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JAPANESE WOMAN AND JAPANESE
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By

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ABSTRACT

JAPANESE WOMEN AND JAPANESE ORGANIC AGRICULTURE MOVEMENT

By

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The expansion of the Japanese organic agricultural movement has been directly related to the development of "Teikei", a co-partnership between organic producers and consumers. "Teikei" has been promoted by urban housewives from the beginning, which leads one to the question of why urban housewives have been actively involved in "Teikei".

Arguments that various social changes after World War II affected Japanese women at almost every level of Japanese life provide a key to understanding why women became interested in "Teikei". We hypothesized that "Teikei" has been supported by Japanese urban women because they have both strong desires of social participation, self-improvement, and self-fulfillment; and a strong responsibility to fulfill the modern housewife role. To test this hypothesis, a survey of 40 "Teikei" housewife consumers was conducted and the results largely supported the hypothesis.

To the memory of my grand mother, Toku Kameda

and to my first baby, Moe

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Change of The Traditional Agricultural System After the World War II

Japan has two distinct annual weather patterns which gave rise to a unique cropping system using paddy - rice was raised during the hot and humid summer, while during the dry winter, wheat was grown. In this manner, geographical as well as seasonal characteristics influenced the practice of multi-cropping.

Along with these farming systems, farmers valued "soil-making" using various kinds of organic matter. According to Yamashita (1986), a writer and farmer, the oldest Japanese agricultural literature written during the seventeenth century describes various kinds of plants which are especially suitable for compost and the usage of the plants. Based on the literature, Yamashita concludes that by the end of the seventeenth century, the soil enriching knowledge was established and passed from generation to generation in various parts of Japan. Yamashita (1986:95-96) describes the traditional compost making that he used to practice on his farm:

> Until around 1955, we prepared fertilizers by ourselves. We used human wastes, manure, weeds, cow dung (mixed with straw bedding), rice straw, compost, ash, and sea weed. Since we were living near the sea, we used sardines when fishermen got them and the remains of rapeseed oil and soybean curd in watermelon fields.

However, these traditional farming systems disappeared very rapidly after 1960. The 1960s were a time when the food supply was almost sufficient enough to feed the whole population. However, the disparity of the real income and the standard of living between agricultural and nonagricultural sectors could not be overlooked. This was regarded as the main problem with the agricultural sector. In order to remedy this problem, the Agricultural Basic Law of 1961 proposed the "reorientation of farming structure" with the development of modern agriculture. The Law stated that the government would implement such fundamental measures as (Ogura, 1979:446):

- The selective expansion of agricultural production
- Increasing agricultural productivity and the augmentation of gross farm production through the effective utilization of land and through the development of agricultural technology
- Rationalizing marketing of farm products
- Rationalizing the production and distribution of materials or goods for agricultural use and the stabilization of their prices.

The modernization of Japanese agriculture was structurally and systematically propelled by the national government. Agricultural extensionists were sent to rural areas and agricultural cooperatives were organized under the supervision of the government. Modernization of agriculture and the reconstruction of agricultural villages created labor-saving and time-saving farming systems and consequently forced a great number of workers out of the villages to the industrial sector. This phenomenon matched

the demand of industrial development at that time and further stimulated the 1960-70s' rapid economic development in Japan (Ono, 1994:36).

Mechanization and chemicalization as well as monocropping increased year after year. The number of mechanical tillers increased by almost ten times from only 9,621 in 1949 to 88,000 in 1955. Five years later, in 1960, it increased to 612,000; then to more than 2 million in 1964, and finally reached 3,370,000, a record high in 1974 (Yamashita, 1986:133). In that year, there were less than 5 million farmers (and only about 610,000 full-time farmers) with an average of 1.1 hectare of land. The amount of chemical fertilizer that replaced organic fertilizers increased as well; from 1950 to 1960, nitrogen increased 180 percent, potassium, 340 percent and phosphorus, 300 percent (Ono, 1994:245). Pesticide and herbicide use followed the same trend. In 1958 186,000 tons of pesticides and herbicides were applied. In 1975, the amounts recorded highest figure of 750,000 tons despite the fact that the area of cultivated land decreased and the types of crops that were grown changed very little. In 1969, pesticide and herbicide use averaged 14 kg per hectare, compared to 3 kg/ha in Germany and 2.5 kg/ha in the United States.

It should, however, be noted that fertilizer and pesticide use are related to climate and specific usage of crops in a given area as well as the intensity of production. In the United States, for example, major crops such as wheat

and soybeans require less pesticide and thus make the national average of pesticide use much lower than in Japan (Ahmed, 1994:38).

As agriculture was rationalized, many Japanese farmers found full-time farming economically difficult (Yamashita, 1986:152) and switched to part-time farming trying to earn supplemental income from non-farm work. However, neither full-time nor part-time farming was not competitive. Through mechanization, chemicalization and institutionalization, all processes of agriculture were capitalized, increasing agricultural production costs yearly. Additionally, technological advances and the rapid, widespread adoption of these technologies induced overproduction, lowering farm prices and requiring farmers to implement more cost-saving technologies. This situation is quite similar to the agricultural treadmill seen in the United States (Cochrane, 1958). The financial situation of farmers steadily worsened. From 1960 to 1990, while farmers' agricultural income grew by 5.2 times, their production costs increased by 13.7 times (Ono, 1994:37).

A government policy to reduce the production of rice by increasing the government subsidy began in 1969 and increased food imports (especially grains except rice) also turned a lot of farmers to part-time agriculture or led them to abandon farming. By the time the 'modernized' rice production system had raised the required rice production, Japanese rice consumption had dropped because of dietary

change. The result was an overproduction of rice. In order to avoid a slump in the rice market, the government ordered rice farmers to stop production on a certain percentage of their paddy. The government subsidized those who switched to alternative production, but the subsidy did not benefit rice farmers. There is a difference of the soil condition between rice paddy and non-paddy fields, and it is believed that the more the soil is suitable to rice, the less the soil is appropriate for non-paddy crops: Under that condition, it became very risky to switch to production of other crop from rice production. Additionally, for those farmers who had devoted their lives to growing good rice in paddies inherited from generation to generation, it was a humiliation and even a loss of identity being unable to make rice as they wished (Kimura, 1985). As a result, this policy discouraged many rice farmers in rice making turning them into part-time farmers or to non-farmers.

In addition, Japan began importing food extensively in the 1960s with the expansion of free trade. The Japanese food self-sufficiency rate, measured in terms of original calories, dropped rapidly; from 79 percent in 1960 to 46 percent in 1991. The mind-set that "Japan does not need agriculture" also discouraged farmers from practicing full-time agriculture.

Dismal Future of Japanese Agriculture

Affected by these policies, the number of farmers has decreased yearly while the percentage of part-time farmers has increased (Figure 1.1). In 1994, full-time farmers were only 12 percent of the whole farming population and no more than 0.3 percent of the whole Japanese population. The numbers are expected to continue to decline. Due to the aging of the farming population and the decreasing popularity of agriculture as a profession among the younger generation, the number of agricultural successors has been dropping (see Table 1.1). In 1963, out of 664,000 male junior high school and high school graduates in the country, 53,600 (8 percent) became farmers. In 1975, the number dropped to 7,900 (1.7 percent) out of 463,600, and in 1992 it became only 2,000 (0.6 percent). The number of farmers needed to support Japanese agriculture is difficult to estimate. However, Yamashita (1986) says that if Japan wants all 4.5 million (as of 1986) working farmers to be succeeded by the next generation (assuming a generation is 30 years), it needs 150,000 to 160,000 new farmers every year. Compared to this estimate, we can see how few agricultural successors there actually are.

Farmers were beset not only by financial problems and a dismal future, but also by health problems from pesticides and herbicides. While the direct correlation between

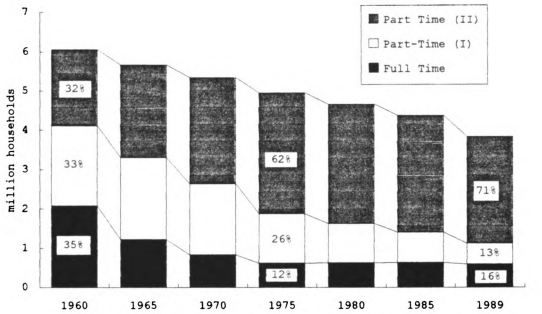

Figure 1.1: Trend of Farm Household Number by Category.

Source: Based on data in Norin Toukei Kyokai, Nogyou Hakusho Fuzoku Toukeihyo (1990:40).

Table 1.1: The Number of Male Junior and High School Graduates Who Entered Agricultural Profession.

Year	Total male school graduates (in thousands)	Male graduates entered agriculture (in thousands)
1965	673.5	41.8
1970	594.2	26.1
1975	463.6	7.9
1980	368.7	5.8
1984	308.9	4.1
1990	*345.3	2.5
1992	*325.5	2.0

Source: Soichi Yamashita, Tsuchi to Nihonjin (1986:188), Norin Suisansho Tokei Johobu, Poket Norin Suisan Tokei, 1994 (1994:21).

pesticide use and health problems has not been determined, many reports and studies show correlations (Hasumi, 1994:87-148) between eyesight problems and use of organophosphates, and bladder cancer and the herbicide CNP (chloronitrophen) (Ahmed, 1994:38). The difficulty in linking health problems to pesticide and herbicide use are three-fold: 1) the symptoms are often minor, 2) they appear to be caused by other factors, and 3) are difficult to prove as an outcome of a single pesticide or herbicide.

Purpose of the Thesis

Under these circumstances, organic agriculture appeared in Japan. What is the meaning, then, of the organic agriculture movement?

As described in the following chapters, the expansion of the Japanese organic agriculture movement has been directly related to the development of "Teikei", a co-partnership between organic producers and consumers. The purpose of this study is to investigate the social significance of the Japanese organic agriculture movement through the social impacts of "Teikei". The study was especially focused on the effects of "Teikei" on Japanese women, the chief actors of the movement.

Since "Teikei" has been promoted by Japanese urban housewives, we hypothesized that the situation of contemporary Japanese urban housewives is strongly related to the promotion of "Teikei" and development of the Japanese

organic agriculture movement. Because "Teikei" is such a significant part of the organic agriculture movement in Japan, this study focusing on the chief actors of "Teikei", the women involved, will provide an expanded understanding of the Japanese organic agriculture movement.

CHAPTER II

HISTORY OF ORGANIC AGRICULTURE MOVEMENT IN JAPAN

Emergence of Organic Farmers

Why and how did organic farmers appear in Japan? It is said that the organic agriculture movement in Japan started in the 1970s. Prior to this movement, however, there were pioneers such as Masanobu Fukuoka and a religious group called "World Messianity" who were advocating natural farming as alternative agriculture as early as the 1930s and 40s. Nevertheless, because their focus was mainly on technological aspects and spirituality rather than linking with urban consumers. Moreover, because the Japanese government encouraged chemical farming after World War II, natural farming did not become significant as an alternative among producers until the 1970s (Miura, 1993:5).

Regarding the appearance of organic farmers after the 1970s, Ono (1994:278) explains that the start or shift to organic agriculture reflects the farmers' loss of hope in current and future Japanese agriculture. Struggling with the increasing cost of inputs (machines, fertilizers and pesticides) and decreasing commodity prices, farmers searched for an alternative way and found organic farming. For example, Mr. Hoshi, an organic farmer, mentioned in his book, "Kagayake No no Inochi" ("Lighten Up! Life of the Field", 1986) that he started thinking about small scale independent management of non-chemical agriculture after he

observed several "weird symptoms" in his crop around 1970. He, as many other Japanese farmers, started using agricultural chemicals along with monocropping following the advice of agricultural extensionists and agriculture cooperative workers. He found that chemical fertilizers, pesticides and monocropping increased the production of crops for a while, but gradually he found diseases and defects in his crops. New chemicals did not seem to work effectively for these diseases and defects, and when bad weather occurred, the crops showed less resistance than before. In his words, "crops became weaker". He discussed the cause of the "weak crop" with other farmers, and concluded that the reason might lie in the soil. They had neglected to return rice straw as a soil enriching measure and instead had provided chemical fertilizers as supplements. The direct reason for stopping the traditional soil enriching measures was mechanization; rice straw becomes entangled in the claw of a tiller machine which prevents the machine from working efficiently and may lead to damage of the machine. Along with these soil and crop problems, the farmers became aware of the problems with agricultural chemical residues in food. Consequently, Mr. Hoshi and other farmers decided to stop "dangerous" agriculture and to perform agriculture which is "safer" both for humans and the environment, based on the vitality of the soil.

Another organic farmer, Mr. Ohira (1988) had doubts about the predominant belief which considers traditional

agriculture inefficient. When he and his family started to use chemical fertilizers and pesticides, he began to feel that his family's health was undermined by these chemicals. His father died of a so-called "agricultural chemical disease" at the age of 64 and his mother died of the same disease after suffering in bed for a long time. Mr. Ohira himself had a temporary loss of sight and hearing difficulty in his left ear from extensive use of chemicals. He said, "Modern agriculture generates dead farming." He decided to start more traditional farming which does not depend on petroleum and chemicals, makes the best use of abundant natural resources, creates no disease, and generates a cooperative lifestyle.

Mr. Kaneko (1994b) mentioned three experiences that made him decide to become an organic farmer. The first happened when he was very young. Since his father was keeping cows, he soon realized the difference between "fake" milk sold at stores and "true" milk from his father's cows. He learned that "fake" milk is made from imported non-fat powdered milk, saltless butter, coconut oil and other additives. The second experience related to his father's increasing the number of cows and changing his management style to a more "efficient" one by using imported feed grains instead of grazing. After a while, he and his family found that the cows became weaker. He found that the same thing happened in the field as they switched to an "efficient" farming system. The third experience related to

the national the policy to decrease rice production which started one year before he graduated from agricultural college. This policy discouraged him and led him to worry about the future of Japanese agriculture and food policy. The food import rate was increasing and farming became an unpromising, risky business. So upon graduating from college, he made up his mind to create a small self-sufficient community with consumers who desired to eat chemical-free, "safe" and "tasty" or "true" food from his farm. In this way, he and his consumers would be less affected by agricultural policy and the modern agricultural system.

The voices of these three organic farmers represent organic farmers' motivation to start organic farming. All three felt the defects of the Japanese modern agricultural system in their personal health, the condition of their crops, lifeless soil, chemical harm and inefficient use of natural resources, and all tried to avoid dependency on the system. According to a study in 1986 (Amano and Ichiraku, 1986), only one percent of farmers (about 42,000 farmers) in Japan were considered to be using organic methods. This is not a large number; however, many of them (including the above three organic farmers) were successfully connected to consumers who understood the problems of modern agriculture and who demanded these farmers' food, and who have had a significant effect on Japanese society.

Increasing Concern Over Chemical Residues in Food

At the end of the 1960s, industrial pollution became a problem and people gradually became aware of its effects on the environment as well as their bodies. In 1968, known as "the year of pollution", the first two pollution diseases in Japan -- Itai-Itai Byo (from cadmium) and Minamata Byo (from mercury) -- were acknowledged and PCB poisoning was recognized. These diseases were caused by residues of industrial chemicals in food. These events gave people cause to worry about chemicals. In the following year of 1969, the first agricultural chemical poisoning happened to school children. BHC, an agricultural chemical remained in the milk served for school lunch. The next year, BHC residue was found in mother's milk.

Consequently, the 1970s became the time when the environmental social movement and consumers' rights movement to protect human beings and nature from pollution and dangerous chemical poisoning spread widely. Chemical residues were found in other foods one after another. During the 1970s, 127 articles related to agricultural chemical problems were written in Asahi Shinbun, one of Japan's most popular newspapers. Concern regarding these problems continued during the 1980s; 95 articles on agricultural chemical problems appeared in the same newspaper in this decade. With these events as a background, the demand for and interest in safer food and agriculture increased among people.

Response of Farmers and Consumers

Responding to the increasing demand for and interest in safer food and agriculture, a book, "Organic Farming" by J.I. Rodale was translated into Japanese in 1971, and from Rodale's book the word for "Organic Farming" (*Yuki Nogyo*) was first introduced in Japan. In the same year, Nihon Yuki Nogyo Kenkyukai, Japan Organic Agriculture Association (JOAA) was established by consumers' cooperative movement activists, agroecologists, doctors and agricultural policy specialists, who had been actively promoting awareness of agricultural chemicals and safe food (Food Problem National Assembly, 1989). In 1974 and 1975, Sawako Ariyoshi, a well known author wrote "Fukugo Osen" ("Complex Contamination") in one of the most privileged newspapers, and it created a big sensation. As a result, harmful agricultural chemicals and food additives, the existence of organic agriculture as well as the organic growers and supporters (consumers) alliance became known throughout Japan.

Consumers who were concerned about these problems, usually housewives, began to demand organic products and additive-free foods. For example, a group of 25 Tokyo housewives (Group for the Production and Consumption of Safe Food, 1993:3)[1] expressed their motivation to start a direct

[1] The Group for the Production and Consumption of Safe Food was established in 1973 by 25 Tokyo housewives (middle-class and well-educated) who were concerned about safe food, food self-sufficiency, environmental problems and the energy crisis. Most of the members were "disciples" of Mr. Yonezo Okada, former dairy farmer and leader of a consumer movement

purchasing system with organic farmers as follows:

> ...We argued that the quality of life in urban areas, especially food quality, is deteriorated due to the predominant spirit of "economic efficiency or rationality" reflected in the mass production, mass marketing and mass consumption of commercial goods, and that most of our food is made from chemicals and processed by chemicals, so that our life and health are being threatened to such an extent that we have no other choice but to defend ourselves by ourselves...

Gradually consumers' groups and buying clubs which had direct contracts with organic producers like this group were formed in many places in Japan. A study conducted in 1990 (Kokumin Seikatsu Senta, 1991) that covered 253 consumer groups found that, during the 1970s the number of producer-consumer alliances increased from 25 to 160 (see Figure 2.1). This boom in the formation of groups continued until the early 80s: the number of these alliance grew to 199 by 1985. The membership of JOAA also increased from 40 in 1971 to 4,000 by the early 80s (Miura, 1993:7).

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who introduced collective purchasing of organically grown "Four-Leaf Milk" and fertilized eggs.

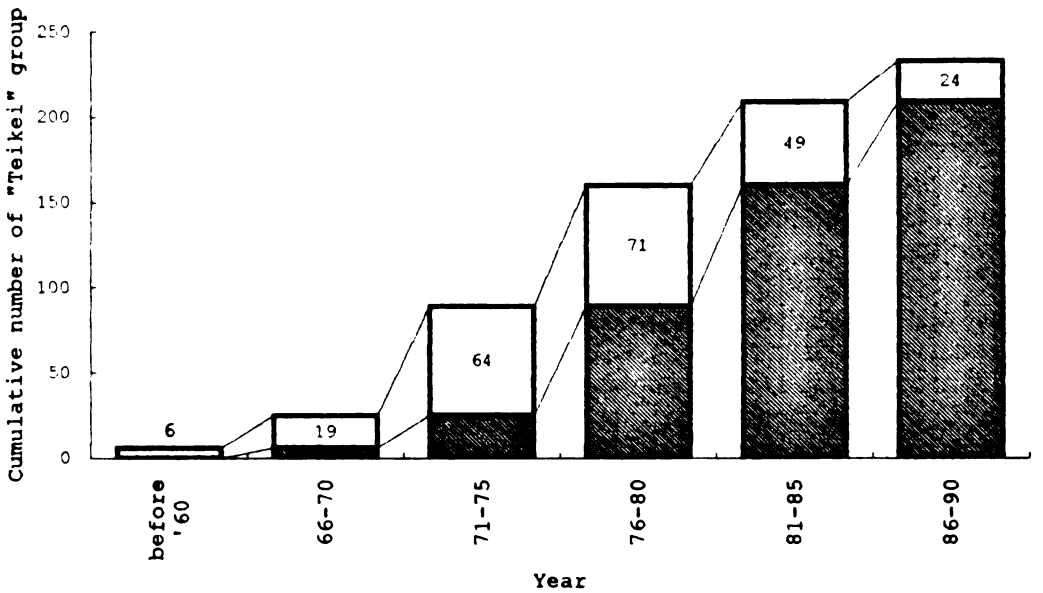

Figure 2.1: The Number of "Teikei" Groups by Established Year.

Source: Masugata and Kubota (1992:156).

"Teikei" -- Producer-Consumer Direct Co-Partnership

The consumers' groups or buying clubs which have direct contracts with organic farmers are called "Teikei" in Japanese, which is understood to mean "direct co-partnerships between producers and consumers" (Miura, 1993). The term Teikei in Japanese originally meant cooperative task management among more than two groups. This implies that "Teikei" in the Japanese organic agriculture movement is basically a relationship between two different independent groups: a consumer group and producer group rather than a relationship between one farmer or farmers group and many independent consumers. This latter

arrangement is typically seen in CSA (Community Supported Agriculture) in the United States and Europe.

The difference between "Teikei" and the conventional "Direct Marketing", which seeks nothing but an economic relationship for commodities, must be emphasized. As described more precisely in the following pages, there are several characteristics which are peculiar to "Teikei". For instance, one group describes their relationship as "a sustainable partnership in a kind of gemeinschaft bound by a common fate, mutual understanding and trust" (Group for the Production and Consumption of Safe Food, 1993). In order to guarantee organic farmers financial stability, "Teikei" requires that consumers "...buy whatever the farmers produce, although the harvest may be more than needed in some seasons, and less in others" (Ahmed, 1994:39). Also in "Teikei", consumers visit farmers to help with farm tasks and share the production and delivery costs.

While groups meet and start a "Teikei" relationship in various ways, many start from the consumers groups' search for 'safe' food. One pioneer consumers group in Japan described their approach to farmers as follows (Group for the Production and Consumption of Safe Food, 1993:3-4):

> It was in October 1973, just two months before the first oil crises, that 25 Tokyo housewives, each equipped with a large lunch pack, made a long expedition and surprised Miyoshi Village --- a peaceful rural community, whose only problem at the time, if there was any, was a gradual outflow of its young population...
>
> We illustrated our argument with specific problems

> of the time such as chemical detergents, food additives, petro-chemical proteins, chemical pesticides and fertilizers, medicated formula feeds for farm animals, abnormal weather, energy resources and self-support in food. We resorted to all sources of information available.
>
> We brought a hornet's nest about our ears. A pack of lay women from Tokyo were bold enough to discuss farming, criticize it and even dare to predict that agriculture in Japan would come to grief, if left to farmers! We even went as far as to suggest that they should be up and doing. Miyoshi farmers, it is no wonder, were surprised and annoyed. Then we came up with our proposal that they should produce chemical-free rice, vegetables and fruit as well as fertilized eggs and send them to us....
>
> Six months of negotiations followed. We went back and forth quite a few times before we decided that those of us who were ready to get started should take the first step forward....

There are several types of formations of "Teikei" depending on what consumers groups demand from farmers. Some consumers groups have a "Teikei" relationship with just one farmer or farmers group, while others have contracts with several producers (e.g., rice farmers, vegetable farmers, dairy farmers, fruit farmers, tea producers, etc.). Similarly, some individual farmers or farmers groups have a "Teikei" relationship with only one consumers group, while some farmers or farmers groups have contracts with several different consumers groups and/or consumers cooperatives.

The expansion of the organic agriculture movement in Japan has been directly involved with the development of steadily expanding "Teikei". The JOAA has strongly encouraged "Teikei" as the only relationship between producers and consumers that makes 'true' organic agriculture possible. In a 'true' organic agriculture,

producer-consumer interaction is based upon a common goal and goodwill, rather than upon different economic interests (Fukushima Tsuchi to Inochi wo Mamoru Kai, 1991).

For farmers, the idea of enhancing "Teikei" emerged from the lack of standards and categories for organic products in the conventional market (Miura, 1993:8). Organic agricultural products were treated in the same way as non-organic products because there were no definitions, standards or categories for them.[2] In order to survive as organic growers, they had to establish alternative marketing strategies.

Another reason for establishing "Teikei" was philosophical. Organic growers and organic consumers both put emphasis on the meaning of food as the most important source of life. For them, soil is both essential and sacred since the soil grows food to support our life. Similarly, many organic growers do not like the idea of treating their products as mere 'commodities', paying no attention to the safety of food. In order to keep these profound meanings of food in their produce, they believe that human relationships established on mutual understanding and trust between producers and consumers are indispensable. Personal exchange between producers and consumers is emphasized based on this philosophy.

Ahmed (1994) estimated that the total number of people

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[2] The first standard for growers to label produce "organic" was proposed by the Ministry of Agriculture in April 1994.

who regularly eat "organic" food (including both food grown without inorganic chemicals and food produced with reduced use of inorganic chemicals) in Japan is probably around three to five million (about three to five per cent of the population). However, it is difficult to estimate how many people are engaged in "Teikei" and how many "Teikei" groups exist in Japan. The above figure included those who obtain "organic" food from retail outlets and through organic food distributing companies. These people may or may not be engaged in "Teikei" activities.

Kokumin Seikatsu Senta (1991; this study will be called The 1991 Teikei Study hereafter) found 832 organic consumers groups from a variety of sources, mailed questionnaires and received usable answers from 253 groups. Simple calculation from the average number of households in these "Teikei" groups indicates that there were approximately 150,000 households which were engaged in "Teikei" in 1990.

On the other hand, based on its farmer members, JOAA estimated in 1989 that the number of consumers who have "co-partner relations" with organic farmers and who depend upon these organic farmers for most or all of their food was less than 10,000 (Amano and Ichiraku, 1989:180). This difference in the estimates of the number of organic consumers is assumed to be due to differences of definition of "Teikei"; while the JOAA holds a stricter definition of "Teikei" emphasizing "co-partnership" and a mutual relationship between producers and consumers, the 1991 Teikei Study does

not really focus on "co-partnership" but on direct purchasing of organic produce from organic farmers.

Ten Principles of "Teikei"

The idea of "Teikei" was promoted with the guidelines called Ten Principles of "Teikei". The Ten Principles of "Teikei" were composed in 1978 by Mr. Teruo Ichiraku[3] of JOAA, one of the founders of JOAA. In the following section, we will look at the Ten Principles.

(1) Mutual dependence and mutual assistance

This is the most basic and important principle of all. This principle argues that "Teikei" is not a mere trading relationship of goods and money but "a friendly companionship among people". It advocates that "both producers and consumers should try to understand each other and help each other in their positions". Also it must aim at reorienting their lives to be better producers and consumers (Fukushima Tsuchi to Inochi wo Mamoru Kai, 1991:132). One "Teikei" group reflects this idea in their proposition: "Food producers are responsible for the healthy life of

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[3] Mr. Teruo Ichiraku was ex-trustee of the Norin-chukin Bank, the Central Cooperative Bank for Agriculture and Forestry and Zenchu (Zenkoku Nogyokyodokumiai Chuokai), the Central Union of Agricultural Cooperatives (representing 80 percent of Japan's farmers). After retiring, he advocated the significance of establishing a farming system which values life and decided to organize practices of organic and biological farming and organic producers-consumers alliances in different places in Japan. In 1946, he established and started JOAA with other members (Fukushima Tsuchi to Inochi wo Mamorukai, 1991:184-185).

consumers. Consumers are responsible for the sustainable livelihood of producers" (Group for the Production and Consumption of Safe Food, 1993:2). How this principle is realized in actual "Teikei" activities is described in the following nine principles.

(2) Maximum provision of crops for consumer needs, and (3) Acceptance of all products by consumers.

Based on consultation with consumers, producers should produce the maximum amount and maximum variety within the capacity of their farms. In return, consumers should accept all this produce and they should depend as much as possible on this produce for their food. These arrangements are quite important in guaranteeing the financial stability of farmers' livelihood and promoting mutual trust between producers and consumers. These ideas are based on the traditional philosophical idea called "Shin Do Fu Ji": "Life and soil are inseparable" and "The right crop for the right season" (Group for the Production and Consumption of Safe Food, 1993; Hasumi, 1991). It does not intend to force consumers' acceptance of an unreasonable obligation, but to seek the philosophy of a healthy diet that keeps bodies in the best condition.

In order for produce to be accepted, the farmers also have some obligations. According to the 1990 Teikei Study, most of the "Teikei" groups have an agreement on the usage of agricultural chemicals. Also, about 80 percent of "Teikei" group studied had taken some measures to

investigate the usage of agricultural chemicals at their contracted farms.

(4) Mutual concessions in price-decision

The price of produce is independent from the mass market price. The price should be decided taking full account of conditions on the producers' side, acceptance of all the produce by consumers, and reduction of labor and cost spent on grading, packaging and transporting produce; on the consumer's' side, acquisition of "fresh, safe and tasty" food. Most of the groups have a price negotiation meeting at a certain time of the year, but some just accept the producer's offer (The 1991 Teikei Study). In either case, voices of producers are well reflected in the final prices, which does not happen in the established market system. Also, in "Teikei" price negotiations, trust between producers and consumers becomes really important.

(5) Face-to-face relationship

This is to develop understanding, trust and friendship between producers and consumers. Helping with farming and visiting the farm are practiced by many groups. Meetings with farmers and seasonal events, such as a harvest celebration, are also held by many groups.

(6) Self-distribution of products either by producers or consumers

In order to have more of a chance to meet each other, it is recommended that either producers or consumers distribute produce without depending on others. However,

when the distance between producers and consumers is very long or when they have frequent deliveries, self-distribution tends to be a burden for the group. Using a parcel service as a labor saving measure has become popular among "Teikei" groups these days (1991 Teikei Study), although the quality of face-to-face relationships through self-distribution has to be compromised.

(7) Sharing responsibility and democratic management in producer groups and consumer groups

In order to have a lasting relationship, it is recommended that all participants share responsibility without depending on a limited number of leaders in both producer groups and consumer groups. Yet, it is also important that members understand each other's family situations and help each other: those who finished childrearing can help those who have small children and old parents.

(8) Voluntary study in both producer groups and consumer groups

This principle is proposed to prevent "Teikei" activities from being limited to just providing and obtaining "safe food". It is expected that "Teikei" groups will normally challenge any matter about which they are concerned, such as environmental problems, educational problems, school lunch issues, and problems of local government. According to the 1991 Teikei Study, more than 90 percent of the "Teikei" groups are acting on other issues

(see Figure 2.2). Such issues as synthetic detergents and food additives are worked on by about 80 percent of the groups.

(9) Maintaining appropriate size and territory of a group

In order to enjoy ideal conditions, emphasis is placed on maintaining appropriate size and territory. When the group becomes too big to maintain, division into subgroups is recommended. Cooperation and exchange among the subgroups need then to be promoted.

(10) Efforts for steady development of both groups

Mr. Ichiraku said that it is difficult to enjoy the ideal condition stated above in the beginning. Therefore, it is essential for both producer and consumer groups to choose promising partners and to make efforts to obtain these ideals even if the initial conditions are not immediately satisfactory.

"Teikei" and Urban Housewives

Consumer groups of "Teikei" have developed mainly in urban areas. This tendency is strongly related to the situation of women or housewives in the Japanese urban social system. Consumer groups of "Teikei" are normally composed of women or housewives and urban areas are fertile ground for the development of consumer's groups. Urban women and housewives tend to be better educated than rural women, and are more likely to be exposed to information about food problems. Also, urban housewives are more

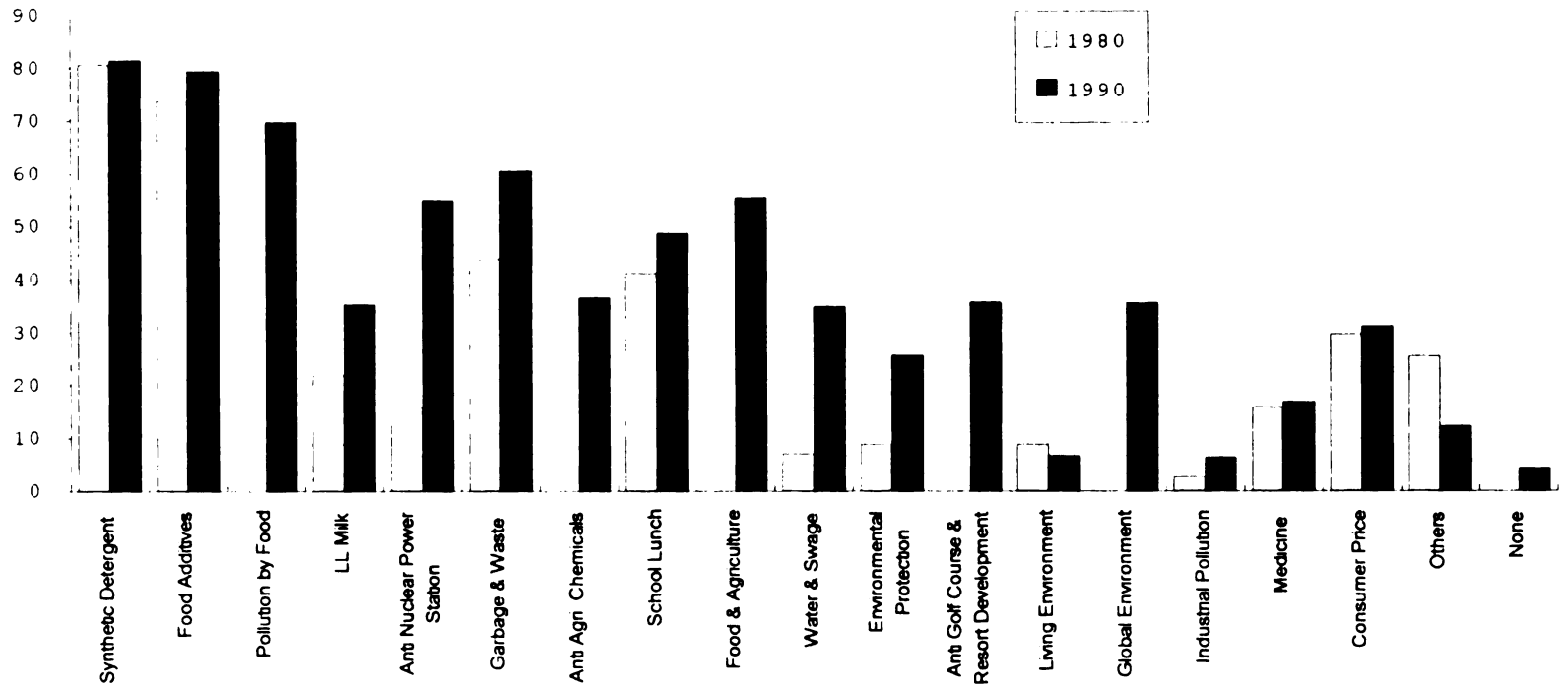

Figure 2-2 Problems That "Teikei" Groups Are Working On Besides "Teikei"

Source: Masugata and Kubota (1992:162-163).
Note: Multiple answers. In the survey of 1980, there were no choices of "pollution by food," "Food and Agriculture," "Anti Agri. Chemicals," "Anti Golf Course and Resort Development," "Global Environment," and "None."

likely to experience food problems caused by a longer, impersonal food chain than rural housewives. Additionally, it tends to be easier in urban areas than in rural areas for persons with similar interests to get together and form groups. This topic will be discussed further in Chapter III.

Development of Organic Agriculture Movement and "Teikei" after 1985

After 1985, the demand for and interest in organic products and natural foods was more extensive and institutionalized in Japanese society. From the late 70s, the wholesalers and greengrocers' shops dealing specially with organic and natural produce appeared, and some department stores and supermarkets in Japan began to sell organic and natural food at a premium.

The number of these wholesalers and stores increased during the 1980s, especially after 1985 (Masugata and Kubota, 1992:3). According to the study in 1988 by Kokumin Seikatsu Senta, 50 percent of the department stores and supermarkets that they studied purchased organic produce from wholesalers and sold it distinctively as organic. From 1982, one of the biggest green crop wholesalers in Japan started to develop sources to purchase organic produce throughout Japan and in 1991 it set up a space for organic produce in the biggest green market in Tokyo. The distribution and marketing of organic produce diversified and the amount of this produce increased year after year. One of the distribution systems

that developed during the 1980s is parcel service for organic produce. A wholesaler collects a variety of organic produce from many different places in Japan and distributes a box of organic food to contracting customers' houses. This system is becoming very popular among working women who do not have time to go out to obtain "safe" food.

Yet, these new organic marketing system do not necessarily emphasize "Teikei" relationships. Although there are some companies trying to connect producers and consumers, organic marketing itself has a tendency to minimize the quality of the "Teikei" relationship and simplify it to mere buying-and-selling relationship.

Institutionalization of organic agriculture and marketing was promoted at national and local levels. In the national government, the Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Fishery (MAFF) established the Natural Farming International Research Center in 1985. In 1989, MAFF set up the Organic Agriculture Task Force Committee. In 1991, the committee issued guidelines which described the farming practices necessary for a grower to label produce "organic". The guidelines were legislated in 1994 amidst arguments concerning the influence that guidelines would have on the organic agriculture movement.[4]

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[4] The problems about the guidelines pointed out by JOAA and other consumer groups include the lenient standard for usage of chemicals, the potential for causing confusion with labels such as "reduced fertilizer" or "reduced pesticides", the ambiguous inspection system for the standard in the marketing process, and the possibility of the deterioration

The local governments of at least one prefecture (Okayama) and one town (Aya-machi, Miyazaki prefecture) supported organic farming by legislating their own regulations for certifying produce as "organic". According to a survey in 1990, 42 out of all 47 prefectures in Japan allocated public funds for research and development related to organic agriculture. Local agricultural cooperatives began to show their support for organic farming and sustainable agriculture. In 1987, 185 agricultural cooperatives out of 1,010 (18 percent) indicated that they were working on organic agriculture in some way. This number increased to 949 (27 percent) out of 3,481 in 1990.

The increasing demand for and interest in organic and natural food among people and in government is attributed largely to the rise of concern over agriculture, environmental issues and health problems both in the nation and the world. First, people became worried about the security of the food supply after the Oil Shock of 1973 and the food crisis and mass starvation in Africa. The amount of food imported to Japan which has been increasing year after year (Figure 2.3), made people worry about the food security of their own country. The rapidly growing global environmental concern during the late 80s over global warming, ozone layer depletion, acid rain, and industrial

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of the organic social relationship emphasized in organic philosophy and "Teikei" which would be caused by large organic business including mass production and big distribution systems (JOAA, 1994a, 1994b, 1994c).

pollution also increased the concern over food security (Masugata and Kubota, 1992:3).

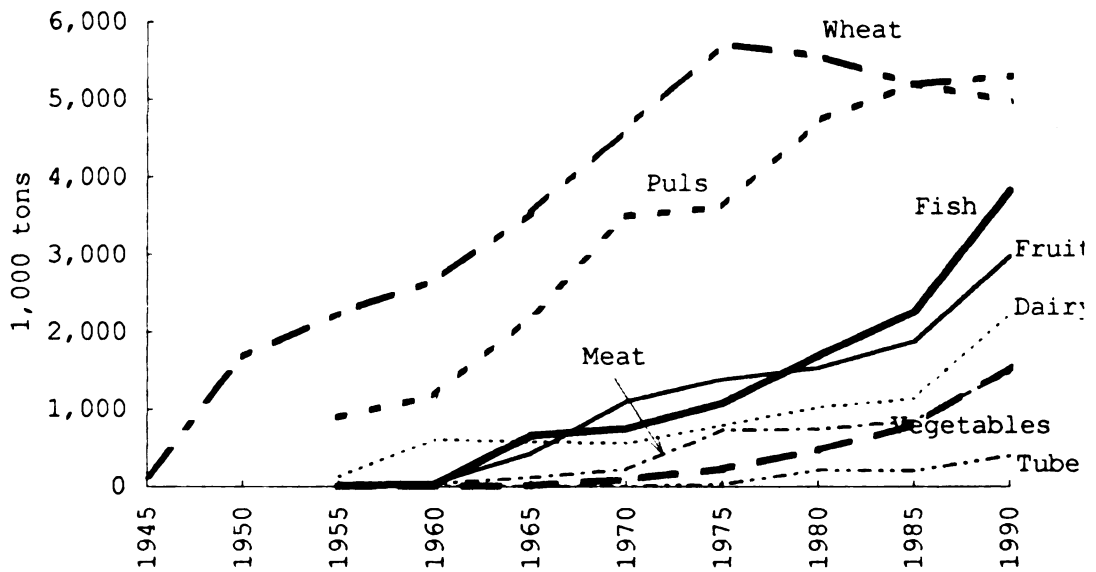

Figure 2.3: The Trend of Japan's Food Import.

Source: Based on data from the Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries, Japan eds., Abstract of Statistics on Agriculture Forestry and Fisheries (Tokyo: Association of Agriculture and Forestry Statistics, 1991).

Secondly, the rate of diseases related to changing diet such as diabetes, heart disease, hypertension and cancer increased, making people more aware of the link between health and a nutritious diet. In 1986, cancer and heart disease became the first and second highest causes of death. The reason for the increase in death from heart disease is believed to be related to diet changes, especially the increased consumption of energy (calories) and animal fat (Asahi Shinbunsha, 1986:212).

Thirdly, people began to be concerned that the safety of food was threatened by post-harvest pesticides and other pesticide residues and additives in food. Increased importation of food added to this fear because imported food may include agricultural chemicals whose domestic use is limited or prohibited. Nuclear pollution after the Chernobyl accident in 1986 also caused worry over food risks from industrial chemicals. As seen in Figure 2.2, the percentage of "Teikei" groups that worked on anti-nuclear power issues grew from 15 percent in 1980 to 55 percent in 1990.

Finally, environmental impacts of agriculture through agricultural chemicals, deforestation, and desertification also contributed to the high demand and interest in a more "ecologically-sound" life style and farming system.

In the "Monitor Survey on Food Consumption" conducted in 1990 by MAFF (Masugata and Kubota, 1992:3), 97 percent of the housewife respondents answered that they would buy organic vegetables when they were available. This rate

dramatically increased from 1987 when only 66 percent of the respondents answered that they would buy organic vegetables.

Social Impact of Organic Farming Movement in Japan

As stated above, "Teikei" has many social impacts on Japanese society in addition to the environmental and medical effects of organic agriculture. Mr. Kanji Hoshi, one of the pioneer organic farmers and "Teikei" organizer of Japan, argued that the organic agriculture movement has succeeded in developing "self management in four areas": improving the living environment, preserving and creating the local culture, developing autonomous production systems, and developing an autonomous marketing system (Ono, 1994:284-285). "Self management" implies independence from the current market system which has controlled these four realms of social life.

Miura (1994) analyzes the socio-economic significance of "Teikei". He argues that "Teikei" helped restore community ties in both rural and urban communities. In addition, he argues that "Teikei" changed the life style of urban consumers, especially urban food consumption. He added that organic agricultural producers have also changed their farming system from a specialized monoculture to a diverse cropping system to provide different kinds of crops for the urban consumers. Combining these arguments and other discussions, the social impacts of the organic agricultural movement and "Teikei" can be summarized as follows:

1) Restoring the tie between rural and urban communities.

Although there are organic agricultural producers' groups in both rural and urban areas which form linkages with local consumers in their specific areas, early "Teikei" groups were formed between urban consumers and rural producers. This still remains the typical form and thus intensifies the tie between rural and urban communities through various activities embodied in "Teikei", such as helping with farming and meetings. Also, many groups check the usage of chemicals and the quality of feed for animals, using standards agreed upon by visiting producers' farms regularly and talking with them. These visits strengthen their relationship.

Masugata and Kubota (1992) found that when "Teikei" groups have broader aims in their purpose beyond simply "obtaining safe agricultural products"; such as improving farmers' systems, achieving food self-sufficiency within a locality, changing energy-wasting life styles, and meeting food demands only with food bought through "Teikei", the more they stress interaction with producers.

2) Reforming the "consuming" life style.

Many consumer groups started "Teikei" based on reflections and complaints about their uncontrollable "consuming" life style. They are trying to create an autonomous management of life as consumers by setting up a system in which they themselves can consult with producers over quality, materials, amount, prices and way of

distribution and packaging they want, in a mutual manner. Also, many consumer groups are making efforts to meet their demand with seasonally grown (and in some cases locally grown) food that comes from the producers, instead of demanding anything without considering where it is from and how it is grown. For example, here a consumer discusses her experience with the food from her "Teikei" (Fukushima Tsuchi to Inochi wo Mamoru Kai, 1991:162):

> When an item is in the season, it comes in bulk of 10 kg just for our group. Then it continues for three weeks. The producers grow them for us, so I feel very sorry if I waste even one leaf of them. Every week is a struggle with the vegetables. Diet of my house used to consist of 80 percent meat and 20 percent vegetables. But the rates reversed from some day and vegetables occupy our dishes now. When I hear new recipes from friends, I try them right away. Once colorful lunch boxes of our children turned to sauté or other cooking of the same vegetables, but I have them eat them all because there is no other choice. Cook books can't teach us how to cook these vegetables.... Around that time a re-examination of my life style began, and I realized the change in my consciousness and my life grounded in agriculture.

3) Facilitating local self reliance.

Development of self-managed production and marketing systems through "Teikei" facilitates independence from conventional marketing systems, that diminish the autonomy of rural communities (Redclift, 1987; Kirschenmann, 1993). In addition, as mentioned earlier, the philosophy of organic agriculture in Japan originated in the Buddhist belief about reincarnation called "Shin Do Fu Ji" or "Uniformity of soil and body". This means that "a healthy body is inseparable

from healthy soil" and "food which is the origin of our lives should be grown in our local land" (Hasumi, 1991). This philosophy leads to the idea of buying fresh local food, which leads to economic independence and self-reliance of local communities.

4) Maintaining local culture and folk knowledge.

Local food is related to local history and culture. Through the effort of consuming or selling local food, people began to revive traditional recipes. Also, organic agriculture is strongly related to traditional farming systems and local species and varieties of crops since it seeks the way of farming which is most appropriate to the local agroecological conditions. Thus, organic farming tends to revive local culture and folk knowledge.

5) Growing consumer groups as a base for other community activities.

As mentioned above, many "Teikei" groups have a broader purpose beyond "obtaining safe food", such as achieving food self-reliance within a locality, changing the energy/resource consuming lifestyle, and supplying food needs only with the food brought through "Teikei". With these broader perspectives, some "Teikei" groups, aside from selling and buying, are working on introducing locally grown organic products into local institutions such as schools, hospitals and convalescent homes. Also, their broader perspectives stimulate the members of "Teikei" to work on other problems, such as nuclear plants, garbage and waste

problems, sewage problems and environmental problems (see Figure 2.2). The social impact of these activities has been quite significant.

6) Growing consumer groups for women's "self realization".

As stated before, many consumer groups of "Teikei" have been organized by housewives. In the male dominated society of Japan, these groups play an important role for women's self-realization -- the realization of what they think they are and what they want to be. This issue will be discussed in detail in the following section.

In conclusion, "Teikei" satisfies four sets of parameters crucial for the development of rural localities described by Marsden, Murdoch, Lowe, Munton and Flynn (1993) and Kirschenmann (1993) as economic, social, political, and cultural parameters. Facilitating local self-reliance will affect all these four dimensions of rural localities, especially economic and social dimensions. Also, although many consumer groups are in urban areas, they influence the social parameters of production in rural areas. For example, consumer groups assist in developing a base for other community activities, and women's self-realization, and helping to reform the "consuming" lifestyle. All affect social parameters of producers' rural localities through communication and information exchange with their urban consumers. Maintaining local culture and folk knowledge is of course a vital part of the cultural parameters in rural localities.

Similarly, "Teikei" significantly impacts the same four parameters in urban areas. It has changed the urban consumers' "consuming" lifestyle, particularly in the area of food consumption, which is associated with economic, social and cultural elements of urban life. Also, it has provided a base for other community activities, as well as for the environmental movement, consumers' movement and women's empowerment movement, which are directly related to political and social parameters of urban life.

CHAPTER III

SITUATION OF JAPANESE HOUSEWIVES

The following chapters will discuss the relationship between Japanese urban housewives and "Teikei". First, it is important to look at the general characteristics of Japanese housewives. In this section, points which are considered relevant to "Teikei" -- female participation in both economic and non-economic social activities, as well as women and community relations -- will be discussed.

Female Participation in Economic Activities

In Japan, it was only around the end of the rapid economic growth period (the 1960s and 70s) when the term "housewife" began to define the married woman. This is because rapid economic growth and urbanization lifted the majority of people to the middle class with white collar salaried male workers having their wives as full-time homemakers. Before modern "housewives" became common, the status and situations of married women varied according to their socio-economic backgrounds. There was a big difference between those who could afford to hire nannies or maids and those who had to work on a farm or factory in order to supplement family income while taking care of domestic responsibilities (Yazawa, 1993:75-76).

A modern housewife is understood to be a woman who

takes charge of the "housewife role". This is in turn defined as "a women's gender role to be responsible for home management through various household activities" (Yazawa, 1993:77). Before housewives became common, to become a wife of a white collar, salaried husband and to fill the housewife role was the goal of a majority of women who were in the lower status. However, the popularity did not endure long for those occupying the role; in the 80s, housewives hoped to work outside the home. As seen in Figure 3.1, the rate of female labor participation has been increasing yearly. Labor participation by married women has been increasing along with the general trend toward higher female employment. Over 50 percent (in case of those in their 40s, over 60 percent) of married women ranging from 35 to 50 years old were involved in the work force as of 1985.

Reasons for working outside the home are varied. One important reason is to supplement the household income. While the cost of living has soared in Japan, real wages have stagnated - especially after 1973 - pushing Japanese women into the work force to supplement their husband's income (Nester, 1992). In 1990, 41 percent of working women responding to polls[1] answered that they work in order to supplement their household income (Inoue and Ehara, 1991:161).

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[1] The respondents includes both married and unmarried women and the answers were multiple.

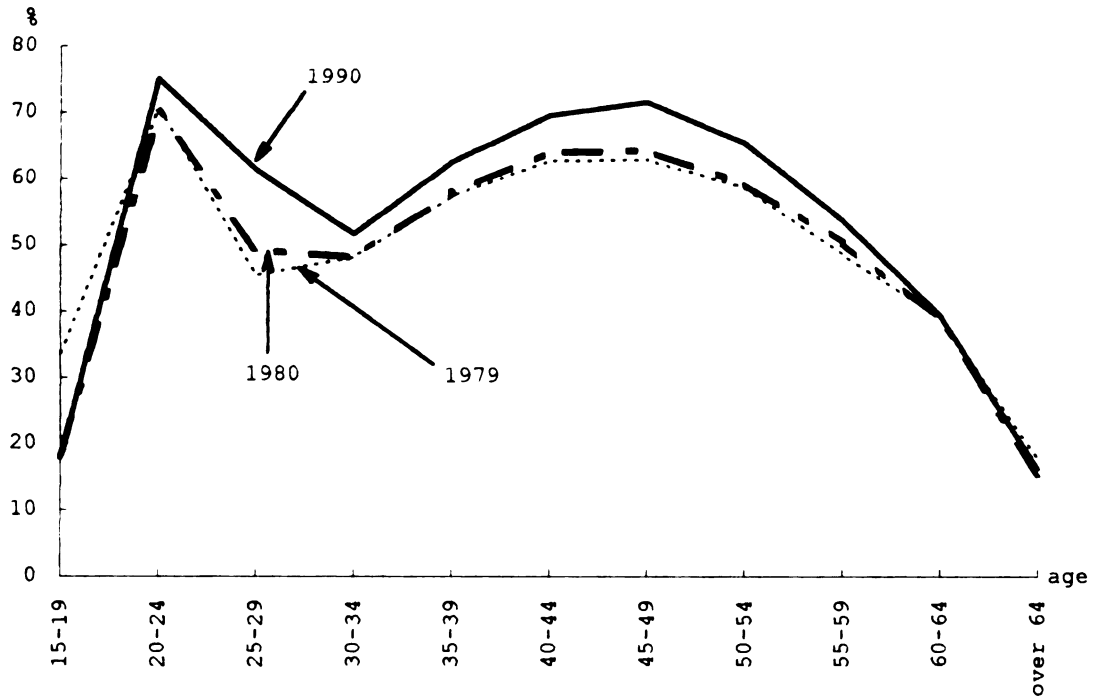

Figure 3.1: Female Labor Force Participation Rates By Age.

Source: Inoue and Ehara (1992:37)
Note: Numbers in the figure are the rates of 1990.

The invention and dissemination of domestic electrical appliances which save a lot of time for housewives in their work at home contributed further to female labor force participation. As Figure 3.2 shows, beginning in the 1960s, use of electrical appliances such as washing machines and refrigerators spread very rapidly. Additionally, the increasing number of cleaners, restaurants and child care institutions meant that more domestic work could be done by others outside the home.

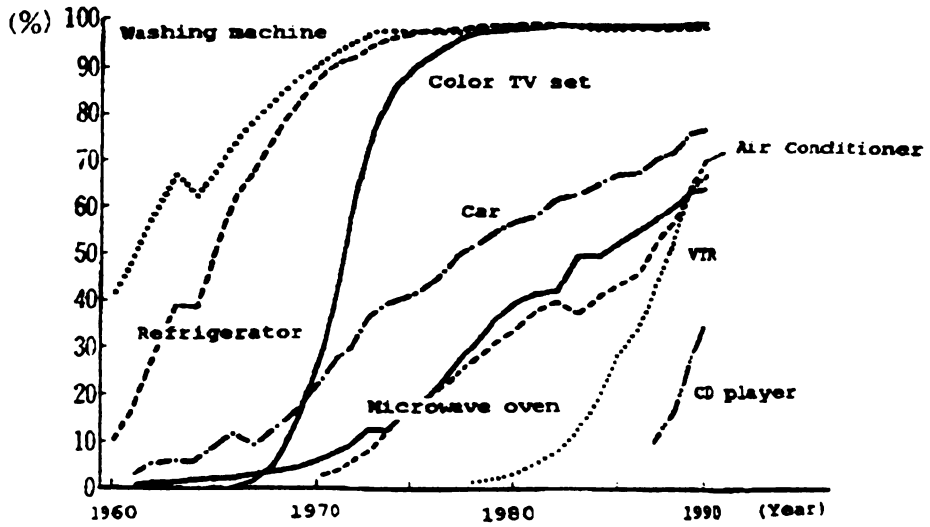

Figure 3.2: Diffusion of Consumer Durable Goods.
Source: Funabashi and Tsutsumi (1992:154).

The industrial and economic structure has profoundly affected the face of female labor force participation in Japan. Since the rapid economic growth period during the 1960s and 70s, housework industries have been demanding female laborers. Gender roles remained fixed even outside home, thus household-type work outside the home is expected to be carried out by females. In addition to these positions, cheap, easily terminated female part-timers are utilized in other industries to remedy temporary labor shortages and to take various kinds of peripheral jobs surrounding primary full-time male labor, as secondary employees (Doeringer and Piore, 1971). The number and the percentage of part-timers to all female laborers has been increasing (Inoue and Ehara,

1991:83). In 1991, housewives accounted for 73.4 percent of all female part-time employees (Inoue and Ehara, 1991:89).

Economic factors are not the only reasons housewives seek work outside the home. Various social factors influence women's perspective and foster their decision to participate in economic activities.

First of all, by introducing a democratic constitution and a new family system during the American Occupation (1945-52), modern women experienced the legalization of equal attendance at school with males, democratic education, and as a result, attained higher levels of education. From 1955 to 1989, women's university and college attendance grew from five percentage to 36.8 percent (Inoue and Ehara, 1991:178). They also experienced equal suffrage and inheritance. These changes dramatically expanded women's opportunities in social life.

Secondly, Japan has been experiencing a rising life expectancy since the end of World War II (see Figure 3.3). At the same time, as Figure 3.4 shows, the birth rate has dropped dramatically, and the size of an average family has become smaller and smaller (see Figure 3.5). These changes have affected the life course of Japanese women in general. Figure 3.6 shows that on average, women who were born in 1959 can expect to live about thirty years after childrearing (when the last child graduates from university). These years were not available to women who were born in

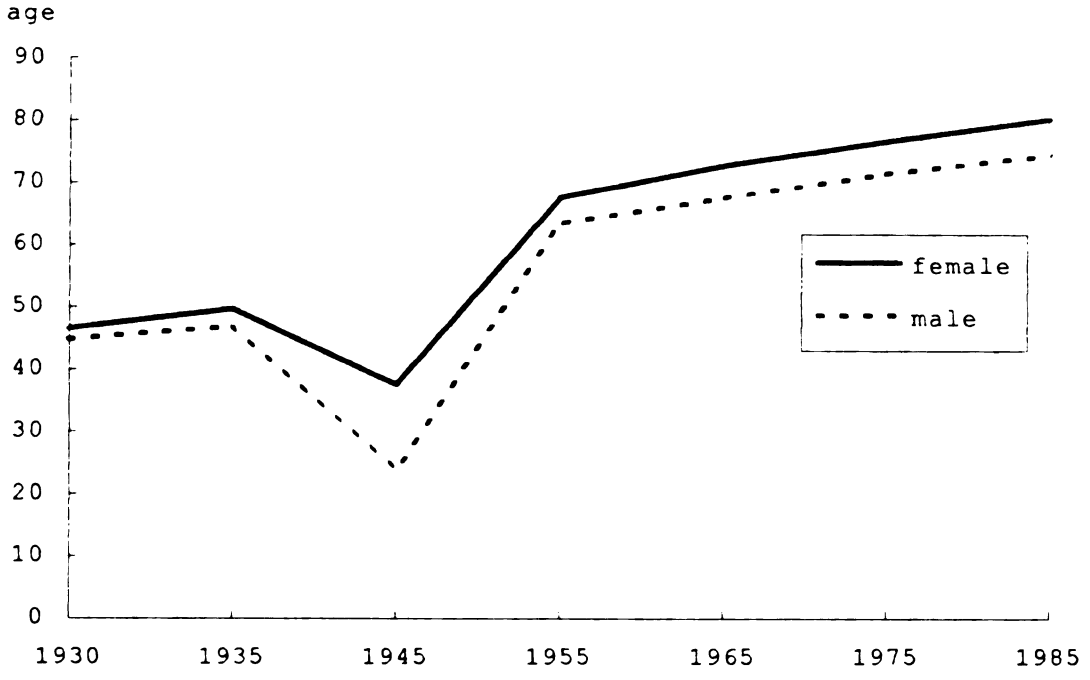

Figure 3.3: Expectation of Life at Birth by Sex.

Source: Inoue and Ehara (1991:5).

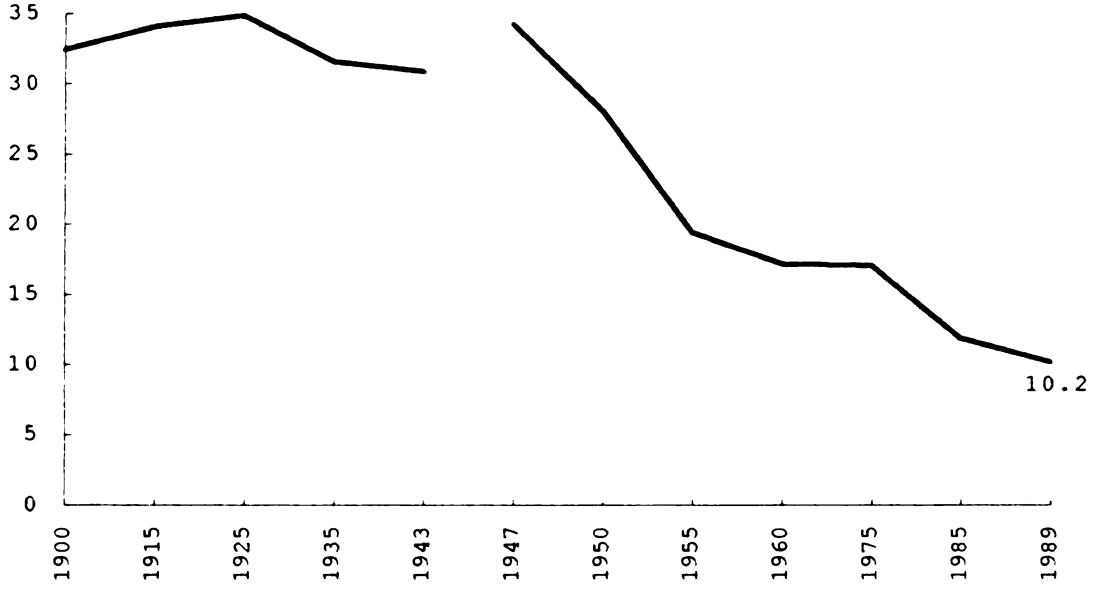

Figure 3.4: Birth Rates (per 1,000 population).

Source: Inoue and Ehara (1991:3).
Note: Data of 1943-47 were not available due to WWII.

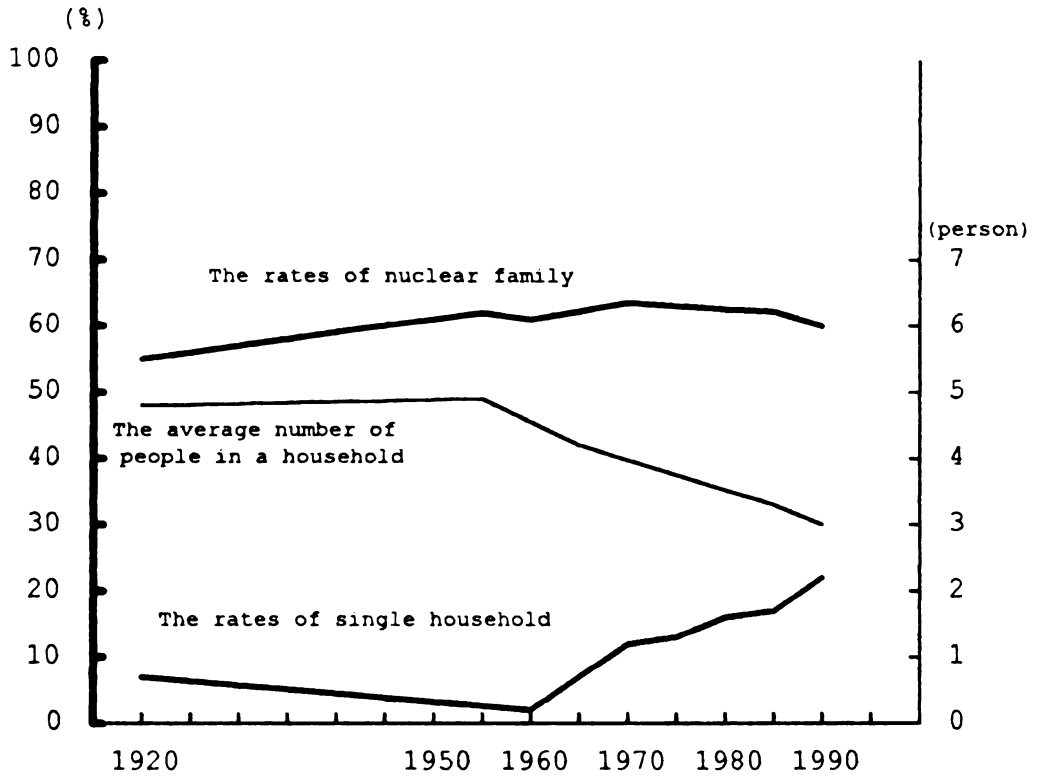

Figure 3.5: The Rates of Nuclear Family and Single Household, and the Average Number of People in a Household.

Source: Funabashi and Tsutsumi (1992:153).

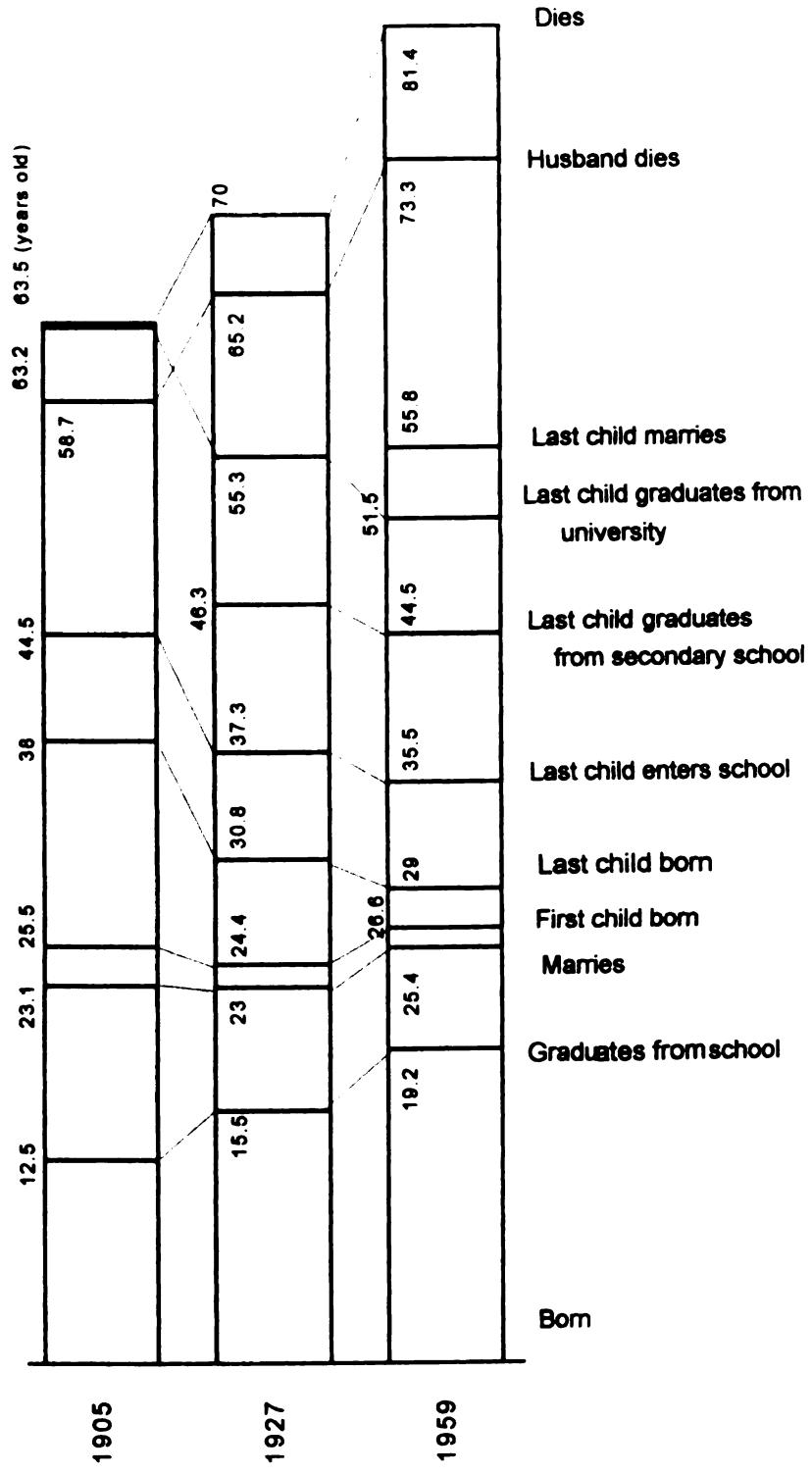

Figure 3.6: Women's Life Course

Source: Inoue and Ehara (1991:5)

1905. Obtaining the so called "second life" affected women's thinking and perspectives toward their own lives.

Thirdly, as commercialization of domestic work proceeded, more jobs targeting women and housewives were developed or created. Consequently, with mechanization of domestic work as a pushing factor, more women have been engaged in the labor force. This experience is assumed to broaden and change women's perspectives and raise the social awareness of women in general. Yet, at the same time, so called pink collar employment is criticized as "new shadow work", or externalized shadow work which is expected to lead to the fixation of gender biases and discrimination, crisis of women's self identity, and "discrimination and pauperization of labor" (Yazawa, 1993:41-43).

Fourth, Japan also experienced internationalization after the war. Expansion of international trade brought foreign culture and information to Japan. As average household income rose, more people became interested in overseas travel; the number of travelers overseas increased dramatically from less than 100,000 people per year in the 1950s to more than four million people per year in the 80s. The number of foreigners entering Japan more than quadrupled from 1970 to 1990 (Nakano, 1993:61).

Finally, the average number of TV sets owned by a household increased (see Figure 3.2), bringing new information about other areas of Japan and other cultures

into Japanese homes.

All these changes affected women's perspectives and attitudes, and "women began to seek a new way of life to become economically independent and to expand their abilities" (Inoue and Ehara, 1991:160).

Female Participation in Non-Economic Social Activities

Japanese women have traditionally been the center of community activities. Before World War II, it was a social obligation for each household to participate in mutual assistance in a *Kyodotai* (community) that "circumscribed the lives of members from the cradle to the grave". This participation included such activities as reciprocal aid in times of family crises and shared maintenance of common spaces. Women's active involvement in these *Kyodotai* activities was expected and mediated through the local women's association or the shrine temple association.

After World War II, *Kyodotai* was changed for both material and ideological reasons. Rapid urbanization and industrialization brought a large number of new residents from rural areas to cities (see Table 3.1) and rearranged the cities and neighborhoods. The new residents no longer had traditional household ties, and the residential areas created a separation of economic and residential functions. Ideologically, occupation and employment policy emphasized

Table 3.1: Population of Three Major Metropolitan Areas, 1960-1980 (in thousand).

Major Metropolitan areas	Population (% of total national population)		
	1960	1970	1980
Keihin	16,848 (17.9)	23,457 (22.4)	28,438 (24.3)
Keihanshin	10,726 (11.4)	15,390 (14.7)	17,165 (14.7)
Chukyo	4,368 (4.6)	6,634 (6.3)	7,700 (6.6)
Total	31,942 (33.9)	45,481 (43.5)	53,303 (45.5)

Source: United Nation Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific (ESCAP) (1984:118).
Note: The central cities of those metropolitan areas were Tokyo for Keihin, Osaka for Keihanshin, and Nagoya for Chukyo.

"the significance of individuality and democracy in order to change the 'feudal' nature of traditional relations" (Imamura, 1987:141). These changes affected family life and individual's role in the family, as well as the relationship between women and community.

As men were absorbed into the male-dominant, job-centered lifestyle, gender roles became clear and fixed; women were expected to become housewives after marriage and take charge of all domestic work as well as family and residential community relations since their husbands rarely contributed to domestic work (Inoue and Ehara, 1991:165).

In the 1960s, during the period of rapid economic growth, gender roles became even more differentiated;

husbands and wives took to their roles and separate spaces. Imamura (1987) points out that "a combination of social expectations, the differential costs of public and private entertaining, and poor housing conditions contributed to men's continued use of public rather than domestic space for their social life" (Imamura, 1987:141). On the other hand, women left in the narrow "private space" of the nuclear family with only one or two children became isolated (Ueno, 1994:289). In order to escape the isolation and to obtain a source of recreation and friendship, they became more involved in and dependent on community activities and participation in public affairs (Imamura, 1987:141).

As the old *kyodotai* had disappeared with urbanization, the rearrangement of blocks and neighborhoods, and the changes in family life and individual's roles in the family, the characteristics of community activities changed as well. A new term *Komyuniti* (community) emerged implying "a local voluntary involvement, based on 'democratic' principles" (Imamura, 1987:142), rather than obligatory responsibility based on residential and blood connections. Ueno (1994:283) calls these new groups "voluntary associations". The housewives who found common problems as women, mothers, educators, residents, housewives and consumers gradually started to get together to solve problems that were difficult to solve at the individual level of family life (i.e., improving their health and that of their families,

childrearing, education, consumer prices, home management, land prices, housing and aging).

This phenomenon created a wide range of groups such as consumer groups, family and child related groups, PTA (more socially active than before), leisure activities, political groups and study groups. In these activities, women share common interests such as hobbies, lifestyle, values and ideologies not observed in the obligatory traditional activities (Ueno, 1994:291). These new activities seem to have been gaining popularity since around 1970 (Yazawa, 1993:11). According to a survey conducted in 1980 (Yazawa, 1993:48-50) focusing on 3,000 women from 18 to 59 years old, 46.3 percent of the respondents participated in either economic and non-economic social activities, or in non-economic social activities only (see Figure 3.7).

These activities are mainly supported by female members. Males in Japanese society participate in company- or job-centered lifestyles, spending even spare time with their colleagues or business related people. Figure 3.8 indicates that except for sports activities, most of the participants in community activities are female.

Consequently, these activities facilitate women's self-realization. They help to enhance women's confidence in making economic decisions (particularly through consumers' activities), autonomy in organizing groups, and power and skills to solve various problems surrounding their daily

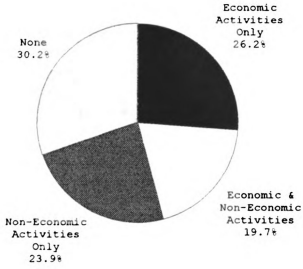

Figure 3.7: Women's Social Participation (1980).
Source: Sumiko Yazawa (1993:48-49).

lives by exchanging information with a variety of friends who share similar problems.

A Paradox Japanese Women Face in Their Social Position

So far we have seen that Japanese women have began to participate actively in both economic and social activities outside home. However, looking at them from different angle, we will find that these phenomena are related to Japanese women's paradoxical situations in both public and domestic spheres: Although they haveknowledge and skills to be fully functional in society and the law ensures them equal opportunity with men, Japanese women in fact enjoy only

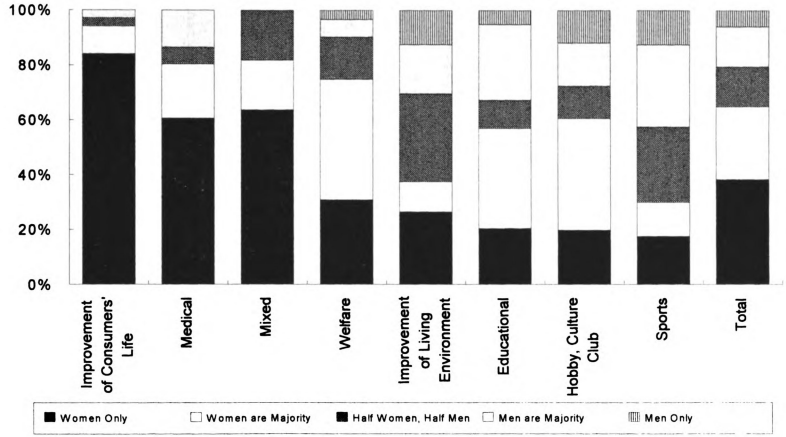

Figure 3.8: Participation of Community Activities by Sex.

Source: Inoue and Ehara (1991:141).

limited opportunity. For example, despite the fact that females graduate from high school and enter college and university in higher percentages than males, in 1987 82 percent of all four-year college students were male and 90 percent of all junior-college students were female (Nester, 1992:470).

There are essentially two employment tracks in almost all companies -- "'comprehensive' or professional work and 'general' or noncareer work, in which men almost exclusively fill the former and women the latter" (Nester, 1992:467). It is often said that the main responsibility for white-collar female workers is "smiling, bowing and pouring tea" (Nester, 1992:467). However, by participating in this pattern (i.e., "doing given ceremonial duties and dropping out in their mid-20s to marry"), women are trapped in a vicious circle which "reinforces society's prejudices and discrimination" toward women (Nester, 1992:475). Even after settling in a household, men are still likely to take administrative posts (especially chairperson or representative) in conventional community activities, such as block clubs, children's clubs, PTA, and old people's clubs. The daily business of all these activities, however, is managed by female members (Inoue and Ehara, 1991:141).

After marriage, quite a few housewives still tend to give higher priority to their domestic responsibilities and give up their careers. According to a survey in 1984 (Nester,

1992:466-467), about 70 percent of 1,000 unmarried women aged 20 to 29 answered that they wanted to quit their work either in conjunction with marriage or childbirth; 23.9 percent of them wanted to return to work later. Only 24.1 percent of the total wanted to continue to work even after marriage and childbirth. Japanese women are placed in a situation where they are expected to leave their work at marriage or childbirth and are rewarded for doing so.

These social norms for female gender roles were also affected by the Japanese industrial and economic structure during the rapid economic growth of the 60s and 70s. During this period, the Japanese economy demanded individuals who would devote themselves 100 percent to their corporations. "That social and economic circumstance provided an ideal ground for the gender-based division of labor to become a common social norm" (Funabashi and Tsutsumi, 1992:169). If companies and society expect husbands to work long hours and their wives to take on domestic responsibilities in order to support their companies, husbands and families, and companies and society operate under that assumption, it is natural for husbands to expect their wives to do so. A survey from 1988 (Nester, 1992:467-468) shows that 71 percent of Japanese men think a woman's place is in the home, compared to 34 percent of American men and only 13 percent of Swedish men.

But what about women? A study in 1991 (Inoue and Ehara,

1991:167) shows that women's opinion of the ideal household has been changing. In the 1970s, a majority of women supported the idea of "a husband who works outside, and a wife who works inside". In the 1980s, on the other hand, women supported the ideal of a home where both husbands and wives share domestic responsibilities. In addition, another study (Inoue and Ehara, 1991:161) shows that more women prefer having a job while carrying out domestic work in contrast to devoting themselves only to housekeeping and childrearing.

In short, there is a gap between the reality of women's lives and the prevailing cultural ideals. Women have gradually begun to seek more opportunities in their lives as they are taught at school or entitled to by law, but they are still likely to end up as mere "housewives" because of cultural expectations and social systems.

These women have difficulty in defining themselves. The following statement shows women's dissatisfaction with being identified solely as "housewives," but also shows an inability to identify themselves as anything else. To the question "Are you a housewife?", a 45 year-old woman answers:

> "A housewife... Yeah, I am a housewife because they call a person like me a housewife. I know I am a housewife, but I don't want to think in that way. I am a housewife, but I don't want to call myself a housewife. What can I call myself?" (Yazawa, 1993:80)

Another 36 year-old women says:

> "After all, there is no other word to identify a person like me, being at home and not doing any job. I don't think about it usually, but when I put down my occupation, I think about it because there is no word for me except "housewife." ... I guess I cannot be understood unless I say I am a housewife." (Yazawa, 1993:84)

In the current situation where over 60 percent of middle-aged housewives have jobs, women have come to associate a negative image with being full-time housewives. The stereotypes include women who are "not socially active", who have "no decision-making power or ability", who "talk only about husband and children", who "have lots of time and are free"(this means not contributing to society), and who "have a narrow perspective". The ideal image of housewives is changing from these full-time housewives to pluriactive housewives who earn economic benefits for their families and can make good decisions on various matters and situations. However, women cannot identify themselves with any other role but housewives because society does not give any other options and "they can measure themselves only by how close one is to the stereotype of housewives" (Yazawa, 1993:74). This has induced ambivalent self-identification in women - especially for those who are in the third stage of their lives (third stage starts from the time the last child enters elementary school until 59 years of age). They are between more responsibilities and expectations as women, mothers, wives, and their own self-images. As a result, these women try to play the role of an ideal housewife while trying to seek something different for themselves (Yazawa,

1993). One women explains how she plays two different roles in her daily life(Yazawa, 1992; 92):

> When I am working, I do not talk about my family. I only talk about things totally unrelated to "housewife". But at PTA, I talk like a housewife. I only talk about my children, food and my husband.

Yazawa (1993:104) argues that this contradictory women's situation is related to the emergence of new women's activities. She observed that since the 1980s, highly educated modern women who felt the gap between the ideal and the reality of male-female equality as well as the stress of their gender roles and ambiguous identity began to seek ways to go beyond the conventional housewife role by forming local activity groups with other women in similar situations. It is apparent that these women joined the labor force for the similar reasons.

CHAPTER IV

JAPANESE WOMEN AND SOCIAL MOVEMENT

To understand why Japanese urban housewives became active in the organic agriculture movement, we will now move on to an analysis of why they became involved in social movements, in particular consumer movements and the environmental movements, and how the situation of these women is related to their participation in these movements. The discussion and analysis will then focus on how and why "Teikei" has been expanded to include Japanese housewives.

Social movements have been studied in sociology from both macro and micro perspectives (McAdam, McCarthy and Zald, 1988). In the macro sense, the emergence of social movements is affected by political, economic and organizational conditions of the society. In a micro sense, individual accounts and micro-structural accounts of a person's life are significant points related to recruitment in activism. Also, macro-micro bridges, such as macro-determinants of micro-mobilization contexts, micro-dynamics within micro-mobilization contexts and resources are studied to analyze the development of social movements. Movement maintenance and change are examined to investigate how social movement organizations sustain themselves and what impacts they will have on the society and activists at large.

In the following section, we will look at some of the

social movements promoted by Japanese women within the framework of the sociology of social movements.

Women in the Consumer Movement

Since the 1960s, the Japanese government has promoted consumer education within the already established local women's associations (Kokumin Seikatsu Senta, 1981), in response to consumer demands for protection. Diversified consumer problems generated by rapid economic and industrial growth have created a need for the government to take responsibility in this manner. Housewives were in charge of everyday life activities in the Japanese households. With this situation as a background, along with rising social consciousness among educated women, the consumer movements became popular with urban housewives. Geographical concentration of housewives in the modern residential areas with similar social conditions is also thought to aid the development of consumer movements: it increases the density of interaction between group members and facilitate recruitment (McAdam, McCarthy and Zald, 1988:703).

The most popular consumer activity in Japan is consumer cooperatives. In 1992, there were 663 cooperative organizations that belonged to the Japanese Consumers' Cooperative Union (JCCU) with a total of 16.25 million members. Since some households belong to multiple cooperatives, it is estimated that about eight million

households or roughly 20 percent of all Japanese households belong to a consumer cooperative (Oshima and Murata, 1994:186-187).

Japan's consumer cooperatives have been operating weekly group ordering systems since 1972. In the system, a group of five to ten households called a *han* place and receive orders in bulk. This system became very popular among housewives in the 1980s. In 1980, the amount of foodstuffs supplied through this food-purchasing system accounted for less than 20 percent of all supplies for Japanese consumers cooperatives registered at JCCU. However, by 1990 it has grown to 45.2 percent and the sales from this food-purchasing system grew 600 percent during 1980 and 1990. Iwadare (1991:432) explains how a typical weekly ordering system based on *han* works:

> Every Saturday afternoon, they meet at one member's home to unload their co-op delivery. Members claim the items they ordered and place new orders with the driver of the delivery truck, who takes them back to the co-op. The computerized order form lists some 200 different products. Orders are normally processed and filled by the next week's delivery. The process is so high-tech that members even have the option to pay by automatic bank account withdrawal.

Housewives have played the most critical roles in this *han*-based food ordering system because consumer consciousness has been promoted exclusively among women, the delivery usually comes in the daytime on weekdays (this is a cause as well as an outcome of the housewife-centered activity) and the responsibility for food in the family is

considered women's work.

This *han*-based food ordering system does not end with food purchasing but plays an important role in ensuring democratic and participatory management of consumer cooperatives, a successful tactic in terms of sustaining member commitment. It requires group members to have a group meeting regularly to discuss the prices, taste and quality of the products that they obtain through the co-op, and to take any complaints and opinions to co-op management. All suggestions from housewives are passed on to higher levels within the organization. Consequently, each co-op member is guaranteed the right to participate in the activities and management of the organization. At the same time, in this way, consumer cooperatives resist the tendency for professionalism; the failure of many European consumer cooperatives (Oshima and Murata, 1994:198).

Higher committee members are selected by all co-op members and active co-op members are usually housewives, so even at the higher levels of the organizations, housewives are the chief operators. In other words, without housewives, neither the ordering system nor the consumer co-op's democratic management would be accomplished.

During the rapid economic growth in the 1960s, concerns over environmental pollution including residues from agricultural chemicals and toxic substances in food increased, and the movement for reform naturally found large

numbers of vocal activists among co-op housewives. Consumer cooperatives quickly responded to their concerns, which in turn helped them grow. They started direct delivery services offering the "safest and freshest" foodstuffs from the farms. This service made it easier for consumers to obtain organically grown foods.[1] Co-operatives also developed products prepared without artificial additives, such as nonsterilized ham, fish paté, tofu, and bread that was not quality-enhanced. In addition to preparing safe foods, responding to the member's demands the co-ops developed products considered ecologically benign, such as nonphosphate detergents and shampoos as well as recycled papers and goods.

Women in Grassroots Environmental Movement

From the late 1960s through the 1970s industrial pollution became a serious social problem in Japanese society. Since the environmental pollution was directly and seriously damaging human health, antipollution movement widely spread fulfilling significant social functions (Reich,

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[1] Obtaining organically grown food through direct delivery services in consumers cooperatives, and "Teikei", are differentiated in this paper, although some co-op systems are very similar to "Teikei". The reason for the differentiation is that "Teikei" emphasize "co-partnership" with producers in every phase from production of crops to delivery, while consumer cooperatives do not necessarily emphasize the extensive partnerships. Additionally, in "Teikei", farmers' earnings are largely dependent on contracted consumers, and they often describe their relationship as "sharing the fate".

1984:389)[2]. Grassroots environmental activities developed among Japanese housewives through various channels. Some developed based on prior organizations, such as PTAs, private study groups, or women's housekeeping study groups run by local governments. Since consumer co-ops raised environmental concerns through education about food and agriculture, a number of the grassroots environmental organizations developed from or in co-op based groups. In Japan, when one refers to environmental activities or the environmental movement, one includes small actions that can be practiced in everyday life. Such small-scale activism includes using nonsynthetic detergents, reducing garbage, and recycling a variety of materials from cooking oil to milk cartons. This micro-activism has a mobilization quality. It has not been uncommon for these small practices to become the origin of larger environmental activities such as legislating to ban the dumping of toxic substances into rivers or stopping the construction of a golf course which would use large amounts of herbicide to maintain green courses. Since housewives are the people who have the easiest access to these practices at an every-day level, they naturally assumed active roles in the environmental

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[2] Reich (1984:389) said "Japan's antipollution movement fulfilled similar social functions as Italy's trade union movement: Questioning institutional authority, demanding expanded participation, mobilizing new groups, challenging both opposition and ruling parties, contributing to rearrangements of social and political structure".

movement. Many "Teikei" also started within the groups practicing these environmental activities.

Jonathan Holliman's article on environmental groups in Japan in 1990 Japan Quarterly (quoted by Noguchi[1992:339]) stated:

> There are "around 3,000 active grass-roots conservation organizations throughout the country, most of which have no more than a few hundred members" ...there is also a "loose network of recycling groups in the Japan Recycling Citizens' Center with an estimated 40,000 supporters". Moreover, various consumers organizations and consumer cooperatives are also "active in a wide range of environmental issues...What is perhaps most striking about this vast number of tiny organizations is that so many are run not out of offices by paid professionals but out of homes by volunteer housewives.

From the early discussion, it can be deduced that housewives' concerns over fixed gender roles and their search for a way to define themselves contributed to their motivation to participate in these movements. In addition, Noguchi (1992) points out some important factors affecting housewives' initiatives in such movements. She notes that such movements have certain characteristics. First, they regard fostering protection of the family's health as a primary responsibility of housewives. Second, "Japanese men have virtually ceded this field of activity to the opposite sex, as proven by the conspicuous absence of male names in the leadership of such groups" (Noguchi, 1992:348) because "after commuting two or three hours a day and spending long hours at the office or factory, most people have little time

or energy left to participate in community affairs" (Holliman, 1990:286-287). In other words, for the majority of Japanese housewives who are expected to prioritize family responsibilities over personal development, the consumer movement and the environmental movement provide ideal social activities in which to participate.

In conclusion, there are three dimensions to housewives' participation in consumer and the environmental movements in Japan. First, being in paradoxical situations, contemporary highly educated urban housewives are seeking ways to be rid of the conventional housewife role and to redefine themselves as someone beyond a mere housewife. Second, these women feel a responsibility to fulfill the traditional housewife role, especially by protecting the family's health and managing the tasks of homemaking. Third, since men do not or "claim they cannot" contribute to or involve themselves with domestic work, activities affecting food, health, and environment are ceded to women.

Development of the "Teikei" as New Women's Activity

Based on these three arguments, we will now try to analyze how the "Teikei" have been developed by Japanese urban housewives. The "Teikei" have characteristics which coincide both with the consumer movement and the environmental movement. Purchasing goods directly from producers through their own marketing and distributing

system and negotiating prices and quality mutually between producers and consumers are characteristics of "Teikei" identified with a consumer movement. Supporting and promoting organic farmers and ecological agriculture by eating organic or chemical-free agricultural products can be identified with the environmental movement. Thus, one assumes that "Teikei" movements have also developed on the same basis as the consumer and environmental movements and are largely run by housewives. For example, Mrs. Shirane, who is a housewife and a leader of a "Teikei" with 300 members in a suburb of Tokyo explains her motivation for starting "Teikei" (Nakayama and Shirane, 1982:165):

> ...When I was thinking about things like resistance against the social system, women's self-reliance, and opposition to war, I felt the crisis in this modern society. My motivation came from the strong feeling toward the crisis of this modern society. This feeling linked with motherhood. I thought I want to protect our children from any crisis... this feeling exists in any women by nature, rather than acquired through education and thinking. This feeling (toward our children) led me to the food issue and further to looking at agriculture from the perspective of ecological circulation. Thus, conversely, without cherishing food, neither my self-reliance nor resistance to war exist in me.

From Shirane's statement, it is not clear whether her motivation came from her ambivalent situation as a housewife. However, she had an objection to modern social systems and might have been dissatisfied with her powerlessness as a housewife. This may have been the reason she called other women together and formed a group with a voice and the possibility of changing society.

Another leader of a "Teikei" says that on the consumers' side of "Teikei", there is a goal to create new distribution systems and a new lifestyle. Everyday life then becomes a challenge to achieve this goal. One can easily imagine that many housewives are attracted by these practices which convert everyday life into a new exciting challenge.

In order to further clarify why urban housewives become active in "Teikei", mail and telephone surveys (using the same questionnaire) of 40 housewife "Teikei" activists were conducted. The purposes of the surveys are: 1) assessing the mixture of motivations; and 2) examining strategies and success in dealing with the contradiction in the redefinition of the housewives themselves with their actual role.

CHAPTER V

SURVEY

Purpose and Hypothesis of the Survey

The purpose of this survey is to clarify why urban housewives have been the center of the organic agricultural movement in Japan, particularly in "Teikei". There are rural housewives engaged in "Teikei", but "Teikei" consumer groups are more concentrated in urban areas. Urban housewives are considered to be affected more by social changes induced by industrialization and democratization in Japanese society -- the factors which are related to new women's movements and organic agriculture movement. Therefore, we focused on urban housewives' cases in this survey.

Specifically, the survey was aimed at finding the purposes of their involvement and motivations in "Teikei". Factors considered were whether or not desires of social participation, self-improvement and/or self-fulfillment were the motivation at the time of joining "Teikei", whether or not "Teikei" is compatible with the housewife role, and what changes have been experienced in their personal and family lives after joining "Teikei".

Based on earlier arguments, the following hypothesis was developed: "Teikei" has been developed by Japanese urban housewives because they have strong desires of social participation, self-improvement and self-fulfillment; and a

strong sense of responsibility to fulfill the modern housewife role.

Methods

In order to identify housewife consumers who are involved in "Teikei", letters were sent to 26 organic farmers and organic farmers' groups that were practicing "Teikei" at the beginning of 1995. The list of farmers was obtained through an agricultural institution in Japan where the author worked as an intern in the summer of 1994. Twelve of the 26 organic farmers (46 percent) responded to the letters (four additional responses came too late) and 60 housewife consumers were identified by them. Questionnaires were then sent to each housewife early in the Winter of 1995. Collection of data was done both by telephone and through returned questionnaires.

The results of the collection were as follows: 43 people answered either by telephone or returned questionnaire but three answers were unusable because of a different contract style in the "Teikei" relationship than what is defined in this paper. Eventually, 40 answers were usable (response rate: 71.4 percent).

The questionnaire and the results of the questionnaire are attached at the end of this paper as appendices.

Findings

1. Basic features

The basic features of respondents are described in the following table:

Table 5.1: Basic Features of the Respondents and "Teikei" Groups.

The number of respondents	40	
Average age	52 years old	
Marital status	married	38
	widow	2
Average size of family	3.7	
Present status	full-time housewife	20 (50%)
	pluriactive housewife	20 (50%)
Status at the time of joining "Teikei"	full-time housewife	27 (67.5%)
	pluriactive housewife	12 (30%)
	student	1 (2.5%)
Number of "Teikei" groups involved	multiple	29
	single	9
	no response	2
Average length of years of involvement in the "Teikei"	16 years	

Table 5.1 (cont'd)

Status in the "Teikei" group	board member or leader of subgroup	26[1]
	ex-board member or ex-leader of subgroup	12
The number of founder of the "Teikei"	5	
Average year of establishment of the "Teikei"	1979	
Size of respondents' "Teikei" by number of household	less than 50: 3 50 - 99: 5 100 - 199: 4 200 - 499: 6 500 - 999: 0 more than 1,000:11 incorporated as co-op: 5 (more than 3,000 households) no response: 6	
Average number of male member in the "Teikei" (except male producers and males registered as family members)	0	

2. Desire of social participation at the time of starting "Teikei"

The hypothesis set up before the survey assumed that there are relationships between housewives' desire of social participation, and their motivation to join "Teikei". The result (Table 5.2) shows that more than one half of the

[1] The researcher asked farmers to introduce those housewife consumers who were likely to respond to the questionnaire. It is assumed that this characteristic of consumers is reflected in the relatively big number of board member or leader of subgroup and ex-board member or leader of subgroup.

respondents (21 people: 52.5 percent) had an desire of social participation at the time they began "Teikei", and 13 of the 21 people (62 percent of the 21 people) said that the desire motivated them to participate in "Teikei". This suggests that about one third of total respondents had desire of social participation that directly led them to joining "Teikei".

There was no clear relationship between respondents' employment status (full-time or pluriactive housewives) at the time of starting "Teikei" and their desire of social participation. In both the groups having or not having desire of social participation upon joining "Teikei", the ratios of full-time housewives to pluriactive housewives were almost same (full-time housewives: pluriactive housewives = 7: 2.5. See Table 5.2). This means that full-time housewives do not necessarily have a stronger will to participate in social activities than those having a job.

Among both full-time housewives and pluriactive housewives at the time of joining "Teikei", about half of the respondents in each group expressed an desire to be socially active at the time of joining "Teikei". Furthermore, among pluriactive housewives, five out of six with the desire to participate in social activities at the time of joining "Teikei", or five out of all twelve pluriactive housewives at the time of joining "Teikei" (41.7%), reported that the desire was related to their motivation to join "Teikei".

Table 5.2: Respondents' Desire of Social Participation and Respondents' Status at the Time of Joining Teikei".

	The desire of Social Participation (at the time of joining "Teikei")	
(at the time of joining)	No (17)	Yes (21)
f.t.housewife	12	15 (55.6% of those who were f.t.housewives at the time of joining "Teikei")
p.a.housewife	4	6 (50% of those who were p.a.housewives at the time of joining "Teikei")
student	1	0

	That desire was related to the motivation to join a "Teikei"	
(at the time of joining)	No (8)	Yes (13)
f.t. housewife	8	7
p.a. housewife	1	5

From those results, we can conclude that those women who are engaged in "Teikei" tend to have desires of social participation, and pluriactive housewives tend to have a relatively strong motivation to start "Teikei".

It should be remembered, though, that some women interviewed seemed to regard "participating in social activities" only as "having a job" due to the impression of a Japanese translation of the term, "social activities". Thus, there is a possibility that some women answered that they did not have the desire of social participation just because they did not intend to join the work force or "a social activity". Likewise, there is a possibility that

they answered the desire as irrelevant to the motivation to join in "Teikei" merely because they do not consider "Teikei" as a job or "a social activity". Therefore, if the term, "social activity" would have been more clarified in Japanese, more respondents might have seen the correlation between their desire of social participation and their joining "Teikei".

3. Desire of self-improvement and self-fulfillment at the time of starting "Teikei"

Next, we will look at the relationship between housewives' desire of self-improvement or self-fulfillment, and their dissatisfaction with their situation as full-time or pluriactive housewives at the time of joining "Teikei".

As seen in Table 5.3, there were 19 respondents out of 40 (47.5 percent) who answered that there was an desire of self-improvement or self-fulfillment at the time of joining "Teikei". The same number of respondents said that they did not have the desire at the time of joining "Teikei". However, if we look at the breakdown, higher percentages of full-time housewives expressed the desire of self-improvement or self-fulfillment than pluriactive housewives.

About half of the respondents (18 people, 45 percentage) said that they were dissatisfied with their situation at the time of joining "Teikei" (see Table 5.4). Again, the same number of respondents answered that they were satisfied with their situation. However, here again,

higher percentages of full-time housewives expressed their dissatisfaction with their situation than pluriactive housewives (refer Table 5.4).

When we correlate their desire of self-improvement or self-fulfillment and their dissatisfaction (Table 5-3), out of the 19 with the desire, 13 (about 70 percent of the 19) were dissatisfied with their situations as housewives and/or as employees. From this result, we could deduce that those with the desire tend to be dissatisfied with their situations.

Of the 19 with desires of self-improvement or self-fulfillment, 14 respondents were full-time housewives at that time (51.9 percent of those who were full-time housewives at the time of joining "Teikei"), of which 11 (40.7 percent of those who were full-time housewives at the time of joining "Teikei") felt dissatisfaction with their situation as full-time housewives. Pluriactive housewives, despite the fact that a similar percentage of them had desires of self-improvement or self-fulfillment, showed much lower percentages for the question on dissatisfaction. Therefore, one can assume that when they have a desire for self-improvement or self-fulfillment, full-time housewives are more likely to be in a difficult position to fulfill that desire than those having jobs, which may have led them to "Teikei" to fulfill the desire.

Table 5.3: Respondents' Desire of Self-improvement and Self-fulfillment at the Time of Joining "Teikei".

Q10. When you joined the group, did you have personal reasons to fulfill you through social activity?			
(at the time of joining)	No 19	Yes 19	N.R . 2
f.t.housewife	12	14 (51.9% of those who were f.t.housewives at the time of joining "Teikei")	
p.a.housewife	5	5 (45.5% of those who were p.a.housewives at the time of joining "Teikei")	
student	1		
other	1		

Q11-1/11-2 Before you joined the group, did you feel that being a 'housewife'/ doing your job did not fulfill you?			
No:12	Yes:5	No: 6	Yes: 13 f.t.housewife:11 p.a.housewife: 2
N.R: 2			

Table 5.4: Respondents' Dissatisfaction With the Situation of Being a Housewife/Having a Job.

Q11-1/11-2 Before you joined the group, did you feel that being a 'housewife'/doing your job did not fulfill you?			
(at the time of joining "Teikei")	No 18	Yes 18	N.R./N.A. 3
f.t.housewife	11	15 (55.6% of those who were f.t.h. at the time of joining "Teikei")	1
p.a.housewife	7	3 (33.3% of those who were p.a.h. at the time of joining "Teikei")	1
others			2

Full-time housewives' dissatisfaction at the time of joining "Teikei" were such that, they were dissatisfied with the "aimless situation after quitting work", "finishing life with cleaning, cooking and nurturing", "being isolated or unable to be part of society", "a lack of communication with others", "being unable to show or use abilities", "being unable to be economically independent", "being powerless", and "being unable to find a way to improve uncomfortable situations in everyday life".

4. Purposes and motivations of participation of "Teikei"

In the questionnaire, "purpose" referred to the explicit reason for or goal of, joining "Teikei" groups, and "motivation" meant something which induced the respondents to join "Teikei" groups.

The most common purposes among respondents for joining "Teikei" were to obtain "safe" food for their families, maintaining their family's health and curing diseases of self and/or family members (51 percent of multiple answers), which are considered to be related to the housewife responsibilities. However, the housewives who are involved in "Teikei" have broader perspectives for their purposes; seven people (13.7 percent of multiple responses) wanted to promote organic or ecological farming systems or to change the Japanese agricultural system through their activities; six people (11.8 percent of multiple responses) wanted to improve or protect the environment for future generations;

five (9.8 percent) wanted to change their life style, particularly food-consumption. There was also a more specific answer; taking effective action against certain problems in health, food and the environment (two people). All these issues had been neglected by Japanese industrial society.

More than ninety percent (33 people) of the 36 respondents who had children at the time of joining "Teikei" stated that their children were factors in their motivation. Most of them were concerned with the health of their children and wanted to provide them with "safe" food. Three mothers actually had problems with their children's health and were concerned about the relationship between children's health problems and the foods they ingested. One of the five respondents who founded a group said that she studied the causes of and cures for the allergy of her daughter which was not curable by medicine. She found out that chemical residues and additives in food might be related to her daughter's allergy and similar diseases. This promoted her to tell of "the danger that our food might bring to our health and environment to the world". She quit her job in order to devote herself to this "calling". Some were concerned not only about health but also about the social or natural environment where their children would live in the future.

Individual and family health problems were also strong motivational factors. One respondent who was a founder of

her group became afflicted with diseases from folidol, a pesticide that was spread around her house, making her aware of the dangers in agricultural chemicals.

For three respondents, the environmental activities (using nonsynthetic detergents) motivated them to start "Teikei". Since environmental issues are strongly related to food and agriculture, they said, they realized that they should start "Teikei" as one of the most practical and effective actions to protect Japanese food, agriculture and the environment.

In analyzing the purposes of joining "Teikei" (see Table 5.5), we found that those with the desire of social participation motivating them to participate in "Teikei" had social-oriented purposes. Those purposes include promotion of organic agriculture or changing Japanese agriculture and taking social actions on the problems of food, health and the environment.

More concretely, for the question "How did your desire of social participation motivate you to participate in your 'Teikei' activity?", they gave the following answers:

- They felt that more women should participate in social and political activities.
- Involvement in consumer movements, community activities and/or the environmental movements motivated them to become involved in "Teikei".
- They had a desire to do something after quitting a job (due to marriage).
- They wanted to improve the social environment in their local community.
- Having a mission to tell the world about the danger of chemical residues and food additives (a founder

of a group).
- They wanted to take action against the "throw-away" society.
- They wanted to broaden human relationships.

On the other hand, those who had the desire of social participation but who did not feel that this desire motivated them to participate in "Teikei" (9 people: 22.5 percent of the total) and those without the desire of social participation at the time of joining "Teikei" (17 respondents: 42.5 percent of the total), had a common purpose of obtaining "safe" food for their children and families, thus being family-oriented rather than social-oriented (refer table 5-5).

An established community network was a great facilitator for some women to start their "Teikei". A group of mothers about the same age have known each other through their children's kindergarten, where they were exposed to a liberal educational philosophy. Using the established network, they promoted a program in the PTA, which introduced "real" and "safe" milk into the school lunch program. The same people promoted another consumer movement by introducing the bulk milk purchasing program to their entire community. The next step was purchasing organically grown vegetables and other foodstuffs, which was the origin of their "Teikei".

Table 5.5: Respondents' Purpose of Joining "Teikei" by the Desire of Social Participation.

	The desire of social participation at the time of joining a "Teikei"		
	Yes (21)		No (17)
	The desire was related to motivation to join a "Teikei" (12)	The desire was NOT related to motivation to join a "Teikei" (9)	
Purpose of joining "Teikei"	1) Promoting of organic agriculture or changing Japanese agriculture (4)	1) Obtaining "safe" food (7)	1) Obtaining "safe" food (9)
	2) Taking social actions against the problems of food, health and environment (3)	2) Inspired by mother in law (1)	2) Inspired by friends and relatives (3)
	3) Obtaining "safe" food (2)	3)Helping with farm tasks (1)	3) Environmental concern (2)
	4) Changing life style (1)		4) Curing disease (1)
	5) Environmental conservation (1)		5) There was a co-op in neighborhood (1)

5. Compatibility of "Teikei" activities with domestic responsibilities.

About fifty percent of the respondents (21 out of 40) had no problem being involved in "Teikei" activities while carrying out domestic responsibilities. This is assumed to be because some of the main activities in "Teikei" such as preparing recipes and ensuring family health are considered

part of their domestic responsibilities both by housewives themselves and other family members. Actually, all the conflicts between "Teikei" activities and domestic responsibilities mentioned were physical problems, such as lack of time and physical strength, but not incompatibility of expectations. However, when the activities interfered with a housewife's domestic responsibilities, she has difficulty in doing both at the same time. This topic will be discussed later.

Interestingly, the majority of pluriactive housewives (9 out of 14: 65.3%) also answered that "Teikei" activities are compatible with their domestic responsibilities. This is presumably due to the belief that whether or not they have an additional job, house chores are the wives' responsibility. Both husbands and wives adhere to this belief, and thus wives are permitted to become involved in "Teikei" activities, which are seen as an extension of their wifely duties.

6. Attitude of other family members concerning housewife involvement in "Teikei"

Out of 55 answers (multiple answers), 22 (40 percent) are identified as positive or somewhat positive attitudes, 24 (43.6 percent) are identified as indifferent attitudes, and 9 (16.4 percent) are considered to be negative attitudes.

Examples of positive attitudes include family members'

pleasure with the tasty food, participation in the activities together, sharing domestic responsibilities or being cooperative with a mother or wife when she is busy attending "Teikei" activities, treating "Teikei" activities as favorable activities and trusting a mother's or wife's management of the family's nutrition. Four of the positive answers felt that other family members are "gradually understanding that what I am doing is a 'good' or necessary thing."

However, the most common attitude of other family members toward mothers' or wives' "Teikei" activities is indifference. Indifference could be seen as both positive and negative. The most frequent answer in this indifference category was that "they [other family members] don't complain but are not cooperative or just don't care as long as I fulfill my responsibilities as a housewife". Other family members do not like their wives or mothers to be involved in the activities for some reasons but they endure it as long as mothers or wives fulfill their primary domestic responsibilities, or they do not dislike mothers' or wives' activities but do not want to be bothered. One half of the indifferent answers came from husbands. A respondent said, "My husband says, 'I don't care whether it has chemical residue or not. Just give me tasty food.'." and another said, "My husband tells me 'Whatever you do, you can't change the world.'."

Seven out of nine negative answers also pertain to

their husbands. They show annoyance with their wives' activities, especially when wives leave home on Sunday (and husbands have to work preparing meals and answering the telephone), when the wives leave home or take care of the business related to the groups without completing domestic work, and when wives talk too much about the "dangers" in food. One husband just cannot accept the idea of women voicing their opinion in public.

This result indicates that husbands are likely to expect their wives to stay home and see to their domestic responsibilities. They are likely to be bothered when their wives participate in some other activities beyond a narrow concept of their domestic responsibilities and/or resulting in the neglect of some of those responsibilities. Only one respondent answered that her husband takes it for granted that a wife should go outside and work as men do.

Also, it should be mentioned that in Japanese society, "Teikei" activities and other social activities including volunteer work in which many housewives participate are not regarded as "proper" activities. They are still considered nonconforming or anti-social. Thus, it is assumed that husbands, who they believe live in the mainstream, treat their wives' social activities as secondary, hobby-level or strange activities. Accordingly, no matter how seriously their wives take it, housewives are not allowed to prioritize the secondary activity over their primary domestic responsibilities.

Importantly, this assumption is not challenged by housewives because they would always have to go against the mainstream. Thus, if they want to continue in the group while being wives, mothers and self, they try to manage two different activities very carefully without neglecting the primary domestic responsibilities. They do not fight for women's rights in the mainstream. Rather, they try to participate in social activities to the extent that it is allowed by other family members, especially by their husbands.

7. Changes in life after participating in "Teikei"

There are 104 multiple answers about changes in their lives after participating in "Teikei". 100 answers out of 104 were positive changes categorized into five groups: 1) expansion and understanding of environmental knowledge; 2) changes in attitude toward society; 3) changes in values concerning life style; 4) improvement of self; and 5) changes in values in self.

1) Expansion and understanding of environmental knowledge

This includes interest in environmental conservation, appreciating the natural environment and broadening the knowledge about agriculture and environment.

2) Attitude toward society

The changes in this category were mentioned by most respondents. Some became more active in volunteer work, study groups, and lectures, and some said that they became

very interested in what was going on in society. Some came to have political concern through understanding the relationship between their daily lives (especially social environment and food) and various national and local policies. Some were interested in women's political participation after recognizing women's talent and perspectives in their own women's organizations.

3) Changes in values concerning lifestyle

Many reported that their food consumption style has changed dramatically. Meat was replaced by vegetables and rice provided through "Teikei". The criteria for selecting ingredients changed; they choose seasonally grown and locally produced foods. Some learned to be thankful for food and farmers who provide it.

Some housewives said that their lifestyle became much simpler. They buy less, do not waste things and recycle them. They cherish old things rather than consume new products appearing one after another.

Due to these lifestyle changes, many said that they feel healthier both mentally and physically. They also feel happy living in rhythm with nature (by eating seasonally and locally grown food), having the "right" things integrated into their lives, being proud of supporting organic farmers, not being deceived by "wrong" information, and knowing various kinds of people including farmers.

4) Improvement of self

One respondent said that she was improved as a total

human being. Some gained knowledge, found their abilities and gained confidence in themselves. They came to think of independence - especially women's economic and psychological independence - which would not happened if they did not participate in the activities. Some said that they feel that they became part of society by contributing to it.

5) Changes in personal values

Many respondents acknowledged that their personal values have changed through "Teikei" activities. Some said they came to have consideration for other people and came to be able to share things willingly with others. One housewife said that she came to value quality rather than quantity and content rather than appearance. Another housewife said that her perspectives were broadened through the activities, which makes her feel "stable" and mature as a human being.

Many respondents broaden their knowledge about the relationships between food and health problems through their own investigations by reading books and news articles, and through study groups and lectures. Others developed their concerns about food through environmental activities, such as nonsynthetic detergents movement and a movement for cleaning a river. One respondent said that thinking about synthetic detergents and avoiding pollution of the water led her to concern over agricultural products grown by the polluted water and ground, which further led her to an awareness of how Japanese food is grown and the

reexamination food.

There were only four negative changes expressed by respondents. Two respondents said that they cannot have a pleasant eating experience because of a lower variety of food items provided through "Teikei". Both family members and the respondent herself are dissatisfied with food variety brought through "Teikei". One respondent did not like her domestic work being interrupted because of the "Teikei" activities. Another person who is in an executive position complained about continuous stress, tension and an unstable mental condition because of the difficulty in administrating her "Teikei" group.

8. Changes in family life

Many respondents answered that their families had experienced the same changes that they had in their personal lives. Common answers were: the family members' eating style changed, their interest in food was raised, they became able to recognize the quality and tastes of food, and their criteria of choosing food has changed. Other answers were that the whole family came to have more meaningful relationships, especially with farmers, and they came to have different perspectives regarding society and the world. In reference to changes in their children, some mentioned that their children are becoming interested in social issues, intend to become organic farmers, and have a similar lifestyle to that of their mothers (i.e., consuming

organically grown food and not wasting things) after marriage. One respondent said that since she became involved in "Teikei", her family has been cooperative in sharing domestic work, which eventually fostered her children's independence and generated more time for her.

There was one negative change expressed. One respondent said that since she has raised issues about food and environment too often and has tried to perform many energy saving, less waste-generating practices at home, her family members ironically learned to give a wide berth to these issues and practices.

9. Other changes that they see by doing "Teikei"

Many acknowledged broad social changes through their "Teikei" experience. They reported changes in organic farmers in general. The changes are such that organic farmers are recognized as professional farmers although they used to be very isolated and ostracized by conventional farmers in the same farm community; the standard of living of organic farmers rose; and they became content with their performance and confident in their farming practices. Also, it is pointed out that organic food is wide spread and the word "organic" has become quite common. One respondent pointed out that the status of female organic farmers has been raised. She referred to one organic farmers' community where a group of organic farmers' wives and female farmers are actively promoting organic agriculture by making

products in their own food processing company. Also, it was indicated that there were people turning to farming and moving into farm communities from cities.

There is an indication that governmental agricultural policy changed. The Japanese Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries has begun to take an environmental perspective in agricultural policies, seen as "revolutionary".

Some pointed out the changes in women's involvement in social activities. More women became involved in social activities than before. One respondent indicated that in order for women to be more active in social activities, they need to be more economically independent. She mentioned the limitation of her activities when she is economically dependent on some other family member.

It was suggested by many respondents that young housewives tend to act individually rather than being part of a group and try to avoid "bothersome" cooperative work. They are likely to choose the organic food delivery services operated by some organic food wholesale companies (in which they can order by phone and foods are delivered directly to their home) or by a storefront of a consumer cooperative or some other retail stores where organic foods are available. These new types of marketing systems for organic products are now rapidly growing, and it is becoming difficult to recruit new members to "Teikei" groups.

Summary and Conclusion of the Survey

The results of the survey supported the hypothesis at large: "Teikei" has been developed by Japanese urban housewives because they have both strong desire of social participation, self-improvement and self-fulfillment, and a strong sense of responsibility to fulfill the modern housewife role. However, when measuring the question of "Teikei" developing out of housewives' strong inclination for social participation, we could not find such a strong association between their motivation to join "Teikei" and their desire to be socially active. Only a little more than one-half of the respondents had the desire of social participation at the time of joining a "Teikei". Moreover, only a little more than half of those with the desire answered that this desire specifically motivated them to participate in the "Teikei". The association was more clearly observed among pluriactive housewives.

Similarly, we could not find a solid relationship between their motivation for joining "Teikei" and their desires of self-improvement and self-fulfillment. A little less than half (45 percent) of the respondents had the desire of self-improvement and self-fulfillment at the time of joining "Teikei". However, full-time housewives showed a higher percentage than pluriactive housewives of having the desire and being dissatisfied with their situation mainly due to a lack of public relations. This result implies that full-time housewives are in a more difficult position to

improve or fulfill themselves than pluriactive housewives, and because of this frustration were thought to become interested in being more socially active.

Their sense of responsibility to the housewife role or to their family provided the strongest motivation. The most common reasons for joining "Teikei" were "obtaining safe food, maintaining family's health and curing diseases of self and/or family members as a person in charge of food in a household". Also about 90 percent of the respondents answered that their children were the primary concern when they decided to join a "Teikei". Yet many respondents had broader social perspectives when they joined "Teikei" or established their own "Teikei" groups. The second most common purpose of joining a "Teikei" was "promotion of organic farming or changing the Japanese agricultural system" followed by "environmental improvement". Therefore, even though their desires to be socially active and to improve and fulfill themselves are not always direct motivations for joining "Teikei", it cannot be denied that housewives had and pursued social concerns which may have led them to involvement in and/or execution of concrete activities related to food and agriculture.

Also, even though some women did not have an desire of social participation at the time of joining a "Teikei", many of them expressed these desires during the interviews. Thus, one can assume that they developed these desires after gaining experiences through "Teikei" activities. Truly,

through newsletters and bulletins, they are continuously expanding their knowledge and gaining information with which to increase their social interests and improve themselves.

It is debatable whether or not "motherhood" - which is considered particular to women - leads women to interest in safe food for their children. However, one can safely assume that Japanese housewives themselves express the gender roles expected and required by society, agree with them and try to fulfill them.

This assumption is supported by a majority of the respondents' motivation to join "Teikei" and the majority's feeling about the compatibility of "Teikei" activity with their domestic responsibilities. This compatibility indicates not only that they can afford to do both activities physically and probably financially, but also that housewives are comfortable with the idea of "Teikei" as a part of or extension of their role as housewife. Thus, although it is a kind of social activity, participation in a "Teikei" has elements which are acceptable as a housewife's activities.

Actually, "Teikei" are not regarded as men's activities. In the "Teikei" groups polled in this survey, there were no male members, except producers and males registered as family members. This implies that "Teikei" are not compatible with men's roles; thus men are not motivated to participate. Additionally, in Japanese society, social activities, many of which are promoted by housewives are not

considered "legitimate" activities. Since men are expected to make a living and support their families through economically and socially "legitimate" activities, one can assume that this idea prevents a majority of men from joining "Teikei" or recognizing "Teikei" as a "proper" activity for them to be involved with.

The view that "Teikei" activities are a part of or extension of the housewife role is more clearly shown in husbands' attitudes toward their wives' involvement in "Teikei". Husbands consider it acceptable or remain indifferent when their wives are involved in "Teikei" if it does not interfere with home activities (providing safe food for the health of family), while they become rather annoyed by their wives' involvement when activities overstep the bounds of their housewife role, such as leaving the home for long hours or several days to attend meetings or conferences and working for the group without completing domestic work. Because housewives do not strongly oppose their husbands' attitudes, one assumes that housewives themselves tend to think that a "Teikei" is a part of or extension of the housewife role rather than a social activity. They tend to believe that they should participate in any activity only to the extent that they do not overstep their domestic responsibilities. For example, one women said, "I feel sorry for sacrificing my family due to my activity in 'Teikei'." and similar remarks were heard from many other respondents. "Sacrifice" means here that she cannot devote herself only

to her family. This attitude seems to be the key to understanding why "Teikei" have attracted housewives. "Teikei" can be seen as reasonable and ideal activities for housewives since they fit the housewife role and at the same time satisfy housewives' desires for social participation, self-improvement and self-fulfillment by expanding knowledge and skills, meeting with various people, offering new challenges and having a social impact.

CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

In order to investigate the social significance of the Japanese organic agriculture movement, this thesis examined the movement from two points of view; Chapter I and II examined the Japanese organic agriculture movement, especially "Teikei" as a counter measure to the modern agricultural system that pursues economic efficiency. Chapter III to V analyzed the Japanese organic agriculture movement as an outlet for women's social participation, self-improvement and self-fulfillment and as a tool to fulfill the ultimate housewife role.

The social impacts of the Japanese organic agriculture movement were summarized in the following six points: 1) restoring the tie between rural and urban communities; 2) reforming the "consuming" life style; 3) facilitating local self reliance; 4) maintaining local culture and folk knowledge; 5) utilizing consumer groups (in "Teikei") as a base of other community activities; and 6) utilizing consumer groups for women's self realization.

These six points, including factors crucial to the development of rural localities as well as urban communities have been deteriorated or weakened by modern agriculture and economic systems, which generate an "unhealthy" social system and social relations in Japanese society. By fostering these six points, the Japanese organic agriculture

movement has been a positive social impact on Japanese society.

Related to the sixth point of the social impacts of the movement, the relationship between the Japanese organic agriculture movement, specifically "Teikei", and Japanese women can be summarized as follows. In Japanese society, opportunities for women are still restricted. Especially after marriage, women are socially expected as well as required to fulfill a definitive housewife role identified with domestic work and child care. This role is accepted by the housewives themselves. However, women's perspectives have been changing due to various social changes such as longer life expectancy, increased equality in education, higher female educational attainment, nuclearization of the family, decreased birth rates, modernization and industrialization. Female labor force participation has been expanding, and the number of pluriactive housewife laborers is also steadily rising. At the same time, participation in various social activities, consumer movements and the environmental movement has become very popular among housewives. Under these circumstances, the central activity of the organic agriculture movement, "Teikei", has also been promoted by urban housewives. "Teikei" have attracted housewives by accomplishing two important things; fulfilling the housewife role and providing an outlet for social participation, self-improvement and self-fulfillment through social participation. In the interviews, respondents

emphasized that they are involved in "Teikei" for their families rather than for themselves. Yet at the same time they admitted that they had expanded their knowledge and skills, broadened their perspectives, and achieved self-improvement. This implies that "Teikei" are not always solely promoted because they are a part of or extension of the housewife role, but because they benefit the women involved.

Now that Japanese organic agriculture operates within the larger scope of conventional agriculture, it is affected by the same influences. The three main forces affecting Japanese agriculture as a whole are: first, a drive seeking greater efficiency of Japanese agriculture, mainly from the Japanese financial community and competition from the United States; second, pressure from consumers seeking quality of agricultural products; and third, tendencies for livability or stability and sustainability of the farm family and community (Soda, 1989:170-172). The Japanese organic agriculture movement appeared when the last two forces met and generated a countervailing force against the economic rationalism.

As we can see in this thesis, the ideas of quality and livability can be harmonized with each other. However, they are not in rapport with the idea of efficiency, at least not at this moment (Soda, 1989).

The problem is that these two strong forces

("efficiency" vs. "quality" and "livability") are opposed and try to overcome the other (Hasumi, 1991). However, considering the food security and ecological sustainability of the country, it is unrealistic to choose only one of them. The most urgent and important issue facing Japanese agriculture is how we are going to balance them and whether it is possible to balance them in the first place.

From this point of view, diversifying organic food marketing and distributing systems is one of the ways to balance the three forces. The newly developing organic food market not only seeks efficiency but also tries to value the relationship between producers and consumers who pursue "quality" and "livability", although it is not as strong as the relationship emphasized in "Teikei". Some "Teikei" members criticize this new organic food market as it does not necessarily benefit the lives of both organic farmers and consumers because the market economy is always likely to prioritize economic efficiency rather than quality and livability.

Thus, in further studies, it is recommended that both sides (pro-organic agriculture and pro-modern agriculture) develop the significance of the organic agriculture movement in a larger scope, in relation to mainstream agriculture, rather than trying to overcome each other.

Looking at the characteristics of "Teikei" activities, it seems worth studying the mobilization or integrated

quality of "Teikei" activities in further research. Most of the "Teikei" are working on multiple issues especially on broad environmental issues including problems of nuclear power station. In the study of social movements, to what they are attributed and how the groups mobilizes to take action concerning these issues are worthy topics .

Another issue that has to be considered in the future is the relationship between the Japanese organic agriculture movement and gender roles. We have seen that the Japanese organic agriculture movement is strongly related to Japanese women's gender role or housewife role and their limited opportunity in Japanese society. Using this perspective, we can analyze a trend that young housewives are less attracted to "Teikei" because of altered perspectives of gender roles held by the younger generations.

First of all, young housewives tend to have much stronger inclinations toward labor and social participation. Their gender roles in the labor force have been broadened, and they believe women should work as men do. Additionally, young women have more opportunities in the labor market. For them, joining a "Teikei" is not the only way to participate in society. Gender roles related to domestic work and especially to child care are also different in the younger generations. One 31 year-old working mother stated: "I would never say to my daughter, 'I'm so sorry but mommy has to go and work.'" (a quote from a TV documentary program on

working women). This characterizes a new perspective of female gender roles by young Japanese housewives. Young housewives do not always find it meaningful to prioritize their housewife role over all other roles. Thus, those who have other priorities in their lives must find new efficient ways to manage their role as a housewife. Naturally, if they want to obtain organic food, they prefer a more efficient, time and energy saving way of purchasing.

Additionally, the role of the woman as a domestic laborer has changed. The young generation does not feel it is their sole responsibility to run the household, but to share the work with all family members or coordinate individual tasks like assigning a family member to cook their own meal. In other words, the sense of responsibility to do domestic work is not as strong as that of older housewives. Therefore, young housewives do not see "Teikei" as a part of or extension of a housewife role that they should pursue. In order for young housewives to be attracted to "Teikei", other motivations must be present, including purposes or goals which may not be an extension of the housewife role.

This change in perspectives toward gender roles may affect males as well. New possibilities may arise for males to become involved in the new fields which used to be exclusive to females such as the "Teikei" and environmental movements. For example, it is possible that when males must share domestic work with their wives, they will become

interested in issues related to food, health and the environment, and they may start purchasing organic food. In the United States, where it is already normal for some males to share some part of the domestic work, men have also become organic food consumers.

Thus, the changes in the perspectives of gender roles may provide new possibilities. Being a transitional phase principally due to decreasing number of young members and seeking new "Teikei" relationship, it seems to be very important for many "Teikei" to evaluate what makes their organization exclusive to a single sex. To understand the perspectives of the younger generation toward gender roles by older members of "Teikei" will suggest some solution for this problem.

APPENDIX

Questionnaire to "Teikei" Housewife Consumers

Questionnaire

I. Background questions

Q1. How old are you?

_____ years old.

Q2. What is your marital status? (Circle number of you answer)

1. Married
2. Single
3. Other (Specify your marital status) _____

Q3. Please list below all the people who are currently living with you.

Relationship to you	Age
(example) child	3

Q4. You are presently: (Circle number)

1. Unemployed
2. Retired → (To Q5)
3. Full-time homemaker
4. Employed

↓

Q4-1 (If you are employed) What type of job do you have?(Circle number)

1. Full-time job
2. Part-time job

↓

(To Q5)

II. Questions about "Teikei"

Q5. Please explain about your Teikei" group.

Q5-1 Are you currently involved in more than one "Teikei" groups?

1. Yes (--->If you are currently involved in more than one groups, please answer about the group which you are most actively involved in.)
2. No

Q5-2 Are you a board member of the group?

1. Yes
2. No

Have you ever been a board member before?
1. Yes
2. No

Q5-3 How many member does your "Teikei" group have?

_____ member

Q5-4 Are there any male consumer members in your group?

1. Yes ----> How many? _____
2. No

Q5-5 when was the group established?

Established in _____ (year)

Q5-6 How was the group established?

_____

_____

_____

Q5-7 What kind(s) of food item(s) are you purchasing through your "Teikei"? (Circle all that apply)

1. rice 2. Vegetables 3. Milk 4. Eggs 5. Fruit
6. Meats 7. Processed food
8. Other (Specify)_____

Q5-8 How do you get food from your "Teikei" farmers?
(Circle all that are included)

1. The farmer(s) distribute food to consumers or posts (dropping locations).
2. Consumers go to the farm(s) and pick food up .
3. Hire delivery person(s) or parcel delivery agent.
4. Other. (Specify)

_____

_____

_____

↓

(To Q5-9)

Q5-9 The following questions ask about your "Teikei" group.

Q5-9-1. Does your group help with farming?
1. No (To Q5-9-2)
2. Yes

A. How often does your group go help with farming?

_____

B. What kind of farming does your group do?
(Circle all the are included)
a. Weeding
b. Harvesting
c. Planting
d. Others (Specify)

_____
_____

C. What is the purpose of helping with farming?
(Circle all that are applied)
a. Developing friendship with farmers and other members.
b. Exchange information.
c. To experience production sphere.
d. To experience (or to have your children experience) agriculture and nature.
e. Others (Specify)

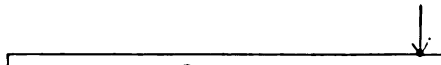
_____
_____
_____

D. Do you help with farming?
1. No
2. Yes ---> How often or how many times have you ever helped? _____

(To Q5-9-2)

Q5-9-2. Does your group visit farm without helping?

1. No (To Q5-9-3)
2. Yes



A. How often does your group visit farm?
(Specify) _____

B. What is the purpose of visiting? (Circle all that apply)

a. Developing friendship with farmers and other members
b. Exchange information
---> About what? (Specify)
_____
_____
c. Checking crops
d. Checking application of pesticides and other chemicals.
e. Other (Specify)

_____
_____
_____

C. Do you visit farm?

1. No
2. Yes ---> How often or how many times so far? _____

(To Q5-9-3)

Q5-9-3. Does your group publish newsletter?

1. No (To Q5-9-4)
2. Yes

↓

A. How often does your group publish? (Specify)

_____

B. What is the content of the newsletter?
(Circle all that are included)

1. Information about events
2. Information and opinions about food items
3. News from farmers
4. Information and opinions about management of the group
5. Others (Specify)

_____
_____
_____

↓

Q5-9-4. Does your group have meeting with farmers?

1. No (To Q5-9-5)
2. Yes

↓

A. How often does your group have meeting with farmers? (Specify) _____

B. Who attend the meeting? (Circle number)

1. Board members
2. Both board members and non-board members

C. About what does you group talk with farmers at the meeting?

1. Provision of crops
2. Price of crops
3. Farm task helping and farm visiting
4. Other events
5. Distribution of crops
6. Management of "Teikei"
7. Others (Specify)

_____
_____
_____

↓

(ToQ5-9-5)

Q5-9-5 Does your group have meeting among consumers members?

1. No (To Q5-9-6)
2. Yes

A. How often does your group have meeting among consumer members?(Specify)_____

B. About what does you group talk at the meeting?

1. Decision purchasing of food items
2. Price of crops
3. Farm task helping and farm visiting
4. Other events
5. Distribution and share-out of food items
6. Management of group
7. Others (Specify)

_____
_____
_____

Q5-9-6. If you have other activity or events, besides helping with farming, visiting farm (without helping), newsletter and meetings, please specify.

_____
_____
_____

(To Q6)

III. You and your "Teikei" group

Q6. How long have you been involved in this "Teikei"?
_____ years or _____ months

If you are currently engaged in multiple "Teikei", how long have you been in the oldest group?
_____ years

From here, if you are or were engaged in multiple "Teikei" groups, please answer about the first group.

Q7. When you join the group, did you have a specific purpose?
1. No
2. Yes

Q7-1 What was it? (Please explain specifically)
_____
_____
_____

Q7-2 Was the purpose accomplished?
1. Yes
2. No (To Q8)

Q7-3 If you did not have a specific purpose, what was the motivation to join in the group? (Please explain specifically)
_____
_____

Q7-4 Are you satisfied with being in the group?
1. Yes
2. No

(To Q8)

Q8. When you joined in the group, were you married? (Circle number)

1. No
2. Yes

Q8-1 Did you have children at that time? (Circle number)

1. Yes -----> How many?_____
2. No, but I was pregnant.
3. No, I did no have children and I was not pregnant. (To Q9)

Q8-2 (If Yes, or pregnant) Was having children or being pregnant related to you motivation to join "Teikei" group? (Circle number)

1. No
2. Yes ---> In what way? (Specify)

_____
_____
_____

Q9 When you joined the group, were you seeking an opportunity to participate in a social activity outside your home or your work place?

1. No (To Q10)
2. Yes

Q9-1 Was that feeling related to your motivation to join in the "Teikei" group?

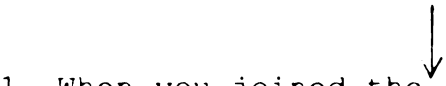
1. No
2. Yes ---> In what way?(Specify)

_____
_____
_____

(To Q10)

Q10. When you joined in the group, did you have personal reasons to benefit you through social activity? (Circle one)

1. No (To Q11)
2. Yes



Q11. When you joined the group, you were (Circle one)

1. Employed (Full-time)
   ---> How many hours a week? _____
2. Employed (Part-time)
   ---> How many hours a week? _____
3. Full-time homemaker
4. Others (To Q12)

Q11-1. Before you joined in the group, did you feel that being a 'housewife' did not benefit you?

1. No (To Q12)
2. No

2-1 How did you feel being a 'housewife' did not benefit you?
(Specify) _____
_____
_____

2-2 Do you thing that feeling was related to your motivation to join in the "Teikei" group?
1. Yes
2. No

(To Q12)

(To Q11-2)

Q11-2. Before you joined in the group, did you feel that doing the job did not benefit you?

1. No (To Q12)
2. Yes

↓

2-1 How did you feel being a 'housewife' did not benefit you?
(Specify) _____
_____
_____

↓

2-2 Do you thing that feeling was related to your motivation to join in the "Teikei" group?
1. Yes
2. No

↓

Q12. Do you find conflict between your domestic responsibilities and your "Teikei" activity?

1. No (To Q13)
2. Yes

↓

Q12-1 What conflict do you have?
_____
_____
_____

↓

Q13. (This question is only to those who have a job. If you do not have a job, please move to Q14.) Do you find conflict between your employment and your "Teikei" activities?

1. No (To Q14)
2. Yes

↓

Q12-1 What conflict do you have?
_____
_____
_____

Q14. If you have conflict while joining "Teikei" activities, please specify.

_____
_____
_____

Q15. How do your family member see your "Teikei" activity?
(Specify)_____
_____
_____

Q16. What changes do you see in your life and your family life after you joined the "Teikei" ? (Specify)
Your life _____
_____
_____

Your family life _____
_____
_____

Q17. If you have noticed any other changes besides changes in your personal life and your family life, please specify.
_____
_____

Thank your very much for your sharing.

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