

AIOI VILLAGE:  
AN ANALYSIS OF CHANGE IN JAPAN

Thesis for the Degree of M. A.

MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY

Daniel D. Whitney

1963



AIOI VILLAGE:  
AN ANALYSIS OF CHANGE IN JAPAN

By

Daniel D. Whitney

A THESIS

Submitted to  
Michigan State University  
in partial fulfillment of the requirements  
for the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

Department of Sociology and Anthropology

1963

# ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I am indebted to Drs. John D. Donoghue and Iwao Ishino for their stimulating ideas and constructive criticisms in the design and preparation of this thesis. Dr. Donoghue, my committee chairman, was especially encouraging in the final stages of writing and rewriting.

I also thank Drs. Hans Wolff and Bernard Gallin for serving on my thesis committee, and Mrs. Kay Steensma and Sharon Duncan for typing services.

Finally, to my wife, Hiroko, for her perseverance and moral support during the past three months.



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## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

John F. Embree's Suye-Mura marked the beginning of anthropological interest in Japan. Anthropologists, though latecomers in Japan studies compared with historians and economists, have piled up voluminous writing in the past two decades. The study of no other single country has been undertaken by anthropologists so vigorously as has the study of Japan since the beginning of World War II. In Japan, anthropologists found a modern, industrializing nation almost as different from their own as the exotic, primitive societies they had been concentrating on previously.

Studies covered a wide range of interests, both micro and macro-cosmic. W. A. Caudill and George DeVos, among others, concerned themselves with personality; Ruth Benedict and Douglas Haring centered on studies dealing with national character; John Bennett, R. McKnight and Arthur Raper concentrated on change; Iwao Ishino contributed a pioneer study of the boss-henchman (oyabun-kobun) system; John Donoghue lived with and wrote about an Eta community in Northern Japan; and Embree, Richard Beardsley, Edward Norbeck and others studied the Japanese village in detail (Sofue, 1960).

There is, however, a serious lack of studies dealing with change over a given period of time. With few exceptions, notably



the works of Raper, Margaret Mead, Raymond Firth, Oscar Lewis and Robert Redfield, this appears to be a general lacking in anthropological writings. Raper, for example, studied changes which had occurred over an 18-month period in Japanese villages. A number of anthropologists have concerned themselves with change and the reasons for change, but few have returned to explain changes which occurred over a given time span. This study, it is hoped, will be a step toward filling this hiatus.

### Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this thesis is two-fold: to present a descriptive analysis of a rural Japanese farming, fishing and forestry village and to examine the changes which occurred over a ten-year period. It is an attempt to better understand the changes which occurred at the village level in Japan during a ten-year period. The village chosen for analysis and description is Aioi, a predominately agricultural village located on the island of Shikoku.

### The Data

I will draw upon two major sources of data. The first is Japanese Village in Transition (1950) written by Arthur Raper. In 1948-49, Raper and a team of American and Japanese social scientists studied 13 Japanese villages. The study was sponsored by the General Headquarters Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers. Raper and his team of social scientists first visited the 13 villages in May and June 1947. Eighteen months later, from October to December 1948, the team revisited the same villages to survey the changes which had

occurred during the interval. Aioi was one of the 13 villages studied.

The second source is unpublished field notes collected by Iwao Ishino and John Donoghue in 1958-59. They surveyed the same 13 villages Raper had studied 10 years earlier. Ishino and Donoghue were in Japan as Fulbright scholars. The purpose of their research was generally to see and understand the changes which had occurred during the decade since Raper's study. Aioi was one of three villages which were given more intensive study. Donoghue took a team of 15 anthropology graduates from Tokyo University to Aioi while Ishino was with another team of Japanese graduate students in another village. The third team was under the direction of Professor Seichi Izumi of the Department of Anthropology at Tokyo University.

Eleven of the thirteen villages were classified as rural, with a population of less than 12,000 persons. With respect to population, total land area, arable land, climatic conditions and percent of households engaged in farm and non-farm activities, for example, Aioi was similar to the other ten rural villages. (See Table 1). The other two villages surveyed were classified "town-country" due to their proximity to large, urban centers and because of this, have proven of little use as comparators with the eleven wholly rural villages.

#### The Method

This study is a functional analysis of the structures in Aioi as they relate to development. More specifically, this study examines

the associational structure and its role as a channel of information flow. Attention is concentrated not on specific roles and obligations, but on the means by which information is transmitted. These channels through which information is passed are the linkages relating individuals within a village as well as relating the individual to his nation. To fully understand these linkages, a detailed study of one Japanese village, Aioi, was chosen for analysis.

Presentation of comparative data collected at two different points in time presented a problem. Two solutions were possible: 1) to divide the paper in three distinct sections, one dealing with the situation as it appeared in 1948, second detailing the changes which had occurred, and the third an analysis of these changes in the framework of information flow and linkage: 2) to do virtually the same, but using 1959 as the base year, referring back to 1948 for comparison. Neither alternative, however, seemed adequate for handling the subject.

It was therefore decided to describe in the first part of the thesis those structures which had changed the most. This is followed by two chapters organized around the various linkages through which information related to development flows. The reader should understand that unless otherwise stated, description refers to Aioi as it was in 1958-59. Wherever mention is made of changes which occurred, it is to be understood that the change is from 1948 to 1958, unless otherwise specified.

This presents a problem from the outset. In 1958, there was

TABLE 1 - Comparison of Atoi and Other Villages

Village, Prefecture	Population		Land Use in 1958				Total Hseld.				Other <sup>b</sup>	
	1948	1958	Total Cho	% in Crops	% for- est	% Other <sup>a</sup>	1948	1958	Farm Hseld. 1948	Hseld. 1958	1948	1958
Atoi, Kagawa	4,569	4,154	3,200	9	89	1	916	828	492	497	273	272
Futomi, Chiba	2,752	2,814	1,545	28	54	18	560	562	257	241	290	290
Karako, Saitama	5,471	5,298	1,180	54	33	13	939	879	749	693	165	176
Kawashiro, Shizuoka	5,757	5,870	478	37	28	35	964	988	768	770	190	N.D.
Mizuwake, Iwate	3,272	3,155	2,714	28	59	13	509	509	448	456	57	53
Nakaldo, Nara	11,437	9,865	933	69	0	31	2,086	1,851	1,160	1,117	885	734
Nobuta, Nagano	3,667	3,262	2,213	22	60	18	659	613	607	491	40	110
Obie, Okayama	4,050	4,639	523	74	20	6	824	966	492	497	275	424
Shuye, Kumamoto	2,140	2,137	1,522	22	74	4	357	348	249	245	92	91
Yokogoshi, Niigata	9,583	9,360	1,558	86	0	14	1,448	1,455	1,096	1,057	351	366
Yoshida, Shizane	3,192	3,381	7,768	4	95	1	567	590	372	266	173	318
11 Rural Villages	55,890	53,935	23,643	24	66	9	9,827	9,589	6,817	6,404	2,791	2,834 <sup>c</sup>

a. Includes permanent pasture, building sites and wastelands.

b. Includes industry, commerce-transportation, liberal prof. and does not include unemployed and those on relief.

c. Does not include Kawashiro, no data available.

legally no such village as Aioi. The Aioi of 1948 no longer existed as an administratively recognized unit. It was amalgamated with the neighboring village of Omi and town of Hiketa, assuming the name of Hiketa. In an effort to facilitate a consistent frame of reference and create empathy, Aioi will remain Aioi. This was also necessitated by the Ishino and Donoghue research design. They studied Aioi, not the amalgamated unit of Hiketa. References to the amalgamated unit of Aioi, Omi and Hiketa will go under the name of Hiketa, whereas references to Hiketa town will be identified as "pre-amalgamation" Hiketa. Omi will be referred to as Omi throughout this paper.

#### Implications of the Study

This study has application in two different, but related areas of interest, applied anthropology and community development. The concept of information flow and linkage are adaptations of a model for information flow and culture change first called to my attention by Iwao Ishino in a paper prepared for presentation at the 1962 meeting of the American Anthropological Association. A number of anthropologists have concerned themselves with the study of culture change. There has been a constant search for a means to measure culture change. Not that this thesis solves the problem of measuring change, but further refinement and further studies along this same line may prove to be one of the answers.

Community developers, many of whom are engaged in the applied aspects of anthropology, are vitally interested in the way in which institutions linking the community with the nation can be developed.

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John H. Ohly, (1962) an administrator with the United States Agency for International Development, for example stated the needs of community developers as follows:

Another troublesome, and again almost universal problem concerns the construction of institutional bridges between a central government which has traditionally been only a tax collector and policeman and the millions of rural inhabitants which it now must also serve in an affirmative fashion -- bridges that will permit the channeling of vast stores of information and many services to the man at the grass roots level. Where does one begin in creating an agricultural extension, a community development, or public health system?

Though this study does not explore in detail the development such communication channels, it attempts to illustrate the way they function and their relationship to other structures in a Japanese village. It makes explicit what many community developers have long suspected and implied, that the organizational structure, including the kinship system, territorial associations, religious groups and voluntary associations are crucial in facilitating the flow of information which ultimately is directly related to the degree of development in a particular setting. The organization of cooperatives and voluntary associations has been of prime importance for American extension workers, as well as community developers in underdeveloped countries. More will be said concerning the implications of this study in the concluding chapter where its relevance for policy makers and developers in underdeveloped areas of the world will be explored in more detail.



### Limitations of the Study

The most obvious limitation, of course, is related to the choice of Aioi village for study. Aioi is by no means to be considered a "typical" or "average" Japanese village, if such a phenomenon in fact exists. Aioi is representative of rural Japanese villages in many respects. From my knowledge of rural Japan, Aioi exhibits more similarities than differences with the other approximately 10,000 villages scattered throughout Japan. It will be representative in many instances but unique in others. I can state with certainty that Aioi was beset with many of the same problems as a number of other villages, such as amalgamation, outmigration of second and third sons, population pressures, land pressures, and others. Other villages undoubtedly wrestled with these same problems, however, there may be as many solutions as there are villages.

Basic social structure, religion, administration, mass media and associational structure are much the same throughout Japan. Nearly every village contains Women's Associations, Youth Association, a neighborhood association of one kind or another, agricultural cooperative and so forth. The activities and stated purposes will differ from area to area, and from village to village, but in practically every case, these associations will function as communication linkages for the villagers. This being the case, Aioi can, with a clear conscience, be used as the sample for this thesis, the main purpose of which is to examine such organizations and associations as channels for the flow of information linking the

villager to his co-villager and to the nation. Aioi may be considered representative in this respect.

### Organization of the Study

The thesis is divided into three distinct, though related parts. Part one is comprised of an introduction and a statement of the role of villages in national development. Here the rationale for studying villages and their importance to the development of the nation is set forth.

Part two introduces the village of Aioi and its residents to the reader. It is divided into three sections: the first presents an objective overview of the structures in Aioi and the changes which occurred during the ten years elapsed since Raper's study. Various village leaders explain their image of these same changes in the latter half of part two. The final section of this chapter is an interview with the extension agent. His views of the villagers' acceptance of new techniques and his explanations for acceptance or non-acceptance provide interesting insights into the change process as it occurred in Aioi.

Part three is analysis of the function of various organizations and associations as linkages, both between the members of the village and between the villagers and the nation. These are divided according to intra-village linkages and village-nation linkages.

The final section summarizes the findings of the study. Implications of the study for underdeveloped nations are also discussed.

The concept of reticulated organizational structure is defined and explained.

CHAPTER II  
THE ROLE OF COMMUNITIES  
IN  
NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

World War II brought about far-reaching changes in all sectors of Japanese life. Agriculture was no exception. The Occupation-sponsored land reform had the general affect of equalizing wealth in agricultural villages. The tenancy rate dropped from about 47 per cent to less than 11 per cent during the initial phase of the program up to about 1950. The traditional social and political heirarchy was altered as many new land owners, who were former tenants, began participating more fully in village activities. Some became representatives to village assemblies, sitting along side former landlords. Others became officers on the Agricultural Land Commissions and the newly formed agricultural cooperatives.

The Agricultural Cooperative Program was established by the Occupation to replace the monopolistic, government-controlled system of agricultural associations (nogyokai). The new cooperatives were formed to provide the Japanese farmer with a democratic, farmer-controlled cooperative in order to achieve economic stability and maximum production. The newly-formed cooperatives were aimed at creating feelings of cooperation and local control among farmer, whether previous tenants or landlords.

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Following the Occupation, the conservative Liberal-Democrat political party gained control. The party was composed mainly of a coalition of businessmen and former farmers. This marriage between business and agriculture set the stage for a number of measures which played a crucial role in the development of agriculture, and at the same time economic development of the country as a whole.

#### Price Support and Easy Credit

Probably the most important of these measures was the rice price supports provided the farmer by the government. The farmer, being assured of a set price for next year's rice crop, found it to his advantage to buy on credit. He was no longer at the mercy of the whims of supply and demand, but could plan his expenditures in advance. This provided an atmosphere of stability in rural areas which in turn stimulated production and spending.

Easy credit was facilitated by a basic alteration in the local administration structures. For purposes of administrative efficiency, the Japanese government passed the Town-Village Amalgamation Promoting Law. It provided that the smallest local administrative unit should be no less than 8,000 persons. As an incentive for rapid amalgamation, the government passed the New Rural Communities Development Program in 1954. The law provided that the newly formed units could obtain subsidies and loans for development projects. As a result, a number of building programs were undertaken by the new units, such as dams, roads, drainage projects, seawalls, schools and city offices. These

were projects that would have been impossible for a single village to carry out. This kind of credit provided the amalgamated units, and the country as a whole, with the social overhead capital necessary to make much-needed improvements.

Easy credit was also made available for the individual farmer providing him with more buying power than he had known in the past. National economic development necessitates that a nation be composed of purchases capable of buying the products produced within the country. A country composed mainly of farmers living at the subsistence level who cannot buy products made in their country experiences considerable difficulty with regard to development.

This can be illustrated by looking at a rural market in Japan. One finds Sony transistor radios, Hitachi television sets, Toshiba rice cookers, Nikon cameras, Honda motorcycles, Japanese manufactured motorized cultivators, washing machines, sewing machines and many other Japanese produced items such as clothing, canned foods, sporting equipment and other so-called luxury goods. This is in sharp contrast with a Vietnamese market, for example, where one finds only those items produced by local household industries, such as straw hats.

Japanese farmers generally complain that they do not have as much cash as before the war; however, they have a number of conveniences in their homes that were not possible before. Many of these items are not paid for, but have been purchased on credit as in the United States. Availability of such a wide variety of goods



further acts as a stimulus for the farmer. The living standard of the Japanese farmer has increased along with that of the salary man living in the city. As Ishino (1961) wrote:

There was no question that the standard of living had increased in the past decade as indicated by a number of indices. The number of television sets was increasing rapidly. In fact, 45 new sets were bought in a five-month period in one of the remote villages. Sewing machines, washing machines, electric rice cookers and other appliances were increasing. Certain basic house improvements, such as tile baths (in place of wooden baths), piped-in water systems, improved cooking stoves and wide glass windows in the kitchens illustrate this. The diet has been generally improved and fish and meat are increasingly consumed. Taxi, and/or bus service to nearby towns was generally available and youths in particular, availed themselves of the movies in town. Motorcycles were purchased by some of the wealthier farmers' sons. Clothes, even the farmer's work clothes, were no longer made at home, but were purchased ready-made. The village stores carried an amazing stock of canned foods, appliances, sporting goods and other so-called luxury items. In short, the gap in living standards between the villagers and the urbanite was being reduced even though the urban population in the post-war years was enjoying an unprecedented prosperity.

#### Balanced versus Unbalanced Growth

Hirschman (1958) and others have criticized balanced growth and expounded the necessity for unbalanced growth:

Therefore, the sequence that leads away from equilibrium is precisely an ideal pattern of development from our point of view: for each move in the sequence is induced by a previous disequilibrium and in turn creates a new disequilibrium that requires a further move.

He maintains that balanced growth is impossible and is "essentially an exercise in retrospective comparative statistics." He states, for example, that:

If we look at an economy that has experienced growth at two different points in time, we will of course find that a great many parts of it have pushed ahead: industry and agriculture, capital goods and consumer goods industries; cars on the road and highway mileage -- each at its own average annual rate of increase. But surely the individual components of the economy will not actually have grown at these rates throughout the period under review.

This has not been the case in Japan. As shown above, agriculture has developed at an equal rate with other sectors of society. Price supports and easy credit have created an atmosphere in rural areas promoting agricultural progressiveness, rather than stagnation. Astounding advances have occurred in business and industry which have been widely discussed in international circles. Progress at the village level has been just as astounding, if less publicized. These changes have profoundly reduced the uncertainties and insecurities related to the occupation of farming. Some of these changes were discussed by Ishino and Donoghue (1959):

The kinds of changes taken over by the peasants can be readily observed in the villages. The use of plastic covering to hasten the maturation of rice seedlings and protect other kinds of crops, such as tobacco or tomato, has become a familiar part of the landscape. Early maturing rice is rapidly being adopted. The characteristic odor of 'night soil' fertilizer is absent, even though they still use it in large quantities. The rhythmic coughing sounds of small cultivators can be heard. Technical progress can also be indicated statistically. For instance, in five years, from 1948 to 1952, the rice yield per hectare increased 64 per cent.

Today's farmer works with his head as much as with his hands. He is confronted with a number of decisions which were unnecessary a generation earlier. He must be knowledgeable about marketing

practices and prices if he is to be successful. He must keep up-to-date on new farming techniques and fertilizers, among other things. He is no longer just a farmer, but is rather a farm manager.

As Ishino and Donoghue (1959) pointed out:

The management of a two-and-a-half acre farm is a complicated business. . . . The peasant is being transformed into a commercial farmer. Although this peasant-turned-farmer is still caught in the inexorable vise between too many people on the one hand, and not enough land on the other, he is not retreating to the security of his traditional ways nor escaping into the world of mysticism and supernaturalism. Neither is he a revolutionist wishing to upset the existing political order.

The success of the Japanese farmer can be proven. He has brought his country from a food-importing nation to that of a self-sufficient, self-supporting nation. Japanese farmers produce enough to feed the more than 97,000,000 people inhabiting the small country. This is the goal of any nation seeking economic growth.

### The Villager in the City

Laborers in Japanese business and industry for the most part are products of a previously rural environment. As Thomas C. Smith (1959) wrote:

Industry clearly can develop no faster than the quantity and the quality of the labor force allow, which in practice usually means no faster than the character of agriculture permits, since workers must be recruited mainly from the farm population.

Because of a background of commercial farming and working for wages in the village, the migrant laborer to the city came prepared to accept and function in an industrial environment. According to Smith, the laborer came to the city already half-trained because of

his background in a rapidly mechanizing agriculture:

Rural industry had given him a certain quickness of hand and eye, a respect for tools and materials, an adaptability to the cadences and confusion of moving parts; and city industry was not technically so far advanced as to make his skills irrelevant.

Smith continues that it was not only unskilled or semi-skilled labor that rural areas contributed to the city, but

through the public school and universities, many men (and women) who were country-born rose to important positions in banking, industry, politics, education, letters, government, and so on. Indeed, an astonishing proportion of Japan's leaders in the past century have been men who reached adolescence in village environments.

He attributes the migration of education and intelligent persons from the village to the "narrowness of opportunity" to be found there. According to Smith, migration was selective; only those who were restless and ambitious leaving the village for the city.

For the past century, therefore, the villages have been exporting much of their best human material, or rather those best fitted for the relentless competitive struggle of urban life. Part of the dynamism of Japanese modernization must be found in this continuous flow of talented, aggressive, ambitious people.

In this regard, Smith is only partly correct. Without question a number of intelligent, talented, ambitious men and women left the village to become successful in the city. On the other hand, the 13-village data indicate that a number of these same types remained in the village to become village leaders. The level of sophistication of leaders in three of the villages, Mizuwake, Aioi and Obio, was amazing. These men were not peasant or tradition-minded in any sense. They were ambitious, intelligent, aggressive and talented by

any standard. Just as being a farmer has grown complex, so has running an agricultural village. These men were discussing problems of financing road building projects, dam construction, and so forth as lucidly as one could imagine. The data indicates that those villages located nearby large urban centers tend to export the bulk of their local talent, whereas those located in remote areas tend to retain talented leaders.

### Information Flow

Smith (1959) raises the following question related to the villager's ability to get along in the city:

What was there in village life to produce such people in great number from the end of the Tokugawa period on? What social alchemy made of peasant boys men who could found international banks and trading companies? I do not know, but beyond questions part of the answer is to be found somewhere in the history of change in rural Japan before 1868.

There may be no one definitive answer to the questions Smith raises, but I would like to propose one possible answer -- information. The Japanese rural population was constantly being subjected to new information. The peasant was a consumer of the same information as was his city cousin.

Japanese society, even in Tokugawa times, has been a highly organized society. The landlord-tenant system, extended family relationships, markets, and other social relationships all functioned as channels for the flow of information into the rural area. The social organization of the rural community corresponded with the network of information flow. Smith (1959), for example, in discussing

the spread of agricultural technology, wrote:

How the spread occurred is not known in detail, although it is obvious that growth of the market played an important role, breaking down local barriers, transporting ideas and objects from place to place wherever merchants traveled.

It is also valid to assume that the landlord passed on considerable information to his tenants, either directly or indirectly. The kinship structure, extended family and lineage ties undoubtedly played a crucial part in the flow of information.

It is not the purpose of this paper to present a detailed discussion of the various channels and their development since Tokugawa times. Suffice it to say that the proliferation of voluntary groups, religious associations, cooperatives, territorial associations and governmental organization contributed in great measure to the flow of information into the rural areas. Development of mass media, communication facilities, transportation facilities and markets among other things all functioned as channels for the flow of information into and within the village. The remainder of this thesis will be devoted to a discussion and analysis of these communication channels and their importance for development. These information flow channels are regarded as linkages, i.e., they function to link the villager with other villagers, or with the world outside the village, eg. the prefecture and nation.

CHAPTER III  
A DECADE OF CHANGE: THE STRUCTURES

The Setting

Aioi is a village of more than 4,000 people located on the northeastern coast of the island of Shikoku. It lies along the shore of the Inland Sea in the extreme eastern part of Kagawa Prefecture, about one-half hour by train from Takamatsu city. The land is mountainous and densely forested, only about 9 per cent of the total 3,200 cho<sup>1</sup> being cultivated. Aioi is situated mainly along the coast at the mouth of the Umayado river which flows down from the mountains. Dwellings are concentrated along the coastal area and here and there along the banks of the river running up the valley. A number of other houses are found throughout the mountains, mainly homes of charcoal workers and a few new settlers working reclaimed land.

The village is composed of six buraku, or hamlets. Kawamata-buraku is located at the head of the river, high up in the mountains. Forestry and fruit growing are the main occupations of Kawamata residents. Yoshida-buraku is located downstream from Kawamata, about one-half mile from the sea. This is the poorest of the six buraku, and part of it is inhabited by 30-40 Eta, or outcaste households. Umayado-buraku is the center of the village. It is the market place for the village with about 60 shops and small stores. Umayado lies



close to the sea and main road which runs from Tokushima through Aioi to Takamatsu.

Sakamoto-buraku also borders the sea and is about one-and one-quarter miles down the road to Tokushima from Umayado. The main occupation of Sakamoto residents is farming. Sakamoto is physically closer to the line dividing Kawaga and Tokushima prefectures than to Umayado. The remaining two hamlets of Aioi, Minamino and Kureha, are back from the sea in the lowland area between the mountains and the sea. Though the main occupation is farming, a few households also engage in forestry, some as a main occupation and others as a sideline.

Each buraku was a separate village until shortly after the Meiji Restoration. At that time, clusters of hamlets were amalgamated into larger administrative units, and by 1889, 146,000 hamlets throughout Japan were amalgamated into about 10,000 administrative villages and towns, which were denoted by the term mura, or village. A similar amalgamation took place between 1954 and 1958. The Local Autonomy Law of 1954 made it necessary for Japanese villages to amalgamate into administrative units of not less than 8,000 inhabitants to qualify for government subsidy for improvement and development. Aioi amalgamated with Omi village and Hiketa town, but not without considerable difficulty. The amalgamation and contingent problems will be discussed in more detail in Chapter VI.

### Shikoku Island

Shikoku Island is the smallest of the four main Japanese

islands. It is surrounded on three sides by the Inland Sea, and on the fourth by the Pacific Ocean. Kagawa Prefecture is one of four on Shikoku, the others being Ehime, Tokushima and Kochi. According to legend, Shikoku was the fourth island created by the Shinto God and Goddess Izanagi and Izanami. It was referred to as Iyo no futana in the legends of the Nihongi (Tsunoda, 1958:28).

Kagawa Prefecture, in which Aioi is located, is considered by many to be one of the most scenic prefectures in Japan. It is the center of the Seto Inland Sea National Park, and there are more than 150 tiny islands within its boundaries, including the poetic Shodo Island.

Aioi is located on the national railroad line running between Tokushima and Takamatsu, both of which are prefectural capitals. Both cities have populations of more than 200,000. It takes about one-half hour from Takamatsu by train to Aioi, and only about 20 or 25 minutes from Tokushima. Some informants said they did most of their shopping in Takamatsu because it was cheaper, but the same reason was given by those who did most of their shopping in Tokushima. There tends to be closer identification with Takamatsu mainly because it is in the same prefecture, though not geographically as close as Tokushima. Another reason given for favoring Takamatsu over Tokushima was given as baseball. Both cities have strong high school baseball teams, but the Takamatsu team is usually stronger, and Aioi people tend to favor Takamatsu in many instances for this reason.

### Population

The population of Aioi decreased almost 10 per cent from 1943

to 1958 from 4,569 to 4,154. It was the only village of the 13 studied that shows a negative rate of natural increase,  $-.7$ . This was due primarily to the use of birth preventatives. However, the number of deaths in relation to the number of births also increased. In 1948, 212 births were recorded; ten years later only 83 were reported.

The 13-village sample demonstrates the trend toward population control in rural Japan. In 1948, for example, the average rate of natural increase was 2.5 per cent, and by 1958, this had dropped to only .8 per cent. In none of the 13 villages was there a natural rate of increase of more than 1.2 per cent in 1958. In 1948, on the other hand, all of the 13 villages were above this figure.

Decline in the rate of natural increase together with the general out-migration from rural to urban areas has combined to bring about a decrease in the rural population in general. Knowledge of contraception was propagated by private and public health agencies, and contraception practices became accepted, though not as widely used as desired, throughout the rural areas of Japan. According to a survey by the Welfare Ministry in 1954, 30 per cent of the rural wives under 50 years of age were practicing some form of contraception. The village office reported the sale of 28 birth control items to Aioi residents (period of time involved not stated).

However, the more convenient method of abortion remains the most prevalent means of family planning. Following World War II, abortions increased throughout Japan, and in 1949, the government in

order to prevent illegal abortions, amended the Eugenic Protection Law legalizing abortion under certain conditions. In 1952, the law was again amended and legal procedures were further simplified with regard to abortion. It was made legal not only in cases where the mother's health was involved, but also in cases where it was felt another child would work on economic burden on the family. The number of legal abortions increased from 246,000 to 1,156,000 in 1956 (U.N.E.S.C.O., 1958:215).

The Aioi area was appointed an area for birth control demonstration and experimentation by the national government in 1956. The village office, through two public health nurses, has been teaching birth control methods since that time. The nurses spend three days each week in Aioi visiting families and counseling on health problems, birth control, pregnancy, infant care and tuberculosis. They are paid one-third by the national government and two-thirds by the local government. Aiako Ukita, one of the nurses, stated:

There are four mid-wives in this area and two of them are experts on birth control. Aioi women consult them more than they do us. There is much abortion in Aioi, an average of about nine each month. The women go to the doctors in Hiketa and Tokushima, more to the latter because he is farther away and they don't want others to know. Getting an abortion is convenient for farm women, they are usually back working in the field one or two days following their visit to the doctor.

### Land and Climate

Only about 9 per cent, or 290 cho of the land in Aioi is cultivated. The area is extremely mountainous, and the land which is suitable for cultivation is of poor quality. This is evidenced by the fact that Zooda and Nagao, just north of Aioi, report yields of about eight or nine sho<sup>2</sup> per tan<sup>3</sup> of paddy, whereas Aioi

only yields about six sho maximum per tan. Informants said the top soil is too thin and not rich enough nor deep enough to maintain a good crop of rice throughout the year. At the height of the growing season, when water becomes scarce the soil dries out and loses much of its richness.

Another problem is the closeness of the paddy fields to the Inland Sea. An earthquake in 1946 caused some of the paddy land to sink below sea level allowing salt water to seep in and ruin crops. It was necessary to construct a deeply laid sea wall along the coast to prevent further seepage, but farmers still complained of salt water seepage resulting from sea water working its way up the river and into the paddy land. Construction of a river wall to correct this problem was completed during the research period. This district is on the route of typhoons which hit during August and September, harvesting time, causing considerable damage. Attempts are being made to grow early maturing varieties of rice to avoid much of this seasonal damage.

There is also a water problem in Aioi. The average annual rainfall is about 45 inches, but little rain falls when it is most needed, at transplanting time. Secondly, because the mountains run so close to the coastline, little water is stored in the soil, causing shortages throughout the growing season. The upstream buraku, Kawamata, has sufficient water, but the downstream buraku do not. This has created tension among upstream and downstream people. Those in Kawamata do not want to give up what they consider their

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### Agriculture

Agriculture is the most important occupation in Aioi. Of the total 823 households, 571 are dependent on agriculture for their livelihood. The main products are rice and wheat, however garden products, engei sakumotsu, such as tomato, watermelon, peanuts, tobacco and fruit have become increasingly important in the past several years. In 1948, these products were insignificant, but income from engei is now about 30 per cent of the total income. About 30 cho are planted in watermelon, 10 cho in peanuts, 2 cho in tomato and about 5 cho in potatoes and tobacco.

The average farm family owns about 5 tan of land, including house site. About ¥ 40,000<sup>4</sup> is earned per tan by the cultivation of wheat rice. This is not considered sufficient to meet the needs of an average family. It is estimated that the yearly costs for one household, averaging five members, is about ¥ 200,000. Through the introduction of engei, the average annual income has been raised to about ¥ 60,000 or ¥ 70,000 per tan.

Engai is considered by nearly all informants the major change in the past 10 years. Its introduction resulted from the return of Manchurian repatriates and the intensive work of the extension agents. Following World War II, persons who had volunteered to go to Manchuria were forced to return to Japan. Many of them returned

to the village which they left during the war. About 20 families came back to Aioi. This created two problems. First, there was not enough land available for the repatriates to settle, and second, the price of rice and income from it were also decreasing. This was a time when Japanese villages in general were suffering from too little land and too many people. The absorption of 20 new families into the village aggravated this situation.

The agricultural extension agents intervened by aiding the repatriates in reclaiming forest lands. Such land, of course, was not suitable for wet rice or even wheat cultivation. Then they introduced methods of garden and fruit cultivation to the new settlers. This proved the answer in most cases. Katsuichi Nakagawa, chief of the Manchurian Repatriate Farmer's Cooperative, relates the following story of his departure and return to Aioi to illustrate the general case of the repatriate:

I was the first to leave Aioi for Manchuria and at that time, I sold all my land and became quite successful in Manchuria. Just as things were going well in Manchuria, the war ended and I had to return to Aioi and there was little land available. My economic plight was miserable. This was the general case of the repatriates, so we banded together and with the help of the extension agents reclaimed land in the mountains. At first we tried to grow fruits and other crops, but they failed many times. For example, we tried peaches and pears, but both failed; we also tried to raise tea, but this also failed. Of course, rice and wheat were impossible because of the condition of the reclaimed land. The Only successful thing at first was tobacco, which was introduced to us by the extension agent. This was the first chance to better our lives. Now we successfully grow tangerines (mikan) as well. About 15 per cent of the repatriate's income comes from fruit; 30 per cent from dry rice and wheat; and 25 per cent from tobacco;



and 30 per cent from engel. The total income is about 340,000 to 400,000 on the average. This is high compared with the income of others in Aioi. I recently won a prefectural price for production. The repatriates are, in general, hard workers and that is the main reason for our success. All but one or two of the repatriates have been successful.

He also mentioned a desire for more paddy land, which seems characteristic of both the Manchurian repatriates and other villagers as well. Paddy ownership is held in high esteem by nearly all farmers.

Two years after my return, I bought some paddy field, and I would still like to have more. If I had more money, I would use it to buy more paddy fields. It is the big symbol for the farmer.

The success of the repatriates stimulated other Aioi farmers to experiment with engel. This aided the extension agents who had been trying to get Aioi farmers to adopt engel for some time. By 1950, the repatriates had established themselves and were improving their economic position in the village mainly through the cultivation of engel. Other Aioi farmers, who were cultivating rice and wheat, saw the possibility of raising these cash crops during the slack season. By multiple cropping it was possible to get even more yield from one tan.

The acceptance of engel has resulted in an increase in the amount of labor expended in agriculture. This is seen as one of the main problems attending the introduction of the new crops. Contrary to expectation, increased diversification does not decrease wheat and rice production. Many informants stated that engel cultivation had actually resulted in better rice crop. The additional labor and fertilizer required in engel cultivation also

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The increased need for labor in the fields, caused consternation among many farmers. Informants claimed the busy season for rice and wheat was restricted to transplanting and harvesting. But with the addition of *engei*, the entire year becomes the busy season. There was little to be done about it, however, because both have to be grown to obtain increased income. The case of Kazutaka Nakagawa, provides a good example of the yearly agricultural calendar of an Aioi farmer cultivating both *engei* and grains:

Cucumbers and eggplant are sown in early January. These sown in a seedling area and covered with vinyl hoods to facilitate rapid growth and protect them from the cold winds that come down from the mountains. After about one month, the young plants are transplanted in the field. Pumpkin seeds are planted early in February. At this same time, watermelon seeds are sown in seedling beds. About the end of March, the young pumpkins and watermelon seedlings are transplanted. Work in the nursery begins about the first week in April. Here seedlings are grown for three varieties of rice, futsu saku, or ordinary species; sooki saku, or early maturing species; and banki saku, or late maturing species.

The early maturing species is transplanted early in May. June is a very busy month. Cucumbers and eggplant are harvested in June, and at about the same time, the ordinary species of rice is transplanted. Pumpkin is ready for harvest in the first week of July, as is the watermelon. Immediately following the harvesting of pumpkin, the same field is planted with late maturing rice. The first week in August is also the time for transplanting late maturing rice in the field which just produced a crop of watermelon. Both of these crops of late maturing rice will be ready for harvest about the first week in November. September finds me harvesting a crop of early maturing rice, which was planted in late May or early June. Following the

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harvest, I will immediately plant this field with a wheat crop, which will be ready for harvest in late February. The ordinary species of rice which was planted in late June, will be ready for harvest in late October. This field will also be planted in wheat, which will be at full growth the following May.

The statement was made repeatedly that, "now that we are cultivating engel, there is no distinction between work and leisure." Most farmers agreed, however, that the amount of increased labor is not in direct proportion to the increase in their income. For example, one farmer said, "Considering the labor put into it, it is doubtful that engel is advantageous to us."

On the whole, however, farmers do not attempt to equate the increased labor with their increased income from engel. Labor is viewed as the one commodity for which the farmer does not have to pay, in contrast to fertilizer, seeds and machinery. He does not think in terms of making so much money for each hour or day of labor. He knows he is working longer hours, but he also sees added income from the sale of engel. Also, the women of the household provide a considerable amount of the increased labor necessary for the cultivation of the new crops.

There has been a change in the kind of rice crop grown in Aioi between 1948 and 1958. Previously, most farmers cultivated the ordinary species of rice. In recent years, however, many farmers have switched to early and late maturing species, as evidenced in the case of Kazutaka Nakagawa. The change was due mainly to the introduction of engel. The late maturing rice is

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back-cropped in fields which produced watermelon and pumpkin in the first part of August. This crop grows for about three months and is harvested in November, which is ordinarily a slack season. The early species are transplanted in May and the crop is usually ready for harvest about the first part of August. There are two reasons for using early maturing species: 1) to avoid the typhoons which usually hit this area in late August or September, and 2) to avoid the water shortage which also occurs at about this same time. If water is not required for rice at this time, it can be used for transplanting late maturing species of rice. Early species in combination with engei has generally been accepted.

#### Animal Husbandry

With regard to animal husbandry, the increased number of milk cows has been the most significant change during the ten years. Dairying was introduced in Aioi about 20 years ago, however, few households had cows at that time. But by 1958, there were about 100 milk cows, 75 adult cows and 25 calves. They are owned by 42 different households. They are purchased mostly from Tokushima at an average cost of about ¥ 100,000. The average cow gives about 1.59 quarts per day. The quantity changes with the seasons, higher in the summer than in winter. A farmer receives about ¥ 40 per sho, and the consumer pays about ¥ 140 per sho. Cows are usually milked three times each day.

Milk is generally taken to the cooperative and marketed collectively. All milk so collected is taken to the Clover Milk

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Company in Takamatsu. Income from the milk is put into individual family accounts which are kept by the dairying cooperative. The cooperative also lends money to farmers who wish to buy milk cows.

Dairying, it was generally agreed, requires that a family own at least five to seven tan of farm land. Whether or not it is profitable usually depends on the farmer's ability to provide his own feed for the animal. It was pointed out that dairying requires considerable skill and labor. Just as with engei cultivation, the introduction of dairying was generally undertaken in the marginal areas of the village. These are the areas where people find it difficult to make a living from rice and wheat alone. Young people of the village are also associated with dairying. It is the young who are acting as change agents, especially since farming has become more scientific. The easiest way for change to occur, interviewees said, is for the old man to have the funds and be willing to listen to the ideas of the young son who has knowledge of new techniques. Extension agents were crucial in the introduction of dairying.

The introduction of early maturing rice was an important factor in the increase of dairying in Aioi since farm land could be put to alfalfa following the cultivation of the early species of rice. Animals also provide valuable fertilizer for garden products. It was generally found that those farmers who switched to engei cultivation, were those open to information on dairying. Generally, animal husbandry was not viewed as a separate occupation by the villagers, but an addition to the agricultural base of the village.

The number of pigs and chickens also increased considerably during the ten-year period. In 1948, there were less than 20 pigs, but by 1958, over 200 pigs were being raised by Aioi residents. The number of chickens more than quadrupled, from 2,000 in 1948, to about 8,000 in 1958 (see Table 1). Chickens are raised mainly for home consumption. Pigs are generally sold in Takamatsu and Tokushima, but used for home consumption as well. Feces of both chickens and pigs is used as fertilizers for the garden products.

Table 1

NUMBER AND KINDS OF FARM ANIMALS  
1948-1958

	1948	1958
Total Farm Animals	435	448
Milk Cows	0	100
Draft Cows	398	289
Horses	1	7
Pigs	15	68
Sheep and Goats	21	23
Chickens	2,000	8,000

Machinery

The number of internal combustion engines increased from 43 in 1948 to 322 in 1958, an increase of about 750 per cent. The main increase occurred in the number of kounki (small motorized cultivator). About two-thirds of the engines in 1958 were kounki. It was pointed out by many informants that for a farmer with less than five tan of land, it was uneconomical to buy a kounki. One old man, for example, said he could save as much as ¥ 1,000 per tan by doing his cultivating



by hand. "Human labor is much more inexpensive than power cultivators," he said.

Interviews also indicated that it was the younger generation that favored the purchase of machinery. Older farmers seemed generally against it. In some cases, it was reported that conflict arose over whether or not to buy a piece of machinery. The following quotation, from an interview with Ino Mitani, illustrates this:

I was against buying a kounki, but my grandson would not listen to me, and we argued. He said it was cheaper to have our own cultivator than to pay someone ¥ 1,200 to cultivate our fields for us. I did not agree, but he finally won out and we bought a kounki. For a young man, there is a certain fascination about a machine, and I think this is the real reason he wanted a kounki so badly. He also pointed out that our neighbors have a kounki and said we had to have one to keep up with them. There seems to be considerable competition between neighbors relative to the buying of machinery. Ownership of a kounki, and other machinery, has come to be viewed as a status symbol.

It was evident from a number of interviews that machinery is as much a status symbol as an agricultural necessity. Generally, it has been demonstrated that small tractors are not economical for farm families working less than five tan.

The increased use of machinery of all types, such as hullers, threshers, cultivators and tractors, has given the farmer more free time, much of which has been devoted to the cultivation of engel, rather than relaxation. Though this obviously is a way of improving the economic standing of the farmer, many informants complained about the use of the free time for work instead of leisure. Such comments as, "I have to use my free time to grow more crops, or I will get

behind the rest of the villagers," were commonly expressed. Those who used their free time to go to movies, watch television or participate in other leisure-time activities were generally viewed with disdain by the rest of the villagers, "Machinery has given the farmer more free time, but most of them don't know how to use it anyway," was a common statement about those who spent their newly acquired time for leisurely activities.

### Group Buying

One way for those farmers who own five tan or less to get machinery is group buying. This involves a number of households pooling their resources and to purchase machinery to be used by all. It has proven successful in some cases, but has not worked in others. Generally, the successful cases are those in which relatives cooperated to buy a machine.

Problems resulting from group buying generally center around repair and use of the machine. Owners of the machine cannot agree on the amount each should pay for repairs. Some feel those with larger fields should pay more, some feel those who use the machine for the longest time should pay more, and others feel it should be divided equally among all owners. Quarrels also result regarding who was to use the machine first. Difficulty lay in the fact that everyone needs it at the same time, or at least thinks they do. There are more reports of difficulty arising from group buying ventures than reports of successful group buying.

## Fishing

Fishing is no longer an important occupation in Aioi. Before World War II, and even as late as 1948, fishing played an important role in village economy. There were 48 families who made their living primarily from fishing, but by 1958, no family was reported to be practicing fishing on a full-time basis.

Fishing had begun to decline by 1943 as a result of unscheduled fishing following the war. At that time, according to one informant, people were starving and everyone overfished the areas close to shore. Whenever an area was discovered with much fish, all fishermen in the area rushed to that spot. Over-fishing occurred all along the setonaikai (Inland Sea) and small-scale fishing was declining in most coastal villages at this time.

The introduction of Engei also played a part in the decline of fishing. Fishermen have always supplemented their income by part-time farming. In most instances, the women of the household would farm the land while the men were out fishing. However, the cultivation of engei, as we have seen, requires a considerable amount of labor. Men spent more time in the field since they found engei cultivation more profitable than fishing. Summer, which is the busy season for fishing, is also the busy season for farming. Nauochi Setouchi, a clerk in the Aioi fishing Cooperative, relates the difficulties boat owners have finding workers for the boats:

When information comes in that there is a lot of fish in one place, the boat owners go out looking for men to man the boats and nets. But the problem is people usually

say, 'We are sorry, but we are too busy with our farms to go out fishing right now.' Sardines are the largest catch, but it takes about 50 or 60 men at one time. Boat owners just can't get this many men to go out at one time.

Fishermen concerned themselves more and more with engei cultivation, and many made the shift from part-time farming to full-time farming. One reason for this new interest in farming resulted from the land reform, which gave former tenants ownership of the lands they had been working. Setouchi indicated that he felt many former fishermen switched occupations because of new developments and continuing research going on in engei:

The study of fishing techniques is very far behind the research going on in engei. To make fishing more profitable we should have more studies, but there are not funds for such research. The new developments in engei make it much more attractive as an occupation than fishing which is falling rapidly behind.

The general feeling that farming is a more steady occupation and one with higher status than fishing was expressed by informants. Most of the part-time fishing families indicated a desire to buy more land so they could become full-time farmers. The following statements by the manager of a fishing boat illustrate this:

Even the fishermen talk about farming when they are out on my boat fishing. They envy the farmer's easy life and the steady income and they also want to buy farm land if possible. They talk about enjoying a higher social position in the village as farmers than they now do as fishermen. However, it is unlikely that many of them will get their wish to own more land because of the extreme shortage of farm land to be bought.

It is generally true throughout Japan that fishing is considered a lower class occupation. Norbeck, in Takashima (1954) stated it as follows:

Takashima fishermen concur in the appraisal of occupations. Farming is a more highly honored occupation,

even though most fishermen find it distasteful. Keeping a shop is better than farming, and great deference is paid to the teacher, the Buddhist priest, and the few Honjo owners of small-scale home sewing concerns.

Living conditions of the half-fishing and half-farming families are generally better than when they were only fishermen. These better conditions, interviewees said, were a result of the farming endeavors, not fishing.

It is extremely difficult for a small-scale fisherman to compete with the large-scale, highly mechanized fishing fleets operating in deep water. Japan is the world's leading producer of fish and the fishing is highly mechanized.

### Forestry

About 90 per cent of the land area in Aioi is covered with forests. There are both private and public owned forests. Before the Meiji Restoration (1868), each buraku owned and managed its own forests, but when the six buraku were amalgamated, the forest came under the ownership of Aioi. Again in 1958, when Aioi was amalgamated with Hiketa and Omi, the public forests came under the management of Hiketa city. A total of about 1,200 cho of forest land is owned and managed by Hiketa city. In addition, there are about 500 cho of national forests in Aioi.

The scale of forestry production is rather small, being limited mainly to Kawamata buraku. More than half of the 70 wood cutters working in Aioi forests are from Kawamata. Fifteen are from Sakamoto, and the rest are from the other four buraku. Most of the



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Kawamata residents are partly dependent on forestry work of some kind because the land is just not rich enough to support a family entirely by farming.

Most of the forestry workers do not own the land, but work for lumber companies from outside the village. One exception to this is Jiro Kakehashi who owns more than 125 cho of forest and employs more than 150 day laborers to work his forest land. Kakehashi, however, uses the money he makes from forestry to buy paddy land. He is regarded as the richest man in Kawamata, and his standard of living is very high compared with other Kawamata residents. The small-scale forest owners cannot expect much profit from their holdings, and many are selling their forest land to buy farm land when it is available. They usually buy reclaimed land in the mountains because it is very difficult to buy paddy land in the flat area near the coast.

There are ten charcoal makers who produce about 15,000 hyo (bags) of charcoal a year. Some mushroom is also produced from about two cho of forest land. Most of the forest workers are day laborers, paid daily for their work. They are called sennin (hermit) by the other residents of Aioi. When they cannot find work in the forests, they work as construction laborers, or any other job available in the village.

There has been little change in the forestry situation in the past ten years. Forest lands were not included in the land reform and this has proven one of the major difficulties of the land reform.

Forest lands which are reclaimed generally are unsuitable for rice, and in many cases are not good enough for cultivation of garden crops. There has been some success in fruit tree plantation. But this still is done on a relatively small scale and only where sunshine is adequate, which is not true of much of the area.

One family does, however, engage in the cultivation of young trees which are later transplanted. Ino Mitani explains his "tree nursery" as follows:

We plant seeds for trees in March and within a year, they are big enough to transplant in the mountains. The trees don't grow very large, but they are planted among the big trees and are used for fertilizer and to stop erosion when the big ones are cut down for lumber.

This kind of work takes as much time and labor as the cultivation of engel. We can make as much money from one tan of trees as a farmer can make from three or four tan of rice paddy. Most of the young trees are sold to the prefecture and city government for use in reforestation programs.

It is interesting to note the importance Mitani places on work and time. He is careful to point out that his work takes just as much time and labor as does engel, or any other occupation. Interviewees generally pointed out that they worked just as hard as their neighbor. There was no mention of an "easy" way to make a living. "The harder one works, the more successful he is apt to be," apparently characterizes the Aioi farmers attitude toward work.

### Industry

The three main industries in Aioi are the glove factories, lumber factory and rope factory. The glove and lumber factories are gaining in economic importance, whereas the rope factory is declining.

These small factories are important to Aioi, in that they provide labor for the young people of the village. The seven glove factories employ about 30 young women and the lumber factory about 25 young men.

The largest glove factory is owned by Hideo Minato. He started his business about 50 years ago. The main change in the factory, he said, is the quality, not the quantity of gloves produced:

When I first began making gloves, we made them out of cotton, but now we make them out of nylon, tetron and other chemical fabrics. This shift was made about five years ago. The main change in the past ten years has been in the material quality, not in the quantity. We produce about the same amount now as before. This change was brought about because of the different use now made of gloves. Ten years ago, we made gloves to keep the hands warm, but now they are used for looks, so it requires more expert techniques to produce the kind of gloves people will buy.

The girls working in the factory are graduates of middle school and make about ¥ 8,000 to 13,000. Those making ¥ 13,000 are experts producing about ten dozen gloves in a single day.

The main office of the Minato factory is in Osaka. Gloves are sent there for marketing. Materials for the gloves come from Osaka and Takamatsu. There are many small factories in the area that knit the yarn for this factory, but the finishing touches are applied in Minato's shop. A number of women in Aioi are involved in some of the processing of the gloves in their homes before the unfinished gloves are sent to the factory. The factory has 15 sewing machines. Gloves from Minato's factory are exported to the United States, Australia and Southeast and South Asia.

The lumber factory owned by Fushe Oka is one of three in Hiketa, and the only one in Aioi. Half of the processing is for the production of packing cases; the other half is divided between processed lumber for house and ship building. Most of the lumber is bought from Tokushima and Kawaga prefectures. About 70 or 80 per cent is bought from government-owned forests because it can be had cheaper than from individual owner. This factory owns about 15 cho of forest. The factory employs three office workers and 21 laborers.

Oka owns his own truck and has his own boat for transporting lumber across the Inland Sea. Before the amalgamation of Aioi with Omi and Hiketa, this was the only lumber company in Aioi, but now that there are three in Hiketa, Oka has to compete for government lumber. He therefore viewed the amalgamation as bad for his business. The future of the lumber business is not too bright according to Oka:

Lumber business in the future might be bad because paper packing cases are being used more and more these days and more and more houses are being built from plaster and concrete than before. However, we expect to keep getting orders for lumber for ships because wooden ships cost 1/3 less than steel ships. We expect to keep getting orders from the small companies and small-scale fishing concerns. I don't know, if these orders will be big enough though.

The rope making factory, managed by Takayuki Watanabe, is facing graver difficulties than the lumber industry. The rope factory is the result of a cooperative effort on the part of many small rope makers right after the war. At that time, there was a boom in organization of cooperatives and the farmers who made rope in their homes got together and built the factory cooperatively.

Watanabe explained the situation of the rope factory:

The rope business is now in the worst condition. There were 220 members in 1952, but now there are only 20 members in the cooperative. Rope making is losing because of the decline in fishing. Following the war, the Inland Sea was overfished and now fish are scarce. Another reason rope is declining is because of the introduction of engel. Farmers used to engage in rope making as a second job to make money, but now people grow engel in order to get cash and it takes so much time there is none left, nor an interest in rope making. So we have experienced a decline both in the supply and demand for rope in the last eight years. Also when fishing declined, people went into engel. So you see, all these things are related and are causing a real problem in the rope making factory.

About the only place rope is still made is in Yoshida buraku, the Eta community. Rope is marketed in Wakayama, Tokushima and Kochi ken. The material used in rope making has changed over the years, previously being made of straw but now of hemp and nylon.

### The Gappei

A major change during the ten-year period was in the administrative structure. During that time, Aioi amalgamated (gappei) with the nearby village of Omi and the town of Hiketa. The gappei made it possible for the newly formed unit to receive national monies for development projects. A five-year plan was drawn up with prefectural help as a result of the gappei. Local leaders were made more aware of their problems and the ways to solve them.

To better understand the issues and their relevance, the remainder of this chapter will be devoted to a detailed discussion of the events leading up to the gappei and the involvement of various local leaders in carrying it through.

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The Local Autonomy Law of 1954 made it necessary for Japanese villages to amalgamate into administrative units of not less than 8,000 inhabitants to qualify for government development subsidies. Following this law, in 1956, the government instituted the New Rural Communities Development Program which covered a total of 5,000 districts, or about 600,000 hectares. Special subsidies were to be given for encouragement of new crops suitable for the particular land, communal facilities for development projects, establishment of farming or home-making training centers and other community improvements.

At the time of the Local Autonomy Law, Aioi was composed of a little more than 4,000 persons and consequently found it necessary to amalgamate with surrounding areas to qualify for government improvement subsidies. Aioi, located close to the line separating Kawaga and Tokushima prefectures, had two alternatives open for amalgamation. The first was to amalgamate with Kitanada village in Tokushima prefecture to the West. The second alternative was to join with Omi village and Hiketa town to the East in Kawaga prefecture.

Residents in the western part of Aioi, though geographically closer to Kitanada, were economically closer to Hiketa-Omi. It was also decided, after a number of village meetings, that complications arising from amalgamating across prefectural boundaries would prove insurmountable. Consequently, the plan to merge with Hiketa-Omi was deemed most feasible and adopted by local leaders.



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Amalgamation, however did not prove a simple matter. Local leaders were avidly in favor of the move, but strong resistance was experienced on two different levels. In the first place, Aioi residents were not entirely convinced that the amalgamation was good for them. Then too, there were also conflicts between leaders of Aioi, Hiketa and Omi over such matters as 1) the name the new town would take, 2) the number of representatives each village would send to the new town assembly, 3) the number of assistant mayor positions in the governmental structure, and 4) the priorities for development for which the new town would request governmental subsidy.

These problems had to be resolved by the Amalgamation Promoting Conference committee which was composed of seven members from each of the three units involved. The mayor, clerk, chairman and four assemblymen were sent from each unit to serve on the committee. In all, it took nine meetings, from August 1954 to March 1955 to arrive at workable comprises. The Mayor of Hiketa, Sadajiro Yamamoto, was chairman of the committee. Tsuneichi Bando, mayor of Aioi, was vice-chairman and acted as chairman in the absence of Yamamoto. Bando did not have much formal training, but studied outside of school and earned a license to teach primary school. He then became a village officer. He is a former head of the Aioi PTA, one time assistant mayor and former head of the agricultural cooperative. He is not noted for his political talent, but is known as a diligent and resourceful person.

The Problems. The name of the new unit proved to be the biggest obstacle. Those from Hiketa stated they would not gappei (amalgamate)

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unless the name of the town were to be Hiketa. Aioi residents definitely did not want the name to be Hiketa and felt further that a new name, such as "Little Tokyo," should be invented. Omi representatives took a stand similar to Aioi's but thought Omi should be used instead of inventing a new name. Both Aioi and Omi representatives felt that if Hiketa were to be the name of the new unit, it would be as though they were absorbed into Hiketa, rather than a true amalgamation of three units. Furthermore, Bando argued, the Chinese characters used to write Hiketa meant "open paddy field," and this is not a desirable name for a newly created town. In this light, it was stated, Aioi would be a much better name because the Chinese characters mean "rejoicing together."

If the name of the new town had been put to a vote, Hiketa would have won because the combined population of Omi and Aioi was less than that of Hiketa alone, Bando said. He explained the importance of the name:

The people of Aioi and Omi bitterly learned what it meant to be a minority in dealing with Hiketa. We knew if it came to a vote, we couldn't win. Hiketa wielded all the power. The problem of naming the new town grew larger and larger and almost caused the dissolution of the amalgamation committee in the seventh conference.

The second problem, that of the number of representatives each village would send to the new town assembly, had to be mediated by officials from the prefectural offices. Originally it was decided to have a total of 26 representatives. This figure was computed according to population. Of the 26, Hiketa would have 14.5; Aioi 8.9 and Omi 2.6. Omi representatives, however, did not agree with

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these totals. They suggested that Hiketa have 15, Aioi 9 and Omi be given 6, increasing the total number to 30. They wanted to have 6 because there were 12 village councilors and they wanted half of them to be on the new town assembly. Aioi was not much involved in the haggling which occurred over the number of representatives.

The number of assistant mayors, joyaku, was the third problem which had to be resolved. It was evident that Hiketa would most certainly provide the mayor for the new unit because of its larger population. Therefore, the question of the number of assistant mayors was extremely important.

The Omi representatives wanted two assistant mayors because it was the smallest village and was certain that Aioi would get the assistant mayor elected if only one were provided for. This would handicap Omi, they said. Bando, for Aioi, argued that if two assistant mayors were provided, they would constantly be pitted against one another and as a consequence, nothing would be accomplished. The Hiketa representatives were not particularly concerned with this problem because it was virtually assured that the mayor would come from Hiketa.

The final problem had to do with priorities for establishing an economic development plan which would be subsidized by the government. Hiketa's representatives were in favor of concentrating on industrial and commercial development. This was primarily because Hiketa was the commercial and industrial center of the area, with little forestry or agriculture. Bando was mainly concerned with the development of agriculture and the construction of a dam on the

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Umayado River in Kawamata buraku. Omi's representatives, on the other hand, wanted a dam in its village and was most interested in forestry development. The representatives from Hiketa tended to favor the dam for Aioi, but Omi's representatives were adamantly against it. They insisted that their dam should be built before the one for Aioi. It seemed that every time we asked for something for Aioi, Bando said, the Omi representatives never failed to ask for the same thing and to the same degree. They did not like to think of Aioi being ahead of them in anything, he said. For example, when we asked to have a branch office, they immediately said they would have to have one in their village also.

Chart 1 shows the positions taken by the three villages concerning the above-mentioned problem areas.

CHART 1  
INITIAL POSITIONS

ISSUES	HIKETA	AIOI	OMI
Name of New Unit	Hiketa	New Name	Omi
Number of Representatives	15	9	6
Number of Assistant Mayors	1	1	2
Economic Development Plan	Industrial & Commercial	Agriculture & Dam	Dam & Forestry



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The Solutions. The name for the new unit was the most difficult problem the committee faced. When the amalgamation committee was discussing the possibility of using Hiketa as the new name, a group of merchants from Aioi, angered by the possibility that Hiketa would become the new name, rioted and marched on the Hiketa town office and tried to take over the radio station to broadcast anti-amalgamation information. The riot was quelled, and as it turned out, had little affect on the decision of the committee -- the new name becoming Hiketa.

As indicated earlier, it was necessary for the committee to appeal to higher authority to solve the problem of representation on the new town council. Hiketa, instead of getting 15 representatives, ended up with 13; Aioi kept the 9 it was entitled to according to population; and Omi finished with a compromise of 4 members, which was 2 less than its representatives wanted, but 2 more than it was entitled to according to population proportions.

Further compromise was necessary regarding the number of assistant mayors and priorities for economic development. One assistant mayor was agreed upon according to the wishes of the Aioi representatives. It was decided that the first dam would be constructed in Omi, which pleased its representatives. Chart II summarizes the final positions reached by the committee.

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CHART II  
RESOLVED POSITIONS

ISSUES	HIKETA	AIOI	OMI
Name of Unit	Hiketa		
Number of Representatives	13	9	4
Number of Assistant Mayors		1	
Economic Development Plan			Dam

The Problem of Acceptance in Aioi. Agreement among the three units was but the first step toward amalgamation. It was then necessary for each unit to convince its residents of the merits and necessity of the merger. In this regard, Aioi officials faced considerable difficulty. Approval for the amalgamation was not easy to gain. A number of criticisms were levelled at the amalgamation by Aioi residents.

The most repeated criticism was that the new village office, to be located in Hiketa, would be too far from Aioi and would be inconvenient. Villagers considered it to be practically inaccessible. This criticism was especially prevalent among those living in Kawamata, Sakamoto and Kureha buraku which were some distance from Hiketa. The other three buraku were about a 10 or 15 minute walk from Hiketa. Villagers also objected that the money for constructing the new village office was to come from money borrowed from the government and

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from the sale of Aioi-owned forests. The loan from the government was to be repaid by the citizenry. A number of villagers felt the new village office proposed to be too fancy for a town the size of Hiketa, "A town like Hiketa doesn't need such a fancy yakuba (town office)," informants said.

There was also a general feeling among those who resisted the amalgamation that the problems of Aioi would not be given the same consideration as those of Hiketa. "Big problems to us will be just small problems to the officials in Hiketa and they will probably be more concerned with their own problems than with ours," many said.

Villagers also complained about the increased amount of funds being spent for entertaining at the town level. Hiketa officials were finding it necessary to give parties for prefectural visitors more frequently because of negotiations for funds for development projects. "They're throwing twice as many parties and spending twice as much of our tax money for sake (rice wine) and food than ever before. The officials are drinking up our tax money," informants complained.

Aioi officials met with considerable resistance in their attempts to gain approval for the amalgamation. The arguments were reasonable from the villagers' viewpoint, but not from the viewpoint of the officials. A number of devices for gaining approval were resorted to by local officials. A series of 29 meetings were held with residents of the six buraku in an attempt to educate the villagers to the advantages of the merger. In the case of Kawamata, officials played on a split between two forestry interests which had

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existed over a long period of time. Influential leaders in the village were called to throw their support behind the movement. Officials appealed to the rationality of the villagers, stating that the merger would result in the construction of new schools, health facilities, and other facilities which were needed in the village. These were things which Aioi would not be capable of providing, but which could be provided for with the increased tax base of the newly created unit.

It was planned that a vote would be taken in Aioi to determine the wishes of the villagers. However officials, by taking informal polls of the buraku leaders, discovered that only about half of the villagers were in fact in favor of the amalgamation. Fearing that a vote would defeat the whole issue, the officials, primarily under the leadership of Bando, decided to take matters into their own hands. They went to the final meeting with Omi and Hiketa and told the committee that Aioi residents were unanimously in favor of the merger. This was a face-saving method as far as the officials were concerned. It looked to the other representatives that opinion in Aioi was not divided and this made the final decision of the committee easier. The amalgamation became a reality in 1955.

Problems after the Amalgamation. A number of problems became evident following the completion of the amalgamation. One of these was that the local cooperatives were not amalgamated, but remained organized on a local level. Thus, we find that the governmental structure is oriented toward the new town unit, but the organizations which carry out many of the daily functions of the villagers, were



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still village and buraku centered. Officials indicated that a movement would be initiated in the near future to bring about a reorganization of the cooperatives.

Though administratively the center of the government was in Hiketa, villagers tended to identify with their former unit, Aioi village. Villagers thought of themselves as being members of Aioi, not Hiketa. Local interests were put first, and town interests were given a secondary position. Villagers also complained that they did not like to visit the new town office because of the impersonality they found there. "Before, when we went to the yakuba, we knew everyone and could sit around and have friendly discussions. But at Hiketa, we know no one and they don't treat us the same," informants complained.

The collection was another problem which the new unit had to face. Before the merger, taxes were collected by local collectors, and villagers felt an obligation to pay their taxes because of friendship. However, with the closing of the Aioi village office, taxes would have to be collected by the new town office. This would probably mean a new corps of tax collectors, many of whom might be unknown by the villagers. This could result in difficulties in tax collection. It has been traditionally difficult to collect taxes in Japanese villages, and the only solution has been the use of local, well-known and well-liked persons. It remains to be seen what other difficulties the merger will bring about.

Advantages Following the Amalgamation. On the positive side, a new river wall and bottom were constructed on the Umayado River as

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A new road, which is intended to link Takamatsu and Tokushima is presently under construction as a result of the amalgamation. The new town office is an asset to the village and could someday provide the symbol of unity needed by those living in the new unit. A new school and new recreation facility have been constructed. In general, there seems to be an air of expectancy among officials of the new town that the amalgamation will have far-reaching positive effects on the area.

#### Summary

The change which occurred in the structures of Aioi were effected through a combination of external and internal forces. The Manchurian repatriates, though living in the village, were not an integral part of the social structure. The active work of the extension agent was an important factor in the change process. He had been trying for some time to gain acceptance for engei, but with little success. Once the success of the repatriates was demonstrated, however, other farmers realized the potential of engei and took up its cultivation.

The initial reason for the gappei came from outside the village, the Local Autonomy Law, but it was carried out mainly by

local leaders, with a minimum of aid from outside the area. Bando played an important role in finalizing the amalgamation. He vividly demonstrated the power placed in the hands of local leaders.

It is clear that the structures in Aioi underwent great change during the ten-year period. The change was what Raymond Firth (1951:84) called structural change, i.e. a "large-scale shift in the pattern of . . . activities." The introduction of engei radically changed the work patterns of those who undertook its cultivation. Farmers were able to make more money from the same land by increasing their inputs of labor.

It becomes clear that change occurring in one structure has ramifications in related structures. The introduction of engei, for example, had important consequences in other activities. It was a contributing factor to the decline of fishing and rope making and to the increased use of machinery and animal husbandry.

How did the villagers view the changes which occurred during the ten-year period? Were they generally in favor of the changes, and which ones did they see as the most important? This will be the subject of the next chapter.

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## CHAPTER IV

### A DECADE OF CHANGE; VILLAGERS' IMAGES<sup>5</sup>

This chapter will deal with the changes described in the preceding section, but with emphasis on the image held by the villagers regarding these changes. The first part of the chapter is excerpts from interviews with the former mayor of Aioi, Bando and the present mayor of the amalgamated unit, Yamamoto. This will be followed by interviews with other villagers who discuss the changes during the ten-year period.

#### Bando and Yamamoto

Bando: "Things have been changing in these ten years, and it will keep on changing until some time in the future. Things that have changed are: transportation has been developed and the dam for which we are spending ¥ 145,000,000 (about \$402,780) will be finished in about two years. When this dam is finished, there will be no more floods. But there are some things that cannot be made better artificially, such as the weather. We cannot make it rain during the dry season, or the poor land cannot be changed into rich land. When the time comes that we can change bad conditions into good ones, we will all be rich and happy."

Yamamoto: "Things that have changed are: water can be had from the dam; now we have good roads; and machinery has come in

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(motorized cultivators; threshing machines; and motorized pumps). About 60 per cent of the machinery in the three villages belong to Aioi residents."

Bando: "Because of the land reform most of the farmers became owner-cultivators, but there is still a little tenancy. The per cent of tenants is about 10-20 per cent of all farmers.

"Following the gappei, it was decided that we should have a new town hall for all three villages like each had separately before. So we made a new town office, including the town hall, in the middle of the three villages -- not the geographical center, because that is in the mountains, but in the cultural center. We want to make the gappei a long-lasting thing, we don't want to gappei again. We have made a harbor for the fishing boats. The poor land is being aided by the construction of the dam. The land at the water's edge is lower than the sea level, and the salt water is not good for the crops. Every time a typhoon comes, the sea water comes into the fields. The result of this is no harvest. This happens several times a year. To defend from typhoons, we have built a sea wall (bohatei) to keep the salt water out. A gymnasium was built to improve the health of the people in the village. It will also be good for sports, besides, when it rains and there isn't work, the indoor gym is important. Before, each village had a gym in the school, but this was for the school boys and not intended to be used by the people in the daytime. This gym will also be used for big meetings. A library and music building were built in the high school.

"In the future we plan to improve the land under cultivation, in an attempt to increase the amount of arable land. In Showa 28 (1953), a typhoon deposited a great deal of mud and sand in the river and it developed so many bends it looks like a snake. Lumber and poles were piled up on both sides of the river in order to change the course of the river, and this has proven relatively successful. Reconstruction of this type and building bridges is only possible as a result of the gappei.

"The changes in industry are: as transportation by ferry boat develops, products can be brought into competition with those produced in the Hanshin (Kobe and Osaka) district. The Hanshin products are considered expensive. The manpower wages are lower here than in the Hanshin district.

"This town was appointed by the ministry of agriculture and forests as the town for basic planned improvements in agriculture, forestry and fishing. The plans are: 1) wireless broadcast, when a newspaper came into this village, they had a wire broadcasting system, and now they have changed to a wireless one; 2) statistical research is the second plan. They plan on spending about ¥ 24,000,000 (about \$67,000); 3) to build a new Hiketa lower secondary school; and 4) to build a new government road.

"At this point, we believe we have succeeded in the gappei. With the financial aid of three villages, we could succeed in such big operations. By such improvements we have improved the lives of the villagers and also their standard of living. Last May, we formed

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a health insurance cooperative. Before, some of the farmers lost their land because of disease. They paid so much for medical expenses that they could not keep up their land and house, especially because of tuberculosis (Kakkaku). There is a movement throughout Japan for this type of cooperative. Through this cooperative, they have the custom of reporting to the doctor before the disease gets too bad. This is one of the most important functions of the cooperative.

"Transportation to the village office is no problem. The village is formed like a circle because of the delta formed by the two rivers. We believe our town is ideal because of its location. In some villages, people had to walk ten or twenty kilometers to the center of town, but this is especially true in newly amalgamated villages. Fortunately, we have no such problem. Besides, there is a closed circuit broadcasting system. This was set up because we were worried about such problems as communication and transportation. This cost about ¥ 5,000,000 (about \$13,900). There are nine branches all over town. One main station is at the center of town, so there is good means of communication. For one thing, it is good for fires. Quick communication means more people can be informed faster.

"We have two plans for unifying the whole town. First is to unite the cooperatives. The agriculture cooperative is hard to amalgamate because each has its specialty -- each is localized. But there are two forestry cooperatives and we are planning on unifying

these into one big unit. Since 80 per cent of the land is in the mountains, forestry management is a big problem. Well-planned and rational management based on statistics will be the best way to get money from the forests. Besides, we need much money to perform the big undertakings planned since the gappei. Amalgamation of the forestry cooperatives is most important.

"The second plan is improvement of the land. As land improvement is one of the basic conditions to increase production, this plan is considered important. We tried to improve the land in all three villages by each doing it individually, but we couldn't accomplish this with good results. So this is another post-gappei plan."

Yamamoto: "I would like to see taxes reduced. They have come down a little since the gappei, especially for the salary man. But farmers have to pay too much tax. In the past, the economic position of the landlord has declined in importance. Ordinary farmers have gained in relative economic standing. Merchants have lost some ground also. They are not poor in daily life, but they do not have much capital. Before, they were able to save money. Fishermen have gradually declined in economic importance.

"Educational aspirations have risen. Now most youngsters go to high school. Little separation between eldest son (chonan) and second son (jinan), or between boys and girls. Even farmers, if they can afford it, send children to high school. All of the



children of my close friends, five boys and three girls, graduated from high school this year, and all are going on to college.

"The 6-3-3 educational system has changed the curriculum and general principles of school and this has made it possible for children to act more freely, but on the other hand, they want to go to their own way and misunderstand freedom. I feel students are students and they should have freedom only within their limits as students. I act in a common sense way for my age, but students do not. This is because teachers do not know what freedom is. They are old teachers, trained by the old code and don't know what to rely on with the sudden change -- they are backboneless. The new teachers are better. They have been trained with the new system and gradually teachers, parents and students will learn freedom. They haven't yet, but maybe later."

Bando: "I personally feel the abolishment of the traditional family system was a bad idea. Through this system, children were taught that they have to obey their parents, the emperor and the fact that the whole Japanese people are related through blood -- a kind of Japanese Spirit (Yamato damashii). Unfortunately, children now days have no such idea and they are apt to do bad things easily. Before, a man refrained from doing bad because it was bad for the ancestors, but now days children do not consider their ancestors. And I personally think this is one of the main reasons that we have more crimes and killings than in the old days. The old system is now considered to be bad for human relations, but I think that system is the best for moral education and prevention of crime.

1. The first part of the document is a list of names and dates, which appears to be a roster or a list of events. The names are written in a cursive script, and the dates are in a standard font. The list is organized into two columns, with names on the left and dates on the right. The names are: John Smith, James Brown, William Jones, and Thomas White. The dates are: 1790, 1791, 1792, and 1793. The list is followed by a section of text that is also in cursive script. The text is a letter or a report, and it discusses the activities of the individuals listed in the roster. The text is written in a formal, business-like style, and it is signed at the end by one of the individuals listed in the roster. The signature is: John Smith. The document is a historical record, and it provides information about the lives and activities of the individuals listed in the roster. The document is a valuable source of information for historians and researchers who are interested in the lives of these individuals. The document is a historical record, and it provides information about the lives and activities of the individuals listed in the roster. The document is a valuable source of information for historians and researchers who are interested in the lives of these individuals.



"Many of the villagers think that more moral education is needed among the young today. Young people are educated by the new educational system and they agree with democracy, but they do not know what morality is, which was taught in the old system. The worst examples are those children who do not know who the emperor and empress are. Another thing that is needed is more teaching of Japanese history. History is one of the bases for present day culture. If they don't know history, they won't be able to build the culture of tomorrow. It will also be good to let them know what kind of bad things their ancestors did in the past.

"Young people also have the wrong idea about freedom. They don't notice the duty behind freedom. To have the better life we all have to obey the rules of society. Personally, I think democratic education to let people know the idea of freedom was too fast for Japanese youth. They should have learned the meaning of the word after they had gained a moral education."

When asked if he was happy with his life in Aioi, Bando answered:

"We are happy with our contemporary life, with the warm weather and the beautiful sights, except for the typhoons. We are well-educated compared with the level of Japan (more high school graduates than the national average according to Bando). There is enough entertainment. There are only two things I wish we could have: greater production and more land."

Grammar School Principal

Both Bando and Yamamoto were concerned with the new 6-3-3 educational system and the general lack of moral training among Aioi youth. The following interview with the grammar school principal is presented to give a school administrator's view of the changes in education.

"The enrollment in the grammar school is about 763. There are about 350 in the middle school. There has not been much change in enrollment in the past ten years. Co-education does not present any particular problem. At first, the children in the upper grades of grammar school did not seem to like the system, but they are doing well now. Children around the age of 11 or 12 like the system of boys and girls sitting together in the classroom. But they hesitate in front of an audience on class day. They will not play and dance together at that time, though they do it in physical education classes.

"Social problems was added to the curriculum in place of geography, history and moral education. Compared with the old system, children now have only a slight knowledge of the history and geography of their own country. As opposed to this, they learn an active attitude toward solving the problems of their own lives in social problems. Children have no morality in their lives and it is at this point that people educated in the old system complain and denounce the new system. From the educator's point of view, complaints about the new system sound reasonable only in a way. They think those persons who complain indicate that they

really don't know anything about the new system. Complaints are a result of a lack of understanding. Children are taught independence and positiveness. For example, they can speak up and oppose the opinion of others easily. This is the kind of thing the old people don't like. Now days, Children can talk back to persons in higher positions. So, I personally think this is the reason parents don't like the new education system. From the teacher's point of view, these are problems which arise in a period of transition. They don't think these are bad habits, this talking back to parents.

#### A Village Assemblyman

Masao Ban, 55, village assemblyman from Umayado buraku had the following to say about the changes during the past ten years:

"The biggest change in the past ten years has been the introduction of engei sakamotsu and also animal husbandry, especially milk cows. Ten years ago, there were no milk cows, now there are 100, the highest number of any village in Okawa-gun. The third change has been mechanization. Around Show 27 (1952) there was only one threshing machine (dakkoki) in Umayado, now there are more than ten. Four years ago, there were no kounki in Umayado, now there are six. Before the introduction of the motor pump, we had to get water from the well by hand. Now it is done by motor. Even the water for irrigation had to be obtained from the wells by hand in Umayado because of the lack of water in the rivers. Now that we have pumps, farmers can work on other things, such as engei and milk cows.

"The level of daily living has become higher than before in Umayado. Formerly, only one store could exist, but now more than ten are supported by Umayado residents. Farmers have come to buy more things. Working hours have become shorter -- from 7 a.m. to 5:30 p.m. with one hour taken out for lunch.

"The status of women has risen. They are coming to manage the daily expenses and have greater say in the management of the house. But still the man has final say. Young people have greater prestige now because they are for mechanized farming and have studied farming problems very thoroughly, such as engeli, dairying, etc. Sons know much more than their fathers. Usually the eldest son takes over the responsibility of the household when he is about 35 years old. This is usually when the father is in his 60's and can't work full time. Generally, the eldest son takes over and no land is given to the daughters or the younger sons."

#### An Agricultural Specialist

Tadao Asakura, specialist of the agricultural cooperative association, had this to say about changing agriculture since 1948:

"The price of land has increased during the ten years. In Showa 21 (1946), before the land reform, the price was between ¥ 1,000 and ¥ 1,500 per tan. Now, in Showa 34 (1959), the price is about ¥ 160,000 to ¥ 200,000 per tan. When tenants bought land from the landlord, the price was divided 40 per cent for the landlord and 60 per cent for the tenant. Thus, if one tan is sold to a

tenant today, he must pay ¥ 12,000 for land valued at ¥ 20,000. This percentage is advantageous to the landlord when compared to the land reform prices of 1948.

"Ten years ago, rice, wheat, sugar cane and sweet potatoes were the main crops. Rice and wheat were traditional. When the war ended, there was a scarcity of sugar, so sugar cane was cultivated. Potatoes were grown to supplement rice and wheat. Now, however, rice and wheat have not increased, but have decreased. The area under rice and wheat cultivation had declined, but the output is about the same because of improved techniques. Sweet potato has declined and also sugar cane. Sweet potato is not in demand, and sugar cane is better from abroad.

"Engei sakamotsu, watermelon, pumpkin, tomato and white potato are highly developed now. These products were first begun in about Showa 21 (1946). They are sold in Osaka, Kobe, Takamatsu and Tokushima. There is also more rush (igusa) for making floor mats (tatami) being grown.

"Farmers' labor has increased considerably. There is little distinction between leisure and labor now. Before engei, the two were distinguishable. Previously, they went out to the Hanshin district for second jobs, but now they do not do this because they are too busy with engei. For this reason, the second and third sons problem (ji-san-nan mondai) is not so urgent because many are absorbed in engei cultivation. Also the glove factory absorbs some of them.

"Aioi soil is poorer than other parts of Kagawa prefecture. In an effort to improve the soil, they are bringing in new, good soil. This began about three months ago. This project is being carried out by the Aioi Land Improvement Association. It is not controlled by the village office, but is an independent organization of farmers. This organization has an important role in village agriculture.

"The success of the Manchurian repatriates in engel and fruit cultivation was influential on the natives. The repatriates were natives who had sold their land before they went to Manchuria. So, when they returned to Aioi, there was no land available for them. They reclaimed land in the mountains, and were eager to study and worked hard. Thus, their economic position went up, and now they can cope with the natives.

"There are about 200 or less kounki in Aioi. Farmers who have much land, about five tan or more, usually have a kounki. About six of ten households that have five or more tan own a kounki. It is usually the young man in the family who wants to buy the kounki, but older men are too prudent and many times there is conflict. Stimulation to buy kounki in some cases is vanity, but in other cases, they are keen to buy kounki if a neighbor has one. Kounki shows status in the village. Farmers do not study before they buy. If a farmer does not have more than five tan, then buying a kounki is not practical nor profitable. But some farmers buy them anyway because of vanity or social reasons, not for profit."

Member of the Agriculture Committee

Koji Mitani, 40-year-old member of the agriculture committee, also saw engei as the biggest change:

"The biggest change in the past ten years has been engei. There was some of it ten years ago, but at that time, the farmers sowed seeds directly to the cultivated land. Now they sow first in seed beds under frames of vinyl and then transplant three or four times before setting the young plants out in the field. This is why it takes so much labor -- because of the careful treatment. Ten years ago they didn't do this. Each farmer had a special technique which he kept as his secret. He did not want other farmers to know because of fear they would produce too much. Now there is more co-operation because engei is sold on a larger scale when it is marketed. The idea now is more production for all. This means more money to the individual. Now too, they must use common species at the market place. They cannot hide their techniques or use special seeds. So, now there is much cooperative research and growing.

"Before the land reform, tenants were not so eager to cultivate other people's land because no matter what the tenant grew, it could be taken away. Now that farmers have their own land, they are stimulated to work harder (Mitani is still part tenant). Now the tenants are hard workers and willing to study. My own attitude toward agriculture has changed from a negative one to a very positive one. The landlord still has some land which should be freed. The

national policy is to take this land and sell it to tenants. In two or three years, the land reform will be complete. Now there is no antagonism between landlord and tenant. At the time of the land reform, there was some trouble and conflict. Now day, tenants need not follow the opinion of the landlords.

"Here in Aioi, the land reform was carried through quite smoothly because the landlords were not strong to begin with. They could do nothing because it was a national policy. When owner-cultivators sell land, the money is usually used to set the person up in business or it is invested. There is no tendency for big landlords to develop because everyone wants land."

#### An Extension Agent Looks at Aioi

Masaru Mizuguchi, one of three agricultural extension agents in the Aioi area, discusses the characteristics of Aioi farmers:

"Aioi people are easy to influence on new things and soon after they see something is profitable, they jump on it without thinking. When the former extension agent tried to introduce carrots, onions and strawberries, Aioi people took it up much more than he expected. All failed. The extension wanted to run them on a small scale with only a few farmers on a trial basis, but everyone jumped in. When they failed to produce much, the extension agent was in trouble. Now these things have been dropped for the most part.

"Another characteristic is the financial dependence of Aioi people. They won't do new things without subsidies from the village, ken or nation. Soon after the war, the village head was good at



getting money from the prefecture and nation. Farmers get much money from rice because of the subsidies. They have come to rely on subsidies and therefore have a kind of financial dependence.

"One other thing I have noticed is that farmers will readily exchange seed with other farmers, but they are reluctant to buy new seeds. We teach them to change seeds every three years.

"There are differences between mountain peoples and those living near the seashore. When the seashore people have group lectures, they want to go home at 10 p.m. But the mountain people will stay up all night talking and gossiping. They don't care about time. This is true of all mountain villages in Okawagun. The people also take up new techniques from the extension agent on the flat land and seashore quicker than in the mountains. In the mountains, men work in the forests and the women do the farming. Furthermore, because they are women, they have no right to change techniques.

"Women show eagerness and enthusiasm about engei, such as watermelon and pumpkin because these are things they can watch growing day by day and they enjoy seeing things grow. Furthermore, they get more money from one ton of engei than from a single ton of rice. This is a practical reason for the change.

"Buraku characteristics reflect the character of the leader in each buraku. If the leader is progressive, the buraku people accept new techniques easily. For example, in Sakamoto, Yamashita Shimpei took new short-growing rice and being a powerful leader, he changed the irrigation system in order to introduce the new rice

species. The residents of Sakamoto cooperate in getting rid of insect damage as a result of a program Shimpei backed.

"Young people are easy to deal with, middle age people are O. K., but the old men are stubborn. When we hold meetings, the old men come. Even the old men from the mountainous area come, but they do not farm. The Agricultural Study Group and the 4-H club are the basic groups which we introduce new techniques. Another group is the agricultural cooperative association. The general trend is from teaching individually to group instruction. More and more groups are appearing, and this is a more efficient way of teaching. A group of about 30 or 40 is best to work with. The 4-H club now numbers about 25. It is best for service work such as promoting ant and insect eradication campaigns, but they cannot bring change about immediately because of their youth. After they reach about 25 years old, they join the Agricultural Study group and do regular research and hold meetings to which the extension agents are invited as teachers and lecturers. It is the richer than the average people that show the most interest.

"At first the extension agents and others in the village neglected the Manchurian repatriates. Now, however, we are teaching them how to grow tangerines (mikan). Ten are growing tangerines and this they learned by cooperating well with us. I think joint ownership of orchards would be better, but there is no response to this among the repatriates.

"We are not active in the Eta community. The only thing we have taught them is to grow watermelon. We go to Yoshida buraku

for discussion and to teach, but the Eta do not come to the discussion meetings. The gatherings are held in the community center (kominkan) in Yoshida. The Eta did not help pay for building the center and though they officially have the right to attend meetings, they seem to have an inferiority complex and do not come. Another thing is that they don't have much cultivated land. Only four or five families have shown an interest in agriculture. I think their leadership is well-organized and if I can penetrate a little into the Eta community, I can help them. They have strong buraku solidarity.

"The major change in the past ten years has been the change in the relationship between leisure and work. The daily cycle is more rationalized with breaks throughout the day. In Minamino buraku, for example, farmers used to work all day and night and take no breaks through the day. Now that the season is 12 months because of engei, they must slow the pace through the day work the full year. These people in Minamino work harder than the others. They have a reputation for hard work and this is because of the good land and the fact that they are generally rich.

"The most difficult problem with this work is that we have to work at night. The farmers can only gather at night. They do not think studying is working, but think of it as play. They are busy in the daytime, but we have to work with them at night, for which we get no extra pay.

"The farmers do not think of themselves as independent thinkers. So they wait until someone else succeeds in introducing

something new and this delays the process of change. Still, Aioi people readily take new changes. The reason is that they experienced success in the raising of watermelon. It was introduced in 1951 and those who took it up earned about ¥ 120,000 (about \$333) per ton. This snowballed and people grew more enthusiastic. Peppermint was introduced in Hiketa during the war, but it failed. That experience made people think they could not rely on the village office for agricultural advice, so they are somewhat resistant to change."

### Summary

Everyone interviewed agreed there had been considerable change during the ten-year period. Each, however, saw those changes in terms of his own particular interests. The local leaders saw the gappei as the most important change in the decade, the school administrator was interested in the changes in the education of youngsters, the agricultural specialist felt engei was the biggest change, and the extension agent thought the realignment of work and leisure was the biggest change in the past ten years.

The purpose of this paper, however, is not to determine which of these changes was the most important, but to try and understand the why and how of these changes. One approach is to view the changes as resulting from the intake of new or different information by the farmers and residents of Aioi. Things are different today because the residents of Aioi were exposed to new techniques, new fertilizers, new crops, or just new information in general. The question that must be answered is: How does this information get

passed from its origin down to the farmers in Aioi? How does Saito the farmer get information about such things as 2-4-D?

One answer is through the associational structure, i.e., the various linkages the individual farmer has with other farmers within the village and also the linkages the farmers have with the prefectural and national governments, and with the nation-at-large. It is through these linkages that information is passed. Two kinds of linkages have been posited, intra-village linkages and village-nation linkages. Chapter five will explore the function of the intra-village linkages as communication channels. Chapter six will be concerned with the village-nation linkages and the way they function as channels for the flow of information.

## CHAPTER V

### INTRA-VILLAGE LINKAGES

There are a number of intra-village linkages for the average farmer in Aioi. Farmers are linked together through the various groups and associations in which they hold membership. These associations function as channels of communication for the flow of information to the individual. The linkages within Aioi include kinship groups, neighborhood groups, cooperatives, religious associations, youth groups, women's clubs, and many others, all of which serve to link the residents of Aioi together.

#### Kinship Groups

The household, or family, is the basic social unit for Aioi residents. It is the smallest unit of consequence for the individual. Activities within the village are usually undertaken by the household rather than the individual. It is the household, not the individual, that generally participates in buraku or village affairs. A meeting is considered to be fully attended if at least one representative is present from each household. The importance of the household is evidenced by the fact that most persons judge the size of a village or buraku by the number of households, rather than by the number of individuals.

Many households embrace three generations, or about seven or eight persons. A typical household is composed of a grandfather and grandmother, their eldest son and his wife and their children. In some instances, due to the increasing life span among old people, there is also a fourth generation included in the household. As noted above, it is the eldest son who remains in the house of his father. The younger sons generally leave the household, and in many cases, the village as soon as they are old enough to go out and earn a living. The Japanese have traditionally followed the rule of primogeniture, the eldest son inheriting the house and belongings of the parent.

Beardsley's explanation of the household in Niike (1959) also applies to Aioi:

It is possible to think of a household as an economic entity, or as a kin group. Most households are both at once in Niike. The members of a household act together as a unit for production and consumption. They also are kindred, linked together by consanguine, affinal, or adoptive ties. Ideally, the household has patrilineal continuity, each generation being linked to the next in a genealogical succession through men. The eldest male born to the house stays in the house all his life to serve as head and connecting link between his male predecessor and successor. Others are not lifelong members; some are born in the house but leave after maturing, while the rest join the household only as adults, by marriage or adoption.

As the basic social and economic unit, the kinship group, or household, is the object of much of the information which flows throughout the village. Information concerning new methods of production, fertilizers and machinery is ultimately consumed by members of the household. The cultivation of engei was undertaken

by the household. The agricultural extension agents aimed their information about *engei* at the household unit. In some instances there was support from the younger members of the household and opposition from the elders. However, in no case did a household take up cultivation of the new crops without the approval of its old men.

The household also functions as a channel of information flow. There are a number of cases in Aioi where younger sons have established a household apart from the father, but still within the village. This establishment of a secondary household is referred to in Japanese as bunke (a branch family). The main family is called honke. Two patterns of honke-bunke were evident in Aioi. One such extended family is the Yano family. In this case families of the same name, Yano, were grouped together in a rather small, contiguous area. In the second example, the Nagamachi family, members were scattered throughout the village. But in both instances, kinship ties were very strong. There was still noticeable dependence by the bunke on the honke. The adoption of new techniques in farming, purchase of machinery, etc., was still to a considerable extent under the control of the main family.

The household also functions as a channel for information for other households in the area. The informal relationships between families and households are important in the passage of information and often it is passed by the main family to the branch. Importance of the honke-bunke relationships, however, is decreasing. One informant, for example, said:



When my second son gets married and establishes a household of his own, I might think of it in terms of being a bunke, but not in the traditional sense. In most cases, I would only think of him as a second son who had gotten married. The cooperative work that used to be associated with the honke-bunke relations is generally nonexistent. The only time honke-bunke relations become important at all are at festive or religious gatherings. Though kinship ties are still strong, the traditional aspects of honke-bunke have passed away.

Thus, though some of the traditional aspects of the branch family system may be losing in importance, it still functions as an information channel and a social unit at traditional gatherings.

Kinship is important, but it is compromised by territoriality. One example of this is with regard to voting behavior at the local level. Sometimes in the electoral process, there is conflict regarding which loyalties a person should adhere to, kinship or territorial. Conflicting loyalties occur when a person's relative is a candidate for office and is being opposed by someone from that person's territorial group. In such cases, a person will generally divide his vote between his relative and his neighbor.

Villagers recognize that kinship ties are very strong and there is usually no hard feelings in such cases. It is explained by the phrase, "shikata ga nai," roughly translated to mean, "it cannot be helped." Sometimes there are strong sanctions invoked against those who do not vote for the territorial candidate. In Umayado, for example, it was reported that several houses were torn apart and windows broken when it was learned that the residents had gone against the territorial group's choice. This is not too common, however.

### Territorial Associations

The basic unit of group identification for the average Aioi resident is the tonari-gumi (literally, neighborhood association). The tonari-gumi was formed during the war, and functions mainly as a unit for funerals and other cooperative occasions. It is not a legally recognized organization under existing law, having been officially abolished by the occupation authorities.

The number of households composing a tonari-gumi varies, usually from five to ten. In some buraku, it is the smallest territorial group, whereas in others, like Minamino, the uchi-no-tonari (neighboring houses), is the smallest neighborhood unit. Three households generally comprise an uchi-no-tonari, and it functions mainly for borrowing such things as salt, scissors and spoons. It was also related that if a member of the uchi-no-tonari leaves the village for a short time, the other members of the group look after the house while it is vacant. The tonari-gumi in the other buraku serves much the same purpose.

The next largest unit after the tonari-gumi is the kairyo kumiai (literally, improvement association). Usually two or three tonari-gumi comprise a kairyo kumiai, of which there are 29 in Aioi. This is the most functional group from the standpoint of information flow. It was organized after the war to disseminate new agricultural techniques to the individual household. It was meant to replace the tonari-gumi officially, although in most cases, the tonari-gumi continues to function.

The kairyo kumiai functions as the channel of communication

from the town office to the individual household. It is the responsibility of its chief to inform all members of his unit of messages from the town hall by going from door-to-door. The head also functions as a tax collector for the village. The job is troublesome and difficult and therefore is not actively sought by villagers. In Kureha, Minamino, Yoshida, Umayado and Kawamata buraku, the position is rotated from household head to household head on a regular basis. In Sakamoto, on the other hand, a young man is appointed to this position.

The kairyo kumiai functions as a channel for information from the Agricultural Cooperative and the extension agents to the household. Information about new techniques, such as new fertilizers, is given to the kairyo kumiai chief and he in turn passes it along to the members of his association. This obviously makes for effective and rapid dissemination of information. The extension agent, whether familiar with the area or new to it, knows he can depend on his information getting to the household heads if he begins with the kairyo kumiai. This means an extension agent knows exactly where to go and whom to see in order to get information to the farmers of the village. Instead of talking with more than 800 household heads, he can pass information on to the 29 kairyo kumiai heads, saving much time for himself.

The next level above the kairyo kumiai is the buraku. It is not a legally functioning unit, but is the unit of village identification for the average farmer. He thinks of himself as being a

member of Sakamoto, Kureha or Yoshida, before he thinks of himself as being a resident of Aioi.

The word "memba", meaning member, is generally used to designate the group to which a person belongs. But memba is a relative term. For example, Mitani tonari-gumi of Minamino buraku means the members of the Mitani group in relation to the members of other tonari-gumi. Memba is also used at the kairyo kumiai and buraku level to differentiate members from one another. Thus, two persons from the same village, Aioi, would refer to themselves as memba, for example, of Sakamoto and Umayado. However, two persons from the same buraku, Sakamoto, would make reference to their kairyo kumiai memba-ship. And finally, two persons from the same kairyo kumiai would speak of their being memba of different tonari-gumi.

This is much the same as two persons from the United States making reference to the state in which they live, and if from the same state, to the city of their residence. In most instances, two persons living in the same city will differentiate themselves by reference to the section of the city, and ultimately it will come down to the street, or neighborhood, in which the persons live.

Memba is a unit of "we feeling" based upon the level of social interaction. It is a consciousness of locality. It not only makes reference to the territorial group identification, but also to the social identification of the individual. Memba consciousness before the amalgamation of Aioi with Hiketa and Omi usually was never higher than the buraku, but since the amalgamation, it has come to refer to Aioi, as opposed to Hiketa and Omi.

Introduction of new residents into a village is accomplished through the tonari-gumi. For a new resident to become a member of a tonari-gumi or kairyo kumiai, he must first give a party. In recent years the party has been replaced with a gift of matches, or some other useful article, such as a towel. Meetings of the unit are generally held once each month, and after the formal information from the town hall, cooperative, or extension service is passed along to members, they drink, eat and talk informally. A head of each household or his representative, such as the eldest son, attends these monthly meetings.

The important function of the monthly meetings is that of communication. Information is passed from town hall, cooperative and extension service to the individual. The unit also functions as a mutual assistance group for funerals, births and deaths. In the event a household experiences misfortune, memba households pitch in and lend a helping hand.

Memba units of Aioi were in a state of change, generally toward decline of importance. Memba solidarity grew out of the needs of everyday living and interaction, such as mutual aid at rice transplanting (taue), housebuilding, road construction, irrigation ditch repair, birth and death. However, technical changes, farm management and farm operations are all undergoing change and are causing change in the traditional functions of the memba. Roads are being built by the prefectural government; engei has altered the traditional work patterns, making cooperation difficult;

roofs are being constructed of tile by roof builders who are paid cash; and births and deaths are being handled by agencies outside the household and neighborhood unit. These and other changes have become evident in the past ten years. Signs of malfunction and tension are noticeable. The kinds and rate of change which will occur in the nature of the memba, however, still depend on the solidarity existent in the individual memba.

Much of the communication function of the tonari-gumi and kairyo kumiai has been taken over by various voluntary groups. These voluntary groups cross-cut territorial groups described above. The proliferation of these organizations and the development of interest and participation in them has been one of the major changes over the past ten years in Aioi. This will be discussed more fully in the remainder of this chapter.

### Religion

In the last decade, a number of social and economic events have occurred which have altered the traditional religious practices in Aioi. An economically marginal village such as Aioi is more likely to adopt innovations than a more prosperous village because the people are willing to experiment with change in an attempt to improve their livelihood.

As pointed out earlier, labor and time became two of the most valuable and scarce commodities for the farmer. The year was no longer divided into a busy season and leisure season. Every season had become the busy season. The entire year now was taken

up by the various activities associated with agriculture. As one would expect in such a time-conscious environment, the amount of time devoted to the preparation and execution of religious activities had declined markedly.

When asked if he participated in religious ritual as often as in the past, Kiyoshi Saito, 55-year-old farmer, answered:

I don't participate as much as I did before the introduction of engel. It isn't that I am less interested in religion than before, but I just do not have the time to participate at this particular time because of my work.

Religious rituals and festivals are carried out by each buraku individually; there are no village-wide festivals. Most are held in the summer and fall months, prior to and after transplantation of the rice seedlings and harvest, and also at New Year's by the lunar calendar. In each buraku a toya, or local shrine head is chosen by lot from among the older households of high status. The position of toya, and its inherent prestige, formerly rotated to a limited number of wealthy households whose responsibility it was to make preparations for the festivals. The toya system was well-developed and central in the dissemination of prestige and status, and in validation of the status of the household as "proper village members."

The social organization of the shrine group and the religious rites and festivals changed profoundly. The land reform had the affect of generally equalizing the wealth of the village. But more important, the Manchurian repatriates gradually infiltrated the

system, and after giving a large party or banquet, were allowed to become toya. More recently, members of the Eta community were also made eligible for toyaship, although none have thus far accepted the responsibility because they cannot afford to give the banquet. Nevertheless, the old system of relationships based on prestige and hierarchy, revolving around the shrine festivals, has ceased to exist in its traditional form.

Shinto and Buddhism. The religious life of the average Aioi resident is a combination of Shinto and Buddhism. The following remarks made by Donoghue (1957) about religious life in Shin-machi apply equally well to Aioi religious life:

Religious affairs also function to integrate the community. Religious festivals are of two kinds: the Buddhist festivals which commemorate the dead, and the Shinto or shrine festivals in honor of the local tutelary deities. While their thematic emphases differ, the rites are identical and the overall unifying symbols are those of common ancestry, common territory and common problems.

Clearly, the shrine and its gods are the locus of community and territorial identification: the religious rites express a system of relationships which differentiate this territorial grouping from those surrounding it, and which give it a distinct socioreligious identity and unity.

There are eight Shinto shrines in Aioi, but only one priest for the entire Hiketa area. He is Masahiko Nakayama, 41-year-old priest of the Honda Shrine, the largest in the Hiketa area. There are two shrines in Sakamoto and Kawamata, and one in each of the other four buraku. In 1908, a policy of shrine amalgamation was adopted similar to the village amalgamation, and there was to be



1

one shrine for each buraku. The shrines in Kawamoto and Sakamoto did not join, however, because of conflict over shrine-owned property and because of the power of influential persons. A split in loyalty of buraku residents has resulted because of this failure to amalgamate.

Parishioners of a given shrine are referred to as ujiko. All inhabitants of Aioi are ujiko of some shrine. For example, those persons living in Yoshida buraku are ujiko of the Ninomiya shrine. In principle, ujiko areas coincide with territorial groups. In Sakamoto and Kawamata, where there are two such shrines, the ujiko is divided according to membership in the tonari-gumi. Mema groups and ujiko are inseparable; whenever a new resident enters the memba, he also must become a member of the ujiko group and is required to contribute to the upkeep of the shrine in his area.

For repairs of the shrine, each household offers a laborer, and for the shishi mai (Lion's Dance) festival in the autumn, all young men who have finished middle school and are younger than 25 years of age participate. They dance from house to house within the ujiko. At each household, they are given donations, usually about Y 100 (\$.25) which is used for a celebration following the festival. Those who do not participate are required to donate to the shrine.

The entire family gathers at the shrine for the autumn festival. At that time, even those family members who are away from

home return. This is a time when information is passed from family member to family member. At such gatherings, information about new farming techniques and methods is passed throughout the family.

The number of festivals has declined in recent years. There are only four major festivals at the present time: New Year's; festival in May; summer festival; and the most crucial of all, the autumn festival. Festivals generally pass out of existence because their function is no longer felt necessary. The mushi okuri (send off the insects) festival, for example, was held at each shrine to pray for keeping rice free from insects. Amulets were made and set beside the paddy field. Now, however, this festival is no longer practiced. Fields are now sprayed to keep them free from insects and residents said they feel that setting amulets by the field was ineffectual and only a superstition.

There is evidence that the traditional functions of the shrines is weakening, but they continue to function to bring family members together at least once each year. The shrines also function to reinforce territorial solidarity and pass along information among members. The shrine is the symbol of cooperative consciousness for the territorial group. This is especially true in Sakamoto and Kawamata where the shrine reinforces territorial solidarity and at the same time acts as a wedge splitting the two buraku with factions.

The two Buddhist temples in Aioi are Saikoji and Tokaiji. Attendance at the temples is light except for a few customary observances during the year. It is generally the older villagers who



attend the temples; few middle aged or young. The saikoji is the more popular because it is of the Shinshu sect. Informants relate that there has been little change in the relative status and attendance at the temples during the past decade.

Neither temple is instrumental in the dissemination of information not related to the propagation of the faith. There are no yearly gatherings bringing together large numbers of persons, and there are no functional buraku organizations related to the shrines. The Buddhist temples are, however, a source of information from outside the village, being a part of the Great Tradition in which millions of Japanese participate.

### Ko Groups

Ko is a generic term referring to a number of different groups, usually with a religious or pseudo-religious orientation which are formed for a single purpose. The function of the ko, in addition to religion, is usually related to recreation, excursions, financing, or some other specific purpose. Members of the Izumo ko, for example, save money cooperatively and take an excursion to the Izumo shrine once each year. Two ko groups in Aioi are composed mainly of old men. They hold a monthly meeting at which they drink sake and discuss matters of interest to members. They do not go on excursions. The main purpose of these particular ko is to provide a regular meeting and bull-session for the members.

One of the most meaningful ko groups for the average Aioi resident is the tanomoshi ko, or mutual financing association. It

is derived from a similar Chinese institution. The form it takes varies throughout Japan, but in general the pattern is the same. The association comes into being because of one person's need for money, and is under his control and responsibility. It comes about generally as follows:

One person is in need of a sum of money, say ¥ 12,000. He finds a number of other people to join, some of whom might also be in need of money. The number is usually between ten and thirty. Each pays the organizer a sum of money, say ¥ 1,000 apiece, giving him a total of ¥ 12,000. The participants meet each month, and at each meeting, pay in a sum of the money to the ko. The amount to be paid each month is determined by the amount of interest each bidder marks secretly on his ballot. The highest interest bid each month is deducted from the original amount ¥ 1,000 in this case. The person who makes the highest bid gets each person's contribution for the month. Once a participant has received money from the association, he can no longer bid on the money, and must make succeeding payments in the amount of the original figure without subtracting interest, ¥ 1,000 in this example. Some of the participants come out ahead, while others lose money by their participation.

The tanomoshi ko, then, is a means whereby the organizer can obtain interest-free money. The other members gamble on the amount of interest they will pay, or the amount they come out ahead. Success of the association depends on the integrity of the individuals. Each member, even after taking his loan, must continue to show up at

each monthly meeting and make his monthly payment. Members have to know they can trust one another. In a small community, of course, there are a number of sanctions which can be brought to bear on those who fail to live up to their monthly obligations.

An important function of the group, from the standpoint of intra-village linkages, is the monthly gathering. At these regular meetings, tea or sake is generally served and members drink and discuss. Information is passed from one member to the others and in many cases, new linkages are formed between hitherto strangers. The social function of the associations becomes as strong as the economic function for which it was originally formed.

#### Fujinkai

The women of Aioi are linked together through membership in the Fujinkai (Women's Association). The association was formed in 1948. Most of the 340 women members are in their 30's, and most are the wives of farmers. The association is divided into nine branches, two in Sakamoto, Minamino and Yoshida, and one in each of the other three buraku. Each branch elects a head (shibuchō), and the head of the larger association is elected from the nine branch heads. Miss Toyoko Nakayama is head of the Aioi Fujinkai, as well as serving as head of the combined Omi, Hiketa and Aioi Fujinkai.

The stated functions of the group are: 1) public and social service, 2) self-education, 3) to be the women's counterpart of the agricultural association, and 4) to cultivate mutual friendship

among the members of the club. Monthly meetings are held except during June and July, the busy season in the fields.

The monthly meetings held in each buraku are important from the standpoint of intra-village linkages. A number of topics are discussed at these meetings, such as kitchen improvement, gardening and life improvement in general. The group was instrumental in the spread of information about engei and new farming techniques. The group has been very active in the past, but interest seems to be declining.

During the time of the research, the final meeting for the year was held. This was to be the biggest and most important meeting of the entire year. Only 50 women attended. Miss Nakayama explained that interest in the Fujinkai was rapidly diminishing. Up for discussion at that meeting was whether or not to disband the association. Those present, the most active members, decided not to disband.

The only interest women show in the Fujinkai is when an excursion is planned. Nine bus loads of women went on an excursion just prior to the above-mentioned meeting. Miss Nakayama said the women do not come to meetings to discuss home improvements or public service, but merely to gossip. She feels this gossip is disruptive and should not be carried on at the Fujinkai meetings.

Buddhist women, who were dissatisfied with the Fujinkai, are linked together by a splinter group known as the Bukkyo Fujinkai (Buddhist Women's Association). Members of this group are generally



older than Fujinkai members. The primary function of the group, which was formed in 1957, is recreation and enjoyment. They gather and go on pilgrimages and excursions. There is a branch head in each buraku.

### Seinendan

A considerable amount of information about agriculture and related subjects is disseminated throughout the village by the Seinendan (Youth Association). The group serves to link the young people of the village. Monthly meetings are held in each buraku, and an annual village-wide planning meeting is held once each year.

Membership numbers about 170 young males and females. The functions of the group are cultural, recreational and educational. To qualify for membership, a youth must be a middle school graduate (about 15 years old), but not more than 25 years of age.

The group invites scholars and experienced persons to lecture on various subjects, for example, the mayor of Hiketa was invited to talk on local politics. Many of the talks are concerned with agriculture and new techniques. The group also sponsors an athletic meeting (undo kai) each year. This is an important event in the village. At this time, buraku teams compete against one another in running games and other sports. Katsuya Mizutani, former head of the seinendan, reported that buraku consciousness comes out strongly at undo kai. In fact, he said in many instances buraku conflicts break out at the annual meetings.

One problem the association faces is finding a common time

for meetings each month. Most of the males are engaged in agriculture, whereas most of the girls work in the glove factory. Most functions are scheduled on the first and third Monday of the month, the leisure day for glove factory employees. Activities scheduled on other days of the month are usually held in the evening. Participation in the autumn festival (shishi-mai) is an important function of the Seinendan. Generally, Mizutani said, girls' activities are less important than boys'. Attendance is reported to be decreasing. The largest number to attend a single meeting was 100. This occurred when the group was planting trees on the middle school's property.

The main topic of discussion at recent meetings of the Seinendan has been love marriage (renai kekkon) as opposed to arranged marriage (miai kekkon). The association is all for love marriages, but no one in the group has gone through with such a marriage as yet. A committee was formed to deal with the love marriage-arranged marriage problem, but even the committee members obey their parents and have arranged marriages when the time comes. This is a general movement throughout rural Japan, but it has met with little success thus far.

The Wakaayukai (Young Fellows Group) was organized in 1952 in protest against the Seinendan. It is comprised mainly of high school graduates, about 25. The primary functions of the group are promotion of general education and study of the tea ceremony. At the time of the research, there was no noticeable activity within the group. This was attributed to formation of cliques within the club, stagnating it.

The breaking off of splinter groups and declining attendance in many of the above-mentioned groups indicates two things: 1) young people are vigorously attempting to alter their way of life by making improvements and those unable to make the change separated from the rest, as indicated by the splinter group of older women forming the Bukkyo Fujinkai; and 2) that in Aioi there is a wide variety of life styles and interests and those who are not satisfied with what they find in one organization, join or form a new one. The tendency is to join voluntary groups, not for membership alone, but with the purpose of increasing the standard of living.

#### Other Groups

The Construction Corps (Kensetsu Han), Soil Group (Tsuchino Kai) and PTA link Aioi residents together through regularly scheduled meetings. At such meetings, information is passed from member to member.

The Construction Corps numbers 23 young men, averaging about 21 years of age. Their main activities are forest replanation, grass cutting and road repairing. The group meets for one month each year and their work covers all Hiketa. This year the corps is repairing the road from Hiketa to Omi. Training classes are held in the Hiketa primary school. Each evening after work, the group hears lectures by various knowledgeable persons in the area. If no lecture is scheduled, participants are expected to study on their own.

The soil group is smaller, with membership limited to those

persons less than 25 years of age. The group has been in existence about eight years, and present membership numbers about 14 persons. Activities include monthly meetings, soil inspection tours, agricultural orientation and agricultural movies.

There are two PTA, one for middle school and one for elementary school. Both teachers and parents of school children are members. About 95 per cent of the elementary PTA members are women. Membership is about equally divided between men and women in the middle school PTA. Parents of the middle school PTA donated a tape recorder and aided in the establishment of school regulations. Activity is reported as being mild in the middle school PTA.

Parents in the elementary PTA, on the other hand, are very enthusiastic. They fix luncheons for the children and invite other members to eat with them and their children. This provides the opportunity to learn about cooking balanced meals and talk together. Presently, parents are making plans for the construction of a playground and swimming pool for the school.

#### Agricultural Cooperative Association

The Agricultural Cooperative Association (Nogyo Kyodo Kumiai) is by far the largest and strongest group in Aioi. It is an important channel of communication. Information about new techniques, new fertilizers, etc., is generally passed along from the Cooperative to the various kairyo kumiai, and on to the farmers. The Cooperative played an extremely important role in the introduction of engai.

Of the Cooperative's more than 1,500 members, only about 130

are non-farmers. Non-farmer members are interested in the Cooperative as a place to save money. To qualify as a voting member in the Cooperative, one must own more than one cho of land, or be engaged in agriculture more than 90 days each year. Only six farm households, of 571, do not belong to the Cooperative.

The Cooperative was established in 1948 as part of a national law promulgated by the Occupation forces. It was organized throughout Japan to replace the monopolistic, government-controlled system of agricultural associations which had existed since the turn of the century. The primary objective of the cooperative associations was to maximum service to participating members rather than payment of dividends on invested capital.

The Aioi Cooperative serves three main functions, according to its chief, Takeru Maruyama. The first function is financing. Members save money in the Cooperative. They can also borrow money to buy such things as machinery and milk cows. The Cooperative is also involved in the sale of agricultural materials such as seed, fertilizer and tools to members. Farmers can also buy daily necessities, such as cooking sauce (shoyu) from the cooperative. The third, and important function, is the marketing of goods for members. Most of the crops grown in Aioi are marketed through the Cooperative. Farmers deliver their rice or wheat to the Cooperative's warehouse. There it is inspected by prospective buyers. Money from the sale of goods is paid the Cooperative. This money is then deposited in the savings account of the member, after the cost of

storage, etc. has been deducted. Garden products are shipped cooperatively through the Cooperative and money is paid the farmer in the same manner mentioned above. Fruit production is still too small to be shipped cooperatively, so each household markets its own fruit.

The Cooperative is sub-divided into a number of smaller, special interest groups, such as the dairying section, chicken section, horticulture section, youth section and women's section. These groups hold regular meetings in addition to their affiliation with the Cooperative. No statistics were available on the membership of each of these special interest groups.

#### Study Associations'

Two other associations that played crucial roles in the introduction and dissemination of information relative to engei were the Agricultural Study Association (Nochi Kenkyu Kai) and the Vinyl Garden Crops Study Association (Biniru Engei Kenkyu Kai). These have been organized in the last ten years and function as communication channels for information about improved agricultural techniques. These groups are in close contact with the Agricultural Cooperative Association and have been instrumental in relating information from the Cooperative to the farmer. Interest in these groups is running high. Members are carrying out various research projects in an attempt to improve their cultivation practices. They are the most active groups in Aioi.

Other study groups include the Fruit Study Association and

Citrus Fruit Study Association. The latter was formed by indigenous persons who were influenced by the success of the Manchurian repatriates and began growing fruit. The Fruit Study Association numbers about 30 members, whereas the Citrus Fruit Study Association numbers only 15 members.

### Forestry and Fishing Cooperatives

Information concerning forested land is disseminated primarily through the Forestry Association (Shinrin Kumiai). It is an association of forestry owners, not forestry workers and serves as a communication channel for the forestry owners. There are about 216 forestry owners included in the membership of the association. Politically, it is an important organization because of the number of persons employed in forestry-related occupations. Nearly everyone in Kawamata, during the leisure season for rice does some work in the forests. The major problem before the Forestry Association is whether or not to amalgamate with the Omi and Hiketa associations. Forestry owners seem to oppose the move, but town officials are in favor of it.

The role of the Fishing Cooperative Association (Gyogyo Kyodo Kumiai) as an intra-village linkage is declining. It no longer fulfills the function of an information channel it did ten years earlier. Of the 82 members, only one or two make their living from fishing; the rest are engaged in agriculture, either full or part time. The main function of the cooperative is the purchase of fish from members and sale to outsiders. There is no saving nor

financial assistance as in the Agricultural Cooperative Association. The only items the Fishing Cooperative sells to members are fishing nets. The Cooperative functions to advise those interested of good fishing spots. It is the only channel of communication for fishermen.

#### Miscellaneous Associations

The Manchurian repatriates have their own linkages within the intra-village linkages. They have organized into the Reclamation Agricultural Cooperative Association (Kaitaku Nogyo Kyodo Kumiai). This is an active group, with very tight solidarity. They are mainly engaged in studying new techniques of cultivating engei and fruits. Another problem facing the repatriates is reclamation of mountain lands for agriculture. This is a major concern of the Association.

More than 100 glove factory workers are linked together through membership in the Glove Makers Friendship Association (Tebukuro Kumiai Hiketa Shimoku Kai). This is a Hiketa-wide association. The association was formed to promote friendship and cooperation among workers in the various glove factories in Hiketa. This group has increased membership over the past ten years due mainly to the rapid expansion of glove making in the area.

The main objectives of the Irrigation Association (Suiri Kumiai) are the management of damage done by water and improvement of the rivers for irrigation purposes. The association is in fact a series of smaller, regional groups. During the past ten years, the Irrigation Association has undergone reorganization because of



the change in farm ownership due to the land reform.

Other associations in Aioi include: Agricultural Products Cooperative Association, Tobacco Cultivators Association, Dairy-ing Association and Rush (Igusa) Cultivators Association.

### Summary

It is conceivable that every Aioi resident is linked with every resident, if not directly, then indirectly through a mutual linkage. This is especially true for those engaged in agriculture due to the proliferation of organizations related to agriculture. Nearly every household has at least one representative in an agriculture-related association. All households are members of the various territorial associations, memba, tonari-gumi, kairyo kumiai, buraku and mura. Membership in kinship, religious and various voluntary groups places the farmer in a vast information flow network.

A key organization in this network is the Agricultural Cooperative Association. Most information about agriculture has its origin in the village at the cooperative. A number of groups are directly under the control of the cooperative, and many others are closely, if indirectly, related to it. Much of the information passed along by the various study groups, the youth association, women's club and other associations is provided by the cooperative.

Information is passed along both formally and informally. Lectures, movies, pamphlets and other techniques are utilized by some groups, whereas others maintain a freer social atmosphere in which new techniques are discussed informally. It is usually at these meetings that the successes and reasons for success are passed on from farm household to farm household.

## CHAPTER VI

### VILLAGE-NATION LINKAGES

Development not only depends on intra-village linkages, but also on village-nation linkages. Intra-village linkages are but one part of the information flow picture. The flow of information into the village, whether it be from the nation, prefecture, county, city or other villages, is just as crucial as the flow of information throughout the village. Aioi residents are linked together in one kind of information network, whereas the village taken as a totality is linked with other units in a different, but similar, information network.

Information originating at the national or prefectural level is disseminated to the more than 10,000 villages through such an information network. This information flow is accomplished in a number of different ways: through the agricultural extension service, the cooperative structure, governmental agencies, mass communications and others. This chapter will be concerned with the flow of information into the village, with the village and its organizations as the channel through which the information is passed along to the individual.

#### A Case Study

The introduction of 2-3-5-T weed killer provides an excellent

example of the flow of information from farmer to nation and back to farmer.

It all began when a certain farmer in Mizuwake village in Northern Japan was having difficulty getting rid of some stubborn weeds. He had talked with the extension agent earlier about the problem and had tried M.C.P., 2-4-D and P.C.P., but none had proved strong enough. The extension agent sent a sample of the resistant weed to the prefectural experiment station. They in turn sent part of the sample to the agricultural experiment station at Tohoku University which is subsidized by the Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Fishing.

About one year later, researchers at Tohoku University produced a weed killer that would kill the resistant variety; it was called 2-3-5-T. Further refinement and experiment was accomplished by regional offices. The new chemical was then sent to each of the 46 prefectural experiment stations where further experiment was carried out.

From the prefectural experiment station, the new chemical was sent to the various extension advisors throughout the prefecture. They introduced it to the agricultural cooperatives, agricultural study groups, kairyo kumiai and individuals. The farmer in Mizuwake was advised that he could kill his weeds with 2-3-5-T. He was not the only one, however; farmers in Aioi and thousands of other villagers were also informed about the new weed killer. The flow of information was in two directions: from the farmers to the nation, and from the nation back again to the farmers.

### Agricultural Extension

The primary purpose of the extension system is to provide technical guidance to farmers to increase agricultural production and improve living conditions; in other words to disseminate information from the national and prefectural experimental stations to the farmer. The extension service is operated on a cooperative basis between the Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Fishery and each prefecture. An estimated 15,000 extension advisors are at work providing technical guidance to farmers, including both agricultural extension and home improvement specialists.

The information passed along by the extension advisors generally comes from one of the following sources: 1) the National Institute of Agricultural Sciences, 2) one of the eight regional agricultural experiment stations of the Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Fishery, or 3) the prefectural agricultural experiment station. Research is conducted under the direction of 21 project leaders in 21 different subjects. Project leaders are also in charge of planning and coordinating experiments and researches carried on at the three levels.

Plans are made at the prefectural level and implemented by extension agents in the various branches throughout the prefecture. The Agricultural Improvement Promoting Law provided a branch office for every three villages, or about 4,000 households. In most instances it is the extension agent who decides the improvement needed in his area. He submits a plan to the prefectural office for approval.



This provides for the flow of information in two directions, from the prefectural office to the village and from the village to the prefectural office. In this way each village can be treated as a unique case if necessary.

Extension workers use audio-visual aids such as printed matter, slides, motion pictures and radio, as well as demonstration fields to pass information to the farmer. In this way, the latest farming techniques can be passed from the experiment stations to the farmers. Information regarding diseases and pests affecting farm crops is passed along by the extension agent. It is also the extension agent who will educate the farmer how best to control such probable crop killers.

Marketing is another part of the information passed along by the extension agent. By knowing the market, he can advise the farmer what to grow to best advantage. The adoption of fruit trees and cash crops by the Manchurian repatriates as explained earlier provides an excellent example of the work of an extension agent. He was aware of the money-making possibilities of fruits and vegetables marketed in the cities.

A national survey showed that nearly 40 per cent of the home improvement specialist's time was spent in farm homes giving practical guidance. It was reported that advisors visited an average of 20 homes each month, held round-table discussion with 209 families each month and held exhibits and displays for another 109 families. This gives some indication of the role of the extension advisor as a

linkage between the villager and the nation.

### Agricultural Cooperative Association

Two kinds of information come to the farmer through the Agricultural Cooperative. The first, and most obvious, is information related to farming techniques, machinery, fertilizer and new seeds. The second, and equally important, is that information related to marketing.

The Cooperative provides a channel for the flow of information from outside the village to those inside. It publishes a monthly magazine with up-to-date information about new techniques and other relevant information for the farmer. The extension advisor often works in conjunction with the employees of the Cooperative. Though not directly under the leadership of the prefectural agricultural department, the Aioi Cooperative is in direct contact and receives considerable information and advice which is passed along to the farmer.

Marketing is a much-appreciated function provided by the Cooperative. It is necessary for Cooperative members to be aware of price changes in Kobe-Osaka markets. They depend on the Cooperative to market their goods at the right time and get the best price. Cooperative officials, therefore, keep in close touch with city markets and keep Aioi farmers apprised of marketing conditions. This provides the farmer with a linkage to the city which is kept open the year around since the introduction of engei.

### Governmental Linkages

Every Aioi resident in theory has at least one linkage with his nation, through the governmental structure. Information is passed through it from the nation to the individual. Much of the information passed on to Aioi residents is done so by means of a closed circuit broadcasting system (yusen hoso). Information comes into the town office (Hiketa since the amalgamation) from the prefectural offices. It is broadcast to the branch office in Aioi. From the branch office, the information is passed along to the buraku heads and to the various kairyo kumiai heads. Each has a speaker in his home to receive information from the branch office. It is hoped that eventually each household in Aioi will have a speaker connected to the yusen hoso. This would certainly provide an excellent and rapid communication channel.

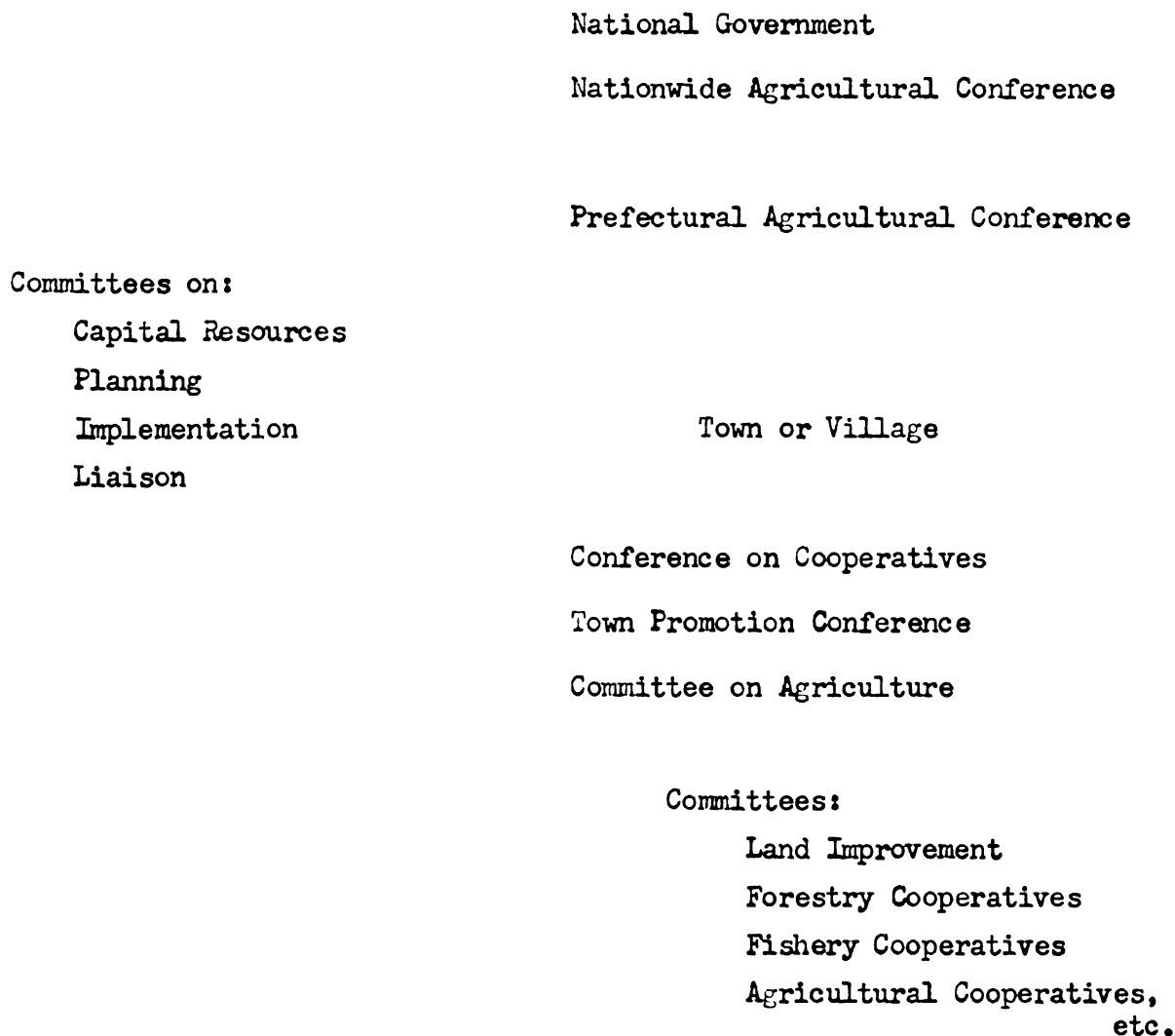
National political parties are another linkage between villager and nation. Aioi residents participate in national as well as local elections. Representatives of the national parties visit villages and hold drinking parties in an attempt to win the support of the people.

Amalgamation of Aioi with Hiketa and Omi provided another example of village-nation linkage. The amalgamation was a result of a national law and as was pointed out in chapter three, prefectural arbitration was sought on the number of assemblymen to be sent from each village. The new unit received outside aid in drawing up a five-year plan which was submitted to national authorities for



development funds. Figure 1 is a page taken from the five-year plan and simplified to show the information flow from nation to village. National subsidy for dam construction and other development projects also illustrate Aioi's linkage with the nation.

Figure 1: Inflow of New Policy and Technical Skills: A Chart of Enterprise Propulsion\*



\* Translation of Hiketa-Machi Five-year development plan.

### Mass Communications and Transportation

Various mass communication media link Aioi residents with the nation and the world. Many residents, for example, subscribe to and regularly read the nationally distributed newspapers, such as the Mainichi and Asahi. There are a number of prefectural newspapers and a newspaper published in nearby Tokushima which are read by many. The influence of mass communication on the villager is explained by Bando as follows:

Most people are not interested much in politics and economics, except the highly educated, the intelligensia, which make up about 10 per cent of the village. They get their world and national news, new fashions, best book sellers, etc., from the newspapers and television. Most people listen to the radio for entertainment, songs and dramas. There is an average of one newspaper for each household, including the local papers.

Farm and home magazines also serve as information linkages between the farmer and the outside. One particular magazine, The Enlightened Household (Ie No Hikari), is widely read. Content of this magazine is mainly concerned with improving the living standard of the farmer.

Radio and television also function as linkages for Aioi residents. The number of radio sets, for example, increased from about 2,000 in 1948 to more than 3,000 in 1958. Amusement programs, especially sumo (Japanese wrestling) and baseball, are listened to most frequently, however, agriculture and home improvement programs are also popular. It was reported that most people prefer radio to the newspaper because it can be listened to while one is relaxing after a hard day's work in the field.

Ten households owned television sets in 1958. The number of sets was increasing rapidly during the survey period and is probably considerably higher at the present time. Both radio and television broadcast a number of programs related to agriculture and home improvement. There is no theatre in Aioi, but about 300-400 go to Hiketa to the movies each month.

Telephones, the highway, railroad and waterway also provide Aioi residents with contact outside the village. The prefectural highway from Takamatsu to Tokushima runs through Aioi. This brings in salesmen and other linkages from the city and nation. The head of the Women's Club, for example, said the following:

We get a lot of salesmen in Aioi because of the highway. They are either coming to or going from Tokushima or Takamatsu. They always want to use the Fujikai as a contact through which they can sell their wares.

The national railroad passes through Aioi and the ferry running from Hiketa to Honshu Island is close by. All of these transportation facilities provide both access and egress for Aioi residents, putting them in contact with the large cities, the prefecture and the nation.

### The School and Religion

Much information which comes into the village is channeled through the school. In many ways, the entire curriculum of the school can be viewed as being aimed at providing the villager with knowledge about the world outside his home. Information about Tokyo, the nation and the world is fed into children and passed along

to their parents. The school teacher is a much-used channel for new information, both by young and old.

The school teacher was born in Tokushima and served three years on the prefectural bureau of education. He was also a member of the prefectural agricultural department. In addition to his duties as teacher in the secondary school, he is a priest of the Shinto shrine.

The school is also instrumental in bringing information into the village through sponsorship of lecturers, movies and radio broadcasts. Various school-sponsored trips, such as upon graduation from elementary, junior and high school, serve the function of linking the village with the nation.

Religion provides another linkage between the villager and his nation. Participation in the Great Tradition of Buddhism, for example, link the Aioi resident with millions of other Japanese. Excursions and pilgrimages serve to make the villager more aware of the world outside his village. For example, nine bus loads of women took an excursion to the famous Shinto shrine at Izumo, on the Western coast of Honshu Island. Such a journey broadens the scope and world-view of those undertaking it.

#### Fujinkai and Seinendan

Both the Fujinkai and Seinendan (described in chapter five) serve to link village and nation. Both are locally autonomous, though each is affiliated with a prefectural and national association. Plans and policies are made at the local level, but much of the activity in each is similar to plans and policies formulated at

a higher level.

A national magazine, Women's Magazine (Fujin Zashin), is published monthly and distributed by local Women's Organizations. The content of the magazine is closely related to the daily life of women, home improvement, cooking and gardening. In most instances, magazines are bought individually, but professional or specialized magazines and books are bought by the Fujinkai and read in turn by members. The group also sponsors lectures, movies and excursions which link the village with a wider circle of information.

A major project of the Fujinkai is the introduction of sun-heated water for baths (taiyoburo). The national government, in an attempt to cut wood consumption, designed a method of heating bath water by solar heat. The program originated at the national and is being carried out in Aioi by the local Fujinkai, another example of village-nation linkage.

The Seinendan also sponsors lectures on political and agricultural problems, discussion groups on social problems and books, plays, movies, agricultural exhibits and athletic meets. The local organization is affiliated with both prefectural and county youth associations. The Aioi Seinendan publishes a magazine of agricultural news, poetry and essays. In this way, information is channeled through the Seinendan from the prefecture to the village.

One example of the Seinendan's role as a communication channel is its program for love marriages to replace arranged marriages (discussed in chapter five). This is a national movement and is being

undertaken by nearly all local Seinendan in Japan. This illustrates the way a national movement is articulated at the village level.

### Other Linkages

The glove factories provide another example of linkages outside the village, and in fact, outside Japan. Styles for gloves manufactured in Aioi are set by designers in Paris. Information is passed from France to Aioi. Gloves are made and shipped throughout the world, another kind of linkage. The factories are in close contact with Osaka and Tokyo. It is from these centers that raw materials come and finished products are shipped.

Much shopping is done in the Hiketa Supermarket, another linkage, by Aioi women. The head of the Fujinkai reported that the supermarket in Hiketa is becoming a center and gathering place for many women.

The kinship system, as outlined in chapter three, also serves to link many villagers with the outside. Kinsmen who live in other villages and cities return for annual festivals and upon return, bring new information into the village. The same is true for Aioi residents who go out of the village and return bearing new information. Correspondence between relatives is another channel for the flow of information into the village.

Village leaders and others who have traveled and who regularly travel to Kobe, Osaka and Tokyo are extra-local linkages. Bando, for example, travels to Osaka regularly. A former native of Aioi was president of Todai University, one of Japan's largest. He was another kind of linkage.

Summary

The Aioi villager is not only linked with his fellow villager, but also with the prefecture and the nation. He is part of two different information flow networks: the intra-village network and the wider, more encompassing village-nation network, both of which complement the other. He is the receiver of information originating at the village level, as well as information originating at the prefectural and national levels.

Village-nation linkages function to pass information in to the village. It is then passed on to the individual through the various ~~intra-village~~ linkages outlined in chapter five.

## CHAPTER VII

### SUMMARY AND IMPLICATIONS

In summarizing, I would like to re-emphasize a number of specific points touched upon in the body of the study. First are changes wrought by the Occupation-sponsored Land Reform. Second are changes in the power structure associated with the Town-Village Amalgamation Promoting Law (gappei). Third is an explanation of the relationship between the reticulated organizational structure and information flow. Fourth is an analysis of the changing Japanese peasant. And finally, I set forth some implications of this study for policies in underdeveloped countries, such as Vietnam and Korea.

#### The Land Reform

The land reform of 1948 had the general effect of equalizing the distribution of wealth in farming areas. It was an attempt to provide former tenants with land of their own, and at the same time establish a minimum size for farm plots. Owners of more than three acres, in most areas of Japan, were forced to sell their excess land either to the government for redistribution or preferably to the tenant actually working the land.

The former tenant, now an owner-cultivator, no longer was required to relinquish a part of his harvest to the landlord.



Dore (1959) explains the effect of post-war inflation and the black market on the farmer:

The (post-war) inflation effectively wiped out farm debts. The war, with its increased prosperity and its slow inflation had already carried this process a long way; by its end few families were in the same strangle-hold of high-interest indebtedness which had afflicted them in the 1930's. The galloping inflation of the immediate post-war years completed this process. At the same time, the near-starvation of the towns sent the prices of black-market farm products soaring.

But the reasons for the present relatively high level of agricultural income must be sought elsewhere. One obvious factor is the effect of the land reform in reducing the burden of rents.

Dore goes on to attribute the increased income of farmers to increased productivity per acre, increased intensivity of labor input, improved crop strains, improved pest control measures and increased use of powered sprays, as well as other mechanization.

By 1959, the farmer had become a spender in his own right, not merely a contributor to the increasing wealth of the landlord. The buying power of the rural village was spread over a considerably wider sphere than before. The new farmers were eager for techniques which would increase their yield. It was generally true that they worked harder on land they owned than they had previously as tenants. Ishino and Donoghue (1963), for example, found that:

there was nearly unanimous agreement that the land reform has done much to encourage the proper care and use of land, especially for those who were former tenants. More than ever before, the pride of ownership that has resulted from the land reform has encouraged a more rational approach to land usage.

The new landowners were innovators, searching out information

and experimenting in an attempt to draw more from their small holdings. They became full participants in the village, economically, politically and socially. More money circulated throughout the village. Previously, when a wealthy landlord sold his crop, he put the money into savings. This was not true of the new landowner, however. Money received from the sale of his crop was immediately returned to circulation by his purchase of consumer goods. This altered the economic structure of the village.

### The Gappei

The stated purpose of the Amalgamation Law was to promote a more efficient administrative system. A crucial side-effect of the measure, however, was alteration of the traditional power structure within the village. It completed a process begun by such Occupation measures as the land reform (see chapter 2), i.e., destruction of the power and influence of the traditional political groups holding sway in the village. Following the amalgamation, the village was no longer the center of political power, it was broadened to include powerful interests from other villages, towns and cities. Village bosses lost the absolute control over political matters within their domain. Some became assemblymen in the new units, but usually with little power. Local interests, where they remained, were tempered by the interests of the new, larger political unit (Ishino, 1961).

In Aioi, for example, the owner of a small, cottage industry was known as the most influential man in village politics prior to

amalgamation with Hiketa and Omi. He held no political office, but was considered the "power behind the throne." Following the amalgamation, he lost much of his power. Though still somewhat influential in local matters, he had little political power in the larger unit. The economic relevance of the Amalgamation Law was discussed in detail in chapters two and three.

### Reticulated Organizational Structure (ROS)

The simplest way to define reticulated organizational structure (ROS), or organizational network, is by example. One provided by Ishino and Donoghue (1963) illustrates ROS:

Another kind of reticulated organization (is) the vast agricultural extension system and its associated home demonstration teams. Beyond these were the network of cooperatives of all kinds, women's associations, youth groups, hobby groups, formal local government units, PTA, various religious organizations, and other such groups which maintained both formal and informal liaison among one another. Most of these groups have developed within the past forty years. The formation and viability of these many associations were facilitated by the development of communication devices, all the way from special bulletins produced by each organization to radio, telephone, TV, popular magazines and intra-village intercom systems.

The entire third section of this study is what might be called an "inside look" at the ROS of Aioi. The intra-village and village-nation linkages examined in part three are the basic elements of ROS. The value of ROS lies in the linkages it provides for the flow of information to the villager.

Discussing the current controversy in Japan over small-scale versus large-scale farming, Ishino and Donoghue (1963) conclude:

While the Japanese farmer did not increase the scale of land holding in order to become more proficient, he was incorporated into a vast interpersonal and interorganizational communications network. He became part of a huge corporate enterprise devoted to the advancement of farming. In sum, while farm operations were limited to three-acre plots, farmers were organizationally joined into an effective large-scale communications system that transcended neighborhood, village and even prefectural loyalties.

Through his membership in the ROS, the Japanese farmer is a receiver of an infinite variety of information about new farming techniques, new fertilizers, weed killers, market conditions, and so forth. Though small-scale farmers in terms of land holdings, Japanese farmers are large-scale receivers of agricultural information. As Ishino and Donoghue (1963) explain it:

Each Japanese farm household was inextricably linked into a vast information-disseminating network. This, in effect, made it one with hundreds of other farm households in obtaining consensus and in making decisions concerning farm technology, farm management and marketing.

Throughout this study, I have emphasized the role of the ROS in the dissemination of agricultural information, and the linkages related to agriculture. However, agricultural information is not all that flows through this network. Information regarding birth control, clothing styles, living standards, politics and city life in general, to mention only a few, is also disseminated through ROS.

### The Japanese Villager in Transition

The flow of information into rural areas has greatly affected the image of the rural dweller. As a participant in ROS the Japanese

peasant is the recipient of considerable information covering a wide range of subjects, all of which contribute to the alteration of his image. Image is defined by Richard Meier (1963) as follows:

It embodies the sum of the knowledge that a person has accumulated. The image is a mosaic of facts that are ordered and arranged by values. The image is organized by concepts into a set of hierarchical levels, but the strata are frequently disturbed and sometimes interleaved. They are not entirely consistent and unambiguous. The image is made up of a series of memories of environments containing both physical and social elements, and each of the environments is made up of a series of typical situations.

Today's peasant in Japan is subjected to more and different kinds of information than was his father; consequently his image is quite different than the previous generation's. This changing image is resulting in a changing peasantry. The traditional peasant heritage is declining in Japan.

The hiatus between villager and city dweller is closing rapidly. Ishino and Donoghue (1959) document some of these changes:

Another reason for the generally healthy outlook of the Japanese farmer is that the gap in the living standards between himself and his city cousin is slowly closing. This is reflected not only in the national statistics on income and nutrition, but can be directly observed in the villages. The range and quality of merchandise carried by village stores are good and cannot easily be distinguished from that found in suburban shops in Tokyo. New roads have been constructed, telephone lines installed, temples renovated and thatch roofs replaced with tile. In every village studied, we saw hundreds of bicycles and dozens of motorcycles, trucks and busses. We have noted an average of ten television sets in ten of the wholly rural villages. The eleventh was not within the existing television telecast zone. Two of the more urban villages have 1102 sets between them.

This changing image of the rural dweller contributes to development. The farmer, when he sees a market loaded with the above-mentioned goods, changes his plans in an attempt to become the owner of some of them. He has the same desires for consumer goods as does the urbanite. He begins to feel that a television set may not be an impossible goal. It follows that he will work to improve his economic position. His stake in the economy becomes greater, and with ownership of a few luxuries, his status in society improves. This in turn leads to development as explained in chapter two.

#### Ramifications for Underdeveloped Countries

From the above discussion, it is clear that RCS, composed of various intra-village and village-nation linkages, played a crucial role in the development which occurred in Aioi during the past decade. The associational structure has been developing for a number of years and has served as a communication channel for a multiplicity of information.

What does all this mean for someone interested in development of underdeveloped countries? One thing comes readily to mind; perhaps we should question the priorities which have been established for development in these countries. The first priority of those countries seems generally to be the development of physical resources and construction of projects, such as wells and toilets. A well in a village with no sanitary source of water is undoubtedly an asset, but possibly we should place greater emphasis on developing

human resources as we embark on project construction.

Most underdeveloped countries suffer from a deficiency of functional channels for the flow of information from the nation to the village. Where these channels are lacking, programs initiated by the central government rarely reach the intended receiver, the villager. There is usually but one channel, the official administrative channel. Programs formulated by the central government are relayed to the provincial headquarters, which is usually understaffed. From there it goes to the district office and eventually may find its way to the village office. Those working at the various levels of government find themselves involved in a number of different programs and projects at the same time. This generally results in failure of most, if not all such programs (see Donoghue, 1963).

The communication process breaks down as a result of what Ishino (1962) calls channel overload. Those messages reaching the village are incomplete and in many instances contradictory. They have been interpreted and reinterpreted at the various levels and by the time they reach the village may convey a completely different message than was intended by the central government. This breakdown in the communication network resulting from overload has often proven detrimental to development.

As pointed out earlier, the information flow network and the image system of those participating in it are related. A major problem besetting governments of underdeveloped nations is the image held by the peasant; he knows little about his government and

probably cares less. Through an adequately developed and functional communication system, it is possible for the government to change the image of the peasant. ROS is of definite value in altering this image system.

It is not only the peasant's image of the government, but as demonstrated in Aioi, his image of farm technology, marketing, living standard, and so forth is also tied to the problems of development. ROS facilitates the free flow of information, and through increased consumption of information, the peasant's image is altered. For example, if a farmer's image does not include information about refrigerators and washing machines, he may never strive to own one. On the other hand, if a farmer's image system includes information about these items, he may attempt to obtain them. This is oversimplified, of course. The crucial intervening step was left out, i.e., that the farmer's image system also includes information about the relationship between increased work and owning a washing machine. But this also can be accomplished by increased information flowing through the ROS.

The point is, however, that in underdeveloped countries, such as Vietnam and Korea, steps should be initiated to change the image of its peasant population through the development of something comparable to ROS. Cooperation between the villager and nation may result from the continued flow of accurate information through a structure similar to ROS as set forth in this study. I believe that in the interests of economic development, conscious attention on the



part of those responsible for developments should be paid to the establishment of something comparable to Japan's ROS.

## NOTES

1. One cho equals 2.45 acres
2. One sho equals 1.588 quarts
3. One tan equals 1/10th of one cho, or .245 acres
4. One United States dollar equals Y 360.
5. All interviews presented in this chapter were conducted by Donoghue and Ishino and are reproduced here with their permission.

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