SOCIAL CHANGE IN AN URBAN NEIGHBORHOOD:

A CASE STUDY IN SAPPORO, JAPAN


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ABSTRACT

SOCIAL CHANGE IN AN URBAN NEIGHBORHOOD:
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This study examines the patterns of social change found in a neighborhood of Sapporo, the capital of the northernmost major Japanese island of Hokkaido, between 1925 and 1975. Specifically, it shows how a neighborhood has changed from a state of high social integration to a state of social disintegration through looking at the patterns of change in social relationships during this fifty year period. The elements important in this social disarticulation are the primary focus of this study.

The changes in the neighborhood are analyzed in terms of changes in constraints, strategic barriers defining and delimiting the range of possible behavior by individuals. There are four major categories of constraints that have significantly shifted. There are 1) the physical geography of the area including the shape and structure of the city, population density, and the relative positions of places of employment relative to places of residence; 2) the amount and types of resources available for individual allocation reflected in land or building ownership and tenure in the neighborhood; 3) the types of socially acceptable behavior and the kinds of

sanctions imposed for violations; and 4) the type and degree of influence exerted on the neighborhood from higher political systems such as the city, the prefecture, and the nation. The constraints act on social behavior in combination, not individually. Thus the visible results, the shifts in the social networks of individuals and groups, are the result of various changes in the constraints.

The study is broken into phases, 1925-1945, 1945-1965, and 1965-1975 reflecting significant divisions of recent Sapporo history. The changes in the social patterns, as reflected by the changes in the networks of the various social groups, are discussed in terms of the changes in the constraints for each period.

The conclusion of this study is that the final disarticultion of the social fabaic of the neighborhood was not the result of gross population increase or other "urban" factors but rather the influx into the neighborhood of a social group, the entertainers, who had no wish and no strategic reason to maintain extensive social networks in their place of residence.

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CHAPTER I

Introduction

This dissertation describes aspects of the social history of a neigh-
borhood in Sapporo, Japan. Specifically, it shows how a neighborhood has
changed from a state of high social integration to a state of social dis-
integration through looking at the patterns of change in social relation-
ships over a fifty year period. The elements important in this social
disarticulation are the primary focus of this study.

In 1925, this neighborhood, known as Hanayama, had a population of
about 200 people and formed a tightly integrated social entity. This state
was maintained while the neighborhood trebled its 1925 size during the next
forty years. Even in 1965, the neighborhood with its population around 550
still represented a well integrated social whole. In 1975, the population
had again doubled and the neighborhood had disintegrated as a social entity.

Although the northern island of Hokkaido where Sapporo is located has
been largely ignored by western analyses of Japan, this study was designed
to be and in many respects is similar to the Tokyo studies done by Dore
(1958) and Vogel (1967). As a detailed ethnography, it fits in with most
of the anthropological work done in Japan which tends to be heavily ethno-
graphic in nature.

In their typology of urban anthropology, Eames and Goode (1977) draw
a distinction between those studies primarily focusing on the city itself
and those that touch upon but do not focus on the city per se. Examples
of the latter category would be those studies of social groups or quasi-
groups whose existence in the city tends to be incidental to the focus of
the study such as Spradley's (1972) study of urban tramps or James' (1972)

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study of the cognitive categories of prostitutes. This dissertation is of

the former category, of a sub-type Eames and Goode describe as follows:

> One such approach is to accept certain distinctive attri-
> butes of urban settlement as given--scale, density of
> population, social, cultural, and economic heterogeneity,
> spatial segregation--and then study the impact of these
> characteristics upon other aspects of life, such as social
> relationships, cohesion, social interaction, social mo-
> bility, and adaptation. In other words, the predefined
> nature of the urban is assumed and is not itself under
> investigation. (1977:34)

For a classical theoretical statement of this approach, Eames and Goode

cite Mitchell (1969). For a prime example of the application of this ap-

proach, they cite Anderson's (1972) study of Chinese adaptations to crowd-

ing. More germane to this study, several major English works on urban

Japan, notably Dore (1958), Vogel (1967) and Cole (1971), also use this

approach.

This study follows the lead of the above-mentioned writers in using

this approach to focus on social relationships, specifically patterns of

social relationships as reflecting cohesion within an urban neighborhood.

The primary interest of this work is not the nature of the city itself but

rather, given the environment of what Eames and Goode call the "urban",

the changes and the constraints to human behavior that result under various

conditions. For example, the increase in population density, the shift in

styles of housing, and the shifts in the economic base of Sapporo all af-

fect the constraints on social behavior in the neighborhood. The effect

of these elements on the constraints is reflected in the patterns of social

relationships through time thus reflecting the various degrees of cohesion

that existed.

Although this study follows the same approach as those writers indicated

above, it is distinguished from most other urban studies in that it empha-
sizes what might be called a "majority" population, i.e., one indistinguish-
able from the larger social milieu by ethnic or economic characteristics.[1]
Many of the groups studied--in cities of Africa (e.g., Little 1965 and
Mayer 1961), Asia (e.g., Willmott 1960 and Vogel 1967), North America (e.g.,
Gans 1962 and Hannerz 1969) and Latin America (e.g., Leeds 1968 and Mangin
1970)--have been economically or ethnically identifiable, often as politi-
cally or economically marginal, social groups.

While the bulk of work done in urban anthropology has focused on dis-
tinctive sub-populations, this trend has not held true for Japan. The vast
bulk of work done on Japan has been on the mainstream population with the
exception of Hokkaido where almost all of the ethnographic work has focused
on an ethnic minority, the Ainu.

Assessing mainstream populations avoids some of the methodological
and theoretical problems encountered by anthropologists focusing on minori-
ties. For example, the relationship between the minority and the mainstream
population and the question of the integration of a given minority into a
whole urban system do not arise in mainstream studies.[2]

However, focusing on a mainstream population has distinct problems.
The major problem encountered in such a mainstream study pertains to the
problem of boundaries, a term used in the social sciences with a variety
of meanings. In the context of distinguishing among social groups--in the
sense of distinguishing mainstream from non-mainstream populations--those
studies that center on ethnically or economically distinct populations have
their focal groups pre-defined by ethnic or economic lines. All that re-
mains is to select the specific fraction of, or the entire, group to be
studied, usually making this selection on geographic grounds, e.g., a

specific _barrio_ or an ethnic colony living in a particular city.

When focusing on a mainstream group, the problem of its boundaries becomes acute, particularly if a group is not distinctive in any real sense of the term. However, boundaries must be drawn if one is to apply the techniques of intensive, ethnographic research.[3] Without boundaries the research strategy of selecting informants for long-term, in-depth interviewing from a focal group, or any form of intensive, small-group research, would be impossible because such focal groups would not exist. In this study, the boundary emerged clearly because the focal group, the past and present residents of the neighborhood of Hanayama in Sapporo, has a number of characteristics making its boundaries easily identifiable and distinct from other such units and which make it logically acceptable as a unit of study.

Three criteria converge to define the neighborhood of Hanayama: physical space, legal identity, and social identity. First, the neighborhood is separated from the rest of the city on all sides by streets, three of which are major arteries. Second, the existence of the neighborhood is recognized by the civic structure of the city of Sapporo. In Sapporo the neighborhood forms the smallest formal political unit of the city; it is used for governmental and civil functions such as census taking, voting, and police records. In the civil hierarchy of the city, neighborhoods are grouped together to form a district. Districts in turn are grouped to form higher units of organization. Third, the neighborhood has a social identity recognized by its residents and non-residents. The changing nature of this social identity is discussed in Chapters III, IV, and V. The boundaries of the unit of study, the neighborhood, are thus geographically, politically, and socially delineated.[4]

## Selecting the Neighborhood:

Having established the formal properties of a neighborhood, we can now examine the neighborhood of Hanayama's amenity to anthropological analysis. The principal research techniques used in this study, participant observation and intensive interviewing, required that the unit of study be sufficiently small for analysis by one individual. For an ethnographic study such as this one, a small, carefully selected unit, such as the neighborhood, is appropriate. Hanayama had a maximum population in 1975 of about 1,050 people, indicating that a single reseracher could interview a significant portion of the total number of inhabitatns. Significance in this sense refers to the level of confidence, established by cross-checking the informants, one can ascribe to the information elicited from the interviews. About 20% of the adult population was interviewed allowing considerable cross-checking.

Size. The neighborhood of Hanayama is also physically small enough for direct observation of activity to play a major role in data gathering. Simply in the process of day-to-day activities, the analyst observed much of what occurred in the neighborhood including incidents of social interaction which could then be applied to check the perception or veracity of the informants.

Historical Depth. Aside from the characteristics of being definable and small enough to handle, there were other reasons for selecting this particular neighborhood as the unit of study. Sapporo neighborhoods can be divided into three broad categories: primarily business, mixed business and residential, and "pure" residential. The all-residential neighborhoods, located in the suburbs, were excluded from consideration as

research sites because they lacked the historical depth desired. All of
the "pure" residential neighborhoods were only a decade or so old. I
wanted a neighborhood that was old enough to show patterns from before
Sapporo's most modern economic and demographic phase. The primarily busi-
ness neighborhoods were also excluded as being inappropriate for a study
of changing social relationships because too few people lived in them.
This left most of the older part of the city, composed of neighborhoods of
mixed residential and small business. What I was looking for was a neigh-
borhood that fit Dore's description of his Tokyo ward, a "nondescript sort
of place" (1958:4), as representative as possible of urban life in Sapporo.
There is, of course, no such thing as an "average" neighborhood and Hanayama
has its unique aspects, as does any neighborhood. On the other hand,
Hanayama shares a historical foundation, as well as an overwhelming majo-
rity of demographic, political, economic, and social features, with most
of the other neighborhoods of the mixed business and residential types.

Conceptual Framework:

As stated earlier, the first task of this study is to describe changes
in patterns of social relationships in the Sapporo neighborhood of Hanayama.
Having described these changes, the second task is to analyze the patterns
of change in terms of a conceptual mode. Following Barth's (1967) usage,
the model applied for this purpose perceives constraints on behavior as
selective pressures that channel the choices made by individuals into broad,
recognizable patterns. Thus the application of the model to the described
changes yields a congruence between shifts in constraints and changes in
patterns of social relationships. The third and final task is connecting
the constraints to human behavior in the neighborhood with shifts in the
physical and social environment outside the neighborhood, in the larger

city of Sapporo, the prefecture or the country.

There are six elements to this analysis: 1) J. C. Mitchell's concept of social networks used to delineate and describe the patterns of social relationships found in Hanayama and the shifts that occurred in these patterns; 2) the nature of the socioeconomic groups making up the basic building blocks of the analysis; 3) the role of kinship in Japanese social relationships; 4) the importance of physical space as a constraint on human behavior; 5) the historical perspective; and 6) the choice of time periods or phases used in the analysis. Because of the importance of each of these issues to the analysis, I briefly discuss each before turning to the body of the ethnography.

## Networks:

The core of this study consists of a series of descriptions of social groups and their social relationships with each other, as exemplified by aspects of their social networks. Elements of the networks for each socioeconomic group change as conditions in the city change through time. Tracing the shifts in the networks and contrasting the networks of the various socioeconomic groups yields a picture of the relative positions of the socioeconomic groups in the neighborhood, the relationships among the groups, and the changes in these social relationships as the environment of the city has evolved.

The concept of social networks as used in this dissertation follows J. C. Mitchell (1968). Mitchell's work, in turn, was based on the work of writers such as Barnes (1954), Bott (1957), Epstein (1961), and Mayer (1962). Mitchell's properties, isolates which together make up social networks, are applied to individual networks, then "averaged" to create group composite networks.[5] It is these composite networks whose shifts through time are

described. because the primary focus of this study is on those changes occurring over a period of time in social relationships, the individual networks—Mitchell's primary focus—are not in and of themselves important elements except as building blocks to the next level of abstraction.

In this vein, certain other formulations, such as Thompson's (1973) idea of networks as being instrumental in social mobility, are examined as they apply to individuals and, in a modified form, as they apply to groups, but again these are not the primary focus of this study. They are seen, rather, as selective forces operating on the patterns of social re- lationships of which the networks are a part. Of particular note in this respect is Lomnitz's (1977) analysis of the importance of reciprocity in the development and maintenance of social networks. She looks at the eco- nomic functions of individual networks and then concentrates on the inter- relationships of whole socioeconomic groups. The concept is similar, but the application occurs on a different level of abstraction, that of indi- viduals versus groups. The concept of reciprocity is used as a measure of the intensity of network links.

Social Groups:

This analysis of the Sapporo neighborhood deals almost exclusively with social groups both as an analytical abstraction derived from observa- tion and as "real" in the sense that they are recognized by the residents of Hanayama. These social groups are categories used by the people in the neighborhood in everyday life.

There are distinct advantages to using indigeneous groupings in an ethnographic analysis. One is that because these groupings have indige- neous labels, it is relatively easy to elicit information directly applic- able to a particular group. Also, with informants with whom extensive

interviewing has occurred, informants sometimes asked their own questions
about my research and were often able to volunteer information crucial to
my analysis which I might well otherwise have missed. If these indigeneous
groups had not been used, the volunteered information might not have been
offered.[6] Interestingly, this observation also applies to the concept of
networks. The concept, in its anthropological sense or something close
to it, is part of Japanese social thought and as such is an emic structure.
There is even a phrase, koosai no hiroi hito (a person with a wide acquain-
tance, 文際 の広い人, that is, a person having a large network.

Five criteria were used to distinguish the seven socioeconomic groups.
The broad criteria distinguishing the groups were: 1) age, 2) occupation,
3) income, 4) formal education, and 5) relative social prestige. These
interlocking criteria are not meant to be hard boundaries but rather gen-
eral principles. For example, age tends to generally correlate with higher
prestige in Japanese society. Thus an older person with a somewhat less
prestigous occupational status might have higher overall social prestige
than a younger person with a slightly more prestigous occupation. The
other major division utilized is sex. All the groups were analyzed sepa-
rately in male and female categories and, where significant differences
were found, these are discussed at some length.

The social groups are named by their primary characteristic, occupa-
tion, since this along with its concomitant criteria of education and so-
cial prestige appears to be the best single descriptive term. Although
occupational terms are used as labels, it is important not to confuse the
social groups in the neighborhood with purely occupational groups. We are
not talking about groups tied to specific occupations but rather groups of
people who tend to correlate with clusters of occupations. I am using

this type of taxonomy rather than, for example, one based directly on so-
cial class because of indigeneous use of these terms and the complexity
and conflict that appears to be built into any attempt to use an overworked
and highly ambiguous term like class. The usage of occupational labels
similar to those used by the neighborhood residents is meant to stress the
emic nature of these socioeconomic categories. The seven socioeconomic
groups are the 1) older white-collar employees, 2) younger white-collar
employees, 3) shopkeepers, 4) blue-collar employees, 5) farmers, 6) enter-
tainers, and 7) landladies. The farmers occupied the neighborhood only
until 1942 and the landladies and the entertainers were present only after
1965. The other four groups were represented throughout the study period.

Older White-Collar. The older white-collar residents are the older
group of what the Japanese call sarariman (salary man or men). The dis-
tinction between the younger white-collar group and the older white-collar
group is drawn at age fifty. Actually, I had no informants in the 45-50
age range so the distinction is not quite as random as it sounds. The
distinction between the younger and older groups of white-collar employees
is crucial for several reasons. The age and prestige correlation mentioned
above is one important element. However, the most crucial difference is
socialization. In 1975, literally all of the older white-collar employees
were of the prewar and the wartime period in their training as children
or young adults. All of the younger white-collar employees were postwar.
Socialization in this sense is used broadly to include not only things
such as early value absorption but also formal education--the younger group
has had more, certainly different, and possibly more extensive formal edu-
cation. Since I do not want to separate out each of these factors for
analysis, and because they appear to cluster rather neatly, the two groups

of white-collar residents are separated. Finally the residents of Hanayama made the same distinction between older and younger white-collar residents usually referring to them as younger or older salary men (sarariman).

In 1975, the typical older white-collar residents lived in single-family housing, usually an older home, either owned by the company he worked for (if he was not 60 yet) or owned outright. If the male were more than 60 years old, the couple invariably owned their own house since the retirement age for most Japanese businesses is 60. After that age, most males get another job but at greatly reduced pay and fringe benefits, such as access to company owned housing. All of the older white-collar residents had rather large personal savings, a reflection of the poor social welfare and pension programs available in Japan. All of the males between the ages of 50 and 70 years of age were employed. Only two males, both in their eighties, acted retired in the sense that most Americans think of the term and one of them was still very active in local politics.

None of the older white-collar females was employed. Some of them did volunteer work but only on a very limited basis. Mostly, the older white-collar females kept house and, if geographically close enough, played the role of the doting grandparent. Two of the older white-collar females in the neighborhood acted, in effect, as permanent baby sitters for their grandchildren. Their daughters-in-law dropped the children off in the morning and picked them up at night on their way home from work.

The older white-collar residents, male and female, tended to know more of their neighbors than members of other groups. The males were often active in the Neighborhood Association where they dominated most of the offices, both elected and appointed. The females tended to know everyone on their street, except some of the most recent arrivals, at least by sight.

The older white-collar females were, with the landladies, by far the best informants since they were both very well informed about the activities of people in the neighborhood and were willing to talk to a foreign anthropologist.

Younger White-Collar. The younger white-collar residents were basically junior versions of the older white-collar group but there were a few important distinctions. First, the younger white-collar residents did not live in the neighborhood as long as the older white-collar residents and therefore did not have the time to establish social relationships that the older white-collar residents had. This tendency towards transience markedly increased during the final phase of the study between 1965 and 1975.

Secondly, the younger white-collar residents were poor. Traditional Japanese differential wages are paid on the basis of seniority which means that the young are relatively underpaid and the old are relatively overpaid. Further, as in the United States, the white-collar group as a whole has tended to resist unionization which would tend to increase their incomes. There are notable exceptions to this situation, of course, the most important being the very powerful, very active, left-wing teachers union which included several Hanayama residents among its members.

Finally, the younger white-collar residents were young. They had less prestige, less money, and in general less to lose by being a bit more liberal, traditionally, than their older counterparts. This difference, of course, becomes insignificant if one looks at the oldest part of the younger white-collar range and at the youngest of the older white-collar range. It does have some significance, however, as a general pattern of behavior.

Most important was the fact that the younger white-collar residents were trying very hard to attain the status and prestige of older white-

collar residents, if not in Hanayama then in some other similar neighbor-
hood. Even in 1975, when following the patterns set by the resident older
white-collar employees was almost impossible due to changes in the neigh-
borhood structure, several younger white-collar males expressed the opinion
that, had they been given a choice, they would have preferred the old, con-
servative way to the more modern paths that were emerging.

The younger white-collar females were likely to be employed if they
were unmarried or if they were married but did not yet have children. After
the first child, the females almost always stayed home with the child. The
younger white-collar couples had almost always lived in company owned hous-
ing until 1965. In 1965, with the advent of the apartment buildings, many
younger white-collar couples moved into apartments, either company or pri-
vately owned.

Shopkeepers. The shopkeepers ran the small, retail stores that occu-
pied three sides of Hanayama. The husband and wife both worked very long
hours in the family shop, sometimes with the assistance of some of their
children. As almost all of the adult's waking moments are spent in the
shop, there is little time for visiting or other social activities. On
the other hand, traditionally, almost everyone in the neighborhood would
stop in once a week or so to make purchases. The shopkeeper families
lived over, behind, or beside their shops and so were always available for
a short chat, an attribute that surely aided social intercourse.

Although the economics of the small shops are marginal, the shops seem
to have had remarkably long tenure in the neighborhood. Part of the reason
for this is strong customer loyalty built up through the years. Another
reason is the strategic location of the Hanayama shops, at a locus where
many people from Hanayama and other surrounding neighborhoods pass on their

way to and from work and other activities.

Blue-Collar. The blue-collar residents of Hanayama had originally
moved into the neighborhood on their own, buying or renting their own
houses. However, by the beginning of the study period in 1925, all of the
blue-collar residents of the neighborhood lived in company owned housing.
By 1975, only a few blue-collar families remained and these were isolated
from the rest of the neighborhood.

The living pattern of the blue-collar residents seems to have been
nearer that of the older white-collar residents than any other group in the
neighborhood. The housing available for the blue-collar families was high
quality and only quite senior employees would live there. Few of the fe-
males were employed outside of their homes although several are reputed
to have done piecework for various concerns.

Farmers. The farmers are a category that must be included and yet it
does not fit well with the other categories. In 1925, there were three farm
families in Hanayama. They were the descendants of the original settlers
(two of the original settlers were still alive in 1925) and the families
had originally owned all of the land in the neighborhood. In 1975, there
were no farm families in Hanayam. The last farm ceased operation in 1942.

Landladies. The landladies operated the apartment buildings that
started being built in Hanayama in 1965. They also usually owned at least
a share in the buildings. The landladies are a notable group because they
were overtly aggressive about building and maintaining extensive social
networks in the neighborhood. As each landlady moved in, she sought to
build up as solid a social position in Hanayama as she could. As a result,
the landladies were almost as useful informants as the older white-collar

females. The landladies were also the only channel between the largest single group of adults in the neighborhood, the entertainers, and the other residents of the neighborhood.

The landladies occupied an odd position in Hanayama. They were accorded a position of fairly high social prestige, not because of their previous occupations (in some cases these previous occupations would have accorded them very low social prestige) but because of their chronological age, their position as property owners--or at least managers, and because of their wide networks. The landladies' social prestige appeared to increase in proportion to the extension of their social networks. By 1975, when there were many landladies in the neighborhood with extensive social networks, the landlady group enjoyed high social prestige, probably just below that of the older white-collar group.

Entertainers. The final group, and the most difficult to define and analyze, is the entertainers. The entertainers are young, poorly educated people who work in Susukino, the entertainment district of Sapporo. They work at a number of occupations. In Japanese these occupations are lumped together under the label "water trades" (mizu shobai, 水商売 ). These occupations include bar hostess, mama-san (female bartenders/managers), musicians (popular music), waiters, bartenders, bouncers, prostitutes, thugs, and a host of other trades carried out in and associated with the entertainment district.

Most of the entertainers who lived in Hanayama used the neighborhood simply as a place to sleep. Their social interaction in the neighborhood was limited almost exclusively, and sparsely, to their landladies. Almost all of their social and professional life took place in Susukino. Most of the entertainers did not even cook in their apartments but rather took

all their meals outside the neighborhood.

Social Groups, Summary. These socioeconomic groupings are not rigid entities; there is some mobility from one to another. Some mobility is built into the system—younger white-collar employees become older white-collar employees, for example. Other examples of mobility include farmers who became younger white-collar residents (one example in Hanayama) or landladies (one example). The landladies, in fact, all were in different groups before they became landladies, although not in Hanayama. One was a farmer, two were mama-san, one was older white-collar, and the rest were from a variety of other groups.[7] It is difficult, therefore, to say much about the maintenance of group boundaries. Such boundaries do exist among the various groups, but mobility across them is possible.

Kinship:

The relationship between kinship and social networks found in Hanayama differs somewhat from those explored in a number of other network analyses. Notably, several studies in Latin America have demonstrated a clear relationship between network and kin affiliations (e.g., Lomnitz 1977; Peattie 1968), which may well be a function of the economic minorities focused on who are socially and physically separated from the mainstream populations. Other network analyses reveal this because they have specifically aimed at the relationship between family and social networks (e.g., Bott 1957 and Young and Wilmott 1962 in England, Vogel 1967 and Nojiri 1974 in Japan).

Kinship is viewed somewhat differently in this study because the focus is on a neighborhood where the incidence of separate household kin existing in the same area was exactly two in 1975. While the network of links in the larger city is often derived from kin-based links, the major

focus of this study is on links within the neighborhood, which are almost all non-kin except for spouse-spouse links. Kinship and family structure are analytically presented as a distinct set of social patterns--albeit somewhat related to social networks--and changes in the familial social patterns through time are analyzed in their own right. There is clearly a relationship between kinship and social networks but they are not as intertwined in this analysis as in the studies mentioned above.

Looking at patterns of kinship as a descriptive isolate separated from social networks has the advantage of providing a "check" for the patterns of change induced for the networks. Particularly for the earlier phases of the Sapporo neighborhood, this raises the level of confidence in the conclusions of this study.

Physical Space:

Although it is very difficult to demonstrate causal relationships between physical space--in the sense of housing and neighborhood design--and social behavior, some sort of perspective should be established. The design of both housing and the neighborhood as a whole appears to have selected against some kinds of social interaction and possibly promoted others. For example, in the earliest phase of the study, the relatively open nature of the neighborhood allowed for a great deal of residential privacy nonexistent in the most recent phase. There is, then, a direct correlation, if not a causal relationship, between the physical privacy and the relatively tight social relationships existing in the earliest phase.

It also seems clear that changes in neighborhood and housing design correlate with changes in social patterns. The coming of the apartment houses in the 1965-75 phase, discussed in Chapter V, had the effect of breaking up some of the existing social patterns and preventing certain

kinds of interaction among their residents. These correlations suggest
that there is some type of causal relationship, either positive or nega-
tive, between physical space and social behavior. For example, one could
argue that the lack of privacy in the apartments forced the residents to
"hide" from their neighbors, trying to gain maximum privacy, rather than
allow interaction on a more open basis. The vast increase in total popu-
lation, doubling between 1965 and 1975, that the apartments accompanied
may also have been the crucial factor in the decline of the tonari gumi,
the block associations, which served a number of important formal as well
as informal social functions.

## Historical Perspective:

Because a historical orientation underlies this analysis, the relation-
ship between history and social anthropology as used in this context should
be made clear.

Most of the historical material used here is derived from informant
interviews, and as such, comes under the general heading of oral history.
Because of the use that this material is put to, and the buttressing by
documentary materials (census data, published histories, other formal
sources), the orientation toward the informant-derived material is in
direct contradiction to Lewis' history-as-myth approach, typified by the
following passage:

> The social anthropologist in contrast (to the historian)
> derives most of his primary data from direct personal
> observation and inquiry, studying social life as and
> where it is lived, partly at least through the medium
> of a particular culture. His basic concern is with
> the inter-connections of events, with the structure
> of ideas, values, and social relations, but from the
> perspective of the present rather than the past. For
> him, although the past may be one source of the impera-
> tives which control the shape and content of man's

actions in society, its role in determining how men
behave now is secondary to the interconnections between
their <u>current</u> beliefs, actions, and institutional arrange-
ments. Current custom replaces the past as the reposi-
tory of the springs of social behavior. The past as the
subjects of study themselves see it, however it actually
was, becomes explicable at least in large measure as a
mirror of the present and may be treated to a considerable
extent as myth. In this extreme view, which is not devoid
of explanatory power, history is virtually relaged to the
status of Malinowksi's 'mythological charter'. (Lewis,
1968:xi)

In this study, I reject the history-as-myth view, along with Lewis's

ideas about social anthropology. I can not find a meaningful boundary

between history and social anthropology, nor can I see any pressing reason

to do so. Discussing any sort of social organization without recognizing

time is like taking a single frame out of a motion picture and claiming

that the one frame is the whole movie or even a meaningful segment of it.

The reason for the frequent use of informant-derived material is

that such information is unavailable elsewhere. To say that the past is

mirrored in the present, and therefore less important or more distorted,

is to ignore the point that the accounts of events are always mirrored in

the presenter's reality, informant or analyst, present or past. Wherever

possible, other sources have been used in addition to the informants, if

for no other reason than to verify those elicited perceptions. Further,

this study is limited to the lifetime of my informants so all of the oral

material is first hand and as such tends to be more accurate than other-

wise might be the case and, moreover, is capable of being cross-examined

and rejected if found inaccurate. This technique has been applied success-

fully elsewhere, especially in cases where "objective" documentation does

not exist.

The focus of this study is on the processes of change that have oc-

curred and continue to occur in an urban setting. The present, in this

sense, has no more significance than any other point in time except that the data is more accessible. There is no particular emphasis on the present except as a logical bridge between the past and the future.

Time Periods:

The presentation of material in this dissertation is broken into four chronological segments because it is simpler to handle the century or so with which we are concerned in separate pieces rather than as a whole. The first division of time constitutes the historical background for the prefecture, the city, and the neighborhood up until the beginning of the period of study in 1925.

The date dividing the historical background from the beginning of the study period is not based on historical significance. It was chosen because: 1) there were several people living in the neighborhood in 1975 who had been living there since 1925, 2) 1925 is the date of the ascension of Hirohito to the throne, the beginning of the Showa era and thus an easy reference date for the informants to use, and 3) fifty years is a nice round number for a study. The year 1925 has no other particular significance for Hokkaido, Sapporo, or the neighborhood of Hanayama.

The period of study, 1925-1975, is divided up into three phases, each representing a significant segment in the life cycle of the neighborhood. Phase I, 1925-45, was the prewar and war periods. The dividing line between Phases I and II, 1945, is important for Sapporo and Hanayama because it marks: 1) the end of the Pacific War, 2) the beginning of the reconstruction during part of which Japan, including Sapporo, was occupied by the United States Armed Forces, 3) the disintegration of the empire leaving only Hokkaido and its associated islands as the remaining colonial territories, and 4) the beginnings of the processes of demobilization and

repatriation leading to a flood of migrants into the prefecture, city, and neighborhood.

Phase II, 1945-65, was the postwar reconstruction, recovery, and economic boom periods. The city of Sapporo and the neighborhood of Hanayama grew very rapidly. The neighborhood of Hanayama enjoyed economic prosperity and a very high level of social integration.

The beginning of Phase III, 1965, marks the beginning of apartment house construction and the concomitant flood of entertainers into the neighborhood. The social mechanisms which had served to absorb previous migrants proved inadequate in Phase III marking the disintegration of Hanayama as a social entity.

Summary:

This dissertation has two major goals. The first goal is to describe and explain the changes that occurred in the neighborhood of Hanayama between 1925 and 1975--the relatively sudden disarticulation of a tightly integrated and durable social entity. The second goal is to provide a descriptive ethnography of an area that has not previously been the subject of participant observation analysis. To fulfill both these goals, the next step is to fill in the background history and geography essential to any ethnography. Historically and geographically, Hokkaido is different enough from the rest of Japan to warrant special attention in this regard.

CHAPTER I

Footnotes

[1] The term "majority" here is not technically accurate but serves to emphasize the distinction between the focal population in this study and those normally termed "minorities" in American idiom. By "majority" I refer not to numerical proportions but rather to a population economically or ethnically undistinguishable from the population as a whole, that is, a mainstream population such as white Anglo-Saxon Protestants in the United States, who are numerically a minority of the total population but are the locus of the dominant cultural patterns and are thus distinguished from other classifications, all others being considered "minorities".

[2] For an in-depth discussion of the methodological problems of focusing on minority populations, see Leeds 1968.

[3] For an extensive discussion of the importance of boundaries in ethnographic research, see Nadel 1942.

[4] There are advantages and disadvantages in selecting a neighborhood as the unit of study. The major disadvantage is that there is a danger that the neighborhood may be unrepresentative. Or, rather, that the neighborhood selected is so unrepresentative, so unusual, as to make it impossible to generalize from the findings derived from that study. The advantages of a neighborhood as a unit of study are 1) the depth of information obtainable is far greater than is otherwise accessible because of the narrow focus, and 2) the intensive approach is extremely flexible allowing _in situ_ examination of a broad range of topics and the interrelationships of the elements of people's lives. For a succinct discussion of the advantages and disadvantages of a neighborhood study, see Dore 1958:3-5.

[5] Mitchell's criteria are described in the early part of Chapter III where they are first applied to the ethnographic material. The methodological implications of this approach are discussed in Appendix A.

[6] These social categories are emic (Pike 1967 and Harris 1979) in that they are native categories. However, this analysis uses them both as emic and as etic categories. To a certain extent, this is an example of the interaction between emic and etic structures discussed by Harris (1979:36).

[7]
This brings up a problem, discussed in more detail in Appendix A, of classifying women working outside the home. This problem, which I do not really solve, appears to be a persistent one in the social sciences. My quasi-solution is to simply classify housewives in the same category as their husbands. Thus all of the landladies change groups which they start practicing their current professions.

[8]
An excellent example of this type of approach to oral history is Strobel's (1975) study of Muslim women in Mombasa.

CHAPTER II

Historical and Physical Base:
Japan and Hokkaido until 1925

The social organization of the neighborhood of Hanayama is rooted in
the ecological and historical context of the prefecture of Hokkaido and
the city of Sapporo. Hokkaido and Sapporo are Japanese and as such share
much of the ecological and historical base common to the rest of the archi-
pelago yet more than any area of Old Japan, Hokkaido and its premier city,
Sapporo, have historical and ecological roots differentiating them sharply
from the common Japanese experience.[1] The colonial history of the pre-
fecture and the city and the development of Sapporo as a center of terti-
ary industries--commerce, government, transportation and communication--
are closely connected to the climate, topography, and location of natural
resources. For example, the neighborhood of Hanayama exists because of
its location on fertile land halfway between the Yubari coalfields and the
port of Otaru. Hanayama's historical cycle, from an agricultural village
to a densely populated portion of a large urban center directly reflects
Hokkaido's development and the concommitant growth of Sapporo.

Hokkaido:

The primary distinctive feature of the island of Hokkaido is its
geographical location. Hokkaido lies at the extreme northern end of the
Japanese Archipelago (45°42" to 41°23" north longitude, 139°45" to 145°50"
latitude). It is a rather large (70,508 square kilometers, or 31,200
square miles, about 22% of the area of Japan), roughly diamond-shaped
island about 450 by 400 kilometers across the points of the diamond (see
Figure 1). Hokkaido lies about 300 kilometers from the coast of the

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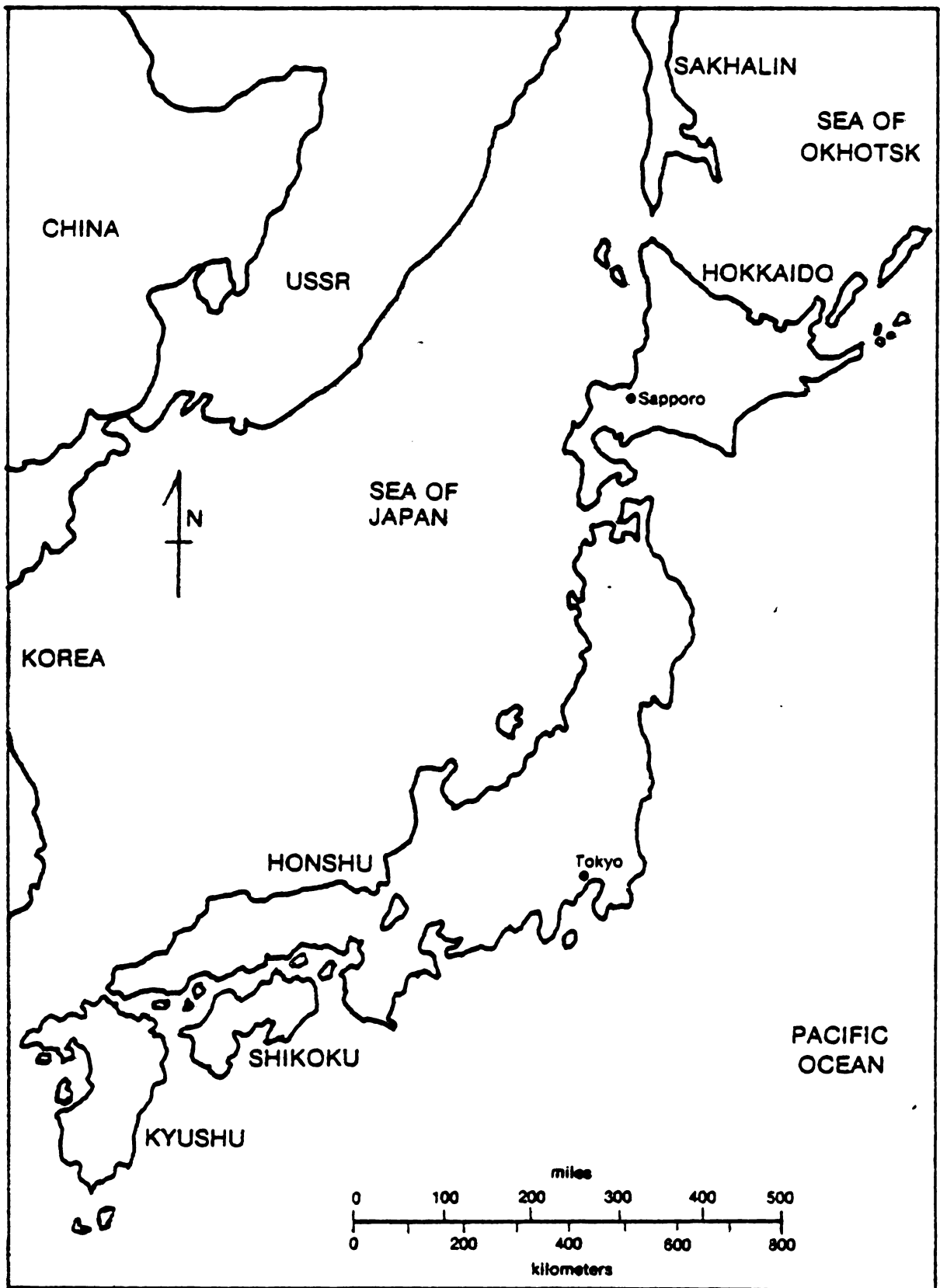
Figure 1.  Northern Japan and Adjacent Areas

mainland of Soviet Siberia (at the closest point), about 45 kilometers

south of the island of Sakhalin, and less than 30 kilometers to the west

of the first of the main Kurile Islands, both Sakhalin and the Kuriles

being currently controlled by the U.S.S.R. Hokkaido can therefore be des-

cribed as an intrusion of Japanese territory thrust into a horseshoe of

Soviet-controlled, and heavily militarized, territory.

Hokkaido is the most geographically isolated of the major Japanese

Islands.[2] The Tsugaru Straits separating Hokkaido from Honshu, the next

island to the south, are about 17 kilometers wide at the narrowest point

and are noted for difficult currents and weather patterns.[3] This isola-

tion was even more pronounced in the past than now, but it is still sig-

nificant.

Hokkaido, like Old Japan, consists primarily of old volcanic forma-

tions, many still active, creating a series of mountainous ridges sepa-

rated by relatively flat valleys. There are three rather large plains in

Hokkaido of which the Ishikari and the Tokachi are the most usable be-

cause of the climates. The plains on the eastern end of the island and to

the north are limited in their agricultural potential because of the long

severe winters. The Ishikari and the Tokachi plains, along with the

smaller plains and valleys of the Oshima Peninsula, are relatively fertile

and support most of Hokkaido's population. The mountainous backbone of

the island is not high, the southern peaks reaching 1500 to 2500 meters

above sea level, but they are rugged which, when combined with climatic

factors such as snow, serves as a barrier among the various parts of the

island. The pattern found in Old Japan of relatively isolated valleys and

plains separated by mountain walls is also found in Hokkaido. However,

because of Hokkaido's relatively recent occupation by Japanese, this

internal isolation has not had the same social significance, primarily because of better modern communication systems. Had Hokkaido been settled by Japanese in large numbers before the development of railroads and telegraphs, the isolating effects of the climate and the terrain would have been much more drastic than in the south. The late nineteenth century colonization emphasized the plains and sea coasts both because that was where the natural resources and fertile land was and in an attempt to construct a prefecture that could have adequate modern communications. Even today, all of Hokkaido's large cities are on agricultural plains and during the winter, with its severe weather patterns, are often isolated from one another and from the south.

The climate of Hokkaido is moderate to severe, with cool summers and cold winters, much like New England or the Canadian Maritime Provinces. Because of the action of ocean currents (see Figure 2) and the movement of air masses from continental Asia, the southwest part of the prefecture is markedly warmer than the northeast. In fact, in some ways the east-west axis is more important in terms of temperature and precipitation than is the north-south axis. The precipitation levels are fairly high for all of Hokkaido with somewhat higher precipitation in the west than in the east, as is true of Japan as a whole, but in no region could Hokkaido be called arid. As shown on Table 1 and Figures 3, 4, and 5, Hokkaido is considerably cooler than other parts of Japan but even the coldest lowlands have a growing season of sufficient length for agriculture. Further there is adequate rainfall for all of Hokkaido. The combination of sufficient precipitation, sufficiently mild temperatures, and stretches of flat land allow parts of Hokkaido to be among the richer agricultural areas of Japan in spite of the more severe climate. Hokkaido produces most or all
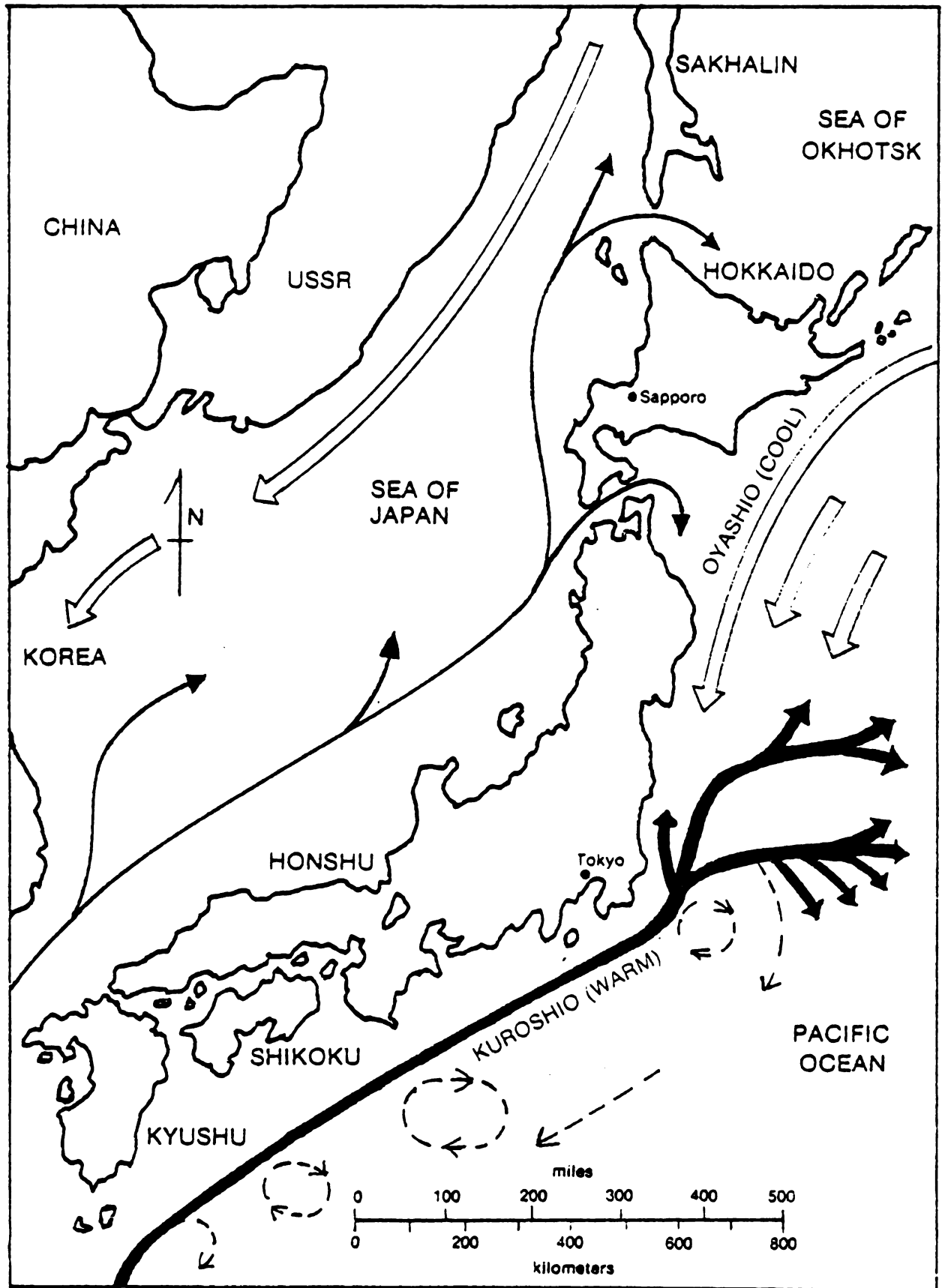
Figure 2.    Ocean Currents in the Vicinity of Japan

Table 1. Comparative Climatic Data

| STATION | Temperature (F°) | | Days of growing season | Precipitation | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Mean of warmest month (Aug) | Mean of coldest month (Jan) | | Cm. | Inches |
| Southwest Japan | | | | | |
| Kagoshima | 80 | 44 | 253 | 221.4 | 87.17 |
| Kumamoto | 80 | 40 | 211 | 180.1 | 70.91 |
| Fukuoka | 80 | 41 | 203 | 161.2 | 63.46 |
| Hiroshima | 80 | 39 | 221 | 151.3 | 59.57 |
| Osaka | 80 | 40 | 219 | 133.0 | 52.39 |
| Kochi | 79 | 41 | 241 | 260.7 | 102.64 |
| Central Japan | | | | | |
| Nagoya | 80 | 37 | 207 | 161.7 | 63.66 |
| Hamamatsu | 79 | 41 | 281 | 118.4 | 46.61 |
| Tokyo | 78 | 38 | 215 | 161.0 | 63.39 |
| Nagano | 76 | 29 | 166 | 99.1 | 39.02 |
| Fukui | 79 | 36 | 205 | 233.9 | 92.09 |
| Tohoku | | | | | |
| Sendai | 75 | 31 | 181 | 112.9 | 44.45 |
| Yamagata | 75 | 29 | 168 | 123.6 | 48.66 |
| Morioka | 73 | 26 | 148 | 102.1 | 40.20 |
| Akita | 75 | 29 | 175 | 179.5 | 70.67 |
| Hokkaido | | | | | |
| Sapporo | 70 | 21 | 129 | 108.0 | 42.52 |
| Asahigawa | 69 | 14 | 127 | 109.3 | 43.03 |
| Obihiro | 67 | 13 | 121 | 95.7 | 37.68 |
| Kushiro | 64 | 20 | 141 | 109.8 | 43.22 |

Source: The Climatographic Atlas of Japan. Tokyo, 1948
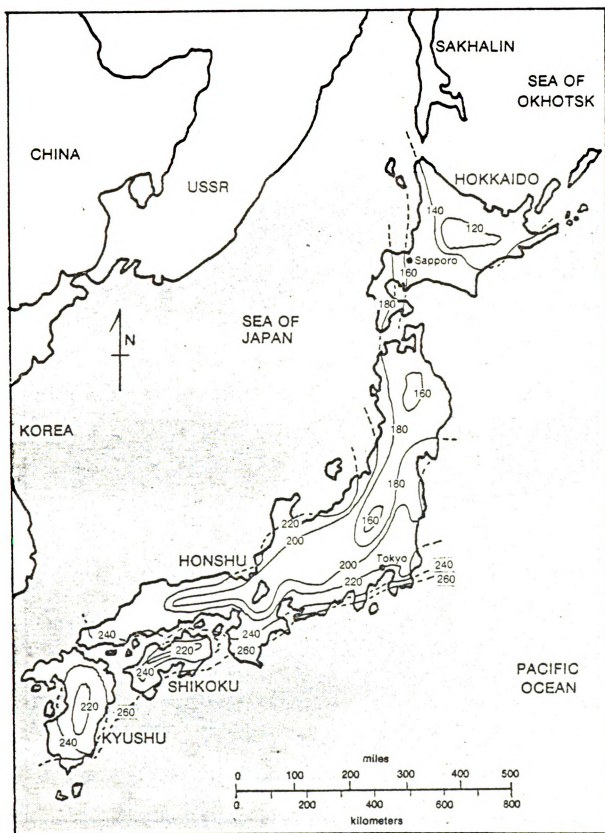
Figure 3. Days Frost Free
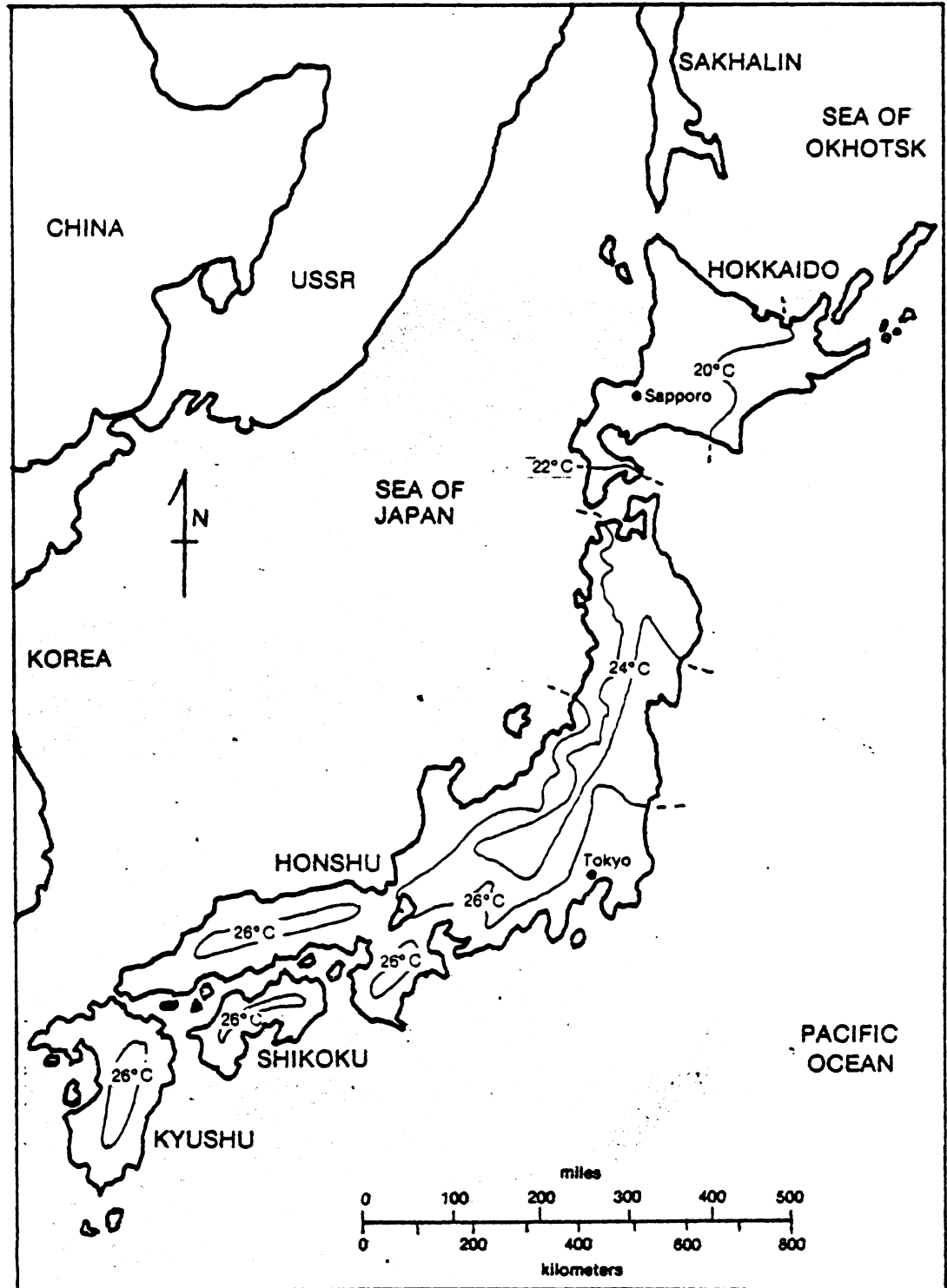
Figure 4.   August Mean Temperatures
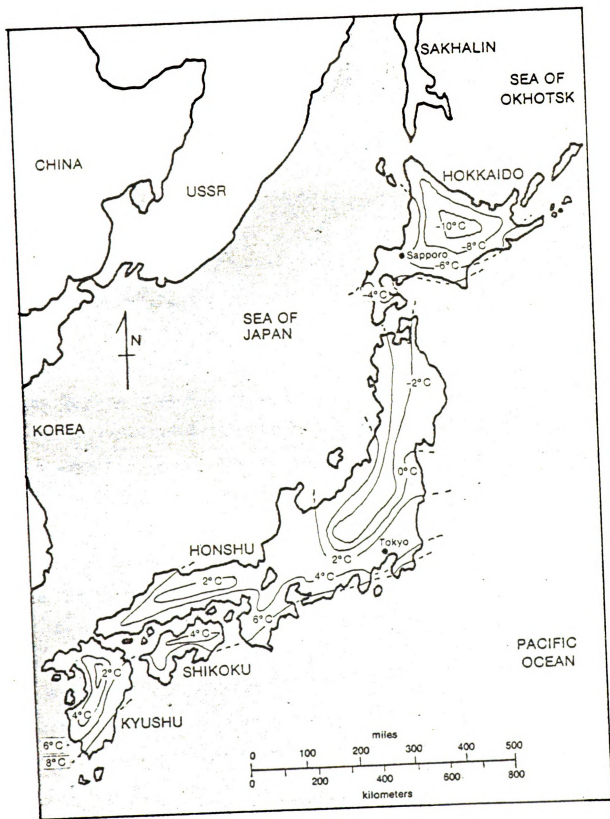
Figure 5. January Mean Temperatures
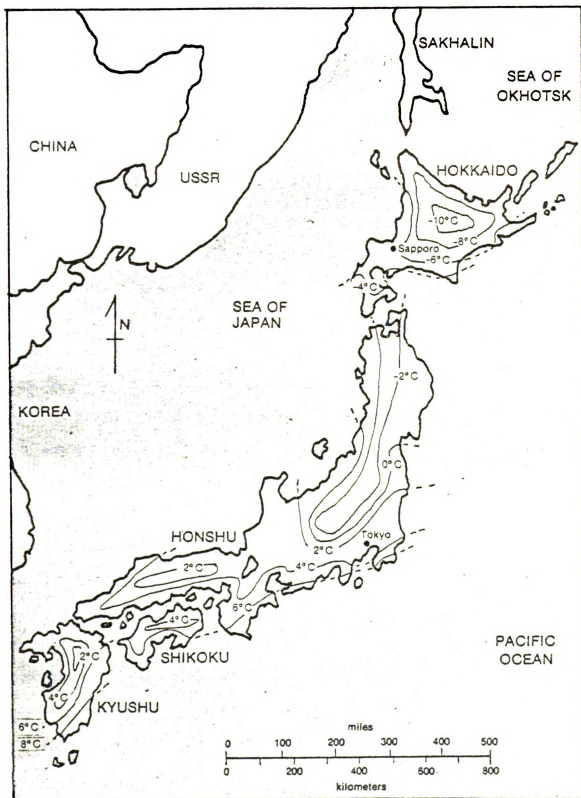
Figure 5.   January Mean Temperatures

of Japan's oats, potatoes, azuki beans, string beans, beets, peppermint, and asparagus. In addition a large proportion of Japan's soybeans (10%), feed corn (39%) and about 22% of the country's total dairy cattle come from Hokkaido. Hokkaido also ranks as the third largest of Japan's rice-producing prefectures.[4]

Aside from the agricultural resources of the plains, Hokkaido's major natural resources are timber, minerals, and seafood. Hokkaido's densely timbered mountains also provide hydroelectric sites. Hokkaido timber is mostly extracted for pulp.[5] The mineral deposits are mainly low grade coal, with some gold, silver, copper, iron, and petroleum. The major natural resource of Hokkaido is in the surrounding sea containing the richest fishing beds in Japan's territorial waters. Since the twelfth century, three primary marine products--herring, salmon, and commercial seaweed--have been taken from these waters, and these fishing grounds re-main among the richest currently being exploited by the Japanese.

The specific sections of Hokkaido are worth looking at in some detail because each region contributes economically to the development of Sapporo. Also, the subsections of Hokkaido have geographical features, such as drift ice, not found in Old Japan that play a role in the historical development of the prefecture and its capital. Also, this brief examination of the various sections of the prefecture contributes to a general understanding of Hokkaido and Sapporo as seen by the Japanese that live there, somewhat parallel to an Alaskan's view of Alaska.

Hokkaido can be divided into six major sections: the Ishikari-Yufutsu lowland, the Kitami-Abashiri plains, the Konsen Plain, the Tokachi Plain, the Central Fault Depression and its five basins, and the hill and mountain lands (including the Oshima Peninsula) that separate the assorted plains

HOKKAIDO

N

miles
0    50    100
0   50   100   150
kilometers

Coastal Drift Ice

Sea Fog
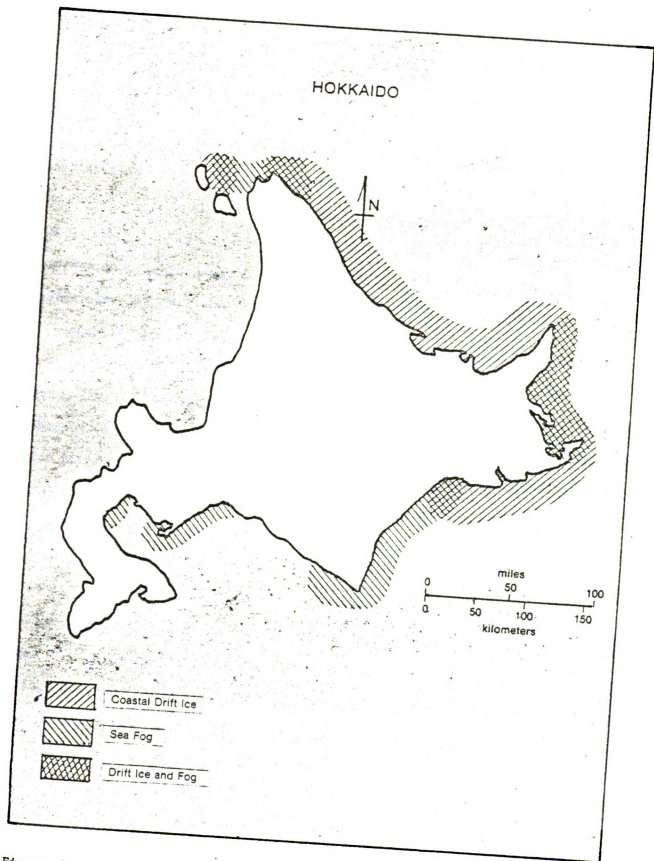
Drift Ice and Fog

Figure 6.    Coastal Drift Ice and Sea Fog

marsh makes adequate, if sparse, pasturage. Unlike the Japan Sea coast, however, there is a small natural harbor site at Tomakomai, which has been improved into a good functional port that serves Japan's largest pulp and paper mill situated there.

The lowlands as a whole support about equal amounts of paddy rice and non-irrigated crops. Enough rice is grown to make it one of the more important rice-growing areas of the entire country. Of the non-irrigated crops, oats, soybeans, potatoes, buckwheat, peas, and wheat are those more important. Orchards and dairying are also important, particularly operations near Sapporo.

In the mountains to the east, immediately adjacent to the lowlands, are the Ishikari coalfields, Sorachi in the north and Yubari in the south. These fields, extending about one hundred kilometers north and south and about twenty kilometers wide, rank first in Japan both in coal production and in reserves. The coal is in complicated geological formations, the seams often thin and steeply inclined, and generally of a mediocre quality. There is a complete absence of high grade coking coal in Japan.

The five basins of the central depression are all small. Tombetsu Basin (124 square kilometers), the northernmost, has no flat floodplain of any size. The agricultural population is sparse with most workers employed in logging and lumbering. Nayoro Basin (379 square kilometers), about seventy-five kilometers long, has a distinct floor, of which much is poorly drained but some portions are suitable for paddy rice. Forestry is important. A like pattern is found in Shibetsu Basin (109 square kilometers), the smallest of the five basins.

Next to the south is the largest and most important of the five, Asahigawa Basin (also called Kamikawa Basin, 555 square kilometers). With

and lowlands.[6]

The 4,289 square kilometers of the Ishikari-Yufustu lowland is the heart of Hokkaido comprising the most extensive alluvial lowland. It has become the center of agriculture and its related industries and settlements. The northern part of the lowland, facing the Japan Sea, is primarily poorly drained peat soils of indifferent fertility. As Trewartha describes it, ". . . the drainage handicaps of the Ishikari Lowland present the most serious obstacle to its more complete occupance, for in the spring, with the melting of the heavy snow cover, the plain is a quagmire" (1965:346). Along the Japan Sea is a line of barrier beaches with dunes and a smooth contour without natural harbors. Around the northern and eastern edges of the Ishikari are a series of connected diluvial terraces, slightly higher than the lowland and having better drainage, comprised largely of volcanic ash.

The southern portion of the lowland is mainly composed of a low volcanic ash upland called Chitose. This area drains to the Pacific rather than the Japan Sea, even though the upland averages only about twenty-five meters in height. The inferior soil, built up from fresh volcanic materials and having poor ground water has made agriculture difficult, supporting a population density much less than that of the Ishikari alluvial lowland.

The Yufutsu Lowland, bordering the Pacific Ocean, combines a desolate assortment of features, including poor drainage, cool summers, sea fog (see Figure 6), and relatively low fertility, in an area which supports a very low population. On the seaward side, most of the area is beach ridges and on the inland side are considerable areas of marsh. What agriculture there is tends toward animal husbandry since much of the non-

well-drained soil and flattish land, this is one of the most prominent growing areas in Hokkaido. Because of the agricultural base and the historical importance of early communications by railway (completed in 1898), the Kamikawa Basin supports the second largest city in Hokkaido, Asahigawa. Furano Basin, the southernmost of the five basins (185 square kilometers), is small but the next most densely populated of the five after Asahigawa. Furano has about an equal distribution of rice in the lowlands and non-irrigated crops on the fringing uplands.

The climate in all of these basins is severe with warm summers but very cold winters and short growing seasons. Further, because of the surrounding mountains, Asahigawa has the dubious reputation of having less sunlight--more cloud cover--than anywhere else in Hokkaido.[7] For all of these disadvantages, these basins, particularly the two southernmost ones, are important agricultural and forestry centers. The surrounding mountains also provide considerable hydroelectric resources.

The Tokachi Plain (3,827 square kilometers) is made up of three upland diluvial levels, the highest reaching elevations of 500-600 meters, and a lowland floodplain of newer alluvium. The Ando ash soil, of low quality and a very fine texture, is subject to wind erosion. Along the coast the summer months are cool and foggy, preventing any agriculture for about five kilometers inland. The interior is somewhat warmer in summer than the coast but with more severe winters. In fact, the climate of the plain as a whole competes with that of the Central Depression for having the most severe climate in Hokkaido (see Table of Comparative Climatic Data, Table 1, note Obihiro). Most of the agriculture on the Tokachi Plain is of a mixed type, combining dairying, oats, maize, potatoes, hay, soybeans, kidney beans, flax, sugar beets, and some horse

ranching. Only about two percent of the total cultivated area is paddy
rice. The smooth coastal contours provide no natural harbors and the sea
fog is such that even fishing is relatively undeveloped.

The Konsen Plain, about the same size as the Tokachi Plain, is some-
what similar to the Tokachi in that both are primarily upland plains with
littoral lowlands. The coast of the Konsen Plain is washed by the cool
Oyashio Current from the Bering Sea. As a result, the summers are both
cool and extremely foggy (See Figure 6).[8]  The soil is low-grade Ando
which, like that of the Tokachi, blows badly and resists improvement. The
major emphasis of agriculture is on dairying with the average farm size,
about seventy acres, being larger than that of any other part of Japan.
Feed crops dominate here and include hay, legumes, oats, barley, and po-
tatoes, as well as grassland. Rice is entirely absent.

A large fishing fleet takes port in the natural harbors along the
coast of the Konsen Plain. However, since World War II, this fleet and
the port towns have declined markedly because Soviet occupation of the
Kuriles has greatly inhibited Japanese exploitation of the rich fishing
waters to the north and east. As a result of the cool, foggy climate of
the coastal areas, agricultural alternatives are difficult to implement.
The whole of the Konsen Plain supports a sparser population than any of
the other lowlands on the island.

The Kitami-Abashiri plains are divided into three parts:  the Shari
ash upland in the east, the wet alluvial lowlands of the Abashiri River
close to the coast, and the inland Kitami Basin. The Shari volcanic up-
land has only recently been settled but already has a population density
almost twice that of the Konsen Plain. While some rice is grown in the
Abashiri floodplain, most of the land is dry field crops. It is surprising

that rice is grown at all; Abashiri has a July average temperature of 62°F
and an August average of only 66°F. Not unexpectedly, however, the major
economic emphasis here is marine and forest products. The Kitami Basin
(474 square kilometers) is the agricultural base of the Abashiri district.
Considerable rice is grown in the poorly drained, coarse alluvium of the
basin floor but the diluvial uplands are more extensively utilized than
is the wet floodplain.

A plurality of the island's sugar beets and white potatoes are grown
in the district, with emphases on dairying, with its associated feed crops,
and legumes. Farms average twelve to seventeen acres, smaller than those
of either Tokachi or Konsen.

The entire Sea of Okhotsk coast is sparsely populated, as might be
expected given the climate. The summers are cool and short with long,
severe winters. To add to these conditions are the summer feature of sea
fog and the winter (actually late winter and early spring) feature of
drift ice as shown in Figure 6. The sea fog and drift ice are important
because they inhibit agriculture and reduce maritime activities such as
fishing and transportation. Those areas having either or both of these
features are more isolated from the rest of the country and have sparser
populations than other, similar areas. The feature of drift ice is unique
to the Hokkaido coast and was another geographical feature of the severe
climate that the Hokkaido Japanese had to learn to cope with.

The hill and mountain lands comprise the majority of the area of
Hokkaido. These areas are less densely populated than the equivalent
areas of Old Japan, with exceptions found here and there in small pockets
of lowland. These rugged areas are the principal source of lumber, wood
products, and hydroelectric power as well as the mineral resources of the

island. Further, the national parks located in the volcanic lands (see Terrain Subdivisions of Hokkaido map, Figure 7) have drawn many summer tourists from Old Japan.

The most important highland area is the Oshima Peninsula, the south-west extremity of Hokkaido. In the interior are most of the non-coal mineral resources being exploited, including small deposits of copper, gold, silver, tin, iron, and sulphur. Three of the natural harbors on the coastal margins have become important ports. Hakodate, to the south, is the oldest Japanese-occupied area of the island, the most important fish-ing port, the terminus of the Honshu-Hokkaido ferry, and the southern ter-minus of the Hokkaido railroad system. Otaru, on the easternmost corner of the Oshima coast on the Japan Sea, is primarily the port for the north-ern Ishikari, including Sapporo. Muroran, near the eastern end of the Pacific Coast of the Oshima Peninsula, is the largest steel-producing area north of Tokyo, manufacturing about 9% of the nation's pig iron and about 6% of its steel (Trewartha 1965:366). Although the local coal and iron ore resources are exploited, much of the ore and all of the high grade coking coal must be imported.

The composite picture of Hokkaido is one of a relatively underpopu-lated area (66 people per square kilometer, the national average being 277). The economy is based not on manufacturing and construction indus-tries but rather on extractive industries such as agriculture, fishing, and forestry, and tertiary industries such as commerce and services. Hokkaido is uniquely geographically and perceptually isolated from the rest of Japan by physical topography and its relatively severe climate. A third factor which enters into the perceptual separation of Hokkaido from the rest of Japan is Hokkaido's unique history, or rather, from the
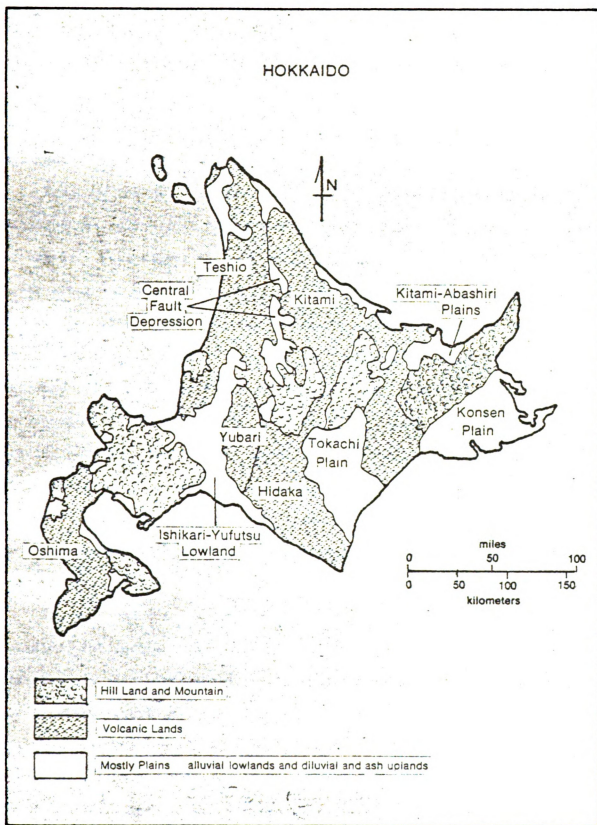
Figure 7.  Terrain Subdivisions of Hokkaido

Japanese point of view, Hokkaido's relative lack of historical depth.
All of the other major areas of Japan can claim historical roots--as being
Japanese--for at least two thousand years. Hokkaido's Japanese occupation
can be traced only back to the sixteenth century in even a minor way, and
only back to the nineteenth century in terms of any real historical sig-
nificance.

Prior to the Meiji Restoration in 1868, Japanese occupation of
Hokkaido was confined to the Oshima Peninsula with the primary settlement
at Hakodate (see Figure 8). Along with a number of fortified trading
posts along the southern coast of the peninsula, Hakodate had been settled
as early as 1514. This area was the seat of one of the major feudal clans,
the Matsumae. The political control of this area seesawed between the
Matsumae (1514 to 1798, 1821 to 1854) and direct control by the Tokugawa
government (1799 to 1821, 1854 to 1868). The settlements began as small
trading outposts, then became exploitative colonies, and finally residen-
tial colonies. This pattern, first exhibited on the southern tip of the
Oshima Peninsula, was generally followed in the colonization of Hokkaido
by the Japanese, with new colonies moving generally north along both the
east and west coasts.

The indigenous Ainu population had originally occupied all of
Hokkaido, the Kuriles, Sakhalin, and the Tohoku region of Honshu. At one
time the Ainu may have inhabited all of Japan as well as Kamchatka and
Southeastern Siberia and were slowly pushed back. Japanese actions vis a
vis the Ainu were overtly exploitative and, in some cases, directly geno-
cidal, much like the policies of the European settlers in North America.
The native populations were considered not quite human in both cases and
treated accordingly. The Ainu were never a serious consideration in terms
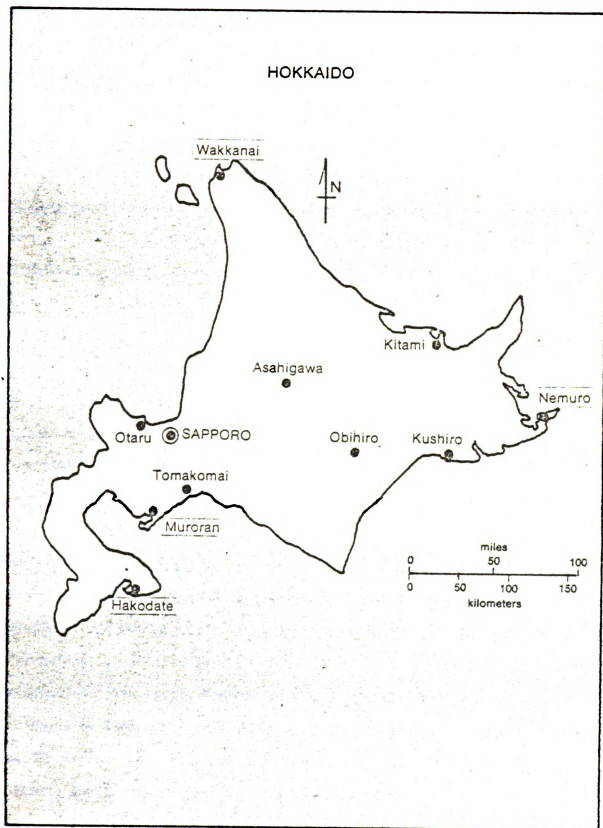
Figure 8.   Cities of Hokkaido

of national policy planning, including those plans made and executed for the colonization.

During the Tokugawa period, Hokkaido was distinguished as the ultimate northern frontier. During the Restoration, the Matsumae-fortified town of Hakodate was the final stronghold of the Loyalist forces. After this resistance was crushed, control of Hokkaido was given to the Kaitakushi or Colonial Bureau, a division of the national government set up in 1869 specifically to colonize and develop the Northern Territories of Hokkaido, the Kuriles, and Sakhalin (or Karufuto as the lower half of the island is called in Japanese). In 1881 the Kaitakushi was dissolved, and Hokkaido, to be governed directly by Tokyo, was divided into three departments: Hakodate in the west, Sapporo in the center, and Nemuro in the east. In 1886 the departments were abolished and Hokkaido was made an administrative entity of ten districts with a capital at Sapporo, at that time a small town of about 12,000.

The Tokugawa isolationist policies held the Japanese movement into the north at its earliest exploitative stage. The Tokugawa saw Hokkaido and the other northern islands as being outside of Japan, subject to light resource exploitation, such as fishing and fur trading, primarily focused in or near the Oshima Peninsula. With the Restoration, a number of considerations contributed to a sharp life in policy concerning the Northern Territories. The Meiji, fearful of the Imperial Russian expansion that had begun by 1868 into Siberia and the northern islands sought the Northern Territories both as a defense against the Russians and as an area suitable for intensive colonization and exploitation. The basic concept was to survey the area to be colonized--to a large extent with hired American advisors--develop transportation and communication links, and

exploit any discovered resources.

The oligarchical Meiji's colonial policy was not decisive. Its major focus was the industrialization of Old Japan, not the colonization of the north. Until 1881 the Kaitakushi was in direct control of colonial efforts and policies in the Northern Territories. These policies included the formation of the Tondenhei or Colonial Militia, conceived of as a peasant militia spread widely throughout the Northern Territories. Many of these Tondenhei were former samurai and provided both a never-tested military bulwark against Russian expansion and a series of nuclei for civilian settlements. These militia were given plots of land, some tools, and seed. Further, there was some attempt to provide low cost loans for further expansion of their holdings.[9] There were some problems, such as absentee speculation and fraud, with well-connected people buying up land--or getting the Kaitakushi to give it to them--but, given the levels of overall confusion during this period, the program went much as planned. "In the quarter century ending in 1900, when military colonization was abandoned, nearly 40,000 soldier-colonists and 557,000 civilian immigrants had entered Hokkaido" (Trewartha 1965:321). The major drawback was that the planning itself was on too small a scale. In 1900, after thirty years of active colonization, Hokkaido had a total population of about a million. Although Hokkaido was some twenty-two percent of the total land area of Japan, this is a low figure, a population density of only 13 people per square kilometer. In the eyes of the national government, the colonization of the Northern Territories had a low priority and few of the scarce national resources were committed to it.

Further, the Kaitakushi appears to have had little idea of the conditions in the north or even of its ultimate goals in colonizing. The

geographical conditions were mapped out by a number of Kaitakushi-spon-
sored working groups, but the effect of the Hokkaido winter, particularly
on the Southeast and Northeast coasts (see Figure 6) and cold coastal
plains, was not fully appreciated until long after the initial coloniza-
tion period and almost no allowance was made for these difficulties.

An excellent example of this lax government attitude is found in the
development of cold-weather strains of rice. Soon after its formation,
Kaitakushi was advised that rice growing would be difficult in Hokkaido's
climate. Its response was a half-hearted attempt to promote the growing
of other crops more suitable for the climate, notably wheat, millet, and
potatoes. Since the migrants were primarily familiar with rice cultiva-
tion, an educational program was needed for the rapid development of cold-
resistant strains of rice. The educational program, endorsed by the
American advisors the Kaitakushi had imported at great expense, was deemed
too costly. The underfunded program launched to develop cold-resistant
rice strains resulted in a very slow spread of rice horticulture and hard-
ship for the colonists. As the map of the rice frontier shows (Figure 9),
it took more than half a century for the Japanese to develop strains of
rice sufficiently hardy for all of Hokkaido's lowlands. Much of the adap-
tation that occurred had to be on an individual level, each colonist or
group of colonists had to devise methods and approaches to cold climate
farming with minimal assistance from the government. The whole of cold
weather agriculture did not have to be newly invented, of course, many
of the colonists were from the Tohoku region of northern Honshu where the
climate is similar to that of Hokkaido although not as extreme.

Although the Kaitakushi were not effective in the niceties of coloni-
zation, there was one aspect of the move into Hokkaido that was clearly
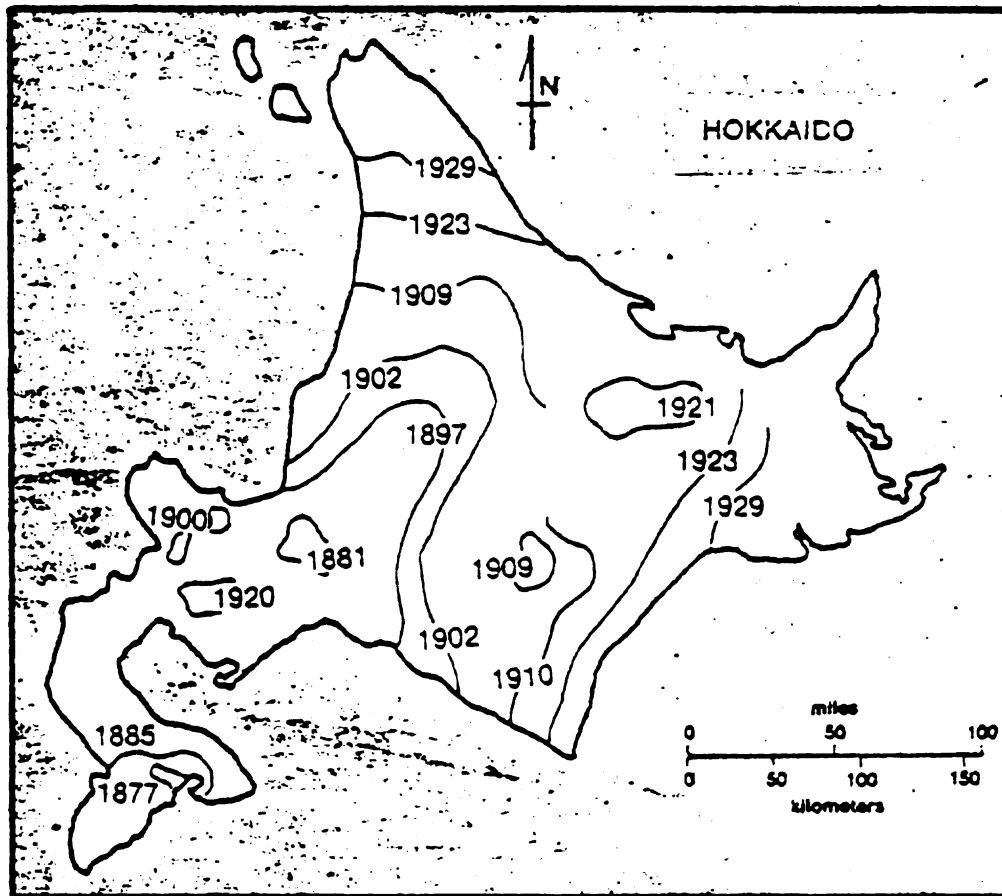
After map in
Regional Geography of Japan, No. 1
Hokkaido Guidebook

Figure 9.  The March of the Rice Frontier

understood and toward that most of their effort was directed:  the exploi-

tation of the mineral resources of the island.  One of the first things

that the Kaitakushi found from their explorers was that there were, in

addition to the large coal deposits in the Hokkaido mountains, silver,

gold, zinc, iron, and some petroleum.  The development of transportation

links during the nineteenth century, predominantly railroads and ports,

follows a pattern of construction closely following the opening for ex-

ploitation of these mineral resources.  For example, the first railroad,

built in 1881, linked Sapporo and the Yubari coalfields with the port of

Otaru.  The largest port on the island, Hakodate, was by-passed because

it was too far from the coalfields.  Given the primitive state of the

internal combustion engine and the rugged nature of the topography, the railways and ports rather than roads were important for transportation. This reliance on rail and sea communications influenced the patterns of Hokkaido settlement. Railroad development in Hokkaido radiated out from the Sapporo-Otaru-Yubari Coalfield nexus slowly expanding to cover the entire island. The pattern of settlement followed the coasts and the development of the railroads as shown by the map of railroad development, Figure 10. As shown, the immediate concern was the connection of the Yubari Coalfields to the port of Otaru. After the completion of the first links, the main thrust was to penetrate the interior moving into the Kamakura Basin, then south to the Tokachi Plain and east to the Konsen Plain as well as north to the smaller northern basins. The railroads were obviously developed to compliment the sea routes by penetrating the interior. Where the railroad did run along the coast, it was either a case of no inland route being available due to unsuitable topography or because the coast was not accessible to shops because of a lack of ports.

The main thrust of immigration into Hokkaido came from the Tohoku region of northern Honshu. Most of the civilian migrants settled either in the growing port towns or in the militia settlements along the major rivers (see map, Figure 11), largely concentrated on the northern part of the Ishikari Plain. While the military colonization policy was abandoned at the end of the nineteenth century, the civilian migration continued as shown by the continued increase in population as shown in Figure 12. The defeat of the Czarist forces in 1905 firmly established Japanese supremacy in the Northern Territories, at least until 1945. Between 1900 and 1925, the development of Hokkaido continued but with decreasing national emphasis. The frontier in Hokkaido was, to some extent, supplanted by other

HOKKAIDO

| | |
|---|---|
| —— | before 1883 |
| +++++ | 1884-1910 |
| ——— | 1910-1925 |
| === | 1925-1945 |
| - - - | 1945-1966 |
| ⅢⅢⅢ | planned |

miles
0    50    100

0    50    100    150
kilometers
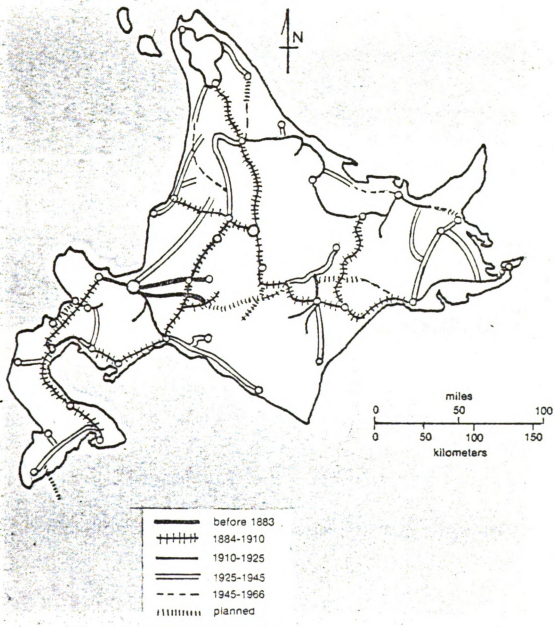
(after map in Enomoto and Kimi 1975.172)

Figure 10.    Railroad Development in Hokkaido

HOKKAIDO

miles
0   50   100
0   50   100   150
kilometers

(after map in International Geographical Union 1957)
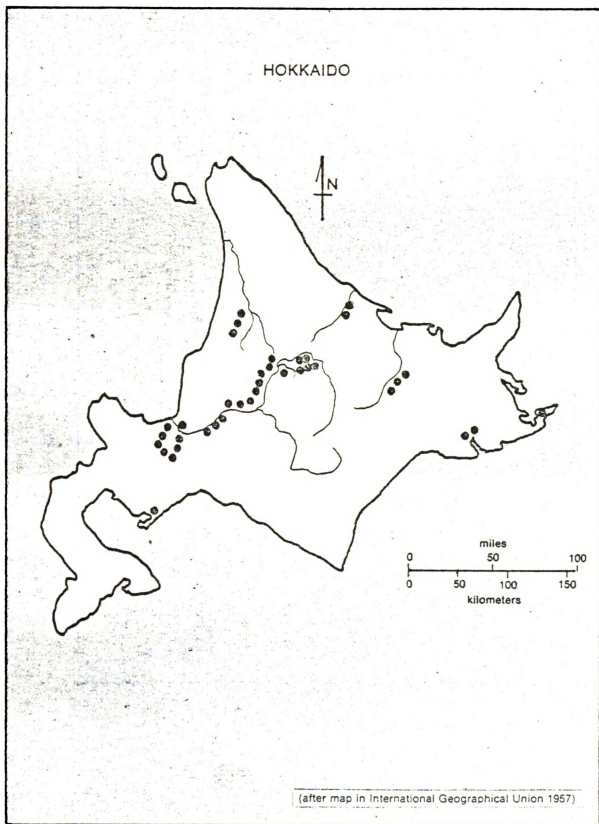
Figure 11.   Colonial Militia Settlements in Hokkaido: 1876-1899

(1000)

(Hokkaidōchō 1976)
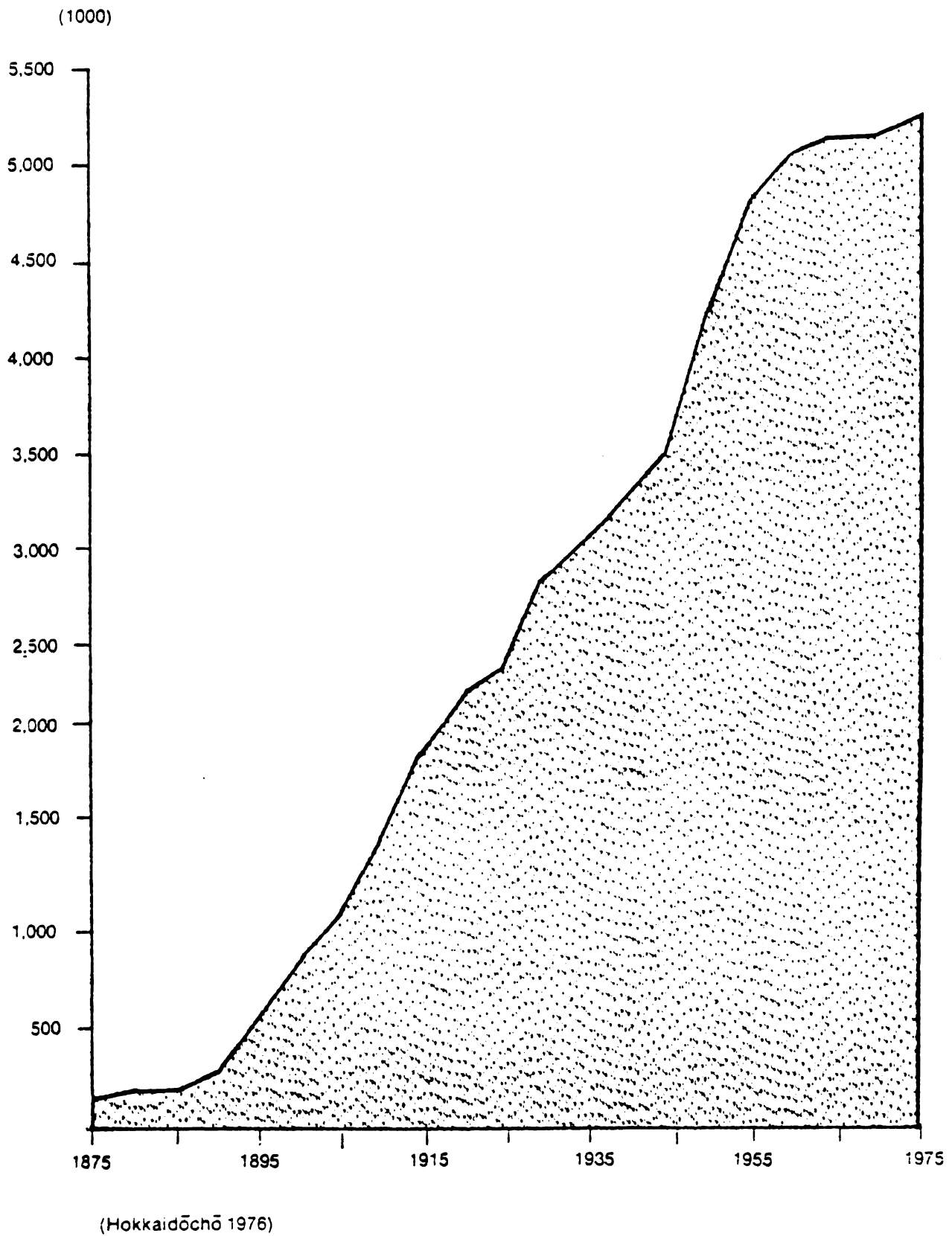
Figure 12.    Hokkaido Population:    1875-1975

territories thought to be more commercially valuable, more strategically located, or less secure, such as Taiwan, Korea, and the Pacific islands mandated to Japan by the League of Nations after World War I. As a result of these unique features, Hokkaido had certain aspects in marked contrast with Old Japan, particularly with the Tohoku region which it most closely resembles geographically.

This is not the place for an extensive comparison between Hokkaido and Old Japan, but a few items might aid in understanding the socioeconomic patterns found in Sapporo, which has relevance for the work at hand. Although the population density is lower than that found in Old Japan, the degree of urbanization is similar if one uses the "densely inhabited district" (DID) criteria. Using DID figures for 1960, Hokkaido had 42.1% of its population living in DIDs, while the national average was 43.7%, with only seven of the Old Japan prefectures having higher percentages of the populations living in DID. All of these denser populations are located in the three great metropolitan-industrial areas, plus industrial Fukuoka in northern Kyushu (Trewartha 1965). At the same period, the sex ratio in Hokkaido showed a preponderance of males (102), while the national average showed a deficiency of males (96.5) and the Tohoku region had proportionately even fewer males. Hokkaido's farms are the largest and among the richest in Japan, with a history of independent ownership derived from its "land grant" past. As Table 2, Regional Subdivision of Japan table shows, Hokkaido modern agricultural income per farm is almost 75% higher than that of the next highest region. Hokkaido also had the third highest per capita income (in 1957) of any region in Japan. In the earliest periods this was not the case but the strong resource base of the island did allow for a great deal of individual economic independence. This economic

Table 2. Regional Subdivisions of Japan

| Region | Per capita income in 1957 (1000 yen) | Index (Japan = 100) | Percentage of population supported | | Agricultural income per farm | Industrial production income per capita (Jap.=100) | Population change during 1955-1960 |
| | | | Primary industry | Secondary industry | | | |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| S. Kyushu | 67.1 | 72 | 58 | 18 | 72 | 31 | -2.5% |
| Tohoku | 72.0 | 78 | 53 | 20 | 127 | 35 | -0.3 |
| Sanin | 73.8 | 80 | 52 | 17 | 76 | 32 | -3.6 |
| N. Kanto | 74.0 | 80 | 53 | 17 | 114 | 49 | -1.7 |
| Tosan | 76.9 | 83 | 53 | 16 | 83 | 43 | -2.3 |
| Shikoku | 79.3 | 85 | 48 | 20 | 84 | 56 | -2.5 |
| Sanyo | 82.2 | 89 | 42 | 21 | 83 | 99 | +0.1 |
| Hokuriku | 87.1 | 94 | 41 | 21 | 107 | 81 | +0.7 |
| N. Kyushu | 89.5 | 96 | 33 | 31 | 82 | 90 | +1.9 |
| Tokai | 90.3 | 97 | 33 | 21 | 88 | 144 | +6.3 |
| Hokkaido | 93.5 | 101 | 40 | 27 | 172 | 53 | +6.5 |
| Kinki | 113.4 | 122 | 23 | 31 | 84 | 179 | +10.4 |
| S. Kanto | 123.1 | 133 | 18 | 29 | 111 | 157 | +15.8 |

environment strongly contrasts with Old Japan's small, relatively poor
farms and long, sometimes bitter, history of tenantry and all that tenant-
ry entails.

## Sapporo:

Sapporo, the capital of Hokkaido, was designed and built to be an ex-
cellent example of the "central place" concept of central place theory.
All roads lead to Sapporo. The major industries in Hokkaido have their
central offices in Sapporo, and a large portion of the total population
of the prefecture (about 35%) lives in Sapporo. The focus of political
power, including the prefectural offices, is in Sapporo, and the social
and intellectual orientation of the population of the environs of Hokkaido
is oriented toward Sapporo as much if not more than toward Tokyo, a situ-
ation which is rare in a country so focused on its primary metropolis and
capital.

Sapporo, an Ainu word meaning "extensive dry land," lies at the north-
ern end of the Ishikari Plain. The plain on which Sapporo was built is
primarily volcanic in nature, being the result of aggradation by the
Ishikari River and its tributaries. "Ishikari," the name of the river
from which the plain gets its name, is also an Ainu word meaning "to
wander" or "to meander." The plain is mainly poorly drained with numerous
peat bogs, hence the significance of the name of the city. It is extreme-
ly large for a Japanese city because of two factors: it is unrestricted
by natural terrain features on three sides, the north, east, and south;
and the second, and more important, element is that it was planned by an
American along American ideas of urban development.[10] The result is a
checkerboard of wide avenues intersected by wide streets and a diffusion
of the population far greater than that found in any other Japanese city.

Unlike most of the great Japanese cities, Sapporo is not a port. In a land divided into small plains by rugged mountains, the historical development of most cities was largely abetted by easy access to the sea, the easiest mode of transportation. Hokkaido is as rugged as Old Japan but the later development of the island allowed for different kinds of planning. The original exploitation plans, developed in the early Meiji period (1870-1890), looked primarily to the exploitable raw materials available in Hokkaido and ways of moving them to the south. The Ishikari Plain, where most of the raw materials on the island are concentrated as well as a large portion of its arable and more fertile land, has coasts on both the Sea of Japan and the Pacific Ocean. The Pacific coastal area, as discussed previously, is swampy, relatively infertile, and a considerable distance from the coalfields that were the primary interest of the early Meiji planners. The town of Tomakomai is the only port on this coast of any significance and its natural harbor is poor. The Sea of Japan coast has a smooth contour with no natural harbor at all. However, adjacent to this northern end of the Ishikari Plain, in the northeastern corner of the Oshima Peninsula, is a good natural harbor at Otaru. Thus, Sapporo occupies a strategic position near the island's best extensive farm land and between the coalfields and the best available port.[11]

The pre-Restoration town of Sapporo was not a very imposing place. It was a tiny hamlet on the banks of the Ishikari River, of mixed Ainu and Japanese habitation, subsiding on agriculture and river fishing. In 1872, four years after the Restoration, the population of the town was only 624 people occupying about 5.5 square kilometers along the banks of the river. This population appears to have been stable for the previous century. Sapporo was only one of many small villages scattered throughout the

Northern Territories primarily concentrated on the more fertile plains
and along the coasts.

To support the planned nexus of the rail line from the Ishikari coal-
fields to Otaru, the Kaitakushi emphasized military colonization on the
northern Ishikari Plain. By 1880, the date of the completion of the rail-
road, the major military base in the Northern Territories had been estab-
lished at Makomanai, a few kilometers south of the railroad station at
Sapporo; the area between the station and the military base had been
heavily colonized by Tondenhei. It was on this axis, railroad station to
military base, that the city was planned and constructed. The element of
planning in the construction of Sapporo probably cannot be stressed too
much. Aside from its unique historical aspect, much of the later develop-
ment of the city reflects this original planning.[12]

The Tondenhei settlement south of Sapporo followed the line pattern
common to most of the Hokkaido military colonies. Each colonizing house-
hold was given 5 cho (12.25 acres) of land in a surveyed grid, the area
judged necessary for its support. In the case of the settlement south of
Sapporo, the major road running from Sapporo station south to the military
base at Makomanai and on to, among other things, a stone quarry that pro-
vided much of the building material used in the construction of the city,
was surveyed as a dividing line between two double rows of Tondenhei home-
steads. Dividing each of the double rows of homesteads was a narrower
road (see map, Figure 13).

Each of the colonists was given not only the land but also some tools
and seed. It should be remembered that this particular area has some of
the more fertile land on the island and the least isolated; thus the
planners could be selective about the recipients of these grants. As a
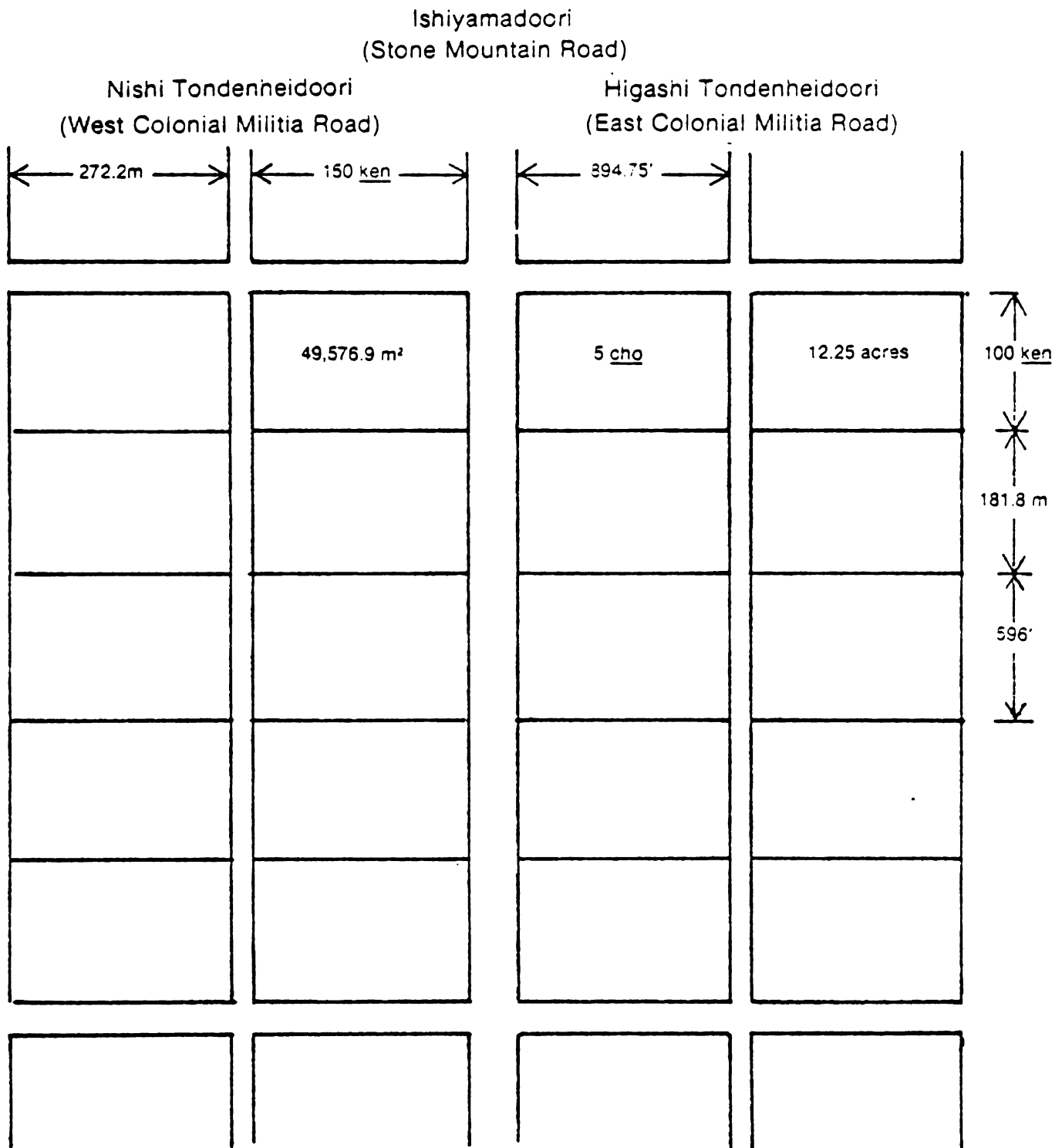
Figure 13.  Pattern of Sapporo Tondenhei Land Grants

result, the settlers moving into this area were among the most stable and skilled of all the migrants into the Northern Territories.

The post-Kaitakushi period (1881-1900) marked the fastest rate of population growth in Sapporo's history, which is indicative of the increase of administrative and commercial functions during this period. Aside from the vast increase in railroad mileage focused on Sapporo (see Railroad Development Map, Figure 10), the commercial functions were mainly related to agriculture with only a small emphasis on secondary industry. This focus on primary industry and mining was a reflection of Sapporo's status as the capital of what was, in fact, a colony. The explosive development of secondary industry was concentrated almost exclusively in the core area of Old Japan. This period was the time of greatest tension concerning Czarist expansion into Siberia and the northern islands, and this tension was reflected in the speed with which Sapporo was built up. By 1900, the population of Sapporo had increased to 40,578 for the official city or shi itself. The figures for the metropolitan area or DID, including the army base, would have been much larger.

The period from 1900 to the accession of Hirohito to the throne in 1925, the beginning of the Showa era, was characterized by steady growth of the city and the prefecture. With the successful conclusion of the Russo-Japanese war in 1905, Japan was ceded the southern half of Sakhalin (Karufuto) and the Kuriles. This cleared the way for a somewhat less tentative colonization of those areas surrounded by rich fishing waters. Karufuto and the Kuriles, part of the old district the Tokugawa called "Yezo" or "Ezo," were brought under the administration centered on Sapporo. Thus Sapporo became the capital for an area comprised of more than a quarter of the total land area of Japan. This area stretched so far to the

north that it was almost as far from the outer edges of the

nd to Sapporo as it was from the national capital at Tokyo.

l area was about one thousand kilometers to the east and

ix hundred kilometers to the north.

de from physical growth of the territory, the commercial and

tation networks of the Northern Territories were greatly ex-

As the transportation links to Old Japan grew, particularly

roads (see Railroad Development Map, Figure 10), the develop-

the primary industries of fishing, forestry, farming, and

ere increasingly made more commercially viable.[13] The

in primary industries in Sapporo itself and the increase in

y and more importantly, tertiary industries, reflects the

f the economy and population of Sapporo's hinterland.

s population continued to grow during this period at a rapid

e Population Graph, Figure 14) reaching about 73,000 in 1910

than 150,000 people by 1925.

national government's previous efforts at the colonization of

and Sapporo in the last quarter of the nineteenth century were

ly less noticeable. With the conclusion of the Sino-Japanese

894-95, Japan had gained the territories of Taiwan and Korea.

o-Japanese War had removed the threat of Czarist Russia in the

d had confirmed Japan's sphere of influence over Korea. The end

War I saw the League of Nations mandate a number of previously

ontrolled Pacific Islands to the Japanese. Thus, the imperial-

rest and efforts of the national government were directed more

hese new possessions than the Sapporo region. It should also

that given the communication technology of this period, the new
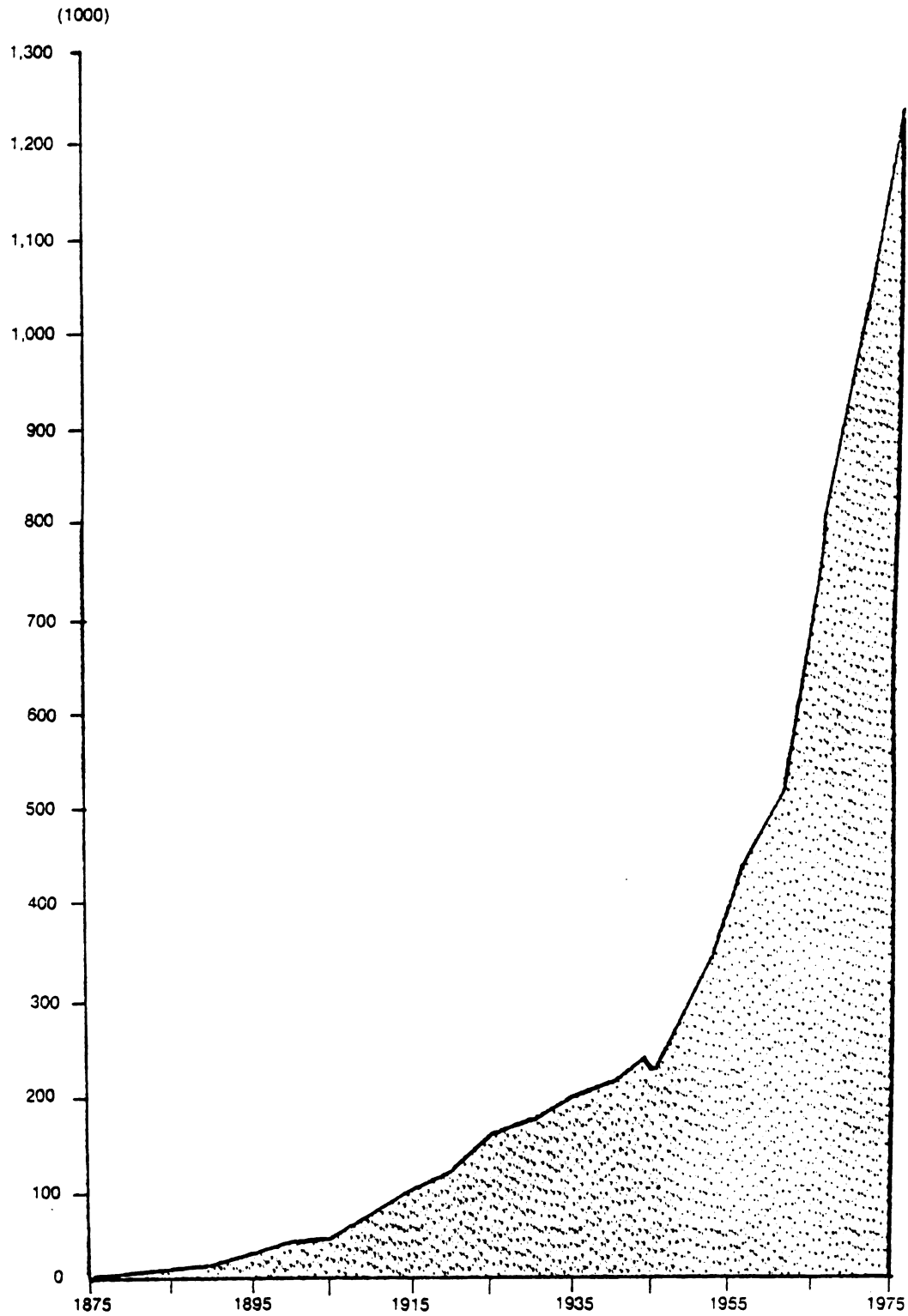
Figure 14.   Sapporo Population:   1875-1975

imperial possessions, or parts of them, had greater ease of communication
with the national capital than did the interior of Hokkaido.

By 1925 Sapporo had become a medium-sized city with a number of unu-
sual features. First, its rate of growth (see Figure 14) was comparable
to the growth experienced by the largest industrial cities of the south,
but it was not undergoing the industrialization on a scale similar to that
experienced by cities such as Tokyo, Osaka, Kobe, and Nagoya. Second,
although Hokkaido was considered part of the "homeland"--unlike Taiwan,
Korea, and the mandated Pacific islands--Sapporo was more geographically
isolated than any other equivalent-sized or larger city, either in the
home islands or in any of the new imperial possessions. Third, and most
important, Sapporo's hinterland--both in the sense of administrative con-
trol and commercial dominance--was more vast than any area in Old Japan,
rivaling the new imperial possessions. Further, in terms of raw materials,
minerals, timber, and sea resources, the Northern Territories, administered
from Sapporo, were wealthier than any equivalent physical or administrative
area in Old Japan. The importance of the Northern Territories frontier to
the rising industrial strength of Japan is analogous, although on a smaller
scale, to the relationship between the U.S.S.R. and Siberia, or the U.S.A.
and Alaska. Unfortunately there are no cities in either Siberia or Alaska
comparable to the position of Sapporo to complete the analogy.[14]

The Neighborhood:

The modern city of Sapporo is built around a central core which in-
corporates the railroad station in the north, the entertainment district
of Susukino to the south, and a business district in-between. From this
core area, major avenues and railroad and subway lines radiate in all di-
rections except west (where there are mountains). The major direction of

growth for the metropolitan area has been east and south (see map, Figure 15), along the railroad to the east and a major artery to the south.

The downtown business district is comprised almost exclusively of tertiary industries. Lining the major arteries radiating outward there is a scattering of secondary industrial concerns mixed with smaller tertiary establishments. Outside the city to the northeast and southwest are agricultural belts, primarily truck gardens. Due east and south are areas of secondary industries.

The neighborhoods of the metropolitan area can be classified into three types: non-residential neighborhoods made up of tertiary and secondary industries, purely residential neighborhoods existing on the extreme outskirts of the city and extending into the surrounding suburbs, and a mixture of residential and commercial areas making up most of the neighborhoods in the city. Without zoning restrictions, the growth patterns have been more or less organic, mixing small tertiary concerns, light secondary industry, and residential clusters.

The neighborhood which is the focus of this study lies between the railroad station and the military base in the south at Makamanai. It is about two kilometers from the railroad station and about one kilometer south of the entertainment district that defines the southern boundary of the downtown area. This district lies south along the major north-south artery and, before its incorporation into the shi of Sapporo, was known as Hanayama-mura, Flower Mountain Village, the name used in this work for the neighborhood itself.

Hanayama is bounded on one side by Ishiyamadoori, Stone Mountain Road, the major north-south avenue; on the other side there is one of the two Tondenheidoori, Colonial Militia Road, which bracket Ishiyamadoori,

Tondenhei Settlement Area in Relation to Sapporo Station

N

to Otaru

Sapporo Station

Central
Business
District

Susukino

to Ebetsu and
Asahigawa

Mountains

Tondenhei
Settlement area

0    1    2
kilometers

to Makomanai (military base)
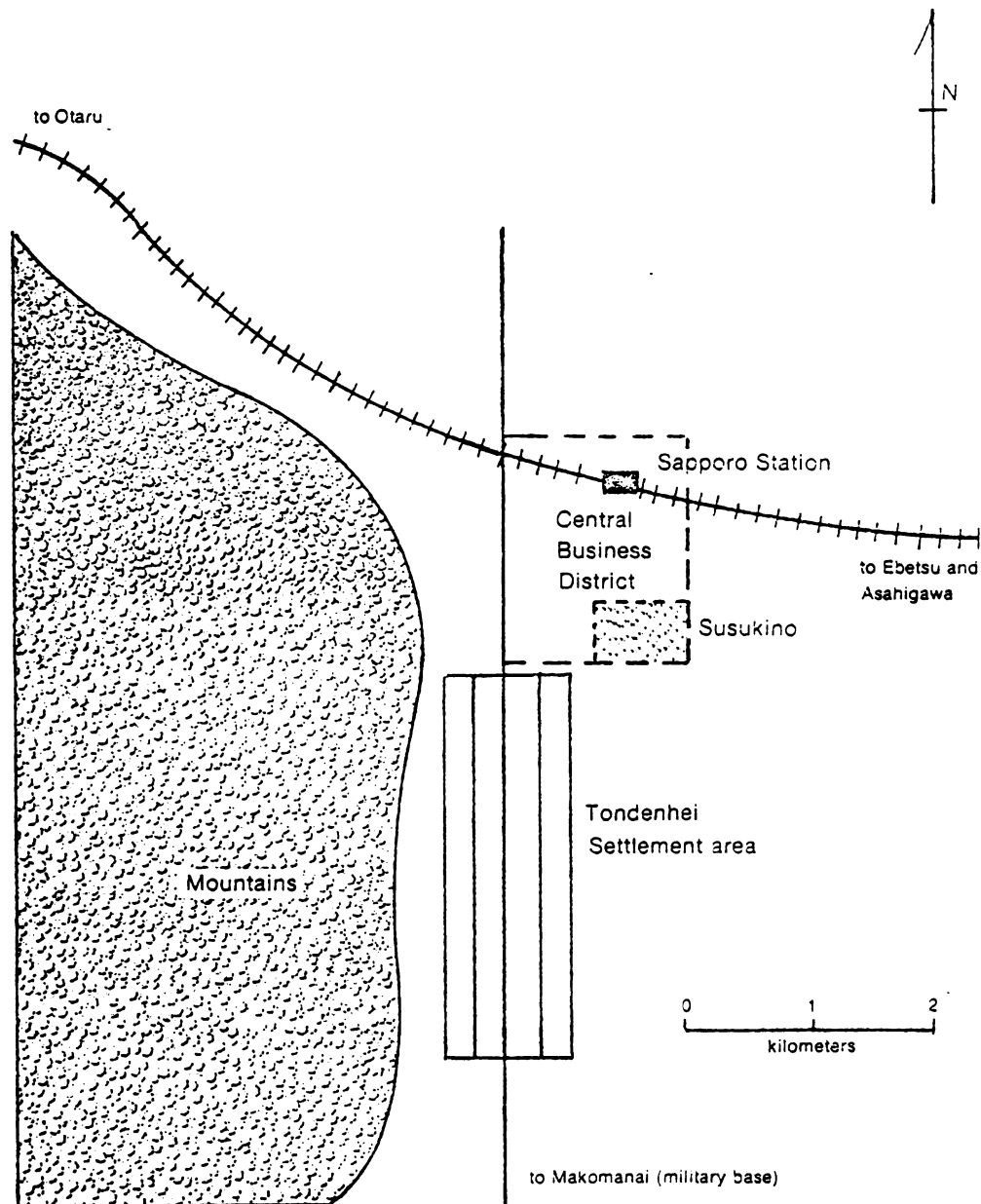
Figure 15.    Sapporo Growth Pattern

one to the east and the other to the west. The neighborhood is of the more common type in the city in that it is a mixture of some tertiary and light secondary concerns but mainly residences. On the Ishiyamadoori side, it is lined with retail and light manufacturing enterprises. The Tondenheidoori side is a solid strip of small retail establishments. In between are solid clusters of single and multiple family housing units, separated by narrow streets, rather dense by American standards (although well within the range found in the interior of large American cities) but not crowded by Japanese big-city standards.

Again, the lack of zoning ordinances makes for a mixture of housing that would be unusual in an American city. Hanayama housing ranges from the house of a bank officer, very large by any standard with spacious grounds, to very small (one room) apartments with no yards, with considerable variation between. There are also tiny, exquisite gardens interspersed with dilapidated houses with junk and trash piled along the street. In all, the neighborhood gives a jumbled effect alien to an American city.

Historically, Hanayama is as old as the city. During the Kaitakushi period, 1872 to 1881, land was allocated south of the then-existing town of Sapporo for Tondenhei colonization. Over the next decade, 240 families moved into the area forming a roughly rectangular district of twelve-acre farms (see map, Figure 13). As mentioned earlier, each family received an allotment of land, tools, and seed. Unlike other parts of Hokkaido, even in the Ishikari Plain nearby, the better land was not withheld for later colonization but was allocated immediately because the planners wanted a Tondenhei core of migrants strategically located between the military base and the railroad station. The land allocated was moderately fertile and the farms prosperous.

The original Hanayama residents, comprising two-and-a-half households of the original homesteads, came from Aomori Prefecture in the northern Tohoku region of Honshu. In the original Tondenhei records, preserved in the University of Hokkaido Archives, are carefully recorded data about each family such as prefecture of origin, demographic material, tools and seeds granted, and ranks and military service records of each of the heads of the immigrant households.

Although the northern Ishikari Plain was unusual in that very early (i.e., 1881) there were rice strains that would grow there, these new immigrants experienced some difficulties at first. It is unclear whether the trends in farming were the result of the rice-growing difficulties or the availability of a ready, near-by market, but in either case it appears that very early there was an agricultural emphasis towards potatoes, wheat, and vegetable crops. If, in the earliest days of settlement, rice was the primary crop, it was quickly replaced by others more suitable to the climate.

By 1900 the city of Sapporo had grown considerably. Hanayama was not officially part of the city but functioned rather as a closely outlying farming area, being about three hundred meters from the edge of the neighborhood to the boundary of Sapporo proper (A large daily market was established just south of the neighborhood.), retailing directly to local households and wholesaling to the retail establishments of the growing city. Although the Meiji land sales records are unclear, it appears that the original farms were maintained at least until 1900 without being alienated from the original colonists.

By 1910, the population of the city had almost doubled again. Hanayama was still not officially part of the city, but the urbanized area was

growing steadily out around it. The farms continued to function as before, and the nearby farm market had become a major wholesale center for the city. In 1911 the district was officially incorporated into the city of Sapporo. During this period the retail stores, a few of which had appeared very early along Tondenheidoori, proliferated to form an almost solid strip along the entire length of the street. Interestingly, it appears that at least during the Meiji period the farm owners maintained ownership of the land but not the buildings housing the retail establishments. The retailers, small-scale merchants, leased the land upon which they built their stores.

The population growth of the neighborhood reflected the expansion of the city itself. About 1880, fourteen people from three families made up the original land-grant settlement that was to become the neighborhood. By 1900 there were about ten families with about fifty-five people (see map, Figure 16). By 1910 there were about twenty-two families with about one hundred people. The people living in Hanayama in 1910 can be divided into three categories. There were still three active farm families, now exclusively truck farming. About thirteen families of small-scale merchants lived in, over, or behind their shops, and about eight families of white- or blue-collar employees lived in single-family detached housing.

With the steady expansion of the city of Sapporo, including the incorporation of nearby areas into the official city (shi), Hanayama became progressively less rural as the city moved toward it. Even at the earliest stages, the movement of shopkeepers and the white- and blue-collar employees reflected the beginnings of a shift from a rural farming district into a "suburban" area and, finally, into a fully urban area. The official incorporation into Sapporo-shi preceded Hanayama's transition
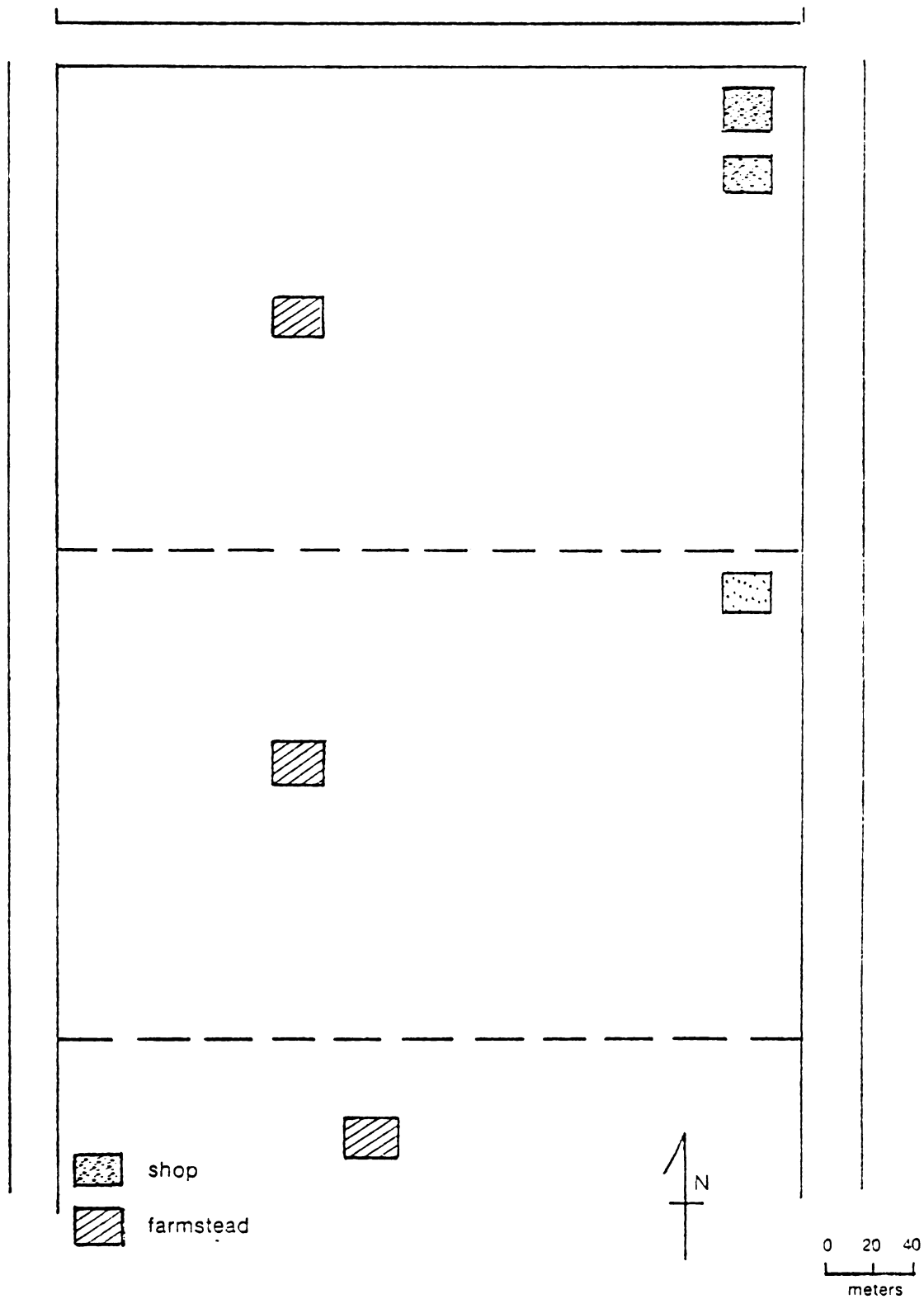
**Figure 16.** Representation of Neighborhood about 1885

lly urban, or even suburban, neighborhood, at least as far as

density is concerned. The population density of Hanayama in

only about 800 people per square kilometer, a moderately high

It should be remembered, however, that 80% of its population was

ed along three borders, on only about 10% of the land, with the

of the land being working farms (see Representation of Neighbor-

911, Figure 17).

at this stage, the neighborhood was being drawn into the city.

trolley ran along the major artery on one side of Hanayama as

1911. The retail shops were proliferating to serve an increas-

se population in the surrounding area. Most important, blue-

-collar employees were moving out into the district, particularly

na and nearby neighborhoods, because of their proximity to the

(one to two kilometers) and because of the relatively inexpensive

lable. These trends were to continue through the focal study

ling in 1975.

severe climate and difficult topography of Hokkaido functioned

e the early colonial settlements from each other and from Old

owever, the technology available to the Japanese colonists in

part of the nineteenth century and the first quarter of the

century, particularly railroads, enabled the colonists to les-

solating impact more than might have been the case if the coloni-

occurred earlier. The pattern of colonization developed to

he exploitation of mineral and agricultural resources of the

The choice of Sapporo as the capital of the Northern Territories

he political, social, and economic focus of the region on the
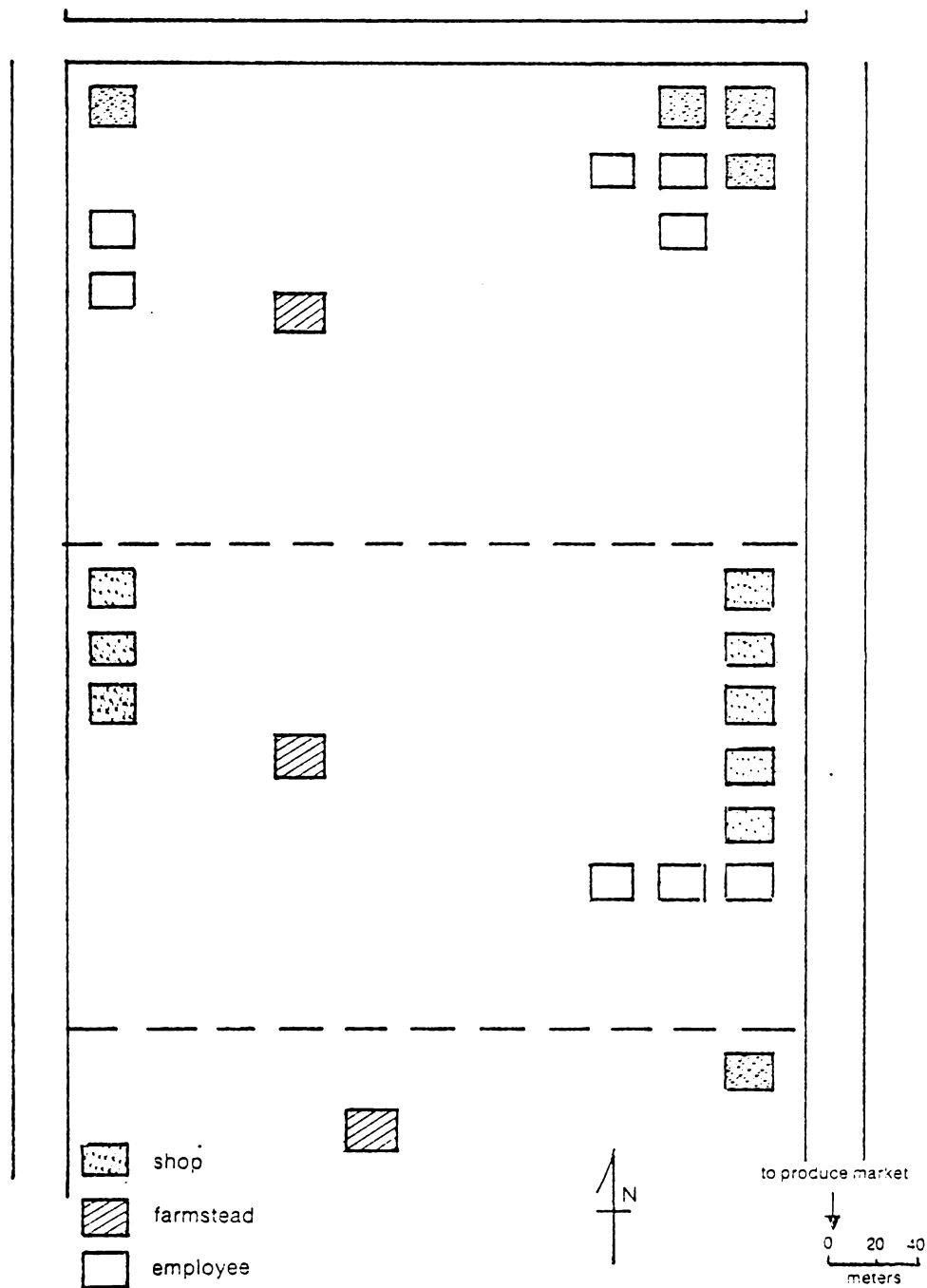
Figure 17. Representation of Neighborhood about 1911

city, led to a concentration of railroad communications, and set the stage
for the development of tertiary industries in Sapporo. The neighborhood
of Hanayama went through parallel stages of development reflecting the
growth of the city. In the earliest stage, it was part of a farming com-
munity. As Sapporo grew, Hanayama became more closely connected with the
city until its formal incorporation in 1911. The farm families were first
joined by retail shopkeepers, then by blue- and white-collar employees of
the city's growing industries. By 1925, the neighborhood had a mixed popu-
lation of shopkeepers, farmers, blue- and white-collar employees with farm-
ing on the wane.

CHAPTER II

Footnotes

[1] The designation of "Old Japan" is a device to distinguish between Hokkaido and the rest of the country. "Old Japan" refers to the islands of Honshu, Shikoku, and Kyushu, with their associated minor islands. "Japan" will be used to refer to all four of the major islands, the entire country as it now exists.

[2] The term -ken, used after a proper name to denote a prefecture for Old Japan, e.g., Aomori-ken, Chiba-ken, is not used for Hokkai-do. The do means prefecture but it also means "road," so Hokkaido can be translated both as "North Sea Prefecture" and "North Sea Road".

[3] Even in 1978 there was no tunnel or bridge spanning this strait as there are across the straits which separate Honshu from Shikoku and Kyushu, the other three main islands.

[4] Niigata, the largest rice producer, grows about 7% of the national total. Akita-ken, the second largest, produces about 5%. Hokkaido produces about 4.5%.

[5] Almost all of Japan's construction and decorative wood comes from the U.S.A., primarily Alaska.

[6] This section on the subdivisions of Hokkaido is taken primarily from Trewartha 1965.

[7] Asahigawa has recorded a low of 42°F and the January mean minimum temperature is 3°F. The average number of clear days in December is only 0.1 and in January 0.5, whereas the cloudy days number 23.4 and 20.7 respectively. The average number of clear days in July is only 0.9 and August is the same, with an average of 17.8 cloudy days in July and 15.8 for August (Trewartha 1965:352).

[8] Both Kushiro and Nemuro average 86 days a year of fog, with about half the days in June, July, and August being affected (Trewartha 1965:360).

[9] The standard plot size for Hokkaido, adopted in 1889, was 5 cho, about 5 hectares or 12.25 acres. This was far larger than the usual farm size in Old Japan, which was less than 2 acres.

[10] The only other planned major Japanese city is Kyoto, which was built in the eighth century.

[11] Why Otaru was not chosen to become the future capital of the Northern Territories is not clear. Its distance from the Ishikari coal-fields, its physically restricted location, and its being surrounded by mountains might have been important factors.

[12] It has only been in the last decade or two that the city has finally "outgrown" the original plans.

[13] In American usage, mining is usually listed as a primary industry along with agriculture, fisheries, and forestry. In Japanese usage, mining is always considered to be a secondary industry along with construction and manufacturing. Except where specific statistics are cited from Japanese sources, I will use the American application. Where the Japanese usage is applied, it will be explicitly noted.

[14] The nearest urban area comparable to Sapporo, in terms of its economic and political position, is Minneapolis, which functions as a dominant transportation and political center for the northern great plains of the U.S.A.

CHAPTER III


Phase I:  1925-1945


> When we moved here (in 1925), there were just fields
> all around.  In fact, the neighborhood stayed pretty
> open that way until after the war. . . .  There weren't
> any streets within the neighborhood, just paths.  There
> wasn't even a horse trolley on Stone Mountain Road then,
> that didn't come until about 1930.  If you wanted to
> go into town, you could always get a ride with a (farm)
> wagon. . . .  I worked at the main post office and
> walked to work everyday up until I retired (in 1958).
> It took me only about forty minutes to walk.  It was
> a very nice walk.  Now I wouldn't want to do it, but
> then it was all open and smelled good.  There were
> just a few cars around until recently.  Of course, the
> roads weren't paved like they all are now, either.
>
>                                    Mr. N, age 77


During the first fifty years of existence, from 1877 to 1925, the

neighborhood of Hanayama developed a definite pattern of development:

retail establishments grew along the major streets to the east and west

and a progressively more dense scattering of private houses were con-

structed as people drawn to employment at the various expanding Sapporo

concerns migrated into the neighborhood.  This pattern of development con-

tinued throughout the 1925-1945 phase as a continuous stream of migrants,

mainly white- and blue-collar employees, moved into the neighborhood.

In 1925 Hanayama was primarily agricultural with strips of mixed

single-family housing and retail establishments along the east and west

boundary roads.  The farms were of the truck-garden variety, producing

crops such as potatoes, squash, onions, radishes, and salad vegetables

for immediate sale to the city markets of Sapporo, one of which was just

south of the neighborhood.  The farms had originally been solid blocks of

land, but by 1925 the process of fracturing--breaking them apart for

building sites—was well underway.  The first two farm families were still
the major landowners in the neighborhood and, aside from their farms, they
retained title to most of the single-family housing plots and all of the
retail establishment sites along Colonial Militia Road.  (See Appendix B:
Patterns of Land Ownership.)

The retail establishments lining the east and west borders of Hanayama
were very small scale.  The most common design for these shops was to have
a small salesroom—sometimes as little as four square meters—facing the
street with sliding glass doors, as shown in Figures 18 and 19.  The retail
shops had their wares displayed in the sales room.  As the salesrooms were
rather small, by American standards (100 to 200 square feet), these rooms
were very crowded as the shopkeepers tried to display the maximum amount
of goods in the minimum amount of space.  In fine weather, the sliding
glass doors of the shop could be opened wide and the sales area would spill
out onto the side of the street in stalls or trays protected from the wea-
ther by light awnings made of wood or cloth.  The living quarters of the
merchant family usually were attached directly behind or over the sales-
room, these quarters comprising sometimes only a single six-mat room for
a family of four or up to as many as four or five rooms, the living space
of a normal, single-family detached house.  Even the larger dwellings were
crowded as the amount of space available for both domestic and commercial
use was severely limited.  Looking again at the representative shop floor
plans (Figures 18 and 19), it is clear that the amount of space in these
structures is very limited.  In both shops represented, the first floor
eight-mat rooms were used for cooking, eating, and as general purpose
"living" areas.  In the small shop (Figure 19), the six-mat upstairs room
was unheated.  This feature combined with the partly exposed stairway

Bath

Toilet

First Floor

stove

( 8 mats)

Sales room

(10 mats)

Second Floor

Sleeping room

Sleeping room
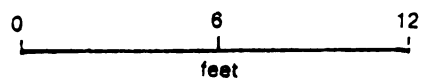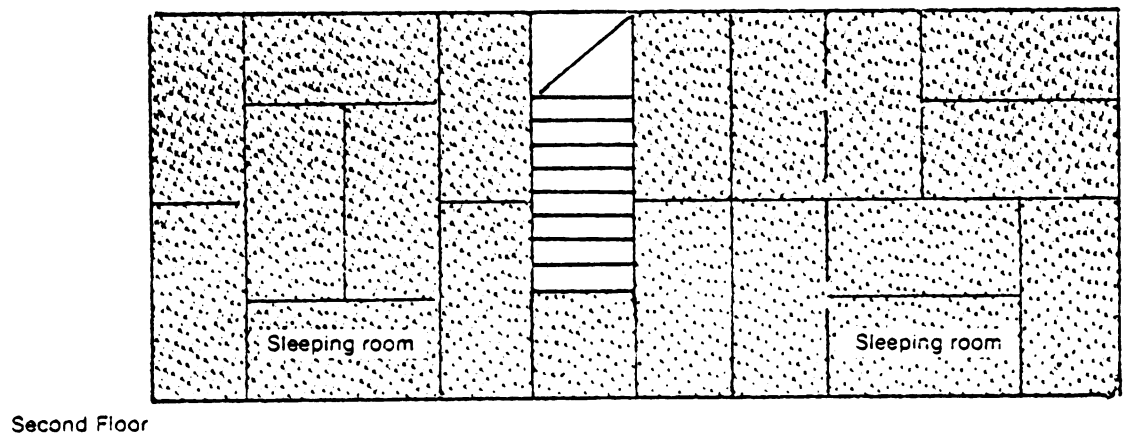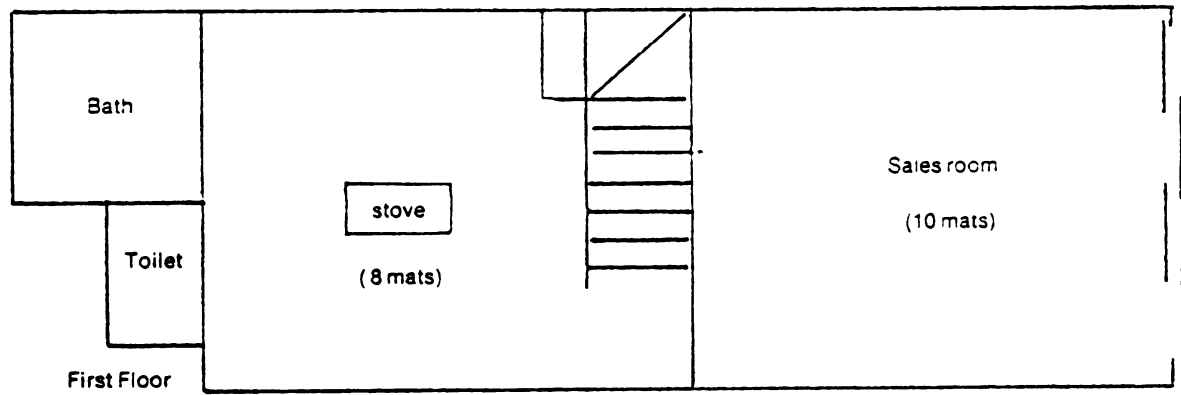
sliding glass doors

sliding doors

0    6    12

feet

Figure 18.    Large Shop Floorplan
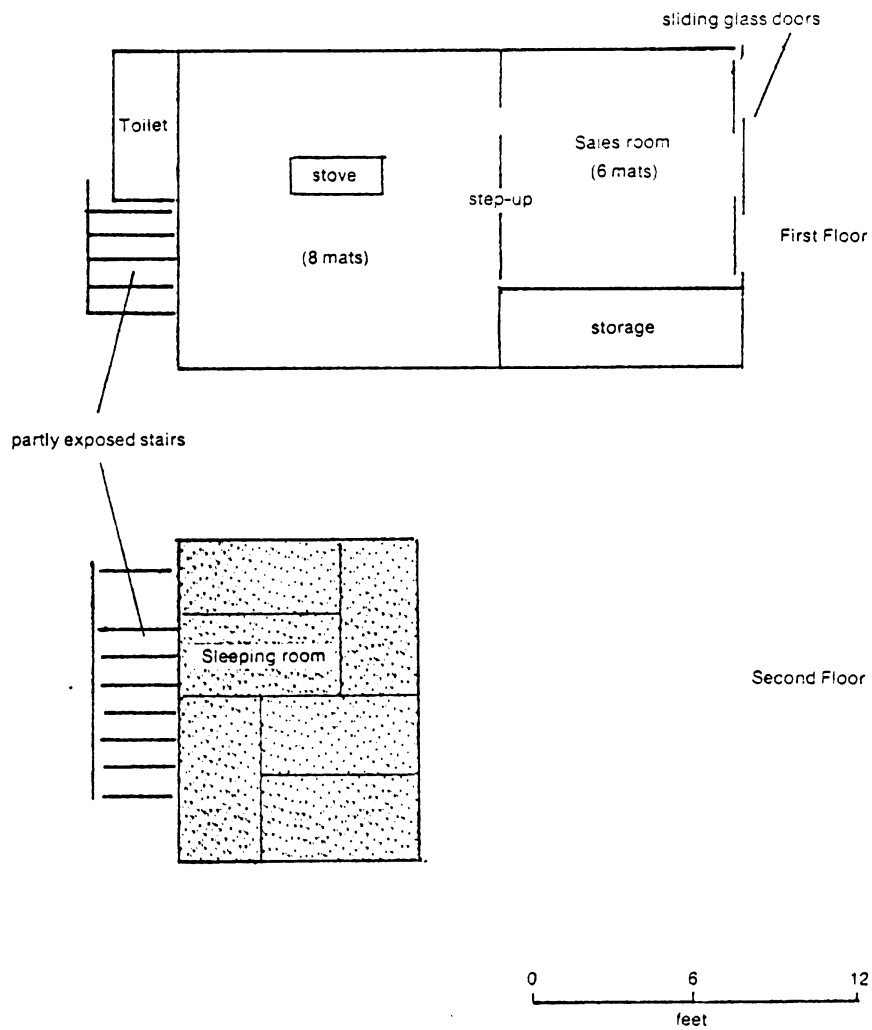
Figure 19.   Small Shop Floorplan

limited the usefulness of upstairs sleeping area. For example, during

periods of extreme winter cold, the bedding would be brought downstairs

to the warmer eight-mat room. The upstairs rooms in the larger shop

(Figure 18) were more accessible than those of the smaller shop because

of the interior stair. The larger shop upstairs rooms were used for stor-

age, sleeping, and other "living" functions. The amount of space avail-

able in housing like the two shops presented here was further limited by

the Hokkaido climate. Since all heat was from kerosene stoves that must

be turned off at night and because the level of insulation was very low,

most family life tended to concentrate, at least during the winter, to the

room or rooms that were heated directly. From their shops, which unlike

the land they owned, the merchants sold almost everything that anyone

would be likely to buy in an urban neighborhood: vegetables, meat, fish,

fruit, noodles of various kinds, fresh tofu, housewares, medicine, inex-

pensive furniture, tatami, tools, and even calligraphy supplies.

Throughout this phase, the majority of the population lived in single-

family houses scattered behind the retail establishments wherever land

could be leased. Most of the houses of the neighborhood were large with

spacious yards, by Japanese standards, and varied from the original

Tondenhei farm houses to more modern houses as exemplified by the floor

plan in Figure 20. Most of these houses had three to five rooms, includ-

ing dirt-floored kitchens. The large six-room house represented in Figure

20 was owned by a relatively wealthy senior white-collar employee. Most

of the everyday "living" activity was done in the central eight-mat room

and the adjoining six-mat room. The largest room, the ten-mat, was usually

reserved for entertaining and important guests. During the day, especially

in the summer, the sliding doors would be opened between the various rooms

kitchen
(7 mat)

Sleeping room

Living room

Sleeping room

Porch

Garden

———— ———— sliding doors

———— sliding glass doors

0        6        12

feet
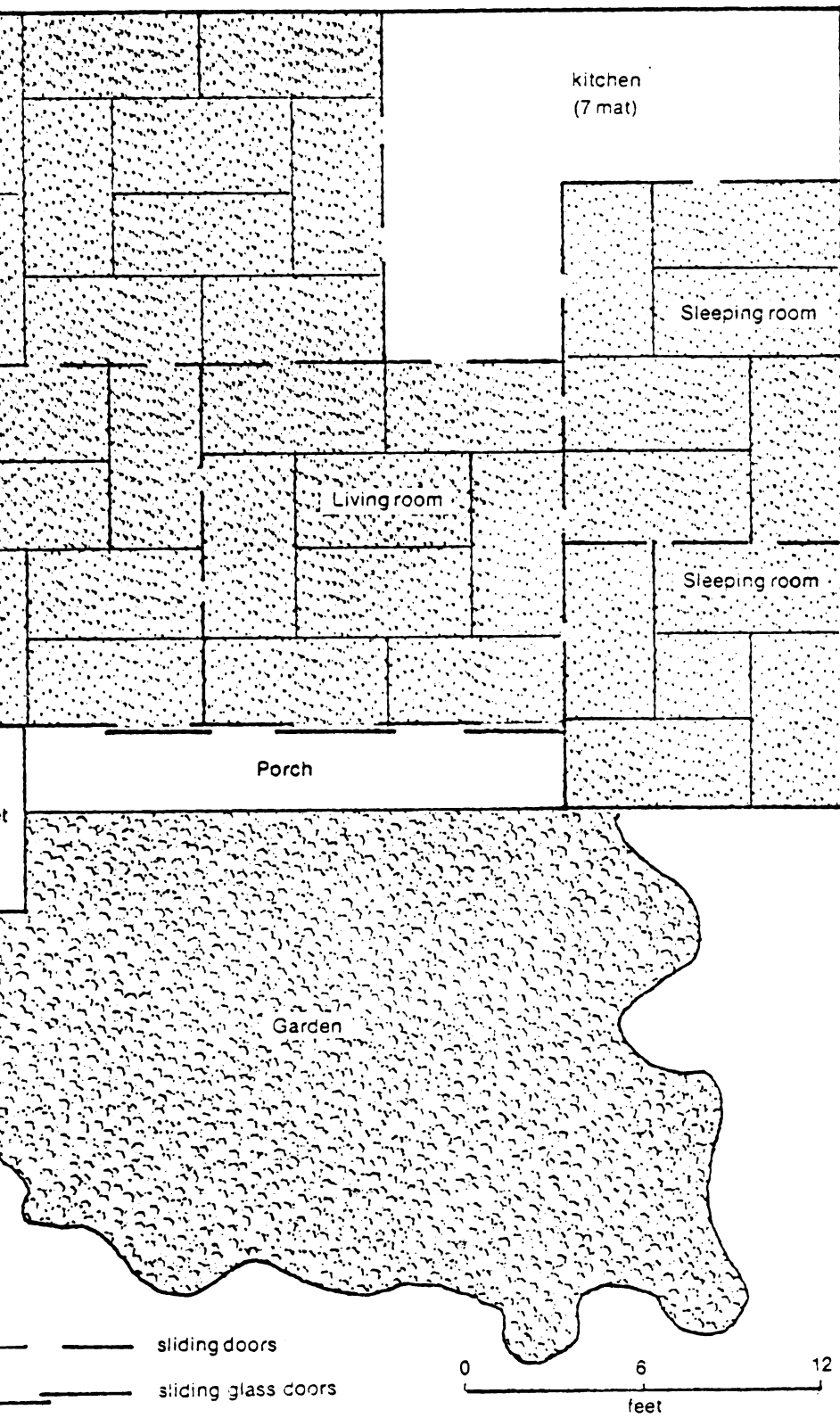
0.   Wealthy Hanayama House Built about 1920

creating a very large living area that was very light and airy blending

with the garden directly outside.  The Hanayama houses, like other Hokkaido

houses, differed from those found in Old Japan in several important fea-

tures.  All of the Hanayama houses had metal roofs rather than thatch or

tile.  The Hanayama houses were relatively large due to the availability

of inexpensive building materials of wood and stone and the relative cheap-

ness of land.  Nearly all houses in Hokkaido had small kerosene stoves,

called Russian stoves because the basic design had first been developed

for use in Siberia, the traditional kotatsu or central hearth having proved

inadequate for the severe Hokkaido winter.  Finally, another adaptation to

the Hokkaido climate, all of the exterior doors and windows were glass,

often double glassed, rather than paper, usually with the traditional wood-

en shutters as well.  The housing became denser as the population of the

neighborhood increased.

But the population grew slowly—an average of about 1.1% per year, an

approximate 25% net increase in two decades, a rise from about two hundred

in 1925 to about two hundred and fifty in 1945 (see Table 3).  The slow-

ness of the population expansion is important here as will be seen later

in the comparison of this phase with later phases in the development of

the neighborhood.

Table 3.  Population of Hanayama

|      | Households | Adults | (approx.) Persons |
|------|-----------|--------|-------------------|
| 1877 | 3         | 7      | 14                |
| 1900 | 10        | ---    | 45                |
| 1910 | 22        | ---    | 100               |
| 1925 | 43        | 121    | 200               |
| 1940 | 62        | 154    | 250               |
| 1950 | 88        | 217    | 350               |
| 1965 | 175       | 346    | 536               |
| 1975 | 394       | 704    | 1,052             |

The major feature distinguishing the 1925-1945 phase from the earlier period was the completion of the transition from semi-rural to urban. The earlier period had seen the transition from pioneer conditions with wild deer and bear—the early Tondenhei houses were constructed to be "bear proof"—to densely settled rural agriculture. Although the neighborhood was officially incorporated into the city of Sapporo in 1911, the agricultural aspect of the neighborhood was not terminated until the last truck farm ceased operating in 1943 when the heir took a job as a white-collar employee with the National Railway. Hanayama was fully incorporated into the city of Sapporo, socially and economically, in the period from 1925 to 1945. Both within the Hanayama neighborhood with its retail stores and outside the neighborhood where the population of white-collar residents increased, the economic base had shifted from primary agriculture to tertiary industry. This transition is reflected in the composition of the households of the neighborhood (see Table 4). The 1945 figures would be similar to those for 1940 except that there were no farm households later.

Table 4.  Composition of Hanayama in Phase I

|  | 1925 Households | | Adult Population | | 1940 Households | | Adult Population | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
|  | no. | % | no. | % | no. | % | no. | % |
| Shopkeeper | 16 | 37.2 | 43 | 35.5 | 18 | 31.6 | 48 | 31.2 |
| Old White Collar | 7 | 16.3 | 19 | 15.7 | 10 | 17.5 | 26 | 16.0 |
| Young White Collar | 13 | 30.2 | 38 | 31.4 | 21 | 36.9 | 55 | 35.7 |
| Blue Collar | 5 | 11.6 | 14 | 11.6 | 7 | 12.2 | 20 | 12.9 |
| Farmer | 2 | 4.7 | 7 | 5.8 | 1 | 1.8 | 5 | 3.2 |
|  | 43 | 100.0 | 121 | 100.0 | 57 | 100.0 | 154 | 99.9 |

The numerical increase in the white-collar population and the eventual transition of the agriculturalists into white-collar workers corresponds to both the shift in the social hierarchy and the economic base of the neighborhood from semi-rural to urban. Although in 1925 the individuals with the highest social prestige in the neighborhood were older white-collar males (cf. Ramsey and Smith 1960), they did not totally dominate the neighborhood the way they would by the end of this first phase. At the beginning of the phase, the older white-collar group was socially equal to the farmers, who were the largest landowners but had the lowest occupational prestige, and the shopkeepers, a numerical plurality with a high capital investment in the neighborhood. By the end of the phase, the older white-collar group dominated the social order of Hanayama. Changes in the personnel of the former political structure of the neighborhood, the Neighborhood Association (chonaikai), reflected this shift in relative dominance.

The Neighborhood Association was only a recent, urban version of a historical series of government-sponsored or -approved organizations descended from the Tokugawa sumptuary laws. These laws had forced residential clustering by occupation and institutionalized the concept of collective responsibility for groups that lived and worked together. The original organization in Hanayama had been the Tondenhei (Colonial Militia) Association, whose membership had been the entire two hundred and forty original colonial families of the area divided into twenty-four groups of ten families each. The Tondenhei Association had been organized along para-military lines with a non-commissioned officer as the leader of each sub-group of ten families and a heirarchical structure designed to convey orders quickly and efficiently in case of the need for mobilization of

the colonial militia. Membership had been restricted to Tondenhei and their families. Representation at Tondenhei Association meetings had been by households, that is, each household in the association having one representative, usually the head of the household. Thus, the official members of the Tondenhei Association were kin-based residence groups, not individuals.

As more non-Tondenhei migrated into the area, the Tondenhei Association came to represent a dwindling proportion of the population. When in about 1911 the area was officially incorporated into the city of Sapporo, the Tondenhei Association had become ineffective through dilution, since no non-Tondenhei could join. Further, the explicitly military purpose of the Tondenhei had been rendered superfluous by the crushing Japanese victory in the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-5. It was about the time of the incorporation of Hanayama into the city of Sapporo that the Tondenhei Association was replaced by the Neighborhood Association. The Neighborhood Association, in turn, sent representatives to a ward association.

In 1925, the head of both the Hanayama Neighborhood Association (chonaikaicho) and the local district association were older white-collar males, but many of the secondary figures of the association were farmers, blue-collar, or shopkeeper males. The secretary of the Hanayama Neighborhood Association, a position of considerable power, was a farmer's son who had a blue-collar job outside the neighborhood. By 1945 the older white-collar males completely dominated the Neighborhood Association occupying all of the offices, with only a few shopkeepers listed as heads of the tonari gumi, the block associations, thirteen of which comprised the Neighborhood Association.

This shift in dominance occurred because the groups who had rivaled

the older white-collar males, the farmers, and the shopkeepers had either
disappeared or declined in relative strength. The farmers were gone. The
economic position of the shopkeepers, no longer a numerical plurality, had
been severely undermined by shortages related to the war. The older white-
collar group, combined with the younger white-collar group, had gained a
numerical plurality and, given the economic difficulties of the war period,
had been able to invest in neighborhood land and buildings more rapidly
than the shopkeeper group. A few of the older white-collar group had even
bought out some of the shopkeeper's stores for use as rental property.
Another factor was also important: one man was elected head of the Neigh-
borhood Association annually from 1941 to 1945 and again from 1947 to 1950.
He was an older white-collar male who was said to have a wide circle of
acquaintances that he could mobilize to assist in neighborhood business,
and an amiable personality, perceived as appropriate for such difficult
times. As one of the then-younger white-collar males put it:

> For years after I moved here, the Neighborhood Association
> head was always the same man, Mr. A.     During the war,
> you know, times were a little difficult and then after
> the war, well, we didn't know what to expect and things
> were even worse. . . . Mr. A    always seemed to know
> everyone. Also everyone in the neighborhood liked him.
> We all knew each other fairly well back then, there
> weren't very many people. When I moved here (1938)
> there were only six houses (right around here). . . .
> Now that I am older, I am very impressed with Mr. A.
> He really knew many people. After the war, he even
> seemed to know all the Americans. He was a very good
> Neighborhood Association Head. He knew how to get along
> with people.

Mr. S, aged 64

Thus, the rise of the white-collar group as the most powerful in the neigh-
borhood combined with the utilization of skills held by a white-collar male
(white-collar males in general knew more people than members of other

groups), exagerated by the solidarity of the white-collar males who tended to vote together on issues previously discussed informally, resulting in the dominance of the white-collar group.

Underlying this migration into Hanayama by white-collar employees and their subsequent rise to social dominance was the basic pattern of urban growth in Sapporo as a whole. Sapporo's growth between 1925 and 1945 was somewhat erratic, population growth rates varying from 8.7% in 1941 to a negative 2.2% in 1945, but was one of the most rapid in Japan (Wilkinson 1965:148). Furthermore, the dominant type of employment seems to have remained constant. Wilkinson's analysis by male employment composition lists Sapporo as having the same composition in 1920 and 1930. He gives no list for 1940 due to the difficulties in record keeping at that time. The 1950 categories are similar to the earlier ones with the addition of a commercial emphasis to the already existing Administrative-Services and Transportation-Communication emphases (Wilkinson 1964:179). Thus, the relatively modest growth of the period was channeled primarily into tertiary enterprises. This is important not only because it means that white-collar employees were being drawn into the city, but also it meant that the economic situation of the white-collar employees in the city was relatively stable; there were no great fluctuations caused by shifts in the types of industries found in the city.

Despite the changes caused by the growth of Sapporo into a major commercial center, this urbanization appears to have been only minimally important to the majority of the population of the neighborhood in terms of their daily activities and social relations. Part of this was due to the employment of only about a quarter of the adult population (both males and females) outside the neighborhood (see Table 5), primarily in white-collar

jobs in the growing tertiary sector, e.g., government, the post office, or the transportation system. The other three-quarters of the adult population was either unemployed or worked within the neighborhood itself as housewives, craftsmen or shopkeepers.

Table 5. Location of Employment (males and females)

|  | 1925 | | 1940 | | 1950 | | 1965 | | 1975 | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
|  | # | % | # | % | # | % | # | % | # | % |
| Inside Hanayama | 49 | 40.1 | 53 | 34.4 | 54 | 24.9 | 57 | 16.5 | 98 | 13.9 |
| Outside Hanayama | 26 | 21.5 | 40 | 25.9 | 80 | 36.9 | 167 | 48.3 | 384 | 54.5 |
| Neither | 46 | 38.0 | 61 | 39.6 | 83 | 38.2 | 122 | 35.3 | 222 | 31.5 |

Although most of the income of the neighborhood came from city industries, a relatively small portion of the population was earning the income.

The second major type of economic contact between the people of the neighborhood and the larger city was the specialized area of wholesale marketing. Whatever their particular product line, all of the shopkeepers were supplied through carefully developed and maintained networks of personally known wholesalers. Considering the small scale of the stores, a given shopkeeper might buy all his goods from only one or two suppliers. It is likely that this business relationship was durable, lasing over a period of many years, and had developed non-business aspects. One shopkeeper described it as follows:

> I moved into the neighborhood in 1942 after I got back
> from China. My uncle owned this (drug) store and I
> started working for him. At that time, things were very
> difficult because of the war. . . . Well, the shop was
> much smaller then, I've been able to enlarge it. . . .
> At that time, my uncle used to buy from Mr. Yamada over
> nearer downtown, on 8th street, I think. He got almost

> everything from him and had for years. They had been
> in school together. Oh! a very long time ago, maybe
> Taisho (before 1925). Oh yes, Mr. Yamada is still
> alive. I send him a new year's card every year. No,
> I don't buy from him, he's retired but I did buy from
> his son for quite a while but not any longer (the son
> died).
>
> Mr. T, aged 57

An item to observe in this quote is the maintenance of a social obliga-
tion--indicated in the sending of a New Year's card--even many years after
the termination of the business relationship. The neighborhood stores,
then, where the Hanayama population did nearly all its shopping, bought
their goods from outside the neighborhood, but for the vast majority of
the population this outside contact was only indirect. Figure 21 is a
representation of the types of contacts between the residents of the
neighborhood of Hanayama and the outside city. Notice that the major
conduits are through the retail shops, from employment outside the neigh-
borhood, and, to a much smaller degree, from the contacts of the farmers
with suppliers and markets. Even with all three possibilities, less than
half the adult population of Hanayama had direct economic contacts out-
side the neighborhood.

Even though the neighborhood was dependent economically on the larger
industrial base of the city by means of wage labor and as a source of
supply, only a minority of the adult population made the outside contacts.
The neighborhood was closely connected to the larger urban environment
through relatively small conduits, which meant that the social and poli-
tical impact of the economic contacts between the neighborhood and the
city were minimized, the people of Hanayama thus being able to maintain
a strong sense of social autonomy.

Because the people of Hanayama were largely self-sufficient socially
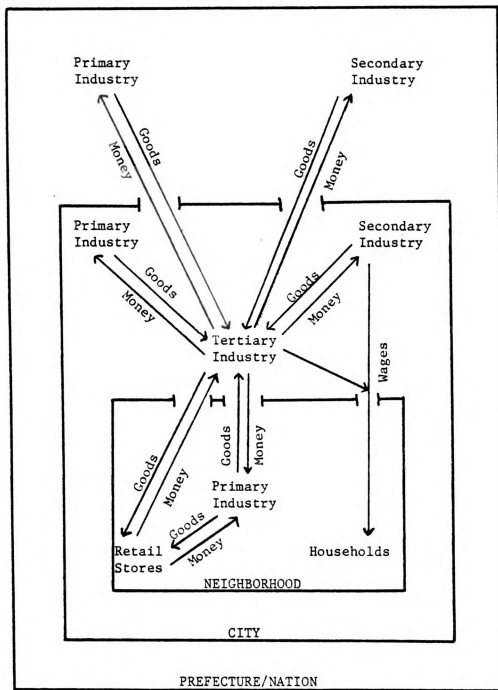
Figure 21.    Neighborhood Economic Conduits

and economically, they saw themselves as distinct from other nearby set-
tled areas. Their perception was aided by the slow rate of migration into
the neighborhood and the rapid absorption of the immigrants who entered
the neighborhood's social milieu. The few new families who did immigrate
at any given time settled in scattered locations throughout the neighbor-
hood rather than clustering together. The social mechanisms for the ab-
sorption of these newcomers were important in preserving the neighborhood's
sense of itself. Before looking at how the absorptive mechanisms worked,
an overview of the identity of the migrants into Hanayama seems in order.

## Migration:

The migrants to the neighborhood between 1925 and 1945 were of the
social groups already present, mainly white-collar employees. Only two
new shopkeeper households and four new blue-collar households came into
Hanayama, while a total of seventeen (six older and eleven younger) white-
collar households moved in during the same period. Two blue-collar, three
older white-collar, and three younger white-collar households moved out
during the same period, leaving a net gain of two blue-collar, two shop-
keeper, three older white-collar, and eight younger white-collar house-
holds. These fifteen households were composed of thirty-five adults.

Of the fifteen adults in the seven households for which reliable
data are available, one was from a city larger than Sapporo (Sendai), two
were from rural areas in Hokkaido, one was from Sapporo, two were from
the Tohoku region of northern Honshu (both from small towns, one in Akiita
and one in Aomori), and nine were from other urban areas in Hokkaido.
This fits fairly well with the findings of White (1978) in his study of
prewar migration to Tokyo. White argues that the significance of this
pattern of migrant origins is that urban-urban or semi-urban migrants

would not have felt as great a sense of dislocation and novelty as would
the archetypical rural migrant. As Tauber puts it, such migration "would
lessen the social adjustments and the psychological shock almost inevitable
in direct transition from <u>buraku</u> to metropolis" (1958:127).[1]

The seven younger white-collar households all knew someone in the
neighborhood of Hanayama before they moved. In fact, all said that one
of the reasons they moved to Hanayama was because they knew one or more
people there.

> We moved here (in 1938) for three reasons. First, I
> had a job teaching at the elementary school over here
> and this is nearby. Second, several of the other tea-
> chers from the school lived in this neighborhood.
> Third, Mr. Ayama and Mr. Mori lived here and helped
> us find the house (that we moved into).[2]
>
> Mr. S

These existing contacts in Hanayama probably also helped cushion the shock
of relocation.

The group of younger white-collar households in the Sapporo neighbor-
hood for whom reliable data are available were well educated (see Table 6).
I do not know how representative this group is for the whole of Sapporo or
even Hanayama; although all my informants tended to assert their "just
average" nature, their high degree of formal education tends to support
White's thesis (1978:82) that the prewar migrants tended to be among the
better educated, as the Education and Occupation figure shows. Of the
seven males, two had university degrees, two graduated from higher school,
two from middle school, and only one had terminated his formal education
with the legal minimum of primary school. Further, the two university
graduates were from important institutions: one was from Meiji University
in Tokyo, which was and is one of the most noted of the private universities;

Table 6. Education and Occupation of Phase I Migrants
(Younger White-Collar)

| women = 8<br>men − 7 | lower elementary (3 years) | higher elementary (3 years) | middle (5 years) | higher (3 years) | higher school for women (usually 3 years) | university (3 years) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| women | 1 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 2 | |
| men  (totals) | | 1 | 2 | 2 | | 2 |
| Post Office | | x | | | | |
| Elementary School Teacher | | | | x | | |
| Hokkaido Prefectural Office | | | | | | x |
| National Railways | | x | | | | |
| City of Sapporo | | | | | | x |
| Private Firms (more than 100 employees) | | | x | x | | |

the other graduated from the University of Hokkaido which, as one of the eight Imperial Universities, was one of the most prestigious institutions in the country.

The level of formal education for the women in this group was not as high as that of the men, an imbalance found in the population as a whole due to institutionalized and universal sex discrimination. The one female who finished only the lower primary school was the mother of one of the

males and had acquired her formal education a generation earlier, at the turn of the century, when three years was the minimum legal requirement and all that was available in the remote part of Hokkaido where she was born and raised. The higher schools for women were basically finishing schools where young women were prepared for marriage.

The proportion of males employed by the public sector is reflective of Sapporo's growth pattern. Five out of seven working for some form of the government bureaucracy was a very high percentage. Although I do not have any reliable figures, my informants believed that this was fairly representative of the neighborhood as a whole at the time, five out of seven being perhaps more than usual; most said that about two thirds would probably be more accurate. One interesting point is that both the university graduates were public employees, one for the prefectural government and the other for the city of Sapporo, which indicates the prestige associated with employment in the public bureaucracy.[3]

Thus a sketch of the migrants into Hanayama during the 1925-45 period indicates a basically urban background, relatively high educational levels for males, and an orientation toward tertiary institutions. As these migrants entered the neighborhood, they were readily absorbed into the social milieu by mechanisms explicitly and self-consciously applied for just that function.

On the individual level, new neighbors were introduced formally around their immediate section either by someone they already knew--the most prevalent reason for moving into the neighborhood--or by their immediate neighbors to whom they had introduced themselves. This process of conscious self-assimilation is exemplified by the custom of O-hirome, self-introduction. In the O-hirome, the newcomers say who they are and, in effect, ask

to be accepted into the ongoing social life of the neighborhood. This custom involves one of a new couple, usually the wife, taking small gifts to at least the three houses immediately across the street and the immediate neighbors on each side or even to every house along the street. She then introduces herself--and, indirectly and in abstentia, her family-- "gets to know" her neighbors and, more importantly, becomes "known" to her neighbors. Usually this is done with more than just the immediate vicinity. Aside from the direct introduction and exchange of socially crucial information, invariably with the ubiquitous tea, the newcomers become indirectly "known" to a wide circle of people throughout Hanayama as the volunteered information circulates throughout the neighborhood. This exchange of information can be seen as essential to the maintenance of neighborhood solidarity. As Roberts argues it, in a different cultural but still urban context:

> Apart from shared and evident interests, it is the
> quality of information that they possess about each
> other that enables . . . groups to combine effectively
> and extend their organization. . . . (1973:11)

The information exchanged in the sort of face-to-face, intimate interaction exemplified by the O-hirome is of an extremely high quality, in Robert's terms, dealing not only with the major social criteria of relative status, such as occupation, age, and education, but also with more informal criteria that might well be the building blocks of long-term, close friendships, such as number, ages, and personalities of children; hobbies; possible compatible personality characteristics; and other trivia of life style. The arrival of a new household was something of an event and certainly of great social importance--with the concomittant focus on the event that such perceived importance entails.

Once the _O-hirome_ had been accomplished and all important social information had been exchanged, one was officially and socially a part of the neighborhood, albeit still a newcomer. One then had to learn the _kinjo no tsukiai_ (customs or relations of the neighborhood), a process involving pervasive interaction with one's new neighbors which further increased the depth of social relationships. One then also participated in the cycle of reciprocal exchange relationships (_tsukiai_) which are especially marked at New Years, weddings, childbirth, funerals, and other life-cycle events.

For example, gifts were given at all these life-cycle events, sometimes directly to those involved but sometimes in the form of collections--often taken by the head of the _tonari gumi_--and careful records were kept of who gave. Careful track was also always kept of the value of gifts given and received. To give too much implied showing off. Giving too little might indicate that one was either poorer than one's neighbors or was stingy and had an uncaring attitude about other people. Worst of all was giving exactly the same value in return, suggesting a termination of the relationship with whomever the gift was given. As Mrs. Y, a young wife during the war, remembers:

> It may seem strange, but I think that it was a little
> easier then. Yes, one had to keep track of who gave
> what and so forth but that wasn't too hard. Also,
> nobody had any money then, so we all gave just little
> presents. Now when some gets married it is very ex-
> pensive. During the war, when S-san got married, my
> husband managed to get a little sake from somewhere
> and that was all we gave. But it was all right. I
> have to admit that at the time I was very silly and
> scared about being rude, so I carefully wrote down
> things so I could remember. . . . Like who was getting
> married and so forth. My mother-in-law really scolded
> me one time when I gave too little for someone's fu-
> neral--said that I was making her son look stingy. . . .

Does that sound difficult? Well, you know, there
weren't very many people then, so it wasn't hard
to keep track. Only eight families on this street
(1941) . . . But along . . . I guess it took me
about a year to feel comfortable here. It might
have been longer for other people, but I was so
glad to have my own house (away from the in-laws).

There were also socially important visits. The most important of these
visits was at New Year's when one would visit one's neighbors, thank them
for their help during the previous year, and ask them for their indulgence
during the coming year.

The gift giving, visiting, and mutual assistance during life crises
reinforced the social bonds existing within the neighborhood. However,
as Mrs. Y (quoted above) stressed, the degree to which any given individu-
al or family actually participates in these events was, to an extent,
governed by their own personalities. Certain events, such as O-hirome and
New Year's visits, were, in their more formal aspects, "required" unless
one wished to suffer the social consequences such as ostracism by one's
neighbors, but beyond that the extent and enthusiasm to which one partici-
pated was a matter of personal choice.

At a minimum, however, these "formal" interactions among individuals
served the important functions of introducing newcomers into the social
milieu, exchanging the social data crucial to any social interaction, and
providing a continuing framework for future interactions. All of these
functions were essential to the social order because there was a pervasive
cultural ethos in Japanese society that placed an extremely high value on
interpersonal interactions as being, at least in their minimal form, essen-
tial for "getting on" (cf Benedict 1946; Dore 1958; Nakane 1970). Further,
these interpersonal relationships form the basic building blocks of the
social groupings which, to a large extent, defined and still define

Japanese life.

## Social Relationships:

The above discussion in the mechanisms of absorption in the neighborhood indicates the intense interest in social relationships which the people in Hanayama had during the prewar and war period. Mr. N, my oldest informant, put it as follows: "We had to get along. We had very little choice. Those were hard times." A somewhat less pessimistic view was expressed by another resident who saw this early phase as having some very positive aspects:

> It was better then. Children could run around without danger. We never had to lock our doors (because the neighbors would watch the house for us). Everyone had frontier spirit. Everyone knew everyone else and tried to help them when they could. There was a very good feeling in this neighborhood.

The social relationships which existed in Hanayama reflected this intense interest.

In any discussion of social relationships, there are three important features of Hanayama during this first phase to keep in mind. The first is that the total adult population of the neighborhood was small. The second feature was that the social and economic milieu of the neighborhood, in spite of the war, was relatively stable. People migrated into the neighborhood in small numbers, an average of less than two new households per year. Most of the people in Hanayama had been there for some time. The economic growth and rural-urban transition that distinguishes this phase was not rapid. The focus here, then, is on a small population in a stable environment. Third, for members of all social groups in the neighborhood there was a strong cultural value on having a broad network

of trustworthy social relationships. Further, there were some very prag-
matic reasons to invest resources in the development and maintenance of
such relationships. The cultural value was derived directly from the
rural Japanese experience where traditionally cooperation among an exten-
sive network of people had meant the difference between success and fail-
ure.[4]

The environment of the neighborhood reinforced this cultural value.
Throughout the war period, for example, rationing was carried out on a
neighborhood basis by the Neighborhood Association. Outside of the formal
rationing system, itself requiring face-to-face relationships, there were
also informal systems of food distribution. Almost everyone in the neigh-
borhood had some sort of garden plot. By planning ahead and cooperating,
duplication of effort was avoided both in actual work and in what was pro-
duced. Small scale exchange networks were commonplace. The other infor-
mal food distribution system involved "gray market" contacts with rural
agriculturalists through which people in Hanayama were able to purchase
goods otherwise unavailable. By what was in effect pooling their social
resources, the residents of Hanayama were able to maximize their access to
food because of their contacts with farmers outside the city.[5] In sum,
the value of the maintenance of broad social networks was reinforced for
the population of Hanayama as a whole by as basic a feature as the need to
acquire food. Thus, a broad network was very adaptive for everyone.

There were also additional reinforcing features operative for only
particular groups. For example, the broader a shopkeeper's network, the
more business might be expected. Younger white-collar males who had a
series of contacts, particularly with older white-collar males, might get
a promotion or a business contact that otherwise might be missed. Older

white-collar males seeking influence either in the Neighborhood Association or elsewhere could get it by mobilizing their networks.

The important point is that there was a cultural value toward the building and maintenance of extensive networks of social relationships, based, among other things, on residential proximity. The environment of the neighborhood was such that there were distinct advantages strongly reinforcing the value of network building; that is, the behavior of building and maintaining social networks was highly adaptive.

The resultant social networks from this combination of a strong value reinforced by a favorable environment were extensive. Nearly every adult in the neighborhood knew every other adult although, as mentioned, it took awhile for new adults to become fully assimilated. In Mitchell's (1969) terms, within the neighborhood there were one hundred percent density and one hundred percent reachability--the extent to which personally important people can be contacted through the networks--for everyone who had lived in the neighborhood for any length of time.

This complete density is evidence of a tight web of social relationships. An examination of three other characteristics of the social networks in Hanayama gives further evidence of the tightness of the web. The three characteristics--what Mitchell (1969) calls interactional characteristics--are durability of social relationships; the intensity of social relationships, the degree to which individuals are prepared to honor requests or respond to needs; and the frequency of contact.

The durability of the network links was directly proportional to the duration of residence in Hanayama. The groups who had the greatest tenure in the neighborhood had the most durable relationships (see Table 7). From the chart, it is clear that the farmers, the older white-collar

Table 7.  Tenure in Hanayama
(average years in neighborhood)

|                      | 1940 | 1950 | 1965 | 1975 |
|----------------------|------|------|------|------|
| Older white collar   | 22   | 22   | 21   | 24   |
| Shopkeepers          | 23   | 23   | 20   | 18   |
| Younger white collar | 6    | 3    | 8    | 5    |
| Blue collar          | 12   | 8    | 7    | 9    |
| Farmers              | 30   | --   | --   | --   |
| Entertainers         | --   | --   | 0    | 1    |
| Landladies           | --   | --   | 0    | 5    |

employees, and the shopkeepers averaged a long-term residence in the neigh-
borhood.  All three of these groups also had durable average relationships,
especially with other members of the three groups.  In all cases, the sta-
bility of the neighborhood residence pattern allowed the development of
long-term relationships.[6]

The intensity of the social relationships--the degree to which indi-
viduals are prepared to honor requests and respond to needs--is more com-
plex.  There are two major stumbling blocks in accessing this intensity:
the first is that one is dependent upon the impressions of informants some
thirty years after the fact; the second is caused by the emphasis on in-
direction or purposeful ambiguity in Japanese culture.  Usually an onorous
request would be made indirectly through a go-between so that the request
could be rejected without having been formally acknowledged, and the re-
jection be formally ignored.  On the other hand, the intensity of a social
relationship might well be considered its most important characteristic.
Further, those who lived in Hanayama were unanimous in their percpetions
of the degree of intensity of the social relations of that period.

On the whole, the intensity of social relationships was very high. As the optimist quoted earlier, Mr. S, put it:

> What is "frontier spirit"? Well, it is helping each other. If somebody down the street, for example, got sick, we always took them food and someone watched their children. During the last part of the war, when things were pretty bad, I don't think that we would have gotten much food, even here in Sapporo, without help. Some people left but not from around here because we knew we could depend on other people (in the neighborhood). If somebody needed something--really needed it, like food or medicine for the children-- they usually didn't have to ask.

There was, not surprisingly, a correlation perceived between very durable relationships and those with high intensity. A sense of duty also seemed to have been an important part of the intensity of the social bonds. Younger people felt that they were obliged to fulfill the requests of older people, and older people, particularly the high prestige, older white-collar males, had a sense of noblisse oblige.

> As a young wife, when Mrs. Tanaka (a neighbor married to a high company official) asked me to do anything, I thought I had to do it right away. I don't mean she was . . . (nasty) . . . but I had been living with my in-laws and back then a young wife did what she was asked--or told--to do. Of course, it worked both ways; Mr. Tanaka helped my husband (an employee of the city of Sapporo) and (my husband) got a promotion (because of Mr. Tanaka's help).
>
> Mrs. Y talking about the conditions in 1940, before the serious stresses of the Pacific war.

Finally, most of the social relationships were reinforced by frequent contact. Those least involved in the daily life of the neighborhood, the salary men and blue-collar workers employed outside the neighborhood, still had daily contact with most if not all the adults on their lane. Everyone

walked out of the neighborhood in the morning and back into it in the evening. Their wives had even more frequent contacts.

> Mr. Ayama used to go off every morning and not come home until evening, but I was here all the time. I think that I saw almost everyone . . . yes, every day. Sometimes more than that, for example, and neighbors and at the shops. . . . Of course the children went by here too (the elementary school was right down the street). So even the people on the other side (of the neighborhood) I saw a lot of. I think that the only people I didn't see (daily) were the Electric Company employees who lived over there, since they would go the other way in the morning.
>
> Mrs. A about the
> neighborhood before
> the Pacific War.

Those employed in the neighborhood like the shopkeepers, might see the males leave in the morning and return at night. The concentration of shops insured the shopkeepers seeing each other frequently. Since there were no refrigerators, the women in the neighborhood went shopping at least once, sometimes twice, a day. This brought them into contact with the shopkeepers and each other. The daily shopping was, in fact, something of a major social event.

> Oh! you know, I used to look forward to shopping for food. The stores I went to were just over there, all within a few hundred meters, so it wasn't difficult. But everyone around went to about 11:00 in the morning and about 3:00 in the afternoon, so that when I went I could talk to my friends. Sometimes, if I didn't have a lot of work to do, I take a couple of hours or so to do fifteen minutes worth of shopping. Of course, we all knew all the shopkeepers and they would pass on any news.
>
> Mrs. A about the
> neighborhood before
> the Pacific War.

These neighborhood networks during this phase tended to have high

density and, in Barnes' (1954) and Bott's (1957) usage, high closure.
Further, the networks were characterized by durability which correlated
with the long-term residence patterns of the neighborhood; intensity
levels high enough for most of the residents to trust and, to some extent,
depend on each other; and frequency patterns which reinforced the other
characteristics.

One contribution to the frequency of contact, and thereby to the
stability and depth of social relationships and the cohesion of the neigh-
borhood, was the sheer physical proximity of housing, including the shops.
Although Sapporo is considerably more spacious than other Japanese cities
and the building plots, particularly at this early stage, were consider-
ably larger than average, the daily tasks of putting out washing or air-
ing the bedding brought one into face-to-face contact with neighbors.
Further, the close physical proximity of housing, as well as the rather
open nature of Japanese domestic architecture, made the maintenance of
privacy or family secrets difficult:

> It sounds funny now but I came from a very small town
> in the mountains not far from Asahigawa. I wasn't used
> to people around at all. When we first moved here, it
> seemed like a lot of people--there were three other
> houses on the lane. When Mr. M built his house right
> next door, I felt like we were in his living room--or
> even worse, sometimes the bedroom--particulary that
> first summer when everything was opened up.
>
> Mrs. A

One's neighbors soon knew all about one's personal life and it helped to
ameloriate the negative consequences of such widespread personal knowledge
if everyone got along amicably. As Dore phrased it for postwar Tokyo,
"Privacy becomes impossible, intimacy inevitable, and no holds barred"
(1958:263).[7]

In some ways, the immediate neighbors became substitutes for larger
family groups left behind in the migration to the city. Advice of all
kinds--from how to fix one's house to raise one's children--business and
political discussions along with contacts that might prove useful, and in-
stant assistance if needed were all day-to-day realities, particularly in
warmer weather. One feature of Sapporo that differentiates it sharply
from other Japanese cities such as Tokyo is that for a good portion of the
year, outdoor contact of any type is severely limited by the weather, al-
though not to the extent that most Americans used to central heating would
assume. Even so, one does not stand outside in Sapporo exchanging recipes
at -10°C. The deep winter snow also functioned as an inhibiting element
for this across-the-back-fence type of social interaction. Further, in-
viting a neighbor into one's house is not the casual gesture that it is
in the United States, but rather a gesture of real intimacy to be seriously
considered. Thus, while proximity and relatively small houses clearly
were an important factor in the absorption of the newcomers into the neigh-
borhood, they were probably not as crucial as they were for social inter-
action as in postwar Tokyo where, according to Dore (1958), proximity and
small houses forced most of the informal social interaction into the street.

Formal Organization:

At the group level there were also formal and informal absorptive
mechanisms. The formal aspect consisted primarily of the two levels of
formal organization already mentioned, the Neighborhood Association and
the tonari gumi. In terms of relative importance for absorbing newcomers
into the ongoing social milieu of Hanayama, the tonari gumi was by far the
more important. The tonari gumi during this phase was composed of a sub-
division of the neighborhood in what appear to be no particular patterns

except for nonexclusive physical proximity. When the system was reorganized after the war, the tonari gumi were organized by blocks, but in the early period such blocks were nonexistant. Rather, Hanayama was composed of clusters of houses bunched behind the retail stores lining the neighborhood boundaries.

The tonari gumi was one of the basic social units of the urban environment. In Hanayama the tonari gumi was the organizational pivot for most group activities and for much of the diplomatic maneuvering which made the smaller sections of the neighborhood, the blocks or clusters, amicable places to live. Membership in the tonari gumi was universal and even, at times, enthusiastic.

The tonari gumi functioned on two levels. One was on the most formal level as the smallest official political unit of the neighborhood and, in fact, of the district and city of which it was a part.[8] On a less formal level, the tonari gumi functioned as a mutual aid society where the members were given a structure for performing various tasks necessary for the efficient function of the neighborhood (e.g., snow packing, litter removal, street maintenance), an opportunity for organizing for various life crises such as funerals, births, and weddings, and a framework within which informal social interaction could occur. The formal structure of the tonari gumi was built around an elected leader (han-cho) and the official membership. The election of the leader was usually of the Japanese type for small groups where everything is decided unofficially first, then the election is held to formalize the previous decision. A split, non-consensus decision was considered disruptive to group solidarity and unnecessarily harsh. At its best, this type of consensus decision making should be sharply differentiated from 'railroad' type decisions where a small,

highly organized faction can ram decisions through over serious objections. Informal discussion before formal interaction gave most members of the group at least some idea of the issue at hand and the range of opinions held by other members of the group. The role of the chair in such meetings was twofold. First, to allow for full expression of all the various points of view, if necessary prodding the reluctant or bashful. Secondly, after the range of opinion had been expressed, the chair would seek to articulate what appeared to be an emerging, generally acceptable position. This position would then be refined, through further discussion, into a consensus that the chair made clear, albiet through indirect methods (direct expression of a personally held opinion by the chair would have been considered poor form) so that everyone present would be conscious of the emerging position although there would still be no formal vote or any other direct confrontation of differing opinions. At this point, those who had expressed positions diverging from the emerging consensus position could verbally move toward the consensus, a sort of mild recant. Finally, when it was clear to the chair that everyone was in agreement of what the final position should be, a final, usually unanimous, vote could be called. In this system, everyone was encouraged to voice their opinions and group solidarity, perceived as being more important than any specific issue, is maintained and promoted. At the same time, a decision is made that is at least tolerable to everyone. Using this system even during the height of the war, elections were allowed in the neighborhood without overt external interference. However as one informant put it, "We always were careful to elect someone who was appropriate, if not the person that the district supervisor might have wanted."

The Neighborhood Association, composed of ten _tonari gumi_ at this

time, had little direct impact on the actual living units of the neighbor-
hood. Its major functions lay in organization of neighborhood-wide acti-
vities such as New Year's and obon (festival of the dead, held in August)
observances, and in mediating between the neighborhood and the larger
organs of political power in the ward and the city. This mediating func-
tion varied significantly through time as the international situation
prompted innovations on the national level, which then filtered down
through the Neighborhood Association to the tonari gumi. In the prewar
period (1925-33) the city of Sapporo and its various wards and neighbor-
hood enjoyed considerable autonomy. In part, this autonomy was the result
of what could be termed a policy of benign neglect. During these years,
the development programs for Hokkaido were stalled and the urban area of
Sapporo, being the most developed in Hokkaido, was ignored. The extremely
sparse population of the Northern Territories also contributed to the lack
of attention on the part of the national government. The prewar period
in Japan was extremely turbulent and most of the government's attention
was focused on the core areas of Old Japan and the far richer and more
densely populated imperial possessions of Korea and Taiwan. The workings
of the Neighborhood Association in Hanayama was left almost totally up to
the local residents with few, if any, restrictions placed on them. This
rather easy going period was, unfortunately, short lived.

During the China War period (1933-41), two factors played a large
role in the functions of the Neighborhood Association in Hanayama. While
the war in China had resulted in the tightening of the social order in
all of Japan, including Hokkaido, the increasing control of the national
governmental apparatus by the militaristic right wing involved pressures
transmitted through the political hierarchy down to the neighborhoods.

The primary effect of these two interrelated forces was a formalization of a set of duties for the tonari gumi to be transmitted through the Neighborhood Association. These duties involved "social watchdogging," control of social thought, in both of which people were supposed to report anti-social or unpatriotic acts or thoughts to the local police, and implementation of increasingly detailed national policies involving such activities as civil defense and consumer goods rationing. A principle means of increasing the regimentation and mobilization of the Japanese civilian population for the war effort was through the tonari gumi and the Neighborhood Associations.[9] During the early phase of the war, this mobilization was only beginning with policies such as the growing militaristic instruction of social ethics in the schools.

During both the China War period and the Pacific War period, various locations in Hokkaido were of great strategic importance as a jump off point for military activities such as those in Manchuria and later in the Aleutians; this caused greater attention to be focused on it.[10] As a result, there was always a large military force stationed in Hokkaido and other parts of the Northern Territories, its size peaking during the China War period. This force was not as large as those stationed in the crucial military areas near Tokyo and in Hyushu, however, and there seems to have been a strong distinction drawn between direct military and nonmilitary control zones. The major military base for the Northern Territories was about 8 kilometers south of Hanayama, which seems to have had some effect on the formal workings of the district government and the Neighborhood Associations.

> You know, with the army right down the road in Makomanai,
> we were a bit more cautious than we might have been. I

> know of people who lived in Asahigawa who openly brought
> in food from the farms; we couldn't do that—at least
> not openly. . . . We were also very careful with our
> record keeping. The district head was very concerned
> that all the Neighborhood Associations had proper records.
> I don't think anyone ever looked at them, but he thought
> that—well, maybe toward the end of the war, that the
> army would take over the city, perhaps, and then all the
> records would be examined.
>
> > Mr. A, Neighborhood
> > Association head during
> > part of Pacific War.

During this period as part of its mobilization effort, the prefectural
government released propaganda for mass consumption which played up the
military traditions of the Tondenhei, picturing them as being far more
militaristic than they actually ever were. For example, posters appeared
on Tondenhei wearing full military uniforms of the early Meiji period,
something which never happened in reality. The Tondenhei were not allowed
to wear regular uniforms.

The effects of all this on the Neighborhood Association and the tonari
gumi in Hanayama were complex. The formal structure of the Neighborhood
Association was modified, in 1938-39, along the lines sought by the nation-
al government and, at least officially, performed the functions expected
of it. The rationing system in part went through the Neighborhood Associ-
ation, and much of the civil defense system was organized or implemented
by the association. On the informal level, it appears to have been inef-
fective. The thought-control aspects of the national policies seem to
have been left up to the higher organs which, in Hokkaido, were not zealous
efforts (cf. Hokkaido Keisatsu Honbu 1968). Even the civil defense imple-
mentations were limited and, if tested, would likely have proved ineffec-
tive.[11] The efficiency of the Neighborhood Association is, however, a
secondary consideration. What is important is that the Associations were

entrusted with these tasks and were officially functioning, in this re-
spect, as an organ of the government by implementing national policy. One
must assume, therefore, that the policy makers at the national level saw
the neighborhood organizations as strong enough to do the job.

Another facet complicating an analysis of the mediating functions of
the Neighborhood Association with the higher organs of government is that
while the effects of the Pacific phase of the war intensified for Japan
as a whole they decreased for Hokkaido. During the Pacific War the empha-
sis of national policy was clearly to the south, while the northern areas
were denuded of troops by the end of the war. Even in Manchuria, the crack
army facing the U.S.S.R. was virtually stripped of its best troops and
equipment. The troop strength in Hokkaido was drastically reduced for the
first great push into Southeast Asia, the effect of this shift being to
de-emphasize the direct war effort in Hokkaido. While Old Japan suffered
tremendous destruction in the final period of the war, Hokkaido was vir-
tually untouched (Cf. U.S. Strategic Bombing Survey, Over-All Economic
Effects Division 1946). The civil defense measures were rarely implemented
in any form, although there were some false air raid alarms in Sapporo.
The rationing system and its connected attempts to restrict or repress the
black market was even less rigorously enforced in Hokkaido than in the
rest of Japan.

Therefore, the war's effect on the Neighborhood Association was one
of slightly increased formal activity along nationalistic lines but of
little or no increase in informal activity. The Neighborhood Association
was extremely powerful and used by the urban, prefectural, and national
governments as a means of implementation, but in fact, the policies that
it was called on to implement appear to have been ineffective. The tonari

gumi, which in the south may have had some effect as a means of social thought control, seems to have been far less important in the implementation of nationalistic aims in Hanayama.

What one does see, however, is the rise of tremendously powerful formal structures--both in the Neighborhood Association and in the tonari gumi--which were closely associated with the national policies of the war period. These two organs, patterned after previously existing Japanese village social forms, provided formal structures, sets of primary intermediary functions, and informal arenas that allowed the social dynamics of Japanese cultural forms to operate. It was mainly on this informal level that immigrants were incorporated into Hanayama and through which the ongoing social life functioned. Most of the community activities were carried out on the informal level, with or without an umbrella of formal structure. In some cases, such as street maintenance in winter, the formal organization was adopted long after an informal process had evolved. The formal structure evolved primarily to satisfy the higher levels of governmental bureaucracy.

The dominant analytical feature of the neighborhood social organization was thus the interplay between the formal and informal levels of social interaction. The social networks of the people in the neighborhood during this time define the boundaries of informal interaction which, in turn, is overlaid by the formal structures of the Neighborhood Association and other constructs derived from larger systemic units such as the city or the prefecture. The directives issued by the larger units were mainly processed through the formal organizational elements, so that they impinged on the informal levels only in a form that could be absorbed. That is, one of the major functions of the formal neighborhood levels of social

organization was to mediate between the ongoing informal neighborhood
social organization and the larger social units of which the neighborhood
was a part. For example, the war-time rationing regulations, supposedly
enforced by Neighborhood Association, strictly prohibited the buying or
selling of nonrationed foodstuffs. Yet the Neighborhood Association was
not only able to turn a blind eye to such gray and black market activities,
but was in fact one of the means of organization for the distribution of
gray-market food in the neighborhood. Thus the governmental directive
was adjusted or adapted to fit the specific needs of the neighborhood.

Conclusions:

Conditions in the neighborhood during Phase I relate to the questions
with which this dissertation is concerned through, first, a consideration
of the impact of immigration on social relationships and behavior and,
second, by an examination the relationship between behavior in the neigh-
borhood and the processes of change occurring in the city.[12] The impact
of migration on Hanayama between 1925 and 1945 was that it stimulated the
application of a series of absorptive mechanisms which acted, on the whole,
as cohesive forces in the neighborhood. The migration process was slow
and even, with little disruption. The net result of immigration, aside
from population growth, was the reinforcement of the white-collar dominance
of the social order of the neighborhood and the transition of the neighbor-
hood from semi-urban to fully urban. The important variables in this
process were the speed of migration, the characteristics of the migrants,
and the absolute size of the neighborhood throughout the migration process.
The migrants were white-collar employees, blue-collar employees and self-
employed shopkeepers. All of these groups were already represented in the
neighborhood, so there were no drastic changes in type. Most of the

migrants came from urban areas, which allowed the shock of migration to the city of Sapporo to be alleviated because of previous experience. The shock of migration was also mitigated by the traumatic conditions of World War II, which had forced many of the migrants to leave their former homes. Given their exits from their previous homes, their entrances into Sapporo were easy. Further, all of the migrants into the neighborhood during this period shared a value which perceived extensive and high quality webs of social relationships to be extremely positive, those relationships being the basic building block of social life. Finally, the neighborhood was very small and dominated by face-to-face patterns of social relationships which were admirably adapted for the absorption of the new immigrants.

The relationship between the social behavior and the ideological, social, and ecological processes of change in the city is more difficult to assess than the impact of migration on the neighborhood. The neighborhood was, on the whole, fairly well insulated from the more drastic social and political effects of the economic and demographic growth of the city by its physical, social, political, and economic isolation. The autonomy, perceived by the residents and apparently actually existing, during this phase meant that the neighborhood changed but that the disruptive effects of this change were cushioned. In addition, the isolation of the city from the rest of the country served to minimize the most drastic effects of World War II. The changes that did affect the city were filtered through local apparatus, which altered them to fit local conditions before they were able to affect the neighborhood. Thus, the patterns of social behavior remain constant, with a strong pattern of continuity with the patterns of behavior from previous periods, throughout the phase in spite of the significant changes in the urban environment of Sapporo.

CHAPTER III

Footnotes

[1] In addition to the younger white-collar adults who came into Hanayama, there were reputedly also a few older white-collar households who came into Hanayama from other neighborhoods in Sapporo, that is, were just moving across town. These older white-collar adults, then, would have suffered the least shock or stress in relocation.

[2] Mr. A had also been instrumental in getting Mr. S the teaching job.

[3] This is one of the points where access to police records, discussed in the Appendix on Methodology, would have been very useful. Given the pattern of finding housing through social contacts including fellow employees, one would expect to find concentrations of certain kinds of occupations in any given neighborhood. Whether or not Hanayama was a neighborhood with a high concentration of public employees is a question that cannot be answered on the basis of my data.

[4] For discussions of cooperation of rural agriculturalists in Japan, see any village study, e.g., Embree 1939; Norbeck 1954; Cornell and Smith 1956; or, on a more abstract level, Benedict 1946; Harris 1977 (Chapter 13); or Nakane 1970. The irrigation agriculture practiced throughout Japan required co-operation for the maintenance of the irrigation system. Other elements, such as close physical proximity, kin bonds, and long term co-residence—often multi-generational—also promoted high degrees of rural co-operation. Social co-operation was thus strongly reinforced by the requirements of economic survival.

[5] The government was aware of this sort of personal contact food acquisition network and, in fact, appears to have counted on it for certain kinds of food distribution. At least it is clear that this sort of "gray market" was widespread and that the official rationing and distribution system was inadequate for the survival of the population. (Cf. Havens 1978:114-132)

[6] The younger white-collar figures are somewhat skewed. There was a group of younger white-collar males who left after only a few years residence to go to war. Some returned before 1945, thereby lowering the average tenure of the group in numbers, but since they had maintained social ties with the neighborhood during their absence, they should be considered as longer term residents. If that procedure is followed, then most of the younger white-collar residents lived in the neighborhood for an average of about ten years rather than three.

[7] If Roberts is correct and it is the quality of available information that is crucial to effective group formation and action, then the Japanese city should be a tremendous spawning groud of effective social groups, which in fact is a generally accepted aspect of Japanese culture. (Roberts 1973)

[8] The _tonari gumi_ appears to have been the direct descendent of the Tokugawa five-household groupings wherein each family was responsible for the actions of each of the other families in their group. As such, the pattern of social responsibility formally being delegated to the group for the actions of an individual is at least several hundred years old in Japanese society. Thomas Havens, in his excellent social history of Japan during World War II, says that this pattern in turn was derived from the Chinese _pao-chia_ system of collective of responsibility, having roots in Japan going back to the seventh century A.D. (1978:37).

[9] For the best overall view of the social history of Japan during the war period in English, see Havens 1978. Unfortunately, the focus of the work is Old Japan with Hokkaido only rarely, and anecdotally, mentioned. Further, there were some major differences between Hokkaido and Old Japan. For example, it appears that the Neighborhood Associations of Sapporo were unusual in Old Japan.

[10] For example, the 1938 conflict with the U.S.S.R. and as a take off point for the deceptive move at the Aleutians to cover the attack on Pearl Harbor in 1941.

[11] The point is moot, of course, as far as Hokkaido is concerned, but the idea of wooden spears in the hands of half-trained civilians against American or Soviet armored divisions does not appear to have been one of the serious tactical concepts of the war.

[12] The third question concerning the major constraints to human behavior in Hanayama during the last half century is discussed in the last chapter.

CHAPTER IV

Phase II: 1945-1965

>After the war, we moved into the neighborhood when I
>got a job with the railroad. I had been in Manchuria
>doing the same kind of work. . . . When we got here
>(1948) everything seemed very normal, as if there had
>been no war. We built this house then. Quite a few
>other people were moving into the neighborhood at the
>same time. We all came together. . . . It wasn't as
>full as it is now, of course, but there were soon rows
>of houses here, with the shops over on Stone Mountain
>Road and Colonial Militia Road. We were very glad to
>be here.

In 1945 Hanayama was sparsely settled but distinctly urban. The two

major boundary streets to the east and west were almost solidly lined with

shops, while the interior of the neighborhood, where there were once vege-

table fields, was crossed with several small lanes with single-family de-

tached houses clustered along them. These lanes were only a couple of

meters in width. All of the streets were unpaved, even Stone Mountain

Road, the major north-south artery. In summer the streets had large pot-

holes and were mud when it rained, which was often. In winter, the sur-

face was packed snow, which formed a solid sheet of ice.

The pattern set during the previous periods--the filling in of the

residential area between the shop dominated boundary streets--continued

during the 1945-65 phase. The dominant theme of this phase--one of con-

tinuity with the patterns of the past--is indicated by the absorption of

new migrants, the maintenance of extensive and strong webs of social rela-

tionships, and a strong sense of neighborhood identity; all this continued

in spite of the effects of a major war, an economic boom, a decrease in

perceived neighborhood social and economic autonomy, and a massive popula-

tion expansion. However, the migration and absorption processes of the

phase were not steady. Rather, there were a number of periods within the phase, reflections of events and trends occurring on a national basis, which had marked affects on the social order of the neighborhood.

This phase can be divided analytically into three periods: the occupation period (1945-52), the transition period (1952-60), and the economic boom period (1960-65). These three periods are distinctive in terms of population growth rates and economic conditions but manifest similar social patterns and patterns of change. The first, the period of occupation, had a rapid population growth rate as a result of postwar repatriation and demobilization. The city of Sapporo absorbed many of the repatriates, even though national policy was to disperse the repatriated population throughout Hokkaido. Even in the earliest stages, however, there was a rapid primary and secondary movement of population into the larger urban centers. Sapporo was particularly important in this respect because it was the largest undamaged urban area north of Tokyo and the second largest undamaged area in the country, the largest being Kyoto.

During the transition period (1952-60) the population growth rate of the neighborhood stabilized at a fairly low growth rate reminiscent of the prewar and early war periods of Phase I. The migration rate again increased to a high growth rate during the economic boom period (1960-65).

Effects of World War II:

Before beginning a detailed discussion of migration and growth in Hanayama during this phase, at least a brief sketch of the various effects of the Second World War on Hokkaido and on the rest of Japan is necessary. These differing effects of the war have significance later on the social relationships and growth patterns that are the main concern of the rest of this chapter.

Although it is impossible to completely summarize the impact of the war and the American occupation on Japan, there are some observations that should be made concerning the different effects of the war on Hokkaido and Old Japan. First and most important, Hokkaido suffered virtually no direct war damage. This meant that the physical plants of the primary, secondary, and tertiary industries underlying the island's economy were completely untouched. The lack of destruction of housing, for example, meant that the dislocations occurring in the more southern sections on a vast scale did not exist for the Hokkaido population. Further, particularly in the primary and secondary industrial plants, the scale of physical destruction in Old Japan and the dislocation of populations, even from rural or semi-rural locations, meant that Hokkaido temporarily assumed a position of disproportionate importance.

Secondly, both in its physical presence (i.e., numbers of troops) and its sociopolitical emphasis, the American occupation stressed the more southern core areas of Old Japan with decreasing emphasis moving north from Tokyo. Since Hokkaido had not had an important military significance, at least at the end of the war, it was held to be relatively unimportant in military terms. Because the overall population was low and the population density sparse, it was not considered an area of potential trouble. The number of occupying troops was minimal and the focus of the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers (SCAP, MacArthur's occupation headquarters) on Hokkaido was low key. What SCAP attention was directed toward Hokkaido was more with a view toward possible trouble with the U.S.S.R. than with the Japanese population.[1] Therefore, with one major exception, Hokkaido was left much to its own devices.

The major exception, the third major point, was that Hokkaido's

sparse population and temperate climate was seen as the best area to re-
patriate much of the population from the now defunct empire, especially
the Japanese nationals from the more northerly areas of the empire (see
Figure 22); Manchuria, Sakhalin, the Kuriles and the northern islands
(referred to, Footnote 1 above). These repatriated populations, plus the
returning members of the demobilized armed forces, comprised one of the
highest repatriate-to-resident ratios of any Japanese prefecture. The
impact of this repatriation and demobilization is complex but two points
seem clear: the repatriates as migrants had somewhat different social
characteristics than had previous migrants in Hanayama and the number of
repatriates had some influence on the attitudes of the Japanese in Hokkaido
toward the Soviet Union. The social characteristics of the repatriates,
a point that will be dealt with in somewhat more detail later, differed
from those of the non-repatriate/non-demobilized migrants because of the
different experiences of the repatriates. Most of the repatriates that
came into Sapporo were from the Soviet occupied Northern Territories or
Manchuria with a scattering of repatriates from other areas of the now
defunct empire such as Korea, Taiwan, and the Pacific Islands. There
were, in this group, also demobilized soldiers and sailors who had seen
combat or garrison duty throughout Southeast Asia, the Western Pacific,
and East Asia. As a group, the repatriates had had a difficult recent
past, being on the losing side in a world war and then the processes of
repatriation and demobilization per se. As a result of these experiences,
this group tended to be extremely capable and independent as well as highly
motivated to deal with whatever problems migration might present.

The influence of the repatriates on the attitudes of the people of
Hokkaido toward the Soviet Union was to increase the fear and distrust
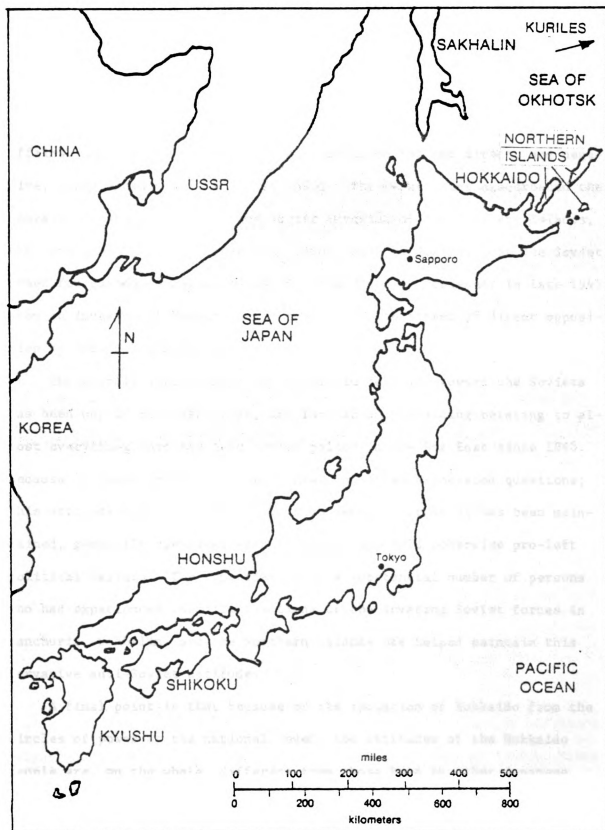
Figure 22. Northern Islands

that already existed. Because of the U.S.S.R.'s actions at the end of the war—the invasion of Manchuria and the Northern Territories which the Japanese perceived as a betrayal of the non-aggression treaty—the Soviet occupation of the Northern Territories has remained a major stumbling block to the creation of a U.S.S.R.-Japan peace treaty (cf. Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Japan, 1970). Many of the repatriates had had direct, and negative, experiences with the Soviet Union. The repatriates exacerbated the Hokkaido Japanese memory of the Soviet invasion of the Northern Islands, the expulsion of the Japanese population, and the designs that the Soviet armed forces had on Hokkaido itself. The U.S.S.R. desisted, in late 1945, from an invasion of Hokkaido only because of the threat of direct opposition by American Armed Forces.

The overall attitudes of the people in Hokkaido toward the Soviets has been one of distrust, fear, and lack of understanding relating to almost everything that has been Soviet policy in the Far East since 1945. Because of these continuing territorial and other associated questions; this attitude toward the U.S.S.R. is so pervasive that it has been maintained, generally speaking, even by people who hold otherwise pro-left political beliefs. The repatriation of a substantial number of persons who had experienced the direct actions of the invading Soviet forces in Manchuria, Sakhalin, and the Northern Islands has helped maintain this pervasive anti-Soviet attitude.

A final point is that because of the isolation of Hokkaido from the circles of power at the national level, the attitudes of the Hokkaido people are, on the whole, different from those held by other Japanese. The war is sometimes seen as something that the Japanese as a group must accept part responsibility for, but in some sense, the powerlessness, lack

of participation in, and lack of effect on, seem to have made people in Hokkaido feel somewhat less responsible or perhaps more detached from the very emotional response that most Japanese have toward the war, particularly in their dealings with Americans.[2]

The impact of the war, or rather the lack of direct affect, distinguished Sapporo from other Japanese urban centers during and after the war. There are several distinctive features that differentiate the postwar phase from previous periods in Sapporo's history.

## Growth of Sapporo:

The city of Sapporo grew very rapidly during this phase. Between 1945 and 1965, the population of the city of Sapporo increased almost 300% from 220,139 to 794,908, and, perhaps more important, the area of the city increased by more than a factor of ten—from 76.3 square kilometers to 1,008.7 square kilometers. This expansion had several implications. The neighborhood of Hanayama shrank, in perceptual terms, from a significant if small section of the city to an insignificant and extremely small portion of the city. With the expansion of the population, the core (business and entertainment) area of Sapporo also expanded, primarily in the direction of the neighborhood. This meant that Hanayama was much closer to "downtown" than it had been. Finally, the city of Sapporo was undergoing a transition from a relatively small, unimportant frontier capital to a major city, both in economic and perceptual terms.

During this period the attitudes of the people of Sapporo underwent significant shifts; they had previously seen their city as a minor urban center, therefore focusing on their neighborhood as an important social entity, to seeing themselves as residents of a major cosmopolitan center where traditional modes of thought and social activity, such as maintaining

the neighborhood as a viable social entity, were not only inessential for a good life but, in some cases, not _modan_ ("modern"--in the sense of progressive, non-feudal--used primarily by younger people).

Second, the physical growth of the city also changed the points of contact between the neighborhood and the city. As the population density of the core parts of the city and the neighborhood increased, transportation routes to and from the neighborhood were constructed--a bus system in the occupation period and later streetcar routes. Because of its proximity to the downtown area, the neighborhood became an attractive area for upper echelon white-collar workers able to afford to build or buy single-family houses. In fact, the nicest existing houses in the neighborhood were built during this phase (see Figure 23).

Many of the group of older white-collar employees living in the neighborhood in 1975 had entered between 1950 and 1960, buying land and houses. The main road running south from the core of the city, a boundary of the neighborhood, was paved in the late 1950s, expanded, and soon was lined with light industry as well as the previous retail establishments. The opposite boundary, the old Colonial Militia Road, no longer important as a major street, became almost exclusively a shopping street crammed with retail establishments. These changes meant that the neighborhood was simultaneously in closer communication with downtown Sapporo and more isolated from it. The closer communication came about with the improved transportation. The isolation occurred when the neighborhood was, in effect, by-passed by the improved means of transport direct to areas farther away from downtown. Stone Mountain Road became a four-lane major artery that tended to slide traffic past the neighborhood rather than channel traffic through it. The decline in importance of Colonial Militia

First Floor

Second Floor
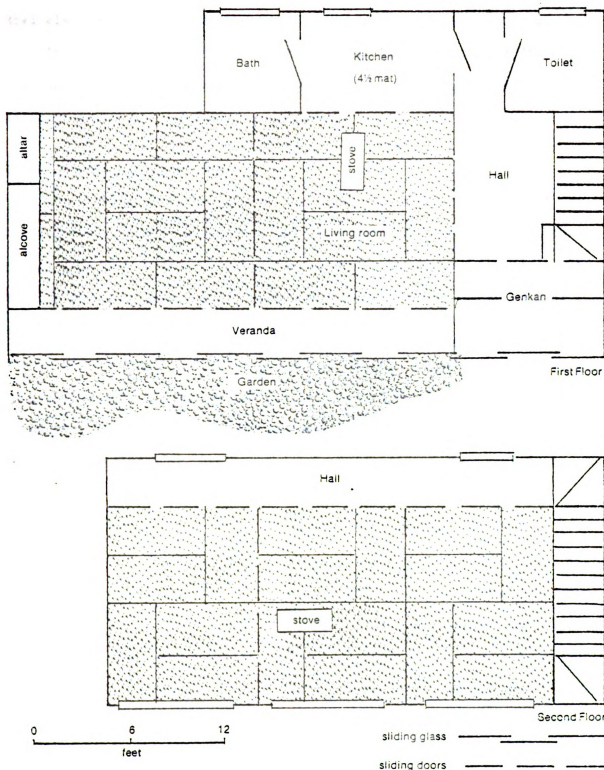
Figure 23.   Representative Older House, Built in 1953

Road also reduced the amount of incidental traffic through Hanayama.

In sum, the neighborhood of Hanayama was different during Phase II from what had existed there previously because the changes were simply adaptations to altered social conditions.

Formal Social Organizations:

The changes in formal social organizations of the neighborhood reflected these social conditions. The Neighborhood Association and the tonari gumi were both officially banned by the occupation forces in 1945 because of their involvement, or perceived involvement, in right-wing, militaristic-totalitarian (thought-control) acitvities. Ironically, the actual efficiency or interest of the Neighborhood Association or the tonari gumi during the war was questionable at best in Sapporo and possibly throughout Hokkaido and the occupation bans in general were ineffective. On the whole, the SCAP forces had little idea of what they were doing or how they should go about doing it. Although there were some excellent people in the occupation forces in one role or another, the general level of understanding of Japanese society and culture was extremely low. For instance, the official banning of a whole group of organizations was circumvented since, in the case of the Neighborhood Associations and the tonari gumi, they were immediately reconstituted in Hanayama and, as far as I can tell, throughout Japan. There was almost no gap between the dissolution of the old organizations and the appearance of the new ones performing precisely the same functions. Also, the same people were in positions of power in both sets and they appear to have performed virtually the same activities, only the names sometimes being altered to appease the occupation forces. Finally, for the purposes of this analysis, it is the informal structures that most concern us, rather than the formal structures

with which they are associated.

The Neighborhood Associations, during the occupation period, were reconstituted as the next to the bottom level of civil government in the city of Sapporo. The Neighborhood Associations together made up District Associations, which in turn were combined into higher levels of the urban political structure. The Hanayama Neighborhood Association was composed of thirteen tonari gumi (隣組 ) or Block Associations, which had some real social efficacy during the occupation period.[3] The immediate problems of the postwar period were primarily dealt with on the local level--the only level on which they were dealt with much at all--by the Neighborhood Association and the tonari gumi. The primary function of the Neighborhood Association during this period was to coordinate the functions of the tonari gumi, which appear to have been the focal point of social activity. The needs of the period for housing, food, and consumer goods of all types made for a considerable banding together of neighbors in the tonari gumi to counter these numerous shortages. This function was, in effect, a continuation of the war-period cooperation which had tightened the social bonds of the neighborhood and forged it into a functioning social and, in some respects, economic entity. It should be remembered that during this period, the neighborhood was a homogeneous place with only the same four socioeconomic groups as before represented: the older white-collar group, the younger white-collar group, the blue-collar group, and the shopkeepers. The migrants to the neighborhood during this period followed the same patterns as those of the previous phase, including the migrants during the occupation period already having social connections in Hanayama prior to their moving in. Thus, the absorption of the migrants was facilitated, as it had been with those of the earlier phase.

The other important function of the Neighborhood Association, similar to that of Phase I, was mediating between the neighborhood and higher levels of the urban sociopolitical organizations. However, during the occupation period, this was primarily a function of dealing with the occupation forces indirectly through the indigenous urban organs. That is, rather than dealing with the policies filtered down from the national government in Tokyo, the Neighborhood Association was the point of contact between the people of the neighborhood and the occupation policies as they were modified by the national, prefectural, and urban bureaucracies. The extra layer--the occupation forces--applied at the top made for some significant changes in the position of the Neighborhood Association vis a vis higher levels of the Japanese sociopolitical organization. For one thing, the Neighborhood Association could use the either overt or covert threat of approaching the highest level of social control, the American forces, directly rather than passing back up through the chain of command. For example, if the Neighborhood Association felt it was being pushed in an unacceptable manner by the higher levels of government, it might appeal directly to SCAP or its representatives. As the then-head of the Neighborhood Association, Mr. A, put it:

> There was quite a change in attitude from the war period
> to the postwar period concerning the place of the Asso-
> ciation. After some initial confusion, I liked it much
> better afterwards. The District Association head was
> much less likely to just send down an order, and we almost
> never got direct orders from higher up. Part of that was,
> I think, because many of us got to know the Americans who
> were here (in Sapporo). I think that there was always a
> fear (on the part of the city bureaucrats) that we would
> talk directly to the Americans. I never did, not about
> official business.

Whether Mr. A's perception is accurate or not is impossible to access, but

other people involved in the association at the time agreed that the higher urban officials were much more polite after the war than they had been before.

Another important item was that there were a number of SCAP policies directly focused on small local units such as the Neighborhood Associations and the _tonari gumi_. These were occasionally implemented directly, without passing through the intermediate levels. The middle levels of the bureaucracy, therefore, had no direct way to modify the policies, although there were a number of effective indirect, bureaucratic means to be used. From the point of view of the neighborhood, however, this semiautonomy from the urban bureaucracy was seen as being real and, as such, probably had considerable psychological effect, primarily in establishing or re-establishing a strong sense of neighborhood identity. One reason for this was that the higher levels of urban government did very little to solve local problems. Policy implementation was conducted from the top down to the lower levels; rarely did lower level problems move back up the conduit to be solved at higher levels. Many of the social services (e.g., garbage collection, sewage) in an American city, for instance, were usually absent, particularly in a frontier city such as Sapporo or overseen by the lowest levels of political organization, usually the Neighborhood Association, at a measure of maintenance far below that of an equivalent city in the United States.

Although the Neighborhood Association was partly funded by the city, the city appears to have maintained little or no direct control over expenditures. The Neighborhood Association books, such as they were--the Hanayama books for that period are totally incomprehensible, even to the current head of the association--were occasionally examined by the district

offices but, except for gross personal abuses, there was little interest
in how the various monies were spent.  The Neighborhood Association thus
enjoyed near autonomy from the higher levels of government.  Equally
important, however, is that the entire annual budget of a Neighborhood
Association was extremely small and that the actual economic clout of such
an organ was limited except in the most narrow local sphere.

In the occupation period, then, it was the Neighborhood Association
that was primarily the instrument for dealing with postwar  problems on
the social level.  Although the situation is not altogether clear, it
appears that SCAP did not fully comprehend Japanese political processes
and mainly contented itself with controlling, with varying success, the
higher levels of political organization, at least in the city of Sapporo.[4]
Also influencing SCAP's difficulty in managing Japanese domestic problems
was that not only the practical elements of government differed between
Japan and the United States, but also the basic philosophical principles
upon which the Japanese government was based differed.  There is some in-
dication that SCAP had little idea of the extent to which national policy
directives could be modified by the various bureaucracies as they passed
through the levels of government.  There is also some material indicating
the lack of comprehension by the occupation administration of the flow of
information up and down the various levels of the system.  (cf. Montgomery
1949:10 for military attitudes toward Neighborhood Associations.  Also,
Dower, 1975 for a broader perspective.)  Thus, the Neighborhood Associa-
tions, supposedly under the legal control of higher levels of government,
were in fact somewhat autonomous.  Further, given the actual workings of
the system, there was little or no way that certain local domestic problems,
even if generalized throughout a region, could work their way up the system

to be dealt with at higher policy levels. The philosophical differences
manifested themselves in the ideas held by the occupation forces about
the basic functions of government. One way to express this difference
is to characterize the American view of governmental policy as legalistic
and rigid, whereas the Japanese view of governmental policy can be des-
cribed as relativistic and flexible. Thus, the Americans wanted social
problems managed at the highest level possible so as to standardize the
solution for as many local units as possible. The Japanese felt that
higher organs should be confronted with a problem only if it could not
be solved in some way locally. Thus the American view would be to have
one solution for one problem, and the Japanese view would have as many
solutions to a given common problem as there were local organs dealing
with that particular problem.

The manner in which the Hanayama Neighborhood Association and its
tonari gumi dealt with the postwar problems was, in general, by extending
the methods used for other problems in the past to cover the new situations.
For example, immediately after the war approximately fifty adults were
repatriated into the neighborhood. This group comprised about 15% of the
total neighborhood population in 1950. Their absorption was viewed and
dealt with as a problem of quantity, not quality. That is, the problem,
absorption of the newcomers into Hanayama social patterns, was perceived
as being the same problem that the neighborhood had always dealt with.
The only differences were that there were more migrants and that the rate
of migration was temporarily higher than normal. As mentioned previously,
all of the new migrants already knew someone in the neighborhood and their
absorption was similar to that described in the previous chapter.

On the other postwar problems that concerned the neighborhood, a few

other examples should suffice. The food shortages, a major problem else-
where in Japan, were minimized in the neighborhood and in Hokkaido as a
whole. The wartime adaptations of personal gardens, personal contacts
made with agriculturalists outside the city, black market connections--
and the strong economic position of the city relative to the rest of the
country, with its concomittant assurance of full employment, made great
changes unnecessary. Informally, the Neighborhood Association and the
tonari gumi were one of the means of coordination for all of these various
enterprises. For example, one of the tonari gumi ran a successful exchange
system, a gray market operation, utilizing four of the residents' agri-
cultural contacts as a base to move foodstuffs into Hanayama in exchange
for a variety of goods and services unavailable in the rural regions.
This exchange network, begun on a small scale in the late 1930s to deal
with the beginnings of various shortages, continued with various adjust-
ments in scope and personnel, until the mid-1950s as an economic exchange
system and up to the present as a social entity. One of my better infor-
mants, in fact, assured me that if necessary, the whole system would prob-
ably be functional in very short order because they have continued to care-
fully maintain the necessary contacts.

This example of the workings of a tonari gumi demonstrates several
things aside from simply how food shortages were handled, for example, of
the important correlation between a formal and an informal social organi-
zation, how the tonari gumi, a formal structure, formed the basis of an
informal organization to bring food into the city. The tonari gumi
itself did not operate the food system but, rather, a group of people,
all of whom not coincidentally knew each other because they were in the
same tonari gumi made up the informal group to do the job. Incidentally,

the person who was the prime mover in the food scheme was not the han cho, leader of the tonari gumi.

Those relationships formed in both the tonari gumi and the food system were enduring ones that have existed for forty years; the people involved the groups still see themselves as having special relationships with each other.

Finally, the formation of this food transportation system demonstrates a rather casual attitude toward the rules and regulations promulgated from the top of the political system. The anti-black market laws during and immediately after the war were strict. Although I have no concrete evidence of anything illegal, there were some rather loose interpretations of the laws made by the Hanayama residents and considerable care was taken at the time to avoid the scrutiny of officials whose legal interpretations might have been less relaxed.

The housing shortages plaguing most of Japan were also less severe in Sapporo because of the lack of war damage (particularly from bombing), but because of the limitations on material and labor housing in the post-war period was still a major problem. In Hanayama, the housing situation was good--relative to the rest of Japan where it was critical or even to other parts of Sapporo where, for a variety of reasons, it was severe. The Hanayama Neighborhood Association did not, of course, undertake to construct new housing, but informally it did provide an organization for the exchange of information about possible housing opportunities. Because of the physical situation in the neighborhood and its openness to migration, newcomers did move into the area in considerable numbers. Usually this involved staying with friends until some sort of housing arrangement could be made independent of the largesse of friends or relatives. Many

people in the neighborhood who had large houses rented out rooms or sections of their houses. This kind of solution to postwar problems appears to be a shift of the degree, not of the kind, of activity.

The functions of the Neighborhood Association, primarily dealing with the higher levels of governmental structures and coordinating the focus of real activity in the neighborhood, and the tonari gumi therefore were logically continuing the functions performed in the earlier phase. During the transition period of Phase II (1952-60), the American Occupation forces were no longer present and the system of policy coming down from the national level to the neighborhoods resumed as before the occupation. Some of my informants said that they thought that there had been attempts on the part of the national and prefectural governments to tighten control over the local political organs, but there is no evidence to indicate that these attempts had an effect on the Hanayama Neighborhood Association or any of its activities. One explanation for this ineffectiveness was that Sapporo, from the postwar period on, experienced a growing rate of migration, which meant that the main thrust of the civic administration was to be more concerned with growth than with established systems, rarely with those as small and relatively unimportant as the Neighborhood Associations.

From the perspective of Hanayama, the transition period was one in which the Neighborhood Association reached a high point in effectiveness and power. With membership approaching one hundred percent of the households of the neighborhood and considerable prestige building up from the war and postwar periods, the older white-collar males who maintained positions of power within the association—and the younger men who did most of the work—enjoyed a period of little or no encroachment from the outside, few internal problems because of the slackening migration rate and a great

deal of social capital accumulated over the years. From most points of view, this period and the boom period with its economic upswing were the high points in the social cohesiveness of the neighborhood. The tonari gumi functioned as the primary agents of this cohesiveness. The positions as heads of the tonari gumi, the han-cho, were held exclusively by older people, but not necessarily by members of the older white-collar group or even by men, although all the significant positions in the Neighborhood Association were older white collar males. The shopkeepers and the older blue-collar group were solidly established within the social matrix of the neighborhood. Many of the crucial functions such as crises and festivals in the lives of the neighborhood residents were approached through the organization, the tonari gumi for personal affairs or the larger Neighborhood Association for events like national festivals. The problems the Association and the tonari gumi had to solve were rather mundane after the turmoil of the war and the postwar years. Things such as preparing for neighborhood participation in festivals, the clearing or packing down of snow on neighborhood streets, and the execution of local festivals became major concerns.

There was, however, a significant change made during this period. Persons other than members of the older white-collar group began to move into positions of formal or informal power in the association and in the tonari gumi. This can be linked to the rise of "democracy" in Japanese thought which, as translated into action, meant only a minimal dispersal of formal positions, while the real power was maintained in the network of older white-collar males who tended to decide informally on important issues in advance of any formal meetings. The Japanese aversion to confrontation democracy, well documented elsewhere (Dore 1958; Nakane 1970;

Norbeck 1954), prevailed in the Sapporo neighborhood as well. Most of the decisions made by the tonari gumi and the Neighborhood Association were decided informally or in the course of discussion prior to a formal vote. As all concerned perceived split votes as detrimental to the solidarity of the group, the informal consensus forming process usually worked well. However, during this phase, individuals who were not older white-collar males slowly moved into positions where the informal consensus developed.

Thus far we have examined three aspects of Phase II in Hanayama. First, we have looked at the historical patterns of development that connect the neighborhood to Phase I and sketched the historical pattern of Phase II. Second, we have distinguished the prefecture's, city's, and neighborhood's experiences in the war from those of Old Japan, and we have identified some of the characteristics which distinguish Phase I from Phase II in the neighborhood. Finally, we have outlined the role of the formal organizations in the neighborhood, the Neighborhood Association and the tonari gumi, and examined their most important functions for the operation of the neighborhood.

Economic Growth of Sapporo:

At this point, then, we can turn to an examination of the pattern of economic growth in the city and Hanayama that provided the basis for immigration during this phase. With this background material established, I will then turn to discussion of the nature of the migrants who came into Hanayama, why they migrated, how they were accomodated, and the resultant patterns of social relationships.

Since the major forces which pulled migrants into the city were economic, an examination of Sapporo's economic growth during Phase II is necessary. Sapporo's temporary prominence in secondary industry at the

end of the war, augmented by the SCAP policies that seized upon the un-
damaged industrial plant of Hokkaido as a stop-gap until the southern in-
dustries could be rebuilt, provided a catalyst for the great expansion of
tertiary industries centered in Sapporo. This prominence encouraged the
expansion of secondary industries on the entire Ishikari Plain. The
increasing importance of Hokkaido's primary industries of agriculture,
forestry, and fishing, along with the need to resettle a large number of
repatriates, combined to provide a solid base for the secondary and ter-
tiary expansion of the urban centers. The secondary cities on the Ishikari
Plain, notably Muroran and Tomakomai, were the points of major secondary
industrial expansion. Sapporo's expansion was primarily, even overwhelm-
ingly, tertiary in nature.

There are two points concerning Sapporo's economic expansion and
population growth that are very important. Such expansion and growth were
very fast, even by Japanese standards. Wilkinson (1965:148) cites Sapporo
as one of only five Japanese cities with average annual rates of popula-
tion growth being more than 5% between 1920 and 1955. Glickman's (1979:42)
econometric study of the Japanese urban system lists Sapporo as one of the
fastest growing regional economic clusters between 1950 and 1970. Glickman
also demonstrates that the other cities in Hokkaido, all of which function
to some extent as Sapporo's economic hinterland, were also growing rapidly,
as was the entire prefecture of Hokkaido. These trends are summarized by
Tables 8, 9, and 10. Table 8 shows the growth rates for population and
employment for the ten fastest growing individual regional economic clus-
ters in Japan, a list including both Sapporo and the smaller Hokkaido
cluster focused on the city of Kushiro. Table 9 shows the levels of
growth rates of population and employment by industrial class, 1950-70,

Table 8. Growth Rates of Population and Employment for Ten Fastest Growing Regional Economic Clusters

| | POPULATION | | | | | EMPLOYMENT | |
| | percent change 1950-1955 | 1955-1960 | 1960-1965 | 1965-1970 | 1950-1970 | percent change 1960-1965 | 1965-1970 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Sapporo | 18.6 | 18.2 | 24.2 | 19.0 | 77.0 | 33.4 | 23.1 |
| Kushiro | 24.4 | 25.2 | 12.3 | 7.8 | 88.5 | 20.7 | 15.6 |
| Chiba | 6.2 | 8.5 | 19.5 | 31.5 | 81.0 | 21.3 | 31.2 |
| Tokyo | 23.7 | 19.5 | 18.9 | 13.7 | 99.9 | 25.4 | 13.4 |
| Yokohama | 17.1 | 16.1 | 28.4 | 24.6 | 117.7 | 39.3 | 25.4 |
| Hiratsuka | 13.3 | 6.8 | 22.9 | 22.5 | 82.2 | 34.5 | 24.8 |
| Nagoya | 11.5 | 19.0 | 15.7 | 9.1 | 67.5 | 18.5 | 12.2 |
| Toyota | 18.6 | 9.7 | 17.1 | 22.1 | 86.2 | 23.1 | 25.9 |
| Osaka | 20.4 | 17.7 | 21.9 | 14.8 | 98.5 | 31.2 | 14.4 |
| Hiroshima | 11.9 | 10.5 | 16.5 | 14.8 | 65.5 | 18.6 | 18.0 |

Source: Glickman 1979;42-43

Table 9.  Levels and Growth Rates of Hokkaido Population and
Employment by Industrial Class, 1950-1970

| | 1950 | 1960 | percent change 1950-1960 | 1970 | percent change 1960-1970 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Population (1000's) | 1185.9 | 1563.3 | 31.8 | 2079.8 | 33.0 |
| Total Employment (1000's) | | 637.7 | | 957.9 | 50.2 |
| **Percentage of Employment** | | | | | |
| Primary | | 10.3 | | 4.8 | -53.5 |
| Secondary | | 29.3 | | 28.1 | -4.0 |
| Wholesale and Retail | | 22.9 | | 27.0 | 17.7 |
| Service | | 16.4 | | 19.7 | 20.5 |
| Government | | 6.8 | | 5.6 | -17.5 |
| Other Tertiary | | 14.4 | | 14.8 | 3.2 |
| Total Tertiary | | 60.5 | | 67.1 | 10.9 |

Source:  Glickman 1979;52

Table 10.   Comparative Statistics on Worldwide Urbanization

| | Percentage of Population in Urban Regions | | | Average Annual Growth Rates (Percentage) | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1950 | 1970 | 1970/1950 | 1950-1960 | 1960-1970 |
| Japan | 37.4 | 83.2 | 2.22 | 6.6 | 3.7 |
| France | 54.1 | 67.9 | 1.26 | 2.2 | 2.2 |
| Germany (FRG) | 72.5 | 82.2 | 1.13 | 1.6 | 1.7 |
| United Kingdom | 77.5 | 79.1 | 1.02 | 0.5 | 0.7 |
| Sweden | 55.4 | 66.1 | 1.19 | 1.6 | 1.6 |
| India | 17.1 | 18.8 | 1.10 | 2.4 | 2.9 |
| U.S.S.R. | 42.5 | 62.3 | 1.47 | 3.5 | 3.5 |
| Austria | 49.0 | 51.0 | 1.04 | 0.4 | 0.8 |
| United States | 64.0 | 75.2 | 1.18 | 2.7 | 2.1 |
| China (PRC) | 11.0 | 16.5 | 2.14 | 6.4 | 6.0 |

Source:  Glickman 1979;73

for Hokkaido indicating rapid growth of population and overall employment.

Table 10 is included to give some idea, on a comparative basis, of what

it means to be one of the most rapidly growing urban areas in Japan.

There are several aspects of the speed of economic and population

growth which need to be examined. First, there is the correlation of

economic and population growth per se. International comparison quickly

shows that this is an unnecessary and uncommon correlation. Urbanization

in Mexico City, Cairo, Calcutta, and Detroit are examples of employment

and other crucial aspects of economic expansion not keeping up with popu-

lation growth. In Sapporo, however, the correlation is demonstrated on

Table 8. The key figures, for example for 1960-65, are the employment

increase of 33.4%, with a population increase of 24.2%. This indicates

a boom economy with more jobs than people to fill them. This imbalance

creates a powerful force pulling new workers into the urban center as well

as the social benefits of low unemployment.

Secondly, the long-term growth pattern is such that, over the course

of several decades, Japanese migrants have moved from the hinterland into

the large cities. This long-term pattern, particularly with the vast

numbers of migrants involved, has allowed the development of mechanisms

to facilitate the migration, such as relative or family-friend contacts.[5]

As Table 11 indicates, the Japanese have been urbanizing rapidly for more

than half a century.

Lastly, this speed of economic expansion and population growth meant

that planners and others concerned with the facilities available to resi-

dents in urban areas were always behind. The population growth of Japanese

cities, including Sapporo, has taken place at such a pace that services of

all kinds have been unable to meet the demand. Thus, there is always the

Table 11.    Percentage of Population in Urban Regions: 1920-1970

|  | 1920 | 1930 | 1940 | 1950 | 1960 | 1970 | Ratio of Years | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  | $\frac{1940}{1920}$ | $\frac{1970}{1950}$ | $\frac{1970}{1920}$ |
| Japan | 18.1 | 24.1 | 37.9 | 37.5 | 63.5 | 72.2 | 1.93 | 1.93 | 3.99 |
| India | 11.2 | 12.0 | 13.9 | 17.3 | 17.9 | 19.9 | 1.24 | 1.15 | 1.78 |
| Sweden | 45.2 | 48.5 | 56.2 | 66.2 | 72.7 | 81.4 | 1.24 | 1.23 | 1.80 |
| United States | 51.2 | 56.1 | 56.5 | 59.0 | 69.8 | 73.4 | 1.10 | 1.24 | 1.43 |
| U.S.S.R. | 17.9 | 19.6 | 32.5 | 38.9 | 48.8 | 56.3 | 1.81 | 1.44 | 3.14 |

Source:  Glickman 1979;71

stress of lagging services and the need, at the local levels to make do with whatever resources are available.

The second important point concerning Sapporo's economic expansion and population growth is that the economic expansion has primarily been tertiary throughout both the preceeding phase and this one. In his functional classification of Japanese cities, Wilkinson lists Sapporo as being primarily involved in services and transportation in 1920 and 1930. For 1950 and 1955, he classifies Sapporo as being mainly based in services, transportation, and commerce. At no time was Sapporo's economic base secondary industry (1964:179).[6]

The nature of the economic base of Sapporo and the stability in type of base meant that Sapporo consistently drew the same kinds of migrants over extended periods of time. Further, the development of large-scale tertiary enterprises, the kind growing in Sapporo, requires a high percentage of well-educated, white-collar workers. In Japan, as elsewhere, the patterns of social behavior of white-collar employees is different from those of other types of workers (cf. Cole 1971). The primary significant difference here was that the white-collar employees had on the whole more formal education that did other workers. Further, aside from their educations, the white-collar workers had had opportunities to make crucial social contacts in school, particularly in college or university, beyond those available to other types of workers. The importance of such social contacts holds in all countries, but in Japan, these "old school ties" are explicitly developed and scrupulously maintained to a degree far beyond those found in the west.[7]

Tertiary industries also require other industries in order to function. Whereas primary and secondary industries require raw materials and markets,

tertiary industries require either developed primary or secondary industries, plus transportation and communication facilities, themselves tertiary industries. During Phase II, Sapporo developed as an intermediary tertiary industrial center between the rapidly developing primary and secondary industries of Hokkaido and the rest of Japan. Wilkinson's classification for 1955 lists twenty cities in Hokkaido, aside from Sapporo (1964:179). Of these cities, seven are designated as primarily agricultural, four are considered mining, and two are primarily secondary industries. The other seven are regional (or sub-regional) transportation, communication, and commercial centers, most feeding directly into Sapporo. The exception to this is Hakodate, positioned on the extreme southern tip of Hokkaido, which has alignment directly with the southern cities of Sendai and Tokyo.

Finally, by their very nature, tertiary industries tend to force their employees to have contacts with people outside their specific concern. For example, a bank employee may have to deal with other people in Hokkaido, in Sapporo, and in the central part of the country, none of which are necessarily directly employed by the bank. Thus, the white-collar workers comprising the bulk of the tertiary industrial work force tended to have very large, if somewhat diffuse, networks unconnected with their place of residence but focused on their place of employment. The Japanese habit of exchanging meeshi, business cards with all socially necessary information, and keeping them for future reference, also augments this pattern of broad networks. This pattern is not as common for secondary and primary industry employees, although it certainly holds for white-collar males employed in secondary industries.

It is clear, then, that the nature of economic development in Sapporo,

the steady and rapid trend toward tertiary industry, had a distinct effect on the patterns of social behavior of the inhabitants. In Hanayama, with its increasing domination of white-collar workers, this effect was especially significant and, in fact, reflected in most aspects of the neighborhood social patterns.

Effects of Economic Growth on Hanayama:

In response to the rapid population growth and tertiary expansion of the city, the major shift that the internal economic structure made was to become totally dependent on the urban institutions beyond the neighborhood. Except for the shopkeepers, about one-third of the employed adults, all of the wage-earners in the neighborhood, worked outside of Hanayama, usually in downtown Sapporo. Most of the economic power in the neighborhood was held by the white-collar males. The blue-collar males, all of whom worked for either the local utility, a small pharmaceutical firm, or a food processing plant, contributed to the neighborhood's economic position but were isolated from the rest of the population.

The most important effect of the growth of tertiary industries in Sapporo on the internal economy of Hanayama was the shift in shopping patterns which begins in this phase. Most of the neighborhood shopping was done within the boundaries of Hanayama except for the regular patronizing of a farmer's market located some twenty meters outside the official neighborhood boundary. However, starting at the conclusion of the occupation period, the growth of department stores in central Sapporo began to divert shoppers from the neighborhood, at least for major purchases. The first department stores were small scale but economically successful and attracted competitors, including some of the great Tokyo concerns; the Mitsukoshi department store for example, opened a Sapporo branch in 1953.

With the development of a massive downtown shopping area, the shopping

focus of the neighborhood shifted in response.  The day-to-day purchases

were still done locally, but major purchases and an increasing amount of

mundane purchases were done at the major department stores.  While the

local shops offered convenience and personal service, the department stores

required a trip downtown.  But at any given store and certainly in the

group of department stores, there was a greater variety of goods than

existed in the local shops.  Each of the department stores had dozens of

departments:  supermarkets, restaurants, clothing, housewares, gifts,

jewelry, furniture, and so forth.  The department stores in Sapporo, like

those in other Japanese cities, also had other important aspects.  For

example, most of the art exhibits were likely to be at one of the depart-

ment stores.  In fact, the stores commonly ran all sorts of displays and

exhibits, sometimes devoting a good portion of an entire floor for this

purpose.  This promotional function also served to draw people away from

neighborhood shops and into the big downtown stores.

The shift in shopping patterns from neighborhood to downtown had the

important effects of weakening the economic base of the shopkeepers and

the socially integrated neighborhood unit.  Although by the end of the

study period in 1975 when there were still most kinds of shops, the trend

was definitely away from daily items, like food, and toward specialty

shops and items like tofu (bean curd, which must be made fresh daily)

shops, and liquor stores.  This shift was slow, beginning about 1955 and

still in progress in 1975, with probably half the shops converted to

specialty shops.

> This shop is safe.  I sell things that the department
> stores don't, but the shops on both sides . . .  When
> I first came here there was a grocer on one side and a

butcher on the other.  Now there is a restaurant and the
tofu shop.  The restaurant is very recent (about 1972)
but the tofu shop came about 1960.  When I first moved
here, most of the shopkeepers had been here for a long
time, but when the department stores and the big super-
markets like the one down the street opened, then many
of the shopkeepers had to change jobs or the types of
shop they owned.  Some couldn't do it and left.

Mr. T, a druggist

The second important effect on this transition is that the large

department stores performed the economic redistribution functions effici-

ently enough, but they did not perform the same type of social functions

within the neighborhood.  In the beginning of Phase II, as in Phase I,

most housewives would go shopping once or even twice a day since the

shops were just down the street and storage facilities, especially refri-

gerators, were limited.

We used to go just down the street, didn't we.  Everyone
would meet at the fish market, then the butcher's or
wherever.  We all went shopping everyday since it was
so easy.  I liked that.  It was easier then.  I still go
here (to the local shops) but now I'm old fashioned.
Then, everyone did, all the housewives in the neighbor-
hood, so you got to see everyone and hear all the news.

A Hanayama housewife who
was repatriated after
the war.

During the transition period in the middle of Phase II, the trend was to-

ward more downtown shopping and less local shopping, which resulted in

loosening social contacts among the social groups within the neighborhood.

The shopkeepers provided a social center for all of the neighborhood and,

as contact with the shopkeepers became more limited, intra-group contact

decreased proportionately.  During this period, information about people,

for example about marriages or deaths, was spread rapidly throughout the

neighborhood. Further, this "grapevine" was explicit; people were aware of it and consciously maintained it.

> Back then, Mrs. Araya or Mr. Yamada (two shopkeepers) would always know who was thinking of getting married, who was engaged, who had done o-miai (the arranged marriage first meeting) but wasn't quite sure. You always knew just where everyone was. You could plan ahead since you knew that so-and-so was thinking of marriage, you could start thinking about your budget (for a wedding gift). It was the same with other things. Mr. Susuki (the druggist) always knew when someone was very sick and you could plan for that (for the funeral gift of money and, possibly, for food and assistance).
>
> > An older Hanayama housewife.

> Well, everyone had time to talk a bit back then. They didn't just rush in and buy a fish like they do now. I could chat a bit with each person and they would chat with each other. It was very friendly. In the conversation, I would learn about things and pass them on, if they were important. (When told about the above comment) Oh! did she say that? It's true, you know. And that sort of thing made the neighborhood easy (yasashii "easy," "amiable," "pleasant," "warm") back then.
>
> > Mrs. A, referred to above.

As the period progressed, this dissemination of information became more limited, the trend being exacerbated by the rising affluence of the Japanese economy and the individuals in the neighborhood. Starting with the transition period and accelerating during the boom period of Phase II, the incidence of the ownership of refrigerators that made once or twice daily shopping unnecessary had increased drastically until, by Phase III, refrigerators were universally owned. The prestige of buying from the department stores, the "label" effect, also had an impact on the local buying patterns. Having something, even just a piece of fruit, that came

from Mitsukoshi—the most prominent of the department stores because of its association with Tokyo—gave the owner a bit more prestige than buying an identical piece of fruit, possibly for a better price, from the fruit stand right around the corner.

The final effect was the expansion of the relatively narrow conduits through which the neighborhood had had contact with the larger urban environment during Phase I. In Phase II, these points of contact greatly expanded to include a number of almost daily contacts even by those adults not employed outside the neighborhood. Therefore, the insulating effects of the narrow points of contact, the minimizing of the social and political impact of the economic links, were no longer as strong. As a result, as the neighborhood became less insulated from the outside city; the sense of autonomy which had been commonly held in the neighborhood began to decrease. This perception of decreasing autonomy was aided by the increase of the rate of migration into the neighborhood. In Phase I, the migration had averaged less than two households per year. The rate more than doubled to more than five households per year in Phase II. Although the pace is still not high, it is clearly a shift from the pattern of the previous phase. On the other hand, although there were more of them, the migrants who came into Hanayama during this phase did not differ much from those who had immigrated in Phase I.[8]

Migration:

Like the migrants in Phase I, the migrants of Phase II were predominantly white-collar, relatively well educated, and most from other urban areas. In the immediate postwar period (1945-50), Hanayama had a net migration of some twenty-four white-collar households but only two shopkeeper households and eleven blue-collar households as shown on Table 12.

Table 12.    Composition of Hanayama in Phase II

|  | 1950 | | | | 1965 (pre-apartments) | | | |
|  | Households | | Adult Population | | Households | | Adult Population | |
|  | # | % | # | % | # | % | # | % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Shopkeepers | 20 | 22.7 | 54 | 24.9 | 25 | 19.4 | 53 | 18.9 |
| Older White-Collar | 18 | 20.5 | 44 | 20.3 | 36 | 27.9 | 77 | 27.4 |
| Younger White-Collar | 32 | 36.4 | 70 | 32.3 | 52 | 40.3 | 114 | 40.6 |
| Blue-Collar | 18 | 20.5 | 49 | 22.6 | 16 | 12.4 | 37 | 13.2 |
| TOTALS | 88 | 100.1 | 217 | 100.1 | 129 | 100.1 | 281 | 100.1 |

By 1965, there was a net gain of fity-eight white-collar households as compared to a total of only sixteen blue-collar and shopkeeper households. As a result the composition of the neighborhood was strongly skewed toward white-collar households. By 1965 fully two-thirds of the households and the adult population of the neighborhood was white-collar (see Table 13).

As in Phase I, most of the migrants were originally from other urban areas as shown on Table 14. Of the eighty-four adults in the forty-one households for which I have reliable data, sixty-two (almost three-quarters) were from urban or semi-urban areas. Referring back to the discussion of White's argument that migrants with urban or semi-urban backgrounds would have less difficulty fitting into the urban milieu, it is significant that these figures are not very different from those White cites from his Tokyo study (1978:96-98).[9]

Table 15. Origins of Migrants in White's Tokyo Study

| Migrated from | Prewar Generation | Interwar Generation | Postwar Generation |
|---|---|---|---|
| Other urban areas | 23% | 25% | 35% |
| Semi-urban areas | 43% | 51% | 37% |
| Urban and semi-urban subtotal | 46% | 76% | 72% |
| Rural areas | 35% | 24% | 28% |
| | 101% | 100% | 100% |
| | N = 133 | N = 453 | N = 419 |

If one accepts White's thesis of ease of absorption being correlated with proportion of urban origins, and I do, then one might predict that the Hanayama migrants of this period could adjust easily to the urban milieu

Table 13.   Hanayama Migration:   Phase II

|  | Shop-keeper | Older White-Collar | Younger White-Collar | Blue-Collar |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **1945-1950:** | | | | |
| IN | | | | |
| Households | 2 | 7 | 17 | 11 |
| Adult Population | 6 | 15 | 39 | 29 |
| OUT | | | | |
| Households | 0 | 1 | 4 | 0 |
| Adult Population | 0 | 3 | 10 | 0 |
| NET | | | | |
| Households | 2 | 6 | 11 | 11 |
| Adult Population | 6 | 12 | 25 | 29 |
| **1950-1965:** | | | | |
| IN | | | | |
| Households | 8 | 21 | 37 | 7 |
| Adult Population | 17 | 43 | 80 | 16 |
| OUT | | | | |
| Households | 3 | 7 | 13 | 9 |
| Adult Population | 18 | 19 | 27 | 28 |
| NET | | | | |
| Households | 5 | 18 | 20 | -2 |
| Adult Population | -1 | 33 | 44 | -12 |
| **1945-1965:** | | | | |
| TOTALS | | | | |
| Households | 7 | 26 | 31 | 9 |
| Adult Population | 5 | 49 | 69 | 17 |

Table 14.  Origins of Phase II Migrants: Proportions

| AREAS: | Males # | Males % | Females # | Females % | Totals # | Totals % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Sapporo | 0 | 0.0 | 2 | 4.7 | 2 | 2.4 |
| Hokkaido: urban | 9 | 22.0 | 14 | 32.6 | 23 | 27.4 |
| Hokkaido: rural | 3 | 7.3 | 7 | 16.3 | 10 | 11.9 |
| Tohoku: urban | 6 | 14.3 | 5 | 11.6 | 11 | 13.1 |
| Tohoku: rural | 1 | 2.4 | 1 | 2.3 | 2 | 2.4 |
| Southern Japan: urban | 11 | 26.8 | 6 | 14.0 | 17 | 20.2 |
| Southern Japan: rural | 3 | 7.3 | 0 | 0.0 | 3 | 3.6 |
| Empire (urban) | 5 | 12.2 | 4 | 9.3 | 9 | 10.7 |
| Northern Isles (rural) | 3 | 7.3 | 4 | 9.3 | 7 | 8.3 |
| TOTALS | 41 | 99.9 | 43 | 100.0 | 84 | 100.0 |

Proportions by Area

| Area | Number | Percentage |
|---|---|---|
| Hokkaido | 35 | 41.7 |
| Tohoku | 13 | 15.5 |
| Southern Japan | 20 | 23.8 |
| Empire/Northern Isles | 16 | 19.0 |
| TOTALS | 84 | 100.0 |

in Sapporo and the neighborhood. As Table 16 shows, all of the social groups in the neighborhood appear to have roughly the same proportions of urban or rural origins. Further, most of the migrants shared a sense of group orientation that promoted easy absorption into the neighborhood social milieu. This sense of group identification, in this case based on residential proximity, combined with the previous urban experience, one reinforcing the other.

Much of the migration into Hanayama during this phase, as mentioned above, was the result of either repatriation from the defunct empire or demobilization from the armed forces as listed by area of origin in Table 16. Almost one-third of the sample had come to Hokkaido at least in part through demobilization or repatriation.

> After the war, I went back to Tokyo but I couldn't find a job. Also, my family's house had been burned and there were six of us living in two small rooms. I heard from a friend who had been in the navy with me that there were jobs in Sapporo, so I came here (in 1948). I stayed with my friend and got a job. He helped me find it. After almost two years I was able to get married and moved here (into Hanayama).
>
> A former navy pilot.

> I came here because of marriage. At the end of the war, the Soviet navy came to Kunashiri and we had to leave. We were lucky; they made some people stay--they say in camps--and others, who left with us didn't have any place to go. I think that they went to a government (refugee) camp in Nemuro. We went to stay with my mother's sister near Asahikawa. Then I came to Sapporo and got married. We've been here since then (1947).
>
> Mrs. K

There are three points about the processes of demobilization and repatriation to be emphasized. The first is that they occurred over several years. One of the shopkeepers who moved into the neighborhood during this phase

Table 16.  Origins of Phase II Migrants: Numbers

| | Shop-keeper | | Older White-Collar | | Younger White Collar | | Blue-Collar | | Land-ladies | | Totals | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | m | f | m | f | m | f | m | f | m | f | m | f | mf |
| Sapporo | - | - | - | 1 | - | 1 | - | - | - | - | - | 2 | 2 |
| Hokkaido: urban | 2 | 2 | 1 | 5 | 4 | 7 | 1 | - | 1 | - | 9/2 | 14 | 23/2 |
| Hokkaido: rural | - | 1 | - | 2 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 1 | - | 1 | 3 | 7 | 10 |
| Tohoku: urban | - | - | 4 | 2 | 2 | 2 | - | 1 | - | - | 6 | 5 | 11 |
| Tohoku: rural | - | - | - | 1 | 1 | - | - | - | - | - | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| S. Japan: urban | - | - | 5 | 3 | 6 | 3 | - | - | - | - | 11/4 | 6/2 | 17/6 |
| S. Japan: rural | - | - | 1 | - | 1 | - | - | - | 1 | - | 3/3 | - | 3/3 |
| Empire: urban | 1 | 1 | 4 | 1 | - | 2 | - | - | - | - | 5/5 | 4/4 | 9/9 |
| Northern Isles (rural) | - | - | 1 | 1 | 2 | 2 | - | - | - | 1 | 3/3 | 4/4 | 7/7 |
| TOTALS | 3 | 4 | 16 | 16 | 18 | 19 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 41/17 | 43/10 | 84/27 |

Repatriated/Demobilized

| | males | females | totals |
|---|---|---|---|
| Number | 17 | 10 | 27 |
| Percentage | 41.5 | 23.3 | 32.1 |

and set up a butcher shop, left the army in 1946, worked for a while in Nemuro (a small town on Hokkaido's east coast), moved to a medium-sized city in the central part of the prefecture, and finally came to Sapporo and Hanayama in 1959. I list him as demobilized because he was originally from a medium-sized city in southern Honshu. His motivation for coming to Hokkaido was supplied by the demobilization process where soldiers and sailors were encouraged to come to the "frontier" in Hokkaido. Therefore, it should be kept in mind that demobilization had effects that continued long after the immediate postwar period. The secondary ripples continued to have strong effects throughout the phase and, one could argue, up to the present. For example, one contemporary effect of the high number of demobilized personnel in Sapporo would be the pervasive anti-Soviet attitude discussed earlier. What was true of demobilization was also true of repatriation, perhaps to an even greater extent, since the primary movements or repatriation were not completed until as late as 1949.[10]

The second point is that the processes of demobilization and repatriation caused a pattern of migrant origins very different from those of either Phase I or Phase III, to emerge in Phase II. Both Phase I and Phase III migrants were primarily from Hokkaido. A plurality of the Phase II migrants were also from Hokkaido, but almost a quarter were from southern Japan, significant numbers were from the Tohoku region of northern Honshu, and several came from the defunct empire and the Soviet-occupied northern islands. As a result, these processes caused the distinctive pattern of migration found in Hanayama during this phase. One is tempted to speculate that the "shock" of migration that Tauber (1958:127) and White (1978:84) discuss would have been greatly reduced by the traumatic experiences immediately preceeding the move. For those who had undergone

the experiences of direct warfare or had been expelled from the country
where they were living because their nation was the losing side of the
war, the impact of adjustment to an undamaged, economically viable city
would have been relatively slight.  Carrying this line of thought out
further, White's argument (1978) would seem applicable with almost three-
quarters of the migrants in my sample coming from urban or semi-urban
areas as shown on Table 17.  This point is discussed further later in

Table 17.   Urban vs. Rural Migration

|  | male | | female | | total | |
|  | no. | percent | no. | percent | no. | percent |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Urban | 31 | 75.6 | 31 | 72.1 | 62 | 73.8 |
| Rural | 10 | 24.4 | 12 | 27.9 | 22 | 26.2 |
| Totals | 41 | 100.0 | 43 | 100.0 | 84 | 100.0 |

discussion of absorption of the migrants into the neighborhood, but here
the important point is that these migrants were more worldly and certainly
better traveled than their predecessors.

This leads to the third point.  As mentioned earlier, the social
characteristics of the demobilized/repatriated migrants differed from
those of other groups of migrants.  Although the sample in Hanayama was
too small to give any sort of statistical measure, the memories of the
residents, both those who were repatriated and those who were not, give
some indications of at least the perceived differences.  The major dif-
ferences perceived were that the repatriates appeared readier to settle
down, get absorbed into the community, and get on with a stable and
quiet life than were other migrants.  The rather grim experiences of the
war appear to have left their mark.  As one demobilized and repatriated
navy pilot phrased it:

> When I got here I just wanted to live a normal and quiet
> life. I still do. My experiences in the navy were prob-
> ably about average but to me, it was awful, particularly
> at the end. For a long time I did not want to do anything
> but work and be with my family—no problems, no trouble.
> Later, after the effects of the war had been reduced by
> time, I got involved in the Neighborhood Association
> and I enjoy it very much but at first . . . in fact for
> the first ten years or so here, I didn't want to do any-
> thing outside of my job and family.

A then younger white-collar female who had been repatriated from Manchuria

expressed similar ideas.

> My husband and I went to Manchuria in 1941. We had our
> oldest child in 1942 and another in 1944. Times were
> very difficult for us from about the time of the birth
> of my second child. Of course, when the Russians came
> it was very bad. My husband spent almost a year in a
> camp and we lived in poverty. Finally, in 1947, we
> were sent back to Japan and stayed for several months
> with my husband's family in Aomori-ken. Then, in late
> 1947, we came to Sapporo and this neighborhood because
> my husband was given a job here. When we first came
> here, times were a little difficult but we were so glad
> to get here, with a job and our own house . . . we thought
> it was wonderful. We wanted very much to get along here
> in the neighborhood so we were careful to try to get to
> know everyone.

The other side was how the repatriated migrants were perceived by the

people already in the neighborhood. As a then younger white-collar male

who had moved into Hanayama in 1939 (on being discharged from the army on

medical grounds) put it:

> At the end of the war everything was difficult but as
> people moved into the neighborhood, you could tell who
> was from other parts of Hokkaido and who came from
> overseas. Those (who had been repatriated) were very
> polite to everyone and uncomplaining. . . . I suppose
> after what they had been through, the problems we had
> here in Sapporo were pretty easy.

Like the migrants of Phase I, most of the newcomers in Phase II moved

into Hanayama because they knew someone in the neighborhood. Sometimes
these relationships had been long standing; for example, three men who
had served together in the Kwantung Army in Manchuria ended up in Hanayama
because one of them had moved into the neighborhood—the wife knew some-
one already established there—and the other two followed with their fami-
lies over the next three years. The crucial part of these contacts was
social, not economic, although knowing someone to buy or lease from was
important. By knowing a person or family in the area, the migrant felt
that s/he had a means of entry and would be able to fit into the neighbor-
hood. Without this means of entry, it was perceived to be extremely diffi-
cult or even impossible to be properly accepted.

> We moved here because my husband worked with Mr. Y, who
> lives just down the street there. We looked for awhile;
> housing was scarce then, but we didn't want to live in
> a neighborhood with just strangers.
>
> Mrs. C, moved into
> Hanayama in 1954

The educational backgrounds of the postwar migrant sample were, like
those of Phase I, high (shown on Table 18). Not surprisingly, the white-
collar migrants were better educated than the blue-collar or shopkeeper
migrants, the men tending to be better educated than the women. On the
whole, this is what one might expect for an urban center with rapidly ex-
panding tertiary industries. There are, as also might be expected, a few
anomalies in this table. For example, the older white-collar male listed
under speciality/trade had several years of specialized training as an
accountant while he was serving in the navy. Because his current employ-
ment as a government accountant of some prestige is based on this training,
I believe that it should be incorporated into the chart, even though his

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Table 18.  Education and Occupations of Phase II Migrants

| EDUCATIONAL LEVEL | Shopkeeper | | Older WhiteCollar | | Younger WhiteCollar | | BlueCollar | | Landladies | | WhiteCollar Male Totals |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | m | f | m | f | m | f | m | f | m | f | |
| **PREWAR** | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Lower Primary (3 years) | – | 1 | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – |
| Higher Primary (3 years) | 1 | 2 | 1 | 5 | 1 | 1 | – | – | 1 | 1 | 2 |
| Middle (5 years) | 2 | 1 | 7 | 8 | 5 | 7 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 12 |
| Special/Trade (3-5 years) | – | – | 1 | – | – | – | 1 | – | – | – | 1 |
| Higher (3 years) | – | – | 5 | 1 | 4 | 2 | – | – | – | – | 9 |
| Higher for Women (3 years) | – | – | – | 2 | – | 4 | – | – | – | – | – |
| University (3 years) | – | – | 2 | – | 1 | – | – | – | – | – | 3 |
| **POSTWAR** | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Middle (3 years) | – | – | – | – | 2 | 2 | – | – | – | – | 2 |
| Higher (3 years) | – | – | – | – | 3 | – | – | – | – | – | 3 |
| Junior College (2 years) | – | – | – | – | – | 2 | – | – | – | – | – |
| College (4 years) | – | – | – | – | – | 1 | – | – | – | – | – |
| University (4 years) | – | – | – | – | 2 | – | – | – | – | – | 2 |
| TOTALS | 3 | 4 | 16 | 16 | 18 | 19 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 34 |

Table 18   (con't).

| EDUCATIONAL LEVEL | Teacher (Primary) | Government | Other Public | Large[1] Private Firm | Small Private Firm | U.S. State Dept. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **PREWAR** | | | | | | |
| Higher Primary (3 years) | - | - | - | 1* | 1 | - |
| Middle (5 years) | - | 3*** | 4** | 2 | 3** | - |
| Special/Trade (3-5 years) | - | 1* | - | - | - | - |
| Higher (3 years) | 2** | 3* | 2* | 1* | 1 | - |
| University (3 years) | - | 1* | - | - | 1 | 1* |
| **POSTWAR** | | | | | | |
| Middle (3 years) | - | - | - | - | 2 | - |
| Higher (3 years) | - | 1 | - | 1 | - | - |
| University (4 years) | - | - | 1 | 1 | = | = |
| TOTALS | 2 | 9 | 7 | 6 | 9 | 1 |

\* Older white-collar males, all others in this sample are younger white-collar males.

[1] Large firms employ more than 100 people.  Small firms employ fewer than 100 people.

is not formal training in the usual sense. Another anomaly is that there
are three graduates of prewar universities and two postwar university
graduates in a sample of only thirty-four persons. This is more than
double the national average, even though two of the graduates are from
private universities lacking high prestige. As in the foregoing chapter,
there is some significance in where the university graduates were employed.
Two worked for private firms, two for public offices, and one was employed
by the U.S. State Department. In fact, the whole pattern of public versus
private employment (eighteen graduates publicly employed, fiften private,
and one for a foreign country) suggests that there was considerable pres-
tige attached to public employment. This perception was shared by my in-
formants who agreed that employment in small firms had less prestige than
employment in either large firms or the public sector. Employment in large
firms or in the public sector also commanded more economic weight--job
stability and fringe benefits such as pensions and insurance--than did
positions with smaller private firms. Unfortunately, my informants tended
to line up by their own employment as to whether larger firms were more
or less prestigious than public employment. There is also a certain fuzzy
middle ground. It is very difficult, for example, to think of an insti-
tution imbedded in the economy of the nation such as the Bank of Tokyo as
a private firm. In this case, the Bank of Tokyo is a private firm acting,
in many respects, as a national bank.

A more worthwhile distinction can be made, however, between secondary
industrial and tertiary industrial employment. Of the thirty-four white-
collar males in the sample, fully twenty-eight of them were engaged in
tertiary industries: retail stores, transportation concerns including
Japan National Railways (one of the employers of several of the blue-collar

males in the neighborhood), financial institutions such as the aforementioned Bank of Tokyo, and government and public agencies. The secondary industries represented by white-collar employees in the neighborhood included a steel-producing plant, the headquarters of which—but not the physical plant—was in Sapporo, a small pharmaceutical firm (not the same represented during the last phase), two coal mining operations, and a paper mill. The shopkeepers in the neighborhood are, of course, all tertiary. The blue-collar employees appear to have been mixed. While the precise number of employees is difficult to ascertain, there were only three employers of blue-collar workers in the neighborhood: Japan National Railways, the local public electric utility, and a pharmaceutical company (mentioned in the previous chapter). All of these concerns operated company housing in the neighborhood. Roughly two-thirds of the blue-collar employees, then, were engaged in tertiary industry, while about one-third was employed in secondary industry.[12]

The pattern of Phase II migration into Hanayama, then, is of migrants who are overwhelmingly urban in their backgrounds, well-educated, and heavily oriented toward tertiary industries for employment. This pattern is similar to that of Phase I with only the higher rate of migration and the more diffuse and varied background of the migrants distinguishing it from the migration pattern of Phase I. Further, as in Phase I, as these migrants entered the neighborhood, even in the very hectic immediate postwar period, they were readily absorbed into the social milieu of the neighborhood.

The absorption of the migrants into the social milieu of Hanayama during this phase was similar to that described for Phase I. As in the previous phase, there were the individual mechanisms for absorption such

as the O-hirome and group-level functions activated by the social organizations, the Neighborhood Association and the tonari gumi. The two major differences between the migrant groups entering the neighborhood during Phase II and those who had come into Hanayama during Phase I—the rate of entry and the variation of background—had relatively little impact on the absorption functions of the neighborhood. The varied background of the migrants refers primarily to their area of origin, not the socio-economic status of the migrants. As in Phase I, all of the migrants were of social categories already represented in the neighborhood. In other words, in important respects, the migrants were much like those already living in the neighborhood. The concentration of housing, a phenomena which developed during this phase, reinforced the effect of this homogeneity.

## Neighborhood Growth Patterns:

During Phase I, the houses on the edges of the neighborhood had been inhabited exclusively by shopkeepers with the interior neighborhood being composed of a mixture of older white-collar, younger white-collar, blue-collar, and farmer households. During Phase II, the physical mixture in the middle of the neighborhood sorted itself out into relatively distinct territories. The shopkeepers, the only distinct group in Phase I, remained concentrated exclusively along the boundaries of the neighborhood. In the middle, the crucial shift that occurred quite soon after the war was to company-owned housing for the blue-collar families. As mentioned prevously, three companies employed Hanayama blue-collar males and provided housing in the neighborhood. By the middle of the Phase, nearly all of the blue-collar housing in Hanayama was company owned.

The phenomena of company-owned housing is not unique to Japan. It is,

however, highly developed here likely because of the high density of
Japanese urban areas and the traditional shortage of housing, greatly
exacerbated by World War II. Simply put, in this arrangement the company
owns houses and makes them available to their employees at a nominal rent.
This system has a number of advantages for both sides. From the employees'
side, inexpensive and readily available housing in a country where housing
is extremely expensive and difficult to obtain is the primary advantage.
There are other benefits; the concentration of housing near co-workers is
seen by the Japanese as a definite good, and it is an indirect form of in-
come which can, to some degree, be shielded from taxes. From the employer's
point of view, cheap, available housing makes for happy employees and for
an increased degree of company control over the lives of employees and,
thereby, some insurance against workers leaving the company for other jobs.
The insurance part works as follows: if an employee leaves Company A for
Company B, the seniority which he had acquired in Company A is lost. Since
either the eligibility for company housing, or the quality of housing,
depends on seniority, the transferring employee will be either ineligible
for housing or only eligible for poorer housing. Thus, the movement of
the employee from Company A to Company B, unless accompanied by an enormous
raise in straight salary, will inevitably be accompanied by a decrease in
the standard of living of the employee and his/her family.

In Hanayama the major effect of the company housing for the blue-
collar households was to concentrate those households into three places
in the neighborhood and nowhere else. Thus, blue-collar households were
grouped into three clusters; the shopkeepers lived along the boundary
streets; and the white-collar households, both younger and older, were
clustered in the rest of the area.

The physical isolation of the company-owned housing emphasized the distinctive nature of the blue-collar situation but, more importantly, the blue-collar group tended to identify more strongly with their respective companies than did other groups. In effect, there were three groups of employees—the drug company employees, the electric company employees, and the food-processing employees—rather than one larger group, except in analytical or categorical terms. Any given blue-collar individual was far more likely to know and interact with a nearby white-collar individual than he or she was to know or interact, at least to any significant extent, with a blue-collar individual from one of the other companies. In the two cases where there were blue- and white-collar males employed by the same company, the company bond was more important than physical proximity. However, the clustering of company-owned housing, each cluster being distinct and usually not continuous with another company's, probably exacerbated the trend toward social isolation.

Thus, as a migrant family moved into the neighborhood, it was almost assured of being surrounded by families of the same social group as itself, possibly even by people employed by the same company, an association which Nakane (1970), Cole (1971) and Vogel (1967) all see as being more important, particularly for males, than common residence. The Japanese emphasis on group orientation and identification seems to apply in both instances but the employed males spent relatively little time in their area of residence and a great deal of their time with colleagues from work. The association through the common employment link was not limited to blue-collar households. In the early 1950s, for example, a food company built a cluster of four single-family detached houses in a rather isolated corner of the neighborhood expressly for rising young company executives, younger

white-collar households.  There was also a cluster of three houses owned

by a local bank inhabited by older white-collar households.

This clustering of like households continued throughout the phase

into Phase III.  From an analytical perspective, this clustering greatly

aided the absorption of the migrants into the neighborhood.

> Moving here was much easier than where we had been before.
> We moved into this house, right between the Saguchi family
> and the Takata family.  Since my husband worked with them
> (the husbands), we got to know each other right away.
> They helped us meet people on this street.  Later, when
> the Takatas left (he was transferred) and the Yamadas
> moved in, we did the same thing for them. . . .  Why did
> we do that?  Well, you have to know your neighbors . . .
> and back then, everybody just did it . . . we all wanted
> to know each other and so we put time in (on the relation-
> ships).

The increase in the rate of migration, particularly the small flood

of repatriated and demobilized people who moved into Hanayama immediately

after the end of the war, placed stress on the mechanisms of the neighbor-

hood to absorb them, but not to the extent that the overall effects, the

degree of absorption, was seriously affected.  The main reason for this

lack of great effect was that, after the initial flood had subsided, the

rate of migration was not high.  It doubled over the slow rate of the pre-

vious phase but appears to have been no more than four to six new house-

holds per year, a rate that could be easily handled.  Further, the concen-

tration of similar households into clusters appears to have been more than

sufficient as a counter to the increased rate.  The crucial aspect, however,

is motivation.  During this phase, particularly in the high-stress period

of the immediate postwar  era but, to a lesser extent throughout the phase,

the value for intense and dense social networks was maintained at a high

level.  That is, for the majority of people in the neighborhood, if not

for all of them, the maintenance of extensive social relationships with
other residents of the Hanayama neighborhood was a high priority task.

> It was easier then because everyone seemed to do it
> (maintain social relationships). But it did take time.
> You had to think about what you were doing, how so-and-
> so felt about something. The holidays were the most
> difficult because the old fashioned ways required gifts
> and visits and such. . . . No, I liked it. (Back then)
> the neighborhood had a very strong spirit. . . . The
> spirit required work. We were not afraid of work back
> then; we spent the time and effort that we had to
> spend. . . . Why? Because we liked the spirit and
> wanted to keep it. If you want something you have to
> work for it; it won't just happen. . . . Yes, we wanted
> that strong spirit and for that everyone had to get along.

As expressed in the above quote, the "strong spirit" of the neighborhood,
the comination of a sense of identity as a resident of Hanayama and the
strength of the web of social relationships built up in the neighborhood,
was explicitly felt to be something worth the investment of time, emotion,
and money. The value on the maintenance of different types of social re-
lationships, both singly and collectively, is not unique to Japanese soci-
ety. This value is, however, an integral part of Japanese social organi-
zation. The various types of social relationships--political, kin, eco-
nomic, friendship, or neighbors--make up the overall web of social rela-
tionships.

Social Relationships:

The existing relationships in the neighborhood during this phase
closely resemble those found in the previous phase. The strong value on
maintaining "broad faces," the mechanisms for absorbing newcomers into the
neighborhood, and the increasing prosperity of the residents of Hanayama
coalesced to make tight social web within the neighborhood.

Although the patterns of social relationships for the entire half

century will be discussed in some detail in the last chapter, there are
several points specifically concerning this phase that should be stressed
here. The first, and most important, is that throughout this phase,
everyone in the neighborhood appears to have maintained at least a minimal
relationship with everyone else. This extremely high density (in Mitchell's
terms) or closure (in Bott's) remained, in spite of the turbulent post-war
conditions and in spite of the greatly expanded total population of the
neighborhood. The significance of the maintenance of these universal face-
to-face relationships was that the neighborhood continued to function
throughout this phase as a social entity. There was a sense of identifi-
cation with the place of residence distinguishing it from other, non-resi-
dential, places. The people in Hanayama identified themselves and were
identified by other peoples as members of a social group distinct from
other groups. It will be argued in the next chapter that this high degree
of face-to-face contact in the neighborhood was an essential element in
maintaining the neighborhood as a social entity in any meaningful sense
by providing a grouping to which individuals could orient themselves.

The second point, the degree and value of contacts of people inside
the neighborhood to outsiders for the overall advantage of the entire
neighborhood, relates to the first point, since without a high degree of
density of intra-neighborhood relationships these outside contacts would
be much less valuable in their overall effect.

> When I wanted to find a job (for a nephew) I just asked
> around the street and my wife did the same. After a
> while, Mr. Yaguchi came and let me know that there was
> a job with his firm and that he would introduce my nephew.
>
> Mr. Y talking about an
> event that occurred in
> 1956.

> When my son broke his arm, I didn't know any doctors,
> but the neighbors did. In fact, he went with us to
> the doctor's office, introduced us and made sure every-
> thing was all right. Someone here knew someone else
> for almost everything we needed.
>
>> Mrs. D discussing an
>> event that occurred right
>> after they moved into
>> Hanayama in 1959.

The heterogeneity of the backgrounds of the people who migrated into the neighborhood during this phase greatly increased the number and types of informal social contacts outside the neighborhood. There were two effects of this increased range of extra-neighborhood contacts. First, those persons who had such contacts and utilized them for various purposes for people within the neighborhood increased their own prestige and local influence tremendously. The owning of a "broad face," numerous contacts through which various tasks could be done, was and still is probably the most effective means of social mobilization in Japanese society. These contacts could be either friends, individuals with whom some form of affection is maintained in the relationship, or acquaintances, individuals with whom no affection enters into the relationship. The distinction appears to be very similar to that expressed by the difference between the English words "friend" and "acquaintance". The second was that these contacts to outside individuals gave the neighborhood an informal unofficial means of affecting public policy, particularly at the level of the city bureaucracy. These channels worked so well, in fact, that they were usually chosen over the more formal routes of contact. There was also a tendency in the formal Neighborhood Association to elect officers who had the necessary "broad face" to either working or honorary positions, thus combining the formal and informal channels in one and the same person. Aside from the relatively

few extremely influential individuals there were others--particularly
older white-collar males--who had specific contacts utilized in much the
same manner. Usually these contacts had direct or indirect connections
with the individual's place of employment which might, for example, be
within the city office where business needed to be done. An example of
this more limited contact system occurred in the early 1960s. One teen-
age boy from the neighborhood got into some minor difficulty with the
police. The boy's mother immediately asked the wife of a neighbor, a
juvenile parole officer, to look into the case. Through the parole officer,
approached through his wife, the problem was settled with minimal official
proceedings, which was what the boy's mother wanted, but with maximum
effectiveness since now the boy's whole family had an obligation to their
neighbor to maintain the miscreant's good behavior.

> Well, we still owe a debt to Mr. Y and his wife. They
> were very understanding and helped when my son got into
> trouble. I don't know how we will pay it off.
>
> Boy's mother.

As sort of an addendum, the boy's mother gave the parole officer a present
of moderate value for his efforts, but the debt was still considered real
and important in 1975.

It is important to note here that almost all of the older white-collar
group had "broad faces," in comparison with the average resident, which
was primarily a function of age as well as social status. The older white-
collar contacts tended to be frequently in the civil service or other
managerial echelons where various people might be more likely to need
contact. However, while the white-collar contacts might be more important,
the shopkeeper and blue-collar contacts were probably used more on a day-

to-day basis, since almost everything from buying abalone to getting _zori_

(shoes worn with formal kimono) repaired was done through personal con-

tacts.  The basic idea is expressed as follows:

> It is better to know the person you are dealing with.
> If you don't know someone personally, then you ask
> friends.  Almost always someone you know will know
> the person you want to meet.  Then the friend either
> calls up the person or gives you his business card with
> an introduction on it.  Either way, you are then intro-
> duced to the person you want to meet and get to know
> him that way.
>
> Older White-Collar
> Housewife

Political contacts functioned in much the same way.  During Phase II

the Neighborhood Association, on many occasions, had to approach higher

organs of urban government.  According to a former head of the Association:

> Usually, if we had to do something with the district
> office or one of the other city offices, I would call
> up someone I knew in that particular office. . . .
> If I didn't know someone, someone else in the Associa-
> tion would and they would call. . . .  When I called I
> would just say hello and mention whatever business the
> Association was going to have with that office.  If it
> was a difficult matter, my contact (_sesshoku_) would
> introduce me to someone else closer to the problem.
> After I knew just what I needed to know, then we would
> send in the letter or form or whatever was officially
> called for.  We always did that back then.  Even now,
> usually Mr. Shinya (the current Association head) will
> telephone as well as send in the official forms.  That
> kind of contact makes things go smoother and easier.

Even when the dealings were initiated through official channels, a practice

more common as time passed, there were almost always unofficial contacts

made with various key people along the way to ensure the successful con-

clusion of the endeavor.  The advantage of the unofficial contact was that

it allowed either party in the transaction to adjust or even refuse a

suggestion without any official status riding on the actions. Only after everything had been unofficially--and very carefully--arranged would the official application be made.

Related to this question of informal contacts is the larger question of the depth or intensity of the relationships maintained with people outside the neighborhood. The social connections between individuals in the neighborhood and other people in the city grew more expansive but more diffuse during this period. With the rapid population growth of the city and the increase in the number of social and economic institutions with which the people in the neighborhood had direct contact, the range, in Mitchell's terms, of the social networks of the individuals increased. At the same time, because of the development of rapid industrialization in the city and the demands this made on individuals, the depth of contact often appears to have decreased. For example, although frequent contact with close relatives was still the rule rather than the exception, the frequency of contact decreased and the type changed. The close relatives were less likely to live in the same area or even nearby. This was particularly true, of course, for those in the neighborhood who were repatriated during the war. In fact, in computing the average frequency for contact of relatives for the neighborhood in 1940 and 1950, one finds a sharp drop in the average with kin-group members for all social categories in the neighborhood precisely because of the repatriates. This pattern also held, however, between 1950 and 1965 when the frequency of kin-group contact continued to drop. There are two major reasons for this decrease in frequency of kin-group contact. The first is the distance of migration and the proportion of the population in the neighborhood who migrated. Looking again at Table 14, it is clear that many of the Hanayama residents

migrated a considerable distance from their natal homes, aside from those who were repatriated from the dissolved empire or from the Northern Islands.

The second reason for the decrease in frequency of kin-group contacts is closely connected to the first. It was during this period that the major Japanese companies started transferring employees, particularly young white-collar males, with significant frequency. Among other things, this meant that one was somewhat less likely to live near one's family or larger kin group, old school friends, or even near older fellow employees and with whom one had long-term relationships. This trend is particularly important if Nakane (1970) is correct in her analysis of the extremely heirarchical nature of Japanese business relationships. For most men during this phase, the contacts outside the neighborhood were primarily, if not exclusively, with occupation-related people, usually people employed by the same company (cf. Plath 1964; Vogel 1967). As the tertiary industries expanded, the networks of their employees also expanded. In contrast to the males, for adult women the major extra-neighborhood social contacts were kin, old school friends, and friends from their post-school premarriage employment. The family contacts were inevitably maintained, even at a distance, but the school ties tended to weaken if prolonged geographic separation occurred (cf. Nakane 1970).

Inside Hanayama, the web of social relationships reflected the alterations in the environment caused by economic expansion and population growth. While everyone still knew everyone else, the nature of the relationships had shifted somewhat. Because of the great increase in population in the neighborhood by 1965, the frequency of contact had diminished throughout Hanayama. Specific groups, such as the shopkeepers, had greatly diminished frequency with the neighborhood housewives as the shopping

pattern adapted to changes in the retail structure of the city and increased household propserity. The heightened physical isolation of various social groups, such as the blue-collar households in the company-owned housing clusters, tended to diminish frequency of contact. Further, the nature of the shopkeeper relationships, a peculiar combination of economic and social information brokerage with various other facts, developed through long-term relationships, were diminished and narrowed in scope and the frequency of social contact decreased; thus, the durability of relationships was, on the whole, slightly reduced.

Other groups in the neighborhood were also affected by the increased population and changes in transportation routes, primarily by a decreased frequency of contact. Where in the previous phase, Mrs. A could see most of her neighbors on a daily basis, by 1965 this was not possible.

Oh no! By that time most of the men took the busses
and there were so many . . . that they went all directions.
I could still see the little children and their mothers
(going to the primary school) but not older ones (middle
schoolers) because they built that new school over there
(on the other side of the neighborhood). I'm old fash-
ioned so even then I went shopping almost every day,
even though we had a refrigerator and a freezer. That
was still fairly common and I could see many people but,
you know, a lot of them I just knew their names and just
a little bit about them. Of course, the shopkeepers still
knew everyone.

Mrs. A about the
neighborhood in
early 1965.

The slight active decrease in durability of relationships caused by the increased transcience and decreased average tenure of residence in the neighborhood (as shown in Table 7) is another aspect of this shift toward slightly weaker relationships.

As a result, there was a slight drop in average intensity of

Table 7. Tenure in Hanayama
(average years in neighborhood)

|  | 1940 | 1950 | 1965 | 1975 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Older White Collar | 22 | 22 | 21 | 24 |
| Shopkeepers | 23 | 23 | 20 | 18 |
| Younger White Collar | 6 | 3 | 8 | 5 |
| Blue Collar | 12 | 8 | 7 | 9 |
| Farmer | 30 | -- | -- | -- |
| Entertainers | -- | -- | 0 | 1 |
| Landladies | -- | -- | 0 | 5 |

relationships throughout the neighborhood. The important point, however, is that the drop in intensity was not the result of a change in values of the population so much as an adaptation to the physical conditions—the increase in population and the clustering of housing—and the shift in frequency of interaction caused by the economic changes in the city. The most important characteristic of this change in intensity of social relationships was that it took a slight drop. It became less likely, for example, for a younger white-collar male to feel that he knew an older white-collar male well enough to request an introduction or make some other request. Conversely, it became slightly less likely that the older white-collar male would be sufficiently cognizant of the needs of the younger white-collar male to act with being requested to do so.

Another major characteristic of this shift is that it was gradual. There was no point where the intensity of relationships can be said to have dropped suddenly due to one cause or another. The decrease, occurring over decades, was slow and slight enough that most of my informants perceived the neighborhood as being basically the same—in terms of the

webs of social relationships—in 1950 and 1965. It was only in response
to questions about details of social relationships from this period that
this slight decrease in intensity was elicited.

The third point about the decrease in the intensity of relationships
is that it was probably causally linked to the decrease in the information-
broker function of the Hanayama shopkeepers. It is my impression that to
the extent the shopkeepers maintained the high information flow common in
Phase I and the early periods of Phase II, the intensity of the social re-
lationships remained, on the average, at the very high levels that existed
in Phase I. When the information flow through the shopkeepers decreased,
in response to the decreased frequency of shopkeeper interactions, the
intensity of the social relationships decreased proportionately; this
occurred because the relationships were deprived of a steady flow of the
high quality information necessary for maintaining high intensity rela-
tionships.[13]

A final characteristic of the decrease in intensity, frequency, and
durability of social relationships in the neighborhood was the physical
barrier to communications, in general caused by the house clustering of
social groups. The blue-collar housing clusters are particularly notable
in this respect. With the decrease in the effectiveness of the local shop-
keepers as information brokers, this physical isolation became an analyti-
cally important feature.

Summary:

The web of social relationships in existence during Phase II was very
like that existing in Phase I. There were some slight alterations of the
patterns traceable to changes in the environment of the neighborhood,
notably to population increase, physical clustering by socioeconomic group,

and shifts in the economic structure of the city.

Although the web of social relationships remained similar to those of the previous phase, there were several differences between the impact of migration on social behavior in Phase II and those in Phase I. While in Phase I, the impact had been minimal aside from activation of the absorptive mechanisms; in Phase II there are some very different trends. Two of the three basic variables had altered: the rate of migration and the size of neighborhood had changed. Only the characteristics of migrants remained basically the same. As in Phase I, the migrants into the neighborhood were white-collar employees, blue-collar employees, and self-employed shopkeepers. The immigrants were primarily from urban areas and many have undergone repatriation or demobilization, all of which minimizes the shock of urban resettlement. All of the migrants share the value of extensive social networks.

Unlike Phase I, the rate of migration more than doubles overall with strong spurts at the beginning and end of the phase. Perhaps more important, the size of the neighborhood doubles until, in early 1965, the adult population is almost three hundred and fifty people. The shift in the rate of immigration does not appear to have been significant, perhaps being not large enough, but the change in the size of the neighborhood is important. Although the pattern of face-to-face relationships is maintained, it was stretched to the point where additional expansion would have required some form of adaptation. Further, the changes in the city of Sapporo impinged on the impact of migration on the neighborhood, a distinct difference from Phase I when changes in the city did not greatly affect social interaction in the neighborhood.

The changes in the city, primarily population growth and a restruc-

turing of the retail structure affected the neighborhood in a number of ways. The restructuring of the retail system and the concommitant shift in neighborhood buying habits undermined both the economic position of the Hanayama shopkeepers and diminished their value as information brokers in the neighborhood. At the same time, the increase in total urban population and the expansion of transportation lines allowed freer communication outside the neighborhood (see Table 19). Finally, the increased practice of transferring employees and the expansion of company-owned housing decreased the tenure of residents in the neighborhood and created social barriers that split the neighborhood into sections. Thus, the impact of the migrants, coupled with the changes in the neighborhood caused by the changes in the city, was far greater than it had been in Phase I.

While the impact of migration on Hanayama during Phase II was to slightly loosen the cohesiveness of the formerly tight social relationships, the mechanisms for the absorption and incorporation of the migrants into the social milieu, a pattern of continuity, remained successful. The changes in the larger urban structures, however, were such that they slightly weakened the neighborhood's social relationships by initiating a dissolution of the physical and social aspects of its previous cohesiveness.

Table 19.   Location of Employment: Males and Females

| | Inside Hanayama | Outside Hanayama | Unemployed | Totals |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **1925** | | | | |
| Number | 49 | 26 | 46 | 121 |
| Percentage | 40.1 | 21.5 | 38.0 | 99.6 |
| **1940** | | | | |
| Number | 53 | 40 | 61 | 154 |
| Percentage | 34.4 | 25.9 | 39.6 | 99.9 |
| **1950** | | | | |
| Number | 54 | 80 | 83 | 217 |
| Percentage | 24.9 | 36.9 | 38.2 | 100.0 |
| **1965** | | | | |
| Number | 57 | 167 | 122 | 346 |
| Percentage | 16.5 | 48.3 | 35.3 | 100.1 |
| **1975** | | | | |
| Number | 98 | 384 | 222 | 704 |
| Percentage | 13.9 | 54.5 | 31.5 | 99.9 |

CHAPTER IV

Footnotes

[1] The U.S.S.R. had declared war on Japan in August of 1945 and swept across Manchuria, southern Sakhalin, and the smaller islands of Etorofu, Kunashiri, Shikotan, and the Habomai group.

[2] As I am easily recognizable as an American, or at least as non-Japanese, my impressions on this subject may be skewed. This sort of impressionistic material, while useful in understanding a cultural milieu, is difficult at best primarily because it is "soft" and subject to various kinds of distortions.

[3] The tonari gumi each represent a rinpo han (隣 邦 班 ), a geographical division of the neighborhood. A leader of a tonari gumi is a han-cho (班 長 ), a block leader.

[4] The SCAP records for Hokkaido, and therefore Sapporo, are in the United States National Archives in uncatalogued boxes, exactly as they were shipped from Japan almost thirty years ago. The contents of the crates are in random order as if file cabinets and desks had simply been dumped without regard for future examination. Under these conditions, the few days I was able to spend literally digging through this material was insufficient to be definitive about policies or even the chronology of events in Hokkaido.

[5] A parallel can be drawn to the pattern of the migration of Chinese into Southeast Asia. Another parallel is the movement of rural Tiawanese into Taibei; see Gallin and Gallin 1974, among others.

[6] Wilkinson does not have a 1940 classification of Japanese cities because of the turmoil of the war period.

[7] As an example, one of the older white-collar males in Hanayama was able, while looking at his graduation picture taken before the war at a major university, to not only identify everyone in the picture but also to state where they were living, what their jobs were, what kinds of families they had, and other detailed information about each of them. He had exchanged New Year's cards with each of them since graduation.

[8] Although a group of entertainers did immigrate into Hanayama in 1965, they did so in the last three months of the year, while the landladies had moved in several months previously. Thus, Phase II is analytically considered to have ended when the entertainers moved in. The entertainer migrants are not considered, while the first two landlady households are.

[9] White's semi-rural category, which I have listed here as "semi-urban", were towns which he says averaged 12,000 people. This is what I have been calling "semi-urban". My switching his "semi-rural" to "semi-urban" is just a means of conforming to my usage. White's article (1978:96) suggests that "semi-urban" would be a reasonable label. Another interesting feature of White's study is his finding that a plurality of migrants came from the same region; in the case of Tokyo, from the Kanto region. This parallels the situation in Sapporo where most of the migrants came from other parts of Hokkaido.

[10] The Chinese Revolution seems to have complicated the repatriation of Japanese nationals from China and Manchuria. Soviet repatriation from the northern islands was nearly completed in 1947, but there has been a steady trickling of repatriates even up to the present.

[11] The missing data is the precise number of households and employees hired by the railway and the pharaceutical company. The electric company employed both of the males from whom I have reasonable data in the Phase II migrant sample.

[12] Again, Roberts (1973:5-16) argues that it is the availability of sources of high quality information about individuals and the groups and categories to which they belong that allows the development of what Mitchell (1969) calls high-intensity relationships.

CHAPTER V

Phase III:  1965-1975

> The neighborhood isn't very strong but it still is (a
> neighborhood).  It is about in the middle.  The ways
> of the neighborhood are not as strong as I would like.
> The old ways were better.  When someone came into the
> neighborhood, he learned the customs.  New people don't
> know or help each other.  The relationships are poor.
> Being by yourself isn't very good.  There isn't a very
> good feeling in the neighborhood.

The third phase of this study, 1965-75, marks the culmination of many
of the processes that had been occurring throughout the half century under
consideration.  During Phase III, the rate of population increase for
Sapporo dropped off, but in absolute numbers more people were  moving into
Sapporo than ever before.  In the decade immediately following the war,
the population of Sapporo increased by 93%.  From 1956-65, the population
increased by 86%.  During the third phase of the study, it only increased
by 56% but that percentage of increase represents just a little less than
half a million people, an average of about 45,000 net increase per year.
Given a significant rate of  emigration from Sapporo, primarily to Tokyo
and the other large cities of the south, and a fairly low birth rate, this
figure represents a massive, steady migration into the city (as shown in
Figure 14).

The migration into Sapporo during Phase III, as in the latter part
of Phase II, was almost exclusively from the hinterland of Hokkaido.  The
exceptions to this were the few migrants from the smaller towns and cities
of the Tohoku region of Honshu and some migrants from the larger urban
regions of central Honshu.  This latter group was inevitably white-collar,
often professional, who moved into Sapporo either as part of a transfer

with a major corporation--most of which maintain branches in Sapporo--or
directly from the university into a Sapporo-based firm. There was also
a fairly large number of temporary migrants; these were the businessmen
transferred to Sapporo for limited periods of time, usually one or two
years, and then returned to the south. Since this group tends to balance
itself out (that is, the immigrants equal the emigrants), they do not af-
fect the net increase in population of the city, although they do have a
significant social impact, primarily with respect to the growth and main-
tenance of Susukino, the entertainment district.

Thus, there was a situation at the beginning of Phase III of steady
large-scale migration into the city of Sapporo, primarily from the outlying
regions of Hokkaido. Another major feature to consider is that Sapporo in
1965 was no longer the small, backwater provincial capital it had been in
1945. It was still not of the order of the two major cities of Japan, Tokyo
and Osaka, nor even of the very large cities of the southern "core" area:
Kawasaki, Yokohama, Nagoya, Kyoto, Kobe, and Kitakyushu. But Sapporo had
one of the highest growth rates in the country for the period following
the war and had risen, in terms of total population, to the ninth position
in the population rankings of Japanese cities. Further, Sapporo was the
only city north of Tokyo with a population nearing one million. Its iso-
lation from the great southern cities--1,000 kilometers north of Tokyo--
increased its overall economic, political, and social importance. Sapporo's
growth rate was such that by the end of the study period, the end of 1975,
it had become the seventh largest city in Japan (see Figure 24). At the
beginning of Phase III, Sapporo had become a major Japanese city and was
clearly on its way to becoming one of the biggest. While the people of
Hokkaido had always more or less viewed Sapporo as the big city (in recent
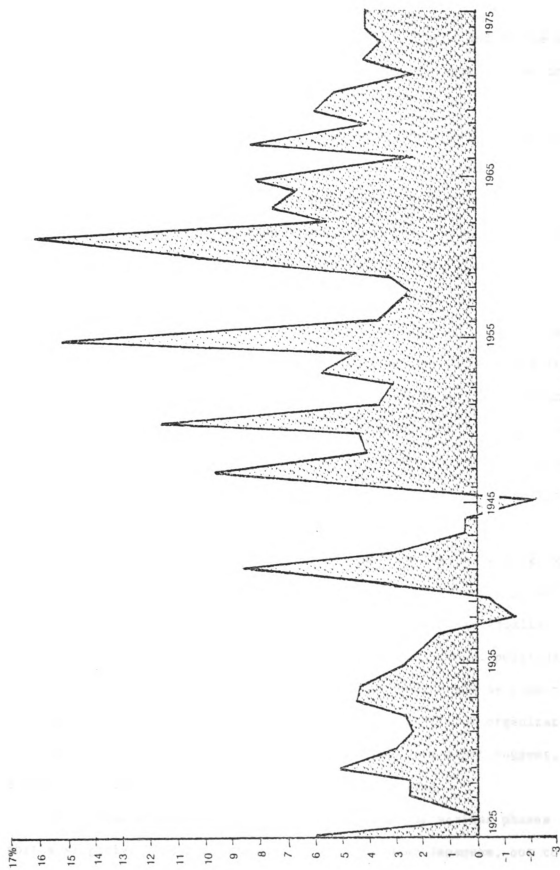
Figure 24.  Sapporo--Percentage Population Increase: 1925-1975

times, it had been the largest city in Hokkaido) but now this perception was beginning to penetrate outside of Hokkaido. By the end of the study period, Sapporo had become, in all respects, one of Japan's more important cities (see Figure 25).

The economic shift of the city, from an economic base of primary industries to secondary and then to tertiary industries, had been largely completed by 1965. The economic boom enjoyed by Japan until the "oil shock" of 1972--and even beyond that time by most countries' standards--affected Sapporo primarily in that it became the clearinghouse, the center of commercial activity, for all of Hokkaido. The historical parallels between the pattern of Sapporo's evolution and those of Tokyo and Osaka, the great tertiary centers, are striking; but not those between Sapporo and the important secondary industrial centers of Nagoya, Kawasaki, or Yokohama. Because of Sapporo's isolation from the prominent commercial centers, it emerged as the tertiary industrial focus of the north, rather than as a manufacturing center like many other large Japanese cities whose tertiary focus was one of the two great southern centers.

Politically, Sapporo had come to dominate the region as it grew. Part of this dominance was a reflection of its greatly increased population, but its position as a central economic focus of the region was equally if not more important. It should be noted that Sapporo's national political strength, like that of all Japanese cities, was far below what might be expected given its population. It is the character of Japanese political organizations that urban centers are grossly weaker than their size might suggest, while sparsely settled rural areas are comparatively strong.[1]

The social dominance that Tokyo held during the earlier phases now shifts slightly. Tokyo is still "The City" to most Japanese, but to Hokkaido

| Size Rank | 1891 | 1898 | 1908 | 1920 | 1930 | 1940 | 1950 | 1955 | 1965 | 1975 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Tokyo | Tokyo | Tokyo | Tokyo | Osaka | Tokyo | Tokyo | Tokyo | Tokyo | Tokyo |
| 2. | Osaka | Osaka | Osaka | Osaka | Tokyo | Osaka | Osaka | Osaka | Osaka | Osaka |
| 3. | Kyoto | Kyoto | Kyoto | Kobe | Nagoya | Nagoya | Kyoto | Nagoya | Nagoya | Nagoya |
| 4. | Nagoya | Nagoya | Yokohama | Kyoto | Kobe | Kyoto | Nagoya | Kyoto | Yokohama | Yokohama |
| 5. | Kobe | Kobe | Nagoya | Nagoya | Kyoto | Yokohama | Yokohama | Yokohama | Kyoto | Kyoto |
| 6. | Yokohama | Yokohama | Kobe | Yokohama | Yokohama | Kobe | Kobe | Kobe | Kobe | Kobe |
| 7. | Kanazawa | Hiroshima | Nagasaki | Nagasaki | Hiroshima | Hiroshima | Fukuoka | Fukuoka | Kitakyushu | Kitakyushu |
| 8. | Hiroshima | Nagasaki | Hiroshima | Hiroshima | Fukuoka | Fukuoka | Sendai | Sendai | Fukuoka | Sapporo |
| 9. | Sendai | Kanazawa | Kanazawa | Kanazawa | Nagasaki | Nagasaki | Hiroshima | Hiroshima | Sapporo | Fukuoka |
| 10. | Nagasaki | Sendai | Sendai | Sendai | Sendai | Sendai | Nagasaki | Nagasaki | Hiroshima | Hiroshima |

Source: Wilkinson (1965:72)

Figure 25.  Ten Largest Cities in Japan:  1881-1975

residents Sapporo comes a close second. Even cities such as Osaka and Kyoto, nationally far more important than Sapporo, were relegated to lower positions. In terms of behavior, this shift in the perception of Sapporo reinforced Sapporo's economic dominance over the rest of Hokkaido by adding social prestige to economic and political strength.

The position of Sapporo within Hokkaido was no longer one of first among equals, a fair description of its position at the end of the war. Rather it came to dominate Hokkaido in a manner parallel to the position of Tokyo vis a vis all of Japan.

## Effects of Sapporo Growth on Hanayama:

The impact of these changes on Hanayama follows the trends discussed for the last phase. Almost no one in the neighborhood had any long-term experience with living in a city as large as Sapporo had become. The physical location of the neighborhood, once on the fringes of the city, had now become the fringe of the downtown urban core. The previously sparse transportation through the neighborhood was now much more dense and, in the case of public transportation, runs were more frequent. Also, a new subway system was installed with a station within five minutes walk of the neighborhood, increasing the ease of communications. The expansion of the urban economic enterprises, particularly the move by the large national, Tokyo-based firms into Sapporo increased the contact between Sapporo and the Tokaido megapolis to an extent unimagined in earlier periods.[2] In local terms, this meant that the perceived distance lessened between families or friends in other parts of Hokkaido or even on one of the other islands. As the city grew, the Hanayama neighborhood became one of the core residential areas of Sapporo, and its inhabitants and others had to adjust their perceptions:

> When we first came here (1953), downtown seemed much
> further away. We even used to say "I'm going to Sapporo"
> when we had to go downtown. It's different now. Now
> this is Sapporo too, and all the other places around
> are also Sapporo.

> Mr. I

> Young people don't use the old place names much anymore.
> This used to be Hanayama to everyone. Now they just
> give the street address as if it were near the station
> (downtown). Something is lost when one just says something-
> or-other street, something avenue. There is no color to
> it, no warmth. This was Hanayama (flower mountain), over
> there was Akebono (dawn, daybreak). I like those better
> than just numbers. How can one feel (have emotions)
> about numbers?

> Mr. N

The neighborhood's specific large-scale changes primarily revolved around its and the city's great increase in population. The neighborhood population almost doubled during this decade.[3] Because the neighborhood had been saturated in 1965 with single-family housing, the increase in population within the neighborhood occurred through the replacement of single-family housing with multi-family units. The first two of these multiple units were built at the end of 1965. By the end of 1975, there were fourteen units of various sizes, with a total of 247 apartments, accounting for more than half of the total living units in the neighborhood. Slightly more than half of the adult population of the neighborhood (about one third of the total population) had come to live in apartments.

The multi-family units were different from the single-family units they replaced. There were two different kinds of multiple structures, apato and mansion. Apato apartments open onto a central, interior hallway, with each apartment having only an interior door. The individual apart- ments may or may not have genkan, the small entryway common to Japanese

living units. If the individual apartments do not have genkan, then there will be a large one at the entrance to the building where shoes are removed and umbrellas stored. The apato are smaller versions of the danchi, the huge apartment complexes found primarily in the southern urban centers but also in the suburbs of Sapporo.

The mansion apartments open onto an external area, rather like the common pattern for motels in the United States. Each individual apartment has its own genkan and is completely separate from all other units. In both types, at least those found in Hanayama, the apartments are small, ranging from a single six-mat (each mat is about 3 feet x 6 feet; therefore, a six-mat room is about 12 feet x 9 feet) room with a shared toilet and no bath for the smallest and cheapest, to a four-room apartment (three six-mat and one four-mat), with a private toilet and bath for the largest and most expensive. Figures 26 and 27 show four examples of Hanayama apartments. At 1975 prices the cheapest apartments, such as the one room apato in Figure 27, went for about ¥22,000 per month (about $75), the most expensive about ¥53,000 (about $175) such as the four-room apato example.

The two sets of floorplans (Figures 26 and 27) show apartments that combine modern and traditional features. In the first mansion example, the combination of toilet (western style) and bath (Japanese style) is an attempt at space saving. While this combination may save space, it is an unfortunate innovation as the use of the Japanese style bath, where washing occurs outside the tub, tends to soak everything in the room, including the toilet. All of the apartments of more than one room have a mix of tatami (straw pads more than an inch thick) and thin straw-mat covered floors. All of the windows are side-by-side sliding windows (as opposed to the western style over-and-under windows). Often the internal sliding
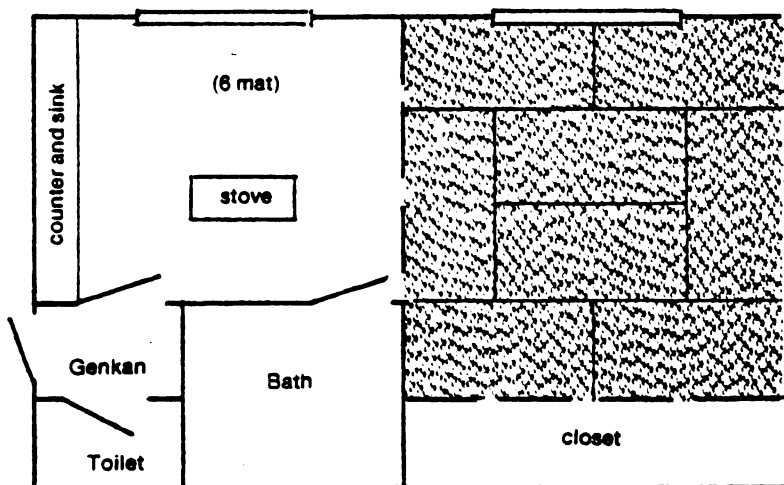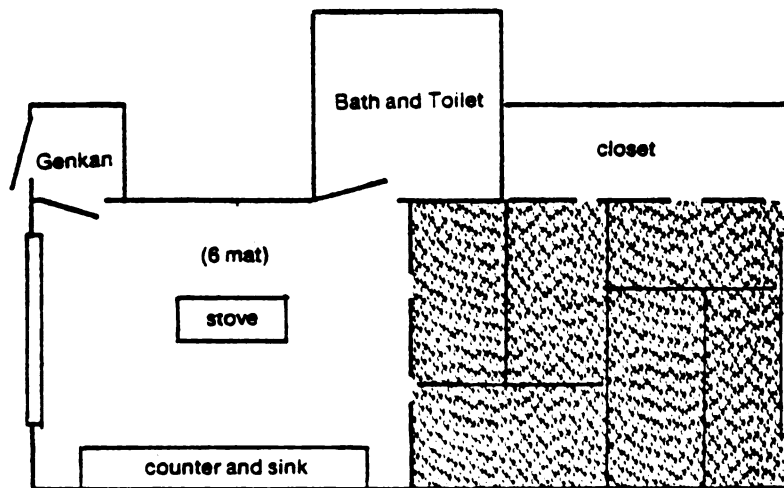
Figure 26. Two Typical Mansion Floorplans
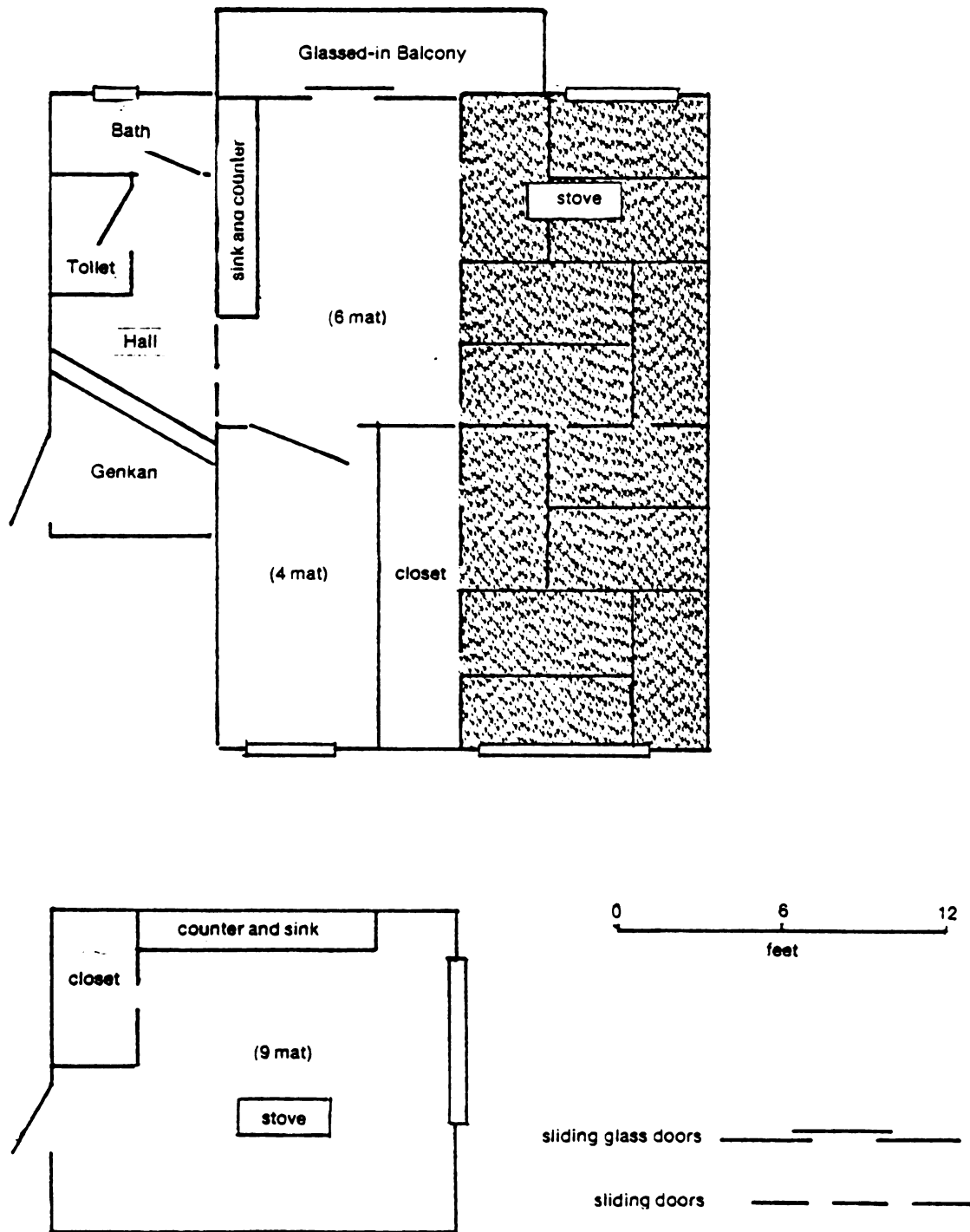
Figure 27. Two Representative Apato Floorplans

doors are removed semi-permanently to allow more space. The already rather limited floorspace of these apartments is further curtailed by the stoves which are the only winter heat source. In the summer, the stoves are dismantled and packed away. A further limiting element, not indicated in the floorplans, is the almost universal ownership of enormous, console model color television sets. Other internal features varied. Some apartments are furnished with western-style couches and easy chairs, others with traditional Japanese low tables and little else. Some of the apartments use western-style furnishings in non-tatami rooms and traditional furnishings in tatami rooms. All of the apartments, and almost all of the single-family houses, in the neighborhood have flush toilets, a feature still far from universal in Japan. Other than the major furnishings, most of the apartments are crammed with the tenant's possessions as the apartments range from only a little more than 150 square feet to a little more than 400 square feet.

Heat is provided through kerosene stoves that tenants must provide for themselves. No hot running water or appliances (such as refrigerators or stoves) are provided. The structural features of the buildings (heat and sound insulation) correlate somewhat with the cost of the apartments, but by U.S. standards these are generally shoddy. The poorly insulated inexpensive apartments allow in serious draughts in winter. Also, one can distinctly hear normal conversations in neighboring apartments all year around; this is a feature that has a number of interesting social implications, to be explored later in some detail.

Because of the shift to apartments, for the first time in the history of the neighborhood, this phase experienced a serious demographic shift. Except for a brief and easily explained period during the war when younger

men were scarce, the neighborhood had maintained a fairly standard age structure.[4] During Phase III, this shifted. The primary reason being that the majority of the migrants into the neighborhood during this phase were not couples with children, but rather a socioeconomic group previously unrepresented in the neighborhood--the entertainers--a very large proportion of whom were without children.[5] Further, the shift from single-family housing to multiple-unit housing lessened the possibility and incidence of the parents of young married couples living with their adult children. Thus, the demographic picture of the neighborhood shifts so that an age pyramid would have a large bulge in the 20 to 35 group and sharply smaller numbers of children and older people above sixty (the 1965 and 1975 numbers are given in Tables 20 and 21). Part of the population shift can be explained by the sharply decreased Japanese postwar birth rate; the reduced number of children (0-15) is relative to the overall population (cf. Tauber 1958), but the population structure for the neighborhood goes beyond the overall pattern (see Table 22). Also, the decreased birth rate would not effect the older population; in fact, it would do the opposite and push up the relative number of older people compared to the overall population. In fact, the relative size of this age group decreased.[6]

The economic connections between individuals in the neighborhood and the surrounding city shifted when its population shifted to one mainly (75%) made up of younger white-collar employees and entertainers. The entertainers worked in Susukino, the entertainment district lying about a kilometer from Hanayama. The nature of their occupations and life styles was such that they were mainly transitory, often shifting jobs and places of residence. The long-term, strong social bonding of the older residents, based on stable employment and residence, thus had to adjust to this shift

Table 20.   Population by Age and Sex, 1975

| AGE | Males # | Males % | Females # | Females % | Totals # | Totals % | City Total % |
|-----|---------|---------|-----------|-----------|----------|----------|--------------|
| 0-4 | 64 | 6.1 | 77 | 7.3 | 141 | 13.4 | 9.2 |
| 5-9 | 29 | 2.8 | 31 | 2.9 | 60 | 5.7 | 7.7 |
| 10-14 | 31 | 2.9 | 28 | 2/7 | 59 | 5.6 | 6.6 |
| 15-19 | 40 | 3.8 | 48 | 5.6 | 88 | 8.4 | 7.4 |
| 20-24 | 51 | 4.9 | 58 | 5.5 | 109 | 10.4 | 11.0 |
| 25-29 | 86 | 8.2 | 77 | 7.3 | 163 | 15.5 | 12.2 |
| 30-34 | 68 | 6.5 | 70 | 6.7 | 138 | 13.1 | 9.3 |
| 35-39 | 41 | 3.9 | 37 | 3.5 | 78 | 7.4 | 7.8 |
| 40-44 | 25 | 2.4 | 26 | 2.5 | 51 | 4.9 | 7.1 |
| 45-49 | 22 | 2.1 | 24 | 2.3 | 46 | 4.4 | 5.8 |
| 50-54 | 18 | 1.7 | 21 | 2.0 | 39 | 3.7 | 4.3 |
| 55-59 | 11 | 1.1 | 17 | 1.6 | 28 | 2.7 | 3.5 |
| 60-64 | 7 | 0.7 | 11 | 1.1 | 18 | 1.7 | 2.9 |
| 65-59 | 6 | 0.6 | 8 | 0.8 | 14 | 1.3 | 2.2 |
| 70-79 | 6 | 0.6 | 10 | 1.0 | 16 | 1.5 | 2.4 |
| 80- | 1 | 0.1 | 3 | 0.3 | 4 | 0.4 | 0.6 |
|  | 496 | 48.1 | 546 | 51.9 | 1052 | 99.9 |  |

Table 21.    Population by Age and Sex, 1965

| AGE | Males # | % | Females # | % | Totals # | % |
|-----|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| 0-19 | 99 | 18.5 | 105 | 19.6 | 204 | 38.1 |
| 20-29 | 48 | 8.9 | 64 | 12.0 | 112 | 20.9 |
| 30-39 | 43 | 8.0 | 39 | 7.3 | 82 | 15.3 |
| 40-49 | 26 | 4.9 | 29 | 5.4 | 55 | 10.3 |
| 50-59 | 23 | 4.3 | 21 | 3.9 | 44 | 8.2 |
| 60- | 19 | 3.5 | 20 | 3.7 | 39 | 7.3 |
|  | 258 | 48.1 | 278 | 51.9 | 536 | 100.0 |

Table 22.    Neighborhood-City Population Comparison (Age)

| | 1965 | | 1975 | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Neighborhood | City | Neighborhood | City |
| 0-19 | 38.1% | 38.1% | 33.1% | 30.9% |
| 20-29 | 20.9 | 22.8 | 25.9 | 23.2 |
| 30-39 | 15.3 | 17.5 | 20.5 | 17.1 |
| 40-49 | 10.3 | 10.1 | 9.2 | 12.3 |
| 50-59 | 8.2 | 7.0 | 6.4 | 7.8 |
| 60- | 7.3 | 6.5 | 4.9 | 8.1 |

in the neighborhood's population.

The economic situation also shifted in Sapporo during Phase III in that it was more complex than in Phase II and far more complex than in Phase I. The general trends in Sapporo's economy—a sharp decrease in primary industry, an overall slight decrease in secondary industry, and a strong, fairly steady increase in tertiary industries—are graphed as a function of proportions of the work force engaged in these three types of activities in Figure 28. By the third phase, the primary industries had only about 4% of the total work force, the secondary industries employed only about 23% of the work force, and the tertiary industries comprised about 73% of the work force. Throughout Phase III the tertiary industries reached about 76% of the work force in 1970 and were approaching 79% in 1975, with equivalent drops in the proportions of the work force employed in primary and secondary industries. This increase in the tertiary-industry share of the work force combined with the rate of migration (discussed above) yielded an absolute growth of the tertiary work force which was very high, possibly one of the highest in the world, although specific comparable figures are not readily available.[7]

## Sapporo Industrial Expansion:

Given the overall economic picture for Japan in the economic boom period from 1960 to 1972, the rapid industrial expansion of Sapporo is not surprising. What does seem unusual is that most of the expansion, in absolute as well as relative terms, was in tertiary industries. The impact of this tertiary expansion was that its attraction to migrants from the Sapporo hinterland seems different fundamentally from what it would have been had the expansion been in primary or secondary industries instead.[8] With primary industrial expansion, it is difficult to see just how the
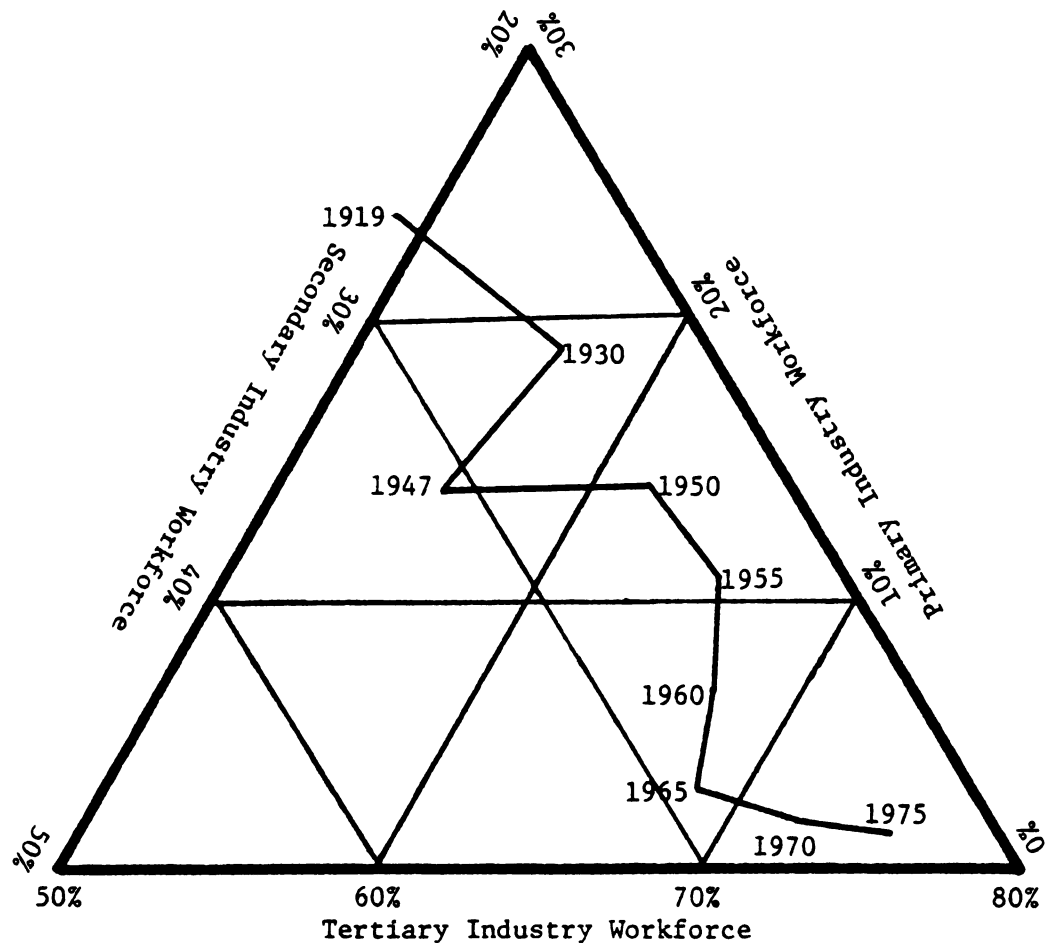
Source: adapted from graph in Sapporo-shi (1976:9)

Figure 28.    Portions of Sapporo Workforce Engaged in Primary,
Secondary, and Tertiary Industry

city could have expanded to the degree that it did. The primary industries of Japan have been becoming increasingly mechanized, which means there is less demand for direct human labor. One clear indication of this is that while the number of persons employed in agriculture has decreased since the war, the agricultural production of Japan has increased through the expansion of high-energy technology, such as chemical fertilizers and machinery.

Secondary industries, which in Japanese statistical considerations include mining, require several supports that tertiary industries do not. First, given the dual nature of the Japanese economy, the existence of small-scale piece-manufacturing units may be necessary for the development of the upper level of large scale manufacturing units. These small-scale support industries did not exist in Sapporo to the degree that they were available in the south, and therefore large-scale manufacturing expansion in the historical Japanese pattern might have been unable to develop fully in Sapporo. In Hokkaido where secondary industries (except mining) have developed, they have been much more in the European pattern of single-level economic structures, rather than the dual levels of southern Japan.[9]

Secondly, for Sapporo to have become a highly developed secondary industrial center, there would have had to have been a tertiary structure available to support it, such as those in Tokyo and Osaka. Again, the isolation of Sapporo from the great centers of Old Japan may be at least partly responsible for the direction of this evolution. Third, secondary industries normally require a higher proportion of blue-collar workers than do tertiary industries. This does not mean that the migrants coming into the city would be all that different in their places of origin; one could argue that migrants would come from the various parts of Hokkaido into

Sapporo just as rapidly for blue-collar jobs as they do for the types of jobs that are available and take as supporting evidence the immigration patterns in the smaller manufacturing cities of Muroran or Makomanai. The primary difference, rather, is in their different social characteristics, which are corollaries of their educational preparation and perceptions or expectations of life. There may well be significant differences in the social patterns of blue-collar and non-blue-collar groups, that is, in areas such as neighborhoods dominated primarily by blue-collar or non-blue-collar groups. This study deals with a neighborhood totally dominated by non-blue-collar groups, so such a comparison is beyond its scope. And last, Sapporo's economic and geographic position, as a commercial and service center surrounded by primary and secondary industrial centers is not accidental. It should be remembered that this pattern of industrial growth was part of the original planning for the development of the Ishikari Plain and Hokkaido as a whole.

The postwar attraction of Sapporo has been as a social and economic pull primarily toward tertiary industries. For the purposes of this study, there are two basic types of tertiary industry, commercial and service: commercial tertiary industries are comprised of banks, wholesale and retail establishments, transportation and communication institutions, and other, often large-scale operations of this sort. Service industries are restaurants, bars, theaters, cabarets, and other entertainment-centered businesses with a central focus on those considered the "water trades" in the Old Japanese usage.

For the purposes of this study, the major difference between commercial and service industries depends upon the types of employees. Commercial industries primarily employ members of the white-collar group and

relatively few blue-collar workers. While there may be a few white- or blue-collar employees in the service industries, they tend to have as the bulk of their work force a third socioeconomic group, here called the entertainers.

## Migration and Change:

From the perspective of the neighborhood, the influx of migrants seeking or having employment in the tertiary industries had occurred throughout its history. However, with a very few exceptions, the previous migration patterns had been those of the white- and blue-collar groups. Most of the few exceptions had been of the shopkeeper group who, in many ways, parallel the white-collar groups in their patterns of social interaction. During Phase III, the other kind of tertiary industrial employee makes his or her first appearance in the neighborhood and in massive numbers. The expansion of Susukino, the entertainment district from a small town strip of bars to a major section of a major city, had as a side effect a great increase in the number of persons employed there.

The entertainers traditionally lived in or immediately adjacent to the "gay quarters," the entertainment district of Susukino. At one time, even within the modest historical part of Sapporo, the entertainment district had been a walled section of the city complete with gates "guarded" by police. With a more modern attitude toward entertainment, the walls came down, but the entertainers still lived as close as possible to their places of employment. As mass transit increased the ease of living farther away from their places of work, many Japanese moved out, but the entertainers, possibly because of discrimination against them, tended to cluster at least near the "gay quarters." As Susukino grew, more and more people were employed in its establishments. And as more entertainers moved into

the city, the best of entertainer residences around Susukino thickened

until, in 1965, the district was about one kilometer thick.  Thus the

Hanayama neighborhood, lying about one kilometer from Susukino, began to

be a place where entertainers lived.[10]

All of the migrants into Hanayama during Phase III were not entertain-

ers, although more than 70% were.  The second largest group coming into

Hanayama during this phase were younger white-collar families.  The younger

white-collar males worked in a variety of tertiary industrial concerns

throughout the city (see Table 23).  For example, thirty-two of the younger

white-collar male migrants were employed by Japan National Railways and

lived in a company-owned apartment building.

The change in migration pattern from Phase II, where migrants were

mixed white-collar, blue-collar, and shopkeeper, to that of Phase III lies

at least partly in the shift in types of available housing (mentioned above).

When the neighborhood had been saturated with single-family housing, the

continued growth of the city allowed the profitable expansion to multiple-

family housing, primarily apartment houses.  All the inhabitants of these

new apartment houses were younger white-collar workers and entertainers.

The move into the small apartments by the entertainers and younger white-

collar workers was motivated by convenience and cost:  apartments were far

cheaper than single-family housing and in areas more accessible to their

jobs and public transportation.

By the beginning of this phase, the area immediately around the cen-

tral business core of the city had become very densely populated and any

sort of housing was difficult to acquire.  Unless one owned a car, a very

expensive possession, it was necessary to use mass transit in commuting

from the outlying areas.  While the mass transit system is excellent, quick,

Table 23.  White-Collar Education and Occupations, Phase III

| | PREWAR | | | | POSTWAR | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Primary | Middle | Higher | University | Primary | Middle | Higher | Jr. College | College | | |
| White-Collar Males | – | 2 | 2 | 2 | – | 5 | 26 | 9 | 5 | 51 | |
| Secondary Industry | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Large Firm | – | – | 1 | – | – | – | 1 | – | – | 2 | (3.9%) |
| Small Firm | – | – | 1 | – | – | 2 | 1 | – | 1 | 5 | (9.8%) |
| Service/Commercial | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Large Firm | – | – | – | – | – | – | 3 | 3 | 3 | 9 | (17.6%) |
| Small Firm | – | 1 | – | – | – | 2 | 5 | 1 | – | 9 | (17.6%) |
| Transportation/ Communication | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Large Firm | – | – | – | 1 | – | – | 12 | 1 | – | 14 | (27.5%) |
| Small Firm | – | – | – | – | – | 1 | 4 | 2 | – | 7 | (13.7%) |
| Government | – | 1 | – | 1 | – | – | – | 2 | 1 | 5 | (9.8%) |
| . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Younger White-Collar Females | | | | | 3 | 13 | 11 | 4 | 3 | 34 | |
| Unemployed | | | | | 3 | 11 | 8 | 2 | 1 | 25 | (73.5%) |
| Service/Commercial | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Large Firm | | | | | – | – | 1 | 1 | 1 | 3 | (8.8%) |
| Small Firm | | | | | – | 2 | 1 | – | – | 3 | (8.8%) |
| Transportation/ Communication | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Large Firm | | | | | – | – | 1 | – | – | 1 | (2.9%) |
| Small Firm | | | | | – | – | – | – | – | 0 | (0.0%) |
| Government | | | | | – | – | – | 1 | 1 | 2 | (5.9%) |

and inexpensive, it is a bother and avoided by many people who prefer to live closer to their place of employment. The ride into Sapporo by bus or train or a combination of both from one of the outlying suburban areas took at least half an hour. Some train commuters lived so far out that it took them two hours to reach their jobs. The conditions on the commuter buses and trains were crowded and hectic during the morning and evening rush hours.

During the middle of this phase, just in time for the 1972 Winter Olympics, the city built a high-speed north-south subway system that relieved some of the neighborhood housing pressure by making travel more convenient. Thus, while the rate of construction of apartment buildings in old neighborhoods slowed somewhat,[11] continued migration into Hanayama was sufficient to ensure the profitability of additional apartment buildings. For example, two new buildings were erected in 1975 and another in 1976.

The economic base of the neighborhood, exemplified in the individual economic connections between the inhabitants of Hanayama and the city, shifted somewhat during Phase III. While during Phase II nearly all of the employed persons in the neighborhood had worked for their various companies, or intended to work, permanently, giving the neighborhood population economic stability, the Phase III population became increasingly unstable. The average length of neighborhood residents' employment by a particular company was about 14 years in 1965, the same as the average number of years employed anywhere. By 1975 the average had plummeted to about 6 years. The major reason for this occupational destabilization was the entertainers' short-term occupational status. The next most important reason was the increasing transience of the younger white-collar males, who were more likely

to switch jobs than in earlier years. Further, the companies employing younger white-collar workers were likelier to transfer them to other locations than previously. With the decrease in the residents' economic stability, the shopkeepers' economic positions became increasingly unstable, particularly in the face of the increasing competition from such larger concerns as the downtown department stores and a new phenomenon, the supermarkets.

The migration occurring in this phase had several features to distinguish it sharply from that of previous phases. First, the rate of migration, starting suddenly at the very end of 1965, accelerated to a rate more than 7 times higher than that of Phase II, and more than 17 times higher than that of Phase I. Where Phase I migration averaged slightly more than five migrant households per year, Phase III averaged at least thirty-five new households per year. The actual Phase III rate was probably double the figure given, but precise figures for the total number of entertainer households moving into and out of the neighborhood are unavailable (see Table 24). Further, this migration came in waves with the opening of the new apartment buildings, which leads neatly to the second distinguishing feature of Phase III migration.

The waves of migrants did not scatter throughout the neighborhood as had been the most common pattern during the previous two phases. Rather, they clustered together in the apartment buildings because the apartments were the primary locus of open housing. As new apartment buildings opened, the apartments filled with new migrants. These clusters ranged in size, directly correlated with the waves of migration, from a minimum of 6 households in the smallest apartment buildings to a maximum of 48 households for the largest. The apartment buildings acted as barriers in keeping the

Table 24. Composition of Hanayama in Phase III

| | 1965 | | | | 1975 | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Households | | Adult Population | | Households | | Adult Population | |
| | # | % | # | % | # | % | # | % |
| Shopkeeper | 25 | 14.3 | 53 | 15.3 | 29 | 7.4 | 67 | 9.5 |
| Older White-Collar | 36 | 20.6 | 77 | 22.3 | 32 | 8.1 | 68 | 9.7 |
| Younger White-Collar | 52 | 29.7 | 114 | 32.9 | 89 | 22.6 | 189 | 26.8 |
| Blue-Collar | 16 | 9.1 | 37 | 10.7 | 9 | 2.3 | 19 | 2.7 |
| Landlady | 2 | 1.1 | 4 | 1.2 | 14 | 3.6 | 31 | 4.4 |
| Entertainers | 42 | 24.0 | 59 | 17.1 | 217 | 55.1 | 322 | 45.7 |
| Others | 1 | 0.6 | 2 | 0.6 | 4 | 1.0 | 8 | 1.1 |
| TOTALS | 175 | 99.4 | 346 | 99.8 | 394 | 100.1 | 704 | 99.9 |

new migrants from intermixing with the older residents.

The third distinguishing feature of Phase III migration, a point already mentioned, was that the migrants were predominantly of a group previously unrepresented in the neighborhood. Unlike Phases I and II where the majority of migrants had been white-collar households, the Phase III migrants were primarily entertainers. Table 25 contrasts the categories by phase.

The characteristics of the newcomers making up the Phase III migration into Hanayama in some ways continued the trends, such as origins of migrants, employment, and education, set by previous phases, but with some important differences. The major trend of most migrants during Phase III being from other urban areas, mostly in Hokkaido, continued (see Tables 26 and 27). In fact, of the households from whom reliable figures are available, more than 70% were from Hokkaido and almost 75% were from urban areas as shown in Table 28. And as with two earlier groups of migrants, almost all of the newcomers were drawn to employment in tertiary industry. The white-collar groups show the same pattern as in the previous phases in that they were well educated and primarily oriented toward tertiary industries, with a relatively high proportion working in the public sector.

Entertainers:

The non-entertainer migrants were similar to the migrants of previous phases, but the entertainers were not in that they were less well educated, having only an average of three full years of formal education (educational levels shown in Table 29). The entertainers had very little occupational or economic stability, which resulted in their residential instability. Finally and perhaps most important, the entertainer migrants did not share the same values toward interpersonal relationships with the other Hanayama

Table 25. Comparison of Migrants by Phase

## NET GAINS

| | Phase I 1925-1945 | | | | Phase II 1945-1965 | | | | Phase III 1965-1975 | | | |
| | Households | | Adult Population | | Households | | Adult Population | | Households | | Adult Population | |
| | # | % | # | % | # | % | # | % | # | % | # | % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Shopkeeper | 2 | 13.3 | 5 | 14.3 | 7 | 9.6 | 5 | 3.6 | 4 | 1.5 | 14 | 3.3 |
| Older White-Collar | 3 | 20.0 | 7 | 20.0 | 26 | 35.6 | 49 | 35.0 | -4 | -1.5 | -11 | -2.6 |
| Younger White-Collar | 8 | 53.3 | 17 | 48.6 | 31 | 42.5 | 69 | 49.3 | 37 | 14.0 | 75 | 17.9 |
| Blue-Collar | 2 | 13.3 | 6 | 17.1 | 9 | 12.3 | 17 | 12.1 | -7 | -3.7 | -18 | -4.3 |
| Landlady | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 14 | 5.3 | 31 | 7.4 |
| Entertainer | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 217 | 82.2 | 322 | 76.8 |
| Other | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 3 | 1.1 | 6 | 1.4 |
| | 15 | 99.9 | 35 | 100.0 | 73 | 100.0 | 140 | 100.0 | 264 | 99.9 | 419 | 99.9 |
| ALL WHITE-COLLAR | 11 | 73.3 | 24 | 68.6 | 57 | 78.1 | 118 | 84.3 | 33 | 12.5 | 64 | 15.3 |

Table 26.    Origins of Phase III Migrants:    Proportions

|  | Males | | Females | | Totals | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
|  | # | % | # | % | # | % |
| Sapporo | 19 | 12.6 | 22 | 11.1 | 41 | 11.7 |
| Hokkaido: Urban | 64 | 42.4 | 76 | 38.4 | 140 | 40.1 |
| Hokkaido: Rural | 26 | 17.2 | 40 | 20.2 | 66 | 18.9 |
| Tohoku: Urban | 14 | 9.3 | 15 | 7.6 | 29 | 8.3 |
| Tohoku: Rural | 5 | 3.3 | 7 | 3.5 | 12 | 3.4 |
| S. Japan: Urban | 20 | 13.2 | 28 | 14.1 | 48 | 13.8 |
| S. Japan: Rural | 3 | 1.9 | 10 | 5.1 | 13 | 3.7 |
|  | 151 | 99.9 | 198 | 100.0 | 349 | 99.9 |

PROPORTIONS BY AREA

|  | # | % |
|---|---|---|
| Hokkaido | 247 | 70.8 |
| Honshu, Shikoku, & Kyushu | 102 | 29.2 |
| Tohoku | 41 | 11.7 |
| S. Japan | 61 | 17.5 |

TOTAL URBAN      73.9%

TOTAL RURAL      26.1%

Table 27. Origins of Phase III Migrants: Numbers

| | Shop-keeper | | Older White-Collar | | Younger White-Collar | | Blue-Collar | | Land lady | | Entertainer | | TOTALS | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | m | f | m | f | m | f | m | f | m | f | m | f | m | f | mf |
| Sapporo | 4 | 6 | 2 | 1 | 9 | 11 | 1 | 1 | 3 | 2 | - | 1 | 19 | 22 | 41 |
| Hokkaido: Urban | 2 | 1 | - | - | 15 | 13 | - | - | 4 | 6 | 43 | 56 | 64 | 76 | 140 |
| Hokkaido: Rural | - | - | - | 1 | 8 | 7 | 1 | 1 | 4 | 4 | 14 | 27 | 27 | 40 | 67 |
| Tohoku: Urban | 1 | 1 | - | - | 4 | 1 | - | 1 | 2 | 1 | 7 | 11 | 14 | 15 | 29 |
| Tohoku: Rural | - | - | - | - | 3 | - | - | - | 1 | 2 | 1 | 5 | 5 | 7 | 12 |
| S. Japan: Urban | 3 | 4 | 2 | 1 | 7 | 2 | - | - | - | - | 7 | 21 | 19 | 28 | 47 |
| S. Japan: Rural | - | - | 1 | 1 | 1 | - | - | - | - | 2 | 2 | 7 | 3 | 10 | 13 |
| n = | 10 | 12 | 4 | 4 | 47 | 34 | 2 | 3 | 14 | 17 | 74 | 128 | 151 | 198 | 349 |
| (total migrants) | (10) | (12) | (4) | (4) | (137) | (92) | (2) | (3) | (14) | (17) | ?? | ?? | ?? | ?? | |
| TOTAL URBAN | 10 | 12 | 4 | 2 | 35 | 27 | 1 | 1 | 9 | 9 | 57 | 89 | 116 | 140 | 256 |
| TOTAL RURAL | - | - | - | 2 | 12 | 7 | 1 | 1 | 5 | 8 | 17 | 39 | 35 | 57 | 92 |

Table 28.  Migrant Origins:  Phase III

### URBAN VS. RURAL

|  | Male | | Female | | Total | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
|  | # | % | # | % | # | % |
| Urban | 117 | 77.5 | 141 | 71.2 | 258 | 73.9 |
| Rural | 34 | 22.5 | 57 | 28.8 | 91 | 26.1 |
|  | 151 | 100.0 | 198 | 100.0 | 349 | 100.0 |

### HOKKAIDO VS. HONSHU

|  | Male | | Female | | Total | |  |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
|  | # | % | # | % | # | % |  |
| **Hokkaido** | | | | | | | |
| Urban | 83 | 23.8 | 98 | 28.1 | 181 | 51.9 | (73.3) |
| Rural | 26 | 7.4 | 40 | 11.5 | 66 | 18.9 | (26.7) |
| Total | 109 | 31.2 | 138 | 39.5 | 247 | 70.8 | |
| **Honshu** | | | | | | | |
| Urban | 34 | 9.7 | 43 | 12.3 | 77 | 22.1 | (75.5) |
| Rural | 8 | 2.3 | 17 | 4.9 | 25 | 7.2 | (24.5) |
| Total | 42 | 12.0 | 60 | 17.2 | 102 | 29.3 | |

Table 29.  Education of Phase III Migrants

| | PREWAR | | | | POSTWAR | | | | | | Average years of education |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| GROUP (n) | Primary | Middle | Higher | Higher for Women | Primary | Middle | Higher | Junior College | College | University | |
| Shopkeeper | | | | | | | | | | | |
| male (10) | - | 2 | 1 | - | 1 | 2 | 3 | - | 1 | - | 11.2 |
| female (12) | 1 | 1 | - | 2 | - | 4 | 1 | 3 | - | - | 11.3  11.2 |
| Blue-Collar | | | | | | | | | | | |
| male (2) | - | - | - | - | - | 2 | - | - | - | - | 9.0 |
| female (3) | - | - | - | - | 1 | 2 | - | - | - | - | 8.0  8.4 |
| Landlady | | | | | | | | | | | |
| male (14) | - | 5 | 1 | - | 3 | 3 | - | - | 2 | - | 10.4 |
| female (17) | 6 | 7 | - | 1 | - | 2 | 1 | - | - | - | 9.2  9.8 |
| Entertainer | | | | | | | | | | | |
| male (74) | - | - | - | - | 17 | 44 | 12 | - | 1 | - | 8.9 |
| female (128) | - | - | - | - | 31 | 77 | 16 | 2 | 2 | - | 8.8  8.9 |
| Younger White-Collar | | | | | | | | | | | |
| male (47) | - | - | - | - | - | 5 | 26 | 9 | 5 | 2 | 12.7 |
| female (34) | - | - | - | - | 3 | 13 | 11 | 4 | 3 | - | 10.9  11.9 |
| Older White-Collar | | | | | | | | | | | |
| male (4) | - | 2 | 2 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 12.5 |
| female (4) | 1 | - | - | 3 | - | - | - | - | - | - | 12.0  12.3 |

Average male = 10.5
Average female = 9.4

Total average = 9.9

residents.

There are several points about the low educational levels to be stressed. The average reported formal education (see Table 29), slightly less than nine years, means that the average entertainer terminated his or her formal education at the middle school level, indicating that a good number actually had not completed middle school. The completion of middle school is more important in Japan than it is in the United States because of the difficulty of written Japanese. Middle school in Japan is considered the point where students become minimally literate. At current educational levels, the ideographic nature of the Japanese language requires nine years for the acquisition of basic competency.

Another point about the significance of the duration of formal education is that the time spent in formal education and the ability to pass school examinations are probably the most important considerations for upward social mobility in Japan. Far more than in the United States, Japan has evolved a merit system permeating all aspects of society; it is based on formal education and examination and the credentials these provide.[12] Thus, the significance of the entertainers' low levels of education is that they are limited in terms of enhanced social mobility. Without educational credentials, social movement is almost impossible.

Finally, the entertainers were, on the average, the youngest group in Hanayama. Since the number of years of formal education available has been increasing steadily over the last half century, one would expect to find the youngest group to be the best educated. Yet the entertainers are the poorest educated of any of the social groups migrating into Hanayama in sizable numbers during this phase.[13]

There are warnings that should go with these points, and with all of

my data about reported years of education: there is a distinct possibility of sampling error that I have no way to control. Further, since formal education carries a great deal of prestige in Japan, far more than in the United States, there is a possibility that these figures have been upwardly inflated by my informants.

In particular, the instability of the entertainer occupations distinguishes the entertainer migrants from the non-entertainer migrants. The most common occupation of the entertainers was bar-hostess, a label that could be applied to most of the female entertainers in the neighborhood. The males worked as musicians (in cabaret or bar bands), bartenders, short-order cooks, bouncers (the Japanese term for this task translates literally as assistant), bar and cabaret managers, and other less easily labeled jobs. The term hostess appears to cover a variety of actual tasks such as one would find females doing in any bar district in the world. Fairly representative, if not necessarily typical, of the motivations and job history of a bar-hostess is the story of Ms. H:

> I came to Sapporo because I couldn't find a job in Muroran.
> That was fifteen years ago when I was fourteen years old.
> I lived with my sister for a while, several years, and
> then I got my own apartment here about five years ago.
> I first got a job as an announcer in a cabaret. You
> know, announcing the various acts. . . . After I had
> worked as an announcer for about ten years, the owner
> said that he was going to cut my salary in half . . .
> because he wanted me to work for him as a hostess. I
> was angry, so I quit and went to work—as a hostess—
> at the small bar where I work now. . . . I usually
> work from about 7:00 p.m. to about 11:30 p.m. in the
> evening, sometimes later, sometimes less. Sometimes I
> don't go to work at all; it depends on how I feel. . . .
> Well (how much I make) depends, it is very changeable.
> I get paid every two weeks. My high was ¥800,000
> ($2,600 in 1975), but that only happened once. My low
> for two weeks was about ¥120,000 (about $400). . . .
> That is good for a hostess. There is a great deal of
> variation (among hostesses). I've been doing it for a
> long time and understand the job pretty well, so I make

a lot. I didn't make that much as an announcer.

Ms. H had a savings account of about ¥5,000,000 ($16,000) that she was planning to use to open a clothing shop, high fashion women's clothing. She appears to have been somewhat unusual, first, because she only had two jobs in fourteen years and, second, because of the large bank account. More typical in these respects was Mr. Y, a twenty-five-year-old bartender, who made about ¥250,000 ($850) a month.

> I came from Mombetsu about four years ago and got this apartment. I've worked at the bar where I work now only about four months; before that I worked at the X Cabaret for about two years. Before that I worked in two other places. . . . Yes, four places in four years. . . . Why? because I got more money. . . . I want to be a singer, but that costs money for publicity and such. . . . No, I have only a little saved up; I like to spend too much. If I didn't have to work most evenings, I wouldn't have saved anything. I make enough but I just spend it. I go to work about six and usually get home about midnight.

Most of the entertainers appear to have been more like Mr. Y than like Ms. H, job hopping every year or few years for higher pay or some perceived benefit. Also like Mr. Y, most of the entertainers planned to save—often for some other career—but in fact had relatively small savings.

The economic instability exaggerated by the occupational instability correlates with residential instability. The entertainers were constantly moving, usually to what they believed to be a superior apartment, but sometimes for other reasons, such as the avoidance or termination of inter-personal relationships. The average tenure in the neighborhood for the entertainers in 1975 was about one year (see Table 7), far less than that for any other group. The next lowest groups, the younger white-collar workers and the landladies, averaged about five years in Hanayama. Part

Table 7. Tenure in Hanayama
(average years in neighborhood)

|  | 1940 | 1950 | 1965 | 1975 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Older White Collar | 22 | 22 | 21 | 24 |
| Shopkeepers | 23 | 23 | 20 | 18 |
| Younger White Collar | 6 | 3 | 8 | 5 |
| Blue Collar | 12 | 8 | 7 | 9 |
| Farmer | 30 | -- | -- | -- |
| Entertainers | -- | -- | 0 | 1 |
| Landladies | -- | -- | 0 | 5 |

of the residential instability reflected by the one-year figure was a function of place of residence, the apartment buildings. The entertainers all lived in apartment buildings in the neighborhood only since 1965, with an average age of about five years, exactly the same as the figure for landlady tenure in Hanayama. A portion of the younger white-collar group, on the other hand, had lived in the neighborhood for ten years or more in single-family housing, which brought the group average up considerably. That is, the entertainer who had lived in the neighborhood the longest (in my interview sample) had moved into Hanayama eight years before. The younger white-collar household with the longest tenure in Hanayama had lived in the neighborhood for almost twenty years. Thus, the entertainers would have been hard pressed to build strong interpersonal neighborhood relationships, even if they had wanted to.

Entertainer Social Relationships:

The attitude of the entertainers toward building and maintaining strong, durable social relationships based on residential proximity was the most important distinguishing characteristic between the entertainers and most

of the non-entertainer migrants during Phase III and all of the migrants

during Phases I and II.  Simply put, the entertainers did not want to

build and maintain strong social ties based on residence.  An extreme

sample of the type of response to queries concerning the "traditional"

social relationships existing among most of the other people in the neigh-

borhood was that of Mr. O, a musician in a cabaret, who commented:

> That's why I cam here (to Sapporo).  To get away from
> all that.  That's what small towns are like, all sticky.
> Everyone knows everybody else's business.  I don't like
> that and I don't want to do that, so I came to Sapporo.
> This is a big city.  It is a modern place, not feudal
> like Y (the town he came from).  That kind of thing is
> all right for farmers in villages, but not for someone
> like me.

Ms. H (quoted above) had a more temperate but similar response:

> That's what the old people do.  I suppose that it is
> very Japanese--I do it too, for business.  I have
> contacts and friends, but not here.  I don't think it's
> bad, it just takes a lot of time and effort and there
> is no need for that sort of thing anymore.  I'd rather
> do other things.  The only people I know here are Mrs.
> S (the landlady) and Mrs. I (the neighboring landlady
> who was a great friend of Mrs. S).  I don't even know
> the name of the hostess in the next apartment.  I see
> the people I work with every day; I don't want to live
> with them.  That is why I came here. . . .  Yes, I think
> that I'm typical of the people who work in Susukino; a
> lot of them are like me.

The entertainers saw the construction and maintenance of strong, far-

reaching social relationships--aside from business contacts and a few

friends--as being old fashioned, "feudal," not worth the time and effort,

and constricting their personal freedom.  Most of them came to Sapporo not

only to find interesting and relatively high-paying, jobs, but also to

escape what they saw as the cloying nature of the smaller places they came

from.  Sapporo was perceived as being the "big city," and Susukino's

entertainment district a "little Ginza" (the Tokyo entertainment district):

bright lights, good jobs, and modern social forms. Many of the migrant

entertainers suggested that the older Japanese were "too polite" and "too

constrained by custom." One of the entertainers, a college-educated caba-

ret assistant manager, drew a direct historical reference:

> We Japanese haven't really changed. Look at Mrs. Y and
> Mrs. N when they meet (two elderly ladies who used the
> very extensive polite forms of greeting and address).
> That could be in the old time, the Tokugawa era (17th-
> 19th century). They are still old fashioned Japanese.
> Most of the people are like that around here. It's even
> worse, they say, in places like Kyoto and the other old
> cities. The only place that is more modern (modan) than
> Sapporo is Tokyo.[14]

One of the important implications of this statement is the distinction

drawn between "most people around here" and the speaker and his group, the

entertainers. The non-entertainers are old fashioned. The entertainers

are modern, contemporary.

Apartments Versus Single-Family Housing:

Some of these characteristics described for the entertainers also

applied to the other group living in the apartment buildings. There was

a distinct correlation between place of residence--apartment or single-

family house--and the social orientation among the younger white-collar

households. The residents of single-family dwellings tended to be more

conservative or traditional, more in line with the neighborhood social

milieu and maintaining social patterns more like those of the younger

white-collar group of a previous phase. As Mr. F, a young National Rail-

ways employee, phrased it:

> Right now, in my career, the important thing is to build
> a broad face. . . . No, not just at work, here in the

> neighborhood, too. Not just becuase there are several
> older National Railway employees here, although that
> is a very important factor. . . . Well, it's that I
> don't know who will be important in the future. Maybe
> the Neighborhood Association head will be the one to
> introduce me to someone who will be very important,
> maybe not. But if I know as many people as I can, then
> my chances are better, aren't they?

This is almost a classic statement of why networks were built and maintained. About the only thing missing is a comment about how knowing everyone around makes life easier and more pleasant, a sentiment expressed by many Hanayama residents.

The apartment dwellers tended to be far less interested in blending into the social matrix of the neighborhood.[15] The sentiments expressed were much like those described earlier for the entertainers. The apartment-dwelling, younger white-collar group also felt that the construction and maintenance of durable and extensive social networks required too much investment of time and effort and were constraining on personal freedom. Even so, the younger white-collar apartment dwellers were occupationally and residentially far more stable than the entertainers, the implications of which are explored below in the discussion of interpersonal relationships in the neighborhood.

The apartment dwellers were usually slightly less well educated than those of the single-family housing group (see Tables 30 and 31), having approximately a year less formal education. The apartment dewllers were also slightly younger than the single-family housing adults. Both of these features are probably a function of company housing policies where more senior employees tend to get better company housing. All but two of the single-family housing dwellers were living in company-owned housing. Of the two exceptions, one was a young partner in a prosperous trading company;

Table 30.  Education of Phase III Younger White-Collar Migrants

|  | Primary | Middle | Higher | Junior College | College | University |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Single Family Housing** | | | | | | |
| male (13) | - | - | 3 | 5 | 3 | 2 |
| female (15) | 2 | 4 | 4 | 3 | 2 | - |
| **Apartment** | | | | | | |
| male (34) | - | 5 | 23 | 4 | 2 | - |
| female (19) | 1 | 9 | 7 | 1 | 1 | - |

AVERAGE YEARS FORMAL EDUCATION

Single family housing:

|  |  |  |  |
|---|---|---|---|
| males | 14.3 | | |
| females | 11.3 | total | 12.7 |

Apartment:

|  |  |  |  |
|---|---|---|---|
| males | 12.0 | | |
| females | 10.6 | total | 11.5 |

Table 31. Housing of Phase III Younger White-Collar Migrants

| | Single Family Housing | | | | | | Apartments | | | | | |
| | male | | female | | total | | male | | female | | total | |
| | # | % | # | % | # | % | # | % | # | % | # | % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Sapporo | 3 | 23.1 | 5 | 33.3 | 8 | 28.6 | 6 | 17.5 | 6 | 31.6 | 12 | 22.6 |
| Hokkaido: Urban | 7 | 53.8 | 6 | 40.0 | 13 | 46.4 | 8 | 23.5 | 7 | 36.8 | 15 | 28.3 |
| Hokkaido: Rural | - | -- | 1 | 6.7 | 1 | 3.6 | 8 | 23.5 | 6 | 31.6 | 14 | 26.4 |
| Tohoku: Urban | 1 | 7.7 | 1 | 6.7 | 2 | 7.1 | 3 | 8.8 | - | -- | 3 | 5.7 |
| Tohoku: Rural | - | -- | - | -- | - | -- | 3 | 8.8 | - | -- | 3 | 5.7 |
| S. Japan: Urban | 2 | 15.4 | 2 | 13.3 | 4 | 14.3 | 5 | 14.7 | - | -- | 5 | 9.4 |
| S. Japan: Rural | - | -- | - | -- | - | -- | 1 | 2.9 | - | -- | 1 | 1.9 |
| ALL URBAN | 13 | 100.0 | 14 | 93.3 | 27 | 96.4 | 22 | 64.7 | 13 | 68.4 | 35 | 66.0 |
| ALL RURAL | - | -- | 1 | 6.7 | 1 | 3.6 | 12 | 35.3 | 6 | 31.6 | 18 | 34.0 |

the other, a married daughter (and her husband) of a wealthy, older Hanayama white-collar couple, who owned the house their daughter was living in. Of the other nine households, the males--younger white-collar employees--appeared to be senior to the males living in the company-owned apartments. Both blue- and white-collar workers living in company-owned housing invariably worked for larger firms than those who had to rent, at much higher rates, their own apartments on the open market. For example, one company-owned building charged about a third the rent of the equivalent, privately owned ones. The rent on single-family housing followed much the same pattern: The best deal in the neighborhood was a cluster of houses owned by a large food-processing company. Although small by American standards, they were large by Japanese urban ones, with seven rooms plus a kitchen, a bath, and a toilet for a rent of ¥10,000 per month ($30.00). These were occupied by younger white-collar workers, rising young executives, who could have afforded to pay higher rents but probably not the standard rent for the high quality housing they lived in. Unfortunately, I was unable to establish some kind of standard for rents of single-family housing. No one in the neighborhood rented a house without some sort of special arrangement.

Part of the distinction by place of residence is exaggerated because much of the single-family housing and some of the apartments lived in by younger white-collar households were provided by the companies. Therefore, those who lived in the single-family housing tended to have more senior positions in the company heirarchy than those younger white-collar employees living in the apartments. Nearly all of the apartment dwellers wanted to live in single-family housing, but it was too expensive and they were not of the categories entitled to company-provided or assisted housing.

This drive toward better housing is common in Japan, as suggested by this cartoon by Sato Sampei.
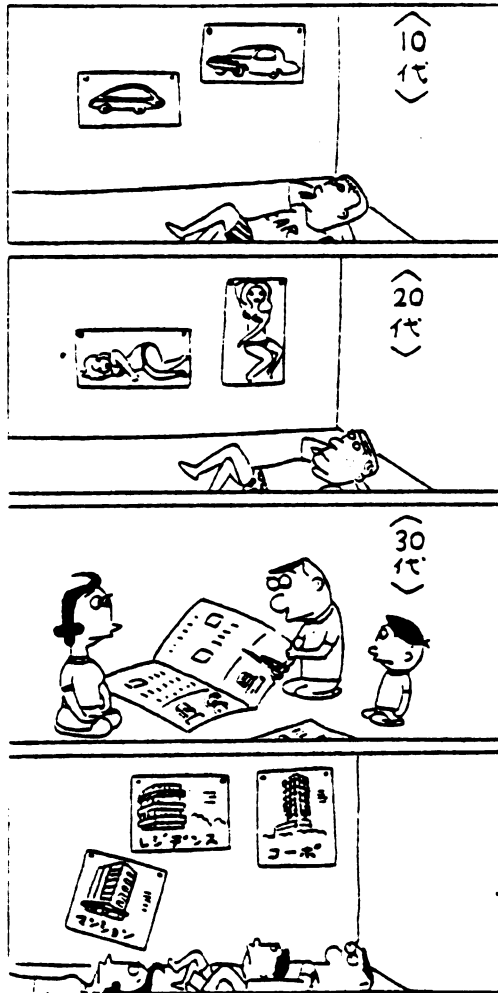


"Age 10"

"Age 20"

"Age 30"

"mansion" "residence"
"co-op"

At the age of ten, the young man dreams of fancy cars. At twenty, his dreams are of women. At thirty, married and with a child, he is obsessed with apartment buildings and houses (Skinner 1979:146-7). The pressure for housing in Sapporo is less urgent than in the great southern cities, a point discussed further later on, but it is strong enough to have some social effects. The most important effect of the housing pressure was to ensure that the residents of single-family housing tended to expect to

remain in the neighborhood for a considerable time, staying until they

could afford to purchase a house of their own, a very long-term proposition.

As one employee of a large company put it,

> Now that we have our own house, I don't think we'll move
> again.  There might be nicer houses, but this is pretty
> good and it's very cheap.  I think that we might stay
> here until I retire and we have to move out (the speaker
> was not due to retire for almost thirty years); even then
> I'm not sure what we'll do, housing is so difficult now.
> Probably move to Teinei (one of the suburbs).

The apartment dwellers, on the other hand, tended to be younger, less

advanced in the company hierarchy, or they worked for smaller companies

not as lavish with fringes such as housing.  This group has far fewer ex-

pectations, justifiably, of living in the neighborhood for any significant

length of time.  As a crude measure of permanence, the single-family hous-

ing, younger white-collar group averaged about eight years residence in the

neighborhood, while the apartment, younger white-collar group averaged only

a little more than two years.  This difference is also reflected in the

respective composition of the households of the two types as shown in Table

32.  Further, the apartment group was more likely to have lived in other

parts of Sapporo, moving from neighborhood to neighborhood rather frequent-

ly, oftener than the single-family residence, younger white-collar group.

## Younger White-Collar Residents:

The economic position of the younger white-collar group correlated

with the shifts in residential patterns.  In Phase II most if not all of

the younger white-collar group were employed by large establishments:  had

economic stability, if very low incomes; and had stable prospects for the

future.  The Phase III situation of the younger white-collar workers was

different.  Without the prospects of a stable future, either financial or

Table 32.   Younger White Collar Family Composition*

| | Single Family Housing (11 households) | | Apartment (17 households) | |
| | males | females | males | females |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Househead | 11 | -- | 17 | -- |
| Spouse | -- | 9 | -- | 17 |
| Child | 7 | 5 | 10 | 9 |
| Parent | 1 | -- | -- | -- |
| Other related | 1 | -- | -- | -- |
| Non-related | -- | 2 | -- | -- |
| | 20 | 20 | 27 | 26 |

* excluding single-person households, all of which were apartment
  dwellers.

geographical, the economic position of the younger white-collar employee becomes tenuous. As a group, the younger white-collar employees were low wage earners. The average of the group was difficult to determine because of the normal patterns of pay in Japan. Aside from the monthly, or base, salary, there are biannual bonuses, which together might equal the base salary but which are set sums, usually varying with either the company's success, union-negotiated formulae, or some other irregular factor. The younger white-collar annual incomes averaged about ¥2,000,000 to ¥3,000,000 ($6,000-$10,000), counting salary, bonuses, insurance benefits, housing benefits, and other official fringe benefits. The median of my small sample was nearer the ¥2,000,000 end of the scale. The low pay of the younger white-collar workers, a remnant of the tenryo or permanent employ-ment system, was supposed to be offset by the prospects of considerably higher pay as they gained seniority. But without permanent job security, this group found itself in a weak economic position. As a result, the infusion into Hanayama of the relatively unstable younger white-collar employees—those who lived in private apartments, were employed by smaller companies, had less formal education, and had limited economic or resi-dential stability—undermined the economic stability of the neighborhood economy; the retail shops were less economically stable, for example, be-cause the apartment-dwelling, younger white-collar households spend little money in the neighborhood. They did nearly all of their shopping in the department stores downtown or at the supermarket built during this phase just outside the Hanayama boundaries. Interestingly, the unstable apart-ment-dwelling group did not appear to be more conservative with their money than the more stable, single-family housing group; in fact, quite the opposite. The apartment dwellers appeared to have more consumer goods—

stereos, short-wave radios, and tape decks--while the more stable, younger white-collar group given their incomes, tended to have amazingly large personal savings.

The money saved by the younger white-collar group averaged, in my limited sample, more than a year's income: about ¥3,500,000 (about $12,000) per household. This pattern of substantial personal savings was also found with the older white-collar group, the shopkeepers, and the blue-collar group. The older white-collar group, not surprisingly, had the largest savings, then the shopkeepers, followed by the stable, younger white-collar group. The large savings are a result of many things: perhaps the most important is the limited retirement pensions offered by Japanese companies, an almost nonexistent national program for the elderly, and the various traumas the Japanese have undergone in the last century or so. Because company and national retirement programs are lacking, one must fend for oneself, invariably with personal savings, insurance, and the help of one's family, if one is fortunate. As one younger white-collar housewife put it,

> We really don't know what to expect in the future. We are lucky to have a decent house and we have (health) insurance, which is very good, but what if one of our parents get sick or something really bad happens? I try to save ten percent of (her husband's) salary every month. That makes it very difficult but we use the bonuses to buy big things.

Another put it:

> This isn't the United States. Japan is a very poor country. We do not have a good system for old people here, so we must do it ourselves. It is one of the most important problems in the country, I think. In some ways it is better now; before people didn't have (the very broad coverage) insurance because they couldn't afford it. Now, my company pays for mine and it covers everyone in the family, even mother (who lives with him).

Returning to the economic positions of the groups in the neighborhood, much of what was true for the unstable younger white-collar group was also true for the entertainers. While the entertainers were better paid than the younger white-collar group, the flow of their money to the neighborhood establishments was almost zero, except for the apartment rent paid to their landladies. Whereas the younger white-collar group at least tended to purchase such basics as food within the neighborhood, the entertainers appeared to have almost no contact with the shopkeepers, usually buying what little food they used in their apartments near where they worked, rather than in the neighborhood. As a result, the entertainers had little economic contact in the neighborhood. The significance here is that in previous phases the neighborhood social relationships had usually been an intertwining of social, political, and economic ties forming webbed patterns. But the entertainers' limited economic ties with other individuals in the neighborhood is consistent with their limited social and political neighborhood ties.

Older White-Collar Residents:

The socially most powerful group in the neighborhood, the older white-collar group, experienced an even greater increase in their economic, political, and social power outside Hanayama during this phase. The turmoil at the beginning of the previous phase, the period of the American occupation, and the rise back to economic affluence during the transition period brought the average economic position and power of the older white-collar group down from what otherwise it would have been. At the end of Phase II, the Japanese economy as a whole had phenomenal boom-period growth and, as far as Sapporo was concerned, this period of high growth[16] continued virtually unabated throughout Phase III in spite of the "oil shock," high

inflation, and other problems. Given these conditions, it is not surprising that the older white-collar group, economically the most powerful in the neighborhood to start with, tended to rise with the economic boom. Unlike part of the younger white-collar group, the older white-collar group did not have to deal with any personal economic instability because of their seniority in various, usually large, economic concerns and, unlike the shopkeepers, their economic sphere was expanding rapidly. The resulting affluence of the older white-collar group tended to rise both absolutely and relatively during Phase III.

The ties of older white-collar employees with the economy of the city as a whole also increased roughly in proportion to the expansion of the urban economy. Therefore, they provided a stable base for the retail economy inside Hanayama. The older white-collar group also owned most of the non-corporate single-family housing in the neighborhood, averaging slightly more than one house owned per older white-collar household (see appendix B on Land Ownership), and they provided most of the cash flow for the neighborhood political organizations. In constrast to the other groups already discussed, the older white-collar group's economic ties with the rest of the city had become even stronger and more stable.

## Blue-Collar Residents:

The blue-collar group maintained its economic stability but the number of workers in the neighborhood decreased radically during this phase. By the end of the phase, the remaining blue-collar group was all middle-seniority workers for the public utility company living in one block of company-owned duplexes; to a certain extent, the group's members had withdrawn from the sphere of neighborhood activities. The economic ties with the larger urban economy were nearly identical during Phase III and Phase II, and they

provided some of the stable base of the internal neighborhood economy,
the retail establishments; but with a total of only nine households in
1975, their contribution must be viewed as minimal.

Shopkeepers:

The shopkeepers' economic ties both inside and outside the neighbor-
hood are the most difficult to assess. Although the number of shops in-
creased during Phase III (in 1965 there were twenty-five shops in the neigh-
borhood and in 1975 there were twenty-nine), the types of shops shifted
somewhat: Phase II shops were primarily run by small retailers such as
grocers, butchers, and beverage dealers, with the shift to an increase in
the proportion of service shops selling cosmetics and coffee for example,
in Phase III. There were a number of other socioeconomic changes, some
already mentioned here significantly affecting the shopkeepers' economic
position. Their major economic shift was a result of the wholesale mar-
ket in the city of Sapporo changing from an unsophisticated, person-to-
person business in the immediate postwar period to a more complex, but
still network-based business in Phase III. The wholesale concerns conti-
nued their extremely rapid growth of Phase II through Phase III, decreas-
ing proportionately the economic leverage of any given small shopkeeper.
Also, in terms of particular goods (for example, foodstuffs), the small
neighborhood shops increasingly came into direct competition with the large
downtown department stores for both customers and "good" connections with
the wholesalers. Continuing with the example of foodstuffs, the locally
produced material was more or less equally available to both large and
small establishments because this material would be purchased through the
local, relatively small-scale network of wholesalers. But for material
that was not locally produced, the larger department stores and the super-

markets had a tremendous advantage. The larger the concern, the lower the

price per unit charged by the wholesalers; it is true, however, that the

very largest concerns, such as the great department store-chains, did

their own wholesaling and ran their own transportation systems. Usually,

the larger the store, the cheaper the product--although not always, because

sometimes the small shops were willing to operate with far smaller profit

margins. Accordingly, certain items came to be carried only by the larger

stores, which in turn attracted customers away from the smaller, local,

less well-stocked establishments. This cycle came into full swing during

Phase III. The overall trend was for the eventual total domination by the

large establishments and the extinction of the small ones. Unlike the

secondary sector of the economy, the dual structure where the smaller com-

panies feed into the larger ones provide them a certain degree of elasti-

city to withstand economic fluctuations, the retail sales sector pitted

the smaller shops against the larger stores in direct competition.

The countervailing force against the trend toward extinction of the

small, local establishments was the expectations and ground rules for the

small establishments were different from those applied by the larger firms;

in part this explains why the local shops have not already become extinct.

The large establishments ran on standard business principles of profit and

loss. The small ones were largely realizations of a strong value in Japanese

culture: being economically and socially independent. Every one of the

shopkeepers interviewed--fourteen of the twenty-nine in the neighborhood in

1975--expressed some form of this sentiment. For example,

> I quit my job (with a large pharmaceutical firm) to open
> this shop twenty years ago, so I could be my own boss.
> It's no good working for a company where you're lost in
> the crowd. Here I do what I want when I want. I took
> enough orders during the war to last the rest of my life.

and,

> I work long hours, but I work for myself and my family,
> not for some rich owner. When I retire, one of my sons
> will run the shop. If I worked for some company, what
> would my children inherit?

Non-shopkeepers in Hanayama shared many of the same values toward independence but, on the whole, felt that the price paid by the shopkeepers was higher than they wanted to pay. Instead, the non-shopkeepers opted for lower-risk, higher security employment. In order to be independent, the local shopkeepers put in longer hours, drew lower incomes, and maintained low standards of financial security compared to employees of their larger counterparts.[17] This does not mean, however, that the small establishments have not had to adapt to increasing competition.

In adapting to the competition, the economic ties of the small local retailers in the neighborhood became increasingly a local (within Hokkaido) network based on personal contact and small-scale economics. This adaptation was found in retail stores only. The other adaptation made by the neighborhood—as a statistical group, not as individuals—was to shift the emphasis of the neighborhood shops from purely small-scale retail to a mixed bag of small-scale retail and, increasingly, service shops, such as dry cleaners, coffee shops, and restaurants. In the service-shop sector, the direct competition with larger establishments (described above) did not apply so directly or devastatingly. The development of these service-shops meant that the wholesaler network of the shopkeepers shifted somewhat to fit the service-shop requirements. Thus, although the overall economic situation of the shopkeepers within the neighborhood could be said to have deteriorated somewhat, the range of the supply networks for the group as a whole increased significantly. This trend toward diversification of the

Hanayama establishments also meant that the neighborhood will probably be able to maintain its shopkeeper population in spite of the possible direct competition with the supermarkets and the department stores.

The growth of the larger retail establishments outside the Hanayama neighborhood and the shift in population within the neighborhood has meant that the shopkeepers' previous economically stable ties with other groups in the neighborhood has deteriorated. The older white-collar group and the shopkeeper relationships, on the whole, have remained stable, but the links with the younger white-collar group, the entertainers, and to some extent the blue-collar group has sharply declined. The transition from a retail-shop cluster to a mixed retail/service-shop cluster also produced two different types of shopkeeper. The older shopkeepers—all retailers— maintained economic ties with each other, even when directly competitive; this is seen in the example of the fruitsellers who would occasionally pool their resources to cash in on a wholesaler's bargain. There was also considerable gift giving at various times of the year to reinforce these links. The new service shopkeepers, somewhat younger in average age than the older shopkeepers as well as being newer to Hanayama, tended to have only limited economic contact, or none at all, with the retail shopkeepers or with each other.

The attitudes expressed by these newer shopkeepers indicated that they, like the entertainers and the apartment-living, younger white-collar employees, were more interested in being _modan_ than in maintaining extensive neighborhood social bonds. The sentiments expressed were not as extreme as those of the entertainers quoted previously, but some of the ideas—particularly the concept of personal freedom unencumbered by sticky interpersonal relationships—were held in common.

Landladies:

The last group to be considered in terms of their economic position inside of and outside of the neighborhood is a socioeconomic category new to Phase III: the landladies, who tended to have highly variable economic ties outside of the neighborhood. The apartment houses were financed by small combines of which the manager-landlady was a principal. Specific data on what degree of ownership was held by which landlady was generally lacking. Although I was not privy to specific data on all of the apartment houses, I was able to ask some general questions concerning finances, but in two cases I was allowed access to this information, ownership varied. One landlady, with her husband, owned one hundred percent of the apartment house, which was a unique phenomenon. The more common pattern was represented by the second landlady, who owned a quarter share of her large apartment house. Another quarter was officially owned by her brother, and one sixth each was owned by three unrelated people, all of whom she had known in her previous occupation as a mama-san.[18] The landlady and her brother were in the process of buying out the other co-owners over what would be about a ten-year period. I was unable to get details about interest payments, but from the landlady's explanation it seems that the interest eventually would equal about ten per cent per annum, a not unreasonable amount; in fact, a very favorable one.

The economic ties of the landlady were primarily to her backers—including a bank if it were involved—and to suppliers of goods and services required in maintaining the apartments. In this respect, any given landlady normally had various services performed by the same person or persons over extended periods of time (e.g., tatami maintenance, plumbing, painting). Often the people who serviced the apartments were previously known to the

landlady. For other services connected with the apartments (e.g., laundry and kerosene) there were regular deliveries, usually by the same companies used by all the tenants in the building, often arranged through one of her financial backers and with some sort of kickback arrangement to the landlady. An individual landlady might also have other outside business interests involving various contacts primarily economic in nature. The landlady who owned her own building also owned part of another apartment house in an adjoining neighborhood in addition to a farm in the rural district south of Sapporo. The other landlady, who owned a quarter of her apartment house, had shared in a long list of enterprses, including bars, two fishing boats, a farm, and a small trucking firm. Some of these enterprises were in connection with the same group that owned shares of the apartment house she managed, and some were not, although her family seems to have been involved with all but one of the bar connections.[19]

The sum of the landlady-economic connections with the outside city were such that the landladies, after the older white-collar group, had the widest outside connections. Often many of these contacts were, in effect, brought into the neighborhood with the landlady when the apartment building was constructed. Thus the landladies, like the older white-collar group, provided access to outside economic contacts for people—usually their tenants—in the neighborhood. In this respect they acted as information or introduction brokers, as did the older white-collar group, a position of some social power in Japanese society or any other.

The primary economic ties of the landladies in the neighborhood were with their tenants. The tenant-landlady relationship was usually wholly economic with social aspects being held to a minimum, but there were exceptions, particularly with tenants who had lived in the apartment buildings

for several years. With these exceptions, the landladies developed deep

social ties. The landladies also developed strong economic ties with the

shopkeepers and, in some notable cases, with members of the older white-

collar group. The ties with the shopkeepers were just what might be ex-

pected: the landladies slowly but steadily built up regular economic and

concomitant social bonds with the retail shopkeepers. Having looked at

the individual groups, it is now possible to extract some of the overall

patterns.

Neighborhood-City Ties:

The economic ties between the neighborhood and the city were more

broadly based and diffuse in Phase III than they had been in previous phases.

Part of this broadening was a result of the increase in population of the

neighborhood and the city, which meant more links from the neighborhood to

the outside. The other major factor was the introduction of two new socio-

economic groups, the entertainers and the landladies, into the neighborhood

with their own external economic links.

The contrast with the earlier phases is rather marked. Whereas in

Phase I the ties with the larger city were through limited conduits, the

Phase III ties were very extensive and covered nearly all possible areas

of urban economic life: manufacturing, construction, transportation,

service, entertainment, retail and wholesale marketing, communications,

and government. Taken as a whole, then, the neighborhood of Hanayama had

a greater potential economic range, a number of contacts, and thus poten-

tially greater leverage than ever before. The reasons why this potential

leverage was not exerted to the fullest was more a function of political

and social factors than economic ones, but it is important that the econo-

mic potential existed. If it had been a cohesive political and social body,

as it had been in Phases I and II, Hanayama had the political and economic contacts to exert considerable leverage within the district and even the city political and economic organs. It did not do so, not because the means were not there, but because the neighborhood lacked the cohesiveness necessary to develop the interest to exert such leverage.

The growth of the neighborhood's economic base was important for another reason besides giving Hanayama potential political leverage. With the increasing affluence of the Japanese since the war, the economic structure has had a variety of changes, adequately described elsewhere in terms of their impact on social life (e.g., Dore 1958; Cole 1971; Vogel 1967 and 1979; and Reischauer 1977), covering virtually all forms of modern Japan. These changes are reflected in the increased range of economic ties within the neighborhood, and in the lessening of the overall leverage of the individuals in the neighborhood; the reason for the diminished individual leverage lies directly in the decreased cohesiveness of the neighborhood as a social entity. In effect, while the economic network range has increased through time, the intensity of the network links has decreased.[20] The overall trend of the economic situation of the neighborhood during the study period was from a state of relative autonomy, with internal primary industry wherein the economic ties to the rest of the urban area were limited, to a state of total dependence and widespread, intensive economic ties to the city outside the neighborhood. The transition from farms to small shops, apartment buildings, and white-collar employees making a residential area indistinguishable from the surrounding urban terrain. Economically, the neighborhood became a far less distinctive and autonomous unit within the urban sphere.

The social connections between people in the neighborhood and the

outside city continued the trend noted for the last phase, becoming more

expansive, more contacts established outside the neighborhood, but shal-

lower in that the average intensity, durability, and frequency of the

exterior relationships appeared to decrease. The enormous growth of the

city and neighborhood populations (see Table 14) contributed to the trend

toward network diffusion. The social contacts of the neighborhood, in

total, were far more extensive during Phase III than in Phase II. Part of

this diffusion can be accounted for by the increase in the heterogeneity

and number of socioeconomic groups in the neighborhood; these increases

thereby enlarged the relationships maintained with groups and individuals

outside the neighborhood. Another significant contribution to heighten

outside relationships is the increased incidence of telephones, which

allowed easier communication and aided in the frequency of contact. Tele-

phones are, however, quite expensive. Private home installation costs

about ¥60,000 (about $200) in 1975. However, despite the cost, the value

of the telephone was recognized in maintaining social relationships. As

one of the landladies, a rather elderly woman, commented:

> I think it's wonderful. I can just call people up instead
> of having to visit them. It's very good here in the city
> because it's hard for me to get around, but I like to know
> how my family is doing, and my children just call me up
> every day or so. I even talked to my brother in Hakodate.
> We never had anything like this before.

She had lived on an isolated farm and was more enthusiastic about the tele-

phone than some of the sophisticated residents of the neighborhood, but the

ideas were those expressed by many people. All of the older white-collar,

shopkeeper, landlady, and blue-collar households had telephones. In the

company-owned, blue-collar duplexes, the telephones came with the houses.

Almost all of the younger white-collar households in single-family housing

had phones, some of which were paid for by the individuals and some by the companies that owned the houses. I only found two younger white-collar households in single-family housing without a telephone. In both cases, expense was the only objection, and they intended to acquire telephones as soon as possible. However, fewer than half of the younger white-collar and entertainer apartment dwellers had their own telephones. One of the services provided in the apartment houses was access to a public telephone. The landlady or someone in her household would answer the phone, then buzz the apartment wanted on a complicated buzzer system. The telephone was always centrally located, and calling out was done like any pay telephone in the United States. That one could use the public phone instead of a private one and the prohibitive cost probably contributed to the scarcity of apartment telephones. However, the transience of the apartment dwellers was also an important consideration. With an average of only one year in an apartment, the ¥60,000 fee loomed even larger. For whatever reasons, however, the differential access to telephones would indicate a difference in access to an important channel of communications, which appears to correlate strongly with socioeconomic category.

The most easily measured unit of social linkages was family contacts. Table 33 shows the frequency of contact among family members by geographical distance and socioeconomic category. The figure indicates a correlation between proximity and frequency of contact (including telephone calls and letters). There is also an age correlation. The older residents of Hanayama have more frequent contacts with their families than do the younger residents. The proportion of people in the neighborhood whose families lived in or near Sapporo steadily decreased throughout the study period. Almost all of the entertainers, for example, came from outside Sapporo but inside

Table 33.   Frequency of Family Contact

| | Older White-Collar n = 33 | Younger White-Collar n = 31 | Shop-keeper n = 21 | Blue-Collar n = 9 | Enter-tainer n = 30 | Land-lady n =14 | Totals |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Sapporo** | (17) | (2) | (4) | (3) | (4) | (19) | |
| once/year* | – | – | – | – | 1 | – | 1 |
| 3-4/year | – | 1 | – | – | – | 1 | 2 |
| once/month | 1 | – | – | – | – | 1 | 2 |
| once/week** | 16 | 1 | 4 | 3 | 3 | 17 | 44 |
| | | | | | | | |
| **Within 100 km.** | (5) | (7) | (9) | (2) | (11) | (17) | |
| once/year* | – | 1 | – | – | 6 | – | 7 |
| 3-4/year | 1 | 4 | 3 | – | 2 | 2 | 12 |
| once/month | 3 | 1 | 3 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 13 |
| once/week** | 1 | 1 | 3 | – | 1 | 13 | 18 |
| | | | | | | | |
| **Hokkaido** | (7) | (29) | (18) | (7) | (21) | (22) | |
| once/year* | 2 | 19 | – | 1 | 17 | – | 39 |
| 3-4/year | 3 | 4 | – | 4 | – | 14 | 25 |
| once/month | 1 | 5 | 16 | 2 | 3 | 5 | 32 |
| once/week** | 1 | 1 | 2 | – | 1 | 3 | 8 |
| | | | | | | | |
| **Other** | (23) | (13) | (11) | (7) | (21) | (19) | |
| once/year* | 16 | 4 | – | 4 | 11 | 1 | 36 |
| 3-4/year | 5 | 7 | 9 | 1 | 7 | 13 | 42 |
| once/month | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 3 | 3 | 10 |
| once/week** | – | 1 | 1 | 1 | – | 2 | 5 |

\* or less
\*\* or more

Hokkaido. Although everyone in the neighborhood appeared to maintain some sort of contact with his or her family or origin, the quality of contact was perceived to have steadily decreased. By quality, in this context, I mean what Mitchell calls "intensity," the willingness to respond positively to requests and needs, but also I include frequency of contact and the individual's perception of the quality of the relationship. Again, the telephone was an important means of maintaining frequency of contact, but the other aspects—the intensity of the relationship and the perceived value of the relationship—appear to have deteriorated; this is true particularly among the younger people who are also more likely to be geographically separated from their natal families. In part, this shift is a conscious one since many of the younger people came to Sapporo, among other reasons, to isolate themselves from their families.

> Why did I come to Sapporo? I suppose to find a job, but also to get out of Y (a small town on Hokkaido's east coast). I just couldn't stand the small town prying into everybody's business. And my parents. My mother and I don't get along very well. I don't see them much; the last time was more than two years ago now. I do see my sister who lives in Otaru occasionally. I send my parents a New Year's Card. Sometimes my father will call but not much; he's too stingy.

> Ms. Y: a hostess

Looking at generational differences, it seems that it is much more likely that an older person's adult children will be living in Sapporo than that a younger person's parents are living in Sapporo (see Table 34). The secondary linkages yielded by familial primary contacts of course, are also affected, decreasing in direct proportion to the decrease in family contact. That is, if a person's family lives in Sapporo, he or she is more likely to have a number of contacts traced through family members. Persons whose

Table 34.    Parents/Children in Sapporo

| | Live in Sapporo | | Live within 100 kilometers | | Live in Hokkaido | | Other | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | # | % | # | % | # | % | # | % |
| Couples with Adult Children n = 42 couples 93 children | 37 | 39.8 | 12 | 12.9 | 16 | 17.2 | 28 | 30.1 |
| Adults with Living Parents n = 81 | 7 | 8.6 | 11 | 13.6 | 49 | 60.5 | 14 | 17.3 |

NOTE:   sample is not systematically derived.

families do not live in or near Sapporo were less likely to have contacts directly derived from their families (see Table 35).

The same patterns that were true for families also existed for school ties, particularly with white-collar employees and entertainers, but also for other groups. A common perception held by nearly all informants was that those who attended the University of Hokkaido, one of the old Imperial universities and located in Sapporo, or even any other Sapporo college had larger and more important social networks outside the neighborhood than those who did not have the school ties.[21] People who attended school in Sapporo also perceived their school ties as more important, on the whole, than those who went to school elsewhere (see Table 36). There also seemed to be a strong correlation between the amount of education and the perceived importance of school ties. That is, university graduates were most likely to see such ties as very important, while primary school graduates, at least those few in Hanayama, had not maintained school ties at all. Returning to Table 36, the one individual who had gone to school outside of Sapporo but stressed the importance of his school ties had attended one of the great private universities in the Tokyo area. Two of the "outside Sapporo" group to whom school ties were important but who thought that other ties were equally important also were highly educated. None of the five respondents in the final category, outsiders who thought that school ties were unimportant, were highly educated.

As the number of people in the neighborhood whose families were elsewhere and who attended school outside of Sapporo increased, the incidence of deep, durable contacts developed from these sources decreased. The secondary contacts derived from the primary family and school contacts also decreased. This decrease was perceived by one older white-collar male as

Table 35.  Family Contacts and Distance

|  | Have Direct Family Derived Contacts in Sapporo | Do Not Have Direct Family Derived Contacts in Sapporo |
|---|---|---|
| Kin live in Sapporo n = 13 | 13 | 0 |
| Kin live in Hokkaido n = 163 | 6 | 157 |
| Other n = 24 | 1 | 23 |

NOTE:  Sample is not systematically derived.

Table 36.    Perceptions of Importance of School Ties

| FELT THAT SCHOOL TIES WERE: | University of Hokkaido | Other Sapporo College or Jr College | Other Sapporo School | Outside School |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Very Important | 2 | 11 | 2 | 1* |
| Important but Other Contacts Equally so | 0 | 7 | 13 | 17 |
| Not Very Important | 0 | 1 | 4 | 5 |

n = 63

NOTE:  Sample is not systematically derived.

*   Individual attended one of the great southern private universities.

a crucial shift in the social pattern of the neighborhood.  As he put it,

> Before, a young person would move into the neighborhood
> with introductions—from his family, family friends,
> school people, or employer.  You had something to hold
> onto until you got to know the people.  Not now.  Now
> nobody knows who they are or where they come from.  How
> do you deal with people like that?

The decrease in family and school contacts was perceived by most of the older residents as a serious problem, not only in the neighborhood but possibly for Japanese society as a whole.

If these basic, very durable linkages have decreased, particularly with their important function of generating secondary contact, the question arises, where did the increase in overall network ranges necessary come from?  The first answer is from increased population, both in terms of absolute numbers and relative density.  The white- and blue-collar groups represented were usually employed by large concerns of various types, usually tertiary (see Table 23).  The absolute size of these concerns tended to be steadily growing, thus opening new avenues for social links.  The density of the neighborhood doubled and, except for the apartment dwellers, the customs of the neighborhood—and Japanese society in general—demand at least superficial contact with one's immediate neighbors.  As density increased, therefore, the total number of persons known at least minimally tended to increase.

Overall, the social position of the neighborhood—as opposed to the social linkages enjoyed by persons living in the neighborhood—followed the pattern of the economic connections within the larger urban environment.  The neighborhood had been viewed as a distinct social unit in Phase I, separate from Sapporo, even though technically part of it.  That is, the neighborhood and the district were still seen as distinct units, but

they were not then perceived as being as autonomous, as they had been viewed in Phase I. The area was usually discussed by its name, Flower Mountain Village, rather than street names (Japan's equivalent to addresses in the United States). During Phase III, the autonomy and distinctive features of the neighborhood were blurred into the surrounding area. The old district name, Hanayama, was no longer used much, except as the name of a post office branch, and even the technical boundaries of the neighborhood were not known to most of the inhabitants. The native perception of the neighborhood was that of a social entity at the beginning of the study period. By the end of the study period in 1975, the neighborhood as a social entity had been dismissed by most of the inhabitants.

These perceptions correlated with the social groupings and types of residences in the neighborhood. All of the entertainers; the apartment-dwelling, younger white-collar employees; the blue-collar families isolated at one end of the neighborhood in their company-owned duplexes; and the newest of the landladies were ignorant of the formal boundaries of the neighborhood and the old neighborhood name. Conversely, all of the older white-collar and shopkeeper informants, including the newer shopkeepers, were aware of the location of the formal boundaries of the neighborhood and its old name, Flower Mountain Village, which some of them still used. The older landladies--those in the neighborhood for more than a couple of years--also tended to know the boundaries and almost all used the old name for the neighborhood regularly in normal conversation, even more than the older white-collar or shopkeeper informants.[22] Thus, the social patterns of the neighborhood tended to parallel economic patterns.

Political Organization:

The formal and informal political organization of the neighborhood fit

into much the same patterns. Looking first at the formal political organizations, the Neighborhood Association had enjoyed great power and prestige at two earlier times--the later war period of the early 1940s and the late 1950s. At the end of Phase II, in 1965, the Neighborhood Association enjoyed considerable power and had the membership of most if not all the neighborhood inhabitants. The political control of the Neighborhood Association was mainly in the hands of the older white-collar group, but the shopkeepers and the younger white-collar males were making inroads, at least partly as a result of the efforts, grudgingly or otherwise, of some of the older white-collar males to "democratize" (demokurashii) the Neighborhood Association.

During Phase III, the Neighborhood Association deteriorated rapidly in all respects. With the migration into the neighborhood of the entertainers and many younger white-collar households (see Table 37), the universal membership that the association had enjoyed in the previous phases declined with a period of ten years to a formal membership of less than 70% of the households in Hanayama.[23] All of the single-family housing households belonged to the association, but less than half of the apartment households maintained even formal membership. That the membership might be only formal for some of the apartment dwellers is expressed in the following comment from a hostess:

> Yes, I belong to the Neighborhood Association, but I don't
> do anything. You see, Mrs. S, the landlady, is the head
> of the block association (han-cho). It doesn't look good
> for her if I don't belong. Look (pointing to the list of
> Neighborhood Association members)--almost everyone in the
> apartments here are members, but I don't think that anyone
> goes to the meetings or anything. In fact, I don't really
> know when or where the meetings are, but there must be some.

Similar sentiments were expressed by most of the apartment dwellers, enter-

Table 37.  Hanayama Migration: 1965-1975

| | IN | | OUT | | NET | | | |
| | Households # | Adult Population # | Households # | Adult Population # | Households # | % | Adult Population # | % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Shopkeepers | 7 | 22 | 3 | 8 | 4 | 1.5 | 14 | 3.3 |
| Older White-Collar | 4 | 8 | 8 | 19 | -4 | -1.5 | -11 | -2.6 |
| Younger White-Collar | 108 | 229 | 71 | 154 | 37 | 14.0 | 75 | 17.9 |
| Blue-Collar | 2 | 5 | 9 | 23 | -7 | -2.7 | -18 | -4.3 |
| Landladies | 14 | 31 | -- | -- | 14 | 5.3 | 31 | 7.4 |
| Entertainers | ?? | ?? | ?? | ?? | 217 | 82.2 | 322 | 76.8 |
| Other | 3 | 6 | -- | -- | 3 | 1.1 | 6 | 1.4 |

tainer and younger white-collar employee alike. Further, a quick glance
at the list of association members for both 1972 and 1974, shows that the
three landladies who are block association heads have recruited most of
their tenants. The apartment houses whose landladies are not block asso-
ciation heads are poorly represented, except for two cases where the land-
ladies are great friends of the landladies who are the block association
leaders.

During this phase, virtually all of the formal functions of the Neigh-
borhood Association appear to have been abandoned or taken over by other
organs, except for the liaison function with higher organs of the urban
government. For example, the annual festival (matsuri) and neighborhood
wide clean-up projects have been dropped and resident registration is now
done only by the police, without Neighborhood Association assistance. Al-
though the skeleton of the association survived to the end of Phase III in
1975, its only real functions appeared to have been a limited input into
the district organization; a basic framework for what is left of the tonari
gumi; and certain "social club" type activities such as an annual dinner
to elect new officers.

Looking at these surviving functions, the District Association was
made up of the Neighborhood Association head (chonaikaicho) representing
the seventeen neighborhoods comprising the district. From the point of
view of the residents of Hanayama, the District Association had as its
primary function a rather vague input into larger city organs concerning
specific district requirements such as street repairs, police functions,
and school maintenance, all of which were duplicated by other agencies and
organizations. According to the head of the Neighborhood Association and
other informants working with the District Association, the major function

performed at the district level was to act as a coordinating and liaison
agent between the neighborhoods and the city organs. Most of the Hanayama
residents, however, appeared to have very little idea of how these various
levels of government worked, nor did they appear to have much interest in
learning more about them. They were perceived, on the whole, as being
unimportant, particularly by the younger migrants who displayed the great-
est ignorance in this area.

The annual banquet and other less formal get-togethers for the officers
of the Neighborhood Association and the heads of the tonari gumi were the
places where association "business" was transacted, but with the replace-
ment or abandonment of its former functions the business of the association
became increasingly social and decreasingly businesslike. The social func-
tions were important, however, especially on the lower level of the tonari
gumi.

There was a direct correlation between the proportion of the older
white-collar group involved in the formal neighborhood organizations and
the degree of effectiveness these organizations had. During Phase II, the
majority of the various officeholders were of the older white-collar group.
There were seven officers elected annually by the Neighborhood Association.
During Phase II, about twenty-five different people held one of these seven
offices at one time or another. Only two (of those known) were not of the
older white-collar group, both being older shopkeeper males. Toward the
end of Phase III, the older white-collar group was only a plurality of the
association's membership, while most of the offices were held by members
of the younger white-collar, landlady, and shopkeeper groups. During Phase
III, both persons who had served as association head were older white-
collar males, but of the seventeen people who had served in the other six

positions, only nine were of the older white-collar group. In addition, by 1975 only two of the thirteen _tonari gumi_ heads (_han-cho_) were older white-collar and one of them a woman.

The final function of the Neighborhood Association was to serve as a framework for the functioning of the _tonari gumi_. Since the effective remaining internal functions of the neighborhood lay in the informal aspects of organization grouped around the _tonari gumi_, the Neighborhood Association's providing them some structural support and legitimacy had some value, but it appeared to be rapidly decreasing. Because the association continued to have a neighborhood-wide formal structure above the formal block association, the _tonari gumi_ informally kept going some continuity with the past; thus, a certain ease of neighborhood entry remained useful for some of the migrants. Since the Neighborhood Association was three full structural steps away from the effective functional arena, however, it is difficult to ascribe much real value to it.

The effective functional arena, the informal efforts of the _tonari gumi_, primarily involved interpersonal relationships within the neighborhood, and, to a lesser extent, the absorption of migrants into the social milieu of the neighborhood.

In the past, the absorption of new migrants had been a primary function of the informal workings of the _tonari gumi_. In Phase III, this function continued but on a limited scale. The limits were basically that only the residents of single-family housing were absorbed in ways similar to the mechanisms so successful in previous phases. As mentioned above, the major differences in the patterns of migration between Phase III and the two previous phases were the attitudes of many of the migrants and the physical geography of the settlement--clustered company-owned housing and apartment

buildings.

The absorptive mechanisms of the neighborhood, based on the development of close interpersonal ties, could only operate with those individuals who wanted to be absorbed and who were accessible to their new neighbors. The company-owned clusters of single-family housing presented some problems in that they were physically isolated from the rest of the neighborhood. The most extreme example of this was the blue-collar housing discussed earlier where the blue-collar households were socially isolated from other groups. The blue-collar migrants coming into Hanayama during Phase III literally knew no non-blue-collar individuals in the entire neighborhood; they were totally isolated. Physical isolation contributed to the social isolation, although there were other considerations as well. Less extreme forms of isolation involved younger white-collar, single-family housing that was contiguous to other single-family housing. The people who moved into these dwellings established contact with others outside their own group and were, in time, absorbed fairly well. The cluster of housing did pose some difficulty. As one young housewife put it,

> When we first moved here, we quickly got to know the
> people (living) nearest; our husbands all work together,
> so they knew each other to start with, although not very
> well. For the first months we were here, we got to know
> them (the fellow employees) better, but didn't meet any-
> one else . . . except the block association head. We
> joined the Neighborhood Association. . . . After a bit,
> we got to know some of the other people but it took more
> than a year before we knew who most of the people on the
> street were. I still don't know some of them, although
> I do say "good morning" when I see them.

Most of the younger white-collar migrants quickly joined the Neighborhood Association after moving into Hanayama, and most of them introduced themselves to their immediate neighbors.[24] These were, however, a distinct

minority of the total number of neighborhood migrants. The majority during

Phase III moved into the new apartment houses.[25] Not only were the apart-

ment residents physically isolated by the nature of the buildings from the

single-family housing neighbors, but they tended to move into the buildings

in waves, at least at first when the buildings opened.

The major consideration, however, in the development of the social

absorption of the apartment migrants was that most did not want to be drawn

into the social milieu of Hanayama or into any other similar system.  As

discussed above, most of the entertainers and many of the apartment-dwelling,

younger white-collar adults had come to Sapporo to avoid the kind of social

interaction that being absorbed into the neighborhood's social patterns

would involve.  Some, in fact, were actively hostile to the idea, holding

themselves aloof, even to the point of angering people like their landladies

who felt snubbed.

This self-inflicted social isolation of the apartment dwellers was not

universal.  There were a few apartment people, mostly younger white-collar

employees, who were interested in establishing social roots in the neigh-

borhood.  The process of their introduction into the social milieu of

Hanayama was different than that of the single-family housing, younger

white-collar migrants.  Instead of O-hirome and the spread of pertinent

social information through immediate neighbors, the landladies acted as

social brokers for the apartment dwellers.

All of the landladies had acted immediately and forcefully on moving

into the neighborhood to make themselves accepted socially by the Hanayama

inhabitants.  They had introduced themselves to their neighbors, sometimes

to everyone on their street, to the other landladies, and in a few cases

to all of the officers of the Neighborhood Association.  They had joined

the Neighborhood Association as quickly as possible.  By 1975 three of

the thirteen block association heads (han-cho) were landladies.  All of

them expressed strong agreement with the value of building and maintaining

strong relationships in their place of residence.  All of the landladies

identified themselves as being a member of a group, "the landladies."

That is, part of their identification of themselves was the group identity.

They were all Hanayama landladies,  The landladies were the only group in

the neighborhood to unanimously identify themselves as a distinct category.

The only other individuals to sometimes make a similar identification were

the older shopkeepers.  The readiness of the landladies to label themselves

with a group identity seems to fit with their eagerness to fit into the

neighborhood social milieu in a rather traditional way.  This sentiment was

no doubt reinforced by the neighborhood also being their place of business.

To return to the absorption of apartment migrants, the landladies not

only introduced those interested to other people in the neighborhood, some

of the more socially active landladies literally recruited what they called

"good people" for introduction into the social sphere of the neighborhood.

The landladies' introductions were usually made in the halls of the apato

or in the courtyards of the mansion.  The recruiting, a kind of special

entrepreneurial activity, usually occurred inside the landladies' quarters,

usually in the living rooms.  This is a noteworthy point because such casu-

al visiting in one another's living quarters was rare.  The pattern of such

recruiting appeared to be that the new migrants would get to know the land-

lady rapidly.  She would then start introducing them around, and if they

responded favorably--that is, appeared to enjoy it--the process continued;

if not, it stopped.  The following quote from a landlady indicates what

benefits she received from her introducing people:

>Well, its fun and I like to do it. Young people (she
>was well over 60) are so shy. Of course, I wanted to
>be useful in the association, so you might say that I
>became block association head that way, but I wouldn't
>say that. There is one other thing. My business de-
>pends on the "good spirit" (yoi ki:          "good
>spirit," "good emotions") of the apartments. If I
>have a good reputation, then good people rent my
>apartments. If good people are happy in the neighbor-
>hood and feel comfortable, then they will stay longer.
>That's just good business.

Because most of the apartment houses are run on narrow financial margins,
vacancies could be disastrous, and steps must be taken to avoid long tran-
sitions between tenants.

Although the landladies began acting as information brokers during
this phase, the trend toward a decreased information flow and less durable
and intense social networks continued from the previous phase. The role
of migration and the changes in the city of Sapporo in affecting these
trends are discussed later. First, we should look at the networks as they
were in 1975.

There were four types of social networks employed inside the neighbor-
hood by the residents of Hanayama at the end of Phase III. The social net-
works most closely approximating the previous phases in Hanayama were the
relationhips built and maintained by the older groups in the neighborhood,
the older white-collar employees and the older shopkeepers. Although the
density of the networks—the number of people known in the neighborhood—
was low, these residents maintained durable relationships reinforced by
frequent, often daily, interaction. The intensity of the relationships—
the willingness to respond positively to requests or needs—was also main-
tained at a high level, primarily because this aspect of social relation-
ships was seen as being of paramount importance. The maintenance of strong
neighborhood relationships was possible because their number, proportionately,

was greatly restricted. The older white-collar residents and the older shopkeepers knew each other; and individuals in each group would know a few of the younger white-collar residents, usually those living in single-family housing, and most of the landladies. The shopkeepers knew the blue-collar females and some of the younger white-collar females from single-family housing. In all, a limited web was maintained, a sharp contrast to the "broad face" situation found in the previous phases among these older groups.

The next most conservative groups were the single-family housing, younger white-collar residents and the newer shopkeepers. These people also had relatively small networks compared either to those of the older residents or to those of their own categories in time past. While the older shopkeepers and older white-collar residents knew from about 100 (for the older white-collar residents) to about 200 (for the older shop-keepers) adults in Hanayama, the single-family housing, younger white-collars and the newer shopkeepers knew an average of about 75 other adults. The single-family housing, younger white-collar residents knew most of the shopkeepers (older and newer) and some of the older white-collar workers, as well as a few of the other single-family housing, younger white-collar adults. If they were living in company housing, the most common situation, they knew everyone else in the same company-housing cluster. The newer shopkeepers knew some of the older shopkeepers, a few of the other newer shopkeepers, and a scattering of the younger white-collar and entertainer residents who patronized their establishments. For both groups the rela-tionships were of low durability, reflecting their short tenure in Hanayama; of highly variable frequency, ranging from several contacts a day to one every few weeks; and of moderate intensity. The intensity of the relation-

ships depended primarily on who the relationships were with. For example, the newer shopkeeper-customer (of whatever group) links were of low intensity, while the younger white-collar male to older white-collar male relationship would probably have as high an intensity as the younger white-collar male could make it. Another example of high intensity relationships was found among the company-owned, housing-cluster residents where the residential proximity was reinforced by the powerful bond of mutual company employment, employment being for many of the males the primary emotional focus of their lives.

The modan ("modern," "hip") groups, entertainers and younger white-collar apartment dwellers, had networks that were extremely small. What few relationships they had in the neighborhood lacked significant durability, frequency, or intensity. The only exceptions to this rule were the rare tenants who stayed in the neighborhood for several years and had built a few networks through their landladies, as discussed earlier. These network-building apartment dwellers were a minority; out of a sample of 67 apartment adults interviewed, only 3 knew more than 20 other people in the entire neighborhood. In sum, therefore, the networks of the apartment residents could be said to be almost nonexistant.[26]

The final groups, the landladies and the blue-collar residents, form something of a residual category. Both groups were small and their approach to social interaction was conservative, but with rather different consequences. As was discussed above, the blue-collar residents by 1975 had retreated from the social life of the neighborhood. The blue-collar residents all knew each other; the males worked for the same company and they lived in close proximity in a row of company-owned duplexes. Within these ties, the durability, intensity, and frequency of the relationships were extremely high,

as they were for the younger white-collar residents in the company-owned housing clusters. Aside from the blue-collar to blue-collar relationships, however, those residents knew an average of only twenty other adults in the neighborhood, the great majority of whom were older shopkeepers. The durability of these relationships was moderate, averaging several years, and the frequency was high because of the shopping pattern. However, the intensity of the relationships, as perceived by both the older shopkeepers and the blue-collar residents, was very low.

The landladies' networks, on the other hand, were as large as they could make them. Possibly because of the coexistence of residence and business (a point examined further in the next chapter), the landladies spent a great deal of time and effort building up and maintaining their social netwroks. Given that the landladies had only lived in the neighborhood about five years in 1975, the landladies knew an average of more than 150 adults in the neighborhood, excluding their own tenants.[27] With the more conservative groups in the neighborhood, the older white-collar and shopkeeper residents, the landladies tried to build strong relationships. With most of the younger white-collar residents and especially the entertainers, the quality of the relationship or even the relationship itself, including those with their tenants, were not so important with the exception of those few cases mentioned above where tenants were taken "under the wing" of their landladies.

Summary:

The face-to-face, everyone-knows-everyone-else nature of the social relationships that had existed in previous phases was gone. The closure, to use Bott's phrase (1957) or density (Mitchell 1969) averaged between 10 and 20 percent for the entire neighborhood. The various social groups

in the neighborhood had adjusted their webs of social relationships to
fit their new residential circumstances.

Unlike the shifts in the patterns of social relationships occurring
in Phase II, the Phase III changes were sudden, dramatic, and appraised
as important by those residents whose social networks changed.[28] The
older residents of Hanayama saw the changes in the social life of the
neighborhood as being the direct result of the entertainers moving into
the neighborhood. As one older white-collar housewife said,

> This used to be a neighborhood with a strong spirit.
> That was before the apartment buildings were built and
> the hostesses and such started moving in. They (the
> entertainers) don't know how to be polite; they have
> no manners--like many young people. . . . Since they
> came, the neighborhood has become a cold place to live.

In the eyes of the older white-collar residents and the older shopkeepers,
the entertainers were to blame for what they saw as the deterioration of
the neighborhood, the disintegration of its social fabric.

There was clearly a change in the degree of the impact of migration
on the social behavior of the neighborhood from what had occurred in the
previous phases. All three of the variables--the rate of migration, the
characteristics of the migrants, and the size of the neighborhood--were
different from the Phase I or II situations. In fact, about the only major
similarity of migration between Phase III with Phase I and II was that the
majority of migrants into Hanayama had urban backgrounds.

Looking at the differences in probable order of importance, the most
radical shift that distinguishes the migration of Phase III from that of
previous phases was the characteristics of the migrants, specifically the
younger white-collar residents and entertainers who lived in the apartment
buildings. Unlike previous migrants, the majority of these migrants into

Hanayama during this phase did not have a positive value on the building and maintenance of strong, durable social relationships within their area of residence. They had less formal education and far less occupational and economic stability than other residents of Hanayama or previous migrants. For the most part, they consciously held themselves apart from each other and from the neighborhood residents.

Secondly, the rate of migration was far greater than the rate of immigration in previous phases. Even if these later Phase III migrants had actively sought to blend into the social milieu of the neighborhood, their success would be questionable. The number of people coming in, in batches as new apartment buildings opened, physically isolated from older residents by the structural nature of the apartment building, seldom sharing similar occupational or social backgrounds, would have put a stress on the social mechanisms of the neighborhood perhaps beyond their absorptive capacity. In combination with the disinterest and sometimes active hostility of the new migrants toward being absorbed, especially with the concomitant decline in the effectiveness of the formal Neighborhood Association, the rate of migration made the successful incorporation of more than a very small minority of the new migrants impossible.

Finally, in addition to all of the above, the growth of the neighborhood may have reached the point where the old patterns of social interaction were simply swamped by numbers, a trend which seems to have begun at the end of the previous phase. At the end of Phase III, there were about 700 adults in Hanayama. This is probably more than anyone can keep in touch with.

The impact of migration on Hanayama during Phase III was to continue to break up the cohesiveness of social relationships which had bound the

neighborhood into a social entity in the previous phases. These processes had continued to the point where, in 1975, the neighborhood was no longer considered by most of its inhabitants as a social entity in any sense of the term. The mechanisms of absorption and incorporation of immigrants into the patterns of social interaction in the neighborhood had been swamped by a flood of migrants who, on the whole, had no desire to be incorporated or in any way involved in its activity.

CHAPTER V

Footnotes

[1] Japanese political organizations have been dominated by the Liberal-Democratic Party since the conclusion of World War II. As a conservative group, this party draws much of its strength from the largely conservative rural areas. Much of the maintenance of strength by this party is the result of overt jerrymandering of political districts, which emasculates urban voters and inflates the strength of rural ones. For a fuller treatment of this subject, see Scalipino 1964 and Ward 1967.

[2] This trend toward closer communications will be greatly accellerated when the northern extension of the Shinkansen, the "bullet train", is completed in the early 1980's.

[3] In 1965, before the apartments, the population was less than 500; with the apartments the total population was about 550. By 1975 the population had increased to about 1,050 people.

[4] This age structure shifts gradually as time passes, of course, as the birth rates and death rates decline.

[5] About 300 adult entertainers moved into the neighborhood during this phase contrasting with about 150 other adult migrants.

[6] In 1950 approximately 6% of the adult population of the neighborhood was over 60 years old. By 1965 the figure had decreased slightly to about 5.5%. By 1975 the figure was about 3.5%.

[7] Many cities have higher migration rates than Sapporo. The major difference is that Sapporo's unemployment rate is low by Japanese standards, almost nonexistent by international standards. A 2% unemployment rate is high by Japanese standards, but extremely low compared to the rate in Mexico City. Thus the total migration-to-industrial-growth ratio in Sapporo is markedly different than other high-growth-rate cities.

[8] The effect of tertiary industrialization is not altogether clear and has been the basis for some discussion in the literature of urban anthropology. For a review of the main body of material, see Morse 1965. For a focused discussion of the impact of

tertiarization in Latin America, where most of the relevant research has been done, see Peattie 1975.

[9] The "dual economy" refers to the idea that the Japanese economy operates primarily on two levels. The large concerns, often employing thousands, comprise one sector and are the most visible element. The thousands of very small concerns, those employing few workers, comprise the second layer. This second layer handles subcontracts from the larger concerns. The senkyo (permanent employment) system which gives the large firms great labor stability and productivity per worker/hour is only possible because of the elasticity allowed by the existence of the smaller, connected firms. When the large firms need to cut back their expenses, they reduce their connections with the smaller firms rather than lay off workers. See also Abegglen's (1958) pioneer study of Japanese industrial organization, Cole's (1971) study of blue-collar organization, and Dore's (1975) comparison of British and Japanese industrial organizations.

[10] The decision to use the label "entertainer" in a manner parallel to the usage of the labels for the other socioeconomic groups in the neighborhood is built on three lines of thought. First the label "entertainer" is an attempt to translate the Japanese terms that are and were applied to those who worked the "water trades", those who worked in the old "gay quarters" where various forms of entertainment were concentrated and those who were associated with them. Many of the old meanings for these terms have been lost, and actors are now more respectable than they were two hundred years ago, but the cognitive categories appear to remain intact for the lower status members of this group. Second, the socioeconomic characteristics of this population show marked similarities in terms of such criteria as employment characteristics, incomes, social status, family structure and education; setting them apart from the other neighborhood social categories. Thirdly, the nigration pattern of the members of the entertainer group is such that it makes for a neat unit of comparison with other socioeconomic groups. In a pragmatic way, then, the analysis works better if the entertainers are considered as a group than if taken separately. For a more complete discussion of this group, largely ignored in Japanese studies, see Plath 1964.

[11] The Sapporo subway system is excellent, quiet, fast, inexpensive and extremely clean. The completion of the north-south line in 1972 caused a great accelleration in the growth of the residential areas at its terminals, primarily to the south at Makomanai, the site of the Olympic Village, previously almost an hour by bus from downtown Sapporo and now only fifteen minutes by subway. A connected east-west link, completed in the spring of 1976, caused similar expansion of residential areas along its route and at its terminals, particularly to the east where a further extension of the line is planned.

[12] I do not wish to belabor this point as it has been commented on repeatedly in both the academic and popular literature concerning Japanese society. For a further discussion of the point, see Nakane (1970), Vogel (1979), and Reischauer (1977).

[13] That is, excluding the older white-collar group and the blue-collar group because the numbers are so small.

[14] The term modan translated in this quote as "modern", the English word from which the Japanese term is borrowed, has strong overtones of progressive thought; its idiomatic English equivalent is "hip" or "cool", the opposite of being "square" or "stuffy". The term modan was used repeatedly in the entertainer interviews as a strongly positive label.

[15] Part of the data-collecting technique was a set of very long, open-ended interviews (discussed in Appendix A) that included questions concerning social life of the neighborhood, the importance of building relationships with one's neighbors, and other questions of this type. In this sense, the term "interested" means that this group valued strong neighbor-neighbor bonds and other elements contributing to a strong sense of neighborhood far less than did other groups.

[16] Over 10% per annum in real growth, that is, adjusted for inflation and currency shifts.

[17] In the large department stroes, the average employee work week for full-time employees was about 44 hours. In the small shops in Hanayama, the average work week for full-time employees and owner/operators was 61.5 hours with a high, verified by observation, of well over 80 hours per week. In the Hanayama stores, employees worked far fewer hours than did the owner/operators. Comparative pay scales were impossible to establish, but it was clear that the small Hanayama shopkeepers could have earned considerably higher incomes had they held equivalent positions with large retail establishments. The financial security of the neighborhood shopkeepers was low, although the older shopkeepers seemed to have built up buffers of insurance and personal savings to enable them to endure minor fiscal reverses. The employees of the large department stores enjoyed the same financial security common for employees in larger Japanese firms.

[18] Although this was not clear, it appeared that one of the one-sixth shares was in fact a mortgage held by a local bank through the president, who was the "official" shareholder. In informal conversation, sometimes the landlady would refer to the bank as a co-owner and sometimes to the individual. The whole situation, in fact, was quite confusing. Who owned what and so forth was arranged in a complex manner, at least in part, the landlady admitted, to allow a "favorable interpretation" on taxes.

[19] It was with this complex of enterprises that the apartment-house ownership was hidden. I literally spent hours with the landlady, her brother, and one other involved person trying to explain the situation to me—sometimes uproariously. I am fairly sure of the veracity of the material because 1) I was allowed to look over the landlady's account books; 2) the landlady was a first-class informant; and 3) there is no way I could ever use any of this material against anyone, even assuming that I understood it all.

[20] In this context, the intensity of the network links is a measure of effectiveness.

[21] I am compelled to lean on informants' perceptions at this point, because of my inabilities to do any any significant checking of the size of the networks outside of the neighborhood.

[22] I found the situation curious. The landladies would regularly use the old name, whereas the older white-collar and shopkeeper informants would do so only occasionally. I do not know why.

[23] Of the roughly 700 adults in the neighborhood in 1975, about 300 were entertainers who had moved into Hanayama during Phase III. In addition, there were 75 more younger white-collar adults in the neighborhood in 1975 than there had been in 1965. This is a migration of more than 60% of the total adult population for these two categories alone.

[24] See the Chapter III discussion of O-hirome.

[25] By the end of 1975, 274 of the 394 households in the neighborhood, about 70%, were living in apartments. All of the apartment dwellers moved into the neighborhood during Phase III.

[26] Thirteen out of the thirty-seven entertainers interviewed knew no one in Hanayama except the landlady from whom they rented their apartments. The average tenure in the neighborhood for these thirteen was about sixteen months.

[27] The exclusion of the tenants was necessary to avoid a skewing effect. The landladies knew all of their own tenants, sometimes more than 60 people, which would make for a rather large network immediately. It would be even more exagerated if secondary contacts were included, because all of the landladies knew each other; therefore literally every tenant in Hanayama was in the secondary network of every land-lady. The 150 average is for primary contacts only.

[28] For this appraisal, it is necessary to distinguish between those residents whose webs of social relationships changed during Phase III and those migrant residents who built, or chose not to build, "new" networks during this phase.

CHAPTER VI


Constraints and Continuity:
Explanations for Patterns of Social Change


The last four chapters have described the historical sequence of the

development of the neighborhood of Hanayama. During the colonial period

of the late nineteenth century, the national government initiated serious

migration into Hokkaido, set the stage for the evolution of the small ham-

let of Sapporo into a modern metropolis, and granted land that would become

the neighborhood of Hanayama to three militia families. In the first quar-

ter of the twentieth century, colonization of Hokkaido progressed at a

steady if not spectacular rate, the neighborhood grew as shopkeepers and

white- and blue-collar employees settled, and a web of social networks was

woven binding the residents into a highly integrated social fabric. The

prewar (1925-1932), China War (1933-1941) and Pacific War (1941-1945)

periods saw the emergence of Hokkaido as the only surviving colonial ter-

ritory and the least physically damaged part of Japan. The economic boom

of the postwar phase (1945-1965) triggered rapid population growth in

Sapporo and in the neighborhood of Hanayama. The migration into Sapporo

included large numbers of demobilized service personnel and civilians re-

patriated from the former colonies. In spite of the disparate backgrounds

of the migrants, Hanayama maintained its social cohesion throughout the

phase. The final period, 1965-1975, saw the continued economic and popu-

lation growth of Sapporo and the neighborhood. This is also when the

dissolution of the neighborhood as a social entity occurred as the forms

of social organization that had maintained social integration in the past

were weakened by the rapid influx of the entertainers, a social group with

a different and incompatible adaptation to its environment, and by changes

in the physical geography of the neighborhood. The pattern of growth thus portrayed is first one of gradual growth over many decades with the maintenance of strong social articulation, followed by the sudden dissolution of the social fabric coincident with the flood of entertainers into the neighborhood during the final decade.

This final chapter discusses the question of representativeness, shows how each group was adapting to its environments, social and physical, using Barth's concept of constraints in the context of a cost-benefit model of individual choice making, and points out some of the implications that this material may have for the study of cities.

## The Neighborhood as a Representative Sample:

The issue of representativeness has two parts, the first of which deals with space. How representative is the neighborhood of Hanayama as a sample of all Sapporo neighborhoods or all neighborhoods in large Japanese cities? The second part of the question lies in the comparability of the 1975 neighborhood to the 1925 version.

How representative Hanayama is for all neighborhoods in large Japanese cities is a question that must necessarily, at this point, be left unanswered. Few neighborhoods have received sufficiently detailed analysis for a valid comparison to be drawn and the objective criteria, such as census data, useful for a survey fit analysis are not available for this small a unit. The census data, for example, is listed by district, a conglomeration of from ten to twenty neighborhoods.

Hanayama is similar to other neighborhoods in Sapporo but like any neighborhood, Hanayama has unique features. As mentioned in Chapter II, there are basically three types of neighborhoods in Sapporo: the fringe "pure" residential neighborhood evolving in the last decade or so, the

downtown, business neighborhood with only a very few residents, and the mixed residential and business neighborhoods that make up most of the older part of the city as well as much of the newer portions. The lack of zoning legislation in Japanese cities, and the consequent growth patterns, make these three types of neighborhood less distinct than they would be in an equivalent sized city in the United States. The expansion of the entertainment district of Susukino, the major factor responsible for the migration of entertainers into Hanayama during Phase III (1965-1975), was an important element in the growth of some but not all of the older mixed residential and business neighborhoods. Hanayama falls into the category of mixed neighborhoods lying close to Susukino. It is quite unlike the "pure" residential neighborhoods lying on the outskirts of the city on the one hand and the business districts in the city core on the other. In between, it shares some past history and social patterns with other older mixed business and residential neighborhoods in the older part of the city and probably shares some of the stresses and social patterns found in the mixed neighborhoods in the newer parts of the city because of similar experiences of rapid migration. The residents of Hanayama perceive the neighborhood as being a reasonably representative part of the city although the older inhabitants, through a sense of neighborhood pride, are quick to point out peculiar historical elements, however slight, that differentiate Hanayama from the surrounding neighborhoods and, for that matter, the whole district from other parts of the city.

The older mixed neighborhoods, including Hanayama, are the neighborhoods being migrated into by the entertainers drawn into the city by the expansion of Susukino. Those older neighborhoods that lie close to Susukino had entertainers move into them as early as the immediate postwar recon-

struction period. Hanayama, lying about one kilometer from Susukino, ex-
perienced the beginning of the entertainer migration in 1965. Between
1965 and 1975, the outside edge of the ring of entertainer inhabited neigh-
borhoods moved farther away from Susukino indicating that this process will
probably continue, given the continued rapid expansion of the city and
Susukino, until all of the older mixed neighborhoods are similarly affected.

As discussed in Chapter I, Hanayama was chosen, partly on impression-
istic grounds, because it was similar in some noticeable ways such as
population size and geographic position in the city to the Tokyo neighbor-
hood that Dore studied in the early 1950's. As such, this study has many
of the same strengths and weaknesses that Dore's neighborhood study had.
Its notable limitation is that it is very difficult to determine just how
generalizable the material is and how representative Hanayama is to other
urban neighborhoods in Japan. My impression, however, is that Hanayama
shares with other Japanese urban neighborhoods a number of features which
suggest its typicality. Much of urban Japan has undergone high rates of
migration in the last few decades and it seems that those areas which have
not already experienced such migration in the past probably will in the
near future. Much of urban Japan, as well as other urban areas, has and
is undergoing similar processes to those found in Hanayama. However, the
peculiar characteristics of the entertainer migrants that Hanayama absorbed
in the last decade of this study are probably unusual, although I suspect
that most large cities have neighborhoods that have experienced similar
migrations by entertainers or similar groups.

The question of comparability through time is somewhat less complex.
Since the focus of the study is on the shifts in social organization that
have occurred in the neighborhood as the physical and social environments

have changed, there appears to be direct comparability for any two points throughout the fifty years under question.

## Analytical Perspective:

The previous chapters have presented a view of social relationships in Hanayama that shift through time but which, at any given point, can be seen as static, a web of nodes and linkages. This view is inherent in the network model. Were one to be tied to this model exclusively, it would make explanations of change, as opposed to descriptions of change, difficult. In order to examine change itself, we must shift our paradigm, in Kuhn's (1962) sense and examine the same material from a different perspective. The shift in paradigm is akin to shifting from Firth's idea of social structure to his view of social organization (1964). The shift from networks to another perceptual framework, like Firth's structure and organization, "[is] primarily [a matter] of emphasis. They represented different ways of looking at the same material; they are complementary, not opposed concepts". (1954:35)

The thesis that I propose is that the patterns of social relationships will change where changes in constraints have made existing patterns impossible, improbable, or unprofitable. The concept of constraints, taken from Barth (1965 and 1967), is that they are strategic barriers defining and delimiting the range of possible behavior by individuals. This is done by making some choices desirable, practical, and profitable and others undesirable, impractical, and unprofitable. My thesis is that individual members of a social category will attempt to optimize their positions by choosing the favorable choices and rejecting the unfavorable ones. For example, a migrant moving into Hanayama will not find it profitable to spend time and effort building up a large, residence based social network

if it is likely that he or she will be transferred away from the neighborhood within a short period of time. However, a migrant expecting to remain in the neighborhood for a decade or more can afford to spend the time and effort necessary to build up a large social network as he or she will be able to reap the benefits. Thus, the length of time of expected stay in the neighborhood constrains the behavior of both migrants, channeling their behavior into divergent patterns.

The networks discussed previously are the result of a great many decisions made over time and categorized by the socioeconomic status of the individuals making them. The changes in social relationships observed in Hanayama can be understood, not as the result of changes in the ultimate goals of the population, but rather as adaptations by various sets of people to shifting social and physical constraints.

One of the advantages of using the concept of constraints to behavior is that it avoids an argument for social changes based on posited shifts in the ultimate life goals or basic values of the population. There are several important points here. If a value shift is posited, then it must be demonstrated for each of the social sets through time. There are methodological problems involved in such a demonstration. How can one test the value structure, in an objective manner, of the residents of the neighborhood in 1925? Therefore, explanations that avoid such a problem are superior. There is also an application of Occam's Razor. Positing the value shifts is an extra step, a more complex solution but one not giving a better answer than the more simple solution. Given the equality of the solutions, the simple one is to be preferred. Thus it would be adequate to disallow the value shift argument on the basis of simplicity alone. However, in addition, the informant perception of the neighborhood was that

the values had not significantly changed. Further, in the discussion of the various socioeconomic groups, it will be suggested that if the ultimate life goals had shifted, other shifts peculiar to each group would have been expected but did not in fact occur.

## Types of Change:

The various characteristics of the networks of the groups discussed show three logical possibilities: significant change in a consistent direction, no significant change, and variation which may or may not be significant but which is not consistent in direction. The problem is not only to explain the significant shifts but also to explain those characteristics showing minor change, no change, or inconsistent change. It is the pattern of continuity and change that needs to be explained, not just the big shifts.

The four major categories of constraints that have shifted are: 1) the physical geography of the area including the shape and structure of the city, population density, and the relative positions of places of employment relative to places of residence; 2) the amount and types of resources available for individual allocation reflected in land or building ownership and tenure in the neighborhood; 3) the types of socially acceptable behavior and the kinds of sanctions imposed for violations; and 4) the type and degree of influence exerted on the neighborhood from higher political systems such as the city, the prefecture, and the nation. Unfortunately for the clarity of this discussion, there are no clear one-to-one cause-and-effect relationships among the categories of constraints and shifts in the social networks. The constraints act on social behavior in combination, not individually. Thus the visible results, the shifts in the social networks, are the result of various changes in the constraints,

even to the possibility that a shift in one constraint might have its effect cancelled out by a shift in another. For example, the social effect of increased ownership of private telephones may well have partly counteracted the effects of steadily increasing population density and increased distance from natal areas during Phase II (1945-1965). In spite of this complexity, there are some adaptive patterns discernible in the network shifts of the various socioeconomic groups. For example, the older white-collar group has withdrawn from most of the other residents in the neighborhood in response to the ever increasing numbers of entertainers and the shopkeepers maintain high density networks only with other older residents of the neighborhood.

In order to discuss the patterns of change in social relationships, the changes in network patterns will have to be identified for each social category. When the elements that have shifted and those that have remained stable have been identified and the changes if any, described, then we can move to explanations for the change or lack of change, specifically focusing on the adaptation of each social group to the environmental shifts of the city of Sapporo and the neighborhood.

Older White-Collar:

The most radical shift in the older white-collar networks was the drop in density: from 90% (males) and 70% (females) to about 10% for both sexes for relationships with non-older white-collar individuals as shown in Figure 29. The other shift of some importance was the drop, from 100% to about 70%, in the intensity of relationships between younger white-collar and non-white-collar individuals and older white-collar males, but not for older white-collar females as shown in Figure 30. The timing of these decreases is important. The density figures started to drop during the

Males



with other older
white-collar
residents of
neighborhood

with all other
neighborhood
residents

1925    1940    1950    1965    1975

Females



with other older
white-collar
residents of
neighborhood

with all other
neighborhood
residents

1925    1940    1950    1965    1975

Figure 29.    Older White-Collar Density

Males



with other older
white-collar
residents of
neighborhood

with all other
neighborhood
residents

100

50

1925   1940   1950   1965   1975

Females



with all
relationships
within
neighborhood

100

50

1925   1940   1950   1965   1975
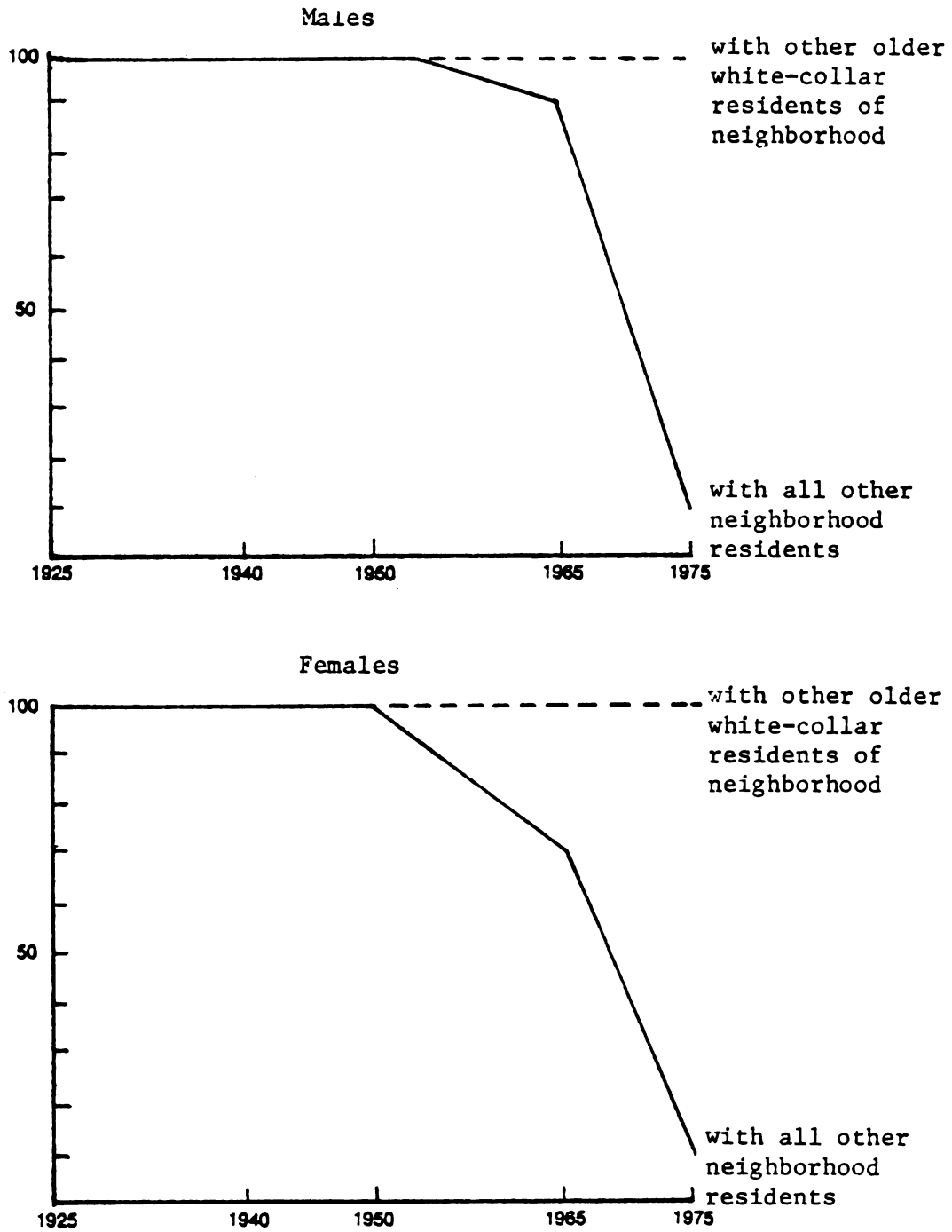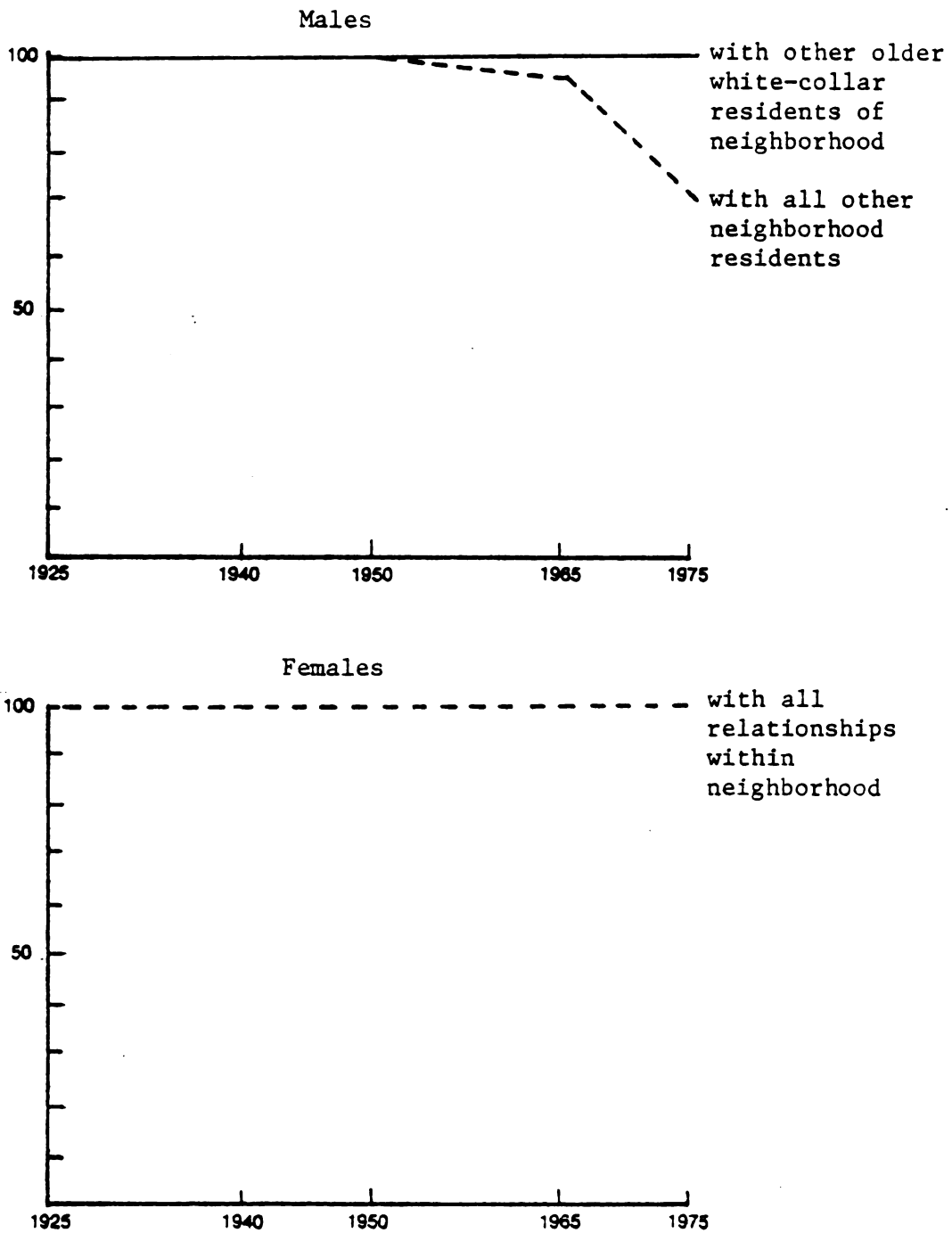
Figure 30.   Older White-Collar Intensity

reconstruction and boom periods of Phase II, but the decrease accelerated sharply during Phase III. The older white-collar male intensity figures remained stable until the beginning of Phase III when they dropped sharply. The other characteristics—range, reachability, and durability—of the older white-collar networks remained constant.

The value, as expressed in interviews in 1975-76, for maintaining large social networks of long durability and high intensity remained unchanged throughout the study period; it also remained for ultimate life goals such as economic security, social relationships that were stable and rewarding, including family relationships, and occupational success. What altered were the social and physical conditions in which the older white-collar residents, male and female, had to operate. The greatly increased adult population in Phase III, with its migrants who did not share the value of large, residence-based social networks, made it impossible to maintain either the density or, more importantly, the intensity of the social relationships which had been the norm in previous times.[2] The intensity of the social relationships of the older white-collar females was not as affected as that of the males, because the female networks were much more limited. Thus, the older white-collar females could and did maintain networks similar in content, that is, durability, intensity, and frequency, to those which they had always had. The only major change for females was that their networks incorporated proportionately fewer people within the neighborhood. The slight increase of frequency of contact reported was a function of the increased incidence of private telephones in the neighborhood, particularly in the homes of the older white-collar households and the shopkeepers' stores.

The question, then, is why the other shifts in the social and physical

environment that had such marked effects on other social groups did not affect the older white-collar group. The answer lies in the position of the older white-collar group in the economic, political, and social order. To a large extent, the older white-collar group is much more insulated from change than are other groups. This is the most wealthy group, the only one, for example, where a large majority of the informants owned their own dwellings. This group also had the most local political power and social prestige. During the study period, the amount of money and time, which are key resources in the formation and maintenance of social links, actually increased substantially. This is also the group least involved with, and affected by, the changes in the socially accepted behavior constraint. The older white-collar group's ideas about socially acceptable behavior changed very little compared to that of other groups, as might be expected for an older, relatively wealthy group.

Finally, the older white-collar residents employed a concept of friendship or neighborliness based on a degree of mutual trust not shared by the other groups. The older white-collar adults had access to more information due to the strength of their relationships with each other and to the other long-term residents of the neighborhood, notably the older shopkeepers. This appears to be support for Robert's (1973:9-10) argument that it is the information exchanged that determines the strength of social relationships. It is the exchange of information that leads to the trust necessary for strong social relationships. The older white-collar residents adapted to the decrease in available information caused by the shopkeepers' decline as information brokers by reducing the relative size (density) of their networks within the neighborhood and lowering the intensity (obligations) of the less important or more recent contacts.

Shopkeepers:

The shopkeepers, on the other hand, were forced out of their social patterns by what were primarily economic forces. Here again, we must divide the shopkeepers into older and newer groups. The older shopkeepers, those whose networks actually changed, had to change or close. The interesting feature is not that they changed, but that they changed as minimally as possible and still operated viable businesses. Where the old patterns still worked, as in the links with other old shopkeepers, the older white-collar group, and the landladies, they were maintained and new links forged. Where the old patterns became increasingly dysfunctional, as in the case of the entertainers and the younger white-collar group, the shopkeeper networks show large shifts such as the decreases in durability, density, and intensity. Figure 31 shows a decrease in durability of 50%. Figure 32 shows a decrease in density from 100% to 20% for links with all non-shopkeepers in the neighborhood. Finally, Figure 33 shows a sharp decrease in the intensity of the shopkeeper relationships.

Part of the reason for the shifts in network patterns is found in the economic environment of Sapporo. In the previous periods, the competition from the large "downtown" establishments had not directly impinged upon the small neighborhood retail establishments. With improved transportation within the city and the growth of the "downtown" department stores, there was increasingly direct competition. Further, the small, local neighborhood retailers had another major source of competition. Supermarkets, small by American standards but far larger than the traditional food markets, began spreading in Sapporo in the early 1960s, with one going up in the adjoining neighborhood in the early 1970s. The supermarkets, like the department stores, carried a larger variety of goods than did the neighbor-
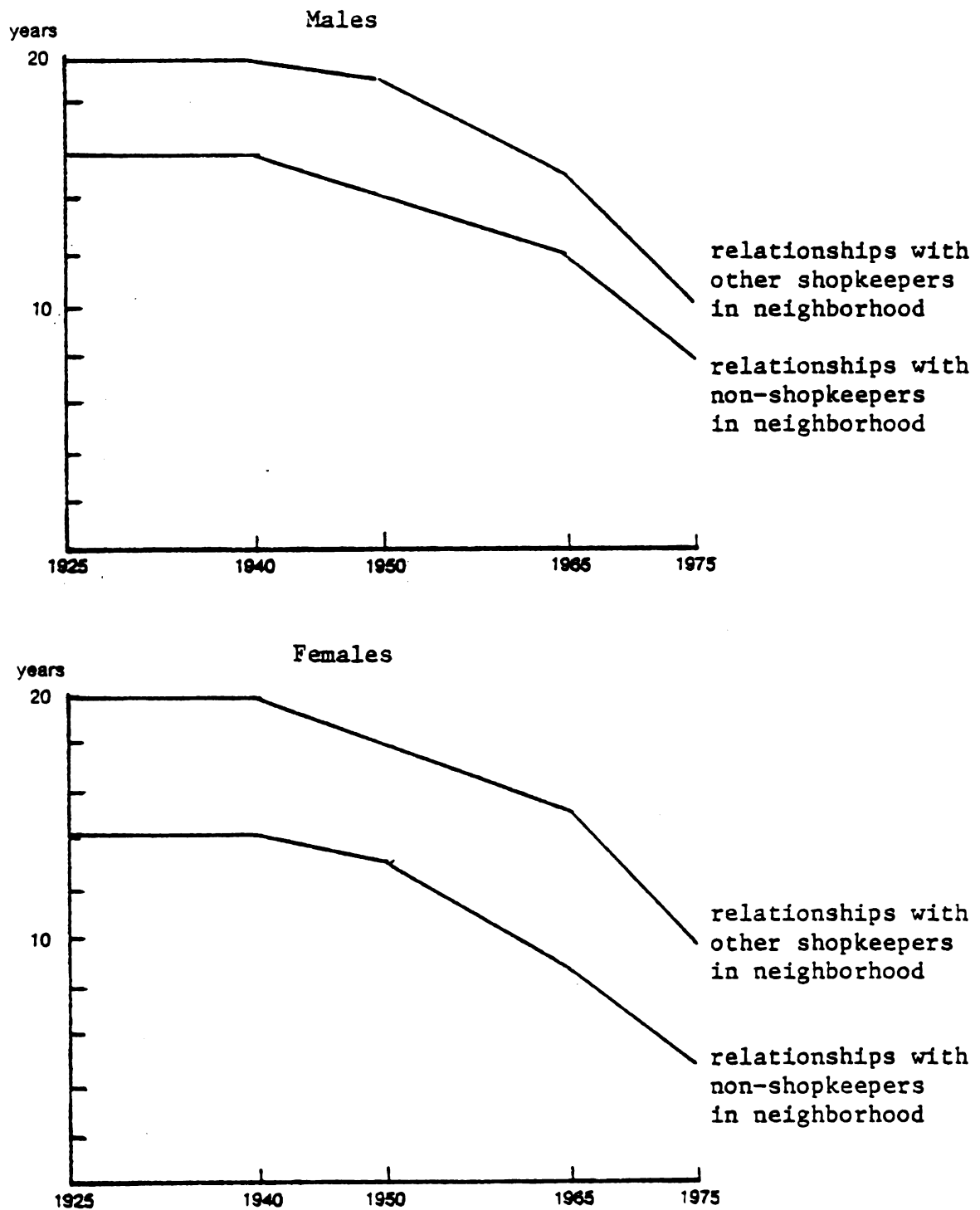
Figure 31.    Shopkeeper Durability

Males



relationships with
other shopkeepers
in neighborhood

relationships with
non-shopkeepers
in neighborhood

Females



relationships with
other shopkeepers
in neighborhood

relationships with
non-shopkeepers
in neighborhood
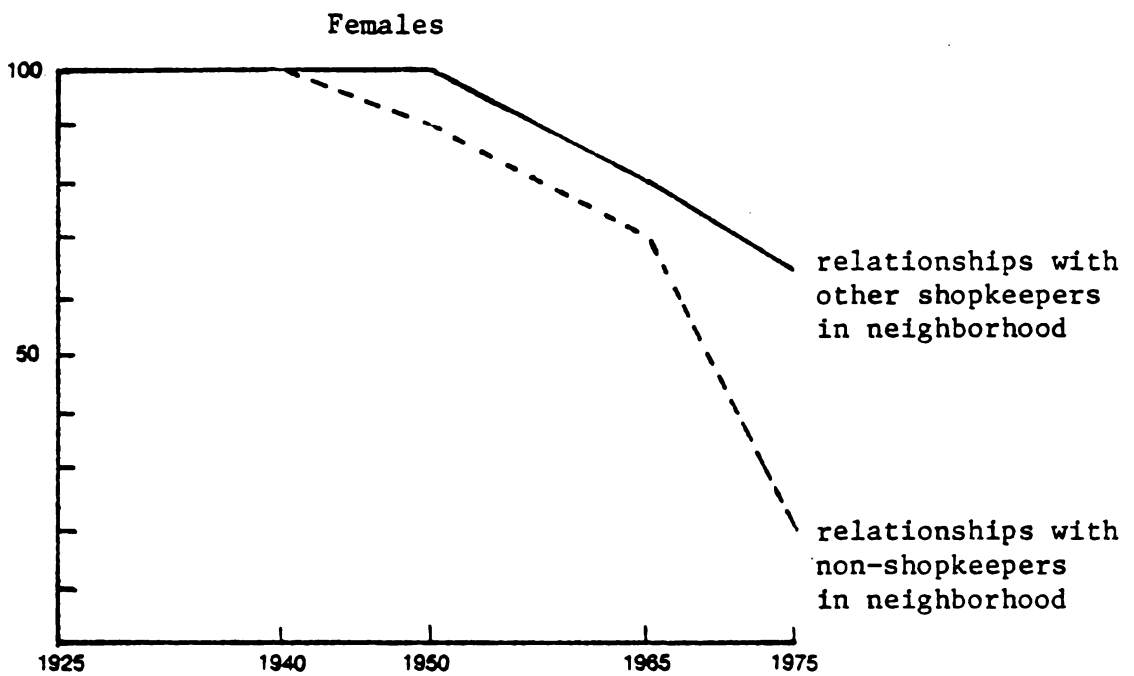
Figure 32.    Shopkeeper Density

Males



relationships with
other shopkeepers
in neighborhood

relationships with
non-shopkeepers
in neighborhood

Females



relationships with
other shopkeepers
in neighborhood

relationships with
non-shopkeepers
in neighborhood
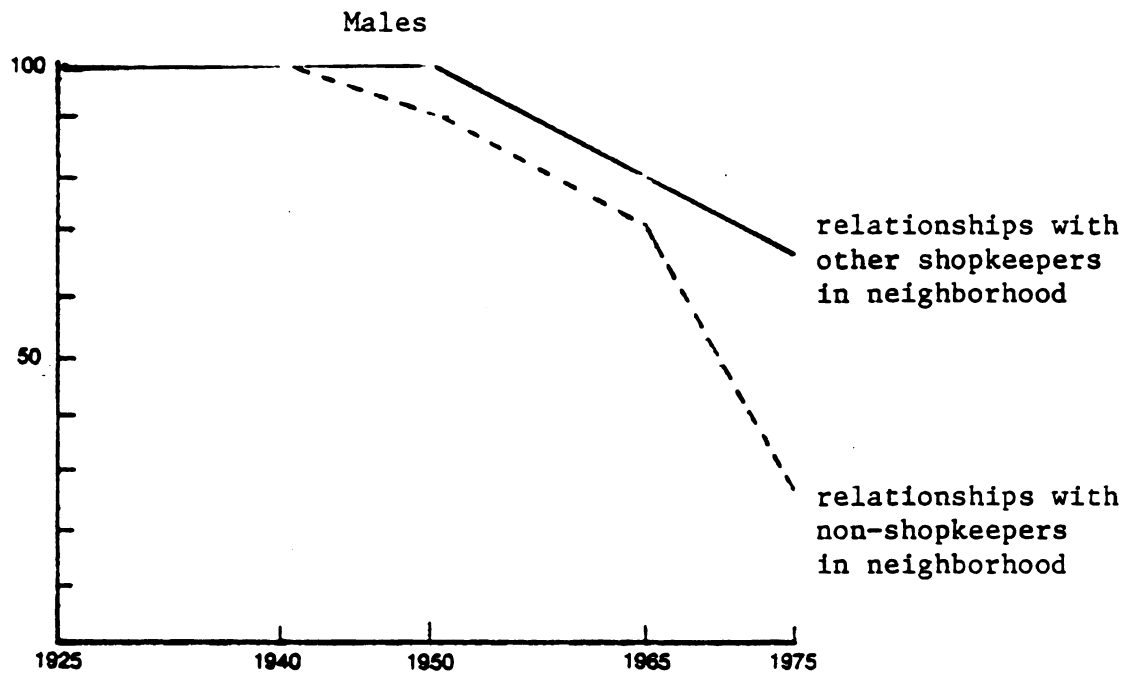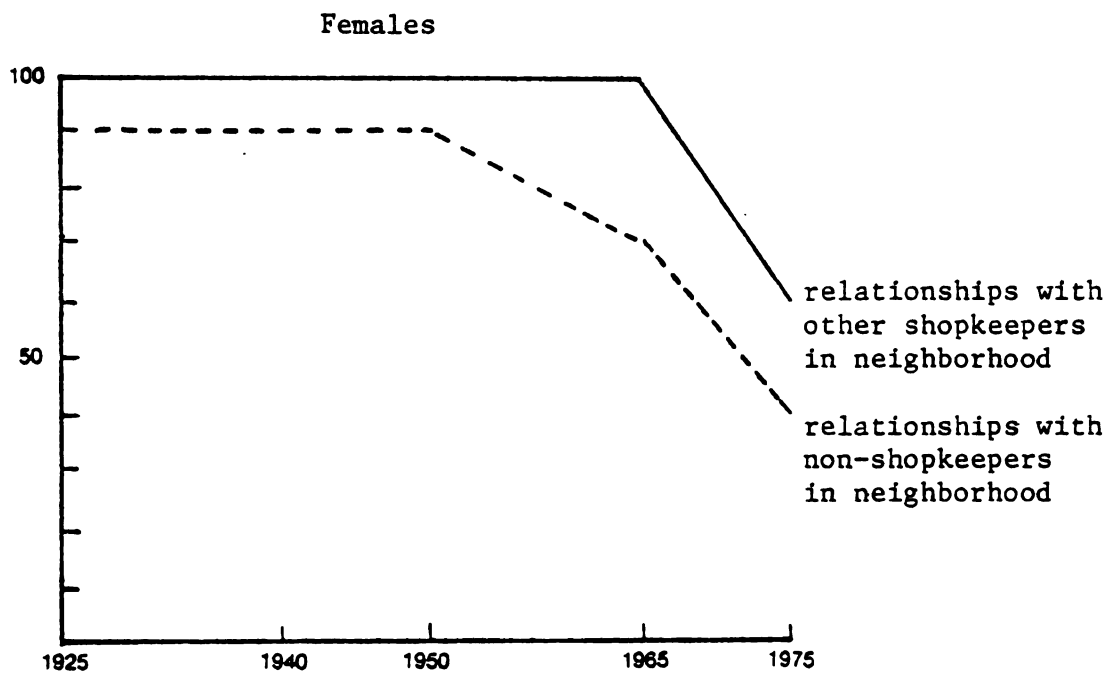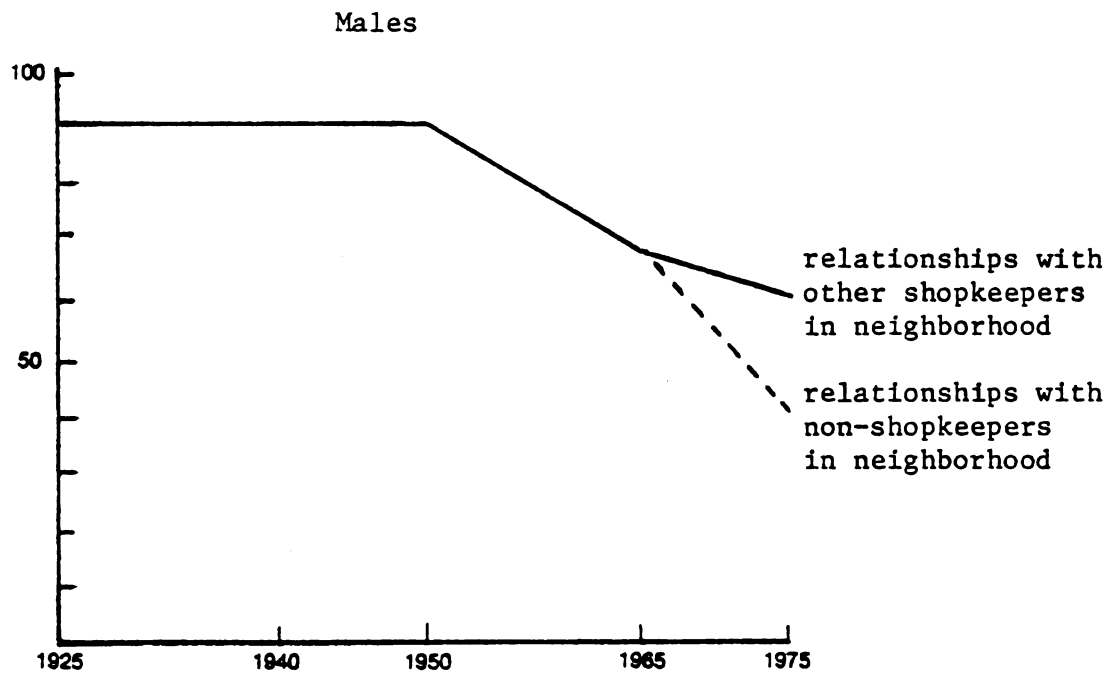
Figure 33.  Shopkeeper Intensity

hood stores. It is impossible to assess the precise amount of money lost
because of the nearby supermarket, but it was seen as a serious threat by
those shopkeepers whose shops stocked the same or similar goods which the
supermarkets carried. The old shopkeepers whose businesses were threatened
by the supermarket thought that the best way to compete was by means of a
"personal touch" with their customers. In this way the older shopkeepers
were able to continue strong networks of regular customers among the older
neighborhood residents, who preferred such an approach over the impersonal
variety of the supermarkets or the department stores. However, when asked
if this approach was successful, the shopkeeper tended to give a rather
dismal gesture indicating that no great success was achieved. Pressed
further, the shopkeepers said that it worked well with older customers,
but that the younger people "didn't care about that any more."

The older shopkeepers also gave discounts in the form of extra goods.
This was the practice of adding extra goods at no extra cost or rounding
a bill down for regular customers, for example, selling eleven pieces of
fruit for the price of ten or charging ¥200 instead of ¥218. It has been
suggested to me that the shopkeepers also may have extended short-term
credit to their customers, reinforcing their customer's sense of obligation
to them. I tried to explore this possibility in the field but could find
no evidence of it, although it may exist. I was able to look at the accounts
of only one shop and, insofar as I understood the accounting system, could
see no indications that the shopkeepers were extending credit, although it
was clear that the shopkeeper had received considerable short-term credit
from his suppliers, which would have strongly reinforced that relationship.
All of the shopkeepers interviewed said that they gave no credit (an illegal
activity under the lending laws), but two long-term neighborhood residents

informed me that at the end of the war and during the occupation and re-
construction periods, small amounts of credit were commonly allowed in the
form of permitting favored customers to delay payment of their bills.

The new shopkeepers, operating services rather than the small retail
establishments of the old shopkeepers, were not in the neighborhood long
enough to experience the shifts in social networks found among the older
shopkeepers. The newer shopkeepers did not attempt to build up the exten-
sive networks like those that the older shopkeepers had kept up in previous
phases and still saw as the best way to do business. The newer shopkeepers
looked to "modern," impersonal business methods for their approach. The
newer shopkeepers did try to build a habitual clientele, but they did not
try to maintain relationships outside business transactions. As the newer
shopkeepers operated services—restaurants, bars, and coffee houses—cater-
ing primarily to the younger residents in the area, their approach appeared
to mesh with what their customers expected and wanted.

The newer shopkeepers appeared to be successful. Their clientele was
made up of regular younger residents of the nearby areas, plus a small
drift-in trade. The newer shopkeepers, like the older shopkeepers, gave
small discounts to favored, regular customers. The newer shopkeepers were
impersonal only in relative terms. Americans, used to extremely impersonal
relationships in shops, would find the newer shopkeeper interactions with
their customers personal. For example, the shopkeepers tried to learn the
names, company affiliations, and other personal information about their
regular customers. They would be solicitous of the comfort of the customer,
whether the coffee was strong enough or the brand of beer was the one the
customer preferred. This personal care was one of the attractions of this
type of shop. As a younger white-collar employee who worked nearby said,

> It's nice to go for lunch to a place where they know
> you, isn't it?  I come here every day with my friends
> about 11:30.  When we walk in the door, the owner greets
> us by name; there are always seats saved for us, and our
> lunches have already been started so we don't have to
> wait very long.

This kind of service is rare in the United States except in certain old

and quiet bars.  On the other hand, the newer shopkeepers limited their

relationships with customers.  As one of them said:

> When I close, that's it.  I don't want to be a cook
> twenty-four hours a day, just while the restaurant is
> open.  This (kind of) restuarant is good for that;
> people who eat here don't live nearby, so I don't see
> them except when they come in to eat.  That's a nice
> part of the work, isn't it?

This attitude contrasts sharply with that of the older shopkeepers who made

little distinction between working and non-working time.

Thus the shift perceived in the shopkeeper networks was the result of

a selective shift in the older shopkeeper networks and the intrusion into

the shopkeeper category of a subgroup with an adaptation radically differ-

ent from that of the older shopkeepers.  However, while the approaches of

these two subgroups differed, their economic and social goals were similar.

All of the shopkeepers conceived of themselves as independent, not tied to

an economic and social web of "working for someone else," the way they per-

ceived the white- and blue-collar employees.  The shopkeeper goals in life

were modest:  enough income for a modicum of consumer goods, possibly a

car someday, the ability to educate their children, and to attain a com-

fortable level of economic security, enough to sustain themselves in their

old age.  None of the shopkeepers wanted to build their establishments into

large enterprises.  The universally expressed goal was to maintain their

independence.

The sexual differentiation found in the networks of the older white-collar group was also present in the networks of the newer shopkeepers, but not in the networks of the older shopkeepers. The older white-collar residents and newer shopkeepers developed different social environments for males and females. The newer shopkeeper females were more likely to be employed, always in the shop, than were the older white-collar females, but their position in the shop was subservient to that of their husbands. Further, about half of the newer shopkeeper females were not directly employed at all. That is, they would "help out" on an extensive basis but without remuneration. The social and physical environments of the male and the female older shopkeepers were identical except for some variation common to Japanese sex roles. For example, the males were more likely to handle that part of the business dealing with suppliers and wholesalers, while the females were more likely to do the books. Even in interactions with the same people, the females would use the more polite--and more subservient--speech patterns, while the males would use the more informal and egalitarian forms. Thus while there was some variation among the older shopkeepers, it was minimal. For example, the females knew the suppliers and if necessary, as in the case of illness of the male, could take over that aspect of the business. For dealings with regular customers, the females might drop into informal speech patterns and, for strangers, the males would use the polite forms. One possible reason for the difference between the older shopkeeper female networks and those of the older white-collar and newer shopkeeper females was the older shopkeeper females had considerable economic power because of their constant, even equal, involvement within the family business. The older white-collar and newer shopkeeper females had no equivalent economic leverage and were more traditional in their social

interactions.

Blue-Collar:

The shifts in the blue-collar networks were the result not only of the constraints mentioned previously but also of the migration of the blue-collar group, as a social unit of any significance, out of the neighborhood. The increase in population density of the neighborhood dropped the density of the blue-collar contacts with non-blue-collar residents from about 90% to about 5% as shown in Figure 34. After a slight initial dip, as the blue-collar population peaked between 1950 and 1965, the density of contacts with other blue-collar residents climbed back up to 100% for both sexes. This increase was the result of there being in 1975 only a total of 19 blue-collar adults in the neighborhood living side by side in housing owned by the electric company, the employer of all the males. This small remnant of the blue-collar group maintained durable and high intensity relationships with the few non-blue-collar people in the neighborhood with whom they had any contact. On paper, this pattern looks similar to the durable, high-intensity relationships that the much larger blue-collar group of Phase II had maintained, but the source of the figures is very different. The 1975 blue-collar group is physically isolated from the rest of the neighborhood and probably soon will vanish completely. As their already old housing deteriorates further, apartments will go up in their place--a pattern found elsewhere in the neighborhood--and the blue-collar residents probably will be replaced by younger white-collar employees.

The strategy of the blue-collar group has clearly shifted to cope with the changes in their environment. With the withdrawal of the other blue-collar workers and the deterioration of the social cohesion of the neighborhood, the investment of time, money, and emotion into neighborhood based

## Males



relationships with
other blue-collar
residents in
neighborhood

relationships with
non-blue-collar
residents in
neighborhood

## Females



relationships with
other blue-collar
residents in
neighborhood

relationships with
non-blue-collar
residents in
neighborhood
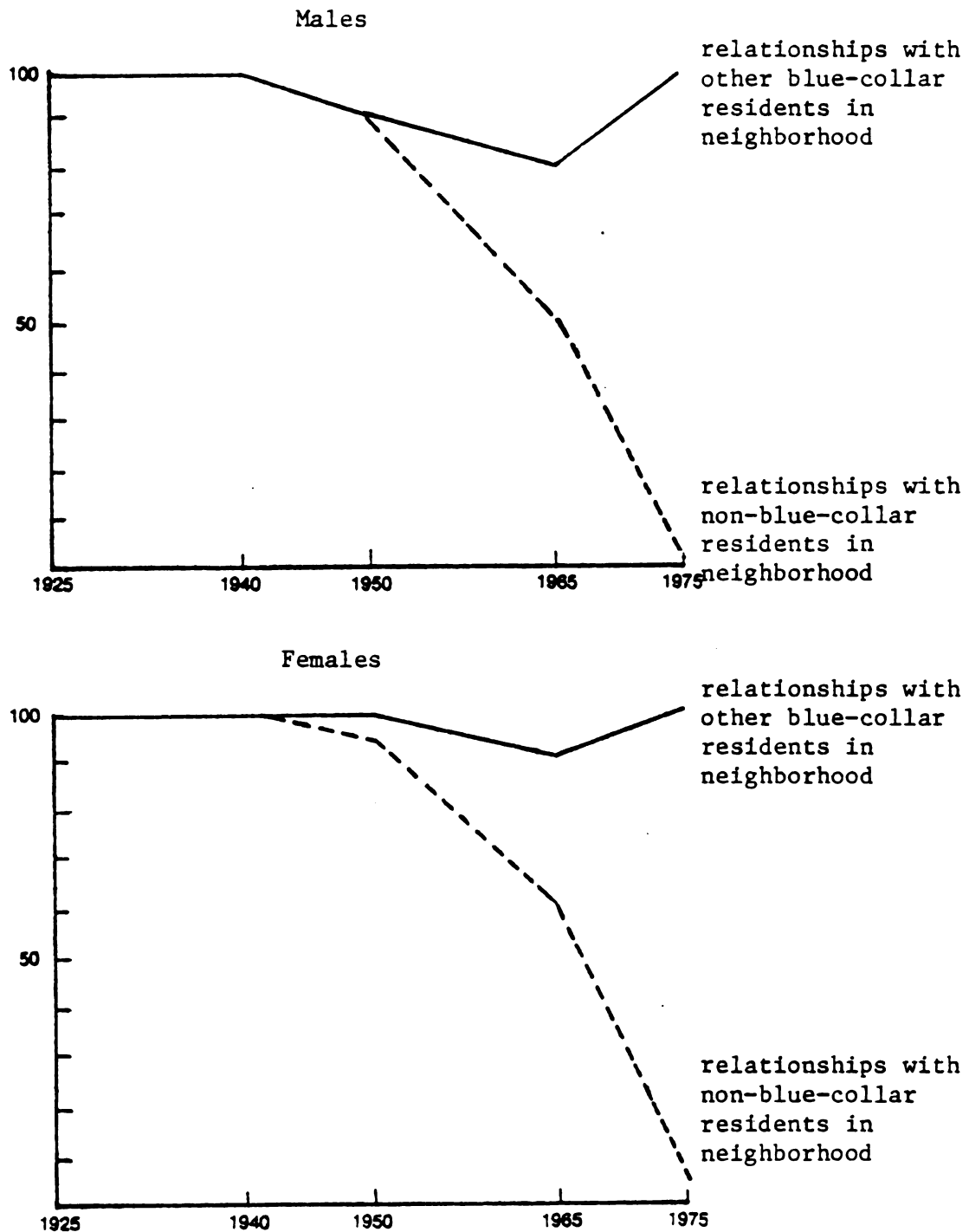
Figure 34.   Blue-Collar Density

social relationships was perceived as no longer worthwhile. Isolated in one corner of the neighborhood, surrounded by relatively new migrants into the area on three sides and by high walls enclosing the spacious yard of a bank officer, their contact with the other long-term residents has weakened; and, as they are periodically replaced by senior employees moving into better company housing and junior employees moving in, the blue-collars believe that reestablishing tight relationships with other people has become increasingly expensive and decreasingly valuable. The same was true of the other long-term groups in terms of their strategic choices concerning the blue-collar residents. The shopkeepers and the older white-collar residents have found it increasingly expensive and decreasingly worthwhile to establish relationships with members of the blue-collar group. Further, the deterioration of the Neighborhood Association and the <u>tonari gumi</u> decreased the ease of making any kind of links among the various groups in the neighborhood.

## Summary of Older Groups:

These three groups--the older white-collar group, the shopkeepers, and the blue-collar group--all of whom lived in the neighborhood from 1925 to 1975 (see neighborhood tenure chart, Table 7), displayed adaptations to changing social conditions, but all of them have adapted minimally to the shifting conditions in the neighborhood. The older white-collar and the blue-collar groups had their primary economic ties outside the neighborhood and were, in a social sense, well established with high job security and stable prestige. The shopkeepers displayed two patterns: the older shopkeepers adapted to the new economic conditions by trying to reinforce the old social networks, and the newer shopkeepers established different social patterns suitable for what they saw as modern life. The older shopkeepers

had stable prestige but little economic security, while the newer shop-
keepers had neither, at least in the neighborhood of Hanayama. The size
of the store did not appear to be important.

To return briefly to a point raised at the beginning of this chapter,
the possibility of a shift in ultimate life goals or values in the Japanese
population over the fifty year period of this study, the minimal shift of
the older white-collar residents, the shopkeepers and the blue-collar resi-
dents appears to indicate that a value shift has not occurred. If a sig-
nificant change in the basic values or ultimate life goals had occurred
among these groups, especially the older white-collar residents and the
shopkeepers, then one would expect something other than absolute minimal
adaptation to shifting conditions. The minimal shift that actually occurred
then, is evidence--albeit not proof--that the value shift has not occurred.

Younger White-Collar:

The other group living in the neighborhood throughout the fifty-year
period was the younger white-collar group. The least economically well
off but the most upwardly mobile of the four groups, white-collars dis-
played a pattern of network shifts that most clearly demonstrate the idea
of network patterns reflecting adaptations to shifting physical and social
conditions. The network patterns of the younger white-collar group have
been affected by almost all of the constraints mentioned for the other
groups.[3] The change in the physical geography of the city and in the neigh-
borhood prevented the maintenance of high density networks; it isolated
the individual younger white-collar families from both other younger white-
collar households and non-younger white-collar households and, because time
could be spent by employed younger white-collar adults in the neighborhood,
the intensity and reachability of relationships decreased, especially for

the younger white-collar males as shown in Figures 35, 36 and 37. The aspects of physical change involved were population increase, the intrusion into the neighborhood of apartment buildings where many younger white-collar families lived, and the extension of places of employment to a progressively greater area requiring more time for commuting to and from work. The constraining effects of increased neighborhood population density and decreased time, one of the major allocatable resources of employed younger white-collar workers, is clear, but the impact of the apartment buildings is more complex.

There is much literature on the design of housing and the social interaction patterns that correlate with various designs in the United States.[4] Here the task is to show how the changes in physical geography of the neighborhood prevented patterns of previously existing behavior from continuing. By 1940 all of the housing in the neighborhood was single-family housing or duplexes. This situation remained until 1965, albeit with increasing housing density, when the first apartment buildings were constructed in Hanayama. The Japanese pattern of traditional neighborliness includes contacts with the three houses opposite and the house on either side. These houses in particular were the ones where one introduced oneself on moving into the neighborhood and with whose residents one tried to stay on good terms. As the housing density increased, the physical area of this "inner sphere" contracted, but the basic pattern could remain unbroken. That is, the houses on either side might be closer than in the previous generation, but they were still single-family houses or duplexes where the same pattern could be and was maintained. Much of the social interaction of Hanayama involved informal interactions in the area outside of the houses, although somewhat less so because of the climate than in Old Japan.
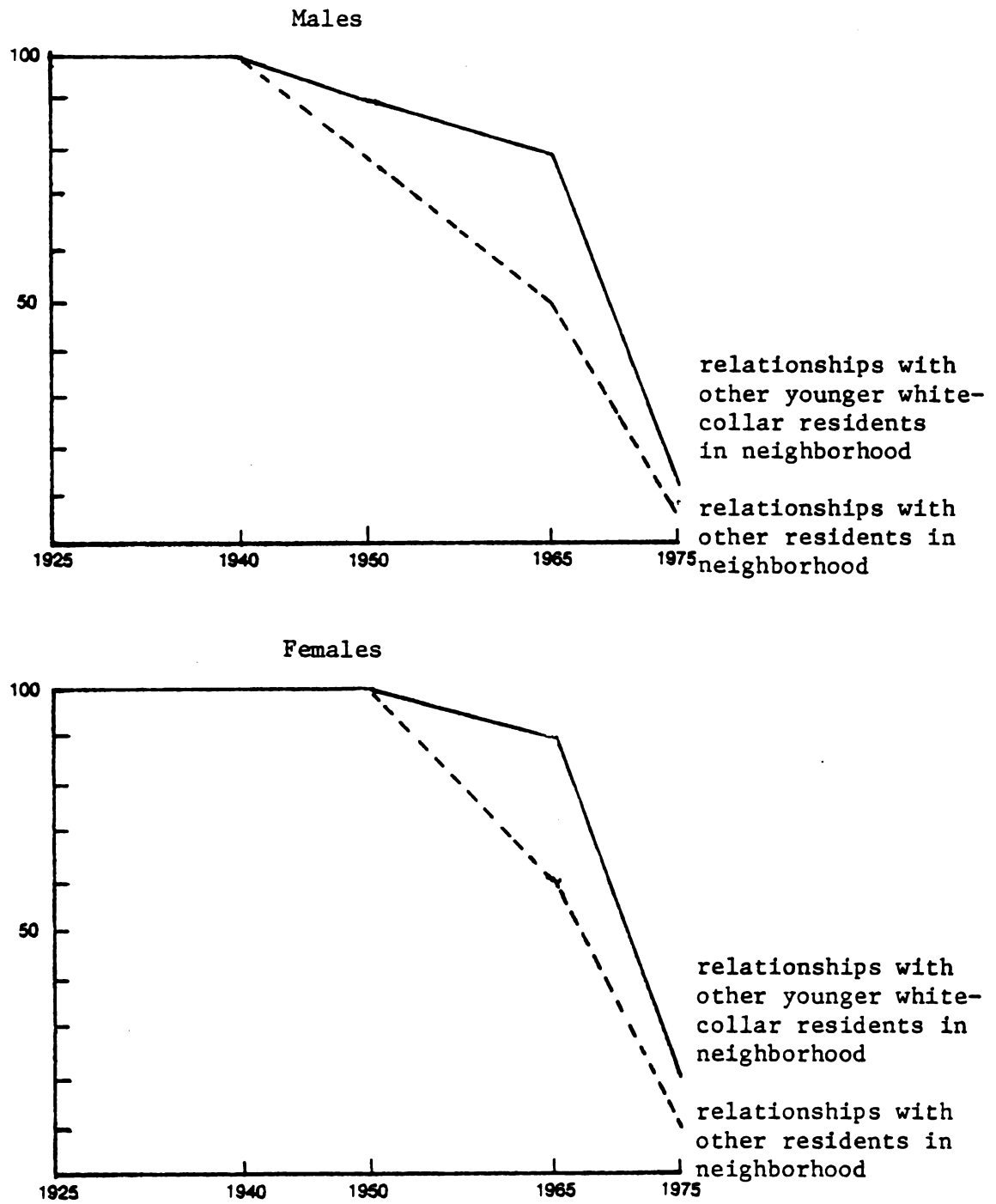
Figure 35.    Younger White-Collar Density

## Males



relationships with
older white-collar
residents in
neighborhood

relationships with
non-white-collar
residents in
neighborhood

relationships with
other younger white-
collar residents
in neighborhood

## Females



relationships with
other white-collar
(older and younger)
residents in
neighborhood

relationships with
non-white-collar
residents in
neighborhood

Figure 36. Younger White-Collar Intensity

Males



relationships with
other younger white-
collar residents in
neighborhood

relationships with
other residents
in neighborhood

relationships with
other younger white-
collar residents
in neighborhood

Females



relationships with
other residents
in neighborhood

Figure 37.    Younger White-Collar Reachability

The apartment buildings broke up this pattern of formal and informal social interaction in two important respects. The first was physical: the apartment buildings had little or no exterior space wherein social interaction could occur, unless the middle of the street was used. The neighbor on the apartment-building side became a huge ediface, not a family with whom one can interact. The "family" next door became up to forty-two separate households. The second important aspect was social and involved the perception of the apartment resident. The apartments were of two major types, company owned and privately owned. In the only company owned apartment building in Hanayama, there was something in common among the tenants: they all worked for Japan National Railways. This one apartment building (out of fourteen in 1975) was also homogeneous in its make-up, all of the residents being from younger white-collar households. These elements allowed interaction somewhat similar to those found among single-family housing households, but were not found in the privately owned apartment buildings. The privately owned apartment buildings had heterogeneous populations that were, furthermore, extremely short term. Finally, many of the apartment residents were entertainers who did not share the neighborliness necessary for the maintenance of the kind of previously valued social interaction patter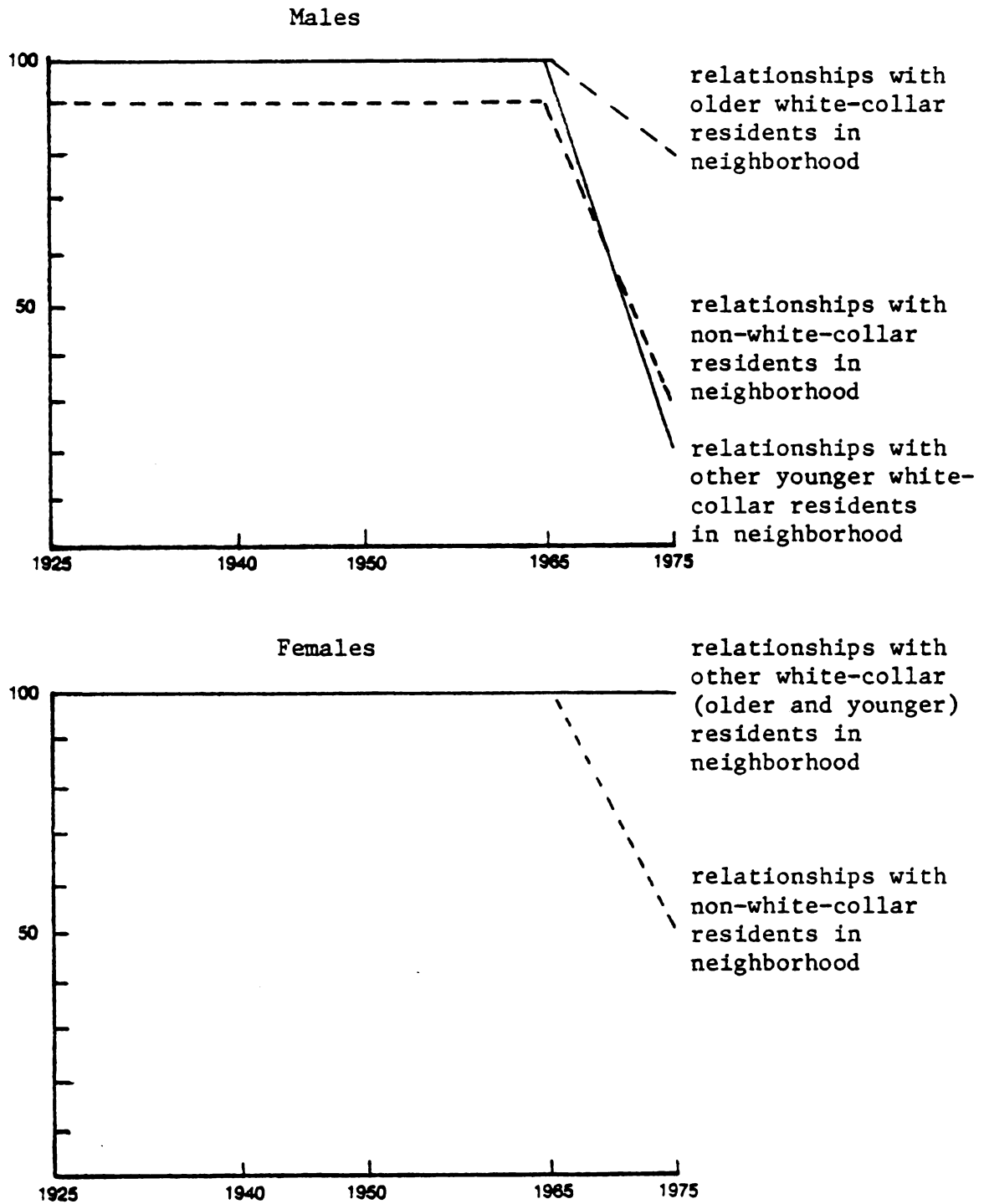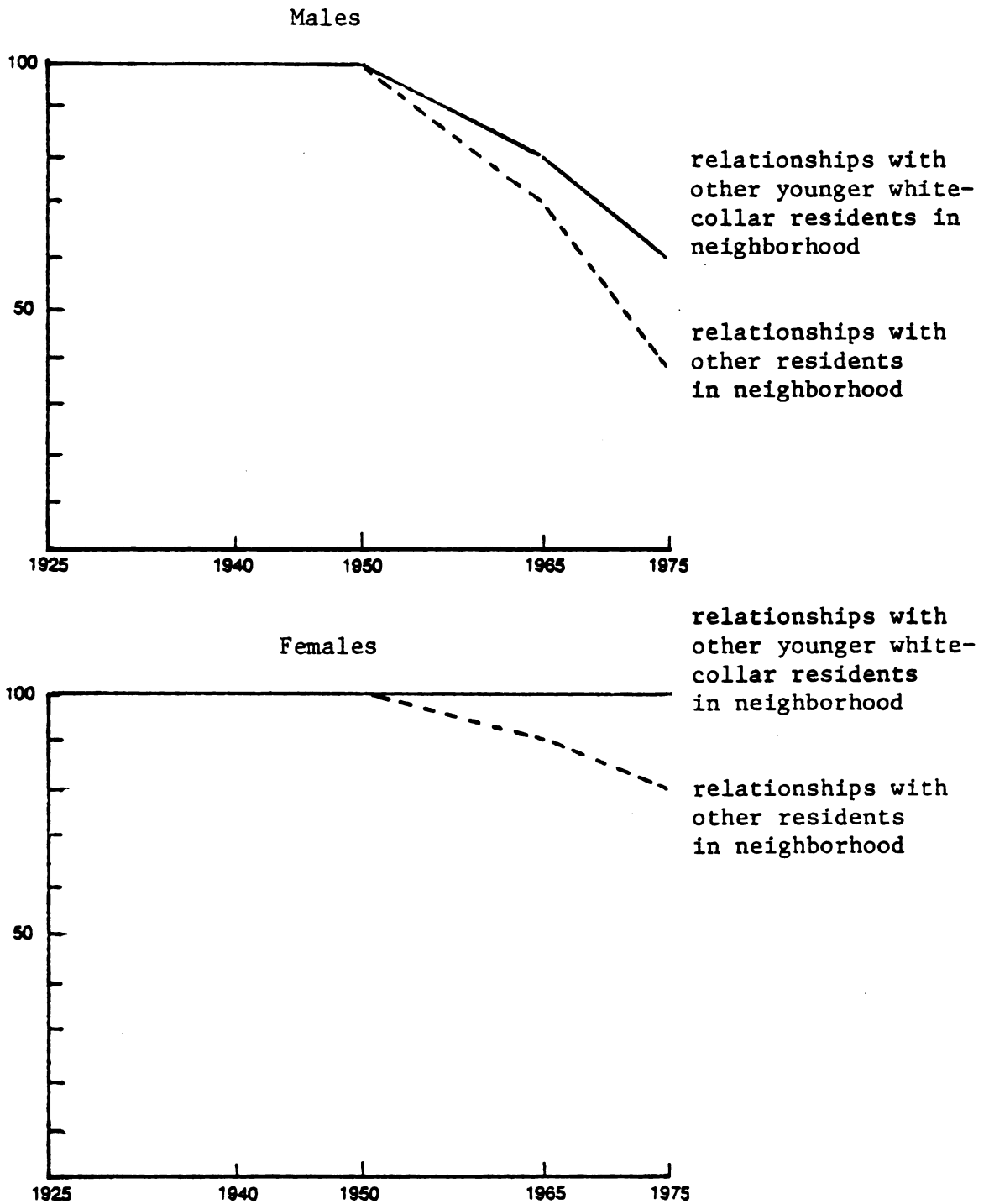ns. From this, it was clear that the "three houses across and one on each side" rule did not translate to "three apartments across and one on each side."

A cautious[5] parallel can be drawn between the residents of apartments in Hanayama and the white-collar residents of the more famous danchi, the blocks of apartment houses found in the great southern cities. The Hanayama apartments are similar to the danchi in the amount of interior space (250 to 300 square feet) and in the physical arrangement of exterior space.

Keifer, in a study of a white-collar Osaka danchi (1976), found a lack of

communality and an apathy toward developing social relationships with other

people in the area. He thought that "the non-communality of the typical

danchi resident stems from a lack of any stake in the future" and the nature

of the Japanese white-collar employee, "who works in a highly structured

social environment remote from the community both in space and values."

The work environment makes demands on time and loyalty because Japanese

bureaucracies still retain an ethos of personal dedication and self-sacri-

fice for the interest of group goals (Keifer 1976:20). The Hanayama younger

white-collar residents displayed a similar pattern because of their short-

term involvement and the demands on the males by their places of employment.

Like Keifer's danchi residents, the Hanayama apartment residents

> . . . not only scoffed at the idea of their neighbors
> telling them how to run the community, but also con-
> sidered the responsibility for leadership to rest out-
> side the community--usually with the local and national
> government . . . (Keifer 1976:21).

Nearly all of the Hanayama apartment residents expressed sentiments of un-

concern and disinterest in community affairs and activities.

There were a number of features that might contribute to the difference

in attitudes between the apartment and single-family housing residents, but

they are complex. The apartments, on the whole, were much smaller than the

single-family housing. The privacy allowed by the inexpensive construction

methods was far less than that in the single-family houses. By American

standards, there was almost no privacy in the apartments. Conversations,

in normal speaking tones, could be heard in adjoining apartments during the

day and often, in the quiet of the night, conversations could be clearly

distinguished from as far as three apartments away. Other noises, flushing

sounds, water in pipes, doors opening and closing, could be heard for most of the nearby units. Does the lessened domestic privacy increase the need for social privacy? Certainly this is not true across cultural boundaries. For example, the Japanese tend to have far less domestic privacy and appear to need less social privacy than do Americans. But within a given culture, it might be an important consideration.

Another element that would be important in the United States, ownership versus tenancy, was not crucial in Hanayama. Most of the single-family housing residents in the neighborhood did not own their own houses. Perin (1977) aruges that Americans perceive home ownership as an almost essential part of respectable living. This does not appear to be true in Hanayama. Home ownership was a mark of wealth and the one younger white-collar family who owned its own house was unique because of the unusual wealth. However, even among the wealthiest group in the neighborhood, the older white-collar residents, only about half owned their own homes, and all of these had bought them before 1955. As houses and land have become increasingly expensive, home hownership remains a dream, but it is becoming a rare reality.[6]

Of the allocatable resources that the younger white-collar residents had, there had been several changes, but only two acted as severe constraints on their social relationships. Their incomes had increased greatly in real buying power over the previous half century and job security was high; thus the younger white-collar adults had more money to spend. The effect of this change was the opposite of constraint; it opened up new possibilities. The other two major resources, however, had decreased. The primary decrease had been in time, both in absolute and in relative terms. Although they spent fewer hours at work than their counterparts had fifty years before,

they spent more time outside of the neighborhood in work and work-related
activities (e.g., work, commuting, after-work activities) than their coun-
terparts had. Also, more younger white-collar females were employed out-
side of the neighborhood than previously had been the case, a trend that
appears to be increasing. The third resource, emotion, was closely tied
in with time. Previously, the amount of time and emotion that a younger
white-collar male was expected to and did invest in his relationship with
his family was minimal (cf. Vogel 1963). Although a precise measurement
of emotional investment is not possible, the perception of the neighbor-
hood informants strongly suggested that the younger white-collar males were
investing far more time and emotion in their families than had previously
been the case. One younger white-collar male expressed this idea force-
fully:

> I live here (in Hanayama rather than a suburb) so I can
> see my children sometimes. If I lived out in the suburbs,
> I would never see my children--or my wife. I don't want
> to be a "lodger papa" (geshukunin papa, 下宿人 パパ )
> like some of the people at work.

A similar situation had evolved for the younger white-collar females, who
tended to focus on their families to the exclusion of almost all other con-
siderations. This trend toward an exclusive family orientation, particu-
larly among younger white-collar housewives, has been noted nationwide in
Japan. There is even a term, partly borrowed from English, used in the
popular and academic press to label this orientation: mai hōmu shugi
("my homism" or, more literally, "the principle of my home"). In Hanayama,
"my-homism" is such that some of the younger white-collar females knew no
one else in the neighborhood, even their landladies. One of the more im-
portant sources of information concerning both the male and female shifts

came from older white-collar informants. On the whole, the older white-collar residents seem to have approved of the male trend, although the older white-collar males often warned that the younger white-collar males' careers would suffer. The trend toward "my-homism" in the younger white-collar females was viewed ambiguously. The focus on children was generally considered good, but the disinterest in her neighbor and the social life of the community was looked upon with disfavor, sometimes even seen as selfish.

Another element involved was the increasing geographical distance between the younger white-collar males and their natal families as shown in Table 27. Although communications had become easier because of the post office and the telephone, face-to-face interaction between the younger white-collar males and their natal families was decreasing because the younger white-collar males' families were more likely to live away from Sapporo than they had in previous times as shown in Table 33.

The result of all these features has been to reduce the resources available to the development of neighborhood relationships, particularly for the younger white-collar males. The females' situation was somewhat similar but with some major differences. The effect on the females of working outside the neighborhood has obviously diminished the average amount of time available for constructing neighborhood links but has greatly increased the extra-neighborhood possibilities. Relatively few of the younger white-collar females have employment outside of the neighborhood (only four out of twenty-eight informants, probably not more than fifteen out of a total of eighty-nine younger white-collar females in Hanayama), but their network patterns are sufficiently different to skew the group averages.

The difference between the male and female pattern shifts is mainly a function of sex roles.[7] By investing more time and emotion into their

families, the males were moving closer to what has traditionally been the role for younger white-collar females. In Hanayama, the females' exclusive focus on their children has been reinforced by the geographical proximity of their natal kin, with whom a great interest in the children is shared. The females' kin were slightly more likely to live in Sapporo than were the males' kin. However, the figures for the neighborhood, less than 20% for the males and about 33% for the females, were far lower than those found by other analysts looking at kin networks in the south. For Tokyo, for example, Koyama (1970) reported 40% of the kin living in the immediate area, and Nojiri (1974) reported 48%.

The younger white-collar group was, not unexpectedly, one of the groups (with the entertainers) who had to adapt most readily to shifts in generally acceptable social behavior. The three most noticeable features have been shifts in company policies with respect to transfers of employees, the gradual decrease in some traditional customs, and the decrease in the incidence of living units with more than one adult generation represented. The increased incidence of company transfers reduced the tenure in the neighborhood—the stake the younger white-collar residents felt they had in Hanayama. The decline of customs such as O-hirome has inhibited the information flow essential to the establishment and maintenance of strong interpersonal relationships. The decline of multi-generational households shown on Tables 38 and 39, a trend most strongly marked by the rise of single-person households from none in 1925 to almost 15% (a total of 59 households) in 1975 indicates a loss of multi-generational lines of communication.

The younger white-collar group was particularly affected because they were at the most vulnerable stage in network development. Long-term

Table 38.    Family Composition in 1925

| GROUP (n) | Head | Spouse | Child and G'child (minor) | Child and G'child (adult) | Spouse of Child | Parent | Other Related | Other Non-related |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Farmers (2)*** | | | | | | | | |
| Male (9) | 2 | - | 5 | 2 | - | - | - | - |
| Female (6) | - | 1 | 3 | - | 2 | - | - | - |
| **Younger White-Collar (13)*** | | | | | | | | |
| Male (20) | 13 | - | 6 | - | - | 1 | - | - |
| Female (24) | - | 13 | 8 | - | - | 3 | - | - |
| **Older White-Collar (7)*** | | | | | | | | |
| Male (13) | 7 | - | 4 | 1 | - | - | 1 | - |
| Female (15) | - | 6 | 5 | 2 | - | 1 | - | 1 |
| **Blue-Collar (5)*** | | | | | | | | |
| Male (13) | 5 | - | 6 | 1 | - | - | 1 | - |
| Female (14) | - | 5 | 7 | - | 1 | 1 | - | - |
| **Shopkeeper (16)*** | | | | | | | | |
| Male (35) | 15 | - | 15 | 3 | - | 1 | 1 | - |
| Female (40) | 1 | 14 | 17 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 1 |
| **SUBTOTAL** | | | | | | | | |
| Male (90) | 42 | - | 36 | 7 | - | 2 | 3 | - |
| Female (99) | 1 | 39 | 40 | 4 | 5 | 7 | 1 | 2 |
| **PERCENTAGE** | | | | | | | | |
| Male | 46.7 | -- | 40.0 | 7.8 | -- | 2.2 | 3.3 | -- |
| Female | 1.0 | 39.4 | 40.4 | 4.0 | 5.1 | 7.1 | 1.0 | 2.0 |
| **TOTAL (189)** | 43 | 39 | 76 | 11 | 5 | 9 | 4 | 2 |
|  | 22.8 | 39.4 | 40.2 | 5.8 | 2.6 | 4.8 | 2.1 | 1.1 |

Number of Households in Sample......43
Number of Households in Hanayama....43

* number of households in this group

Table 39.  Family Composition in 1975

| GROUP (n) | Head | Spouse | Child and G'child (minor) | Child and G'child (adult) | Spouse of Child | Parent | Other Related | Other Non-related |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Younger White-Collar (28)*** | | | | | | | | |
| Male (47) | 28 | – | 17 | – | – | 1 | 1 | – |
| Female (46) | – | 26 | 14 | – | – | 4 | – | 2 |
| **Older White-Collar (23)*** | | | | | | | | |
| Male (28) | 23 | – | 1 | 2 | 1 | – | 1 | – |
| Female (28) | – | 23 | – | 1 | 2 | – | 1 | – |
| **Shopkeeper (16)*** | | | | | | | | |
| Male (26) | 15 | – | 6 | 1 | – | 1 | 1 | 2 |
| Female (29) | 1 | 14 | 6 | – | 1 | 3 | 1 | 1 |
| **Blue-Collar (9)*** | | | | | | | | |
| Male (15) | 9 | – | 6 | – | – | – | – | – |
| Female (19) | – | 9 | 7 | – | – | 1 | – | – |
| **Landlady (14)*** | | | | | | | | |
| Male (18) | 6 | – | 7 | 2 | 1 | – | 2 | – |
| Female (26) | 8 | 7 | 3 | 1 | 2 | – | 1 | 4 |
| **Entertainer (19)*** | | | | | | | | |
| Male (20) | 19 | – | 1 | – | – | – | – | – |
| Female (20) | – | 19 | 1 | – | – | – | – | – |
| **SUBTOTAL (109)*** | | | | | | | | |
| Male (154) | 100 | – | 38 | 5 | 2 | 2 | 5 | 2 |
| Female (164) | 9 | 98 | 31 | 2 | 5 | 8 | 3 | 8 |
| **PERCENTAGE** | | | | | | | | |
| Male | 61.2 | –– | 27.3 | 3.6 | 1.4 | 1.4 | 3.6 | 1.4 |
| Female | 6.0 | 55.7 | 20.8 | 1.3 | 3.4 | 3.4 | 2.0 | 5.4 |
| **TOTAL (318)** | 109 | 98 | 69 | 7 | 7 | 10 | 8 | 10 |
| | 34.3 | 30.8 | 21.7 | 2.2 | 2.2 | 3.1 | 2.5 | 3.1 |

Number of Households in Sample........................109
Number of Households in Hanayama......................394
Number of single family households (not counted)....54

*  number of households in this group

residence in a given area, traditional customs built around network-building

transactions, and the presence of an older generation were all paths through

which networks could be expanded and maintained.  The shifts that made all

of these less likely or less frequent made the forging of new relationships

more difficult and therefore, as a general principle, less likely.  The

values of the younger white-collar group toward the advantages of building

an extensive network did not appear to have changed significantly.  Almost

all of the younger white-collar informants, 32 out of 37, both male and

female, thought that extensive networks were one of the best ways to "get

ahead," but an even higher number cited one or more of the reasons discussed

here, in one form or another, as factors making it difficult or impossible

to emulate the path of current older white-collar groups:

> I should know my neighbors but with the children, I
> really don't have the time.  If we lived in an old-
> fashioned way, with grandparents then I could get out
> sometimes.  Of course, then I would have to live with
> a mother-in-law in the same house.
>
> > younger white-collar
> > housewife

> I've only lived here for six months and I don't know
> anyone (around here).  Why should I?  I'll probably
> be transferred again soon.  I want to live in Tokyo
> if I can.
>
> > unmarried younger
> > white-collar male

In almost all statements of this sort were mixed comments expressing senti-

ments about modernity, the value of individual freedom and economic inde-

pendence.

The comments on modernity were both positive and negative.  Although

almost all the younger white-collar informants expressed positive attitudes

towards what they perceived as personal independence, most of them also expressed reservations about what they perceived as too much freedom. In spite of their concern for personal freedom, most of them were locked into what most Americans would see as oppressively structured work situations, and all of them expressed strong sentiments on the value of stable family life.

If the values toward building extensive networks had significantly shifted, some concomitant behavioral shifts could be expected. Perhaps the most important of these would be away from building up networks anywhere, not just in the residential area. That is, if the values had shifted, then we should not find younger white-collar residents building networks not only in their areas of residence but also at their places of employment. Further, we would expect to find a reduction in the degree of maintenance of kin networks. In fact, none of these expectations are met. The younger white-collar residents of Hanayama are quite vigorous in building up networks at their places of employment and in maintaining their kin networks. A crucial point to remember is that those younger white-collar residents who had prospects of remaining in the neighborhood for extensive periods, such as those living in the company owned single-family housing, did make efforts to build up networks based on residential proximity. It was those younger white-collar residents who were operating under external constraints, usually that of having only a short period in the neighborhood, who did not seek at least minimally to expand their social networks based on residential proximity.

Under these circumstances, the decline of the formal organizations, the Neighborhood Association and the _tonari gumi_, was important. These organizations could have provided the framework for establishing the strong

social relationships that the younger white-collar group expressed an interest in building, a function that these organizations had performed in the past. In fact, the tonari gumi structures, even in decline, were instrumental in the development of the extensive landlady networks. The key element in their decline appears to be the apartment residents' apathy and lack of support. These organizations required high levels of cooperation in order to function. As the high levels of cooperation declined with the migration of the apartment residents into the neighborhood, the organizations decayed. The less effective they became, the less cooperation was forthcoming, and the rate of decay accelerated.

Support for this suggestion as to the causes of the decay of the Hanayama Neighborhood Association comes from a study of a neighborhood association in Kanazawa, a large city in Honshu. In this study, Falconeri suggests that the chonaikai, the neighborhood association, is a fragile gemeinschaft institution that rapid urbanization may inevitably destroy. As he describes the process,

> . . . the neighborly milieu where public and private considerations have often meshed for the community good is now pervaded by a social ennui where self-interest and community disinterest may prevail. Under such conditions neighbors may conclude that such local organizations as the chonaikai . . . are no longer effective in maintaining social cohesion and neighborhood identity . . .
> (1976:34)

His findings are a fair description of the sequence in Hanayama. The migration of the disinterested entertainers undermined the effectiveness of the Neighborhood Association and the tonari gumi to the point where the younger white-collar apartment residents would have been able to use them for building social networks only with great difficulty. The combined disinterest of the entertainers and the younger white-collar apartment

residents was sufficient to undermine their effectiveness for the entire neighborhood. Only a group such as the landladies who were determined to build up extensive social networks and were not constrained by other forces could utilize the _tonari gumi_ once the decay was well started.

## New Groups:

The two new groups in the neighborhood, the landladies and the entertainers, cannot be looked at in quite the same manner as those groups represented throughout the neighborhood's history, because they had not been in the neighborhood long enough to display patterns of adjustment. These two groups do, however, represent two very different adaptations to conditions in the most recent phase of the neighborhood.

## Landladies:

The landladies, mostly older people, appeared to be taking the more traditional approach of constructing extensive neighborhood-based networks. Given the economics of running an apartment house, this was a viable choice. The landladies' businesses depended largely on personal reputation. Because they usually did not have large reserves of capital, prolonged vacancies could easily lead to economic disaster. Thus, it paid for the landladies to expend time and effort in the building up of their reputations through extensive social contacts. The density of the neighborhood did not affect their relationships with their own tenants or with the other older groups in the neighborhood, the older white-collar residents and the shopkeepers. They spent almost all of their time in the neighborhood and by 1975 were definitely established as long-term residents. Their economic stake in the neighborhood was greater than that of most of the older white-collar residents and roughly equal to that of the older group of shopkeepers.

Although, as previously mentioned, renting did not automatically correlate with marginality, ownership, or part ownership, it was a clear indication of permanence. Permanence, in turn, was a key element in establishing network links, even if the permanence was perceived for the future rather than a past social fact because the permanence promotes higher levels of trust than would be otherwise possible.

Entertainers:

Contrasting strongly with almost all aspects of the landladies' adaptation to the neighborhood was the adaptation of the entertainers. Although the entertainers as a social category have historical traditions of some depth (cf. Plath 1964), the group of entertainers living in Hanayama represented the bottom end of the entertainer social continuum. They were very young--averaging in their early twenties--had low incomes, occupations of relatively low prestige if some glamour, and low educational levels.[8]

The entertainers' adaptation to their environment was one of maintaining social distance from other people living in the same neighborhood. Almost all of the entertainers' relationships were outside of the neighborhood, focused on the area where they were employed, the entertainment district of Susukino. The constraints operating on their behavior were many and varied. First, the entertainers worked nights, from about six in the evening to about two in the morning. Almost everyone else in the neighborhood worked during the day except some of the Japan National Railways employees who worked variable shifts. Second, the entertainers had low prestige, which affected both their percpetions of other people in Hanayama and others' perceptions of them. Third, the entertainers as a group did not share many of the otherwise accepted values found in Hanayama, notably the value of extensive residential social networks. The entertainers

perceived their current place of residence as transitional, a perception

born out by their one-year average length of neighborhood residence. The

entertainers saw themselves as being modern, not bound by traditional webs

of social relationships. None of the entertainer households had more

than one adult generation. None of the entertainers thought that tradition-

al social bonding customs such as O-hirome was worthwhile. None of the

entertainers thought that the Neighborhood Association or the tonari gumi

were worth much, although a few did belong--invariably those who had lived

in the neighborhood for several years or those whose landladies were han-cho,

a tonari gumi head. These factors indicate constraints operating on the

entertainers in their relationships with non-entertainers in the neighbor-

hood, but it does not adequately explain the entertainers' lack of relation-

ships with other Hanayama entertainers.

The lack of entertainer-entertainer relationships within the neighbor-

hood appears to have been a function of how the entertainer relationships

were formed.[9] Most of the entertainers found their jobs through social

contacts formed in their area of origin outside Sapporo, sometimes appar-

ently through direct recruitment by the entertainment establishments. The

relationships that they formed in Sapporo appear to have been almost ex-

clusively centered around their places of employment. Although most of the

entertainers in the neighborhood knew a few other entertainers, usually at

least one in the same building through whom they found their apartments,

there were no mechanisms for nor interest in forming relationships with

other entertainers working in different establishments. There was also

some evidence, for example word choice during interviews, indicating that

the entertainers may have maintained the oyabun-kobun-type fictive kin

relationships with work-related people similar to those described by Bennet

and Ishino (1963). If this were true, then the paternalistic patron-client pattern of the oyabun-kobun bonds would constrain sharply the formation of new network contacts. Finally, the transience of the entertainer tenure in the neighborhood would seem to affect entertainer-entertainer relationships as readily as it did entertainer-non-entertainer links.

It would be easy to dismiss the entertainers as a marginal population not sharing the same ultimate life goals of the rest of the people in Hanayama. Although the data do not clearly suggest this is not true, neither does it support the idea. Further, as discussed earlier, the assumption of different life goals or values appears to be an unnecessary step. The behavior of the entertainers is adequately explained by the constraints that appear to exist for them. Their lack of formal education, age, and the transitory nature of their employment and residence all appear sufficient to explain their variant patterns.

Further, although many of the entertainers expressed rather disparaging comments about their natal towns and families, all of the entertainers interviewed maintained some sort of contact with their natal families. Most of them also maintained other contacts in their areas of origin such as childhood friends or distant relatives. The older entertainers were more likely to take such bonds seriously, to put more time, effort, and money into their maintenance than were the younger entertainers. However, all of the entertainers maintained at least an established minimum. The pattern seemed to be that when the entertainers first migrated to Sapporo they allowed the contacts in their natal areas to become rather tenuous, possibly only exchanging New Year's cards. Then, after they grew a bit older, they began putting more into these rather minimal links. The few entertainers who were in their thirties had contacts with their natal areas

that were roughly the same as those maintained by younger white-collar residents of the same age. There was, however, no real attempt to maintain contact in Sapporo with other migrants from the same area of origin. Except for a few close friends, none of the Hanayama entertainers knew many other migrants from their natal areas, even though, in some cases, there were thousands of co-migrants in the city.

Conclusions:

The patterns of social relationships in Hanayama have shifted over the fifty year period in ways conforming to changes in the social and physical environment. Further, this shift in social behavior can be explained in social and physical terms. Each group adapted to the environment as the constraints acting on their behavior developed. One can, therefore, avoid the problems inherent in positing an ideological shift paralleling the political and economic changes that Japan has undergone during the last half century. This is not to say, with any assurance, that such an ideological shift has not occurred, just that such a shift does not appear to have occurred in Hanayama, and such a shift is not necessary for an explanation of the changes in behavior described earlier.

There are some implications concerning these two points that should be discussed. First, Sapporo is one of the most rapidly growing cities in a country noted for rapid urbanization, modernization, and industrialization. If the pattern of ideological shift is not obvious in a Sapporo neighborhood such as Hanayama, then it would seem less likely to appear elsewhere. However, a word of caution should go with this point. It is those social groups in the neighborhood for which I have the best data—older white-collar, younger white-collar, blue-collar, and shopkeeper—that show no evidence of an ideological shift of any great magnitude. To

the contrary, the data suggests that these groups are holding constant ultimate life goals such as economic and personal security and satisfaction and values such as the worth and effectiveness of having extensive social networks based on employment, kinship, and residential proximity. What changed were their tactics for achieving these goals. However, these are the groups that would be the least likely to manifest an ideological shift. The group that would be the most likely to show such a shift, the entertainers, is the group for which I have the poorest data. On the basis of severely limited data, I can only say that it appears that the entertainers have maintained many of the same goals and values as the other groups in Hanayama. Their tactics, however, for achieving their goals are contrary to the tactics employed by members of other groups in Hanayama.

The second point has implications for convergence theory. Simply put, as exemplified by Kerr et al (1960), Moore and Feldman (1960) or Kahn (1971) convergence theory asserts that as societies modernize, industrialize, and urbanize, they become more and more like Western Europe and the United States in their cultural and social forms. My findings would suggest that while this may appear true on the social surface, the ideological, the way of thinking, can and probably does remain untouched. Individuals react to the constraints surrounding them but these seem to be social and physical, as in the case of Hanayama. The processes of modernization, urbanization, and industrialization contain certain social and physical constraints that operate on everyone undergoing one or more of these processes. However, the fact that people are undergoing these processes says very little about the ideology they hold.

Convergence theory has suggested that we will somehow end up with a world wide cultural base. My analysis suggests that this may not be the

case. The social and physical imperatives of "progress" in the forms of
modernization, urbanization, and industrialization might be separable from
cultural forms, not merged with them. In the case of Japan, the country
often talked about by convergence advocates, the social and physical impera-
tives of industrialization appear to have left virtually untouched Japan's
set of cultural patterns. If this is true, then convergence, in the sense
of merging cultural patterns or, for that matter, anything much deeper than
a common technological base, would seem extremely unlikely.

CHAPTER VI

Footnotes

[1] Kuhn's argument is that advances in scientific perceptions of reality occur not when new data is presented, or rather only rarely when new data is presented, but more commonly when the existing data is viewed from a new perspective yielding different insights. The analogy here is in keeping the same data, just shifting the point of view or perspective.

[2] There may be some confusion about the usage of the terms _value_ and _goal_ as applied here. The term _value_ is used in its normal anthropological sense to mean ideas or ways of living or acting, about which there are positive or negative feelings or thoughts. _Goals_ as used here means what people want out of life, in an ultimate sense. In these senses, then, behavior is directed toward the attainment of goals, at least eventually, and judged with values.

[3] The order in which these constraints are discussed is not meant to imply relative importance. They are discussed sequentially for clarity.

[4] See especially the articles by Milgram, Rainwater, Yancy, and Swartz in Helmer and Eddington (1973).

[5] The caution comes from some differences between the southern _danchi_ and the Hanayama apartments. The _danchi_ are much larger in their number of units than the Hanayama apartments. The Hanayama residents were not as homogeneous as Keifer's sample and, unlike the findings of another _danchi_ study (Kasamatsu 1963), the Hanayama residents had slightly lower incomes and were less well educated than the single-family housing, younger white-collar residents.

[6] Yet another distinction between Sapporo and the cities of Old Japan is the relative cheapness of housing. In Sapporo, companies can provide single-family housing for their younger white-collar employees. There are suburbs that have just recently started to be developed. If the younger white-collar residents of Hanayama chose to commute for an hour or so a day, they could have their own houses (rental) or larger apartments out away from the city.

[7] It is worth repeating here a disclaimer made earlier. As a very large, foreign male, it was extremely difficult for me to gain good rapport with young female informants.

[8] As a descriptive sample in one representative apartment building, the occupations of the entertainers were bartender (2 males), waitress (1 female), bar hostess (13 females), coffee house waiter (1 male), and short-order cook (1 male). The average tenure in the neighborhood for this group was a little less than 15 months; the median was 7 months.

[9] As a group, the entertainers were by far the most difficult to elicit information from. Aside from the problem that many of them were young women, very few of the entertainers were even remotely interested in talking to a foreign anthropologist, and those who were willing to talk tended to be suspicious.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

METHODOLOGY

APPENDIX A

Methodology

The fieldwork on which this dissertation is based was carried
out between April, 1975 and July, 1976. During this period of time
the investigator lived in the neighborhood of Hanayama, in one of
the apartments discussed in Chapter V. The primary source of data
came from extended interviews with past and current occupants of
Hanayama. The reason for the focus on oral interviews is simple,
given the questions on which this analysis focuses, there are very
few written documents, either from the past or in the present, that
apply directly. Therefore, by default, oral sources are primary.

The written sources which do apply, census records, histories
and other formal documentation, all deal with units of concern far
larger than a single neighborhood. For example, the excellent Japanese
census data is broken down to the level of districts, one level above
neighborhoods. In the district containing Hanayama, there are a
total of seventeen neighborhoods. There was one source of precise
socioeconomic and demographic data, the redords of households
maintained by the police department. With this data, a precise census
of the neighborhood could have been made as well as a variety of
other interesting details extracted. Unfortunately, I could not
convince the police that a foreign anthropologist should be allowed
to use these rocords. The police were also unable to provide me with
some of the results which a preliminary analysis would yield, such
as population figures, because of considerations of time, expense,

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and manpower.[1] I do not, therefore, have a precise count of the total population of the neighborhood--or at least one that can be documented.

The primary emphasis on oral information has both advantages and disadvantages. The disadvantages are obvious. There is a problem of accuracy and cross-checking. It is very difficult for an independent analyst to re-analyze my material or check its accuracy. There are problems which are familiar ones in anthropological fieldwork. The depth of information which it is possible to elicit from long term informants is considered, with cautious cross-checking as an assurance of accuracy, a reliable way of finding out how the system really works, at least from an emic perspective. Living in the neighborhood reinforces, through informal data collection, the assurance of accuracy.

Analysis:

The key to this analysis lies in the question of whether or not Mitchell's (1966) network properties can be combined for several individuals to form a group composite which is meaningful. Mitchell's morphological properties--reachability, density, and range--are easily averaged as they all have numerical expressions (see Figure 38). This is also true for the interactional properties of durability and frequency. This is not true, however, for the properties of content or intensity.

There are two necessary conditions to solving this problem. The first, and more important, is that the groups which are being analyzed be meaningful entities. If the groupings are not worthwhile

Morphological Properties:

1. Anchorage--point of reference, analogous to ego in kinship chart.

*2. Reachability--extent to which ego can use these relationships to contact personally important people and vice versa. Can also be seen as a proportion of personally important people in ego's network.

*3. Density--extent to which links which could exist do exist.
Barnes formula:

$$\frac{200a}{n(n-1)}$$

a = actual number of links

n = total number of people including ego

*4. Range--number of persons in direct contact with ego; could also be used in second order contact; also possible reference to types of people.

Interactional Properties:

*5. Content--meanings whicnh the persons in the network attribute to their relationship.

6. Directedness--direction of flow, can be either or both ways.

*7. Durability--time span of link.

*8. Intensity--degree to which individuals are prepared to honor requests, needs, and other similar demands, either explicit or implicit.

*9. Frequency--frequency of contact, may be subdivided into frequency of different types of contact. For example, superficial contacts may be differentiated from intense contacts.

Figure 38. Mitchell's Network Properties

then the rest of the problem is irrelevant. This condition has been met, in this analysis, by the use of emic social categories.

The second part of the problem lies in the assumption that the observer's ability to judge non-quantifiable properties such as content and intensity is adequate. If the observer cannot validly apply these properties, then Mitchell's properties are not valid for either individuals or groups. If the observer is capable of making this sort of qualitative judgement, then it would be equally valid for groups as well as individuals. It is a working assumption of this analysis that participant observation allows sufficient depth of information for the analyst to make valid judgements concerning the content and intensity of network links.

Persons familiar with Mitchell's work will have noticed that two of his network properties, anchorage and directedness, have not been mentioned. Anchorage, the point from which the network is traced, is a concept that is applicable to individual networks, all anchored at ego, but not for groups or group composites. Directedness, the direction of obligation, influence, and other similar aspects, is also a property which has validity only for individual networks. At least, I did not find it useful in dealing with the social groups in Hanayama.

# APPENDIX A

## Footnote

[1] I should mention that I agree somewhat with the position of the police department in this instance. Unless they could afford to have someone actually do the analysis for me and just give me the results, there would be no way that they could insure my ethical use of the materials which would have been a clear invasion of the privacy of the inhabitants of the neighborhood. I would, of course, like to have had precise population counts and other material which the police files would have yielded.

APPENDIX B


REAL ESTATE OWNERSHIP

APPENDIX B

Real Estate Ownership

The relative sparseness of the population of Sapporo and the surrounding areas influenced the pattern of real estate ownership in Sapporo neighborhoods such as Hanayama.[1]   The primary effect was the maintenance of relatively low land and building prices which allowed private ownership of single family houses in a neighborhood near the downtown area.

The historical development of land and building ownership in Hanayama correlates with the growth of the city.  In the early period, between 1925 and 1948, land in Hanayama was owned by few individuals, mainly the original farm families.  Between 1925 and 1948, only four land sales are recorded for the entire neighborhood.[2]  Between 1948 and 1965, the large blocks of land characterizing the neighborhood during the early phase were broken up into progressively smaller lots.  Almost all of these plots were purchased by private individuals, either white-collar residents or shopkeepers.  Between 1965 and 1975, there was a trend toward company ownership of land and buildings in Hanayama.  In 1965, only about 10% of the land in the neighborhood was company owned.  By 1975, almost 50% of the land and buildings were held by companies.

As the city and the neighborhood grew, then, the land was first purchased from the farm families by private individuals.  Then, as land and buildings became increasingly expensive, company owner-ship became more frequent.

The fragmentation of the land makes a detailed description of the process unweildy--there were 173 separate plots of land in 1975-- so one block will be used as an example. Figure 39 and Tables 40 and 41 show the pattern of acquisition for one representative block in Hanayama. The map in Figure 39 shows one block of the neighborhood as it was broken up in 1975. Table 40 lists the purchases of land and Table 41 lists the construction of buildings as they occurred between 1925 and 1975 for a few of the plots listed in Table 40.

The major purchasers of land, Mr. B, Mr. C., and Mr. D., were all younger white-collar employees in Sapporo when they purchased the land. Mr. C. and Mr. D. bought land, built residences, and moved into Hanayama all at once. Mr. B. purchased the land almost ten years before he built a house and moved into the neighborhood. Mr. A. was never a resident of the neighborhood. After these large purchases, numerous people, almost all white-collar and shopkeepers, bought smaller units of land for their own use. Company #4 bought a small plot of land in 1950. However, most of the company land buying did not occur into the mid-1960's or later. However, the companies were buying and building housing in the neighborhood starting about 1950. By 1975, the companies owned 41% of the land on this block.[3]

Two features of this pattern of land and building ownership are important. First, the white-collar residents owned most of the land during Phase II, 1945-1965, the time when the older white-collar males dominated the formal organizations of the neighborhood. As the companies started buying out the older white-collar residents,
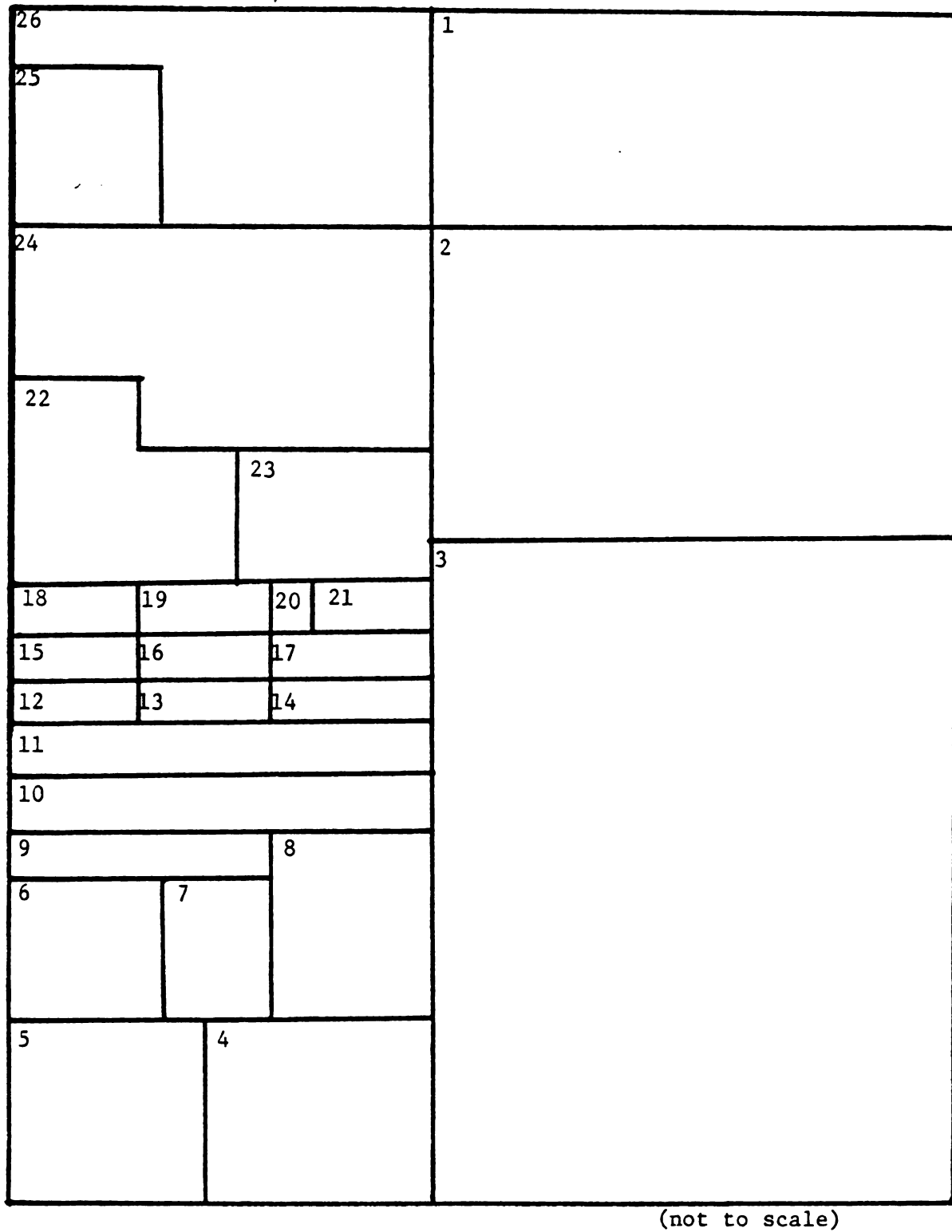
(not to scale)

Figure 39. Divisions of Ownership, Representative Block

Table 40.   Land Ownership

| Plot Number | Plot Size(meters) | Year Sold | Owner |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | 499.97 | 1921 | Mr. A. |
| | | 1939 | Mr. B. |
| 2. | 1,944.19 | 1921 | Mr. A. |
| | | 1939 | Mr. B. |
| 3. | 3,016.95 | 1921 | Mr. A. |
| | | 1956 | Mr. C. |
| | | 1974 | Company #1 |
| 4. | 373.15 | 1948 | Mr. D. |
| 5. | 432.85 | 1948 | Mr. D. |
| 6. | 150.84 | 1963 | Mr. E. |
| 7. | 157.28 | 1962 | Mr. F. |
| | | 1974 | Company #2 |
| 8. | 167.37 | 1962 | Mr. F. |
| | | 1964 | Mr. G. |
| 9. | 67.14 | 1962 | Mr. F. |
| | | 1964 | Company #2 |
| 10. | 271.33 | 1948 | Mr. H. |
| | | 1968 | Mr. J. |
| 11. | 271.33 | 1948 | Mr. H. |
| 12. | 102.91 | 1948 | Mr. D. |
| 13. | 92.15 | 1948 | Mr. D. |
| | | 1972 | Company #3 |
| 14. | 103.55 | 1948 | Mr. D. |
| | | 1970 | Company #3 |
| 15. | 100.56 | 1950 | Company #4 |
| 16. | 75.36 | 1948 | Mr. D. |
| | | 1971 | Mr. K. |
| 17. | 84.69 | 1948 | Mr. D. |
| | | 1970 | Mr. L. |
| 18. | 19.60 | 1948 | Mr. D. |
| | | 1971 | Mr. K. |
| 19. | 17.63 | 1948 | Mr. D. |
| | | 1971 | Mr. K. |
| 20. | 3.30 | 1948 | Mr. D. |
| | | 1970 | Company #5 |
| 21. | 16.52 | 1948 | Mr. D. |
| | | 1970 | Mr. L. |
| 22. | 325.52 | 1948 | Mr. D. |
| | | 1976 | Company #5 |
| 23. | 18.33 | 1948 | Mr. D. |
| | | 1976 | Company #5 |
| 24. | 325.52 | 1948 | Mr. D. |
| | | 1976 | Mr. N. |
| 25. | 158.68 | 1948 | Mr. D. |
| | | 1972 | Company #6 |
| 26 | 1,065.18 | 1948 | Mr. D. |

Table 41. Building Ownership (partial)

| Plot Number | House Number | Year Built | Owner |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | 1 | 1939 | Mr. B. |
| | 2 | 1964 | Shopkeeper #1 |
| | 3 | 1953 | Shopkeeper #2 |
| | 4 | 1949 | Shopkeeper #3 |
| 2. | 1 | 1964 | Mr. B. |
| | 2 | 1954 | Company #3 |
| | 3 | 1955 | Mr. P |
| | 4 | 1949 | Company #3 |
| 3. | 1-8 | 1966-1973 | Company #1 |
| 4. | 1 | 1968 | Mr. Q. |
| | 2 | 1975 | Mr. Q., Jr. |
| 5. | 1 | 1948 | Mr. D. |
| | 2 | 1960 | Mr. D., Jr. |
| 6 | 1 | 1948 | Mr. E. |

the older white-collar residents' position in the formal organizations deteriorated and the organizations themselves decayed.

Secondly, the pattern was away from private ownership of land and buildings in Hanayama. The trend was toward corporate and individual absentee speculation (or investment buying). In Table 40, Mr. K., Mr. L., and Mr. N. were all non-residents of the neighborhood who appeared to have purchased the land as an investment. The trend toward decreasing resident ownership would appear to have a negative effect on what Keifer (1976) called the residents' "stake" in the neighborhood. All of the older white-collar residents who owned their own land and homes, about 50% of the older white-collar residents in 1975, had bought and built before 1965. Since 1965, only one person in the entire neighborhood appeared to have bought land and built a single family house as a personal residence.

APPENDIX B

Footnotes

[1] The population density of Sapporo in 1975, 1,109 persons per square kilometer, was much less that that of the major southern cities of Tokyo (5,361 persons per square kilometer) and Osaka (4,110 persons per square kilometer) as might be expected. However, the city of Sapporo had a population density less than that of the entire prefecture of Kanagawa (2,295 persons per square kilometer) and about the same as the prefectures of Saitama (1,019) and Aichi (1,060) (Noh and Gordon 1974:147). Further, 93% of the population of the Sapporo Regional Economic Cluster (roughly equivilant to Greater Metropolitan Area) are concentrated in the tree component cities of Sapporo, Otaru, and Ebetsu leaving the surrounding area with a very sparce population, about 100,000 for the whole district. The suburbs, then, of Sapporo could not be said to be fully developed.

[2] This section is based on land sales and building records that only go back to 1925. The prices paid for these sales are not included, unfortunately.

[3] Companies owned 48.6% of all non-public land in the neighborhood by 1975 and 57% of all single-family and duplex housing.

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