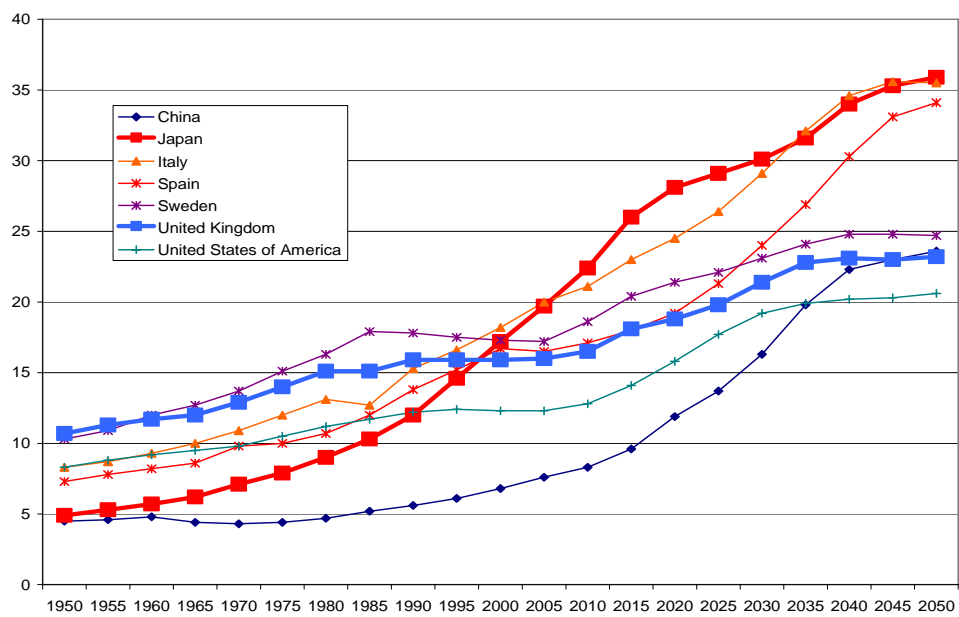
Table 2: Changes in the total fertility rate in developed nations

	Japan	USA	UK	France	Germany	Sweden
1950	3.65	3.02	2.19	2.92	2.05	2.32
1980	1.75	1.84	1.89	1.99	1.56	1.68
Current	1.29 (2003)	2.01 (2002)	1.64 (2002)	1.88 (2002)	1.40 (2002)	1.65 (2002)

Note: Figures for the UK up till 1984 were for England and Wales; data for Germany up till 1991 was for West Germany.

Source: Japanese Embassy in London: "Vital Statistics" by the Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare, and "Demographic Yearbook" by the UN, etc.

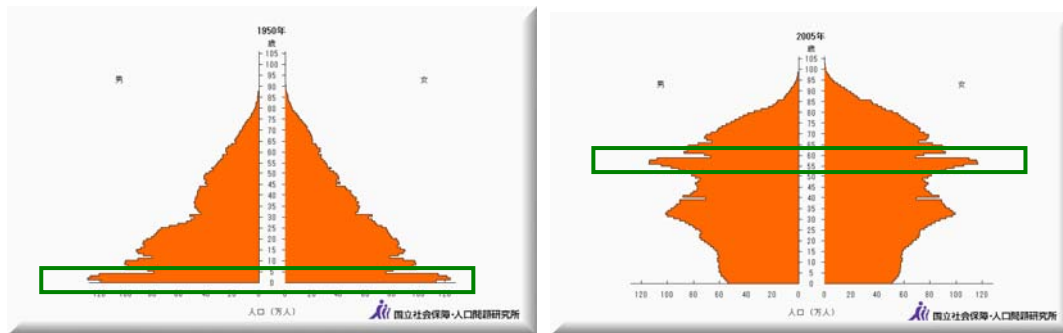
Figure 2: Changes in the percentage of population 65+



Source: Population Division of the Department of Economic and Social Affairs of the United Nations Secretariat, World Population Prospects: The 2004 Revision and World Urbanization Prospects: The 2003 Revision, <http://esa.un.org/unpp>

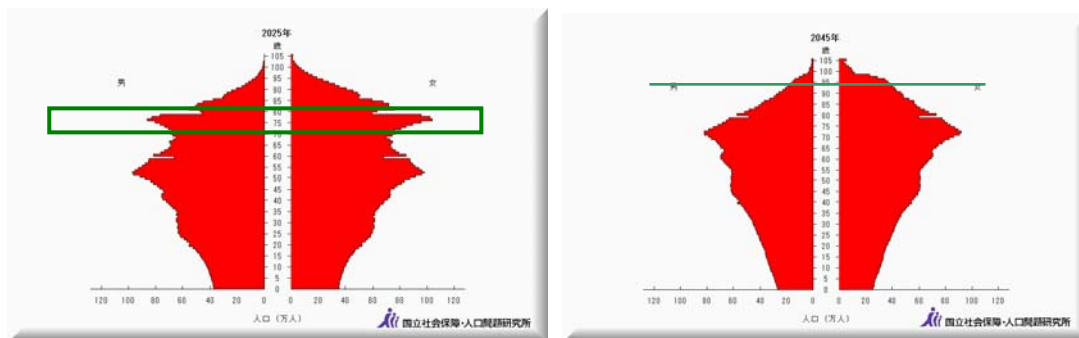
In the 2005 Census, the *dankai* cohort (aged 56-58) was 6,740,066 (5% of total population). Average life expectancy at aged 56-58 was a further 26.3 years for men and 32.2 years for women. The *dankai* cohort is expected to continue to be the biggest group in society over the next three decades (see Figure 3 & 4).

Figure 3: Population pyramid by sex in 1950 (left) and 2005 (right)



Source: National Institute of Population and Social Security Research

Figure 4: Estimated population pyramid in 2025 (left) and 2045 (right)



Source: National Institute of Population and Social Security Research

2.2 Uneven spatial distribution of population

The 2000 Census³ showed 78.7% of the total Japanese population lived in urban areas (see Table 3). Out of this urban population, 28% lived in the 13 major cities with a population of more than 1 million. On the other hand, small towns and villages contained 21.3% of the total population. Only 7.3% lived in the depopulated rural areas⁴, which cover most areas identified as 'deep rural' including remote, sparse, small and farming villages in Japan.

³ <http://www.stat.go.jp/data/kokusei/2000/index.htm> (accessed on 12 December 2007)

⁴ Under the law of 'Kaso Jiritsu Sokusin Tokubetu Sochi Hō [Special Development Programme for the Depopulated Areas]' since 1970, the criteria for designated areas is either: (a) a depopulation rate of more than 30% (during 1960 – 1995); (b) a depopulation rate of more than 25% (during 1960 – 1995) and a population aged over 65 of more than 24%; or (c) a depopulation rate of 25% (during 1960 – 1995) and population aged under 14 of less than 15%.

Table 3: Spatial distribution of population

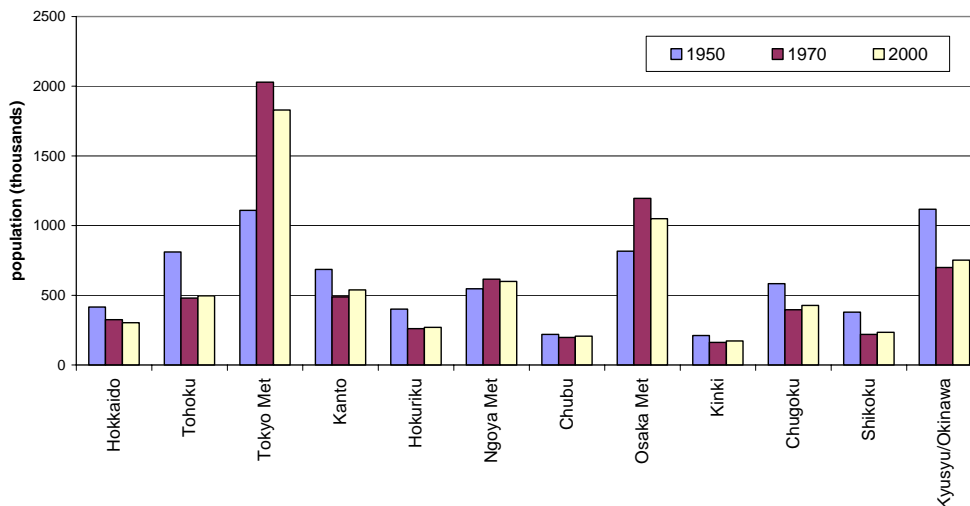
Japan (2000)	Population (K)	%	England (2003)	Population (K)	%
Major Cities (1m+)	27,739.6	21.9	Major Urban (750k+)	17,497.7	35.1
Other Cities	72,125.7	56.8	Other Urban	14,148.1	28.4
Urban total	99,865.3	78.7	Urban total	31,645.8	63.5
Towns and Villages	17,750.6	14.0	Rural	6,516.2	13.1
			Rural 50	5,480.5	11.0
Depopulated Rural	9,310.0	7.3	Rural 80	5,842.2	11.7
Rural total	27,060.6	21.3	Rural total	18,498.9	37.1
Japan total	126,925.8	100.0	England total	49,844.7	100.0

Source: Japan – Census 2000, Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications 'Depopulated Rural Profile 2004': UK – Champion and Shepherd 2006

Over the last half century, two distinctive migration trends that resulted in today's spatial distribution of population can be observed (see Figure 5 & 6). These are particularly associated with the migration patterns of the *dankai* generation. According to the *Toshi Chiiki Report* [Urban and Regional Report] 2006 (MLIT, 2006), in 2000, 50.4% (3,481,000) of the *dankai* generation lived in three metropolitan areas (26.5% in Tokyo, 8.7% in Nagoya, 15.2% in Osaka). In 1950, 33.9% of the *dankai* population (aged 1-3) lived in three metropolitan areas (Tokyo 15.2%, Nagoya 7.5%, Osaka 11.2%). The first migration took place between the 1950s and the 1970s. At working age (aged 21-23), the *dankai* population migrated into urban areas from the regions. This led to the population of the metropolitan areas reaching 54.1% (Tokyo 28.7%, Nagoya 8.5%, Osaka 16.9%) by 1970. The *dankai* in-migration to urban areas became one of the driving forces of rapid economic growth in the 1970s (Sorensen, 2006). The second migration trend between the 1970s and now shows a different movement from the previous urban concentration. The *dankai* population declined in all three metropolitan areas, while regions that had lost a great proportion of their population between 1950 and 1970 started recovering. Decentralisation, suburbanisation, and automobilisation throughout Japan (ibid: 228) are key factors and it was time for the *dankai* generation in their late 20s and 30s to start having families and buying their first homes. Some returned to their home regions to marry, and others stayed in the metropolitan areas because of jobs, but moved into suburban areas to buy affordable houses.

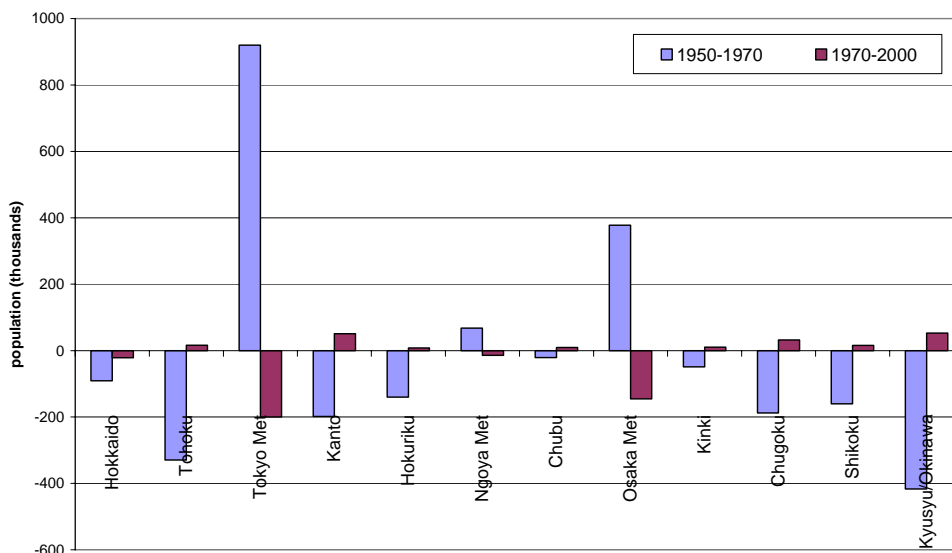
However with the notable exception of the Tokyo metropolitan region, many cities have been experiencing no population growth or even population decline since the mid-1990s. This has resulted in further spatial imbalance: highly populated major cities in metropolitan regions; sparse and depopulated rural areas and an increase in urban areas with shrinking populations in non-metropolitan regions. For people in the latter areas the suburban good life with affordable housing, spacious shopping centres, achieved at the expense of traditional housing and shops in the inner city areas, is now being eroded through inefficient land use and the challenges of providing transport to a dispersed shrinking population (Onishi, 2007). Those in rural areas suffer further damage since the services their ageing populations depend on are often located in those small cities and towns and, for those of working age, these were important areas of employment.

Figure 5: Population by region⁵ (1950, 1970 and 2000)



Source: Ministry of Land, Infrastructure and Transport Japan (2006) Urban and Regional Report 2006

Figure 6: Population changes by region (1950-1970 and 1970-2000)



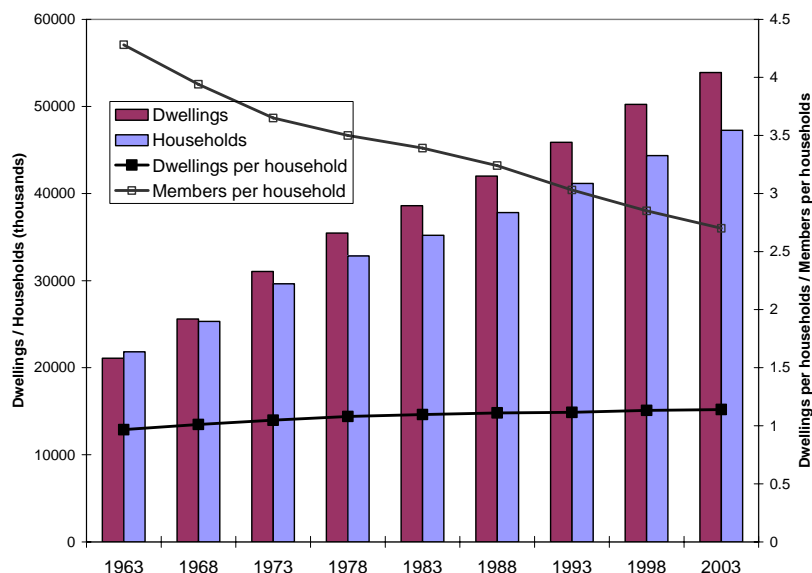
Source: Ministry of Land, Infrastructure and Transport Japan (2006) Urban and Regional Report 2006

Since the post-war period, the number of households has increased to 47,260,000 in 2003, compared to 21,821,000 in 1963, reflecting population growth (until 2005) but also shrinking average household size (4.28 persons in 1963 and 2.70 persons by 2003) (see Figure 7). Alongside an increase in the number of households, the total number of dwellings is also steadily growing. There were 53,890,000 dwellings in 2003, compared to 21,090,000 in 1963. The supply of dwellings in 1963 was insufficient to meet the housing needs of households (dwellings per household was 0.97), but this

⁵ Tokyo Met (Tokyo, Chiba, Saitama, Kanagawa prefectures); Nagoya Met (Aichi); Osaka Met (Kyoto, Osaka, Hyogo, Nara); Hokkaido (Hokkaido pref.); Tohoku region (Aomori, Iwate, Miyagi, Akita, Yamagata, Fukushima); Kanto region (Ibaraki, Tochigi, Gunma, Yamanashi, Nagano); Hokuuriku region (Niigata, Toyama, Ishikawa); Chubu region (Gifu, Shizuoka, Mie), Kinki region (Fukui, Shiga, Wakayama); Chugoku region (Tottori, Shimane, Okayama, Hiroshima, Yamaguchi); Shikoku region (Tokushima, Kagawa, Ehime, Kochi); Kyusyu & Okinawa region (Fukuoka, Saga, Nagasaki, Kumamoto, Oita, Miyazaki, Kagoshima, Okinawa)

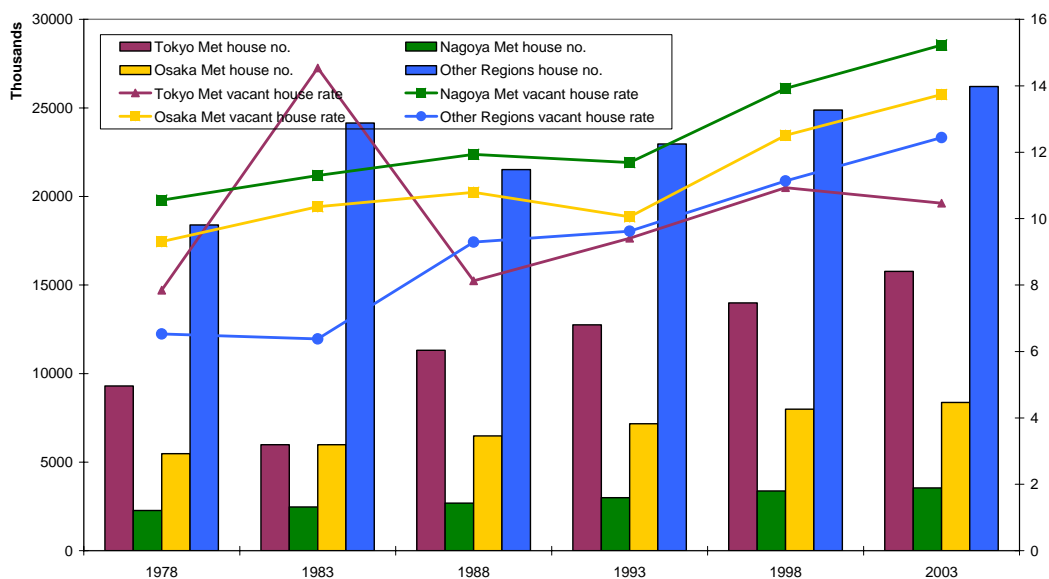
shifted to a surplus in 1968 (1.01 dwellings per household) and by 2003 each household (at least on paper) had 1.14 dwellings. The excess has served to push up the number of vacant properties across the country. In 2003, unoccupied housing stock amounted to 6,600,000 units (a vacancy rate of 12.2%), excluding housing stock under construction or sales agreed. There is an increasing rate of house vacancy in most regions except the Tokyo metropolitan area (see Figure 8).

Figure 7: Dwellings and Households



Source: Dwellings and Lands Statistics Analysis in 2003, Statistics Bureau

Figure 8: Change of numbers of houses and vacant house rate by region



Note: Tokyo Met (Tokyo, Saitama, Chiba and Kanagawa); Nagoya Met (Aichi, Mie and Gifu); Osaka Met (Osaka, Kyoto, Nara and Hyogo)

Source: Dwellings and Lands Statistics Analysis in 2003, Ministry of Land, Infrastructure and Transport Japan

2.3 Beyond 2007 – options for the *dankai* generation

As described above, the *dankai* generation is a mass cohort of the population (9% of the total population in 2005) and half (3.5 million) still live in the three metropolitan areas. Along with the continuous low birth rate and prolonged life expectancy, this generation will continue to be the biggest cohort until they die. However, on reaching retirement age, they are starting to ask themselves: Would I like to relocate, and where? Whom would I like to be with? What would I like to do after retirement? Would my pension be enough to maintain my quality of life? Who would care for me if I needed support? There are no answers yet. What is clear however is that there are more choices available than to previous generations. It is again up to the *dankai* generation to deconstruct the traditional images of older people (frail, burden, needing care) and their roles in society (economically inactive, benefit recipient), in order to create the new lifestyles that they would like to obtain and enjoy.

One of the options is relocation. 26-40% of the *dankai* generation is willing to change living places when they retire (MLIT, 2006). This is partly because of the physical condition of the housing in which they live. Houses purchased in the 1980s will need to be rebuilt in around 2010 (most wooden houses in Japan need to be rebuilt or refurbished after 30 years). As far as location is concerned, small towns in the rural region as well as less densely populated rural settlements (coastal and mountainous areas) are the preferred areas for the *dankai* generation. Some prefer to return to their birthplaces where their old parents still live or lived. Some prefer to permanently relocate to small urban areas (small cities in the regions). Others prefer a new lifestyle called 'multiple-habitation' (*kōryū-kyojū*): retaining the first home in the metropolitan areas and a second house in the more remote rural areas. This multiple-habitation is a newly emerging idea, due to highly developed transport networks and excess housing stock (and consequent decline in land and house prices) in rural areas. The market expects the rapid growth of a 'senior' market, particularly in housing and tourism, in the wake of the concept of 'multiple-habitation'.

In choosing location and property types, priorities are given to the availability of: 1) care services, 2) good transport, 3) good views / landscape, 4) security. An increasing demand for secure apartments (with CCTV cameras, caretakers etc.), such as luxurious condominiums with care services located in city centres and close to railway stations can be seen both in urban and rural regions. On the other hand, many local municipalities in depopulated rural areas also see this trend as a new chance to revitalise local economies and communities. Governments (both central and local) are offering increasing support to its promotion, and this will be discussed further in the next section (Rural Case Study).

British academics writing about the trend of rural in-migration both before and after retirement talk of the notion of 'rural idyll' and a lifestyle which offers strong ties with the land and nature (Clope

and Goodwin, 1992). In Japan, the images of rural areas still conjure up ideas of home for many of the *dankai* generation. 'Their' country town or village is still the home of their older parents, siblings (usually the eldest brother, who inherited the family home and upkeep of family tombs), other relatives and old friends from primary school. Their childhood experiences of warmth and liveliness in the family home and neighbourhood are still powerful enough to evoke both nostalgia for the rural place and a sense of belonging. It is interesting, however, to note that there are perceived gender gaps in preferences: husbands seem to prefer the countryside while wives prefer urban areas (Yomiuri Advertising Inc., 2006; Miura, 2007). The idea of multiple-habitation could be a compromise solution in these cases. Living in multiple properties, people are likely to maintain the owner-occupied houses in which they have lived as their first home, and rent out the second house in the destination areas. The realities of the choices may depend on family relationships: how to care for their old parents, and support adult children: sometimes looking after the grandchildren of full-time working daughters. These needs within families may become both negative and positive factors on mobility or triggers to change dwelling places.

Finance is another concern. 80% of the *dankai* generation hopes to continue to work in order to maintain their financial standing and also as part of their personal development ('*ikigai*', literally, a search for the meaning of life). They are interested in enjoying their 'bonus years' (AXA, 2007) being healthy, maintaining or developing new hobbies, relaxing in a quiet environment, and being close to nature. It seems that men in particular, who had little or no social networks in their community, may now be seeking a role in the community that will bring them new fulfilment. This has led to an increase in the numbers seeking voluntary work, a new trend in Japan where the voluntary sector has traditionally not been strong.

In spite of a growing number of older workers in the labour market, finding a job is not an easy task, due to the increased competition from their peers and financial difficulties on the side of employers. The ratio of job applicants to job offers, including part-time jobs, in 2006 was 0.48 for those aged 55-59 and 0.63 for those aged 60-64⁶. Lack of job offers instead encourage older people who want to remain in the work force to become entrepreneurs or self-employed. Indeed, the trend amongst older people is moving in this direction, accelerated by an increasing number of websites⁷ that target the *dankai* generation, and men in particular, and provide various services: job forums for both employers and employees; services to match the needs of both; consulting for small business establishment and so forth. Volunteer activities also have increased in recent years. There is a unique programme established called the 'Silver Human Resource Centre (SHRC)', which provides temporary work opportunities for people aged 60+. The SHRC was started in the 1970s by a local municipality as a separate organization (Corporation for the Aged), which had both business and

⁶ Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare, http://www.dbtk.mhlw.go.jp/toukei/kouhyo/indexkr_16_1.html

⁷ Dankai Job.Com, <http://www.dankaijob.com/>; PASONA Masters, <http://www.p-masters.jp/>; SOHO Shizuoka (by Shizuoka Prefectural Government), <http://www.soho-shizuoka.gr.jp/shizuoka/index.html>; Tokyo Shigoto Centre (by Tokyo Metropolitan Government), <http://www.tokyoshigoto.jp/>; NPO Sinio SOHO Mitaka (in Mitaka City, Tokyo), <http://www.svsoho.gr.jp/>. (accessed on 10 August 2007)

voluntary components. National support for this programme started in 1980, and the programme has expanded throughout Japan. As of 2002, there were about 3,730 SHRCs across Japan, with about 730,000 members registered. SHRC members are normally aged 60+, with the same proportion of male and female members. The jobs offered include: cleaning at public buildings, including station and parks; housework or support at people's homes; community policing; administrative and consulting jobs, for an average wage of 600 yen (£2.45) per hour. Despite the lower wage, participants tend to enjoy being socially active, and useful to others. In other words, they fill gaps which cannot always be covered by public and business sectors. A growing number of white-collar retirees have joined SHRCs in recent years, and it is now respected as a provider of a range of necessary services for daily living of the older people, and for society as a whole.

The Cabinet Office launched a study group on 'multiple life courses (*Kurashi no fukusenka*)' in April 2007 under the 're-challenge strategy (*Sai charenju shien saku*)', one of the special task forces of Prime Minister. The rationale behind this is demographic change and its consequences such as the '2007 problem'. It is now evident that a belief in the modernist life project that sees people moving through education to work and then onto retirement with an early stage rural to urban migration has dominated the last half century and been the foundation of post-war public policies. Changing demographics demand a paradigm shift to a concept of multiple life courses that has both temporal and spatial implications. With a highly mobile society in mind, the idea of 'multiple-habitation' (*kōryū-kyojū*) grows from an expectation of an increasing number of retirees with time and money who will choose to live both urban and rural lifestyles at different times. This multiple-habitation could be holiday home ownership with its associated superficial engagement in the rural community. However what is envisaged is that property ownership will lead to community engagement which will contribute to the local economy, particularly in rural areas through consuming goods, stimulating the production of goods and the operation of labour markets, as well as enriching social networks.

3. Japan Case Studies

This section will present case studies of rural and urban Japan. Firstly, the new nationwide promotion of 'multiple-habitation' and its anticipated impacts on rural areas will be discussed briefly. The following part will discuss the rural case studies, which were conducted in three small towns in Hokkaido Prefecture (Nanporo, Yuni and Kuriyama), focusing on four themes: spatial planning for the ageing society; housing development for immigrants; community-based social care; and community business and entrepreneurship. Then it turns to urban case studies in Tokyo, focusing on two themes: the evolution of housing for older people; and increasing social enterprises.

3.1 Profile of Hokkaido

Hokkaido is the northernmost of Japan's four main islands. The population of 5.6 million according to the 2005 Census is concentrated in urban areas with the capital city of Sapporo, the biggest city and capital of Hokkaido, housing 33.4% of the total population (see Table 4). Only one fifth of the population lives in scattered rural areas, which make up four fifths of the island's land area. Excessive out-migration has been seen in all local municipalities except Sapporo, but has been especially severe in less populated rural areas (see Figure 2). The population structure by age group in 2005 showed Hokkaido is ageing: 21.4% aged 65 or older compared to just over 18% in 2000. Less populated local municipalities are the most ageing areas with more than a quarter of the population now aged over 65 in these areas (see Figure 10).

Figure9: Hokkaido Map

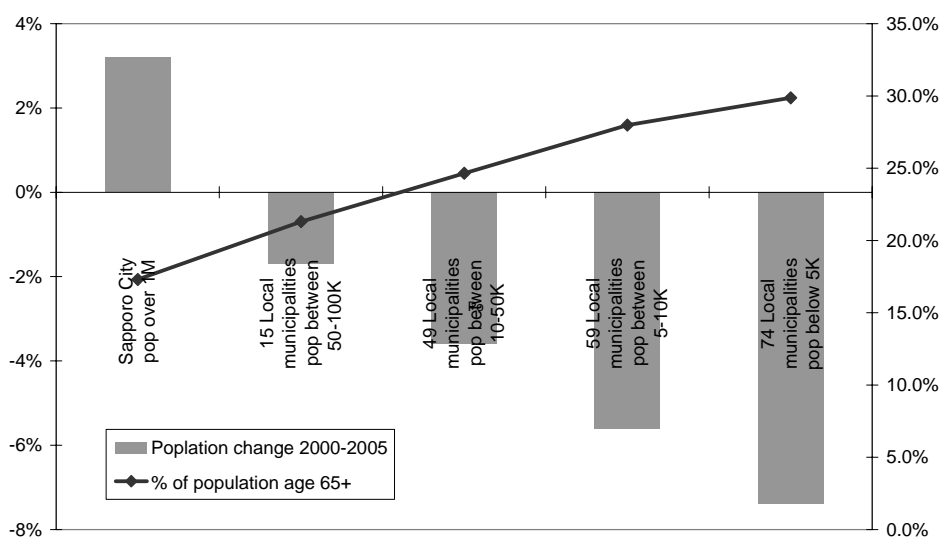


Table 4: Hokkaido's spatial distribution of population, 2005

	Hokkaido total	Sapporo	Urban	Rural with population 10k+	Rural with population under 10k
No. of local municipalities	180	1	34	32	113
Area Sq.km	78,420	1,121	17,319	17,056	42,862
Population (%)	5,627,737 (100)	1,880,863 (33.4)	2,622,761 (46.6)	566,470 (10.1)	557,643 (9.9)
00-05 Population change	-1.0%	+3.1%	-2.4%	-4.1%	
Age Group	0-14 (%)	12.8	12.4	12.8	13.8
	15-64 (%)	65.7	70.1	64.7	62.0
	65+ (%)	21.4	17.3	22.3	24.1

Note: Urban refers to *Shi* (city) municipality; Rural refers to *Gun* (town and village) municipality
Source: 2005 Census

Figure 10: Hokkaido population change 2000-2005 and percentage of population 65+ by local municipality population size



Source: Census 2005

The land-based sector still plays a considerable role in the rural economy (20-30% of employment in rural areas), while more than 70% of all workers are employed in the service sector in urban areas. The employment rate in family businesses was particularly high in rural areas (15.77% in 2000 Census), showing that businesses (particularly farms) in rural areas still rely on families. The unemployment rate in rural areas is much lower (2.3-3.4) than that in urban areas (5.1-5.7). The percentage of commuters to other local municipalities shows a similar picture between urban and rural. The high proportion of commuters in Sapporo is actually within the area, not necessarily out-commuting beyond Sapporo City. With regard to local facilities (see Table 5), a number of large supermarkets and retailers are concentrated in metropolitan cities, while the number drops down in rural towns and villages. However, there are ample numbers of post offices per 10k population in rural villages compared to metropolitan areas (7.2 and 1.3 respectively)⁸, although the size of rural post offices is likely to be very small. Public expenditure in rural areas per head, including health services, education and socio-economic development, is more than double that of urban areas. This is because rural local municipalities in Japan receive more money in recognition of the cost of socio-economic disadvantages. It is fair to note that rural areas have been enabled to build more facilities than urban areas using these special subsidies to meet their needs, particularly those of the older population. However, when it comes to human resources, the numbers of doctors and

⁸ The postal service was privatised in April 2003 as JAPAN POST. There were 24,631 post offices across the country in 2005 playing an essential role not only through postal services but also banking and pension access in rural areas. The number of post offices in Japan has not been reduced as a result of privatisation. 77 % of post offices – mainly in rural areas - are termed 'Special' where Central Government pays a subsidy for keeping their businesses. Ownership of a special post office is considered a privilege given to a certain class of civil servant who is often regarded as a kind of local leader. This is a means of maintaining post offices in rural areas, though it is said that these heads of special post offices are often seen as the arms of the ruling Liberal Democratic Party to collect local votes. However, the policies of the newly privatised institution might cause a drastic change in the status of these special post offices, particularly in the face of continual reports of corruption between the heads of these post offices and local politicians.

dentists are lower in rural areas than in urban areas. So while the number of care homes for older people is higher in villages compared to urban areas, it is doubtful that there is an adequate level of human capital to ensure the smooth running of these facilities.

Table 5: Local facilities by area, 2005

	Hokkaido total	Sapporo	Urban	Rural with population 10k+	Rural with population under 10k
No. of large retails (such as super markets or department stores) (2001)	1,116	447	578	79	12
No. of post offices per 10,000 people (2005)	2.7	1.3	2.5	4.2	7.2
Hospitals and clinics per 100,000 people (2004)	69.7	74.9	68.3	56.1	72.3
Doctors per 10,000 people (2004)	21.7	29.7	21.2	11.6	7.0
Dental clinics per 10,000 people (2004)	5.3	6.3	5.1	4.4	4.2
Dentists per 10,000 people (2004)	7.7	10.3	6.5	7.7	4.6
Care homes per 10,000 older people aged 65+ (2003)	3.8	2.5	3.0	4.7	8.4
Public expenditure per capita (JPY) (2004)	520,325	433,868	465,803	600,768	986,642

Source: Statistics Bureau 2007

Our case study areas are located in the southwest part of 'Sorachi' province (*shicho*), an area of 6,600 square km (three times the area of Tokyo) with a population of 386,000 (see Figure 11 & Table 6). The biggest city in the province is Iwamizawa City with population of 83,000. The other 9 city local municipalities are relatively small with populations between 5,000 and 45,000. There are 17 rural local municipalities, most of which have populations under 10,000. The South Sorachi area is next to Ishikari province, where Sapporo and other large cities are located and exhibits typical rural landscapes and socio-economic conditions, except Nanporo town which was developed as a suburb of the Sapporo metropolitan area.

Figure 11: Map of Sorachi



Source: www.namara-hokkaido.net (accesses on 29 Jan 2008)

Table 6: Profiles of South Sorachi

town	Area (sq km)	Population (2005 Census)	Population Density (people / sq km)	Population Change (2000-2005)	Age Group (2005)		
					0-14 (%)	15-64 (%)	65+ (%)
Nanporo	81	9,564	118.1	-2.3%	16.0	63.9	20.1
Yuni	133	6,477	48.7	-6.3%	12.1	57.6	30.4
Kuriyama	203	14,352	70.7	-6.6%	11.9	59.1	28.9
Naganuma	168	12,401	73.8	-0.4%	12.7	61.2	26.1
Sapporo	1,121	1,180,863	1,053.4	+3.2%	12.8	69.7	17.3
Hokkaido	83,455	5,627,737	67.4	-1.0%	12.8	65.7	21.4

Source: Hokkaido Prefectural Government

3.2 Multiple-habitation

With a highly mobile society in mind, the idea of 'multiple-habitation' is based on an expectation of an increasing number of retirees with time and money who will choose to live both urban and rural lifestyles at different times. This multiple-habitation could be seen as a long-term holiday, but by owning properties and being engaged in local community activities, this strategy could contribute to the local economy in rural areas through consuming as well as producing goods, labour and social networks. Various programmes promoting 'multiple-habitation' have been initiated by several central government departments with various motivations. The Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications (MIC) is concerned by the declining Japanese population in general. The Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries (MAFF) has a long history of promoting in-migrants' permanent residency in depopulated rural areas and recruiting new farmers. The in-migrants (active baby boomers) are expected to supplement farming communities, as weekend or hobby farmers. The Ministry of Land, Infrastructure and Transport (MLIT) regards the baby boomers' appetite for the multiple-habitation lifestyle as another business opportunity to develop new property markets, transport markets (flights, express trains etc) and new types of tourism. These factors were combined to produce a nationwide programme to promote multiple-habitation. The concept of 'multiple-habitation' suggested by MIC has three components: 'long-term holiday', 'themed tourism' and 'promotion of permanent residency'.

The first component has a long history in rural areas which have been promoting natural environments for holiday makers. Using subsidies from Central Government, many rural local municipalities have built publicly owned hotels and cottages with *onsen* (hot springs), which have often been combined with welfare and educational facilities for local communities. To encourage holiday makers to stay longer, various local activities, ranging from traditional cookery schools to guided hiking, have been added often by the quasi-local municipalities who technically own and manage the facilities. This type of holiday has become popular as the second component:

'themed tourism'. The promotion of themed tourism needs more institutionalised arrangements: branding areas, continuity and consistency in selected activities, local community participation and so on. This component has another strand in recruiting migrants into first time farming. These new farmers are frequently city people looking to start new businesses in rural areas. This scheme offers various activities from farm stays for visitors to training for would-be farmers.

'Promotion of permanent residency' is a long-desired initiative for many depopulated rural areas, which for various reasons has failed to succeed. Housing markets in rural areas are not well established, since people have been reluctant to sell their houses on the open market or trade with each other without middlemen. This has been a significant constraint on the promotion of permanent residents who have no pre-existing connection to the particular area. Under the banner of 'multiple-habitation', several local municipalities have launched '*akiya* (vacant house) banks', internet websites that provide regularly-updated information on houses available for sale or rent. For in-migrants, it is easier for the local municipalities to play the role of middleman in providing useful information related to rural living, including housing, jobs, education, elder care and so on, without fees. For existing residents, it is felt to be beneficial for local municipalities to deal with urban dwellers wishing to move to rural areas and in dealing with them, to take account the needs of the communities.

An internet website '*Kōryū Kyōjū no Susume: Zenkoku Inaka Gurashi Gaido* (Promotion of Multiple-habitation: Rural Living Guide)'⁹ was launched by MIC and maintained by the the *Kaso Chiiki Mondai Chōsakai* (Research Committee for Depopulated Areas). This is the first national network initiative to provide various kinds of information that promote 'multiple-habitation'. Navigating through the site options labeled 'a short break' right through to 'permanent residency', users can find useful up-to-date information provided by the Prefecture and Local Municipalities about what activities are available and whom to contact.

The main drivers for promotion of 'multiple-habitation' in the regions are prefectural governments. Some Prefectures have set up organisations to run the programmes, including marketing, monitoring and providing websites. Hokkaido, as befits the most depopulated area, is one of the most active regions.

Hokkaido launched programmes promoting permanent residency in 2004, particularly targeting the *dankai* generation living in Tokyo metropolitan area. The rationale for this was to increase immigration and create a new market for housing, transport, shopping and tourism. It also aimed to regenerate local facilities such as health care and community activities, which are highly prioritised by retiring in-migrants, and through this improve general living conditions for the existing ageing communities (Ohyama, 2007).

⁹ <http://kouryu-kyoju.net/index.php> (accessed on 12 December 2007)

An initial web based questionnaire survey was carried out in 2004 targeting 10,000 baby-boomers living in the Tokyo metropolitan area (Hokkaido Prefectural Government, 2005). The results showed that 80% of the respondents had an interest in living in Hokkaido either temporarily or permanently and 70% of them wanted to live in villages/towns and not in the city. The survey report estimated that the economic multiplier effect would bring Hokkaido up to ¥570 billion (£2.85 billion), if 1,000 retiree couples per year moved there during 2007-2009 and spent the rest of lives in Hokkaido. However the same in-migrants would cost ¥120 billion in extra social security provision. As the initial questionnaire survey shows, in-migrants seek information that meets everyday life needs which is very different from the information required by tourists. This includes local facilities (food shops, doctors, adult education facilities etc.) and community activities in the neighbourhoods to which they move. The involvement of local municipalities and local communities is so important to this that the establishment of a better partnership between the prefectural and local government, and the public and private sectors is critical.

The Hokkaido prefectural government budgeted ¥49.6 million (£248,000) for a two-year programme, which was carried out intensively during 2005-2006 at national, prefectural and local levels. Emphasising public-private partnership, the programme had three main components: marketing, a one-stop information bureau, and local municipalities' involvement. Two organisations were set up to drive this initiative: the first one is a business consortium¹⁰ with 11 partners including major transport (train, ferry and aviation) corporations, travel agencies, and media corporations; the second is a local municipality consortium¹¹, through which member local municipalities benefit from the support of the Hokkaido prefectural government to promote the 'permanent residency' programme. To date, this has engaged 64 Hokkaido local municipalities (October 2006).

The first component, the marketing strategy, provides surveys, advertising and long stay holiday packages and is led by the business consortium. They have launched a campaign using the mass media (magazines, newspapers and TV, as well as mailing lists), seminars and forums to showcase what Hokkaido has to offer¹². Each of the partner corporations has also launched its own website to promote its services and products. The second component, the information bureau ('Hokkaido Concierge'¹³), started in the summer of 2006 and provides the pivotal role of a one-stop information centre for those who want to visit or live in Hokkaido, and mediates between in-migrants and local municipalities. The web site is linked to 94 local municipalities which have their own sites for the promotion of permanent residency. The third component is to encourage local

¹⁰ *Sundemitai Hokkaido Suishin Kaigi* (Promotion Committee for Hokkaido Living), http://www.kurasube.com/krsb_top.php (accessed on 13 December 2007)

¹¹ *Hokkaido Ijyu Sokushin Kyogikai* (Hokkaido In-migration Promotion Committee), http://www.dankai-iju.jp/iju_top.html (accessed on 13 December 2007)

¹² 'Hokkaido In-migration Forum' in Tokyo (on 8 Oct 2005, 528 participants); 'Hokkaido Life Seminars' (Sep 2006, Nagoya; Oct 2006 Tokyo); 'Hokkaido Life Fairs' (Nov, 2006 Osaka, Tokyo); and Open days at a department store in Tokyo (April-May 2006, 769 inquires; Sep 2006)

¹³ <http://www.hokkaido-concierge.com/> (Accessed on 13 December 2007)

municipalities engaged in the programme to offer substantial support and useful information to in-migrants. A Task Force was established to produce a strategy and seminars were held to encourage more local municipalities to join the Hokkaido-wide initiative (Hokkaido In-migration Promotion Strategic Committee, 2006).

A 'testing period' or taster programme has now been initiated by a consortium of sponsoring companies and local municipalities. In practice, travel agencies offer 'long stay' holiday packages, which allow urban retirees to explore potential housing, local facilities (local shops, hospitals as well as tourist places) and community activities (local duties and events etc). The package includes accommodation such as residential flats and detached houses, rather than hotels and guest houses, and discount transportation fees (supported by a passenger ferry company), and a chance to meet local people such as council officers and local community representatives, which is organised by recipient local municipalities.

After the first phase of Hokkaido's programmes (2004 - 2006), the Hokkaido Concierge service had experienced an increasing number of requests from baby-boomers living across Japan. Nearly 100 local municipalities out of a possible 180 have expressed a willingness to join the Hokkaido prefectural government's initiative. During 2006, 417 people took part in the programmes (47% were from Tokyo metropolitan area) and stayed 8,471 days in total (average 20 days per person) with support from 37 local municipalities registered in this scheme (Ohyama, 2007). In the first six months of 2007 an increasing number of "testers" had already spent more than 10,000 days in participating municipalities through this scheme. Spending public money for the development of the 'multiple-habitation business model' in the first phase has proved effective with the private sector creating new businesses such as 'testing period' package tours. However the rationale of spending public money to benefit the private sector is arguable. Indeed the Hokkaido government has expressed a concern that "ideally the 'concierge business' should be undertaken by the private sector alone and this is already possible" (senior officer, Hokkaido prefectural government). However the current mind set suggests that a 'Hokkaido Concierge service' led by private sector would provide greater security and peace of mind for its end users if there is public sector backing.

The biggest constraint on promoting 'multiple-habitation' has been the lack of appropriate housing stock in the areas to which in-migrants want to move. Hokkaido prefectural government believes that this should be solved by the private sector: housing developers and estate agents. They have no public money designated for this purpose.

Most in-migrants are willing to work in various ways (entrepreneurs, full-time, part-time employment, and voluntary work). In-migrants are expected to be able to contribute to community development, community business, and various voluntary activities. This not only raises income levels for in-migrants, but also contributes to the local economy. What local municipalities could do

is to match the skills of in-migrants to local skills shortages and local needs. In-migrants, baby-boomers in particular, are also concerned about health care in later life. Therefore local municipalities need to consider this factor seriously. Promoting the in-migration of baby-boomers has already opened up issues of how local health and care services should be delivered in rural areas. Some private elder care service companies are building condominiums for older people including integrated care services, where existing local residents can also use facilities such as day care and clinics. Hokkaido prefectural government believes that these business models could apply to rural areas with few care facilities, where increasing numbers of in-migrants could stimulate an increased supply.

The concept of multiple-habitation is also concerned with (rural) local identities: for example, the sense of 'rural' as relatively disadvantaged in relation to the 'urban', and how in-migrants would change the status of rural Hokkaido. In-migrants from urban areas tend to seek a 'rural idyll' in the places to which they move. Yet, they also seek a high standard of local facilities to meet their accustomed quality of life. These factors may change the rural status of their areas and their economic activities and consumer patterns. What Hokkaido actually aims to do in the longer term is to create a nation-wide movement which will lead to new roles for rural areas and rationales for supporting the new rural economy. To achieve this, the Hokkaido business consortium is now planning to become a nationwide network in which major corporations (such as Toyota) and SMEs across Japan are to be invited as sponsors to provide information to their employees who wish to enjoy the best of urban and rural life after retirement. These retirees have been employed by those corporations and it is crucial for both the employers and ex-employees to explore better ways in which retirees' abundant time and money could contribute to the national economy as consumers, and their skills and knowledge could contribute to revitalising impoverished rural economies and communities.

The Hokkaido initiatives have encouraged the Central Government to set up a task force to promote 'multiple-habitation' and a package of deregulation and tax credits is currently being debated (Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communication, 2006). The ideas include many regulatory changes: in transport, to discount air tickets for multiple-habitation travellers¹⁴, and to allow individuals to operate small-scale public transport within designated rural areas and parcel delivery services; in tourism, to allow local municipalities, community groups, and NGOs to operate area-limited tourism agency activities including the development of hotels; in medical care, to relax the current regulations about the minimum number of doctors or nurses to allow the opening of small clinics in the rural areas; in agriculture, to lower the minimum size allowable for farms and to allow non-registered farmers to sell produce from their gardens; and in housing, to allow temporary

¹⁴ Some airlines have already introduced discount fares for those who have to fly back and forwards to provide care for frail parents. 'Kaigo waribiki (discount fare for carers)' schemes have been launched by All Nippon Airways Co., Ltd. (<http://www.ana.co.jp/dom/fare/guide/kt/kt.html>); Japan Airline (http://www.jal.co.jp/dom/rates/rule/r_kaigo.html) (accessed on 10 November 2007)

residents to apply for public sector housing. A new tax regime is also being considered. Restructuring of the residential tax (*jūmin zei*), which is currently paid on first homes only, is to be split between both first and second homes in proportion to the amount of time spent in each per year. This raises income for local municipalities where second homes are located. The re-distribution of consumer tax (*shōhi zei*) between Central and local governments is a more radical idea. 80% of consumer tax currently goes to the central government while only 20% comes to local municipalities, but the balance could be altered to meet the increasingly significant roles of rural areas. Changing the tax regime will definitely benefit local municipalities, but it is a politically sensitive issue as the distribution of tax revenue reflects the power relationship between Central and local governments, and urban and rural municipalities.

3.4 Relocating older people's space at the centre of the community

Settlers began to arrive in the Nanporo area from 1886. Battling with flooding of the river Yubari, the settlers gradually developed several residential villages and agricultural fields across the town (Nanporo, 2004). It officially became Nanporo town in 1962 with a population of 7,700. In 1974, because of the population growth of Sapporo City, Nanporo made a strategic plan to develop itself through a large scale expansion. A total of 189 hectares with 3,600 new homes were to be built by the Hokkaido Housing Supply Public Corporation for 12,000 people. The new development area is



Photo 1: Nanporo housing development during 1990s

the central part of the town today. New house buyers began to arrive which accelerated a rapid population growth during the early 1990s. However, from a peak of 9,995 in 1998, the population has steadily declined while the number of households is increasing. Three blocks out of a total of seven have been sold out, but still more than half the designated land stands undeveloped.

The town drew up a new housing master plan in 2001 (Nanporo Town, 2001) alongside its city master plan (see Figure 11) in 2002 (Nanporo Town, 2002), in which they estimated the population growth over the next decade would increase to 12,000 by 2010. Although there is ample land area for new housing development, when we take into account the demographic trends in Japan, the town's strategy appears overambitious. Nevertheless, there are worthwhile initiatives in the housing master plan, which focus more on the ageing population. It includes provision of more housing for older people, such as care homes and sheltered homes, and creating a network of home care services for those who live in the existing residential areas. There are 2 hospitals and 1 dentist in the town, and 9 care service centres (including day care, home care service station, and care homes), located in the central part of the town. Taking account of the increasing needs of the ageing population, and the growth of single person older households, the town developed a 'silver' (older

people) housing project in 2001, consisting of social housing for older people who live independently without care support. A total of 84 households had been rehoused by the public sector (60 units owned by the Hokkaido Prefectural Government and 24 by the town) by 2003. All the houses are terraced bungalows or two storey flats built to barrier free standards. 26 houses are allocated only for older people at the moment, who are living all over Hokkaido. It also includes a facility called 'Life Support Adviser (LSA)', which is planned to become a hub of other care service facilities in the town.

Figure 11: Nanporo Town City Master Plan



Source: Nanporo Town

3.5 New housing developments for in-migrants

The first local municipality, Yuni Village came into being in 1882, and by that time the Hokkaido Coal Mining Train Corporation had built a railroad towards Yubari (one of major coal mines), by way of Yuni, which helped to establish its position as a service centre for the region (Yuni, unknown). After World War 2, with a growing population Yuni organised itself as a Town municipality. 1963 saw completion of the Kawabata dam construction, which drove the town's economy which was heavily dependent on agricultural production. The emphasis for economic development has been on protection of the rural landscape and green tourism.



Photo 2: Yuni Garden opened in 2001

While the local economy has been dependent on agriculture, the declining number and the increasing age profile of farmers has led to a re-think of the agricultural and economic strategy (see Table 7). In 1994, the town drew up a new development strategy centred on herbs, and a group of local horticulture enthusiasts took the initiative to grow a wider range of herbs in the area. Most of the enthusiasts are women whose husbands are mainly in charge of conventional farming businesses. Growing herbs (mainly western species) had not been well established in Japan, but there seemed to be a growing market for aromatherapy, herbal remedies, cooking and gardening. The project also motivated local community groups to explore women and older people's potential to create new business opportunities. Over the first 3 years of activities, it has been clear that the heart of ventures such as herb growing is community initiative, by which those who are outside mainstream farming activities, namely women and elder people, and possibly future urban immigrants, might take a lead on promoting new rural businesses. In 1997, 'Yuni Garden Co.', a joint-stock corporation was established by Yuni Town, JA Yuni (Japan Agriculture Co-operative), and two private corporations (a regional land developer and one major general trading company). Following this, the 'Yuni Garden' was opened in 2001, a 14-hectare park with a building complex housing a restaurant, café, gift shop, and farmers' market to promote the 'garden town' strategy. The Yuni Garden has become a major attraction for tourists (150,000 visitors annually) and a centre for local community activities. The garden maintains the biggest variety and number of herbs in Japan (230 varieties), and its design was based upon English gardens, in particular Kew. Since the community initiative began, a dozen local enthusiasts every year have visited Britain to learn more about gardening and rural lifestyles.

Table 7: Change of farming in Yuni town

Year	Farming household	Farming workers	Workers aged 65+	Area used for cultivation (ha)
1990	661	1872	15.2 %	5963.66
1995	592	1675	21.1%	6005.82
2000	551	1546	26.2%	5916.93
2005	492	1335	31.8%	5716.08

Source: Hokkaido Agriculture Basis Survey; Agriculture Census

A rise in the amount of abandoned agricultural land was another serious issue to be tackled. A study on the future of agriculture carried out by the local municipality in 1995, showed that another 500 hectares of current farming land would be abandoned by 2004. In the meantime, there has been an apparent demand for relatively large plots of land from those city-dwellers thinking about rural relocation after retirement. They wanted a rural setting and a reasonable area of land to cultivate as weekend or hobby farmers, but under the strict agriculture laws it has been impossible for non-farmers to obtain land. Land use in designated agriculture promotion areas has been strictly controlled and owners of land had to be either registered farmers or agricultural corporations. The 2001 revision to the Agriculture Land Law opened up a route for the non-agriculture sector to

obtain land, but still the law requires each plot to be a minimum of 5,000 square metres, which is an impediment to retirees and rural immigrants.

In the debate on agriculture policy reform, the gap between the deterioration in agriculture sector and rural communities and the housing demand of potential rural residents becomes obvious, and the Central Government decided to deregulate certain criteria in agriculture laws and to launch a new development model of 'excellent countryside housing' in 1998¹⁵. This development model initially aimed: firstly, to promote immigration to depopulated rural areas and to make the best use of rural land; and secondly, to prevent disorderly development (avoiding a repetition of urban sprawl) in rural areas. To implement this model, local municipalities are required to draw up a master plan which has to meet the criteria of the existing (revised) agriculture laws, city planning law and building regulation. Once the plan has met the criteria, the development project would be supported by various incentives, for example the buyers of new houses can get publicly supported housing loans (this type of loan is only available once, but second home buyers can apply too); and a 50 % tax reduction on fixed assets for the first three years.

Yuni town decided to take up this development model as a driver of regeneration in 2003. The designated land was located in a rural settlement approximately 1 km away from the town centre. The land was registered for agricultural land use, and bought by the municipality from a farmer who still lives next to the development site. The project plan explicitly emphasised community development approaches, such as the introduction of a 'construction corporative mechanism', in which potential buyers are engaged in the process of land allocation, area layout, public space management and so on,



Photo 3: A new home built under the 'excellent countryside housing' scheme.

with the local municipality and existing rural communities. This process provides arenas for all stakeholders to discuss related issues and to build institutional capacity (shared knowledge, social networks, and mobilisation capacity). The first development phase (10 housing plots) was announced in March 2000, and 145 applications were received with 10 applicants selected in June. Twelve official meetings were held and in March 2002 the first residents moved in. Reflecting the higher than anticipated demand, the local municipality launched the second phase of 18 plots in March 2002. The second phase attracted 103 applications of which 13.6% came from beyond Hokkaido. 18 candidates were selected and the series of cooperative meetings were held (10 meetings between July 2002 and August 2003). It was observed that amongst new residents a good neighbourly atmosphere and communal activities (such as barbeques) have been built up. However it is fair to say that the positive impacts of this project on the wider rural community and economy as well as the extent of relationships with existing residents are debatable. Nevertheless

¹⁵ <http://www.maff.go.jp/nouson/seisaku/home/yuryouden/yudenhou-gaiyou.htm> (accessed on 13 December 2007)

these active retirees with their knowledge and skills do have the potential to raise the profile of older people in their new communities.

3.6 Community-based social care network

1888 saw the first 24 settlers arrive in the area, and over the last decade of the 19th century, the area's population rapidly grew up to 5,000 through coal mining development¹⁶. The current local municipality of Kuriyama Town was formed in 1949, by which time the population had reached 20,000. From its peak in 1967 (22,990), the town population has since declined and aged (28.9% of population was aged over 65 in the 2005 census). The local economy of the town is still dominated by agriculture, which has been the subject of structural reform over the last decade as seen in other parts of the region. It is fair to say that the revitalisation of the local economy has not yet been achieved, however the most distinctive and significant achievement in the town is its unique social welfare system. Local approaches to create a community-centred social welfare system have been continually taken up by the Japanese media.

There are 18 home care service centres / stations, 3 day-care service centres, and 8 homes with/without care for older people in the town. The high number and diversity of social care service facilities in such a small town with a population of only 14,000 makes this the top performing local municipality in Japan (see Table 8). The high number of private providers (22 out of 29 facilities) in a rural location is unique. The number of day service centres and special homes for older people who need support is double the average for Hokkaido. The high number of home care service centres (6.6 times more than Hokkaido average) shows that the emphasis of the town's policy has been on 'home care' for those who need support. However, this does not necessarily mean that the number of those who need care support at home is higher than that of Hokkaido average. The percentage of those aged 65 or older who were recognised as 'needing support' for Hokkaido as a whole was 16.5% in 2004, compared to 15.4% in 2002 for Kuriyama¹⁷.

Table 8: Elder care facilities in Kuriyama town

	Home care service centres / stations	Day service centres	Homes for elder people (with/without care)
Kuriyama	4.19	0.69	60.1 beds
Hokkaido total	0.63	0.38	30.8 beds

Note: figures show number per 1,000 people aged 65+.

Source: Kuriyama Town, Centre for Development of Longevity Society¹⁸

¹⁶ http://www.town.kuriyama.hokkaido.jp/kuriyama/g_rekishi.html (accessed on 13 December 2007)

¹⁷ http://www.pref.hokkaido.lg.jp/NR/rdonlyres/3064959A-DB10-4411-945F-2D6CB6832C74/882640/keikaku_gaiyou.pdf (accessed on 10 November 2007)

¹⁸ Tyoju syakai kaihatsu centre. <http://www.nenrin.or.jp/centre/fukushi/fukushimap/h12/facilities-base/01.html>

What Kuriyama town envisions as an ideal picture for an ageing society is that 'every single person feels that they live in a big family here in the town of Kuriyama' (Kotaro Kawaguchi, Mayor of Kuriyama)¹⁹. The principles of the town's social welfare policy are 1) community-centred, 2) community-based, 3) universal design. The very beginning of these approaches was initiated by a newly established intra-sectoral 'older people care service' division in 1992, which was composed of 29 experts in health, social care, life long learning, housing, agriculture, policy and public relations. They reviewed the existing social care provision of the local municipality and concluded that a shift from the sectoral and top-down approach to social care for older people, the disabled, and those who need support, to a more person-centred service provision driven by a bottom-up approach was crucial. In order to develop a cross-cutting social welfare policy within the town hall, a number of local people (older people needing immediate physical support, care givers, disabled people and high school students) were invited to discuss their issues and participate in developing substantial measures to help those who were most in need of support. These interactions between the town officers and local communities were introduced in the form of a newsletter, the 'Kuriyama Press', which contained a wide range of previously unheard stories of everyday life from those labelled as 'socially disadvantaged'. This communication tool was a phenomenal success and broke barriers between the advantaged and disadvantaged. The message of the Kuriyama Press is simple: every single person is important for the town they live and eventually die in, and this simple message has gradually permeated into the wider community.

Local authorities are responsible to local needs but the measures taken to implement the policy have always been challenging. The social welfare system in Japan is still very sectoral and top-down, therefore there is little discretionary power in the local municipality's hands. However, the Kuriyama social welfare team welcomes individual needs and people's participation, and creates innovative ways based on reciprocity amongst local people. In 1993, 7 years before the national long-term care insurance system was launched, the town introduced a 'care management' system, through which a tailored care package for each person needing care support is planned. In 1994, various community-based measures were launched: training courses for qualified home care helpers, and home reform helpers (house improvement advisers for wheelchair users and those needing support at home); home stays (local families with children open their home to an older person living alone); networking events for older people; and voluntary activities aimed at engaging junior / high school students. Introduced in 1994, the housing reform measures included special grants for repair and a manual for achieving barrier free housing. Using the local home reform helpers and local building companies, public subsidies benefit not only those needing home repair, but also create jobs thus impacting positively on the local economy.

Involving local business is one of the most significant aspects in achieving this community-based social welfare system. Since 1995, the physical infrastructure of the town has been improved with

¹⁹ Greeting speech at the 1st international conference on local currencies in Kuriyama, 22nd August 2002.

the result that there is a barrier-free train station and bus terminal, public toilets, benches, automatic / sliding doors and level entry into high street shops, by using various measures and regeneration grants from the Central Government. The public bus services using easy-access vehicles began in 1998, and the association of local shops (50 shops) began a telephone shopping and free delivery service for those who cannot access the town centre. One of the beauties of this system is that as little as one article can be ordered and delivered. In 1999, a community group launched the idea of a local currency, the 'Kurin', to promote community participation and an improvement of ICT in the town. The 'Kurin' currency was re-launched in October 2007, now focusing more on intergenerational activities. Kuriyama Community Network, established in April 2003 as a not-for-profit organisation, is in charge of managing the local currency system. This has the potential to supplement voluntary-based care services and to encourage more community engagement, which is necessary to achieve the town's social welfare system, although the long-term care insurance system introduced in 2000 remains the mainstay in financing care provision.

3.7 New community business and entrepreneurship

We visited one good example of rural entrepreneurial business in Kuriyama, 'Shien' co. (meaning: support with high aspirations). The company was originally set up by Mr. Hideki Goto, a young local entrepreneur in 2003, and now his company employs 24 staff, most of whom are in their twenties. The business of the company is growing and diversifying at a great rate: social care management (planning individual care packages using the long-term care insurance) and home care service delivery (Oct 2003); housing accommodating a maximum of 24 older people with care support (May 2004); nursery support for families with young children (January 2005); and the latest business is furniture design. 'Little Wood' is its brand name, and the project is a collaboration with local designers. They design and sell products such as special furniture and tableware for the disabled and older people. Unlike the usual range of products specially designed for the disabled, which often look functional but are aesthetically unappealing, what Little Wood aims to achieve is good design that appeals to everyone even the most design conscious. The company also pays attention to social and economic issues by bringing together local creative young people with older local craftsmen, whose skills would not be passed on without this intervention. Creating job opportunities while making the best of local skills and human resources, and enhancing local culture are key features. They also aim to produce products that local communities need, particularly the older population who are relatively wealthy and have high levels of disposable income. The issue here is that pension paid to the local retirees is equivalent to the local municipality's annual budget. Even if only part of this money is spent in the



Photo 4: Mr. Goto, local entrepreneur (second right).

local area then the local economy benefits. However, it is usually the case that this money flows out of the local area into the pockets of their children and grandchildren who are often living elsewhere. The company is targeting the local market, both in terms of older people and those who need specialised products. Their products are relatively expensive (as they are custom made) but made by local retirees for local retirees. Once the local older people start purchasing these products that make their own daily lives easier the impact on the local economy will be considerable.

3.8 Evolution of housings for the elder peoples

As discussed in Chapter 2, more than 1 million baby boomers moved to the three major metropolitan areas from other regions during the 1950s and 1970s, when the Japanese economy experienced rapid growth. In 2005, 78% of the total population of Japan lived in urban areas, of which 10% lives in Tokyo (0.6% of the total area of Japan). This trend will continue, as the majority of baby boomers who moved into urban areas during the 1950-70s retire in the next 5 years. With a population density of 5,736 persons per square kilometre, Tokyo is the most densely populated prefecture in Japan. The 23 special-ward area is home to 8.5 million persons. Tokyo has 5.9 million households, with an average 2.1 persons per household. According to Tokyo metropolitan government²⁰, the population movement between Tokyo and other prefectures in 2004 showed a net social increase of 72,000 persons. With the exception of 1985, there was a prevailing trend of depopulation since 1967, until a net population increase was seen for the first time in twelve years in 1997. 18.5% of Tokyo's population was aged over 65 in 2005, which is slightly below the Japanese average of 20.1% (see Table 9). However, when we consider that half of the baby boomers lived in the three major metropolitan areas in 2005, the urban population is clearly ageing rapidly.

Table 9: Profiles of Arakawa City and Minato City

City	Area (sq km)	Population (2005 Census)	Population Density (people / sq km)	Population Change (2000-2005)	Age Group (2005)		
					0-14 (%)	15-64 (%)	65+ (%)
Arakawa	10.2	191,207	118.1	6.0%	10.6	68.6	20.8
Minato	20.34	185,861	48.7	16.6%	9.2	72.9	17.7
Tokyo*	621.50	8,489,653	67.4	4.4%	10.6	69.3	18.5

Note: * 23 Special ward (ku)

Source: Population Census 2005. <http://www.stat.go.jp/data/kokusei/2005/index.htm> (accessed on 13 December 2007)

As stated in Chapter 2, the properties that baby boomers purchased in the 1980s will need to be refurbished in around 2010, which could encourage them to down-shift and/or relocate. This

²⁰ <http://www.metro.tokyo.jp/ENGLISH/PROFILE/overview03.htm> (accessed on 13 December 2007)

creates a demand for a new range of housing options for the senior market. There is evidence of another type of housing market emerging in urban areas, particularly seen in the current construction boom of large scale high-rise condominiums of more than 20 storeys and 200 households located in the city centre near riversides and railway stations.

The percentage of older people living alone was 4.3% of all men aged 65 or older and 11.2% of older women in 1980. By 2000 this had increased to eight percent of men and almost 18 percent of women. It is estimated that the percentage of older people living alone will rise considerably, with the greatest increases expected among men. The 2005 figures show that the percentage of older single households had reached 18.2% in the major cities, and of this, 21.1% were more than 75 years of age (see Table 10). Compared to other urban and rural areas, the percentage of older single-person households is particularly high in the major cities, and this trend is expected to continue.

Table 10: Single household by region

Japan 2005	Single Household (% of total no. of household)	65+ Single Household (% of total 65+ pop)	75+ Single Household (% of total 75+ pop)
Major Cities	33.4	18.2	21.2
Urban	19.1	9.7	10.7
Rural	21.0	11.7	13.2
Japan total	29.5	15.1	17.2

Source: 2005 Census

In 2000, the Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare published a direction for the development of Health and Welfare Policies for Older people over the Next Five Years²¹. This has become known as the 'Gold Plan 21'. In this document, 'ensuring and supporting independent living with dignity for older people' and 'developing mutually supportive local communities' were articulated as the main objectives. To achieve these, with the introduction of the long-term care insurance system, the emphasis of social welfare service provision has shifted to community-based, small scale, and flexible multi-functional facilities. Part of this was the commitment to 'group homes' for those who suffer from dementia (3,200 facilities were planned during 2000-2004 across the country), and 'local day service centres' as a local hub. These have multiple functions, including occasional overnight stay and day care for older people as well as being a base from which home care services are delivered to individual households needing domestic support.

One of the pilot projects is '*Sukoyaka no Ie Mitate* [Healthy Home Mitate]', opened in January 2006. Mitate is composed of five facilities: two group homes for the older people with dementia (each one accommodates 9 residents); eight co-housing flats for older people who live independently (sheltered accommodation); a day service centre providing services for neighbouring residents, such as meal delivery, assistance with bathing, transport, and recreation events; a home-visit care

²¹ http://www1.mhlw.go.jp/houdou/1112/h1221-2_17.html (accessed on 13 December 2007)

station (24 hrs all year service); and a care support centre at which care managers are mainly located for coordination. Those facilities occupy the ground and first floors of a social housing block owned by Tokyo Metropolitan Government. Mitate is run by a non-profit corporation, the 'Sukoyaka Welfare Society'²², which has pioneered day care services, home-visit care support and group homes since its establishment in 1988.

The current group homes have evolved in seeking a better living environment for residents with dementia, in terms of physical design and care of residents. The idea draws on the so-called 'environmental docility hypothesis' (Lawton and Simon, 1968), which sees the environment surrounding the person as a potent determinant of his/her behavioural outcomes. Physical design of residential space is carefully considered to create not only a traditional home-like atmosphere, which is familiar to the resident generation, but also to retain some deliberate constraints, such as staircases which are often designed out of older people's homes. As those who are suffering from dementia are often physically active, there is no reason to introduce 'barrier free' environments, which might serve to weaken their physical condition. The way in which caregivers support the residents' activities is also carefully thought out. One of the daily activities is group shopping: the residents go out in a group for shopping with staff who watch over their activities to ensure that they return home safely. However, recent studies point out that group shopping without staff could help some retain their competence through their desire to look after others (Ohara, 2007). In Mitaka's case, local shop owners are supportive when the group pops in for shopping, and such a community involvement in supporting older people with dementia seems to create a better living environment for them and bridge the cognitive dissonance and fear felt by others in local communities.



Photo 5: Residents in the living room at Mitate Home.

3.9 Increasing social enterprises

The *Seikatsu Kagaku Unei* [Life Science Co. Ltd.]²³ is one of a new type of social care service providers in Japan. The origin of the company was as a non-profit organisation called the 'Life Science Institute', set up in 1983 to improve living environments for socially disadvantaged people such as older people, women, and children. Mr. Takahashi, a founder of the company, and a handful of his colleagues organised a series of seminars in which those who were concerned with future living environments participated. The idea of building a house came up through their seminars, and eventually it was completed as the very first model of private-led co-operative housing for older people in Nagoya in 1985. In the late 80s, they built another two residential houses in Nagoya area. In the early 90s, there was increasing demand for housing for older people who

²² Sukoyaka Fukushi Kai, <http://www.sukoyaka-fu.or.jp/> (accessed on 13 December 2007)

²³ <http://www.seikatsu-kagaku.co.jp/> (accessed on 10 November 2006)

needed care services, and the Institute reorganised itself in 1991 to its present structure in order to expand their business models to other metropolitan areas (Tokyo and Osaka). The first three houses in Nagoya have been run by the residents themselves, however, since 1988 the company introduced a house model with a 'life coordinator' (warden) who supports a wide range of personal and communal issues in the houses. This came about because the older the residents are, the more difficult it can be for them to support each other on a daily basis. In the early 1990s, the company's interests switched from resident-centred cooperative houses to the provision of care homes. Ten new buildings were ambitiously planned in Saitama, but only two were completed mainly because of soaring land prices during and after the bubble economy. The bursting of the bubble economy led the company to a difficult position, which was also associated with the declining number of residents in the existing houses.

In terms of the direction of the company, there was a tension between those who were seeking a new business model as care home provider and those who preferred maintaining their 'resident-centred' principles (Sakurai and Koyabe, 2001). The latter group eventually took a decision to open up the management of the company to become more open and inclusive to users. The shift from 'power over the residents' to 'power to the residents' is one of the company's principles. In 1997, a Non-Profit Organisation (NPO), the 'Society for Building Welfare Condominiums'²⁴, was established as an independent organisation, which aims to draw the needs of the developer and the needs of the user side together, to disseminate information to a wider public, and to collaborate and implement projects with the Life Science Ltd. as a developer. The membership of the NPO has increased rapidly across the country and has now reached 785 (December 2006). The NPO organises various events and seminars on the issues of welfare housing across Japan. This mechanism allows the company to attract more public attention and concentrate on the provision of more desirable houses. The company's current activities have expanded to collaborations with the local and wider communities. The houses often lease their ground floor space to clinics, nurseries, cafés, restaurants, fitness clubs and so on, which are open to the local community. Some houses have 'short stay' facilities which non-residents can use.

One of the company's houses, Nippori Community, opened in 2003 in Arakawa-city, Tokyo, on the site of a former junior high school. The land was sold by Arakawa City Council with a condition that the site should be used for public benefit. The 12-story building contains four different functions. The top floors (6th - 10th), a 'Life House', are 41 individual retirement flats with communal space. The residents are independent, but in the case



Photo 6: Nippori Community, a building complex of senior residents, collective housing, nursery, and clinic.

²⁴ Fukushi Manshyon o Tsukuru Kai, <http://www.fukushi-m.jp/index.htm> (accessed on 13 December 2007)

of emergency, they can receive care support from the staff on lower floors. The middle floors (3rd – 5th) are a 'Senior House' for those who need care support. There are 43 rooms with a common dining space and bathroom on each floor. There are also two short-stay beds for use by non-residents. In the Senior House, there is 24 hour nursing cover.

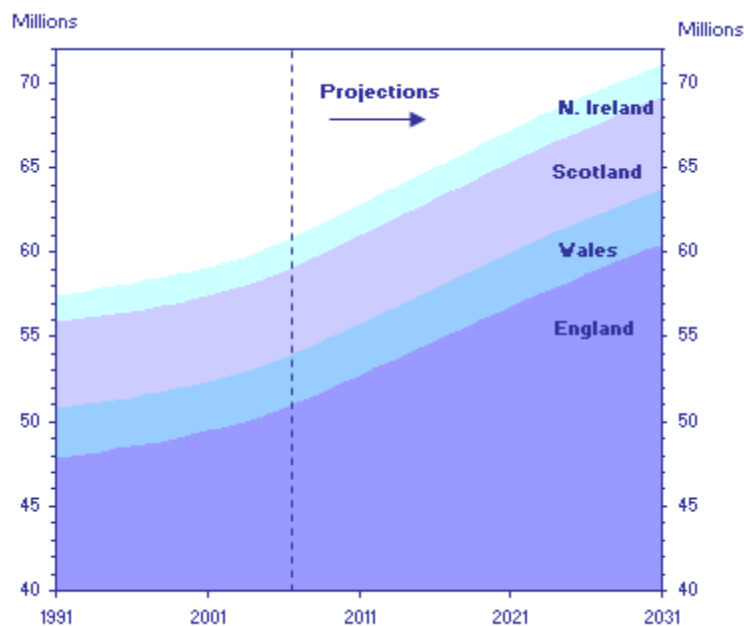
Below the Life & Senior Houses, a multi-generational collective house, 'Kankan Mori', occupies its 1st and 2nd floors. This is the very first model of private-led collective housing, which consists of 28 flats and communal space for the residents. All space is rented and the management is run by the residents' association. On the ground floor, there are three facilities operating for the benefit of residents and the wider local community: a clinic and a nursery (open to public), and a restaurant run by a workers' collective (only for the residents and lunch meals for the nursery at the moment). Some independent residents living in the 'Life House' and the collective house are regulars in the restaurant. Opening the restaurant to the public was the initial aim for the company, according to the agreement with the local municipality, but some residents were unhappy about the loss of what they saw as their exclusive facility. The House itself organises annual events, in which the collective housing group, the restaurant management group as well as the House staff put on music events with food which are open to the local community.

4. Demographic ageing in rural England

4.1 Population ageing

In mid-2005, the UK was home to 60.2 million people. Unlike Japan, where the population is decreasing, according to the National Statistics, the UK population is now projected to increase by 4.4 million by 2016 at an average annual growth rate of 0.7 per cent. If past trends continue, the population will continue to grow, reaching 71 million by 2031 (see Figure 12). This is due to an assumption that there will be more immigrants than emigrants (i.e. a net inward flow of migrants) and that the immigrants will be of working age and more significantly child rearing age, thus leading to an increasing birth rate. However, projections are uncertain and become increasingly so the further they are carried forward.

Figure 12: Actual and projected UK population



Source: National Statistics Online (accessed on 23 November 2007)

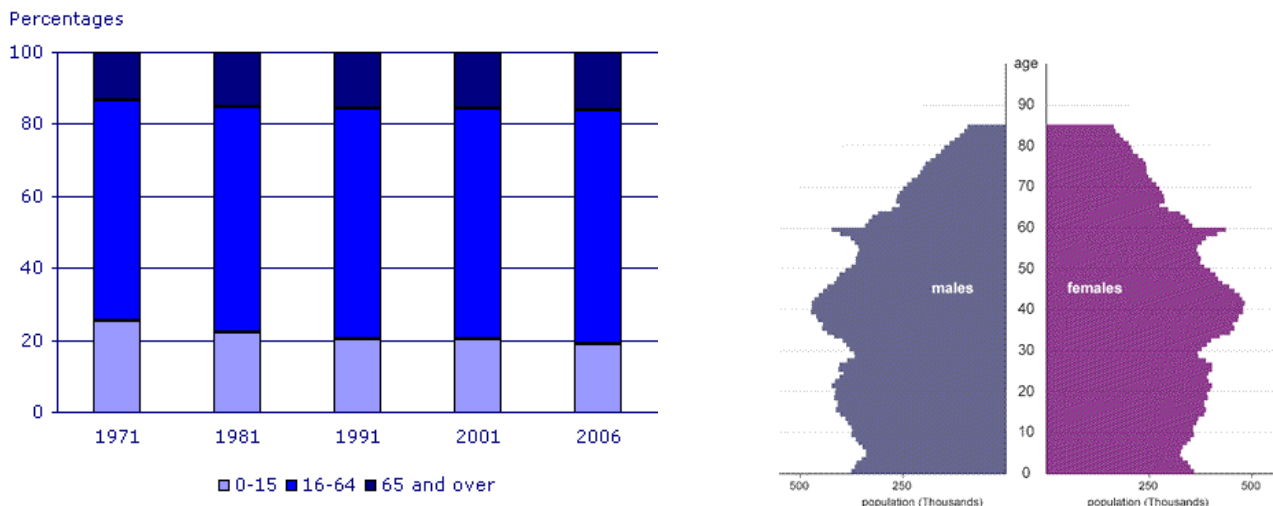
The average age of the UK population is 38.8 years, an increase from 1971 when it was 34.1 years. In mid-2005 approximately one in five people in the UK were aged under 16 and one in six people were aged 65 or over (National Statistics Online 2007). According to national population projections (mid-2006 population-based)²⁵, over the next 25 years, while the number of children and working age population was expected to increase at a moderate pace²⁶, the population aged over 60 was expected to increase markedly by 54.9% from 12.9 million to 20.0 million. As the

²⁵ <http://www.statistics.gov.uk/pdfdir/pproj1007.pdf> (accessed on 23 November 2007)

²⁶ The number people aged under 14 is expected to rise by 11.5% from its current level of 10.7 million to 12.0 million, and the number of people aged 15-59 is expected to rise by 5.9% from 37.0 million to 39.1 million by 2031.

population ages, the numbers in the oldest age bands aged over 75 was expected to increase more rapidly by 76.5% from 4.6 million to 8.2 million. Recent population projections also suggest that the number of people aged over 85 will rise from just over 1 million to nearly 4 million in the first half of the 21st century (Harper, 2006).

Figure 13: Population by age (UK) (left), Population pyramid in mid-2006 (right)



Source: National Statistics Online (accessed on 23 November 2007)

Although now a well-established trend, the demographic ageing process is far from smooth but progresses through peaks and troughs, reflecting fluctuations in the birth rate. Over the next twenty years the largest fluctuations will be from the retirement of the baby boomers who will reach old age. In the UK there were two baby booms, one in the late 1940s/early 1950s and the second and larger one, between the late 1950s and early 1970s (Evandrou, 1997). Together they create a bulge in the population currently aged 30-60. The effect of these baby boomers ageing in the early decades of this century will be heightened by the much smaller size of successor cohorts. Older women continue to outnumber older men (as death rates are higher amongst males), but improving male death rates in some countries, including the UK, are narrowing this gap and are projected to continue to do so in future. In 1951 there were 77 men in the UK aged 50 and over for every 100 women of that age. By 2031, it is projected that there will be 90 men per 100 women aged over 50. These trends have potentially important implications for care service provision.

At the same time as the older population is growing, it is also becoming more diverse. Although they may result in increasing numbers of older married couples, recent trends also suggest that the number of older divorcees is increasing. Marriage is as popular as ever since most divorcees try again, the issue about divorce is more that a relationship may not be built to last for 50, 60, 70 years so ageing societies may see more divorces. Evidence suggests that people who have never married are much more likely to enter institutional care than those who have ever married (ESRC 2006, p. 10). Moreover increasing numbers of older people living alone and without children to

provide care (particularly women born in the second baby boom) will increase demands on public sector care services. Cultural and ethnic diversity is more marked amongst those generations now reaching middle and old age than in previous generations, and it is estimated that there will be a large increase in the numbers of older people from ethnic minority groups in the UK as a direct consequence of waves of immigration that began in the 1950s (Warnes and McInerney 2004: 17). The older population is also becoming more diverse in terms of wealth, health and the degree to which older people wish to and are able to participate economically and socially in society.

4.2 The uneven spatial distribution of older people

The older population of the UK is not distributed evenly across the country. For example, the London region has the lowest proportion of older people, whilst the South West region has the highest. Age structure variations are not only a direct outcome of population ageing but also a consequence of regional economic and environmental differences, such as job availability, property prices and quality of life variations. Data suggests that approximately 20-25% of those reaching retirement age leave London (Warnes and McInerney 2004, p. 12).

There are also variations in age structure at sub-regional level, with rural areas having a higher proportion of older people than urban areas as a result of the effects of selective in- and out-migration (Lowe and Speakman 2006, p. 9). The median age of a rural resident in England is 42 compared to 36 for an urban resident (Lowe and Speakman 2006, p. 9) and this is expected to rise towards 50 years over the next 25 years in rural areas (Champion and Shepherd 2006) (see Table 11). However, within rural areas of Britain there are variations, with the most sparsely populated areas containing scattered settlements and remote hamlets tending to have fewer older residents. Older people tend to be living in larger villages and small towns (Wenger 2001, pp. 118-9) where access to services is better (see also Champion and Shepherd 2006).

Despite the stereotypical notion of 'retirement to the countryside' - individuals seeking a state of inactivity in a place of inactivity - (Lowe and Speakman 2006), generally speaking, retirement in-migration makes only a minor contribution to the 'greying countryside' in England, with only around 10% of rural in-migrants being retired (Countryside Agency 2004). The more significant migration flows are, on the one hand, the loss of younger age groups and, on the other hand, the in-migration of families and middle aged people. The largest rural population gains in England are of people in their 30s and 40s with children, who often move away for education and employment when they grow up. Thus, the adult population ageing in-situ is contributing most to the burgeoning older population of rural areas, and will continue to do so over the coming decades. Data presented by Champion and Shepherd (2006, p. 41) suggests that rural districts in England will see the largest increases in the proportions of people aged 60-74 and 75+, with the Rural-80 districts expected to see almost a doubling in their numbers of people aged 75+ as opposed to a rise in the

Major Urban districts of less than 40%²⁷. Districts such as Berwick-upon-Tweed, West Somerset, North Norfolk, East Lindsey and West Dorset are set to have three out of five of their residents aged over 50 in 25 years time. For the over 85s, numbers are expected to almost treble in the next 25 years (Champion and Shepherd 2006, p. 44). These authors conclude that although many rural parts of England are now overtaking seaside resorts and spa towns as the places with the oldest populations, it should be noted that all of the top ten districts are on the coast as well as being rural (ibid.; see also Warnes and McInerney 2004).

Table 11: Population change, 2003-2028, for broad age group, by district type

District Type	0-14	15-29	30-44	45-59	60-74	75+	All ages
England	-119.7	65.3	-350.6	601.4	2,982.0	2,362.0	5,535.6
Urban	-102.1	-39.3	-120.2	499.3	1,511.6	1,036.9	2,787.0
Major Urban	20.4	-11.3	35.8	429.0	74.5	445.3	1,661.9
Large Urban	-77.9	-30.4	-87.0	16.9	365.6	286.2	472.2
Other Urban	-44.6	2.4	-69.0	53.4	405.5	305.4	652.4
Rural	-17.6	104.6	-230.4	102.1	1,470.4	1,325.1	2,748.6
Significant Rural	-11.4	29.8	-75.5	33.1	441.4	400.3	813.1
Rural-50	-13.9	28.6	-81.7	25.0	472.4	729.0	859.9
Rural-80	7.7	46.2	-73.2	44.0	556.6	495.8	1,075.6

Note: totals may not sum exactly because the data for individual districts was rounded.
Source: Champion and Shepherd 2006, p. 41

4.3 The characteristics of today's older population

It is important to recognise that the older population of today is hugely diverse, in terms of its cultural and ethnic background, skills, wealth, lifetime experiences, health, mobility and geographical location. Those now approaching pre-retirement and retirement have different attitudes and have had different experiences than earlier groups of retirees. The post-war baby boomers have grown up through an era of unprecedented affluence and sweeping social change that has transformed the family, work, civil society and the welfare state. This generation was in the vanguard of consumerism and the spread of libertarian ideas and will bring to old age attitudes and values that are more socially liberal, more individualistic and less deferential than those of its parents' generation. Through the rhetoric of choice and opportunity, these baby boomers are likely to challenge many of the accepted tenets and boundaries of old age and older living (Lowe and Speakman 2006).

Many older people, both below and above state pensionable age, wish to remain economically active. Some may wish to remain in full-time employment or start up a new business (Findlay *et al.* 1999), while others take up part-time, contract, flexible or seasonal work, perhaps based in the home. Time and energy are therefore unlocked and can be channelled into other roles including

²⁷ This analysis is based on the definition of rural and urban areas for England and Wales published in 2004 by the Office for National Statistics.

caring, volunteering or leisure activities. Labour market statistics show us that both men and women seem to exit the labour market long before official retirement age. The employment rates of men and women aged between 50 and state pension age in Great Britain were 72 per cent and 68 per cent respectively in spring 2004, compared with 64 per cent and 60 per cent in 1994. The employment rate of older men started to recover during the 1990s after years of decline while the steady rise in employment for older women began in the early 1980s and reflects wider social changes (ONS, 2005). It is possible that this engagement will increase in line with the rising pensionable age, and it is also likely to be affected by the Age Discrimination legislation in October 2006²⁸.

In terms of wealth, the current generation of people who have reached pensionable age is the most affluent to date, thanks to a combination of occupational pension schemes and sizeable savings, capital and property assets. The ESRC (2006, p. 22) reports that the past decade has seen a rise in gross incomes of pensioner households from £232 per week in 1994/5 to £311 per week in 2004/5 (2004/5 prices). However, the gap between rich and poor pensioners is growing as many are solely reliant on the state pension. A recent study by the Prudential (2006) found that 1.4 million pensioners live on an income of £5000 or less each year, forcing many to cut back on spending on leisure activities, eating out and holidays and, more significantly, on everyday essentials such as heating and GP visits and medication. In rural Britain, older people make up the largest group of low income residents (Wenger 2001, p. 118), with one quarter of pensioners having incomes below 60% of median income. In remote rural areas this figure reaches 29% (Countryside Agency 2003). Those on the lowest incomes tend to be individuals who have always lived in the countryside, while those moving in tend to have higher incomes. For those on low incomes, accessing basic services may be a real challenge as a result of the high cost and poor availability of both private and public transport. Further research has suggested that baby boomers may actually have a less secure retirement than their parents' generation as economic well-being in later life is increasingly tied to work histories than previously, with a greater emphasis on private and occupational pensions and a history of the declining value of the state pension. There is also evidence that the poorest have benefited relatively less from economic growth suggesting widening inequality (ESRC 2006, p. 3, 25).

On the other hand, research has suggested that many older people who do have significant wealth no longer wish to 'save for a rainy day' or to hold back spending in order to pass as much of their wealth as possible onto their children and grandchildren. Instead they wish to spend their money and they are increasingly discerning consumers who demand choice and quality (Baker and Speakman 2006). Surveys of expenditure provide evidence of the growing affluence of the older population, which spends £216 billion per year (ONS, 2004). Szmigin and Carrigan (2000) point

²⁸ From 1st October 2006, it is unlawful for employers and others to discriminate against a person on the basis of his/her age

out that "among the higher socio-economic groups [of older people] at least there are still very many active consumers; their interest in this product area and probably many others too has not waned, they have not shifted out of the mainstream" (p.521). While acknowledging this, some commentators are dubious about the validity of consumption based identities for older people. Vincent (2003) argues that identity in old age is "less susceptible to the ephemera of post modern consumer identities" (p. 121) but may be created from the more enduring stuff of long relationships and shared experience. However the rise of the consumption society does lead to an ageless market as far as the mature consumer is concerned (Schiffman and Sherman, 1991).

Some older people will be able to rely on family support networks if and when they require care. Others, including those without children or those who have moved away from family members, may need to enter institutional care earlier than is necessary (Wenger 1999). This may particularly be the case in rural areas where home-based support and care may be difficult and costly to access (Gilroy et al, 2007). It is true that the proportion of older people who have never married is higher in rural areas of Britain, childlessness is also higher in rural areas amongst those aged 80 or over, and more people live alone in rural areas (Wenger 2001, p. 122). Some older people are important care providers, perhaps looking after elderly parents or grandchildren, therefore enabling their children to remain in (or re-enter) the workforce.

Whilst some older people may live alone and may be isolated from family and social networks, others will be fully integrated into the community in which they are living. This integration may take place in a variety of ways, but often it is through involvement in social and community groups or membership of a local church. Older people in rural communities have been found to be more involved in voluntary groups than in urban areas, particularly pensioner's and women's groups, and they are more likely to belong to and attend a church (Wenger 2001). Recent research has found that older people are hugely important to social and community groups with many being active volunteers and taking up positions of responsibility. Volunteering has also been found to bring benefits to older people, including as a means of staying active and maintaining social relationships (Countryside Agency/Age Concern 2005).

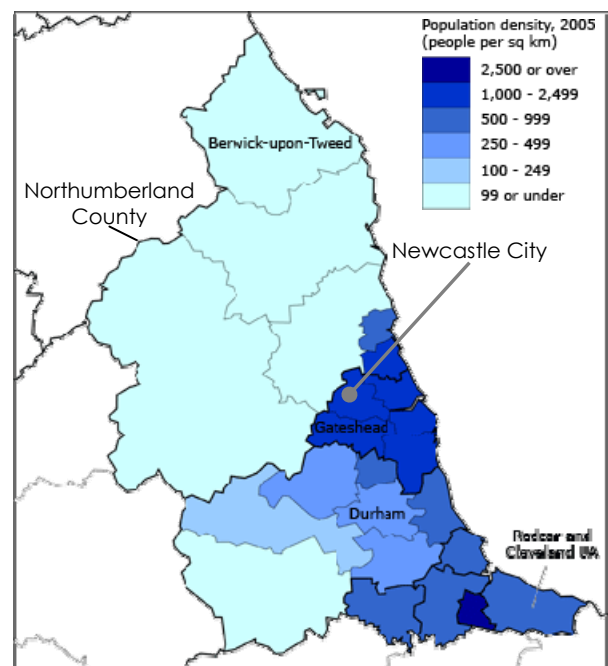
5. UK Case Studies

This section will present rural and urban case studies in North East England. The rural case studies in Berwick upon Tweed focus on three themes: the development strategy of the local authority; local partnership initiatives for older people; community-based social care services. The second part will discuss the urban case studies in Newcastle upon Tyne, focusing on three themes: older working to influence policy; housing and care schemes for older people; and community-based dementia care.

5.1 Profile of North East England

North East England is the smallest region in population size (2,555,700 in 2006) (North East Assembly, 2007), comprising the combined area of Northumberland, County Durham, Tyne and Wear and a small part of North Yorkshire. North East England has come through a period of socio-economic restructuring over the last half century. Driven by European and global logics, the composition of industries has experienced a shift from branch plants in often nationalised industries to knowledge-based services and consumer services (Charles and Benneworth, 2001). In recent years, while the working age employment rate increased from 66.5% to 70% (between 1996 and 2004) and the number of jobs increased from 1,054,000 to 1,116,000 (between 1996 and 2005), the North East has been one of the slowest growing regions and levels of prosperity are now among the lowest in the country (One North East, 2006). The principal city is Newcastle with population of 270,500 in 2005, where the shipbuilding industry once dominated, but the city is now re-inventing itself as an international centre of art and culture and scientific research (i.e. the Science City initiative²⁹).

Figure 14: North East Population Density: by local or unitary authority, 2005



Source: <http://www.statistics.gov.uk/> (accessed on 29 Jan 2008)

²⁹ <http://www.newcastlesciencecity.com/> (accessed on 14 December 2007)

Table 12: North East England spatial distribution of population, 2005

		North East England total	Newcastle City	Northumberland County	Berwick-upon-Tweed Brought
No. of local municipalities / Type		Unitary 10 County 2 District 13	Unitary	County	District
Area Sq.km		8,592	113	5,026	972
Population (%)		2,558,000 (100)	270,500 (10.6)	309,900 (12.1)	26,000 (1.0)
*Population projection 2016		2,589,800	281,500	324,200	27,400
Age Group**	0-14 (%)	17.1	15.8	16.4	13.8
	15-64 (%)	66.1	68.9	65.1	62.7
	65+ (%)	16.9	15.3	18.5	23.5

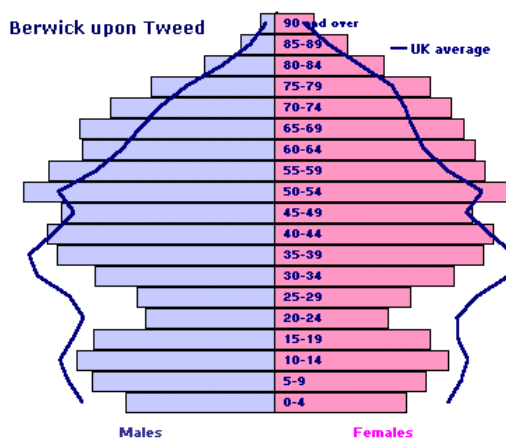
Source: http://www.gos.gov.uk/gone/ourregion/local_authorities/ (accessed on 28 Jan 2008)

Note: *Source: 2004-based English sub-national population projections, Office for National Statistics, updated December 2006, **Source: Registrar General's Population Estimates for Mid-2006, Office for National Statistics updated August 2007. Totals may not sum due to rounding.

Within the region, the population size, density and structure varies in each local authority. We conducted two case studies: one in Berwick-upon-Tweed (rural) and other in Newcastle City (urban) (see Table 12).

Berwick upon Tweed is the northernmost town in England, situated 2.5 miles (4 km) south of the Scottish border, in the county of Northumberland. The population of the Berwick Borough in the 2001 census was 25,949, of which 21.2% were people aged over 65, which was markedly higher than the average for England (15.9%) (see Figure 15). Within the Borough, 59.5% of the population was employed and 3.6% unemployed, while 19% of the population was retired, reflecting the high numbers of older people. Slightly more than 60% of the population was employed in the service sector, including shops, hotels and catering, financial services and most government activity, including health care. About 13% was in manufacturing, 10% in agriculture, and 8% in construction.

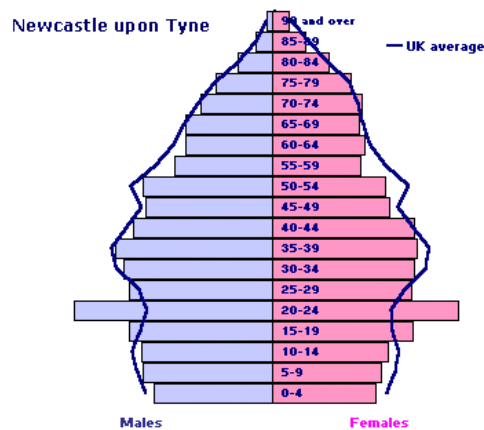
Figure 15: Berwick upon Tweed Population Pyramid 2001



Source: National Statistics

Newcastle upon Tyne is a large city with population of 259,536 (2001 Census), located on the north bank of the River Tyne in North East England. Including the metropolitan boroughs surrounding the city (Gateshead, North Tyneside and South Tyneside), the population increases to 799,000. The average age of people living in Newcastle is relatively young at 37.8 (the national average being 38.6), due to the presence of several universities and colleges in the city. The population of older people is the same as the English national average at 16% (see Figure 16). The city is often called a 'party city' and it tends to promote culture and images targeted at young people. However, there is an increasing number of older people and how well those people are living in the city is the question to be addressed here.

Figure 16: Newcastle upon Tyne Population Pyramid 2001



Source: National Statistics

5.2 Issues facing a small rural town

As shown in 2001 Census, the population of the Berwick-upon-Tweed Borough is ageing at a rather rapid rate and it is estimated that one third of the population will be retired by 2011. This is more acute in some seaside communities (North Sunderland, Bamburgh, and Beadnell), where there is a high percentage of older population and pensioners (see Table 13). These seaside communities are also popular destinations for holiday home owners. The percentage of one person households is particularly high in Wooler (market town) and seaside communities as well as some Berwick town districts. The poor level of public transport in rural areas means that access to a car is essential for all residents in rural counties. In Berwick Borough, households in rural and seaside communities are likely to depend on private cars, while nearly two thirds of town households have no car. Given that increasing numbers of older people live in rural settlements, affordable transport becomes a more significant issue for those without the use of a private car to access services. In the context of an ageing population and high levels of second home ownership in seaside communities in particular, Berwick Borough Council is now facing the critical issues of how to ensure a balanced population structure and a broad range of housing needs are achieved.

Table 13: Older population and living conditions by wards in 2001

Type	Ward	Population	Pop 60+ (%)	Retirees (%)	Pensioners living alone (%)	No car (%)	More than 2 cars (%)	Mar 2005, 2nd home dwellings (%)*
Town	Edward	1743	25.1	16.2	18.0	41.1	10.8	0.3
	Elizabeth	2462	34.6	22.5	21.5	33.5	26.2	5.4
	Prior	1946	20.6	12.7	10.6	41.7	9.5	0.3
	Seton	1666	34.1	18.8	22.6	41.8	11.9	1.9
	Shielfield	786	28.0	19.3	16.1	16.4	25.6	0.6
	Spittal	3065	19.5	14.6	17.4	39.9	12.2	1.9
Rural	Cheviot	934	23.6	14.0	12.9	12.8	39.4	7.3
	Flodden	789	24.8	15.7	14.0	6.1	39.5	13.3
	Ford	948	28.6	16.6	13.3	13.5	34.3	8.2
	Islandshire	2735	25.3	17.5	16.8	12.9	30.6	8.4
	Lowick	989	26.1	18.2	14.9	12.5	37.1	7.0
	Norhamshire	1573	31.1	22.0	18.4	13.0	33.5	5.3
Market Town	Belford	1055	28.0	21.8	20.0	23.8	22.5	8.6
	Wooler	1857	37.1	25.2	27.6	27.6	19.7	2.3
Seaside	North Sunderland	1803	35.7	24.8	22.8	26.8	24.5	20.2
	Bamburgh	788	31.9	19.6	20.0	15.8	35.3	33.7
	Beadnell	810	35.4	25.0	20.6	12.1	33.9	41.8
Berwick upon Tweed		6313	28.4	19.0	18.7	26.2	26.8	9.3
England			20.9	13.6	14.4	23.1	29.4	1.0

Source: Census, Neighbourhood Statistics by Department for Communities and Local Government

The annual 'State of the Countryside' reports produced by the Commission for Rural Communities (CRC) present a comprehensive data base for rural England. According to the 2007 report (CRC 2007), in the rural North East, the availability of all types of services is poorer than in urban areas (see Table 14). Accessibility to those services is worst in sparse, small and isolated rural settlements, while town and fringe areas (such as Market Towns) achieved high accessibility to such services.

Table 14: Availability of services in North East England, 2007

Service	% of households within specified distance	
	Rural	Urban
Banks and building societies (4km)	74.8	99.8
Cashpoints (all) (4km)	93.1	100.0
Cashpoints (free) (4km)	87.2	100.0
GP surgeries (all sites) (4km)	89.9	100.0
GP surgeries (principal sites) (4km)	86.0	100.0
Jobcentres (8km)	75.4	99.5
NHS Dentists (4km)	80.3	100.0
Petrol stations (4km)	87.2	100.0
Post offices (2km)	91.5	99.8
Primary schools (2km)	91.3	100.0
Public Houses (2km)	97.6	100.0
Secondary schools (4km)	76.4	100.0
Supermarkets (4km)	86.1	99.9

Source: Commission for Rural Communities, 2007. Rural Services Series. Analysis by Defra RSU.

Another report 'Rural Services 2005-06 Northumberland' by Northumberland Strategic Partnership (NSP) in 2006 presents a more insightful picture of rural communities in our case study areas (see Table 15). Here three issues are highlighted: post offices & shops, public transport, and healthcare facilities.

Table 15: Availability of services in rural England, 2007

Service	% of households within specified distance					
	Less sparse Rural			Sparse Rural		
	Hamlet and isolated dwellings	Village	Town and fringe	Hamlet and isolated dwellings	Village	Town and fringe
Banks and building societies (4km)	57.1	45.7	78.8	30.5	29.0	94.4
Cashpoints (all) (4km)	85.9	84.9	98.3	59.6	67.4	99.2
Cashpoints (free) (4km)	70.0	63.1	90.9	38.5	38.7	95.4
GP surgeries (principal sites) (4km)	73.5	68.5	92.3	38.2	40.8	94.7
GP surgeries (all sites) (4km)	77.8	73.6	96.0	43.8	51.2	97.1
Jobcentres (8km)	56.6	53.4	58.7	17.3	25.2	35.7
NHS Dentists (4km)	61.3	53.2	82.6	27.4	25.9	88.5
Petrol stations (4km)	83.6	81.6	94.5	52.8	62.2	93.5
Post offices (2km)	66.7	74.2	98.7	45.0	74.4	99.6
Primary schools (2km)	71.8	80.6	99.0	41.9	71.2	99.7
Public houses (2km)	81.9	88.2	98.2	52.0	78.1	96.0
Secondary schools (4km)	56.9	48.4	76.2	25.3	25.0	79.2
Supermarkets (4km)	63.0	55.5	86.9	27.3	27.7	90.4

Source: Commission for Rural Communities, 2007. Rural Services Series. Analysis by Defra RSU.

Firstly, accessibility to local post offices & shops is a crucial issue for rural communities, particularly for older people and those without a car. Often post offices in rural areas are regarded as 'a lifeline and centre of the community' (Age Concern, 2006), however, there is evidence that the majority of rural post offices are economically unprofitable, due to the low numbers of customers and an increase in alternative methods of providing and accessing the services (such as online services), and consequently would face closure, despite financial aid from the Government (NSP, 2006). To increase their chance of survival, rural post office services can be provided jointly with other services/facilities such as libraries, village halls or pubs (Royal Mail Group, 2006). In terms of food shopping more people prefer to use out-of-town supermarkets or shop by internet, leaving local shops out of pocket. It is observed that "there has recently been increased interest in a number of Northumberland's towns from major supermarket chains, and although this can be good news for consumers in the town and surrounding area due to the choice and low prices there are concerns over the impact on the rest of the town's retailers" (NSP, 2006. p. 5). Besides, there is increasing concern for "the potential for a monopoly to be created where shops have been bought by rival firms and subsequently closed" (ibid, p. 5). In the case study area, there were cases highlighted in the NSP's report in Market Towns such Wooler, Belford and Seahouses, where the Co-op bought

rival stores and then closed them down. Although supermarket chains are aware of increasing consumer concerns about healthy eating and food miles and are trying to increase stocks of local produce³⁰, a nationwide 'supermarket war' could damage vulnerable rural retailers and consumers very easily.

The NSP's report summarises rural transport issues as "residents in smaller rural settlements travel further for work and leisure purposes and make more journeys by car than those in urban areas, reflecting the limited choice of transport available in rural areas" (ibid, p. 24). There are a small number of schemes to provide financial aid to rural bus services: the Rural Transport Partnership³¹ (launched by Countryside Agency in 2004³²), which mainly supports community based transport; the Rural Access and Mobility Project (running since 2006 and supported by One North East); and the Northumberland Rural and Community Transport Project (running since October 2006 and supported by Northumberland County Council). Despite such inputs of public funding, rural transport is always at risk of withdrawal due to the cost of subsidy and the level of use. Coupled with the withdrawal of key services in rural areas and the concentration of these key services into fewer and larger sites, the lack of transport therefore is an important cause of social exclusion in rural areas.

The main healthcare services provider in the case study area is Northumberland Care Trust (NCT) (in existence since April 2002). NCT has a budget of more than £430 million to provide social services for adults, as well as GP services and community health services. NCT was the first Primary Care Trust in England and Wales to combine the functions of a Primary Care Trust with a range of social care functions for adults. According to the Healthcare Commission's annual performance ratings in 2005/06, the Northumberland Care Trust was given ratings 'fair' on quality of services and 'weak' on use of resources categories. In regard to spatial distribution of General Practitioners (GPs) who look after the health of people in their local community and deal with a wide range of health problems, only Berwick town, Wooler, Belford and Seahouses (branch) have surgeries. Pharmacies are also located in these areas only. Dental practices are located in Berwick town and Belford. There are nine hospitals across Northumberland, managed by Northumbria Healthcare NHS Foundation Trust, and one of them is located in Berwick (Berwick Infirmary).

Searching via the search engine 'HousingCare.org'³³ which has a data base of specialist housing for older people, reveals 14 retirement housing schemes with a total of 231 units and 15 care homes³⁴ found in the Borough of Berwick upon Tweed area (see Table 16). Half of these are located in Berwick town.

³⁰ http://www.bbc.co.uk/food/food_matters/foodmiles.shtml

³¹ <http://www.ruralcommunities.gov.uk/files/CA%2097.pdf>

³² The scheme has been diminished considerably since March 2006 following the closure of the Countryside Agency.

³³ <http://www.housingcare.org/> Developed by the Elderly Accommodation Council

³⁴ Provided by charitable bodies, Housing Associations, the local authority, and private companies.

Table 16: Specialist housing for older people in Berwick Borough

Service and room type	Retirement housing				Care homes
	Unsupported	Emergency Alarm only	Warden service	Care service / extra care	
Berwick	2 (16 units)	1 (10 units)	3 (46 units)	-	11
Spittal	1 (4 units)	-	-	-	1
Scremerston	-	-	1 (28 units)	-	-
Bamburgh	1 (17 units)	-	1 (12 units)	-	-
Seahouses	-	-	2 (44 units)	-	-
Wooler	-	1 (13 units)	1 (41 units)	-	1
Norham	-	-	-	1 (8 units)	-
Cornhill-on-Tweed	-	-	-	-	1
Total	4 (37 units)	2 (23 units)	7 (163 units)	1 (8 units)	15

Source: <http://www.housingcare.org/> (searched on 31 Oct 2007)

Berwick upon Tweed Borough Council has developed a core strategy within its Local Development Framework, describing the overall distribution of new development across the Borough, based upon an analysis of the social, economic and environmental needs of its communities and other plans that relate to the area. The Borough's particular concern was given to "the improvement of social and economic well-being, by connecting individuals and communities to work and the services which they require throughout their lifetime" (Berwick upon Tweed Borough Council, unknown), taking account of the increasing number of older people and second homes in seaside areas, and relatively high unemployment rates in urban settlements. The charming rural and coastal settlements are becoming more popular, not only as retirement destinations but also as the location for second homes / property investments. However, the individuals and private capital coming into these areas do not necessarily benefit the local economy and the vitality of local communities in rural areas. There appear to be gaps between the level of older people's needs and the services available in the areas at present and the question is how these gaps can be filled and by whom?

5.3 Local partnership initiatives for older people

Berwick is "one of the safest areas in the North East of England and in the United Kingdom" (Crime Audit Report, The Borough of Berwick-upon-Tweed Crime and Disorder Reduction Partnership, 2002). It is acknowledged that "most crime is restricted to a few 'hotspot' areas, e.g. in parts of Berwick-upon-Tweed" and "the fear of crime is often more alarming than the reality of crime itself" (ibid, p. 5). The latter is perhaps the most significant issue that needs to be tackled due to the increasing number of older people, particularly living in isolation. Committed to a multi-agency approach to the community safety issue, the Borough has set up Crime and Disorder Reduction Partnership, which consists of Northumbria Police, Northumberland County Council, Northumberland NHS Care Trust, Northumberland Fire & Rescue Service, Northumbria Police Authority, and several initiatives

within the area (such as Berwick Youth Project, Northumberland Domestic Violence Forum, Northumberland Probation Service, North Northumberland Victim Support).

One of the pilot schemes for older people in the area is Northumberland STARS³⁵. It was set up to help older people who are living alone and needing some small amounts of help to continue independent living. Formed as a not for profit organisation, Northumberland STARS is registered as a social enterprise and a Company Limited by Guarantee. It has a Board of Directors, consisting of key agencies with an interest in health and disability, older people, training, employment and education and community safety in Northumberland. The scheme began with a 'handyperson service' which aims to help people live in comfort, safety and security, particularly those who are over 60 and/or who have a disability. The main service is small DIY tasks or repairs necessary to make homes safer and more comfortable, which are carried out by experienced handypersons free of charge. During the first visit, the handyperson will complete a Home Safety Assessment, which involves a quick safety audit (including fire hazards) of the property. The service covers all of Northumberland, divided into six areas, and each area has one 'handyperson'. The Northumberland STARS has nearly 800 registered customers, which is one tenth of the population aged over 60 and it is hoping that it can serve more people needing help in future. The personal contact and even small level of help provided by the service, can help older people to continue to live independently and it also appears to be cost effective.



Photo 7: Leaflet of the Northumberland STARS.

5.4 Community-based social care services

The Bell View Resource Centre & Day Care facility is an innovative community-based service located in Belford. Its story began in 1998, when the decision was taken to close the Bell View Residential Home for Older People, owned by Northumberland County Council. The Home itself had taken over the buildings of the Poor Law Union Workhouse, which existed from 1838 to 1930 (Bowen, 2005). Facing the decision to close the Home, local communities campaigned firstly to reject closure and then to have a new and improved facility put in its place after the closure. Bell View (Belford) Ltd was eventually formed in 1998 as a local community charity, redeveloping the site of Bell View Residential Home, to provide an integrated resource centre and sheltered housing project. Northumberland County Council agreed to provide



Photo 8: Bell View Resource Centre and Day Care.

³⁵ <http://www.northumberlandstars.org.uk/>

the site on a 999 year peppercorn lease so that it would be used to maintain day-care and other service provision for older people. A total of £1.5million was raised for the new buildings, consisting of 'Day-Care' and 'Resource Centre' facilities, and five sheltered housing bungalows on site.

Daily activities include day care provision for older people (maximum 60 people per week) and various activities for all local communities (e.g. art group, bridge club, yoga, therapeutic treatments). The café is an inviting space for all generations, serving tea & coffee and home made cakes. Free public internet and PC access also attracts both young and old residents to the Centre from the local area. The Centre also provides transport services for the facility users. There are four paid staff (two full time and two part time) working in the Centre and many local volunteers helping to provide the range of services (12 for catering and café services, 15 for community transport, six for reception services, and more for local history projects and fundraising etc). The running cost for the services is covered by a wide range of income streams: mainly rent for rooms in the Resource Centre, various fundraising activities, and public and private donations. Addressing social and rural isolation, the Centre encourages community participation so as to become a hub for rural communities, for whom access to, and choice of, services and information would be otherwise very poor.



Photo 9: Regular visitors at Bell View Day Care.

5.5 Older people's impact on policy through the Quality of Life Partnership

The city of Newcastle has 82,900 people aged over 50 (32% of total population), and by 2029 this number will increase to 94,200, of which 27% will reach aged 65-74, and 8.7% aged over 85 (Quality of Life Partnership, 2007). Responding to the challenges of an ageing population, the Quality of Life Partnership³⁶ was established in 2005 by bringing older people and agencies together to find ways of meeting the needs and aspirations of older people. At the centre of the Partnership are the voices and experiences of older people - the Elders Council of Newcastle³⁷. Established in 2001 as a voluntary organisation, the Elders Council currently has 1,200 memberships. The purpose of the Elders Council is to promote the benefit and social inclusion of elders by providing a voice for elders' organisations and individual older people either resident or active in the City of Newcastle, on issues concerning their quality of life, health and well being to realise the potential of elders as a creative and active resource for the community. There are currently eight sub-groups working on transport; housing; health and social care; learning and culture; community safety; the older person friendly city centre; publicity; and a 'readers' group that comments on leaflets from different

³⁶ <http://www.newcastlehealthycity.org.uk/pages/quality-of-life-partnership.php> (accessed on 10 September 2007)

³⁷ <http://www.elderscouncil.org.uk/> (accessed on 10 September 2007)

agencies with the aim of making sure that materials are easy to understand and written from a users' perspective. Their enthusiasm has been supported by other organisations within the Partnership including, Newcastle City Council, Age Concern Newcastle (a registered charity), Newcastle Healthy City Project (a registered charity), Newcastle Primary Care Trust (a public health authority), and Nexus (a public transport authority).

The Quality of Life Partnership has developed a strategy called 'Everyone's Tomorrow' for older people and an ageing population in Newcastle. It covers the period 2007 to 2017 and sets out a vision of an age-friendly city, where older people are valued and where the changing needs and higher aspirations of everyone aged over 50 are considered. This was launched in 2007 with the aim of influencing the City Council's strategies. Another interesting scheme launched by the Partnership is 'Information Now' (<http://www.informationnow.org.uk/>), a website intended to provide information on issues identified by older people.

5.6 Housing and care schemes for older people

As people age, their living environment becomes a more important factor affecting their quality of life. When older people find themselves having difficulties maintaining independent living in their own homes because of health problems or a lack of carers, they may start considering the option of housing designed for older people. There are two main types of housing available in the UK: retirement housing which covers sheltered housing with different support levels from call alarm only through to extra care, and care homes which include residential care, nursing care and care for those with dementia. The 'Information Now' scheme provides useful references for those who are looking for appropriate housing options to meet their physical and social conditions. According to the 'HousingCare.org', there are 119 retirement housing units provided by the local housing company, registered social landlords and private developers (see Table 17). There are also 57 care homes provided by charities, Not-for-profit organisations, registered social landlords and private companies.

Table 17: Specialist housing for older people in Newcastle City

Service and room type	Retirement housing				Care homes
	Unsupported	Emergency Alarm only	Warden service	Care service / extra care	
Bedsits	15	15	87	2	57
1 bed room	13	15	80	2	-
2 bed room	11	6	28	2	-
3 bed room	1	2	0	0	-

Source: <http://www.housingcare.org/> (searched on 31 Oct 2007)

As shown in the Table above, the majority of retirement housing is 'sheltered accommodation' (retirement flats within a block with communal facilities and a warden service). Flats in the oldest of these blocks were built to low space guidelines set out in Circular 82/69 (MHLG, 1969) and small one bedroom flats for couples and bedsits for single people were the norm. Over time these standards were questioned until the 1980s when one bedroom flats for all were the norm. At the present time greater consideration of the role of space in determining quality of life for older people and a challenging of stereotypical perceptions of older people's housing has led to new types of housing.

CASE STUDY: Milecastle House

Milecastle House is one sheltered housing scheme, originally opened in 1985, located in Walker in the east end of Newcastle City, from where there are local bus routes into Newcastle city centre, to a local shopping area and to other amenities. It was owned and managed by the City Council (now transferred to 'your Homes Newcastle'), and is designed for people aged over 60 who can live independently with low level support from an on site warden.

In a three storey building, the scheme now consists of 40 flats (32 studios and 8 one bedroom flats) each with its own separate bathroom and kitchen fitted with units, electric cooker and fridge. The modernisation of flats is currently being undertaken by combining two small studio flats into a one bedroom larger unit. There is a communal lounge and kitchen where many social events take place (such as bingo evenings, a special luncheon club etc) and a communal

garden. One studio is fully furnished and equipped with new technology for viewing and demonstration purposes. Enlarging individual room space, particularly in old sheltered housing, is one of the key measures to improve living environments for older people.



Photo 10: Milecastle House.



Photo 11: Emergency call, demonstrated at the House.

CASE STUDY: Park View Grange

Park View Grange is an extra care scheme and as such is the only example of this newest model of retirement housing in Newcastle. The scheme is run by the Anchor Trust, one of the largest not-for-profit providers of housing, support and care in England. It offers rented accommodation for older people with extra care (personal, domestic and practical support services to residents, provided by an on-site dedicated team of staff) and what is novel in this scheme is giving residents more choice. The scheme has 44 flats of 1 or 2 beds (accommodating a couple or an older individual and another family member in the same place). It also accommodates a mixture of older people with different levels of care needs – 30% of spaces are for those who need a high level of care, 35% for people requiring a medium level of care, and 35% for people requiring a low level of care. As the on-site staff cannot provide medical support, doctors and nurses visit residents on a needs basis. There are communal spaces for residents including a lounge, dining area, atrium and onsite laundry. Social activities and events are also organised with the support of staff, but these are primarily planned by a residents committee.



Photo 12: Park View Grange.



Photo 13: A resident's room.

5.7 Community-based dementia care services

The number of people who have dementia has been growing and this trend is set to continue. Dementia can affect people of any age, but is most common in older people: 20% of people aged 80+ have a form of dementia and 5% of people aged 65+. According to a report by the Alzheimer's Society, there are now 683,597 people with dementia in the UK (1.1% of the total UK population), and the figure is forecast to increase to 940,110 by 2021 and 1,735,087 by 2051, an increase of 38% over the next 15 years and 154% over the next 45 years (the Personal Social Services Research Unit, 2007). The Alzheimer's Society's report estimates that 424,378 people with late-onset dementia (63.5%) live in private households (the community), whereas 244,185 (36.5%) live in care homes. It is acknowledged that the range of services provided for people with dementia is very limited and needs significant improvement.

In Newcastle, it is expected that 4,100 people will suffer from the condition by 2021 (Quality of Life Partnership, 2007). The Dementia Care Partnership (DCP), founded in Newcastle in 1993, has been leading the way in delivering innovative health and social care services for people with dementia and their carers. It was originally developed by 12 carers who were “frustrated with services which were not accessible or responsive to their needs, and identified the urban need for: flexible services at home to promote independence; day opportunities offering stimulating activities; independent supported living houses as an alternative form of residential care; and support for carers through timely information, help-lines and, crucially, short break services” (DCP, 2006, p. 4).



Photo 14: Bradbury Centre opened in 2005.

Based on the PEACH philosophy (see Table 18), the DCP’s activities cover: flexible home care services available 24 hours, 7 days a week (99,348 hours were provided for 168 clients by 79 staff in 2005-06); independent supported living houses (tenancies were given to 89 people in 2005-06); day service with various social activities; residential short break services (5 rooms); carers’ support service. These services are provided from the brand new Bradbury Centre opened in November 2005, which consists of a café/restaurant, hairdressing, health and fitness room, black and minority ethnic culture and multi faith room, information technology room, short term breaks and a training and conference facility.



Photo 15: Regular visitors playing a game.

Table 18: Dementia Care Partnership’s philosophy PEACH

Person-led	To understand that people with dementia, in most situations, do not want other to take over or decide what is best for them. Person-led practice starts with the person, respects their rights to lead their lives as any other citizens and recognises their ability and potential to take the lead in all aspects of their life, thus preserving their identity.
Empowerment	Empowerment is about enabling people with dementia and their carers to retain control over their lives, recognising that in the process of empowering the clients and carers, professionals must be prepared to be disempowered.
Attachment	Attachment is a basic human need where a sense of security is gained through the presence of a trusted person or the familiarity of a place. Attachment can develop with a trusted person such as a support worker, or to a place such as a supported house, enabling a sensitive and gradual partnership of care and support.
Continuity	To remember the importance of continuity with one’s history, routines and lifestyles on their health and wellbeing. Similarly, the continuity of care and support provided by a small team of support workers, wherever possible, from the same locality thus offering familiarity and security.
Hope	To continue to live their lives as active, valued and participating members of their own community.

6. Discussion - Lessons to be learnt

6.1 Summary of findings

- Japan
 - Urban elderly population continues to rise, matched by rural depopulation
 - Expanding the care service market for the elderly by private investment, including various housing options
 - 'Multiple-habitation' promoted by Government and rural local municipalities
- UK
 - Counter urbanisation continues: older in-migrants to, and younger out-migrants from the countryside result in an ageing rural population
 - Increasing house prices in some countryside areas, resulting from high demand (including for second/holiday homes) and a limited housing supply
 - Possible increasing demands for health & social care, and transport services in areas with few services and where the cost of provision is high

6.2 The place of older people

The ageing of the population and the diversity of older people calls into question the dominant modernist three stage life course of youth + education; adulthood + work; old age + retirement which is also associated with particular spaces: school-workplace-home (Harper and Laws, 1995). Within this schema, Hepworth (2000) contends that more than any other cohort, older people are usually seen as emplaced and that place is the home. Home for older people may be the family home or it may be a sheltered housing unit/continuing care retirement community designed specifically for older people. It may also be a residential care or nursing home. Significantly, entry into either of these is called "going into a home". Laws (1994) argues that while relatively few older people live in such environments, the creation of age segregated living spaces has contributed to ageism: spatial separation leading to social separation.

Clough *et al* (2004: 164) research into housing decisions in later life concluded that older people want "enough rooms to have people to stay, pursue interests, sometimes separately from a partner, and to separate cooking, eating and sitting". Most UK housing designed specifically for older people does not offer these choices. We might argue that ageist views about the value and content of older people's lives has led to poor space standards that constrain activity (Gilroy, 2005). "The originators of sheltered housing invented a 'special' housing stereotype that is unique to older people's housing and that embodies a specific and unflattering view of what it is like to be old' (Hanson, 2002:173).

Our urban case studies both in Japan and the UK show signs of new person centred approaches to the design of older people's living spaces. Examples of such approaches include the design of communal housing in Tokyo where people of all ages live and spend leisure time, the placing of accommodation for older people at the centre of Nanporo Town in rural Japan and the re-design and modernisation of sheltered housing schemes in Newcastle, as well as new forms of integrated care and housing that respect individual lifestyles. The continuation of counterurbanisation in the UK and the introduction of a multihabitation policy in Japan will both raise challenges for rural planners in future to ensure that the 'new' and modified spaces that are created continue such approaches to design.

6.3 Migration in post retirement

So far we have considered the micro place and the associations with older people. Are there issues at the larger scale? Are some areas associated more with older people than others? The ageing of the population means that all places are, to some extent, retirement communities, however it has been clear to census analysts that strong regional differences have been created by retired people relocating to more climatically advantaged parts of the UK. Law and Warnes (1976), commenting on the censuses of 1951, 1961 and 1971, spoke of the concentration of older people in the coastal parts of southern Britain. Analysing the 1981 census, Warnes and Law (1984) observed that migrating retirees were by then seeking out a greater diversity of locations:

"Favoured rural areas peripheral to long standing retirement towns were joined during the 1970s by others with similar environmental attractions in inland areas of East Anglia, Lincolnshire, North Yorkshire, the southern Lake District, the Scottish and Welsh Borders and the Cotswolds as the areas with the most rapid increase of their pensionable population" (Warnes and Law, 1984: 44).

One of the most abiding aspirations in Britain is that of relocating to the countryside. Lowe and Speakman (2006: 9) talk of the connotations of repose, disengagement and detachment embedded in "ageing" and "countryside" such that the idea of retiring to the countryside becomes a vision of "a state of inactivity, as it were, in a place of inactivity". In the last decade a new development of this trend is retirement to continental Europe particularly to France and the Mediterranean which has seen an increase in British 'snowbirds' (King et al 2000) though Doughty (2006) talks of the increasing desire to retire to the southern hemisphere.

Migration in post retirement raises a number of key issues. To what extent can preferred locations capitalise on this footloose affluent group to, firstly, see them as providing a boost to their local economies and, secondly, to market themselves as attractive places to retire?

The case studies in Japan show positive attitudes toward ageing society: older in-migrants are presented as beneficial for the local economy in the multiple-habitation strategy. In the context of overall rural ageing and depopulation, the Hokkaido partnerships have an optimistic view of newcomers arriving, however old they are and however long they plan to stay in the rural communities. There are, however, some dangers in seeking immediate economic effects only in retirement homes and the longer-term holiday market. Hokkaido's initiative started with promoting longer-term holidays, which was strongly driven by tourism related businesses, and it is leading the way in viewing older people (the *dankai* generation) as active consumers whose needs can be met in ways that are economically profitable.

In the UK positive views of age concentration also can be found:

"Immigration of elderly people contributes to the revitalization of these rural areas and is a sign of their growing suitability for retirement as a consequence of spreading car ownership, improved roads and improved public utilities" (Warnes and Law, 1984: 44).

It is equally, if not more, common to find ageist perspectives that see increasing numbers of older people as a blight. A recent literature review for DEFRA paints a grim picture of current and future rural Britain.

"The two opposing migration flows...have significant consequences for rural Britain. The out-migration of the young, whose causes are primarily linked to employment, but also [] growing dissatisfaction with the enforced idyll of the middle class countryside, its mores, its arcadian untouchability and the sense of ennui it engenders, are not only prompting service decline but, over the long term, are reducing the economic and biological sustainability of rural England" (Butler et al. 2003: 41)

Learning how to shift attitudes may be a useful lesson from the Japanese work. 'Multiple-habitation' can be seen as a spring board for bringing about overall improvements (e.g. in service provision) for all people, not just the old, living in rural areas. To achieve this, approaches could be more inclusive so that these active retirees with knowledge and skills can have the potential to raise the profile of older people in both their new and existing communities. The current 'testing period' schemes might help. During short stays in temporary accommodation, mutual learning opportunities can occur through various locally organised events and communication between urban participants and local communities in the destination areas. It is not a coercive way in which rural communities force incomers to follow existing local rules and customs; rather, it is important for rural communities to seek ways of enhancing the capacity of local areas to steer these larger-scale processes and actions to their benefit (Lowe et al, 1995). This is the notion of neo-endogenous

development. Through this 'blending' function between the 'rural idyll' of urban retirees and 'rural realities', new productive (in a socio-economic sense) and positive rural values can be framed.

However, more negatively, this might result in a highly mobilised consumer society, which could maintain some economic stability but at the expense of losing indigenous local identities and increased environmental damage caused by higher use of unsustainable transport modes, in particular air travel.

6.4 Preferred social care models?

Another issue is how to provide for the needs (and aspirations) of older people. How can welfare and health needs be met in rural locations? In Britain one of the preferred policy models is to think of the market town as a hub of services which can be accessed by people in that town and in the rural hinterland. Work in Northumberland suggests that the lack of attention to transport linkages within market towns and between them and rural villages makes the hinterland a very bleak place in which an older person might age to frailty (Gilroy et al, 2007).

Our case studies in rural Japan, where depopulation and ageing has been the dominant trend for the past fifty years, show a new approach to social welfare in the hyper ageing society. The lack of human resources in communities, and the financial constraints in the public sector at both local and national levels, have led to new thinking that must draw in other players, in this case local communities and the private sector. Through these, both Kuriyama and Nanporo have reconceptualised older people as beneficial rather than burdensome for the local economy. Rather than being peripheral citizens, they have placed them at the heart of communities for the benefit of older people and communities alike.

There are clear similarities with rural Britain which is very attractive to retirees but, who, as they age and become frailer, bear down heavily on the poorer resources of local municipalities. Their degree of difficulty in delivering services in remoter areas remains unacknowledged by central government's allocation of expenditure (Gilroy et al, 2007). In this regard, the UK case studies show the strength of the schemes that are operated by voluntary organisations such as the Bell View Resource Centre in Belford and the Dementia Care Partnership in Newcastle. Emerging equivalent models to this in Japan can be seen in urban areas, led by private sector with social remit, but they are still rare in rural areas.

6.5 Concluding thoughts – towards next steps?

We are still struggling with definitions of old age and major questions about the value of post work lives in our society. Our current preferred model is activity which meshes very well with a

consumption based society. A society which apparently values choice, individuality and independence would seem supportive of older people making new, and perhaps radical, choices about who they are, what they do and where they live. As a society, we have yet to accept that this as a positive move for all of us that can enrich places; that can increase economic opportunities for all. However we also know that the essence of life is change: we may become frail, we may become cognitively impaired. How will we be supported in the ways we choose and in the locations we choose? From our comparative work, we have drawn two over-arching conclusions which will inform our next steps.

The first over-arching conclusion is that in the UK a change of attitude towards older people is long overdue. This is a lesson that British policy-makers and planners can learn from their Japanese counterparts. Too many strategy documents and plans refer to the blight of the UK countryside by older people and nostalgically long for mixed communities with more working age residents. A shift to acknowledge the economic and social benefits to be gained from older people, including their willingness to engage in new businesses, or act as mentors to start up businesses, who volunteer to assist others, and who might be persuaded to stand for office as parish councillors, as well as spending their money locally. Indeed this should not only be acknowledged but must be positively exploited.

The second over-arching conclusion relates to the notion of place-making, and again represents a lesson that could be learned from our Japanese studies. Putting older people at the heart of the community in terms of place making and community development could result in a place that is more welcoming, accessible and enjoyable for all its citizens. What is important now is to realise that in-migration to rural areas, which in the UK is happening naturally, could improve the quality of living environments for older in-migrants and long-term residents. However, this is only likely to be the case if it is managed carefully and with the informed participation of all involved. If such a strategy is pursued it could also help to reduce at least some of the socio-economic, political and knowledge gaps between urban and rural areas (Murakami et al., forthcoming).

Such a strategy also requires a deeper understanding of the migration process, whether that be the naturally occurring process of counterurbanisation in the UK or movement induced as a result of a multihabitation policy. Crucial questions relate to, amongst other things: the reasons why people of different ages, economic backgrounds, etc. are moving to the rural areas of the UK and Japan; their expectations for when they arrive; how far their actions and extent of involvement in these places may fundamentally re-shape them; how far this re-shaping (or the lack of it) is shaped by the social, demographic and economic history of the receiving places; and the impact of this in-migration on long-established residents. We are currently investigating funding opportunities to investigate these issues in the UK, Japan and the US, through collaborative work with research colleagues in these countries.

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Appendix

Japan Case Study Visit Schedule

Date	Activity
Sat 14 April	Arrival at Narita (Tokyo International Airport)
Sun 15 April	Departure from Haneda Domestic Airport Preliminary meeting with Mr. Ohyama, Hokkaido Prefectural Government
Mon 16 April	10.00 Briefing at Hokkaido Prefectural Government Office Mr. Ohyama (Policy Officer) 13.00 Lunch at Hokkaido University Faculty Restaurant "SEIREN-SO" 14.00 Seminar at Hokkaido University, hosted by Prof. Tsuyoshi Setoguchi Old Immigration and Regional Regeneration in the Ageing Society – Lesson Learning from UK and Japan [Programmesme] <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Introduction: "Research Background" (Dr. Kayo Murakami, CRE, Newcastle University) • Key Note Speech: "Grey and green: the ageing of market towns" (Rose Gilroy, GURU, Newcastle University) • Discussion: Chaired by Professor Setoguchi and Dr. Murakami
Tue 17 April	10.00 Arrival at the Nanporo Town Hall. Greeting the Mayor. Briefing on "Town Planning" related issues Mr. Hirohiko Shimada (Nanporo Town) 12.00 Lunch 13.00 Seminar DAY1 @ the Commercial Promotion Bureau, 3 rd Floor. Mr. Kazuhiko Kitajima, Mr. Hiroaki Nouguchi (Yuni Town) Mr. Yoshito Yoshida (Kuriyama Town) 18.30 Welcome party, hosted by the Mayor and Chief Executive of Nanporo Town
Wed 18 April	09.00 Seminar DAY2 @ the Commercial Promotion Bureau, 3 rd Floor. Presentation 1: Ageing and English Market Town (Rose Gilroy) Presentation 2: Devolution and Regional Development in Scotland (Kayo Murakami) 12.00 Case study visit: Yuni town, Lunch at Yuni Garden. 14.30 Kuriyama town, Regeneration of the shopping malls, community businesses 16.00 Departure from Kuriyama to Sapporo (by car)
Thu 19 April	Flights back to Tokyo 13.00 Minato-City, "Mitate" a complex of day-care services, short-stay etc. Meeting with director, Ms Eiko Kawamata 15.30 Meeting with Ms Keiko Chikayama, director of NPO Elder People's Housings, at Ginza Information Centre. 18.00 Meeting with Mr. Haruo Tonegawa, senior researcher of NPO Home Return Support Centre
Fri 20 April	11.00 Nippori Community, meeting with Ms Yuko Imaizumi, Life Science Co., a care provider company. 12.00 Lunch at Higurashi, a restaurant run by a worker's collective. 14.00 Meeting Arakawa City Council, Welfare Division Officers. Greeting the Mayor. Mr. Mitsuo Kubota, Mr. Shigeo Kurokawa (Welfare for Older people) Mr. Hiroshi Koyama, Ms Kioko Hayashi (Nursing Care Insurance) 17.00 Collective Housing KanKan Mori, with Common Meal.
Sat 21 April	10.00 Field Survey in Sugamo Granma's Shopping Mall. 13.00 Seminar at Waseda University, hosted by Prof Haruhiko Goto Ageing, Identity, and Place [Programmesme] 14.00 Introduction (Dr Kayo Murakami, CRE, Newcastle University) 14.10 Key Note Speech: "Ageing Countryside in England" (Dr. Jane Atterton, CRE, Newcastle University) 15.20 Japan Case 1: "Multiple habitation and rural development in Japan" (Minako Ohashi, Machizukuri Ko-Bo Co.) 15.50 Japan Case 2: "Housing options for elder people in urban areas" (Professor Kazuoki Ohara, Yokohama National University) 16.20 Discussion, chaired by Professor Goto Discussants: Rose Gilroy (Newcastle), Professor Ohara 17.00 Concluding 18.00 Farewell dinner hosted by Prof. Goto
Sun 22 April	Departure from Narita to UK

Newcastle Members of the UK Delegation

Name	Affiliation
Rose Gilroy, Senior Lecturer	Global Urban Research Unit, School of Architecture, Landscape and Planning
Dr. Jane Atterton, Lecturer	Centre for Rural Economy, School of Agriculture, Food and Rural Development
Dr. Kayo Murakami, Researcher	Centre for Rural Economy, School of Agriculture, Food and Rural Development
Luke Dilley, MSc Student	Centre for Rural Economy, School of Agriculture, Food and Rural Development

UK Case Study Visit Schedule

Date	Activity
Tue 25 Sep	Arrival at Newcastle upon Tyne
Wed 26 Sep	10.00 Seminar at Newcastle University, hosted by CRE and GURU Ageing & Place Making in the UK and Japan: Comparative Perspectives [Programme] 10.30-13.30 Session 1: Ageing and the impacts of older migrants into rural areas Chaired by Rose Gilroy, GURU Professor Tsuyoshi Setoguchi, Hokkaido University, Japan Mr Shinsuke Ohyama, Hokkaido Prefectural Government, Japan Dr Mark Bevan, University of York, UK Dr Nina Glasgow, Cornell University, US 14.30-17.00 Session 2: Neo-endogenous Development Chaired by Professor Philip Lowe, CRE Professor Mark Shucksmith, GURU, UK Professor Nobuo Mitsuhashi, Utsunomiya University, Japan Mr Mototsugu Ochiai, Rural Development Policy Committee, Japan
Thu 27 Sep	10.00 Arrival at Berwick upon Tweed Community Development Trust 10.15 Berwick Council's Local Development Plan, by Mr Peter Rutherford, Development Officer 10.35 Initiatives for older people, by Mr Gerald Connor, Manager, Northumberland STARS 10.55 Activities of Berwick CDT, by Julien 14.00 Bell View Project, by Paul, Manager of the centre 17.00 Arrival at Newcastle
Fri 28 Sep	10.00 Park View Grange, Introduction by Ms Joanne Bulford, Manager 11.15 Milecastle House. Introduction by Sue, Manager of the House 12.30 Dementia Care Partnership. Introduction by Ms Rani Svanberg, Chief Executive 14.30 The Elders Council, meeting at Mea House. Welcome by Mr Keith Pimm, the Elders Council The Quality of Life Partnership, by Ms Barbara Douglas, Co-ordinator Older people's housing initiatives by Northern Architecture 17.00 End
Sat 29 Sep	Japanese delegation departure from Newcastle for Japan.

Hokkaido Members of the Japanese Delegation

Name	Affiliation
Professor Tsuyoshi Setoguchi	Faculty of Engineering, Hokkaido University, Japan
Shinsuke Ohyama, Senior Policy Officer	Department of Planning and Development, Hokkaido Prefectural Government, Japan
Takahisa Hirose, Officer	Cultural Development Division, Hakodate City Council, Japan
Hirohumi Iwai, Researcher	Hokkaido Agricultural Laboratory for Business Development, Japan