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Report No. 6

on

Contract Nonr 495 (03) (NR 176 110)

Iwao Ishino and John W. Bennett

September 1953

Report No. 6
RF Project 483

R E P O R T

by

THE OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY
RESEARCH FOUNDATION

Columbus 10, Ohio

TO: OFFICE OF NAVAL RESEARCH
DEPARTMENT OF THE NAVY: WASHINGTON, D.C.
Contract Nonr 495 (03) (NR 176 110)

ROCKEFELLER FOUNDATION

ON: Japanese Social Relations

Interim Technical Report No. 6
TYPES OF THE JAPANESE RURAL COMMUNITY:
A PRELIMINARY STUDY OF VARIATION IN
DEMOGRAPHY, ECONOMY, SOCIETY

Submitted by: Iwao Ishino and John W. Bennett

Date: September, 1953

Office of Naval Research Project NR 176 - 110

and Rockefeller Foundation

RESEARCH IN JAPANESE SOCIAL RELATIONS
(RJSR)

Interim Technical Report No. 6

SOCIO-ECONOMIC ASPECTS OF THE JAPANESE RURAL COMMUNITY: A PRELIMINARY STUDY OF VARIATION IN DEMOGRAPHY, ECONOMY, SOCIETY

Prefatory Note: This report consists of a re-analysis of portions of the data collected by a research team under the leadership of Arthur R. Raper of the U.S. Dept. of Agriculture, in Japan in 1947-48. Some of this material was published in a descriptive volume by the Japan Occupation under the title, "The Japanese Village in Transition"(exact reference later), the authors of which, in addition to Raper, were Herbert Passin, David L. Sills, and Tamie Tsuchiyama. The present re-analysis of the data attempts to generalize across the thirteen communities studied, whereas the published report was concerned in large part with the individual communities, save for some concluding chapters on social trends. The objective of the present report is to utilize the data from these thirteen carefully-selected, representative communities for the tentative construction of types and empirical generalizations about variation and co-variation in demographic, economic, and social factors. Needless to say, the writers of the present report are wholly responsible for the conclusions reached. However, they wish to extend thanks to Messrs. Passin and Sills, two of the writers of the published volume, for assisting with advice and counsel during the preparation of this preliminary general study. This report, in its stressing of certain demographic and economic imperatives of the Japanese rural community, provides a suggestive basis for interpretations of the typical Japanese socio-economic groupings, like the dozoku, the oyabun-kobun system, and the "community boss," which are considered in RJSR Interim Technical Reports 7, 3, and 5, respectively.

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September, 1953

CONTENTS

Chapter I:	INTRODUCTION	1
	Objectives	1
	Rural Society, Technology, Demography	2
	Data Used in the Analysis	3
	Method of Analysis	7
	Limitations of the Study	12
PART ONE		
Chapter II:	BACKGROUNDS	14
	Geographical and Climatic Features	14
	Land, Population, and Technology	16
	Agricultural Practices	18
	Village Life	19
Chapter III:	DEMOGRAPHIC ATTRIBUTES OF JAPANESE RURAL COMMUNITIES	21
	Population Size	21
	Population and Average Size of Households	25
	Population Change	27
	Births and Marriages	28
	Mortality and Natural Increase	32
	Summary	33
	Special Note on Out-Migration	34
Chapter IV:	MAJOR ECONOMIC VARIABLES	36
	Size of Land Holdings	36
	Scattered Plots and Land Amelioration	40
	Land Tenure	41
	Agricultural Products	47
	Summary	49
PART TWO		
Chapter V:	SOCIOLOGICAL VARIABLES AND THEIR INTERRELATIONSHIPS	50
	Settlement Pattern of Dwelling Units	51
	Measure of Isolation	54
	Assimilative Character of the Communities	57
	Size of Formal Unit of Community Organization	60
	Kinship-Oriented, Locality-Oriented Social Groupings	63
	Crime Rate	65
	Traditional and Progressive Outlooks	67
	Relationship Between Sociological Variables	69
	Case Illustration of the Relationship between Demographic, Economic, and Sociological Variables	73

CONTENTS CONT'D.

Chapter VI: SUMMARY AND INTERPRETATION 79
Some Basic Uniformities 79
Profiles of Community Types 80
Interpretation 83

APPENDIX:

FUTOMI MURA: A Case Study of Demographic, Economic, and Social Adjustment in the Japanese Rural Community 88

LIST OF TABLES

I	ENVIRONMENTAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE COMMUNITIES.....	6
II	POPULATION STATISTICS.....	22
III	POPULATION AND FARMLAND.....	23
IV	POPULATION AND NONFARM HOUSEHOLDS.....	24
V	POPULATION AND AVERAGE SIZE OF HOUSEHOLD.....	26
VI	AVERAGE HOUSEHOLD SIZE AND PROPORTION OF FARMERS.....	27
VII	VITAL STATISTICS.....	29
VIII	BIRTH RATES AND PROPORTION OF FARM HOUSEHOLDS.....	30
IX	MARRIAGE RATES AND FARM HOUSEHOLDS.....	31
X	AVERAGE SIZE OF FARM OPERATION UNIT.....	37
XI	SIZE OF LAND HOLDINGS AND PART-TIME FARMING.....	38
XII	PROPORTION OF PADDY LAND AND PART-TIME FARMING.....	39
XIII	LAND OWNED BY EACH TENURE GROUP AND PERCENT OF FARMERS IN EACH TENURE GROUP.....	42
XIV*		
XV	PERCENT OF FARM HOUSEHHOLDS AND LAND ACQUIRED IN REFORM PROGRAM.....	46
XVI	TYPES OF AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS.....	48
XVII	SETTLEMENT PATTERNS.....	53
XVIII	MEASURE OF ISOLATION	56
XIX	ASSIMILATIVE CHARACTER OF THE COMMUNITY.....	59
XX	SIZE AND NUMBER OF ADMINISTRATIVE UNITS (HAMLETS).....	62
XXI	BASIC CHARACTER OF SOCIAL GROUPINGS: KINSHIP-ORIENTED OR LOCALITY ORGANIZED	64
XXII	NUMBER AND RATE OF ALL CRIMES REPORTED TO THE POLICE..	66
XXIII	"TRADITIONAL" (FEUDAL) OR "PROGRESSIVE" OUTLOOK OF COMMUNITIES.....	68
XXIV	RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SETTLEMENT PATTERNS AND OTHER SOCIOLOGICAL VARIABLES	71
XXV	ASSOCIATIONS FOUND BETWEEN GIVEN PAIRS OF SOCIOLOGICAL FACTORS.....	72
XXVI	POPULATION AND TOTAL CULTIVATED LAND FOR EACH COMMUNITY	74
XXVII	NUMBER OF HOUSEHOLDS AND TOTAL FARM LAND (ADJUSTED) FOR EACH COMMUNITY.....	75
XXVIII	CROSS-TABULATION OF TABLE XXVII.....	76
XXIX		77
XXX	THE CHARACTERISTICS OF COMMUNITY TYPES.....	82

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* Errata: Table XIV is not missing from the text, the number was omitted in numbering the tables. No reference to a Table XIV is made in the text.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

OBJECTIVES

In spite of her great urban centers and industrial attainments, Japan remains a nation where half of the people live in the countryside. An island nation with a total land area the size of the state of California, Japan has about forty-two of her total population of eighty-five million living in 8,500 villages. These villages are old, established communities, most of them antedating the Meiji period, although many changes in village administrative structure have been made in Japan's long history. The present-day social and economic organizational pattern dates from the 1860's when the Meiji Restoration leaders embarked on a program of reconstruction, with the objective of achieving more effective control over the country and its institutions.[1]

Though it is acknowledged that both the formal structure of the rural community and the general cultural premises underlying the behavior of the villagers are rather homogeneous throughout Japan, it is also evident that local conditions, such as population density, major economic tasks, environmental factors, and the availability of land, make for a number of varying types of village socio-economic organization. The general objective of this study is to establish tentatively types of this kind - or at least, to arrive at empirical generalizations concerning factors possibly to be included in types. It is felt that since these types will call attention to the variations, rather than the similarities in Japanese rural community life, they may constitute a welcome contrast to the dominant tradition in Western studies of rural Japan, a tradition which has tended to stress the homogeneity, the "folkness" of the countryside.

While the theoretical level of this report is not high, and the generalizations reached highly tentative, it may be well to review the general problem under study in terms of its larger implications. We may begin with a preliminary discussion of the basic dynamics of rural social life in Japan.

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1. Definitive studies of the emergence of modern Japan have been made by George B. Sansom, Herbert Norman, Kurt Singer, Emile Lederer, John W. Orchard, and E. O. Reischauer.

The Japanese rural community belongs to a large class of societies in which population, supported by a relatively low level of technological control of environment, comes close to utilizing all possible human and natural resources available at that technological level. These societies have often been called "Malthusian", referring to the rather obvious fact that economic resources barely keep pace with the minimum needs of the population. To keep ahead of starvation and social upheaval, intimate and elaborate forms of social organization are necessary, and human labor is used to the maximum. The fundamental and general outlook of such societies has been, in the words of Tawney,"...not to secure the maximum return for the minimum effort, but to distribute limited and unexpanding resources among the largest number of human beings."[2.]

It is generally understood that communities faced with unexpanding resources must exert control over and keep a fine balance between three sets of variables, which might be designated as: "demographic," "sociological," and "technological." The first of these has to do with the problem of keeping the population within manageable size so that the requisite standard of living is maintained. The second concerns the effective organization of the society so that cooperation between individuals and groups within the community is maintained, and non-productive competition is minimized; and the third has to do with the utilization and allocation of material and natural resources so that the maximum, or rather optimum, use of these resources are made. These three sets of variables are, in fact, interconnected and overlapping, but the distinctions seem to be useful as an aid in describing the "equilibrium" of such "Malthusian" communities.

This modified "Malthusian equation" is one with a considerable number of theoretical variation in the terms. Like all other equations, the value of one term depends, in varying ways, upon the values of the other terms: thus the absolute size of a population may not be the significant feature, but rather the relative size considered both in the light of (a) a certain quantity of resources which are put to productive use, and (b) the social and political organization of the community.

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2. R. H. Tawney, Land and Labor in China; New York, Harcourt Brace, 1932, p. 47.

However, from a practical or empirical point of view, the number of variations to be found may not be at all infinite. When one views a panorama of eight thousand "Malthusian" communities in Japan - or millions of other similar communities in the world - it is possible that a number of common responses to the Malthusian problem may be found. Such commonality may furnish the groundwork for the formulation of types of socio-economic adjustment; hence prediction and practical application of findings.[3]

The following is a specific example of the type of problem requiring investigation: in many communities where land is limited and where family pride is strong, the transference of land from one generation to the next is made only to one offspring and not divided among the different offspring. This will have a series of more-or-less predictable consequences depending, e.g., on the quantity of land available, size of population and of families, and the economic inducements to farm the land rather than to enter industry. By focusing attention on such chains of interrelated factors, it seems possible to reduce the number of variations implied in the Malthusian equation to a rather limited set of common solutions.

While problems lie in the background of this study, in no sense can the study be offered as an attempt to provide definitive statements of wide applicability. The report is instead a preliminary and exploratory attempt to chart the course of future research - research based on further analysis of the same and additional data, and research in the form of field studies which might be made in Oriental societies. Consequently the principal findings of the report will be presented in the form of simple empirical generalizations about communities, types of communities, and associations between economic, demographic and social factors. The reader is invited to interpret these low-level generalizations in larger terms if he so wishes.

DATA USED IN THE ANALYSIS

(1) Source of Data The data for this paper are drawn from a study of eleven wholly rural and two partially rural or "town-country" communities - carefully selected by Japanese and American scholars as representing a wide variation in population characteristics, types of farming activities, amount of off-farm employment, geographic location, degree of urban influence, and characteristics of terrain. The original study was planned by the Japan Occupation and Japanese scholarly groups, in an effort to show the impact of various reforms in rural society and economy introduced by the Occupation and the Japanese government. Field research was carried on over a two-year period, 1947 and 1948, in order to ascertain the magnitude of certain changes underway. The original field staff included

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3. A valuable beginning, although rather general in character is found in the work of J. H. Boeke. Boeke, Economics and Economic Policy of Dual Societies as Exemplified by Indonesia. N.Y., Institute of Pacific Relations, 1953.

four Americans and about fifteen Japanese sociologists and anthropologists. An analysis of their findings, presented in the form of a survey of postwar rural changes, was published by the Occupation in a lithoprinted monograph.[4]

The present study utilizes the materials published in that monograph as well as materials which were obtained for that study but not included in the Occupation publication. These materials, though focussed largely upon the various social and economic changes in the two-year period of study, contain much ancillary data that justifies a re-analysis in the light of a general scientific outlook (in contrast to the earlier, specific interest in short-term changes resulting from reform). It should also be pointed out that these materials contain data which were collected by a large number of trained researchers, following uniform field techniques, and carrying on research simultaneously in different villages. Such wide-scale field investigations are difficult to duplicate by non-government sponsored and private researchers.[5]

(2) Brief Description of the Communities As stated previously, thirteen villages comprise the units of study. Two of these communities, Ebetsu in the northern tip of Japan, and Honami in the far south, may be designated as "town-country" communities since their very large populations are mainly supported by occupations other than farming. The remaining eleven communities are wholly rural in general characteristics and are technically called mura or "villages." These may be subdivided into four rather crude categories based upon certain environmental features and the availability of forest resources:

Two wholly rural communities, Yokogoshi on the Japan Sea side in Niigata Prefecture, and Nikaido in south-central Japan (Nara Prefecture), lie in relatively low, flat country, and have no forests of any kind. They may be called "lowland communities." Four villages, ranging in geographical location from the 38th parallel down to the 34th, also may be grouped together. These four -- Obie, Karako, Kawashiro, and Aioi -- are also "lowland communities", but differ importantly from the others. These

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4. Arthur Raper, H. Passin, T. Tsuchiyama, & D. Sills, The Japanese Village in Transition. GHQ, SCAP, Natural Resources Section, Report No. 136., Tokyo, 1950. Hereafter referred to as "JVT."(See also, Arthur Raper, "Recent Changes in Japanese Village Life", Rural Sociology, Vol. 16, 1-16, 1951.)

5. In addition to the data on the 13 villages considered in this report, Project RJSR possesses materials on some ten additional communities, also studied by the Occupation social research unit. These other villages have not been included in this preliminary study of socio-economic adjustment, but will be so in final analysis and monographs.

communities have considerably smaller populations, have less compact settlements, and most important, possess forest land (at least 20% of their total land area is devoted to forest). Hence these four communities can be designated as "lowland-forest" villages.

A third group may be noted. These are the four villages: Suye, Mizuwake, Nobuta and Yoshida.[6] All four of these villages are of the type called by the Japanese sanson or "mountain" villages and they will be so designated here. They are located at relatively high altitude, with small clusterings or linear arrangements of houses in the narrow mountain valleys, and contain much forest land. The four in the sample range from northern Honshu down to central Kyushu, the southernmost island.

Finally, one village in the sample may be called a "coastal" community. The majority of the labor force in this community is engaged in fishing, and agricultural work is largely a part-time endeavor or is restricted to a small proportion of the total population.

On Table I is presented some of the basic physiographic, climatic, and land utilization features of these thirteen communities:

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6. Readers who are familiar with the late Professor Embree's study of rural Japan will recognize the first of these villages as the one he studied. (John F. Embree, Suye Mura, University of Chicago Press, 1939.)

TABLE I

ENVIRONMENTAL CHARACTERISTICS
OF THE COMMUNITIES

NAME OF COMMUNITY AND PREFECTURE	CLIMATIC REGION*	TOTAL LAND AREA (sq.mi.)	PERCENT OF FOREST LAND	POPULATION DENSITY (per sq.mi.)	ELEVATION ABOVE SEA LEVEL (feet)**
TOWN-COUNTRY					
Honami, Fukuoka	Caf	5.06	25 %	7,811	62
Ebetsu, Hokkaido	Dbf	60.91	13	496	36
LOWLAND					
Yokogoshi, Niigata	Caf	5.97	0	1,597	12
Nikaido, Nara	Caf	4.91	0	2,334	187
LOWLAND-FOREST					
Obie, Okayama	Caf	2,01	20	2,025	138
Karako, Saitama	Caf	4,52	42	1,216	13
Kawashiro, Shizuoka	Caf	5.92	52	976	197
Aioi, Kagawa	Caf	10.98	86	415	10
COASTAL					
Futomi, Shiba	Caf	1.83	28	1,529	10
MOUNTAIN					
Suye, Kumamoto	Caf	4,33	65	498	476
Mizuwake, Iwate	Daf	8,91	61	368	508
Nobuta, Nagano	Daf	7.14	71	516	1,561
Yoshida, Shimane	Caf	36.44	79	87	1,246

* The Koppen System: Caf means humid and subtropical; Daf means humid continental climate with warm summer climate; Dbf means short, cool summers, average of warmest month below 70 F.

** At the village office

METHOD OF ANALYSIS

As will be seen, the presentation which follows contains both a generalized description of the thirteen rural communities as well as a detailed analysis of some of the important factors which constitute the economic organization and social dynamics of these communities. The descriptive sections of the study should not require any preliminary discussion, but inasmuch as the analytical sections are somewhat novel, it might be well to provide the reader with a few guideposts as to how the basic units were defined, how specific attributes or analytical factors were selected, and the method used to indicate the presence or absence of relationship between the attributes.

(1) The Unit of Analysis In the study of Japanese rural communities at least one Japanese scholar has taken the buraku - which will be defined below - as the unit of study. In some ways this is justified because, prior to the rural administrative reforms in the Meiji Period (ca. 1870), many of these buraku units were independent villages. However, for reasons which should become obvious, the present study defines the "community" as the smallest legally recognized administrative unit in Japan. In the standard Japanese lexicon, this unit is known either as the mura or the machi. To provide a more concrete picture of this unit, the reader must understand that Japan is divided geographically and administratively into 47 prefectures (ken) which roughly correspond to the American states. Within each of these prefectures, smaller geographical and legal entities are composed of mutually exclusive cities (shi), towns (machi), and villages (mura). Thus, all the land areas of these cities, towns, and villages within a single prefecture are equivalent to the total land area of that prefecture. In the sample of thirteen rural communities, only one, Ebetsu in Hokkaido Prefecture, is classed as a "town" (machi), while the remaining twelve are technically "villages" (mura). But in terms of economic self-sufficiency and geographical isolation, one more community should be included as a "town." This is Honami (in Fukuoka Prefecture) which, while administratively a mura, is in many respects a suburb of a large town and is lacking in the usual symbols of self-sufficiency found in the remaining nine villages. Hence, Ebetsu and Honami will be classified in the discussion as "town-country" communities, while the others will be designated generally as "wholly rural" communities. The term "rural community", may be defined as: the social and economic organization of a group of people who reside within a given legally-defined territorial boundary smaller than a prefecture and classified as either a "mura" or "machi", but not "shi."

(2) The Selection of Variables The data collected in Japan on the thirteen communities provides a large and uniform number of indices and attributes with which to compare one community with another. A basic assumption of this study is that a number of these attributes do not vary randomly from village to village, but are somehow meaningfully related to the social and economic organization characteristic of the given village. For instance, it was hypothesized at the beginning of analysis that one attribute, the population of a given community, is, within limits, restricted by the availability of certain basic economic resources of that community. In a similar manner, it was felt that the various social institutions of a given community are closely attuned to the kinds of economic and occupational activities of its residents. The purpose of the analytical sections of this paper, then, is to demonstrate the specific factors (or attributes) which vary, and the ways in which they may be related to other factors.

As a first step in this analytical procedure, the materials on the thirteen villages were studied to determine which attributes could be used to characterize variations found in these villages. In a large number of cases, these attributes were available in explicit, quantifiable terms, so that rather precise numerical ratios and percentage figures could be used. In other cases, attributes could only be formulated in global and qualitative terms.

Such a large number of variables required some kind of classification. Thus, in the interests of better organization, the attributes and variables were categorized into three sets, designated respectively as "demographic", "economic", and "sociological." No systematic justification of this classification will be made; it is largely common-sense and heuristic.

The first set of these variables, called "demographic", brings together those specific characteristics which are concerned with population dynamics: absolute population size, number of families, average size of households, marriage rates, population density, percent of natural increase (births minus deaths), the relative number of regular and new residents, and numbers of farm and non-farm households in each of the thirteen villages.

The second category of variables is called "economic." As used by the layman, this term refers to activities which men undertake as a means of earning a livelihood. The use of the term here is equally unspecific. In general, by "economic," is meant the methods or principles by which goods, services and money are produced and distributed among a given population.[7]

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7. The term "economic" thus does not refer specifically to the social organization (work groups, industrial organization) of the individuals engaged for the purposes of earning a livelihood. This aspect will be classified under the heading of sociological variables.

The category of "economic variables" thus includes the following: the amount of land held by a given community; the various uses to which the land is put; the size of a given farm unit; the proportion of land controlled by landlords; the proportion of the population engaged in nonfarm activities; and the like.

The third and final category of variables is called "sociological." It is largely a residual category, but the principal emphasis is placed upon the problem of how the population of the given community is grouped for various social, religious, political, and other purposes. It will also include a variety of institutional and cultural patterns (ideas, beliefs, norms, values) which underlie the organization of the groups considered. Some of these variables are more difficult to delineate by quantitative measurements than those of the first two categories of variables. Because of this, certain indices are sometimes used: for example, the rate of reported crimes as an index of social solidarity and absence of anomie. This category of sociological variables thus includes: the different types of primary group affiliations; the patterns of settlement; the presence or absence of special minority groups; the relative importance of institutionalized friendships; and the differences in size, function, and composition of special types of kinship, neighborhood, locality, cooperative, and administrative groups within each of the communities.

(3) The Method of Indicating Relationships between Variables An attempt is made in this study to indicate relationship between two variables (common characteristics whose dimensions vary from village to village) without entering into refined statistical operations, since the small sample of villages does not justify detailed and close analysis. However, in many cases the relationships between variables is so striking within the sample of thirteen villages that the writers feel that such relationships might be generalized with high probability for contemporary Japanese communities as a whole.[8] In order to discriminate between a low degree and a high degree of association between two factors, it

---

8. The question of representativeness rests ultimately on the typicality of the thirteen communities selected for study. These communities were chosen with great care by Japanese and American scholars, on the basis of a large body of statistical materials on all Japanese villages. Considerable confidence is felt in the representativeness of this selection. "Typing" of communities in rural Japan is made relatively easy by the fact that much variation follows certain established patterns of geographical locus and major occupation.

was necessary to devise a standard procedure which would enable the researcher to come to a decision readily as to the degree of association and yet not involve highly technical, statistical assumptions (e.g., unidimensionality, normality, homogeneity, etc.). The procedure that was finally devised is briefly described below:

We may begin by taking a concrete and simple example: the degree of relationship between two variables, the number of reported crimes and the population density in the thirteen cases in the sample. First, the thirteen villages were divided into two groups with respect to each of these variables. Thus, with respect to the first variable, reported crimes, those villages with a rate of 4.4 crimes per 100 households or less were classified as "low crime villages," and those with a rate of 4.5 or higher as "high crime villages." Similarly with respect to the second variable, population density, the thirteen communities were divided into "high population density communities" and "low population density communities."[9]

The next step was to count the number of villages or communities which manifested different combinations of these two variables: crime rate and population density. This count is presented below:

Population Density* (per square mile)	Number of Crimes Reported (per 100 households)	
	Crime rates 4.5 or higher	Crime Rates 4.4 or lower
100 to 500	1	5
900 to 7,000	4	3
Total number of Villages:	(5)	(8)

* No village in the sample had a population density between 500 and 900.

Thus, of the five communities having a crime rate of 4.5 or higher, four were rated as "highpopulation density communities" and one as "low." And conversely, of the eight communities indicating a low crime rate (4.4 or lower), five communities were

9. The criteria used to divide the "high" from the "low" are defined later.

"low population density villages," and three had "high population density." Thus low population density is correlated with a low crime rate.

Though the relationship between the two variables in this case is discernible by inspection, a further step was taken to establish a crude index of association. This index was made in the following manner. First, the distribution of the cases in the above four-fold table was converted into percentages. This is indicated in the table below:

Population Density (per square mile)	Number of Crimes Reported	
	Villages with high crime rate	Villages with low crime rate
100 to 500	20	62
900 to 7,000	80	38
	100%	100%
Total number of Villages:	(5)	(8)

Secondly, the differences in the percentage points in the top row of the four-fold table (.20 and .60) was noted. This difference (with the signs ignored) is .42. This last figure was then called "f", or the coefficient of relationship for crime rates and population density. In a similar manner, the "f" coefficient was computed for each four-fold table represented in the chapters to follow.

The derivation of the criteria by which the writers came to a decision as to what was a "high" or "low" crime rate village and as to what was a "high" or "low" population density village may now be considered.

With respect to the first variable, crime rate, the average for the thirteen villages was taken as the "cutting point." Those villages with a rate equal to or less than the average for all villages in the sample were considered as "low crime communities;" those with a rate higher than the average were called "high

crime communities."[10] With respect to the second variable, population density, there occurred a marked clustering of villages when they were arranged from the lowest to the highest in density. At the lower end of the scale appeared a cluster of six villages with a population density of something less than 500, the average being about 400. In the seven remaining villages, the population density ranged from 900 to 2,000 with one at 7,000. Hence the cutting point in this case was set at 500.

The decision as to where the cutting point was to be made can be generalized. With respect to quantitative variables which were rather continuous, as in the case of crime rates, the mean value was used as the cutting point; with respect to variables with clear-cut modes or clustering, these latter were used (as in the case of the "population density" variable). For data which were qualitative, the problem of establishing the cutting point was much simpler: it was largely a matter of whether a given trait (e.g., a certain kind of credit association) was reported as present or absent in the villages.

By the above procedure the writers were able to come to decisions as to the degree of association existing between the various kinds of variables isolated for the thirteen villages in the sample. The method is somewhat cumbersome, but it is felt at least that such a method is preferable to verbal generalizations like "a high crime rate in Japanese rural communities is related to low population density." The above method specifies what is considered a high or low crime rate and what is considered a high or low population density. It also specifies the degree of relationship found to exist between the two variables.

LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

As stated earlier, this paper is exploratory and does not claim to be a definitive study of the socio-economic dynamics of contemporary rural societies of Japan. The principal limitations are three:

The first is that certain kinds of data (e.g., the significance of large kin groups) for the communities was susceptible of qualitative measurement only. This necessitates a certain degree of subjective interpretation on the part of the writers.

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10. These figures are also in agreement with conventions established by Japanese social analysts.

As often as possible, the assumptions underlying each qualitative interpretation are given in order that the reader can judge for himself the validity of such interpretations. The other and perhaps more important limitation of the study is that the sheer number of communities represented is not adequate to represent all variations in demographic, sociological, and economic factors for the eight or more thousand rural communities in Japan. The thirteen communities studied here are representative of major types of rural communities, but may not indicate the total range of variation. Nevertheless, in spite of these limitations, it is felt that a perusal of the materials on thirteen villages only, can be justified on the grounds that the present findings lead to empirical generalizations and hypotheses that need to be studied systematically. Furthermore, even a tentative formulation of the problem as given here makes for a better understanding of the role of rural communities in modern Oriental society.

The third and final limitation of the study is that the generalizations made are post factum generalizations. They are generalizations made after the data were collected and not before. Thus, the writers' statements about relationships between variables are in the nature of empirical generalizations and hypotheses which may be confirmed by future field investigations; they are generalizations which should be tested.

CHAPTER II

BACKGROUNDS

The purpose of this chapter is to describe the salient aspects of Japanese geography, economy, and rural life which are needed as background understanding for the chapters to follow. The attributes and qualities of Japanese rural life which are analyzed and compared in subsequent chapters have certain economic, technological and social parameters which are significantly different from those in most western nations. Since this discussion is concerned largely with materials already known to persons informed about Japan, it is suggested that such readers might scan this chapter and proceed to the later discussions.

GEOGRAPHICAL AND CLIMATIC FEATURES

Nature did not endow Japan with an abundance of either low, flat land suitable for agriculture, or of mineral resources needed by an industrial society. An aerial view of Japan reveals a rugged surface, dominated by a network of mountains and 15-degree or steeper hills, both of which occupy more than 75 percent of the total land area. The largest of these ranges is found in Honshu, the main island, and the lesser mountains are in the three remaining principal islands: Hokkaido to the north, Shikoku to the southwest, and Kyushu to the southeast. Thus, in the remaining one-fourth or so of the land, most of Japan's eighty million people work in the cities or on the farms. The farmers, who constitute about half of the total population, eke out a living from that bare 16 percent of the land which can be devoted to agriculture. The fruits of the farmer's labor produce only about three-fourths of the nation's staple food; the remainder must be imported.

While the amount of available land is small, the Japanese farmer is slightly more fortunate with respect to the climate. The climate of Japan reveals a mixture of conditions brought about by the influence of the Asiatic continent and of the ocean which surrounds the islands on all sides. With the exception of the northern island and certain mountainous regions, the winters are relatively mild and the summers warm and humid. These conditions are advantageous for producing heavy yields of rice, vegetables, potatoes and other important crops.

In the extreme northern tip of the Japanese archipelago, the farmer suffers somewhat from the climate. There, the snowfall is heavy and reaches depths of six or seven feet in January, thus

reducing the growing season. But land is more available here and animal husbandry is practiced more extensively than elsewhere in Japan. At the opposite end of the island chain, in Kyushu and southern Honshu, the farmers are not troubled by snow, but summer typhoons occasionally wreak extensive damage. These do great harm to the rice fields, cause the overflow of riverbanks, and weaken or destroy houses and other structures.

The temperature and its regional variations correspond roughly to that found on the Atlantic seaboard in the United States. Hokkaido in the north is similar to the northern New England coast--cold, with 10-15 degrees F.,in January and an average of 65 to 68 degrees in July. The plains of Central Japan have winter and summer temperatures similar to those found in North Carolina. The winter averages about 35 to 40 degrees and the summer about 80 degrees. The summer is like that of the American south: hot and humid. Southern Japan is semi-tropical.

Rainfall, another important factor to farmers, is generally heavy in the summer and quite sufficient in the winter. The annual precipitation varies from about 40 inches in the north to about 120 inches in the south, with isolated areas having somewhat more than 120 inches. The typical Japanese farmer of central Japan has considerably more rainfall on his land than his counterpart in North Carolina, or for any other part of the United States.

The growing season ranges from 120 days in certain parts of Hokkaido to 240 days or more in the south, where farming is most intensive and double-cropping is a common practice. Again comparable situations are found in the Atlantic seaboard in the United States. The short 120-odd day period in Hokkaido is duplicated in Vermont and the 240-plus days in southern Honshu and Kyushu in Georgia, Mississippi, and Alabama.

Still another factor of vital interest to the farmer is the nature and quality of the soil. The soils of Japan are considered to be generally of poor fertility, and are particularly deficient in lime and nitrates. They are low in organic substances and mineral plant foods, since the heavy precipitation of Japan tends to remove soluble substances with rapidity. The loamy soils of the important alluvial plains, however, are well-suited for rice culture and this type is highly prized. Great care and painstaking labor is necessary to protect the soils. The hillsides are terraced to check soil removal, while the upper slopes are made into forest and grassland to minimize soil denudation. Check dams and dikes are also necessary to control the swift, mountain-fed streams that follow heavy rains.

LAND, POPULATION, AND TECHNOLOGY

Japanese rural communities are very old. With the exception of those found in Hokkaido, where largescale colonization has taken place only in the last century, most Japanese communities have been settled continuously from three to more than ten centuries. This antiquity of the villages contributes to a psychological atmosphere which stresses symbolic and emotional attachment to the land. At the same time, however, the limited amount of arable land forces the older generation in each farm family to make a selection as to which of the younger generation will inherit the family property. All members of the succeeding generation cannot share equally in this inheritance. In Japan, the standard pattern is primogeniture; the land is passed on to the eldest son, and the other children by and large, must seek non- agricultural pursuits. Thus, since the feudal Tokugawa period, though Japan's population has increased from 30 to 80 millions, the farm population has remained fairly constant. The surplus population from the rural communities has been absorbed in the growing industrial system.

But in spite of regular emigration of the farm population, it must be pointed out that the Japanese farmer has worked out a series of other adjustments to a large population per land area, especially with respect to the utilization of land and to agricultural practices. These may be examined:

The dominant theme in Japanese agriculture, like that of southern Asia generally, is rice culture. In the relatively stable economic period around 1937, rice occupied about one-half of the total cultivated land and constituted more than 50 percent of total value of farm products.[11] Part of the explanation for this high degree of agricultural specialization must be given in historical and cultural terms, but it also has a basis in the type of adjustment to climatic and geographical factors. The abundant rainfall, the subtropical climate, the easily irrigated alluvial lowlands--especially characteristic of Honshu and Kyushu--have made rice an ideal agricultural product. Rice is by nature one of the highest yield crops per unit of cultivation of all the small cereals. It also is superior in regard to preservation qualities, especially in warm, humid climates. Moreover, the system of transplanting rice seedlings also has certain latent functions in heavily populated areas, insofar as it requires the labor of many people.

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11. G.T. Trewartha, Japan: A Physical, Cultural, and Regional Geography, Univ. of Wisconsin Press, 1945, p.213

The Japanese farmer has responded to this need by establishing elaborate systems of work exchange. However, it is difficult to say whether he establishes such relationships with his neighbors and friends primarily because of economic necessity, or because the exchange of labor between friends is an expression of friendship and social interests.

The typical Japanese farmer irrigates his farm. Rice, wheat, and barley - the standard crops - are all carefully watered. Rice seedlings are transplanted to provide more efficient use of land. Fertilizer of all kinds (human, animal, and commercial), are used extensively and yields per acre are among the highest in the world. It is also one of the most intensive forms of agriculture found anywhere. However, high yields do not come without effort. Meticulous attention to detail is paid and much backbending human labor --often facilitated by the communal system of work exchange--is used. Japanese farm tools are neither numerous nor complicated; they are simple, portable, and skillfully used. A longbladed hoe, sickle, ox and plow are the most common.

By the same token, power machinery is comparatively unimportant. Though the farmers claim that they cannot afford to purchase such machinery, a slight increase in the use of small, portable machinery, like small hand-driven tractors and wheat threshers has been seen in recent years. The scattered pattern of land ownership also sets certain limitations upon the efficient use of machinery. Most farmers' plots are not contiguous, but scattered in many parts of the village land. A "patch" is said to average about one-sixth of an acre, and if the farmer owns the average of two acres of land, he is likely to have this land located in six to a dozen different sections of the community. Obviously, farm machinery of the larger type cannot be practical under such conditions. The social consequences of this system of scattered ownership are found in the fact that the farmer inevitably comes into face-to-face contact with persons in different parts of the village as he works his various plots from day to day.

While the smallness and irregularity of the fields does not encourage the use of machinery (which would be too expensive anyway), the Japanese farmer could use more draft animals than he has. There exists about one draft animal (usually oxen) for every third farm in Japan, and a draft horse for about every fifth farm.[12] Farmers often exchange their own labor, and the labor of their family members, for the use of draft animals to pull carts and move the plows through the heavy soil. The principal problem with respect to draft animals is the high cost of feed in the absence of adequate natural pasture. Human labor is cheaper.

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12. JVT, p. 28 and Table 24, p. 269.

Livestock other than draft animals are not abundant. There is one dairy cow for every 42 farms, and most families have no more than four chickens. Generally speaking, animals raised for eggs and meat are found in specialized localities and regions; they are not generally raised. Japanese farming is predominantly and overwhelmingly concentrated upon the production of grain crops; this means that human beings consume a very large proportion of the grains produced.

At the same time, the technology and the ways of earning a living in the typical rural community is never solely dependent upon farming. Women especially, devote considerable time to home industry by raising silkworms, making baskets, rope and bags, weaving mats, cutting wooden clogs, assembling material "put-out" by a supply merchant, turning pottery on a wheel, and the like. Perhaps a third of the income of farm households are derived from such enterprise. In general, rural people tend to take advantage in Japan of every opportunity to supplement the living from agriculture with other income-producing occupations. This has led to certain difficulties in estimating Japanese rural economic welfare, which is buttressed by an intricate system of "invisible employment."

AGRICULTURAL PRACTICES

Aside from the matters already described, Japanese agricultural practice can be characterized as one which involves a combination of different kinds of agricultural lands; along with the systematic use of terracing, irrigation, the extensive practice of multiple cropping, and the intensive use of fertilizer from human excrement.

Ideally, the Japanese farmer's land is divided into what are called paddy (inundated) and upland (dry) fields. The term upland does not necessarily mean that the fields are on the higher, sloping hillsides. It is often simply a field artificially raised about eighteen inches above the inundated paddy areas. The upland fields are devoted to dry farm crops, and the paddy primarily to rice and other special cereals. The inundated paddy fields are found throughout Japan, but their heaviest concentration lies in the alluvial plains of subtropical Japan where rainfall is greatest. Here the rice seedlings which had been raised in small plots for t two months previous are transplanted to the larger paddy fields in May or June, immediately preceded by the harvesting of winter wheat that had been growing in the paddy. Then by October or November, the rice is harvested, and the seedlings of barley or wheat take its place in the paddy fields - and so the cycle continues. In communities near the cities and towns, the quick-maturing vegetable crops, such as radishes and carrots, may be planted between

the harvest summer crop of rice and the planting of winter cereals. Like the cereals, these vegetables also are given a good start in seedling beds.

The use of upland fields is considerably more diversified, according to the climatic regions and seasons. Millet is grown in the upland fields in the winter in subtropical Japan, and in the Spring in the north. Certain types of cereals (oats, dry rice, barley, naked barley) and vegetables, including sweet potatoes and beans, are often grown in the upland fields.

Another striking feature of Japanese agriculture is the extensive terracing of both paddy and upland plots. The paddy fields are particularly difficult to maintain inasmuch as water has to be somehow taken to these fields. The steeper terraced fields are therefore increasingly being devoted to upland types of farming. Here some industrial crops like tea, mulberry for silkworms, peaches, citrus fruits, and other dry farm crops are raised.

Still another characteristic practice is multiple cropping. Again the custom is conditioned by the length of the growing season, but where the climate permits, multiple cropping is widely used. This is in sharp contrast to many parts of the United States where a single crop is planted and after harvesting, the land remains fallow until the next season. In land-short Japan, the land is not allowed to lie idle, except in the north and other parts where the growing season is short. Multiple cropping, both in paddy and upland fields, increases as one proceeds south.

This intensive use of land makes it obvious that much fertilizer is needed, and this is particularly true of the hillside fields. The most common fertilizer is human excrement, or what is generally called "night soil." Considerable mobilization of manpower and organization is needed to collect this night soil, and to the many foreighers in Japan, the sights and smells of ox-drawn wagons bearing human excrement through the streets of Tokyo and other cities is an unforgettable scene.

VILLAGE LIFE

The physical aspects of social life in the Japanese village have been illustrated in detail in Part I of the Japanese Village in Transition, and in numerous photographic studies published sinde the recent war. It is required here merely to summarize certain important aspects. In the most fundamental sense, Japanese village existence is characterized by simplicity and austerity - although these English words have connotations which the Japanese might not recognize. Houses are built of simple, perishable materials;

interiors are bare and strictly functional; even the best have few or no "modern conveniences" (except electric light). In Western terms this may add up to "poverty"; in Japanese, it has become a definite style of life in which material simplicity and cheapness are transformed into a coherent pattern.

Families are generally large, and the lack of clear-cut specialization of room function makes for considerable intimacy and interaction - aided and abetted by the demands placed upon every family member for cooperation in the daily tasks of running a farm. Interaction between families follows kinship lines in the main, and there is probably somewhat less of the free social contacts between unrelated households that characterize American small communities. Houses are close together, yards are small, and every inch of soil - except a tiny ornamental garden - in the average farmyard is devoted to some sort of crop.

The Japanese village has qualities which may be called "folk" or "peasant." Each community has its own annual round of ceremonies and shows, most of them centering around the local temple or shrine. These festivals and dramatic performances are intimately bound up with cooperative labor and other forms of economic exchange, and kin groups and social strata are represented in the order of precedence. In some cases such ceremonial patterns divide villages into phratry-like groupings, and the solidaristic functions of the system are as apparent as the economic and recreational. Cooperative credit clubs and other institutions of like nature abound, as would be expected in a society emphasizing family, with simple technology, and little or no capital.

CHAPTER III

SOME FACTORS ASSOCIATED WITH DEMOGRAPHIC ATTRIBUTES OF JAPANESE RURAL COMMUNITIES

In this chapter we shall be concerned with defining the major characteristics of population in Japanese rural communities. This will include variations found for such demographic features as birth and death rates, average size of household, and total population. Also studied are other attributes - sociological and economic - that may be correlated with these differences in demography.

At the time of Japan's resumption of contact and communication with the outside world, the farm population constituted about 80 percent of the total. In intervening years, the farm population has steadily declined in proportion to the national population so that the percentage is now between 46 and 50 percent of the total. This decline in ratio is not due to the marked decrease of rural population, but rather to a sharp increase in the urban. As a matter of fact, the total farm population has remained virtually static during the past eighty years while Japan's industrial revolution took its course. This static rural population, combined with the fact that the total available agricultural lands have increased only 4.6 percent, leads to the possibility that the Japanese farm population has probably reached its upper limits and will not increase in the foreseeable future.

Although Japanese farm population has been relatively stable, its relationships to economy and other aspects of rural organization vary significantly from village to village. Using data from the thirteen communities in the sample, certain predominant aspects of population dynamics will be explored in the pages to follow.

POPULATION SIZE

As can be seen from Table II, the populations of the thirteen communities fall into four or five rather clearly demarcated classes. The largest populations are found in the two town-country communities, the next largest in the two lowland communities, and the smallest are found in the coastal and mountain villages. Somewhere between the lowland and the mountain villages is the population of the lowland-forest communities. The reader may be interested to know that in 1947, of the 8,480 Japanese villages (mura), those with a population of 2,000 - 4,999 constituted 64%;

TABLE II

POPULATION STATISTICS

	POPULATION: (1948)			ARABLE LAND (acres)	PERCENT OF HOUSEHOLDS:**		AVERAGE SIZE HOUSEHOLD
	Actual	% of Natural Increase	% of Gain-Loss		Farm	Non-Farm	
TOWN-COUNTRY							
Honami	39,836*	2.3	9.1	1,101*	9	91*	5.0
Ebetsu	30,234*	2.4	5.1	18,322*	24	76*	5.4
LOWLAND							
Yokogoshi	9,583*	4.5	3.0	3,706*	76*	24	6.6*
Nikaido	11,437*	1.6	-2.5	2,263*	60	37*	5.5
LOWLAND-FOREST							
Obie	4,050	2.4	-2.1	965	60	33*	4.9
Karaky	5,471	2.5	-3.4	1,504*	80*	18	5.8*
Kawoshiro	5,757	3.1	-0.9	909	80*	20	6.0*
Aioi	4,569	2.8	-2.5	843	68	30*	5.0
COASTAL							
Futomi	2,752	3.2	-5.8	433	46	52*	4.9
MOUNTAIN							
Suye	2,140	3.3	0.5	942	70*	27	6.0*
Mizuwake	3,272	1.3	-1.2	1,768*	88*	12	6.4*
Nobuta	3,667	2.3	-3.4	1,234*	92*	7	5.6*
Yoshida	3,192	1.7	0.5	933	66	33*	5.6*

* Communities marked with an asterisk on a particular attribute are designated as either "high" or "large" with respect to that attribute; others will be treated as "low" or "small."

** The percentage of farm and non-farm households in some cases do not equal 100 percent because those communities have a small percentage of unemployed households.

those with 5,000 - 9,990, 21%; and those with 10,000 - 19,990, 2%. The remaining villages had slightly larger or smaller population than these.[13] The factors which determine the population of a given village are many, but it appears that it might be worthwhile to see whether or not certain basic factors could be isolated on the basis of these thirteen cases.

To begin, it was hypothesized that one of the factors involved in population size was the availability of farmland. That is: the greater the available farmland, the larger the population of a given area or community. This relationship is seen by inspection of columns 1 and 3 in Table II, but to dramatize it, a cross-tabulation was made. (See Table III, below). In Table III, to simplify the relationship, a village with a population of 9,000 or more was designated as a "high population community," and those with a population of less than 9,000 were "low population communities." Similarly, with respect to the other attribute, farmland acreage, a "high acreage village" was one in which there were 1,000 or more acres, and a "low acreage village" was one with less.[14]

TABLE III

POPULATION AND FARMLAND

	Percent of Villages with "High Population"	Percent of Villages with "Low Population"
Large Farm Acreage (1,000 acres or more)	100	33
Small Farm Acreage (less than 1,000 acres)	0	67
	100%	100%
Total Villages:	(4)	(9)

Coefficient of association: f = .73

13. "Japanese Economic Statistics," GHQ, SCAP, Economic and Scientific Section, Tokyo, 1948.

14. It will be noted that this mode of analysis follows the example given in the Introduction.

As may be seen by the above table, there is an association between population size and amount of farmland. But there are some notable exceptions. Thus, village no. 1 (Honami), had the largest population, but had a cultivated land area ranking only seventh in acreage (see Table II). Also, the lowland-forest villages had about the same amount of cultivated land as did the mountain villages, yet the former group of villages had, on the average, about 1,000 more persons.

These observations suggest that the amount of farmland was only one factor among many. Others, such as the availability of nonfarm work, and the proximity to urban centers which provide job opportunities, were believed to contribute to the population size of a given village. In line with this, a reasonable index representing these latter factors was found in a datum which pertained to the percentage of nonfarm households for each of the communities.[15] Nonfarm households are defined by the original field investigators as those in which the household heads or "breadwinners" were gainfully employed in other than agricultural or forestry work. Hence, when a village has a relatively high proportion of nonfarm households, this means that the particular village as a whole is less dependent upon its agricultural land than is a village with a lower percentage of nonfarm households. To examine this more systematically, the thirteen villages were retabulated by holding constant the nonfarm household attribute. This tabulation is given in Table IV, A & B:

TABLE IV

POPULATION AND NONFARM HOUSEHOLDS

A. Communities having 30% or more of their households dependent upon nonfarm occupations:

	High Population Communities	Low Population Communities
1,000 acres or more	0	100
Less than 1,000 acres	100	0
	100%	100%
Total Cases:	(3)	(4)

Coefficient of Association: f = 1.00

15. See Table VI, p. 265, JVT.

B. Communities having less than 30% of their households dependent upon nonfarm occupations:

	High Population Communities	Low Population Communities
1,000 acres or more	100	60
Less than 1,000 acres	0	40
	100%	100%
Total Cases:	(1)	(5)

Coefficient of Association: f = .40

Though the number of cases is extremely small, insofar as these data are concerned the differences in the "f" coefficients between "A" table and "B" table suggest that there is a difference in the degree of relationship between population size and farmland acreage. In communities with 30 percent or more of their households dependent on nonfarm occupations, the relationship between population size and acreage is very consistent. However, the relationship is greatly reduced if we consider only those communities in which only a small proportion (less than 30%) of households are in nonfarm occupations. In other words, the relationship between population size and the amount of farmland is a conditional one, depending upon the opportunities to engage in nonfarm occupations. In the next chapter, this problem will be considered in greater detail.

POPULATION AND AVERAGE SIZE OF HOUSEHOLDS

It is a common observation among demographers that rural populations have larger families than those of urban. Since urban centers have a larger population density than rural, it may be asked if the size of the population is a factor in determining the average size of families.

In the data on the thirteen villages, it is apparent that not only is there variation in population, but also in the average size of households. Is there a relationship between these two attributes? On Table II, it can be seen that the two urbanized town-country communities (Honami and Ebetsu), have the largest populations and also have smaller average families or households. This may be tested with respect to the other communities:

Two attributes - population size and average size of household - are tabulated for the nine wholly rural villages on Table V:

TABLE V

POPULATION AND AVERAGE SIZE OF HOUSEHOLD

	Percent of Villages with Populations of 5,000 or more	Percent of Villages with Populations of Less than 5,000
Average size of household: less than 5.5 persons	25	43
Average size of household: more than 5.5 persons	75	57
	100%	100%
Total Villages:	(4)	(7)

Coefficient of relationship: f = .18

In the light of the above, it seems apparent that there is no significant correlation between large populations and small households in the wholly rural communities. If anything, the relationship seems to be the opposite.

What, then, accounts for the differences in the average size of households in these rural villages? A further examination of the original generalization was made, and from it, it was hypothesized that the significant variable was not the sheer size of population, but the major occupations in the community. Thus, rural populations may have larger average families or households than urban because they have a larger number of farmers. This was examined for the eleven cases as follows:

TABLE VI

AVERAGE HOUSEHOLD SIZE AND PROPORTION OF FARMERS

	Percent of Villages with High Proportion of Farmers*	Percent of Villages with Low Proportion of Farmers*
Average size of household: less than 5.5 persons	100	20
Average size of household: 5.5 or more persons	0	80
	100%	100%
Total Villages:	(6)	(5)

Coefficient of relationship: f = .80

* A "High" proportion means here 70% or more of the total households are engaged in farming, a "Low" proportion means less than 70% of the households in farming.

It is evident from the high "f" coefficient that the average size of households is related to the proportion of farm households. Thus, where the proportion of farm households in a given village is 70 percent or more, the chances are that the average size of households for that community will be "large," i.e., 5.5 or more persons.

POPULATION CHANGE

The period in which the original field surveys were made is not a typical or "normal" one for the study of population change in Japanese rural communities, since the termination of the war had resulted in a considerable turnover. An influx of military and civilian repatriates from overseas increased village population, and in the other direction, a considerable number of civilian evacuees from cities now left the villages to return to urban areas. These groups of repatriates and evacuees constituted about 13 percent of the total population in these villages in 1948. In addition, during this unsettled period a considerable number of people had shifted residence from one village to another for such practical reasons as better food rations or superior employment opportunities.

During the survey period (June 1947 to December 1948), most of the communities lost from about one to almost six percent by emigration. (See Table II) These emigrants were largely the above-mentioned

repatriates and evacuees who, by this time, were able to find permanent employment elsewhere. The two exceptions to this net loss of population were the town-country communities of Ebetsu and Honami. In the case of Honami, the revived coalmining operations attracted a large number (about 10 percent) of new residents. In Ebetsu, a community with relatively large tracts of land still to be reclaimed, there occurred an approximate five percent net increase of new residents. An attempt was made to relate some of these changes in population size to other attributes, but with the exception of changes due to natural increase (which shall be treated in a later section of this chapter), no marked relationships were found.

BIRTHS AND MARRIAGES

The vital statistics available in the surveys undertaken for the thirteen villages provide data for only a limited time period. Statistics on the number of births and deaths were obtained for the calendar year of 1948 only, and considerable care must be used in interpreting this type of data collected in the disturbed postwar years. However, for whatever it is worth, these statistics and their relationship to other attributes of the communities are presented in Table VII, on the following page:

TABLE VII

VITAL STATISTICS

	BIRTH RATE[1]	DEATH RATE[2]	NATURAL INCREASE[3]	MARRIAGES per 1,000 HOUSEHOLDS (average of years 1945-1948)
TOWN-COUNTRY				
Honemi	35.5	12.0	23.5	85.9
Ebetsu	34.2	10.4	23.8	75.1
LOWLAND				
Yokogoshi	65.1*	20.0	45.0*	147.0*
Nikaido	33.0	17.0	15.9	82.4
LOWLAND-FOREST				
Obie	38.2	14.5	23.7	88.5
Karako	41.4*	16.8	24.6	105.4*
Kawashiro	48.6*	17.8	30.7*	164.6*
Aioi	46.3*	17.9	46.3*	99.3*
COASTAL				
Futomi	47.9*	15.6	32.3*	87.5
MOUNTAIN				
Suye	49.5*	16.3	33.1*	128.8*
Mizuwake	34.5	21.3	13.1	66.7
Nobuta	38.4	15.2	23.1	86.4
Yoshida	36.6	19.7	16.9	84.6

* These are the communities which have been designated "high" with respect to the attribute measured and will be so designated in the tabulation that follows. Others not marked with an asterisk will be called "low."

1. Birth rate = Number of births per 1,000 population

2. Death rate = Number of deaths per 1,000 population

3. Natural increase = Excess of births over deaths per 1,000 population

In line with the previous observation that high average size of household was related to a high proportion of farm households in a given village, it was believed that an association might be found between birth rates and the proportion of farm households. That is: the higher the birth rate, the higher the proportion of farm households. This relationship is indicated below:

TABLE VIII

BIRTH RATES AND PROPORTION OF FARM HOUSEHOLDS

	Villages with High Birth rates	Villages with Low Birth rates
High proportion of farm households (70% or more)	67	29
Low proportion of farm households (Less than 70%)	33	71
	100%	100%
Total Villages	(6)	(7)

Coefficient of relationship: f = .38

From the above, it can be seen that there exists a fair degree of relationship between birth rates and proportion of farm households. However, one factor that the above relationship may "hide" is the possibility that some of these villages had a higher proportion of young married couples. This factor may be important in that natality is usually limited to younger couples. It also should be remembered that the birth rates in the above table are those for one year only and not an average taken over a period of years.

To determine which villages had higher proportions of married couples, the number of marriages taking place in the years 1945 - 1948 was taken as the index: those villages with "high marriage rates" in these years were presumed to have the higher proportion of "young married couples," while those with a "low marriage rate" were presumed to have the smaller percentage of young married couples.

To "test" the generalization that "birth rate" is in part a function of the number of young married couples in the given village, the procedure demonstrated in the case presented in Table IV was followed. The relationship of the attributes "birth rate" and "proportion of farm households" may be retabulated by holding constant the attribute of "marriage rate." This is shown in the following pair of four-fold tables:

TABLE IX, A & B

MARRIAGE RATES AND FARM HOUSEHOLDS

A. Villages with "High Marriage Rates"
(90 or more marriages per 100 households)

	Villages with High Birth Rates	Villages with Low Birth Rates
High proportion of farm households (70 % or more of all households)	80	0
Low proportion of farm households (Less than 70 % of all households)	20	0
	100 %	0 %
Total Villages	(5)	(0)

Coefficient of relationship: f = .80

B. Villages with "Low Marriage Rates"
(Less than 90 marriages per 1000 households)

	Villages with High Birth Rates	Villages with Low Birth Rates
High proportion of farm households (60 % or more of all households)	0	29
Low proportion of farm households (Less than 60 % of all households)	100	71
	100 %	100 %
Total cases	(1)	(7)

Coefficient of relationship: f = .29

The results indicate that when the relationship of the two original attributes (birth rate and number of farm households) were treated separately according to whether they were associated with a high or low marriage rate, the original relationship appeared as more pronounced in part "A" of Table IX, but was reduced in part "B" of the same table. This would appear to mean that the couples who married during the years 1945 to 1948 accounted for the relatively high birth rate in the "high birth rate" communities. To interpret: the original relationship between those communities with a large proportion of farm households and those with high (1948) birth rates is a conditional one. The more important relationship probably exists between the high number of marriages and the high birth rates. In other words, a relationship between high birth rate and high proportion of farm households is found, but the generalization holds only when the marriage rate in the preceeding three or four years has also been relatively high.

MORTALITY AND NATURAL INCREASE

Another glance at Table VII will reveal some interesting patterns with regard to death or mortality rates. The eleven wholly rural villages have, as a whole, higher death rates than those of t the more urbanized town-country communities. This is interesting in the light of the expectation that mortality rates would be higher in more urbanized communities than in wholly rural communities, as demographers have often pointed out. The two town-country communities, despite some very marked differences in regional location and types of occupation followed by their residents, are quite homogeneous with respect not only to mortality rates, but also with respect to birth and natural increase rates. Honami is a community dependent upon coalmining as well as agriculture, and is located in the subtropical climate of Kyushu, the southern island. Ebetsu is a community at the opposite end of the archipelago, and its population, in addition to farming, is dependent upon unskilled, skilled, and white collar employment provided by the nearby capitol city of Hokkaido Prefecture.

Unfortunately, the data does not provide statistics on the age and sex distribution in these communities, so that a more detailed analysis of both death and natural increase rates is not possible. These crude rates, despite the lack of more specific data, indicate that in general where the birth rate of a community is high, the rate of natural increase tends to be relatively high. The principal exception is the village of Karako where the number of deaths was relatively low.

SUMMARY

This completes the preliminary discussion on demographic characteristics of the thirteen villages. The analysis was limited to a presentation of some of the broad characteristics of the population - insofar as data were available - and the relationships of these to other attributes of the communities. Not all attributes were used in the present discussion, but only those which could be introduced at this point without requiring lengthy explanation. Other attributes and their relationships to demographic factors will be discussed in following chapters.

Before continuing, it might be well to summarize the main conclusions concerning demographic attributes. First, it was found that a relationship existed between large population and large amount of cultivated land. This generalization was qualified by a subsequent analysis which showed that the above relationship held only if the factor of relative size of the farm population (as opposed to nonfarm population) was held constant.

Secondly, it was postulated that communities with large populations would have smaller families than communities with small populations. This generalization was found to be without basis in the case of the eleven wholly rural villages. Rather, there was found to be a strong relationship between the average size of families (households) and the proportion of the farm households in the given community. That is, communities having a large percentage of farm households and a small percentage of nonfarm households tend to have large families.

Thirdly, birth rates for the year 1948 were investigated, finding that communities with a high birth rate tended to have larger proportions of population in farming occupations than in nonfarm activities. But here again, the relationship was found to be a conditional one, and marriage rates, covering the years 1945 to 1948 were seen to influence this relationship. The original relationship between high birth rate and large proportion of farm population held, if the marriage rates were also high. Though no conclusive evidence was presented, it is believed that communities with high marriage rates were also those communities which had a relatively larger proportion of younger married couples.

Finally, mortality and natural increase rates were discussed. Due to lack of detailed information, no tabulations were attempted, but it was observed that, in general, death and natural increase rates between the two town-country communities and the eleven wholly rural villages were quite different. Moreover, the two town-country communities, despite considerable differences in the type of occupation and regional locale, seemed to be quite homogeneous with respect to these rates. With regard to the other villages, it was

stated that where the birth rate of a village is high, the rate of natural increase tends to be high. This coincidence was striking in the light of variations in the death rates, ranging from 14.5 to 21.3.

SPECIAL NOTE ON OUT-MIGRATION

A problem of considerable magnitude in the Japanese rural community is out-migration for the purpose of income supplementation and population alleviation. This is a fluctuating phenomenon, since it will vary greatly by relatively small changes in economic welfare, and it is also quite variable from community to community, depending upon such factors as amount of land available and extent of local industry and job opportunities. This fluctuation and variation, coupled with the fact that much of the movement is purely seasonal, make it extraordinarily difficult to study. For the thirteen communities, only rather sketchy materials were accumulated.

These data indicate in a general way that the lowland communities, while variable in their amount of out-migration, averaged considerably lower than the four mountain villages. The coastal community was also high in out-migration. This would bear out the conclusion reached by Japanese census and social statisticians that out-migration is directly related to the economic opportunities, or lack of them, in the community. The lowland communities in general have more abundant land available for farming than the mountain villages, and also have a lower proportion of farm households, since local job opportunities are present. Consequently they are able to support a larger percentage of their own population, and extensive out-migration is not necessary.

One of the more difficult aspects of the problem of out-migration concerns the precise definition used. "Out-migration" can be seasonal or permanent, it can be a matter of commutation to nearby towns, or long-distance residence. The pattern of out-migration in a given community appears to vary by these and other factors, depending upon local needs and conditions. Thus, coastal or fishing communities have a special pattern characterized by two features: (1) younger sons working as fishermen in fishing fleets operating out of larger towns some distance from the village; and (2) daughters working as household servants in the larger cities. The former usually retain permanent residence in their own village, returning at frequent intervals, or every winter; the latter usually marry an outsider and remain away permanently. This whole system may be contrasted to that found in the lowland communities, where out-migration is most often a commuting operation. For mountain villages, out-migration is a matter of seeking all kinds of jobs and permanent residence in lowland towns and cities. Mountain villages furnish a disproportionately large percentage of urban industrial workers.

It can be seen that out-migration has important sociological implications. The movement back and forth from city to village has considerable impact upon behavior and outlook, and has no doubt contributed to the homogenization of Japanese attitudes, and the acceptance of urban ways in even the most remote mountain communities. The phenomenon is worthy of intensive study from many points of view: demographic, economic, and socio-cultural - something it has not yet received from either Japanese or western scholars.[16]

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16. An excellent introduction is found in: Irene Taeuber, "Family, Migration and Industrialization in Japan," American Sociological Review, Vol. 16, pp. 149-157, 1951.

CHAPTER IV

MAJOR ECONOMIC VARIABLES

SIZE OF LAND HOLDINGS

With the foregoing as a background, we may now consider the organization of agriculture and related activities in the thirteen communities. We may begin with the quantity of land held by the farmer. This particular characteristic is obviously one of the most important in the investigation of agricultural communities, and it provides an introduction to other aspects of Japanese rural life, such as tenancy, inheritance patterns, and standard of living. Table X contains three separate measures related to the size of farms operated by the average household of the given village: average size of farm land, adjusted average size of farm land, and percentage of all farm households operating less than one-half *cho* of farm land (one *cho* = 2.45 acres).

The second of these attributes requires special explanation. It was felt that the raw data on the actual size of farm land did not give a true picture of the real or effective quantity of farm land. The reason for this is that most villages, as was explained in Chapter II, practice multiple-cropping to a greater or lesser extent. The percentage of land that was multiple-cropped varied considerably from village to village due largely to the growing season, soil conditions, and climatic conditions of the particular village.

Because of this, one *cho* of land might produce two or more crops in one village, while in another, where the land had to lie fallow, the same amount would produce only one crop. As a crude method to equalize the real value of the land, the quantity of farm holdings were weighted in each village in proportion to the percentage of farm land that was devoted to multiple-cropping in that village. Thus, for example, in Nikaido where 81 percent of the farm land was multiple-cropped, the average size of farm unit was increased by that amount, giving 1.5 *cho* instead of .8 *cho*. This latter figure, called "adjusted average size of land holding," will be used in the place of the true average size in the present discussion.[17]

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17. The true average for all 13 communities was 1.6 *cho*; in Ebetsu the farms averaged 5.6 *cho*; the average of the other 12 was 0.9 *cho*. Generally farms become smaller as one goes south in Japan.

TABLE X

AVERAGE SIZE OF FARM OPERATION UNIT

DEC. 1948

	Farm Households No.	Total Cultivated Land (cho= 2.5 acres) Cho	Average Size of Farm Holding (cho) Cho	Adjusted Average Size of Farm Holding (cho) Cho	Percent of All Farm Households Operating Less than 0.5 cho %
Town-country					
Honami	703	443	0.6	1.1	46.8
Ebetsu	1,316	7,535	5.6*	5.7*	6.5
Lowland					
Yokogoshi	1,096	1,512	1.2*	1.5*	45.8
Nikaido	1,160	926	0.8	1.5*	45.9
Lowland-forest					
Obie	492	367	0.8	1.4*	29.3
Karako	749	622	0.8	1.1	36.3
Kawashiro	768	544	0.7	0.9	32.0
Aioi	622	323	015	0.9	52.7
Coastal					
Futomi	257	116	0.4	0.6	79.6
Mountain					
Suye	249	383	1.5*	2.5*	18.9
Mizuwake	448	712	1.6*	1.8*	8.9
Nobuta	607	506	0.8	1.1	23.1
Yoshida	372	336	0.9	0.9	31.5

* These will be treated as "high" in the tabulations which follow, others in the column which have no asterisk will be treated as "low."

An analysis of the significance of land holdings requires a tentative proposition about the relationship of the size of holding and the kind of occupations followed by the residents. That is, where the adjusted average size of farm land was small, the number of people engaged in part-time farming would be relatively large. This seemed a natural relationship because if the average size of farm plots was very small in a community (meaning in most cases that land fractioning had been carried on extensively), farm households would be required to engage in other gainful employment in order to supplement their income. This hypothesis was "tested" and the tabulations shown below in Table XI:

TABLE XI

SIZE OF LAND HOLDINGS AND PART-TIME FARMING

	Villages with Small Average Size Farm Units (Less than 1.4 cho)		Villages with Large Average Size Farm Units (1.4 cho or more)	
Large proportion of part-time farmers (50% of all farm households)	67	(4)	29	(2)
Small proportion of part-time farmers (Less than 50% of all farm households)	33	(2)	71	(5)
	100%		100%	
Total Villages:		(6)		(7)

Coefficient of relationship: f = .38

This relationship was not as high as anticipated. On further reflection, it was suggested that perhaps the attribute "average size of farm unit," obscured an important fact, namely, that some villages had a better ratio of paddy to upland fields (the paddy fields being generally the most productive) than did other villages. So, when the attribute "percentage of farm land devoted to paddy fields," was brought into the analysis, the results were as follows:

TABLE XII, A & B

PROPORTION OF PADDY LAND AND PART-TIME FARMING

A. Villages having 70% or more of cultivated land in paddy fields (7 cases)

	Villages with Small Average Size Farm Units		Villages with Large Average Size Farm Units	
Large proportion of part-time farmers	33%	(1)	67%	(2)
Small proportion of part-time farmers	67	(2)	33	(1)
	100%		100%	
Total Villages:		(3)		(3)

Coefficient of relationship: f = -.34

B. Villages having less than 70% of cultivated land in paddy fields

	Villages with Small Average Size Farm Units		Villages with Large Average Size Farm Units	
Large proportion of part-time farmers	100	(3)	0	(0)
Small proportion of part-time farmers	0	(0)	100	(4)
	100%		100%	
Total Villages:		(3)		(4)

Coefficient of relationship: f = 1.00

By retabulating the original relationship between the attributes, "average size of farm units" and "proportion of part-time farmers," a coefficient of relationship of .38 was found. When the attribute "paddy field" is held constant (Table XII), it is found that the original relationship was only conditional. In A of Table XII, it is seen that actually the relationship between the original attributes is negative (f = minus .34). But in B of the same table, by considering only villages with small amounts of paddy fields, the relationship is perfect. Therefore it may be concluded that when a village has small farms, it will tend to have a larger proportion of its

farm population engaged in part-time farming activities than another village with equally small farms, provided that the first village has less paddy land than the second. Putting this more simply, a farmer with a small amount of paddy land can farm that land alone and still support his family; if the same farmer had the same amount of land, but in upland field or forest, it would be necessary for him to secure supplementary work, and consequently he is classified as a "part-time farmer." There appears to be a fairly stable relationship here, which might be utilized as a predictive device in practical problems.

SCATTERED PLOTS AND LAND AMELIORATION

Related to the general problem of the small size of holdings is another, namely, that of scattered plots. The average Japanese farmer's land is not only small in size, but what exists is scattered in various localities within the village territory.[18] In Suye, a mountain village, the farmer had an average of ten separate plots within the locality of his dwelling unit, and one-half plot outside this area. In Karako, the farmer had an average of seven paddy fields and twelve upland plots widely dispersed; and the farmer in Yokogoshi had an average of twenty-one plots, both near his house and in different parts of the village. The reasons for this scattered plot system are many, but among them are the desire for crop diversity, antiquated methods of irrigation, and the results of long centuries of renting, purchasing, selling and inheriting.

The consequences of scattered plots are obvious: inefficient use of labor; much time required for travelling from home to field; carrying tools and leading draft animals long distances; prevention of effective use of farm machinery; and an inefficient allocation of irrigation facilities.

At the same time, the system has some positive aspects. The scattered plots, with their diversified crops, give the farmer more security than a single larger investment. Floods, pests, and frosts are less likely to affect all of a farmer's crops at one time when he has his fields scattered in widely separated sections of the village. The social consequences of having farmers from different parts of the village crossing each other's paths on the way to work are many. These face-to-face meetings provide opportunity to engage in small talk, to exchange news, to crystallize opinions on politics

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18. A more detailed analysis of the patterns of scattered plots and their relationship to social features will be found in the next chapter.

and national events, and to disseminate information about agricultural practices.

Nevertheless, in postwar years the government agriculturalists as well as the more progressive farmers have been urging improvements in the system, or lack of system, of scattered plots. This program has been called "land amelioration." The objective of these projects is to make transfers in ownership of land so that a farmer is given one or two contiguous plots equivalent in area to several scattered plots he held previously. The boundaries, paths, roads, and (most important) the irrigation and drainage ditches are straightened or made to conform to more regular geometric patterns. Such amelioration projects have resulted in: (1) increased size of fields to the extent that unnecessary demarcation pathways are eliminated; (2) greater rectangularity and consolidation which, in turn, facilitate better use of farm tools and animals; and (3) reconstruction of canal systems providing for more effective irrigation and drainage systems. If carried out systematically, these projects lead to substantially higher yields.[19]

An amelioration project was carried out in one of the thirteen villages during the period of the survey. In this village, Yokogoshi, about 300 cho of land were affected. This village, which suffers not only from scattered plots but from an overabundance of water, benefited greatly from the improvement of drainage works that resulted. Such a project was an expensive undertaking for the villagers and required the aid of the national government, but a flat ten percent increase in crop yield resulted.

However this may be, land amelioration is little more than a dream for the great majority of Japanese villages: as it was for twelve communities in the present sample. Farmers complained that the costs of undertaking such projects were beyond their means, and that the amelioration program breaks the continuity of a single family line farming the same land over many generations. Obviously, such projects will not come about easily, for they are deeply bound up in inheritance and family problems, and require outside capital and supervision to be effectively carried out.

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19. Japanese agricultural experts have calculated that if the little dikes separating contiguous plots of land were removed, agricultural production in Japan could be increased by 10%.

LAND TENURE

The loss of efficiency in scattered plots is only one of the instrumental problems of agricultural societies. Also to be considered is the distribution of ownership of land. A farmer who operates a large farm, but who does not own the major part of that land, may not be as well offas another farmer who owns all of the smaller land that he cultivates; and - especially in periods of high taxation - vice versa. Japan experienced a successful land reform program during the Occupation. This program was long over-due, and when instituted, was generally well-received and carried out with remarkable effectiveness in the brief period of three years. The scale of the undertaking may be realized by the fact that in three of the thirteen villages, a total of 17,000 separate pieces of land were purchased from landlords and sold to tenants. The discussion in this section will not attempt to report on the reform program as a whole - for this has already been done in the published monograph.[19] Instead, it will summarize the land tenure situation in the early months of the program when the redistribution of land had not yet taken place on a wide scale, and also the results of that program as of December, 1948. The thirteen communities in this study were carefully selected in part for their typical expression of tenure systems found prior to the reallocation project; consequently they may be taken as representative of the nation with some degree of confidence.

Table XIII presents a few pertinent facts concerning land tenure as it existed in April, 1947; i.e., at the beginning of the land reform. In the first three columns are statistics on: (1) the percentage of land cultivated by the owners; (2) the percentage of land rented out by landlords; and (3) the percentage of land owned and controlled by institutions (shrines, temples, government). The next four, columns (4-7), show the percentage of farmers (technically speaking, of farm households) who belong to each of these tenure groups: (1) Landlords who lease out more than one cho of land; (2) owner-cultivators who own all the land they operate;[20] (3) owner-tenants who own most of the land they operate, but rent from others a minor part (i.e., less than 50 percent) of their operating land; and (4) tenants who rent from others 50 percent or more of the land they operate.

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19. JVT, Part IV.

20. To distinguish inconsequential landlords from the large landlords, those who lease out less than one cho of land are included in this owner-cultivator group.

TABLE XIII

LAND OWNED BY EACH TENURE GROUP
AND PERCENT OF FARMERS IN EACH TENURE GROUP
APRIL, 1947

	LAND OWNED BY CULTIVATOR %	LAND OWNED BY LANDLORD TENANT-RENTED %	LAND OWNED BY OTHERS[1] %	LANDLORD GROUP[2] %	OWNER CULTIVATOR GROUP[3] %	OWNER-TENANTS GROUP[4] %	TENANT GROUP[5] %
TOWN-COUNTRY							
Honami	42	58*	0	3	31	17	49*
Ebetsu	46	50*	4	27	29	20	24
LOWLAND							
Yokogoshi	40	58*	2	8	9	11	72*
Nikaido	66*	34	0	9	51	23	17
LOWLAND-FOREST							
Obie	25	73*	2	4	8	11	77*
Karako	49	40	11	9	12	29	50*
Kawashiro	63	32	5	8	20	25	47*
Aioi	70*	29	1	3	19	19	59*
COASTAL							
Futomi	88*	10	2	X	57	29	14
MOUNTAIN							
Suye	71*	29	0	4	35	26	35
Mizuwake	77*	20	3	4	24	27	45
Nobuta	70*	28	2	3	12	51	34
Yoshida	57	42*	1	2	57	12	29

1. Includes corporate bodies as temples, shrines, and government organizations.

2. Those leasing out more than one cho

3. Those leasing out less than one cho

4. Those who rent less than 50% of the land they cultivate

5. Those who rent 50% or more of the land they cultivate

X Less than 0.5 percent

* These communities have been designated "high" with respect to the attribute measured.

One general observation that can be made from this table is that there are only four villages, Ebetsu, Mikaido, Futomi, and Yoshida, in which the landlord and owner-cultivator classes constituted the majority of the farm population. In all other communities the owner-tenants and tenant groups formed the majority.

However, if we think of these tenure classes in terms of modal groups, then there is seen to be a considerable variation. The villages in which the owner-cultivator groups constitute the modal group of the farm population are Ebetsu, Mikaido, Futomi, and Yoshida. These seem to have little in common, except for this attribute. The villages in which the owner-tenant class is the modal group are Honami, Kawashiro, Suye, Mizuwake, and Nobuta. Three of the four mountain villages of the sample are in this classification, but the others are quite different. In the remaining villages (Yokogoshi, Obie, Aioi, and Karako), the modal farm group is the tenant class. These villages are either a lowland or lowland-forest type. It is interesting to note that the first three of these villages had, respectively, 5, 9, and 8 percent of their households on relief. Only Ebetsu, with 11 percent, had a larger number dependent upon public welfare.

The land reform program, of course, changed the composition of the tenure classes of these villages and other villages of Japan rather drastically. A brief explanation of accomplishments of this program is given below.

This program, represented officially by two complementary pieces of legislation, "Agricultural Land Adjustment Law" and "Owner-Farmer Establishment Special Measures Law," was instituted in late 1946 and was virtually completed by March 1950. The principal objectives of these laws were two: (a) to transfer land ownership to farmers who actually till the soil, and (b) to improve farm tenancy practices for those who continue as tenants.

The actual administration of the transfers was accomplished by means of local Land Commissions established in each city, town, and village in Japan. The commission, made up of representatives from each tenure class in the locality, determined on behalf of the national government the amount of land to be purchased, and the selling of this land to farmer-operators. The determination of purchase price, the selling price and the lands to be purchased, was set within certain limits by the national legislation, but the Land Commissions had a certain degree of freedom to make changes appropriate to local conditions. The lands subject to government purchase were defined as follows: "(1) lands owned by absentee landlords; (2) tenant-operated lands in excess of retention rates specified locally (these were not to exceed, on the average, four cho in Hokkaido and one cho on the other three main islands); (3) owner-cultivator lands in excess of retention rates specified locally (these were not to exceed, on the average, 12 cho in Hokkaido

and three cho elsewhere), except for those that can be reasonably operated by the farmer and his immediate family; (4) corporation-owned lands that do not relate directly to the principal object of the corporation; and (5) lands capable of reclamation for agricultural use." [21].

The official price of these land purchases was set in 1946 at the rate of 40 times the 1938 rental value for paddy land and 48 times the 1938 rental for upland fields. On this basis of computation the average purchase price for one-tenth cho of paddy land, for the nation as a whole, was 760 Yen, and for the same amount of upland, 448 Yen. The investigations in the thirteen villages indicated that such prices for land were markedly favorable to the tenant-purchaser.

The purchasers of the land were privileged to pay for the land in 24 annual installments with interest of 3.2 percent. Such payments were not to exceed one-third of the gross income from the land in that year, and in the event of crop failure, the annual payments might be reduced, deferred, or cancelled.

By March 1950, the 11,322 Local Land Commissions purchased and sold some thirty million parcels of land involving some 4,700,000 acres. The defining of property claims, the clarification of boundaries, the determination of the purchase price, and hundreds of other miscellaneous duties connected with such land transfers were tremendous. The net result of the work of these Land Commissions, which operated at an average cost of fifty dollars a month to the national government, was the reduction of the farm land area cultivated by the tenant class from 6,300,000 to 1,670,000 acres (or from 46 percent of the total cultivated area to 11 percent).

But the less tangible results of the land reform program include changes in leadership in rural communities, the shifts in the balance of economic power, the realignment of social status, and a number of social and political consequences. These are treated in fair detail in The Japanese Village in Transition.[22].

With this background, we may return to the consideration of the thirteen villages. Many changes occurred between April 1947 and December 1948 (the survey period). For the thirteen villages, the land commissions purchased land for the government from 1,640 resident owners and 1,360 absentee owners. The land which these people sold to the commissions amounted to 63 percent of the total cultivated land for the resident owners and 37 percent for the absentee owners.

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21. JVT, p. 259.

22. JVT, Part IV, Chapter 1. The best recent Japanese study of the consequences of the land reform (mainly in the economic sphere) was made by the Gov't. Recording Committee of the Land Reform and published in 1952. A comprehensive summary and analysis of the study has been published (in Japanese) in a professional journal, Keizai Ronso (Economic Review), Vol. 70, No. 4, 1952.

The amount purchased from the average resident owner was 2.4 cho and by the average absentee owner, 1.8 cho. The number of resident owners in each village varied from 12 in Futomi to 346 in Hikaido, averaging 126. The absentee owners ranged from 25 in Nobuta to 210 in Yokogoshi (average 105). By December 1948, these purchased plots of land were transferred to owner-tenants and tenant groups so that only about eight percent of the total land remained to be rented out in the thirteen villages. These statistics add up to the following generalization: after the land reform, the owner-cultivator class became the modal tenure group in all villages except three (Nobuta, Karako, Obie), which had owner-tenants forming the modal class.[23] Measured in terms of a transfer in ownership of land from owner to cultivator, the Japanese land reform was an unqualified success.

Such mass transfers of land are undeniably beneficial to a rural population, from the standpoint of bothmorale and economy. For such reasons land reforms have been widely advocated in recent years as virtual cure-alls of economic illness and political malaise. However, while the benefits are great, they are not entirely uniform in coverage. In Japan, the land reform laws did not include forests, which remained under private ownership;[24] and the redistribution of land did not change the economic situation in many areas where land is short in supply or farms are miniscule. In such cases the transformation to owner-cultivator may expose the ex-tenant to tax burdens and other overhead expenses he will have difficulty managing.

Only one aspect of this problem will be noted here: the extent to which the land reform affected some Japanese communities more than others. It might be reasoned that if the majority of the households in a community are supported by farming, the amount of land transferred should be greater than that transferred in a community where a minority of the households are supported by farming.

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23. Complete elimination of tenancy was felt to be neither feasible nor desirable by the Japanese and American planners of the reform. Some degree of tenancy was deemed necessary for the support of elderly persons and others who were not able to operate their own land. One of the provisions of the companion legislation to the land reform law was rent ceilings which stipulated that rent should not exceed 25 percent of the production from paddy land and 15 percent from upland fields.

24. And probably wisely so; since to split them up would merely accelerate the already serious overcutting. (See J.W. Bennett, "Social Aspects of Japanese Forestry Economy," Project RJSR, Interim Technical Report No. 5.

If the reverse holds true, it may be taken as evidence for very small farms, or a shortage of land relative to the population, and consequent need for outside occupations. The following table summarizes the facts for the thirteen communities:

TABLE XV

PERCENT OF FARM HOUSEHOLDS AND LAND ACQUIRED IN REFORM PROGRAM

	Percent of Land Acquired in Reform		
Percent of Farm Households	High (over 26%)	Low (under 26%)	
High (over 60%)	5	2	(number of communities in each category)
Low (under 60%)	1	5	

This table shows that for the thirteen communities studied, the ideal proportions were reversed. By and large, the transfers of the largest amounts of land occurred in those communities with the lower proportions of farm households. Four out of the five communities in this category were lowland and lowland-forest villages: that is, communities with relatively large areas of arable land, and with opportunities for economic support other than agricultural. In general, the land reform may be said to have maximally benefited communities of this type, since the farmers received an area of land large enough, in proportion to the number of households supported by agriculture, to farm and make a living.

The converse is also true. By and large, those communities with the larger proportions of households supported by farming received the smaller amount of land. Three of the five communities in this category were "mountain" villages, and one was a "coastal" community. Such communities are either land-short, or are remote from urban areas and job opportunities, and located in highland areas where remunerative paddy land is not abundant, and growing seasons brief. Transfer of ownership of land in such communities probably has not changed the economic picture to any large degree; indeed, according to recent Japanese surveys, the assumption of ownership of small tracts of land has exposed the farmer to severe financial hazards, and a drift back into paternalistic landlordism is evident. Communities of this type constitute approximately one-third of all rural communities in Japan.

AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS

In Chapter II a description of agricultural products and their relationship to different types of land and land use was presented. In this brief section the variation in products may be related to general village type and relative economic status.

Table XVI provides a check list of the major crops and products of the thirteen communities. Some crop yield data was secured, but was not felt to be sufficiently reliable to include in this analysis. Consequently the table merely indicates in general terms the variation in types of products that can be found in Japanese communities with differing ecological loci.

It may be apparent from the table that the "lowland" and "lowland forest" communities as a group have the most diversified crop pattern. Basically their agricultural economy is one of intensive and remunerative rice growing with additional support acquired from the production of a variety of secondary crops. Their facilities for communication with the city, and the relatively more abundant land in lowland areas, permits them to maintain a more diversified production. To this can be added the greater facilities for jobs in other than agricultural occupations.

The "mountain" communities have a somewhat more limited range of products. Heavy concentration appears in the area of upland crops, like potatoes, and auxiliary occupations like silk-raising. Moreover, since these communities are located in the mountains, what rice agriculture they have is limited in scope and yield.

The "coastal" communities are in a comparable situation. Land short, they must rely extensively on fishing and other specialized occupations, like tobacco-raising, to support their households.

"Town-country" communities, being located in lowlands, have a diversified program of agricultural production, but the large proportion of their population supported by industrial jobs makes it difficult to interpret their economic status in purely agricultural terms. Of the two in the sample, Honami, the coal-mining community, has a smaller variety of agricultural products than any other community. Ebetsu, with a larger agricultural settlement, has a correspondingly greater variety.

TABLE XVI

TYPES OF AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS

Community	Type	Rice	Wheat & Barley	Yams	Potatoes	Silk	Vegetables	Fruit	Soy beans	Rushes	Milk	Special Crops
Honami	Town-	X	X	X								
Ebetsu	Country	X	X		X		X		X		X	
Yokogoshi		X		X	X		X	X				
Nikaido	Lowland & Lowland-Forest	X	X				X	X				Seeds/bulbs
Obie		X	X	X				X		X		
Karako		X	X	X		X	X		X			
Kawashiro		X	X	X	X							Tea
Aioi		X	X	X								Fish, Tobacco, Sugar cane
Futomi	Coastal	X	X	X	X					X	X	
Suye		X	X	X		X	X					
Mizuwake	Mountain	X			X	X		X		X		
Nobuta		X	X	X	X	X						
Yoshida		X	X	X	X	X			X			
		13	11	10	7	5	5	4	3	3	2	

SUMMARY

The preceding discussion of major economic variables for the thirteen communities may now be summarized:

First, it was found that when a village has small farms, it will tend to have a high proportion of its farm population engaged in part-part-time farming - providing that there is relatively little paddy land. If the community has 70% or more of its land in paddy, the proportion of part-time farming is much less than it would be if the percentage falls below 70%. This would appear to demonstrate that paddy land can support a larger number of people on a full-time agricultural basis than upland fields and forest. A farmer with a small amount of paddy can make a living by farming that land alone; if he has the same amount of land, but in upland field or forest, it is necessary for him to secure supplementary work, and consequently he is classified as a "part-time farmer."

Second, it was noted that the straightening of field boundaries, and the consolidation of the many scattered plots into uniform fields, can increase the yield of Japanese agriculture by at least ten per-cent in those communities where it has been carried out. However, the operation of "land amelioration," as it is called, requires very considerable organization and capital, which can be furnished only by the central government; the individual communities generally lack the social skills and financial resources.

Third, the transfer of agricultural lands in the Japanese "land reform" was examined, in order to show its general extent. It was observed that the largest quantities of land were transferred to former tenants in those communities with 60% or fewer of the house-holds engaged in farming. This would suggest that the "land reform" benefited most those communities (mainly lowland) with well-established agriculture, on reasonably adequate amounts of land, and/or with opportunities for outside employment permitting non-agricultural sup-port. Conversely, the "land reform" did not affect to the same degree those communities with shortages of agricultural land, or with very high portions of the population subsisting on the land. In such communities, the very small tracts of land transferred to former ten-ants could result in worsened economic conditions, since the tenant cannot make a living, minus the former paternalistic landlord support, on such small, often unproductive tracts. This situation would be accentuated if means of support other than agriculture were lacking.

Fourth, the types of products raised in the thirteen communities were examined in order to determine major differences by ecological position of community. It was found that the lowland communities in general have the most diversified list of products, indicating that their fertile land, plus nearness to distribution centers, per-mits a more varied and saleable production. Mountain communities, with relatively unproductive lands, and remoteness from consumers, appear to have difficulty developing a diversified economy.

PART TWO

CHAPTER V

SOCIOLOGICAL VARIABLES AND THEIR INTERRELATIONSHIPS

In the preceding two chapters were presented statistics pertaining to the variations found in the demographic and economic aspects of the villages sampled in this study.[25] The discussion of such statistics, however, constitutes only one phase of the major problem of the report. An equally important aspect is the degree to which sociological factors vary among these villages and how social and cultural institutions are related to economy and demography. The general task in Part Two, therefore, is to discuss the sociological variables in a systematic fashion.

But before proceeding further, it might be well to recall the dimensions of the present study. The reader will observe in these chapters on the sociological factors that a considerable range of variation is found from village to village, just as in the case of demographic and economic data. But, as hypothesized at the beginning of this report, it is believed that such variation is not completely at random. The thesis is that these demographic, economic, and sociological factors will show greater or lesser correlation, or rather co-variance, which may suggest types. For instance, it was suggested that a wide variety of social institutions will in some manner reflect the differences in economic and demographic conditions found in given communities. While this formulation appears to be no more than a common sense observation, the justification for pursuing such generalizations lies in the hope that a more clear-cut specification of what kinds of social institutions and what kinds of economic and demographic conditions may be correlated. Explicit specifications of the mutual dependence between sociological, demographic, and economic factors, and their possible grouping into community types, seem desirable not only to provide a series of empirical generalizations which can be tested by future investigations of Japanese rural communities, but also to suggest a tentative frame of reference for comparative studies of rural villages in Oriental societies.

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25. Strictly speaking, some "sociological" variables have already been presented in the preceding chapters. Such factors as size of household, marriage and birth rates, and the like are examples. However, the "sociological" materials to be explored in these later chapters partake more of social relational and group characteristics than did the former.

With this brief restatement of objectives, we may consider the sociological data on the thirteen rural communities. At the outset, it must be said that sociological factors are difficult to treat in a summary fashion. In contrast to demographic and economic factors, the sociological variables selected here are less standardized and less obvious. Furthermore, they often can only be understood in the context of the particular cultural milieu under discussion. As a way of structuring the discussion, the presentation may be divided into three sections. The first will deal with definitions of variables and with the variations found in the sample communities - the kind and specificity of the variables being limited of course by the nature of the data. The second section will attempt to show how these factors are related. Finally, the chapter will conclude with a specific problem which illustrates the interrelationship of certain demographic, economic, and sociological factors.

SETTLEMENT PATTERN OF DWELLING UNITS (S-1)[26]

The first variable to be discussed has reference to the geographical setting of the community. From the sociological point of view, the most relevant feature of this is concerned with the arrangement of dwelling units within the physical environment. Rural sociologists tell us that the pattern followed in the location of dwelling units is an important determinant of the frequency to which the individual farmer interacts with his neighbors, the kinds of communication he can establish with the outside world, and the kinds of social activities in which he can participate. These sociologists point to two different modes found in agricultural societies. In one, "the isolated farmstead type," each farm family lives on the land that it cultivates and particularly if this land is large, this means that it is separated from other families in the communities at least by the distance between individual fields. The other type, "the farm village type," is one in which the families dwell in a compact area and have their fields at a distance from their place of residence.[27]

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26. This notation is used to identify each sociological variable by means of a symbol. The utility of this symbol will become apparent when we present a cross-tabulation of these variables.

27. Several sub-types, such as the "line village," and the "round village," are also defined in the literature, but these need not concern us here.

The advantages and disadvantages of one type complement those of the other type. That is, in the isolated farmstead the advantage lies in the fact that the farm land is accessible, and the crops, machinery, livestock, and other farm property can be readily guarded against thievery on an individual family basis. The disadvantages of this type are that it promotes greater social isolation and certain inconveniences such as transportation difficulties, and the high cost of installing electricity and gas.

The farm village type, on the other hand, permits greater social participation and less isolation. It usually provides for intimate contact with neighbors, ready access to the village shops, greater facilities in dissemination of news, and larger numbers of playmates for children. This greater number of face-to-face contacts provides better opportunity for establishing mutual aid and cooperative exchange of labor. The disadvantages of the farm village type are that time and effort is expended in going to and from the place of work, and, if animals are kept, feed, water, and pasturing problems are increased. Also, the relative lack of privacy, and the freedom from gossiping neighbors are assets or liabilities, depending upon one's point of view.

Without question, the typical pattern for Japanese rural communities is that of the "farm village" type. This is the case for twelve of the thirteen villages in the sample, Ebetsu, the community in Hokkaido, being the only exception. In this one community the land is abundant and the raising of livestock and draft animals in contrast to the other twelve communities is an important aspect of the agricultural economy. It is also interesting to note in passing that this settlement pattern was based upon the recommendation of American agricultural specialists made in the early 1900's. Elsewhere, however, the villages have responded to the natural environment by establishing clusters of dwelling units known as the "farm village" type.

But in spite of this general uniformity in settlement pattern, there are a number of sensitive adjustments of this basic pattern according to the demands of the topography. R. B. Hall has designated three variant motifs concerning this basic farm village type of settlement pattern:[28].

(1) Yamato type - compact and ideally rectangular agglomeration of dwelling units often clearly demarcated by hedges, roads, and moats. This type is found in flat, open

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28. "Some Rural Settlement Forms in Japan," Geographical Review, Jan. 1931. Also described in Trewartha, 1945, op. cit. pp. 164-167.

TABLE XVII

SETTLEMENT PATTERNS

	Farm Village Pattern			Farmstead Pattern
	Yamato	Satsuma	Echigo	Takachi
TOWN-COUNTRY				
Honami	X			
Ebetsu				X
LOWLAND				
Yokogoshi			X	
Nikaido	X			
LOWLAND-FOREST				
Obie	X			
Karako	X			
Kawashiro		X		
Aioi			X	
OCASTAL				
Futomi			X	
MOUNTAIN				
Suye		X		
Mizuwake		X		
Nobuta		X		
Yoshida		X		
TOTAL	4	5	3	1

country. Of the three subtypes mentioned here, this comes closest to the ideal "farm village" pattern described above.

(2) Satsuma type - small clusters of dwelling units placed not in flat, open country, but on the floors of valleys or along the main highways and mountain streams. Each cluster connects with others by using winding footpaths, trails, and small roads.

(3) Echigo type - homes built on levee crusts, beach ridges, and dunes. Though the general configuration gives the appearance of "line" or "string" type of settlement pattern, clusters of houses appear wherever the levees and dunes permit such agglomeration. It differs from the line villages of the American south in that the farmers do not necessarily live on the land they cultivate. The farm land and the house site of the Echigo type is as widely separated as the above two types.

A fourth type described by Hall is the Tokachi type. This is, in essence, similar to the "isolated farmstead" type. As pointed out, the Hokkaido community of Ebetsu is a prime example.

Table XVII indicates how the sample of villages may be classified by this taxonomic system. From the table it should be apparent that the Yamato pattern is most typical for most of the low land villages and the Satsuma type for the mountain villages. The third pattern (Echigo) is found in both the plains and coastal villages.

MEASURE OF ISOLATION (S-2)

In addition to the way in which each community arranges itself with respect to the natural environment, another important factor has to do with the degree to which a given community is relatively independent of other, especially larger, communities for such things as social contacts, job opportunities, market outlets, and exchange of news. Strictly speaking, no Japanese community is totally isolated from the rest of the nation and by the same token each is highly dependent upon other communities for the exchange of goods, news, and contacts. Every Japanese farmer of today depends upon urban centers for textiles, footwear, pottery, farm tools, and even food, especially the processed staples. A national educational system has established primary and secondary schools in most villages and enrollment is high.

Access to mass communication media in all villages is also remarkably high; in the communities studied, the average community had 83 percent of its households subscribing to newspapers (usually the large metropolitan papers), and 64 percent of all households

owning radios. Though no precise statistics are available on the number of popular magazines and movies seen by the villagers, the informal data available suggests that the rate is as high as it is in the rural areas of the United States.

Insofar as transportation is concerned, every village is connected with its neighbors by a system of roads wide enough to carry automobiles, and in most communities, there is a prefectural highway on which a regularly scheduled bus carries the residents from one community to another. Thus while animal transportation is rarely seen in the communities, and transportation by private passenger cars is even rarer, these buses are the chief means of contact with the outside world in many communities, especially the more isolated ones.[29] Finally, each village is connected to other communities in the nation by means of formal and informal associations. Such village organizations as farmers' cooperatives, young men's associations, various religious organizations, political parties, and the like are often organized as local branch units of regional or national associations.

The sociological significance of these uniform characteristics just described is that the Japanese rural community is not simply a "folk society" in the sense that many anthropologists and sociologists use the term. The world view of these villagers is considerably broader, and they have direct and frequent contact with the broader, more urbanized society.

Nevertheless, it is obvious for those who have observed a number of rural communities in Japan that there is a considerable variation in the degree to which a given community is isolated - physically and intellectually - from the remainder of the nation, and this difference is significant in the understanding of the social dynamics of a rural community. In line with this assumption, a measure of community isolation - crude as it is - was devised by the writers. Table XVIII summarizes the data used for establishing an index of isolation for each of the thirteen sampled communities.

It will be observed that the index is based largely upon the kind of transportation facilities available to the community and on the degree of dependence upon an urban or market center. By "dependence" we mean whether the community is relatively self-sufficient for social contacts, markets, and amusements available in the nearby towns and cities. It is an evaluation made by the writers and based upon all the descriptive materials available for these communities. This so-called isolation index could have been based upon a number

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29. For short distances the ubiquitous bicycle is used, and on less frequent occasions, the three-wheeled motorcycle.

TABLE XVIII

MEASURE OF ISOLATION

	TRANSPORTATION FACILITIES			DEPENDENT UPON NEARBY URBAN CENTERS*	INDEX OF ISOLATION**
	Prefectural Highway	National Highway	Railroad		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
TOWN-COUNTRY					
Honami	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	1
Ebetsu	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	0
LOWLAND					
Yokogoshi	Yes	No	Yes	No	2*
Nikaido	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	0
LOWLAND FOREST					
Obie	Yes	No	No	Yes	2*
Karako	No	Yes	No	Yes	1
Kawashiro	Yes	No	Yes	No	2*
Aioi	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	1
COASTAL					
Futomi	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	1
MOUNTAIN					
Suye	Yes	No	No	No	3*
Mizuwake	Yes	No	No	No	3*
Nobuta	Yes	No	No	No	3*
Yoshida	Yes	No	No	No	3*

* i.e., within commuting distance

** Based upon the number of "no's" found in the preceding four columns. The higher the index number, the greater the isolation.

of other measures such as newspaper readership, radio ownership, frequency of social contacts with people in urban centers, and the number of local units of regional and national organizations established within the community, but the measures selected were believed to provide a reasonable index of variation found in the communities studied. The mechanics of the ratings used in this index are explained in the footnotes of the table.

An inspection of the table suggests these uniformities and differences: With the exception of Karab-, all villages are located on prefectural highways (see column 1). This means that a minimum of transportation facilities are available in practically all of the villages sampled. On these prefectural highways, regularly scheduled bus transportation is usually available and it is not altogether impossible for residents to visit other communities as often as they deem it necessary. The other point to note is that the mountain villages, in contrast to the other types of communities, are particularly handicapped by a lack of railroad and trucking facilities. All other communities are located on major railroad lines or on national highways on which trucking facilities are generally available. This fact places the residents of mountain villages at a greater disadvantage with respect to social contacts and exchange of goods. These facts should be kept in mind because we will return to them again in a later section.

ASSIMILATIVE CHARACTER OF THE COMMUNITIES (S-3)

Related to the variations in the degree of isolation that characterizes different rural communities is the degree to which they vary with respect to how easy or difficult it is for outsiders to establish residence in these communities. For lack of a better term, this feature may be referred to as the "assimilative" characteristic. As a general rule, it is safe to state that it is exceedingly difficult for any person not born in the community to establish himself as a permanent resident. The only exceptions are those who marry into the community or are adopted as sons or daughters in a given family of the community. The relatively infrequent occurrences are found when the outsider gains special permission from, and comes under the sponsorship of, an influential community resident, or when he is a non-resident relative of a permanent resident. Even then such persons undergo a probational period, and often a "new-resident" family is not regarded as a native of the village until such time as the second generation has succeeded. Shopkeepers in most villages, for instance, are generally regarded as "outsiders," as are schoolteachers.

The reasons for the distinction between "natives" and "outsiders" are in part economic, but it also reflects some deep-lying sociological aspects of village life. This may be summarized as

the general solidarity, and the relatively stable patterns of social class and stratification of these villages. Finally, such solidarity underlies the considerable amount of mutual aid and cooperative labor exchange found in rural societies of this type. To some extent this tendency toward strong in-group feeling and for keeping outsiders in their place is found in certain urban groups in Japan, but it is generally more pronounced in rural communities.[30]

Having put it so dogmatically, it is necessary to immediately qualify the statement. While it is generally difficult for outsiders to become a regular resident in most rural communities, there are some differences in degree. Fortunately there exists one body of data that seems to be particularly relevant to measuring this attribute. It is common knowledge that during the last war and in the months that followed the surrender of Japan, many hundreds of thousands of urban evacuees from bombed cities, repatriated citizens from former Japanese colonies, and ex-soldiers from overseas and elsewhere attempted to relocate themselves in the rural communities. There is data on the number of these so-called "new residents" for each of the thirteen communities. (See Table XIX). As can be seen from Table XIX, the percent of these "new-resident" households varies from one to twenty-seven percent. While other factors[31] may be hidden in this one statistic, it probably would not lead us too far astray to take these figures as <u>prima facie</u> evidence of the relative degree to which each community is able to "assimilate" new residents within its economic and social system. On the basis of this statistic, then, we have characterized those communities with 12 percent or more new residents as "assimilationist" communities, while those with less than 12 percent of new residents were deemed as <u>relatively</u> "non-assimilationist" communities. In perusing Table XIX, the following interpretations may be made: (a) In general, the least "assimilative" villages are, as one might expect, the mountain villages, and the most "assimilative" communities are the town-country. (b) Both the lowland and the lowland-forest communities are variable; half are relatively easy for outsiders to settle in the community, while the other half are more difficult for outsiders to gain a foothold. Here, then, is another sociological characteristic that will be used in a subsequent chapter to indicate relationships between sociological and economic or demographic variables.

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30. See RJSR Interim Technical Report No. 3, The Japanese Labor Boss System, which describes such characteristics among the urban occupational groups.

31. Such factors might include: the nearness of the given community to a heavily bombarded city, the relatively high percentage of people who have emigrated from these villages for overseas civilian posts during the war, etc.

TABLE XIX

ASSIMILATIVE CHARACTER
OF THE COMMUNITY

Dec. 1948

	Number of "New-type Residents" (Civilian repatriates, military, and evacuees)	Percent of "New-type Residents" in community
TOWN-COUNTRY		
Hönami	4,835	12*
Ebetsu	6,042	20*
LOWLAND		
Yokogoshi	115	1
Nikaido	1,634	14*
LOWLAND-FOREST		
Obie	252	6
Karako	796	15*
Kawashiro	546	9
Aioi	1,256	27*
COASTAL		
Futomi	350	13*
MOUNTAIN		
Suye	195	9
Mizuwake	405	12*
Nobuta	21	1
Yoshida	5	1

THE SIZE OF THE FORMAL UNIT OF COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION (S-4)

Thus far in this discussion of sociological variables, each community has been treated as if it were a discrete social entity responding to problem situations emanating from outside the system. We have tried to indicate how each community "responded" to its natural environment by following certain variable patterns in the arrangement of its dwelling units, how each community considered itself isolated or integrated with a nearby urban or market center, and finally how each community treated outsiders desiring to come into the society as a resident.

The internal organization of these rural communities may be considered next. As a beginning, we may discuss the largest unit of social organization within these villages. The term "buraku" is used most commonly by Japanese sociologists to refer to this unit.[32] The terms "hamlet" or "natural village" probably come closest to the meaning of this term in English. In essence, the buraku is a semi-autonomous social unit next in size to the village or community. Its membership is made up of individual household units whose dwelling sites are located in adjacent or contiguous plots of land.

The buraku constitutes one of the most important reference points from which almost any differentiation of social units smaller than the community must begin. During the last war and to some extent in the postwar period, the distribution of rationed goods was first broken down according to buraku units. "Branch units" of the various young men's associations, women's clubs, (fujin-kai), agricultural associations, and cooperatives are commonly divided along buraku lines. The buraku also forms the basis for many religious activities, for festivals, for exchange of labor in farming activities, and sometimes even for regulating marriage. Administratively, it forms the initial basis for the dissemination of official news, the election of village officers, the collection of taxes, special assessment and welfare contributions, and in certain cases where forest and grazing lands are communally owned, for administering these lands. The repairing of roads, bridges, and other "public" property within the territorial unit is often done cooperatively by the buraku people with some financial assistance from the village treasury.

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32. For a fuller description of the role of this unit in rural communities, see Robert E. Ward, "The Socio-Political Role of the Buraku (Hamlet) in Japan," Amer. Pol. Sci. Rev., Vol XLV, No. 4, Dec. 1951, pp. 1025-1040.

The internal organization of the buraku varies according to the social class background of its leaders, the manner in which they are selected, the frequency at which the group (or rather heads of households) meets in assembly, and similar factors. In smaller sized buraku, the leaders are chosen from the larger land-owning families (at least this was so prior to the Surrender), and are selected by a meeting of the heads of households. Such meetings are held regularly about once a month to discuss village and public matters and to announce new government regulations and changes. Participation in buraku activities such as the repair of roads is frequent, and a large proportion of households are represented in each of these activities. In larger buraku, these characteristics are quite different. The selection of leaders is less direct and formal voting is often necessary. The meetings are infrequently held, if ever; the responsibility for the dissemination of official news is delegated to leaders of subunits within the buraku or is merely placed upon several bulletin boards located at strategic spots. Tax collecting functions are assigned to specially designated communities, and face-to-face associations of the buraku as a whole are seldom found. Because these differences in the buraku organization seem to be a function of the respective size of the buraku (as measured in terms of the number of household units constituting its membership), it seems possible to use this measure as an indicator of variations in buraku organization.

Accordingly, in the analysis of the thirteen villages, we have taken size as the basic criterion. The average size of buraku units for these communities is given in Table XX. It can be seen from this Table that the number of households included in the average buraku in these communities ranged from 24 to 328. Several generalizations about the size of buraku can be made from an inspection of the Table. As might be expected, the two town-country communities have the largest size, and mountain villages the smallest. In between are the lowland-forest communities. However, the relationship of these facts to other facts, both economic and demographic, must wait until three more general sociological variables have been discussed.

TABLE XX

SIZE AND NUMBER OF
ADMINISTRATIVE UNITS
(HAMLETS)

	NUMBER OF HOUSEHOLDS	NUMBER OF HAMLETS	AVERAGE NO. OF HOUSEHOLDS PER HAMLET
TOWN-COUNTRY			
Honami	7,910	33	240*
Ebetsu	5,577	17	328*
LOWLAND			
Yokogoshi	1,448	20	72
Nikaido	2,086	27	77
LOWLAND-FOREST			
Obie	824	6	137*
Karako	939	7	134*
Kawashiro	964	9	107*
Aioi	916	7	131*
COASTAL			
Futomi	560	6	93
MOUNTAIN			
Suye	357	13	24
Mizuwake	509	13	39
Nobuta	659	15	44
Yoshida	567	12	47

The Buraku unit, of course, is not the only universal unit of social organization found in the rural communities of Japan. The number probably runs into the dozens. One Japanese sociologist, for example, has attempted to classify rural social groupings into ten broad categories, each with many subunits and variations.[33] His classification runs the gamut from kinship and familial units, to temple and shrine groups, mutual aid societies, economic groups, cooperative associations, neighborhood groups, and social class units. For this report, it was originally planned to provide a detailed and systematic account of the varieties of social groupings smaller than the buraku, but the task grew to tremendous proportions and a full report on this aspect would more than double the length of the study.[34]

In the light of the above consideration a more generalized characterization of variations in social groupings was sought. In a preliminary assessment of the different structures and functions of various familial, neighborhood, age group, religious, and cooperative associations found in the thirteen villages, one striking point of difference emerged from the data: It was found that in some communities, important crisis events (for example) were taken care of by the familial group, while in others, by the neighborhood group. Similarly, mutual aid and cooperative exchange of labor in farming activities tended to divide the villages into two types: those in which the kinship ties were the important unit in forming the basis for association, and those in which the locality group (e.g. neighborhood group) was more significant. A series of these observations led us to a classification of each village according to whether the major social units were organized on the basis of kinship ties (including fictitious or ritual kinship) or on the basis of common residence. The former type was designated "kinship-oriented" and the latter type, "locally-oriented." In this regard the report is in agreement with at least one Japanese sociologist, Fukutake, who calls his type resembling "kinship-oriented" the "dozoku," and the second type "ko-gumi."[35].

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33. K. Ariga, Nippon Noson Shakaigaku Genri (Principles of Japanese Rural Sociology). Tokyo, Japan, 1940.

34. One particular social unit, the dozoku, has been treated in the Project's Interim Technical Report No. 7. The dozoku is one type of extra-familial or partly-familial organization found widespread in rural communities.

35. T. Fukutake, Nihon Noson no Shakaiteki Sheikaku (Social Characteristics of Japanese Villages), Tokyo, Nihon Hyoron, 1948. "Dozoku" here might be translated "familial," while "ko-gumi" implies "cooperative groups."

Table XXI summarizes the data for the characterizations we made with respect to the above consideration. As can be seen from this Table, the mountain villages again stand out in distinction to the other types of communities. The former are generally kinship-oriented and the latter (town-country, lowland, and lowland-forest) are locality-oriented.

TABLE XXI

BASIC CHARACTER OF SOCIAL GROUPINGS:
KINSHIP-ORIENTED OR LOCALITY ORGANIZED

TOWN-COUNTRY	KINSHIP-ORIENTED	LOCALITY-ORIENTED
Honami		X
Ebetsu		X
LOWLAND		
Yokogoshi		X
Nikaido		X
LOWLAND-FOREST		
Obie		X
Karako		X
Kawashiro	X	
Aioi		X
COASTAL		
Futomi	X	
MOUNTAIN		
Suye		X
Mizuwake	X	
Nobuta	X	
Yoshida	X	

CRIME RATE (S-6)

A less difficult sociological factor than the previous is crime rate. Any criminal act, while it is always relative to a given legal system, can be seen as a measure of deviance from the legal code or more generally as a violation of the moral code of the community. Thus some sociologists look upon a given community's high or low crime rate as a measure of that society's ability to exert proper sanctions to insure conformity to its moral codes. Whatever the interpretation one may place upon the fact of a given crime rate, it seems to be commonly understood that an extremely high crime rate represents something undesirable and that something drastic must be done to "cure" this malady. On the other hand, most people would agree that a low crime rate is definitely desirable.

In the original study of the thirteen communities, statistics were gathered on the number of "major and minor crimes" reported to the police. While these statistics do not indicate the number of crimes that were <u>not</u> reported, they are enough to suggest some broad differences between communities along this sociological dimension. Table XXII summarizes the statistics on these crime rates. The most important finding this listing shows is something most criminologists might expect: the most populous communities have higher crime rates than the less populous ones. Though not shown in the Table, the original investigators revealed that reported murders occurred only in the two most populous communities (Honami and Ebetsu). It is also interesting to note that these two communities accounted for most of the "major crimes" such as murder, burglary, and arson.

Also noteworthy is the breakdown of these crime rates according to community typology. The lowland-forest, the coastal, and the mountain communities tend to have low crime rates, while the town-country and lowland communities have comparatively high crime rates. Urban patterns, and proximity to urban patterns appear to have expected consequences.

TABLE XXII

NUMBER AND RATE OF ALL CRIMES
REPORTED TO THE POLICE **

(May 1947 - Nov. 1948)

	NUMBER OF HOUSEHOLDS	NUMBER OF CRIMES REPORTED	CRIMES PER 100 HOUSEHOLDS
TOWN-COUNTRY			
Honami	7,910	741	9.4*
Ebetsu	5,577	1,151	20.8*
LOWLAND			
Yokogoshi	1,448	378	25.9*
Nikaido	2,086	103	4.9*
LOWLAND-FOREST			
Obie	824	21	2.6
Karako	939	46	4.8*
Kawashiro	969	12	1.3
Aioi	916	13	1.4
COASTAL			
Futomi	560	16	2.6
MOUNTAIN			
Suye	357	11	3.1
Mizuwake	509	14	2.7
Nobuta	659	10	1.5
Yoshida	567	5	.9

* Crime rates judged by writers as "high."

** The assumption is: the lower the crime rate, the greater the social cohesiveness.

TRADITIONAL AND PROGRESSIVE OUTLOOKS (S-7)

The last variable is highly generalized, but as we shall soon see, very significant. It is the result of an attempt to characterize each rural community in broad ideological terms. In almost any contemporary sociological treatise written by a Japanese, the terms "feudal" and "modern" inevitably appear. Indeed, only recently a respected book was published in which papers written by eminent Japanese scholars attempt to clarify these two contrasting concepts.[36]

Taking a cue from this ubiquitous concern of the Japanese to characterize different segments of their society in these somewhat polemic terms, the present writers have attempted to place the social outlook of each of the thirteen communities in somewhat comparable categories. However, because the terms "feudal" and "modern" are loaded with special meanings which Japanese writers have ascribed to them in the last two or three decades, the study substitutes the term "traditional" for feudal and "progressive" for modern. No special technical meaning is implied in these terms; common dictionary meanings for each is sufficient for present purposes.

Both in the original field notes and in the formal publication (the JVT report), there exist ample data to enable the writers to characterize the ideological outlooks of each community. A few direct quotations from the published JVT report are enough to indicate the conclusions drawn by the authors from the available data:

Examples of statements concerning a traditional outlook are: "Village life had been highly feudal, centering around a family whose ancestors founded the village more than 700 years ago." (Yoshida village, p. 140); "Mizuwake-mura...is of the Tohoku region type, rather feudalistic and generally unprogressive." (p. 111). A statement which summarizes a progressive outlook is: "Obie-mura...is characterized by intensive paddy farming and by a generally progressive outlook as measured by use of farm machinery and home processing of farm products." (p.143).

Table XXIII gives the evaluations concerning the ideological perspectives of the thirteen communities. These are, of course, only broad generalizations and such black-white characterizations overlook many possible qualifications. Nevertheless within the broad margin of error, they seem to be sufficiently accurate. The general tendencies again seem to indicate a certain patterning in terms of the community types. The town-country and the lowland-forest communities are designated as being uniformly "progressive," the coastal and mountain communities as "traditional." With respect to this dimension, however, the two lowland communities are split, one being classed as "traditional" and the other "progressive."

36. Hoken Isei (Survival of Feudalism) edited by Nihon Jinbun-kagakukai; Tokyo, Yuhikaku, 1951.

TABLE XXIII

"TRADITIONAL" (FEUDAL) OR
"PROGRESSIVE" OUTLOOK OF COMMUNITIES
(AS RATED BY ORIGINAL RESEARCHERS)

	OUTLOOK	
	TRADITIONAL	PROGRESSIVE
TOWN-COUNTRY		
Honami		X
Ebetsu		X
LOWLAND		
Yokogoshi	X	
Nikaido		X
LOWLAND-FOREST		
Obie		X
Karako		X
Kawashiro		X
Aioi		X
COASTAL		
Futomi	X	
MOUNTAIN		
Suye	X	
Mizuwake	X	
Nobuta	X	
Yoshida	X	

RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN SOCIOLOGICAL VARIABLES

Having considered the seven sociological factors, we may now see how they might be related. The reader may have noticed in these discussions that there was some overlapping and that one factor often tended to divide the thirteen cases into the same groupings as another. The purpose here, then, is to consider the degree of overlapping and to see whether or not the knowledge of one sociological attribute permits an educated guess as to other attributes present in given communities.

To begin, the first variable described above, patterns of settlement, may be considered. It will be recalled that three principal settlement types were described: the Yamato, Satsuma, and Echigo types. The question is, then, whether there exists a tendency for a given settlement pattern to vary consistently with any of the other sociological factors delineated above. This question can be answered by making reference to Table XXIV.

Though again the number of cases is too small to make definitive statements, insofar as the thirteen villages are concerned, certain striking patterns of association emerge. These may be summarized in this manner:

(1) Communities that have their dwelling units arranged in a Yamato type of settlement pattern tend to have the following sociological attributes:

- (a) minimal (rather than maximal) isolation from urban centers
- (b) comparatively easy assimilation of outsiders into the community
- (c) large-sized buraku organizations (100 or more households)
- (d) social groupings emphasizing locality rather than kinship principles
- (e) relatively high crime rates (4 crimes or more per 100 households)
- (f) predominantly "progressive" outlook

(2) Communities with a Satsuma type of settlement pattern will tend to have sociological attributes which contrast sharply with those listed for the Yamato type.

(3) Communities with an Echigo type of settlement pattern tend (a) to be isolated communities, (b) to assimilate outsiders into the community with relative ease, and (c) to have locality-oriented social groupings. However, with regard to other sociological attributes, there is no evident association.

Let us proceed to the analysis of the associations found between other sociological factors. The data from which the "f" coefficient., or index of association, can be computed are given in Table XXV. Some of the implications of this Table can be summarized as follows:

(1) Given the fact that a community is minimally isolated from a nearby urban center, it will tend to have:

(a) Buraku organizations composed of 100 households or more,

(b) Locality-oriented (rather than Kinship-oriented) social groupings

(c) A progressive (rather than a traditional) outlook

Conversely, a maximally isolated community will tend to have characteristics opposite from those just noted.

(2) Given the fact that a community has a low crime rate, it will tend to have associated with it the following characteristics:

(a) Outsiders will be assimilated with difficulty.

(b) Social groupings within the community will tend to be kinship-oriented rather than locality-oriented.

(c) The ideological outlook will be predominantly traditional and conservative.

(3) Given the fact that a community has a comparatively large-sized buraku organization (100 households or more), it will tend to have the following associated characteristics:

(a) Minimal isolation from urban centers

(b) Locality-oriented social groupings

(c) Generally progressive ideological outlook

While the above generalizations seem common-place, at the same time it must be stated that preceding analyses tend to reject a number of other seemingly commonplace associations between these sociological factors. For instance, one might presume an association between a high crime rate and large buraku organization, but the data suggest no such association. Similarly no obvious association was found between the "assimilative" quality of the community and the size of its buraku, or between crime rates and the isolationalist character of a community. Other examples of such "negative findings" can be found by an examination of Table XXV.

TABLE XXIV

RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN SETTLEMENT PATTERNS
AND OTHER SOCIOLOGICAL VARIABLES

(S-1) Settlement patterns of communities defined as:	YAMATO TYPE	SATSUMA TYPE	ECHIGO TYPE
(S-2) Minimal isolation from urban centers	4	1	4
Maximal isolation from urban centers	0	4	0
(S-3) Easy assimilation of outsiders	3	1	3
Difficult assimilation of outsiders	1	4	1
(S-4) Large buraku units	3	1	2
Small buraku units	1	4	2
(S-5) Locality-oriented groupings	4	1	3
Kinship-oriented groupings	0	4	1
(S-6) High crime rates	3	0	2
Low crime rates	1	5	2
(S-7) Progressive outlook	4	1	2
Traditional outlook	0	4	2

TABLE XXV

ASSOCIATIONS FOUND BETWEEN GIVEN PAIRS OF SOCIOLOGICAL FACTORS**

		S-3 Highly assimilative (a)	S-3 Poorly assimilative (b)	S-4 Large buraku (a)	S-4 Small buraku (b)	S-5 Locality-oriented (a)	S-5 Kinship-oriented (b)	S-6 High Crime Rate (a)	S-6 Low Crime Rate (b)	S-7 Progressive Outlook (a)	S-7 Traditional Outlook (b)
S-2	a. minimally isolated	6	3	6	3	7	2	5	4	7	2
	b. maximally isolated	1	3	0 *	4	1 *	3	1	4	0 *	4
S-3	a. highly assimilative			4	3	5	2	4	3	5	2
	b. poorly assimilative			2	4	3	3	1 *	5	2	4
S-4	a. large buraku units					5	1	3	3	6	0
	b. small buraku units					3 *	4	2	5	1 *	6
S-5	a. locality-oriented groupings							5	3	6	2
	b. kinship-oriented groupings							0 *	5	1 *	4
S-6	a. high crime rate									4	1
	b. low crime rate									3 *	5

* Denotes two-by-two tables in which the "f" coefficient (of association) was .40 or better. See page 11 for the explanation of how this coefficient is computed.

** The numbers in each two-by-two table represent the number of communities falling into each cross-cutting category.

A CASE ILLUSTRATION OF THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN DEMOGRAPHIC, ECONOMIC, AND SOCIOLOGICAL VARIABLES

The purpose of this final section is to indicate how some of the demographic, economic, and sociological variables are related. The potential number of interrelationships in the sequence of variables we have presented in these pages is great, and they cannot all be presented here. Therefore the discussion will be limited to one central problem. This problem can best be indicated by reference to Table XXVI, which shows the total amount of farm land and the size of the population for each community. Note, as an example, there are four communities with roughly the same amount of land (Obie, 367 cho; Aioi, 323 cho; Suye, 383 cho; and Yoshida, 336 cho). Yet, the population which these lands "support" is quite variable. It runs from 2,140 persons (in Suye) to 4,050 (in Obie). How can one account for the differences in population size when the available productive land is roughly comparable?

As a first step in the analysis, the question may be raised as to the relative productivity of a unit of land in different communities. Without going into details, the data provide a crude measure of this. As previously noted, figures exist to indicate the proportion of land that is double-cropped in each community. Where a given plot is used to raise two crops a year instead of one, it can be assumed that the productivity (and hence the income) of the land is nearly twice that of a single-cropped plot. On this basis, it is possible to increase the amount of land area of each community according to the proportion of the land that is double-cropped. This "adjusted farm area" is given in Table XXVII (column 1). Note also that in this adjusted measure, the climatic factor has been brought into the picture because the length of the growing season is directly related to the extent to which double-cropping is possible.

Table XXVII also makes two other changes in the data presented on an earlier Table (XXVI). One is that the "raw" population figures have been converted to "household" figures. Inasmuch as the household is the economic unit in these communities, it seems appropriate to use this measure in place of the crude population statistics.[36]

The other change is the addition of a third column, which is a measure denoting the average number of households per one cho of farm land for each community. It is a measure roughly analogous to a "population density" measure; hence we shall use this term as a synonym for "households per cho of farm land."

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36. The number of persons in the average household does not vary enough from community to community to bias the analysis.

TABLE XXVI

POPULATION AND TOTAL CULTIVATED LAND FOR EACH COMMUNITY

	POPULATION	TOTAL FARM-LAND (cho)*	PERCENT OF DOUBLE-CROPPED FARMLAND
TOWN-COUNTRY			
Honami	39,836	443	88 %
Ebetsu	30,234	7,535	0
LOWLAND			
Yokogoshi	9,583	1,512	7
Nikaido	11,437	926	81
LOWLAND-FOREST			
Obie	4,050	367	84
Karako	5,471	622	27
Kawashiro	5,757	544	31
Aioi	4,569	323	80
COASTAL			
Futomi	2,752	116	26
MOUNTAIN			
Suye	2,140	383	61
Mizuwake	3,272	712	11
Nobuta	3,667	506	33
Yoshida	3,192	336	0.3

* One cho equals 2.45 acres

TABLE XXXII

NUMBER OF HOUSEHOLDS AND
TOTAL FARM LAND (ADJUSTED) FOR EACH COMMUNITY

	ADJUSTED FARM LAND AREA	NUMBER OF HOUSEHOLDS	HOUSEHOLDS PER CHO OF FARM LAND
TOWN-COUNTRY			
Honami	833	7,910	.11
Ebetsu	7,535	5,577	1.35
LOWLAND			
Yokogoshi	1,512	1,448	1.08
Nikaido	926	2,086	.80
LOWLAND-FOREST			
Obie	367	824	.82
Karako	622	939	.84
Kawashiro	544	964	.74
Aioi	323	916	.63
COASTAL			
Futomi	116	560	.26
MOUNTAIN			
Suye	383	357	1.73
Miyuwake	712	509	1.55
Nobuta	506	659	1.02
Yoshida	336	567	.59

Thus, this statistic summarizes the relationship between the amount of farm land available in a given community and the number of households which belong to the community. Even after making adjustments for double-cropping practices, some communities are more heavily populated than others. Honami, Futomi, and Yoshida average less than .60 households for each cho of farm land, while Ebetsu, Suye, Mizuwake average more than 1.50 households per cho. So we return to the original question: given the same amount of productive land, how can one account for the differences in population size? One possible explanation is that some villages can incorporate a larger population than others because it has the economic means from sources other than agriculture. In other words, it is postulated that the greater the number of people who support themselves from non-agricultural activities, the greater the size of the "excess" population.

To check on whether or not this is the case, the method of cross-tabulation of factors demonstrated in Chapter I may be used. For convenience, those communities with an average of less than .75 households per cho of farm land (see column 3, Table XXVII) may be designated as "high population density" communities and those with .75 or more households per cho as "low population density" communities. The other factor - nonfarm enterprise - can be indicated by the percent of nonfarm households for each community. This factor has been utilized in the analysis in Chapter I. The cross-tabulation of the two factors is presented in Table XXVIII:

TABLE XXVIII

	Low Population Density	High Population Density
Low percent of Nonfarm Households	63 (5)	20 (1)
High percent of Nonfarm Households	37 (3)	80 (4)
	100% (8)	100% (5)

$$f = .43$$

This cross-tabulation provides evidence for the explanation presented above. To restate, in communities where the population density is high (i.e., less than .75 households per cho of farm land), there is associated a high percentage (i.e., 30% or more) of nonfarm households or households which depend upon other modes of subsistence than agriculture.

TABLE XXIX

A. COMMUNITIES WITH A PROGRESSIVE OUTLOOK

	Low Population Density	High Population Density
Low Percent of Non-farm Households	25 (1)	33 (1)
High Percent of Non-farm Households	75 (3) / 100 ⅘(4)	67 (2) / 100 ⅘(3)

$f_a = .08$

B. COMMUNITIES WITH A TRADITIONAL OUTLOOK

	Low Population Density	High Population Density
Low Percent of Non-farm Households	100 (4)	(0)
High Percent of Non-farm Households	0 (0) / 100 ⅘(4)	(2) / (2)

$f_b = 1.00$

We may now see whether or not a sociological factor can be brought into the picture. Offhand, it would seem that the above relationships between population density and the number of nonfarm households would vary depending on the ideological outlook of the community. It may be suggested that where the ideological climate in the community is such that traditionadism is eschewed and where belief in "rational" methods of production, in progress, and in achievement is emphasized, the relationship between the two original factors may be particularly high. Earlier in the present chapter, we have classified the thirteen communities into "traditional" and "progressive" outlooks. The relevance of this set of factors may now be examined. (See Table XXIX).

The tabulations in Table XXIX show that the original relationship between high population density and high percent of nonfarm households, but it holds only for those communities where the general ideological outlook is designated as "traditional." This is contrary to expectations. It was postulated that it would hold for the progressive communities and not the traditional. Why?

We may inspect Table XXIX again, and note that there are four communities (Kawashiro, Obie, Nikaido, and Ebetsu) which prevented the neat correlation of the two factors. According to the hypothesis, all of these communities should be either "high" or "low" on both factors, not high on one and low on the other. What is interesting about these particular "progressive" communities is that each has made some specialized adaptation in its economic life. Kawashiro has a specialty in tea production, and not only does the community raise tea, but it has some 60 tea processing plants which provide employment and income to people who belong to farm households. Obie grows large quantities of a specialized rush which is used to manufacture the well-known straw mats, a favorite Japanese flooring material. Obie also has industries to make baskets, baiding materials, and it uses more farm machinery than any other village in the sample. Nikaido also has a large number of home industries. Finally Ebetsu is particularly fortunate in that there are a large paper mill, several brick kilns, and other factories in and around the town and work in these occupations may seem to be more rewarding than farming. The point is that in these "progressive" communities, these favorable economic conditions seem to result in a greater flexibility and this in turn confounds the close relationship between population density and the number engaged in non-agricultural activities found in the traditional communities. These specialized economic developments appear to drain off surplus population from support by agricultural pursuits; consequently reducing the proportion of households dependant upon the land - and at the same time permitting high population density. One is tempted to conclude that a generalized measure of high economic welfare in Japanese rural communities is accompanied by high population density.

CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY AND INTERPRETATION

In this final chapter, three objectives are sought. One is to present a summary of some of the stable and uniform elements of community organization and life in the thirteen sampled cases. The second is to summarize the characteristics of the five empirical types of rural communities: town-country, lowland, lowland-forest, coastal and mountain. The third is to provide broader interpretive comments on the study as a whole.

SOME BASIC UNIFORMITIES

The following is a listing of the characteristics held in common by the thirteen villages. It is felt that the attributes described below are sufficiently typical so as to permit designating most of them as "cultural traits" for not only the thirteen sampled villages but also for most other Japanese rural communities.

1. Rice agriculture is the dominant economic theme of these communities.
2. Agricultural machinery is relatively unimportant. In no village did the number of internal combustion or electric motors average more than one unit per farm household.
3. Draft animals are only slightly less scarce than motors or engines. The highest average was 1.56 per farm household.
4. Home industries are widely practiced. Raising silk worms, making baskets, weaving mats, and the like are important side occupations, especially for the farm women.
5. Animal husbandry is not important. Except in specialized localities, dairy cattle and poultry are not raised for market.
6. Farm production is predominantly in grains which are sold for human - not animal - consumption. In short, "food energy" is not transmitted from soil to animals and then to humans, but to humans directly.
7. Cultivated lands are generally divided into paddy (inundated) and upland (dry) fields, and this results in a diversification of crops.
8. Intensive terracing of land is found everywhere.
9. Multiple cropping is practiced where the climate permits, i.e., everywhere except in Hokkaido and the northern tip of Honshu.
10. No land is regularly allowed to lie fallow; hence extensive use of fertilizers of all kinds - including human.
11. Not only is the amount of land cultivated by the average household small, but the separate plots themselves are scattered in different parts of the village. Attempts to remedy this

condition have been made, but the fact remains that need for "amelioration" projects is found in all communities.

12. Tenancy (where less than 50% of the soil tilled by the farmer is owned by him) was uniformly high, but this situation has been largely changed by the land reform.
13. The average size of household is remarkably uniform. The range is from 4.9 to 6.0 for 12 communities; the exception is Yokogoshi which had an average of 6.6.
14. The range in the percent of natural increase for 12 communities (again excluding Yokogoshi) is small. (1.3 to 3.3 percent)
15. Practically all the communities organize their dwelling units on the "farm village" rather than on the "isolated farmstead" pattern. This means that dwelling units form a compact unit of households and greater interaction between households is possible.
16. No community is wholly isolated. Schools, newspapers, radios, roads, and other channels of communication are sufficient to prevent total isolation from national affairs and habits of thought.
17. The farmer is dependent upon manufactured goods for most of his clothing, household, and farm needs.
18. Compared with the towns, the rural communities are much less favorably disposed toward assimilating outsiders.
19. Some recognition of bonds existing between several related conjugal family units are found in every community. But the uniformity ends here, for there is a great deal of variation as to the extent to which these so-called extended family groupings constitute a functioning social unit, and the institutional areas in which they are functionally important.

PROFILES OF COMMUNITY TYPES

Up to the present, this report has been concerned primarily with factors and variables; and the analysis of "community types" designated in the introductory chapter has received only passing mention. Yet these types played an important role in analysis. On each table showing the distribution of the thirteen communities on a certain continuum or variable, the communities were classified in terms of these types. For example, it was noted that the social groupings found in the "town-country," "lowland," and "lowland-forest" communities tend to be locality-oriented, while those in the "coastal" and "mountain" communities are kinship-oriented. In this concluding section of the report, then, the relevance of these operations will be made more explicit.

In Table XXX are grouped the individual communities in terms of these community types, with ratings. The ratings are based upon some of the more important variables that have been discussed in the body of the report. Thus, with respect to crime, if each of the four low-

land-forest communities were designated as a "high crime rate" community, this type community would be given a unit rating. The same rating would be given even when three out of the four communities had a "high crime rate." But, if only two of the four had such a rating, the rating assigned to the "lowland-forest" community type would be a "V" (for variable). To generalize this, if a majority of the communities of one type had the same rating with respect to a variable, the community type would be given the same designation; if not, the type would be designated as "V."

The Table presented in this manner is too formidable for simple analysis, but with respect to the 9 variables it summarizes the general differences and similarities between community types. To simplify this Table the following series of summary statements may be made:

1. The town-country and lowland types have these attributes in common:
   a. locality-oriented social groupings
   b. high crime rates (reported)
   c. large population size
   d. large acreage of cultivated land

   But the two types of communities differ with respect to their average size of buraku, (large: town-country; small: lowland).
2. The town-country and lowland-forest types have these attributes in common:
   a. large size of buraku
   b. locality-oriented social groupings
   c. progressive outlook

   But the two types differ with respect to:
   a. crime rates
   b. population size
   c. birth rate
   d. amount of arable land
3. The mountain and the lowland-forest types have these attributes in common:
   a. low crime rate
   b. small population size

   But the two types differ with respect to:
   a. size of buraku
   b. type of social groupings (mountain: kinship-oriented).
   c. ideological outlook

Similarities and contrasts between other pairs of community types can be made by a perusal of Table XXX, but this is perhaps sufficient to demonstrate the kind of empirical generalizations derivable from the Table.

In summary, a number of variables concerning the characteristics of thirteen Japanese rural communities were delineated. These characteristics were cross-tabulated to dramatize the existence of correlations between characteristics. These characteristics were also used

TABLE XXX

THE CHARACTERISTICS OF COMMUNITY TYPES

VARIABLES	TOWN COUNTRY	LOWLAND	LOWLAND FOREST	COASTAL	MOUNTAIN	EXPLANATIONS
SOCIOLOGICAL						
1. Size of buraku	Large	Small	Large	Small	Small	Sml= Less than 100 households Lrge= " " or more
2. Type of dominant social grouping	Locality oriented	Locality oriented	Locality oriented	Kinship oriented	Kinship oriented	
3. Crimes Rate	High	High	Low	Low	Low	Low= Less than 4.5 crimes /100 hsehlds High= 4.5 or more
4. Ideological outlook	Progress-ive	V*	Progress ive	Tradi-tional	Tradi-tional	
DEMOGRAPHIC						
5. Population size	Large	Large	Small	Small	Small	Sml= Less than 9,000 Lrge= 9,000 or more
6. Birth Rate	Low	V	High	High	Low	Low= Less than 40/ 1,000 hsehlds High= 40 or more
ECONOMIC						
7. Total Arable Land	Large	Large	Small	Small	V	Sml= Less than 1,000 acres Lrge=1,00 a or more
8. Percent of farm households	Low	V	V	Low	High	Low= Less than 70% High=70% or more
9. Percent of all farm households operating less than 0.5 cho of land	V	High	Low	High	Low	Low= Less than 40% High=40% or more

* The symbol "V" represents the fact that the particular community type is variable with respect to the designated variable or characteristics.

to show whether they could be used to establish certain empirical types of Japanese communities. In both of these attempts, the findings are preliminary and inconclusive, but some very general relationships may be apparent. The broader implications of these may be discussed next.

INTERPRETATIONS

In conclusion, the writers wish to make some rather broad interpretations of the tentative findings of the analysis. To do this it will be necessary to see the community types, and the major co-varying pairs of factors, in a very generalized manner, ignoring the details of difference and the exceptions to the rule. If this is done, it becomes apparent that the communities studied fall into <u>four</u>, rather than five classes. These four groupings would be as follows:

1. The "town-country" communities. These communities possessed many obvious points of difference from all the rest as a consequence of their proximity to urban centers, and their economic and ecological orientation toward urban life. They stand out perhaps more sharply than any of the other types.

2. The "lowland" type. These communities appear to show us what is possible, economically, given the limits imposed; that is, they represent the maximum degree of economic development possible in Japanese rural life. They have some resemblance to the "town-country" type, but the urbanized ecological pattern is not present. Their populations are supported by a wide variety of economic tasks; they are able to absorb large and dense populations because not so large an increment of population needs be supported by the relatively small amount of land. Kinship and other "traditional" aspects of Japanese social life seem not as strong as in the type to follow.

3. The "mountain" communities. These stand in more or less sharp contrast to the "lowland" type, because of their greater dependence on agriculture, fewer auxiliary economic opportunities, relative isolation, and social traditionalism. These communities represent the Japanese rural community at its poorest and most economically precarious.

4. All other communities: "coastal" and "lowland-forest." These communities probably represent the statistical majority of all Japanese rural communities, and are consequently important in analysis. These communities are to some degree intermediate, although in differing ways, between the "lowland" and "mountain" villages. They tend to be land-short, but their proximity to urban centers or to certain environmental features permits the development of special economic enterprises; e.g., fishing in a land-short coastal community, or forestry in a hilly area. Their populations and social organizations are quite variable, and no consistent tendency - as appears in the case for typical lowland and typical mountain villages - can be discerned. In short, these appear to be the mine run of the Japanese rural community: relatively poor, land-short, barely able to support

their population, and sharing in both traditional and progressive aspects of social and economic organization, as the case may be. They lack the advantages in land and markets characteristic for the developed "lowland" type, yet they are not isolated like the "mountain" communities. Consequently from the standpoint of typology their characteristics will show resemblances to all classes of communities.

If the communities are viewed in this manner - that is, in terms of four major classes (really three rural groups) - certain general conclusions and implications are suggested. Among the more important of these is that pertaining to the "folk" character of the Japanese community. We refer here to the tendency in Western writings on the subject to stress the homogeneity and general Gemeinschaftliche quality of the rural scene: the tendency to view the Japanese farmer as a "peasant," with all the implications of kinship-orientation, static culture patterns and simple technology carried by that term.

It may be apparent from the study of these communities that such an image of Japanese rural life is at least partly erroneous. Only the more remote "mountain" communities approximate this type, and here it seems most likely a simple consequence of geographic isolation plus a shortage of tillable land. As on approaches those communities in which land is relatively more abundant, and/or economic opportunities in general are improved, the community becomes less "peasant" or "folk" and increasingly devoted to the rationalized, voluntaristic organization typical of economically-developed societies. The typical "lowland" communities appear to stress efficient task accomplishment, production, economic diversification - rather than traditionalistic, "protective" institutions like the extended family. Hierarchically-based ownership systems (excessive landlordism) tend to be proportionately weaker. While such communities, like all Japanese rural societies, have kinship-oriented groups, these groups find their major functions in the sphere of ritual and marriage, and less in economy. In this area voluntary economic groups, like cooperatives and buraku groupings, become more important.

The "mountain" communities, on the other hand, present a picture of poverty, traditionalism, and centralized or hierarchical ownership and control. The relatively scarce land is - or was, up to the land reform and even after[37] - owned by a few large landowners, who preserved relationships with their tenants reminiscent of feudal lords and retainers. Major cooperative groups are the families, and voluntary economic groupings are scarce and weak. All this would carry with

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37. In addition to the tendencies cited in Chapter 3 toward return of landlordism due to excessive overhead costs of agriculture, much of the land in the mountain communities was in forest, and forest land was not "reformed;" i.e., distributed to tenants. Consequently the old landlord system persists in those areas where living is dependent on forest exploitation.

it certain cultural features represented by value orientations stressing traditionalization, but more than this would seem to be involved. The importance of the family may be directly linked to indebtedness, landlordism, and the "feudal" relations and structure of the system. The tenants lack the rights, and the resources for, voluntary economic association. Thus their activities are enclosed within the capsule of the kin group, which becomes a protective economic organization as well as an important ritualistic grouping. In the absence of really adequate means for financing the risky agriculture of the highlands, it is hardly surprising that rural indebtedness has been allowed to develop into, or to persist as, as the case may be, a "feudal" system of social relations.

Regardless of cause-and-effect relationships, it seems clear that the conservative tendencies in Japanese rural communities are not to be found associated with those communities where resources and location has permitted economic development. "Feudal" and "traditional" tendencies are most strongly developed in the remoter communities which have a shortage of economic resources relative to the population - a condition which leads to dependency, indebtedness, and cultural, as well as socio-economic rigidity.

It should also be noted in passing that cultural urbanization does not necessarily follow this line of division between traditional and progressive communities. In Japan a centralized educational system and relatively well-developed consumer-goods distributive systems have resulted in a very wide spread of the mass media and the gadgets of urban life: communities do not differ appreciably in their exposure to these things. Only in such features as crime do the levelling and solidaristic tendencies of the "folk" society provide us with a distinction between the mountain villages and the more accessible communities of the lowlands.

In summary, these tentative findings would seem to suggest a general theory of the Japanese rural community which may be worthy of further exploration; that is, additional field work. In essence, it is implied that the Japanese rural community is one in which a series of extremely fine adjustments have been made to the existing demographic and resources situation. Underlying these adjustments are a series of commonalities: e.g., human labor, simple technology, agricultural customs, and certain general tendencies in social organization - but over and beyond these commanalities are a series of varying adjustments to local conditions which create problems of variation in economy, demography, and society. It must not be assumed that such variables are insignificant, because an examination of them will probably reveal the basic patterns of change and development, as well as of rigidity and stability, in Japanese rural life.

To say this differently, the Japanese rural community appears to expand into a variety of economic enterprises (that is, it need not be

thought of as simply "agricultural"), within certain extreme limits set by technology and resources. There appears to be little margin for experimentation and drift - the variation is not of this order, as it is in the rural communities of America, with their economic surplus. Instead, variation appears in the form of necessary and familiar adjustments made in order to accomodate the local population on the available resources. This is always a "marginal" accomodation from American standards, but even within the marginal adjustment, there is considerable "controlled" variation.

From the standpoint of the problem of change, this would suggest that a fairly high degree of predictability is possible. The precarious "Malthusian" balance between economy, demography and resources, and the finely-calculated adjustments, permit relatively easy forecast of the direction of change in individual communities. This means, for example, that when land is found to be short in supply relative to the number of households, one may expect to find a development of local industrial effort, or a high rate of out-migration - and a social organization characterized by a stress on kinship oriented groups. Or, if an alteration occurs in a particular natural resource (e.g., dimimution in the supply of a certain type of fish), the community, faced with certain Malthusian disaster, must immediately make an adjustment, and such adjustments can be predicted rather easily on the basis of a few known factors.[38] The Japanese community works within a narrow range of possibilities; consequently these possibilities can be calculated with precision. A socio-economy of this kind can be controlled and predicted with relative ease by an authoritarian government; strong or centralized political controls are perhaps not required (as they were not required during the last war) because one may anticipate the working of certain calculable forces.

The demographic implications af all this deserve final comment. Perhaps the most vital point here is that some communities with the larger and denser populations (in general, the "lowland" type) are also those with the most developed economy, and the smallest proportions of population dependent upon scarce land. Thus, in general, optimum economic welfare is often achieved in rural Japan when a certain proportion of the population is relieved from dependence upon agriculture, this implying successful local industries and jobs in nearby towns. This simply points to the fact that reduction in population, in itself, is no absolute guarantee of economic welfare and alleviation of "Malthusian" conditions. If it were, the mountain villages should be much better off.

The principal point seems to be that under conditions of simple technology, human labor is a crucial resource, and as population in-

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38. Suggestive data on change is appended to this report in the form of a brief sketch of socio-economic adjustment in Futomi, the "coastal" community.

creases, the economy develops in directions which to an ever-greater extent require human labor for maximum productivity. Thus, to acquire maximum agricultural yield, cultivation must become more intense, and this means greater human effort. To supplement income derived from agriculture, migration to city jobs or "home workshop" systems must small local industries must appear, which are again based upon hand labor. These developments all lead in the general direction of encouraging large families, and large families tend to encourage these economic forms - although at a certain point of development families become less significant as <u>direct</u> economic agents (as voluntary economic groups appear).

Underlying these stimuli to fertility are other demands produced by the particular "reproductive mores"[39]. of the society: the values concerning children and the sanctioning effects of family tradition. This means that the socio-economic determinants explored in this paper are not the only factors that require study and understanding in the "population problem" of Japan: patterns of value are likewise significant. The fundamental problem would therefore appear to be how to bring the two sets of factors into the level of conscious awareness in the thoughtways of the rural inhabitant. That is, if he could become aware that by <u>wanting</u> to have fewer children, he will, over a period of time, effect <u>change</u> in socio-economic demands and the needed response to them.

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39. See Irene Taeuber, "The Reproductive Mores of the Asian Peasant," in G.F. Mair (ed.), <u>Studies in Population</u>, Princeton Univ. Press, 1949.

APPENDIX

FUTOMI MURA: A CASE STUDY OF DEMOGRAPHIC, ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL ADJUSTMENT IN THE JAPANESE RURAL COMMUNITY

by

JOHN W. BENNETT

FUTOMI MURA: A CASE STUDY OF DEMOGRAPHIC, ECONOMIC, AND SOCIAL ADJUSTMENT IN THE JAPANESE RURAL COMMUNITY

Certain basic problems of Japanese society, namely, those based on conditions of relative economic scarcity in a population of great size and density, provide limiting factors in the economic growth and social relationships of the rural community. While this may describe certain general characteristics of all Japanese villages, the exact proportions of the important variables, particularly land and population, differ from community to community, and correlatively, the adjustments made to accomodate the problems that arise also vary. When the Japanese community is observed from the comparative standpoint of American rural society, it is an easy matter to perceive it as "homogeneous" or "traditional" - not to mention poverty. However, from the Japanese perspective there is considerable difference between communities in relative prosperity and their particular responses to the demands created by resources and population.

The village examined in this paper[1] may be seen as a typical member of a large class of Japanese rural communities which are located in lowland areas, or at any rate near urban centers - a fact which permits some dependence upon urban markets and jobs. However, these communities differ from other lowland villages in that there exists an extreme shortage of agricultural land relative to the size of the population. Consequently, in order to support the population, it is necessary to expand into a variety of small industries and side-income producing occupations which can be carried on with greater or lesser success due to the proximity to urban areas. Villages in the mountain areas frequently possess similar shortages of land, but their remoteness often prohibits this marked development of local non-agricultural activities.

It should be pointed out that the development of local industries and income-producing activities other than standard-crop agriculture differs from similar phenomena in American communities in one important respect: namely, that such activities do not materially or substantially increase the resources of capital in the community economy. These non-

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1. This village, Futomi, was studied by a team of Japanese rural sociologists under the general direction of David Sills, now of Columbia University and the Bureau of Applied Social Research. Herbert Passin, now of the Ohio State University Research Program in Japanese Social Relations, also participated in the field work and preliminary writeup. The principal Japanese field worker and data analyst was Prof. K. Sakurada, now a member of the staff of the Attic Museum in Tokyo. The present writer visited Futomi several times in 1949 and 1950. A descriptive account of Futomi was published in The Japanese Village in Transition, by Arthur Raper, Herbert Passin, David Sills and Tamie Tsuchiyama (GHQ, SCAP, Natural Resources Section, Report No. 136, Tokyo, 1950).

agricultural activities merely permit support, at little more than a bare subsistence level, of the existing households, and are not to be viewed in the context of capital accumulation. To some extent this is true of all Japanese rural communities, but many of them, particularly those with larger land areas, are indeed able to increase capital resources by the development of industry. This is possible because the income from agriculture, which is the only really remunerative source of funds in Japanese rural economy, is greater.

There exist no reliable statistics which would indicate precisely what proportion of the total number of Japanese communities belong to this class of accessible, but extremely land-short villages. However, it is the consensus of opinion of Japanese and Americans, based on considerable field work in Japanese rural society, that close to a majority of Japanese villages are, by and large, members of this class. If this is true, then it may be important to study them in detail, because from this knowledge can be learned certain basic facts about the way the Japanese have worked out socio-economic adjustments in the general framework of "Malthusian" limits; that is, in the framework of large rural populations with simple technology and slender resources.

Futomi is also a member of another class of the Japanese community, the coastal or "fishing village."[2]. It is located on the Pacific seacoast in Chiba Prefecture, not far from Tokyo, and is typical of hundreds of similar communities to be found on the rocky Japanese shores. Each has its neat harbor, filled with locally-built wooden fishing boats, and its small, meticulously-tended fields stretching from the line of houses along the shore to the hills or mountains looming above. The dwellings are tightly packed together along the narrow alleys, to permit the utilization of every inch of land for crops, fruit trees or other agricultural products, and practically every household is engaged in a variety of handicraft activities and small businesses. A visitor, however unacquainted with Japanese life, soon realizes that these are communities which are characterized by extremely intense economic effort - yet the clothing is ragged, buildings in bad repair, and a general air of "bustling poverty" contrasts with the traditional American maxim, rooted in an achievement-oriented society with vast resources: "poverty begets laziness." In contrast to the cultural orientation suggested by this maxim, the Japanese communities would appear to value economic activity for its service in spreading available resources over the largest possible number of persons and families, thereby reducing the level of the whole.

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2. Japanese sociologists often divide communities into three simple types, based on major occupation: nōson or farming villages; sanson or mountain-forestry villages; and gyoson or fishing villages. As will be noted later in the paper, this classification conceals a number of important aspects of the economic life and occupational activities of these communities.

DEMOGRAPHY

There were 2,752 persons in Futomi in 1948. This number has fluctuated slightly, but an average of 2600 was maintained for the past ten years preceding 1948: in other words, the population is virtually static. Between 1947 and 1948 the population declined 3%, a figure which represented the return to the city of the few refugees from bombing who managed to find shelter in this crowded community.

In 1948 a total of 132 infants were born in Futomi; the average for the ten years preceding 1948 was 90, although fluctuations ranging from 70 to 140 can be observed. In 1948, 43 persons died, which is lower than the ten-year average of 55. This would make an approximate excess of births over deaths, for a ten year period, of about 35 persons. If the lowered Japanese death rate (due to Occupation-period health and sanitary reforms) and the higher-than-average birth rate continue, Futomi will have a considerably larger excess of births over deaths in the future.

Since it was stated that the population of the village had been largely static in the past, and since it has been shown that an excess of births has always existed, it is necessary to account for the former phenomenon. Futomi is one of many Japanese communities with an institutionalized system of out-migration. First of all, the majority of girls leave their households between 18 and 20 years of age to work as maids in the city. They remain away from home about six years, after which they have saved enough to return to Futomi and marry (aaddwry system is standard, and a necessity), or to marry city men and remain permanently away from home. In 1948, a total of 58 girls were working as maids in the city. Out of 72 village girls marrying in 1948, only eight married men in Futomi itself; 16 married men in distant cities and towns; and the remainder, 48, married boys in nearby villages and towns. The great majority - 64 - thus married out of the village.

Secondly, young men and boys from farming families - in particular all the younger sons, since because of the custom of primogeniture these will not inherit -3- invariably leave home after finishing primary school and spend their entire lives away from the village. The younger sons of families who engage in fishing leave when they are 18 or 20 years of age to work in fishing companies in the Kanto area (the region around

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3. Villagers state that primogeniture in Futomi is largely a matter of necessity, rather than simple "custom," since the land holdings, and all property, for that matter, are so small that to divide it among a group of relatives at the death of the father would be ruinous. In the Occupation period national legislation was passed forbidding primogeniture, but in villages like Futomi, the law is generally ignored.

Tokyo Bay), and usually return to the village to fish with their father after a few years of work. In 1948, 170 village boys were working as fishermen in other communities, and an additional 50 were working at various other occupations away from the village. Nearly all of the 170 fishermen will return to the village for the winter, thus permitting the village population to fluctuate considerably by season. On the basis of past figures, from a fourth to a third of these will eventually remain away from home permanently.

To summarize, during 1948 a total of 308 young male and female residents of Futomi were away for most of the year, working in other communities and cities. While some of these are permanent departures, and others temporary, the long-term trend, based on the period 1938-1948, is to permit a near-balance of additions to the community population with departures and deaths. While seasonal fluctuation is marked, due to the employment arrangements of many of the boys, and while yearly and period fluctuation of the population is noted, the average remains markedly consistent. This suggests that the out-migration pattern is a stable and necessary part of the community socio-economic adjustment, and is not a short-term change due to inflation or "abnormally" difficult economic circumstances. Perhaps the point is that from any Western perspective the economy of Futomi is permanently "abnormal" or "difficult," and to this the community has worked out adjustments of considerable refinement. However, to understand these matters more fully it is necessary to inquire into economic resources and occupations.

ECONOMY

The total land area of Futomi is 1171 acres, but only 284 acres are fit for cultivation. After considerable effort in 1947, under the aegis of the Occupation-sponsored "land reclamation" program, the village succeeded in adding only 12 acres to the meager supply of sloping and rocky soil between the beach and the nearby hills. Most of this added soil cannot be used for highly remunerative crops, like rice, but is used for dairy cattle and flower-growing (for Tokyo florists), neither of which are high-yield, lucrative sources of income for a society approaching "Malthusian limits." Moreover, of the 284 acres of cultivated land developed in the past, about 210 can be used for one crop, and of this, about half is in lucrative rice paddy, the remainder in vegetables and flowers. The remainder, 74 acres, is in mixed crops (various grains and vegetables), growing simultaneously and in rotation, planted in order to wring the very most out of the sparse, rocky, and sloping fields.

Out of a village total of 584, 257 households listed "farming" as their major occupation. Households average five persons in size - thus a household of this size must be supported on about one acre of land. These are post-land reform figures - before the reform the average size of farm was smaller, although farms larger and smaller than one acre existed. This figure is less than half of the amount of land regarded

by the Occupation and the Japanese government as necessary for the support of a family of 5.4 persons; consequently it may be seen that farms are not large enough in Futomi to provide a basic living. Rice is the most lucrative agricultural crop, but only 157 of Futomi's 284 acres can be used for paddy.

Before the problem of economic support is considered, it will be necessary to study the "non-farm households" - 303 in number. Among these, 152 are supported mainly by fishing, this occupation being carried on mainly as an individual family matter, rather than as a cooperative or private business owning several boats. Fourteen households out of the 303 are supported mainly by crafts and industry, like the making of wooden footgear, and three households are supported by professional occupation - one schoolteacher and two doctors. Thirty-seven more households are supported by small dairy farms established fairly recently on the rocky, sloping land useless for farming, and by a variety of part-time craft industries, part-time farming, and the like. Thirteen households are jobless, and supported by government relief.

Summarizing the above, it is apparent that while Futomi is called a gyoson, or "fishing village," in actual fact about 45% of all its households are supported by farming. The remainder are supported by a variety of occupations, of which fishing accounts for about 37%, and the remainder divided between dairying, craft industries, flower-growing, rice-polishing, lumbering, and a tiny minority of professions.

This breakdown of households by occupation is misleading because it is based on the consept of "major occupation;" that is, the occupation which was selected by the household head as the one producing the largest share of the income of the entire household. In some cases this was as high as 70% of the income, in other cases, as low as 30%. Thus, if the cut-off point is set consistently high, at about 75%, it is found that only 88 households are supported by fishing, instead of 152. The number of farmers, by this same criterion, drops to about 195. None of the households listed under dairying, flower-growing, or rice-polishing would be included if the 75% rule were applied. The picture thus is one which cannot be represented accurately by conventional occupational and income statistics. Japanese rural communities of this type resemble the situation found in urban communities of any nation; namely, household members working at a variety of tasks which produce income, with the designation of "major occupation" or income-producing occupation difficult if not impossible to make. It is thus extremely misleading to call Futomi a "fishing village" - or a "farming village," for that matter. It is really a case of a mixed economy, where, within the limits set by certain technological and cultural patterns, a relatively large population is supported on relatively meager resources.

As noted previously, the general economic adjustment of communities of this sort must be termed "marginal," in that the development of a number of small industries and occupations is not productive of an increase in capital, or the general expansion of the level of living. These diverse occupations merely maintain a bare living.

Individual Households

The above observations may become more firmly established if they are seen in the light of actual household economics. Several households in two representative buraku of Futomi were studied to illustrate the range of occupation and income. It was found that while these households were all "mixed" in that some members in all of them followed diverse occupations, there was considerable difference in income and general economic security depending upon the precise distribution of occupations. The following table illustrates these differences for three typical households:

OCCUPATIONS AND PERCENTAGE OF INCOME DERIVED FROM EACH, FOR THREE HOUSEHOLDS

		FAMILY A	FAMILY B	FAMILY C
INCOME	From farming*	60-70%	30%	67% plus flowers
	From fishing	30-40%	70%	13%
	From dairying	0	0	20%
TOTAL NUMBER OF FAMILY MEMBERS		7	8	6
NUMBER IN OCCUPATIONS				
	Farming	2	2	2
	Fishing locally	1	2	1
	Fishing away from home	1	2	0
	Working in other towns	1	1	1
AREA OF FARMLAND (In Acres)				
	Paddy fields	.5	.4	.14
	Dryland Farm	.24	.14	.4
	Flowers	0	0	very small patch
NUMBER OF DAIRY CATTLE		0	0	2**
NUMBER OF FISHING BOATS OWNED (Without engines)		1	1	1

* Value of domestic consumption is included, thus the income from farming is "real," in contrast to that from fishing and dairying, which is all cash.

** Owned jointly with a brother.

From this table it is clear that difference exists between households in the proportions of income derived from various sources. Family C has the most diverse occupational spread, and also the smallest area of farmland. All three own one fishing boat, but the amount of income derived from fishing varies considerably in each case. In no household does any one occupation provide more than 70% of the total income.

The difference between earnings derived from farming and from fishing varies considerably among the several households studied. The reasons given were based on the number of boys and men available, or on the "luck" the family had with fishing the previous season. Every family interviewed stated that the income derived from fishing varied considerably from year to year. Thus, the head of Family C stated that the fishing income was lower this year than last because his wife, who ordinarily took care of the fields while her husband fished, was ill, and it was necessary for him to devote his time to the farm. Small as it is, he felt that farming offered a more secure economic base in the long run, because it provided food for the family.[4] But the important fact is that neither occupation - farming or fishing - by itself can provide a secure living for any long period. With farms as small as they are in this community, it is necessary to work out combined occupational adjustments for long-term security.

Cash income figures for the three families considered above may now be studied. These are actually difficult to interpret due to inflationary conditions, and because of the fluctuation and change in proportions of income from various sources which occurs regularly. The figures below will be given in yen, which at the time of the study was exchanged on the black market at the rate of 500 yen to one dollar; the official exchange rate, which is less meaningful, was 270 to one. The Japanese government determined that bare living expenses at the time of the study were 1,000 yen per person per month.

A family like "C," which has a diversified occupational basis, earns the largest amount: approximately 125,000 yen. The majority of this - 100,000 - is derived from fishing. It is interesting to note that the real income from farming which includes the value of home-consumed products, shows a reverse proportion, with fishing in the minority and farming high. Out of this cash income the family must support the dairy cattle, and in Futomi it costs a family

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4. Farming in Futomi is not only difficult because of the shortage of arable land, but also because of climatic factors. This coast is subject to frequent - nearly annual typhoons, which destroy rice crops. In 1947, for example, Typhoon "Ione" prevented the harvest of a single bushel of rice. In addition, the water supply for farming in Futomi is furnished exclusively by rain-fed mountain streams, which run dry if rainfall is not adequate, as it occasionally is not. Geographical uncertainties of this kind help to make necessary a diversified economy.

in the neighborhood of 100,000 yen a year to support two cattle - the number owned by Family C. Thus the vast majority of the "C" cash income goes to maintain the dairy cattle; or putting it another way, they fish to support cows.

The remainder of the income - 25,000 yen - is divided between cash received from the sale of flowers and cash received from the sale of milk, the latter predominating. This 25,000 yen thus represents the cash available to the family over and above the value of home-consumed products - available for taxes, clothing, some purchased staple foods, and "pocket money" for a household of six! Yet Family C represents the most "prosperous" type of family (those with a diversified occupational background) in the community.

In Families A and B, as in C, the major portion of cash income comes from fishing, and slightly larger proportions from farming, because A and B have more extensive fields. Yet the total cash income for A and B is smaller than in C - about 100,000 for A and 90,000 for B. In these cases it is doubtful if any cash surplus exists as it does for C, and these families may be regarded as living at a bare subsistence, if not semi-starvation level. These are typical of the majority of families in the village.

Among these occupations, therefore, it would be difficult to choose which is the "major," or even the most basic. Fishing provides considerable cash; farming, food for the family as well as some cash; dairying has a high overhead cost but does bring in some cash once established. Flowers are a small-scale affair, but can supply a little extra cash, and the same goes for a number of other minor occupations.

Response to Economic Change

Over the past 25 years a series of economic changes in the nation and the region have influenced Futomi to a considerable degree. In each case the residents have responded to these changes in order to maintain their general level of living. Two of the more important of these changes, and the response to them, may be recounted in order to present a brief picture of how communities of this kind attempt to adjust to changing economic circumstances.

In 1923 the earthquake in the Kanto Plain resulted in extensive disturbance in the sea bottom, along the coast on which Futomi is located. Before this period, fishing was the major occupation of the villagers, and the community possessed a number of large fishing boats, some of which were operated cooperatively; some on the "shares" system; and others as part of the activities of large "extended families." Fishing had a distinctly "feudal" aspect in those days, with the boat-owners possessing rights and obligations over and toward the fisherman

of a "particularistic" sort.[5] During the height of the fishing season over 100 men from other villages were imported to cover the labor shortage in Futomi.

Following the changes in the sea bottom, fishing declined as a major occupation. The village lacked a good harbor, therefore the prosperous far offshore fishing, done with motor trawlers, and the only profitable large-scale type remaining, is not found for Futomi. Fishing in Futomi, within a period of about three years, changed from large-scale commercial and "extended family" operations to a matter of small boats owned by individual families. Thus fishing changed from a major business and occupational specialty to a source of supplementary income. In the postwar period, the scale of individual family fishing increased considerably, to take advantage of the high price of fish in the hungry Tokyo market.

The change was accompanied by important shifts of emphasis in the social structure. In the heyday of fishing, the extended family structure and hierarchical relations between families in the village were very strong. The owners of fishing boats assumed the role of oyakata ("parent-role"), or patrons,[6] of the men who worked for them, and their families, and with the greater wealth provided by rich fishing, most families were able to establish branch houses in the community, which preserved strong solidaristic ties. Once the economic base of these social forms was removed, the system changed toward emphasis on the individual nuclear families. Japanese rural sociologists have observed similar developments in other coastal communities.[7] The former wealthy, boat-owning families are now no longer in existence, and the economic level of the village families is highly uniform.

The second major situational adjustment made by Futomi took place in the inflationary postwar period. In the prewar and wartime period, the village subsisted fairly adequately on a combination of small-scale farming and fishing, along with the regular pattern of out-migration of excess population. In the postwar period, however, inflation and increased taxes resulted in considerably lower income, and the out-migration that could take place was not adequate to alleviate economic burdens.

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5. See Herbert Passin, "Aspects of the Fishery Rights System in Selected Japanese Fishing Communities," GHQ, SCAP, Civil Information and Education Section, Tokyo, 1948.

6. See Iwao Ishino, "Oyakun-kobun: A Japanese Ritual Kinship Institution," American Anthropologist, Vol. 55, 695-707, 1953.

7. The most extensive research on this shift of the socio-economic base of fishing in Japan has been done by K. Sakurada, Katsunori Sakurada, Ryojin (Fishermen)," Rokuninsha, Tokyo, 1942.

Consequently, as has always been the case in Japanese communities in times of economic difficulty, a series of special occupational adjustments appeared. The efflorescence of these in the postwar period accounts in large part for the extremely diverse occupational picture of present-day Futomi.

The principal industries developed by Futomi residents as a response to economic crisis were three: the raising of flowers for the Tokyo florist industry; the development of a dairy industry; and a small lumber mill.[8] These were selected for the following reasons:

In several places on the coast where Futomi is located, villages have gone into flower raising because the combination of light soil and regular rains permit flowers to grow unusually well. Distribution centers have thus been set up and can be taken advantage of. Futomi actually has too little land to devote to large-scale floriculture, but every available patch that can be so used (including much of the "reclaimed" land) has been put into flowers in the postwar period. It is strictly a sideline occupation for those households who already carry on farming.

Dairying, like flowers, is made possible because of the proximity of Tokyo with its large milk consumption (milk is used commonly only in the largest Japanese cities), and with established milk-collecting routes. Secondly, milk cows are about the only way to exploit the steeper, stonier meadows between Futomi and the mountains which cannot be cultivated for crops or flowers.[9] Dairying is done on a cooperative basis, since no farmer can afford to finance the purchase and maintenance of more than two cows. Most of the dairy families in Futomi are also farmers, and most of them also carry on individual family fishing. A few raise flowers, but generally speaking, most farming families that raise flowers do not own cows - thus the alternative character of these occupations is revealed.

Both of these occupations - floriculture and dairying - are extremely marginal. Neither could possibly become a "major" occupation, in that families could derive the major portion of their income from them. The obstacles to further profitable development of these industries are

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8. A rice-polishing cooperative had been established during the period of study, but detailed information upon it is lacking.

9. In actuality there had been an increase in all livestock owned by villagers in the postwar period: between 1947 and 1948 dairy cows increased from 113 to 137; 8 hogs to 17; 8 goats to 11; 478 fowl to 707; 42 rabbits to 82. The value and productivity of livestock other than dairy cattle is insignificant, however, from the standpoint of total income. It is also interesting to note that increases in livestock occurred only in those families possessing livestock previously; no new families shifted emphasis from some other occupation to livestock.

as follows: First, while collection and distribution facilities do exist, the output of flowers and milk for Futomi is so small, due to the small amount of land available, that the Tokyo companies sending trucks through the village are willing to pay only the lowest possible prices for the products. In the case of milk there is considerable spoilage, because the number of cattle and amount of milk is not large enough to justify the expenditure required for a processing and refrigeration plant. Consequently it is a high-risk venture, and capital cannot accumulate fast enough to install the needed improvements. Moreover, the farmers engaged in the dairy co-op were, in 1948, having difficulty getting rations of fodder for their cows (the grazing on the sloping meadows is not adequate by itself), because of alleged discriminatory practices on the part of the Prefectural government. The latter was reported by the co-op as showing favoritism to the larger dairy producers in other villages and towns, which have larger herds and better facilities, and stronger commercial tie-ups with Tokyo milk companies.

Much the same situation exists for flowers. Lack of adequate facilities for preserving flowers, and the small volume produced, make florist trucks unwilling to stop in the village, and to pay reasonable prices.[10]

In 1948, the lumber mill had been established on a cooperative basis. About 10 families were involved at that time. In the mountains above the village several medium-sized tracts of forest land still exist and are owned by a few village families, but the trees available on these are relatively few, and one cannot expect the lumber venture to exist more than 10 years at the most. Undoubtedly the village will cut all or nearly all of its trees in the future, and this resource will have been exhausted. Lumber, like floriculture and dairying, is strictly a support or prop to the economy, and cannot replace fishing and farming.

The Pattern of Adjustment

This examination of two important economic changes in the community, and the response to them, illustrates the continual situational adjustment at the socio-economic level which takes place in the Japanese rural community, and particularly in those with shortages of arable land relative to population size. There is in these a communities a constant fluctuation of occupations - a kind of maximum variation in the socio-economic sphere within the rather narrow limits set by the Japanese rural technology and distributive systems.

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10. In spite of these difficulties, it is important to note that Futo: has the possibility of <u>some</u> support from these auxiliary occupations. The remote highland communities of Japan usually cannot engage in such activities because they are not on collection routes for the products.

It may now be asked, what more could Futomi do to increase products and income? During the Occupation period three changes were proposed by Prefectural and National government officials, acting upon Occupation-sponsored legislation: (1) the establishment of a village agricultural cooperative; (2) land reclamation; and (3) more systematic use of fertilizer on the poor soil. While all three of these programs were part of the so-called Occupation "rural reforms," it is to be noted that all three have a respectable history in Futomi, and in hundreds of Japanese villages with economic problems like Futomi. The establishment of an agricultural co-op was done spontaneously shortly after the war, when sufficient capital had been accumulated by the Mayor, who owned the largest farm, to get it started; land reclamation, as already noted, was virtually impossible (only 12 acres of poor land was found) because of a lack of available land (the village had long since "reclaimed" the vast amjority of usable land); and the fertilizer situation is one the villagers have complained about for 20 years. Regardless of desirability, enough fertilizer was simply not available in Japan in 1947 and 1948. Moreover, fertilizer is expensive, and the shortage of capital in Futomi would prevent any large-scale purchase.[11]

The point of the above is that from the standpoint of the Futomi residents (and this is verified by interview data) the "reforms" of the Occupation period were merely familiar "situational adjustments," desired by the villagers if their resources - land and capital - would permit.[12]

SOCIETY

The economic adjustments described above take place in the setting of characteristic social arrangements. It has become conventional in Western (and much Japanese) sociological literature to view the "family" as the basis of Japanese social life, and as the model for social relationships in all institutional sectors.

Japanese rural communities are "familistic," if by this is meant that families play a somewhat more important role than they might in

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11. Since this period, fertilizer has been made available by the government at lower prices, and as one of the several goods included in the "incentive" program to encourage higher yields. Incidentally, fishermen in 1948 were having comparable difficulties, in that cordage for nets was on government ration, and the ration was extremely small.

12. There was some resistance to land reclamation based on a factor other than unavailability: respect for land occupied by cemeteries. This has become a problem in many land-short communities.

many Western communities. In general, the poorer a community, the larger the role of the family. This need not be seen necessarily as the consequence of exotic Japanese culture patterns or values, but perhaps more simply as a response to economic insecurity in a society with a modern industrial economy - and, therefore, "modern" marketing and economic fluctuation - but lacking a centralized universalistic system of credit and social welfare. In the absence of such institutions, the immediate group of kindred, the family, becomes a means for spreading scarce resources and cushioning against economic shock.

The classic form of the rural Japanese family is the dozokudan, or "same kin group," which ordinarily consists of a honke, or "main house," and one or more bunke, or "branch houses." "Ritual kin" relatives, or outsiders included for economic reasons, are common.[13]. Relationships between members of the dozokudan are often "hierarchical," that is, graded according to prestige and authority on the basis of age and patrilineal seniority. This type of organization tends to be strongest in Japan in the remote communities. In such cases, the dozokudan serves two major functions: the economic, in the sense that the group is the center of cooperative activities productive of income, and that the available income is spread throughout the group; and the solidaristic, in the sense that the group is the center of all ceremonial and mutual-aid activities which absorb the insecurities of a marginal existence.

As one departs from such deprived communities, and approaches more prosperous regions, the functions of the dozokudan tend to diminish. The economic functions become much less important, and are given over to various types of "voluntary" associations, i.e., cooperatives, neighborhood labor-exchange groups, and the like. The solidaristic and mutual-aid functions tend to remain constant. And nowhere in Japanese rural society does one find an absence of family and ritual kin relations - it is a matter of emphasis.

Futomi might be termed a "compensatory" community; that is, a member of a large residual class which is "poor" in that it is land-short, but which has endeavored to compensate by the development of local industry and other specialized, non-standard agricultural occupations, made possible by its relatively accessible location on the seacoast. In the case of Futomi these developments have taken rather extreme forms in the postwar period, with members of individual family households following several different occupations. This, plus the change in fishing arrangements, have led to a stress on the household or individual nuclear family which is in the extreme range for Japanese rural communi-

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13. See Michio Nagai, "Dozoku: A Preliminary Study of the Japanese 'Extended Family' Group and its Social and Economic Functions," Ohio State University Research Foundation, Research in Japanese Social Relations, Interim Technical Report No. 7, Columbus, 1953.

ties. Thus Futomi remains a case of "familism" - but the group which possesses such implied broad functions is the nuclear rather than the dozokudan, or "extended family."[14].

The importance of the individual family is shown by the fact that changes in situational economic adjustments follow the household pattern; that is, rarely in Futomi does a household enter an occupation - particularly one of the more important ones - which is absolutely new to that household. In a previous footnote it was pointed out that increases in numbers of livestock in the postwar period occurred only in those households which had previously owned animals - that is, those households already possessing the facilities and small capital investment needed to raise livestock. Although fishing is now an auxiliary occupation, rather than a major one, those families who carry on fishing now are, by and large, the very ones who were engaged in fishing in the "old days" - although in different social and economic arrangements. Farmers have always been farmers, and with the "land reform" fixing ownership in the hands of the operator, they will remain farmers indefinitely. Thus while there is considerable fluctuation in income in a household from certain occupations, the general balance remains constant, and occupations tend to be "traditional" for the given household.

The formation of "voluntary" groupings, like cooperatives, is not impeded by the strength of the individual family, but rather aided. A strong, hierarchical, dozokudan system is "death" to such organizations, but they can develop and exist with much less difficulty in a community where the "extended family" remains its solidaristic and mutual-aid functions but has abandoned many of its economic functions. This is the case in general because individual family members can act as free agents in an economic sense, without fear of extensive familial complications resulting from committment of a large kin group to an involved, extra-familial enterprise. The large enterprises of the villages with strong dozokudan tendencies tend to be oyabun-kobun organizations - that is,

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14. With reference to this, Prof. T. Takeuchi, one of the members of the original field party and now of Tohoku University, observed in summary, "In this village the dozokudan (called "jimyo") is a small group, consisting of only three or four families at the most, who help one another in time of need. However, there is no hierarchical arrangement among the families. The economic strength of each family is equal - or better, they are all equally poor. In some jimyo groups one even finds that the members no longer recall which of the families is the honke (the main, and original, and usually prestigeful family). The economic conditions which might create a basis for strong, hierarchical extended families are lacking in Futomi. All households (individual nuclear families) are small economic enterprises. There is family sentiment and mutual aid, but economic life is not organized around the dozokudan, and hierarchical relations are absent. These tendencies also have their effect upon marriage. If a family is leading a normal life in Futomi, it is eligible to contract marriage with any other family - there are not special desires to match young people according to occupation or social position of spouse's family."

"feudal" groupings where the employees or followers owe loyalty to the patron. This was the case for Futomi in the past, when fishing was the major village enterprise.

Conclusion: The Concept of Welfare

If the family is important in societies which lack national, institutionalized means for cushioning against economic shock and the hazards of high risk enterprise, it would be expected that there has been built up a configuration of values in the rural family expressing these facts. This is the case for Futomi.

In 1947, as a result of an Occupation-sponsored law, Futomi was required to establish a Social Welfare Commission, entrusted with the responsibility of providing various forms of relief and social aid to needy families. The activities of this Commission were studied in some detail, with the following findings:

In 1948, some 23 households were under the care of the Commission, 13 of these being regular village families, 10 being newly-arrived families, mostly repatriates. In the light of the poverty and insecurity of economic life in Futomi, this would appear to be a small number. An investigation revealed that there is tremendous resistance in the village to the idea of "charity," and only under extreme circumstances will a family apply to the Commission for help. Newly-arrived families, being totally destitute in most cases, are more likely to rely upon this public help.

Officials of the agency reported that they were having extreme difficulty in convincing needy families that it was not a disgrace to accept aid. Even though the national law clearly defines livelihood as under the protection of the State, families in need are convinced that they are a "nuisance" to the community, and rather than impose upon public responsibility, they should work out their economic problems by themselves. In their opinion, economic support is entirely a matter of the family - extended and nuclear, and "ritual kin" - and any modification of this idea is met with considerable resistance.

Commissioners stated that this situation creates a severe dilemma in Futomi: on the one hand the economic situation is insecure and productive of genuine need; on the other, the prevailing values forbid individuals and families from accepting public support. Commissioners estimated that at least half the families in Futomi were not only eligible for aid, but would suffer considerable hardship and injury if it were not accepted. Yet out of over 350 households, only 23 have applied, or have been persuaded to accept help, and of these, 10 are repatriates.

This situation highlights some of the basic problems of Japanese rural society. Japan is probably a permanently "poor" country - that is, given a certain high population level. It is probably doubtful if she can expect to develop social security systems which are permanent and

predictable, because they would depend upon a steady national income and economic surplus. In the absence of such schemes, or in the face of their possible unreliability, the "family system" type of security is perhaps to be encouraged. In rural areas this reliance upon the family is an advantage, because the economic insecurity of urban areas can never be fully absorbed by familial means. Thus in a period of crisis, national aid can flow to urban areas, with the rural communities taking care of their own.

In 1948, the monthly subsidy to the 23 needy families was less than half the minimum amount needed to provide the average family with enough food and clothing at the lowest possible level of living. Obviously social aid of this type can never be more than a slim prop - it must be supplemented by familial help, and by the development of "compensatory" economic activities of the type so apparent in Futomi.

Similar problems are at hand with respect to the rations of seed and other materials needed for farming. These, like a social security system, are set up on a "universalistic" basis; that is, they are national in scope and definition. While no resistance to the ration of seed, fertilizer, and other farming materials was present, for the reasons that they are not "family" matters, and that in postwar Japan this has been the only way to secure these vital commodities, the inflexibility of the rules makes for considerable hardship. A recipient must classify as a "farmer," i.e., he must cultivate a certain proportion of paddy land. In a community like Futomi, where most of the cultivated land is in dry crops, the farmers cannot receive sufficient rations of needed commodities. Farming in Futomi is a basic ingredient in the diversified economy, and without adequate support, the economic situation is made so much more serious and marginal.

This would suggest that a program of rural economic aid based entirely upon universalistic criteria possesses a misconception of the nature of Japanese rural socio-economic adjustment. The development of what Japanese rural economists have called "invisible employment" (i.e., the presence of side-income occupations of all kinds) leads to a unique balance or adjustment for each community, in which the status of any given occupation, like farming, will vary considerably, depending upon local conditions. The close margin of subsistence and surplus requires more flexible arrangements. Local economic cooperatives are a most desirable answer, and it is encouraging to find that these are developing with government help.

In general, the people of Futomi, and of other Japanese communities, are deeply aware of the need for collective action in the solution of their welfare problem. The first Futomi Youth Association, founded in 1946, had disappeared by 1948, and another organization had taken its place, for the reason that the original group was a purely "social" club, lacking economic assistance and mutual aid functions. The later group reorganized along these lines, making itself useful in disaster emergencies, special collection of seaweed for sale, installation of

needed public utilities, and the like. This group was immediately successful. Cases like this, and the problems of the Welfare Commission, illustrate the deeply-ingrained habits of collective action and mutual aid which have come to characterize these societies with a delicate balance between population and resources. While considerable fluctuation in the specific organizations and economic patterns may be found - as seen for Futomi - the substratum of concepts and modes of interpersonal relationships remains constant, ready and available to the villagers for meeting recurrent crisis situations. Fundamental changes in these adjustmental mechanisms could only take place with a drastic reduction in population and/or a vastly strengthened system of national credit and social security. In the face of Japan's generally difficult international economic position, it is unlikely that sufficient national capital could ever be amassed to raise such programs above the present level of only partial and supplementary support.

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