THE JAPANESE VILLAGE IN TRANSITION

GENERAL HEADQUARTERS
SUPREME COMMANDER FOR THE ALLIED POWERS
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THE JAPANESE VILLAGE IN TRANSITION

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GENERAL HEADQUARTERS
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PREFACE

This book is the product of group research. In April 1947, officials of Natural Resources Section, Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers, who were responsible for supervising agrarian legislation and reform invited Dr Arthur F. Raper of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, United States Department of Agriculture, to come to Japan to make observations on the effects of land reform and other agrarian programs upon rural institutions and organizations. The project was to be a joint undertaking of Natural Resources Section and Civil Information and Education Section, and the study was to take the form of a rather detailed analysis of a number of rural villages.

During the first survey, conducted in May and June of 1947, 13 villages were studied by Dr Raper and Herbert Passin of Civil Information and Education Section. At the end of that survey, Dr Raper returned to the United States, and Mr Passin and his staff analyzed the materials which had been gathered and prepared a preliminary report. In October 1948 Dr Raper again came to Japan, with the assignment of surveying the changes which had occurred in the villages since his visit 18 months previously. The same villages were studied except that Konda, Hyogo Prefecture, was replaced by Futomi, Chiba Prefecture, in order to include one farming-fishing village. In addition to Dr Raper and Mr Passin, the survey party during the second period included Dr Tamie Tsuchiyama and David L. Sills, both of the Public Opinion and Sociological Research Division, Civil Information and Education Section. In January Dr Raper returned to Washington, where he wrote sections of this volume. In the meantime, the authors stationed in Tokyo wrote other sections, analyzed the information gathered on the two trips, checked statistical data, and revisited all of the villages to gather supplementary data. In May 1949 Dr Raper came to Japan for the third time to work directly with the other authors on the final manuscript.

Drs Raper and Tsuchiyama undertook the major responsibility for the preparation of the preliminary version of the manuscript. Dr Raper prepared those chapters dealing with agricultural problems and over-all changes, and Dr Tsuchiyama wrote those chapters concerning the social and community aspects of village life. Messrs Passin and Sills rewrote portions of these chapters and added material. Mr Sills also prepared the appendices and analyzed the data obtained from the questionnaires for inclusion in this volume. The four authors are jointly responsible for all statements of fact and for all conclusions.

Grateful thanks are offered to the large number of persons who aided in the planning, research, and publication phases of this project. Throughout the undertaking, Japanese specialists in rural problems (employees of Natural Resources Section, Civil Information and Education Section, or the Japanese Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry) participated. Ryuichi Okada served as a consultant, as Dr Raper's interpreter on the second survey, and as a researcher in matters concerning taxation. Eitaro Suzuki was consultant and researcher on the first survey; Seiichi Kitano was a consultant and a researcher on both surveys. Keigo Seki and Takashi Koyama were researchers on both surveys; Katsunori Sakurada and Toshimi Takeuchi were researchers on the second survey. John C. Pelzel, then Chief of the Public Opinion and Sociological Research Division, participated in planning the second survey and in the field work in several villages. Tomoo Ogita served as Dr Raper's interpreter during part of the first survey. Takashi Koyama, Hiroshi Mizuno, Yu Mikami, and Shinichi Shinna constructed the samples for and administered the attitude questionnaire to heads of farm households in the villages. Misao Watanabe, Kaku Uchiumi, Hironobu Hayashi, and Keiji Nobui prepared the maps. Yonosuke Yanagihara served as a translator during the field research.

The authors express their gratitude to Lt Col Hubert G. Schenck, Dr W. H. Leonard, Robert S. Hardie, and other officials of Natural Resources Section and to the Japanese rural sociologists, Drs Seiichi Tobata and Seiichi Kitano, who reviewed the manuscript and offered numerous valuable suggestions. The photographs were taken by Signal Corps photographers or supplied from the collections of Mr Passin and others. Final editing of the manuscript was done by Mrs Lorena Treadway; the book was prepared for publication by other personnel of Editorial and Production Division, Natural Resources Section, under the supervision of Mrs Lola M. Zook. Miss Grace Lutz was in charge of drafting.

The authors further wish to express appreciation to the prefectural officials who cooperated with the research team in its visits to the villages, and to the thousands of villagers, without whose cooperation the field work could not have been done.

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THE JAPANESE VILLAGE IN TRANSITION

INTRODUCTION

In the early days of the Occupation, General Headquarters of the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers expressed interest in a comprehenoive agrarian reform program calculated to replace traditional agrarian feudalism with a democratic way of life. Accordingly, in keeping with the provisions of the Potsdam Declaration, a memorandum directing the Imperial Japanese Government to undertake certain agrarian reforms was issued in December 1945. The memorandum pointed out the need to increase the extent of land ownership so that "those who till the soil of Japan shall have a more equal opportunity to enjoy the fruits of their labor". It directed that farm credit at reasonable rates be instituted, that farmers be given the opportunity to establish autonomous agricultural cooperatives, and that other necessary measures be enacted to protect the rights of the new owner-cultivators.

Other legislation affecting the lives of people in rural villages, as well as in urban Japan, was enacted after the Surrender. An entirely new constitution was adopted in May 1947, and a revised civil code which provided individuals with additional democratic rights was promulgated in December of that year. A directive was issued in December 1945, prohibiting "all propagation and dissemination of militaristic and ultranationalistic ideology in Shinto doctrine, practices, rites, ceremonies, or observances....", and steps were taken to insure freedom of religion. Action was taken in January 1946 to bar from public office and from positions of responsibility in the nation's schools, business industry all persons who had been active in the policy of ultranationalism and militarism during the war years. A new school system was inaugurated in March 1947. Educational reforms of this period include an increase from six to nine in the number of years of compulsory education, the establishment of new lower secondary schools on the junior high school level, and the formation of parent-teacher associations. The field work for this volume thus was done at a time when an unprecedented legislative reform program was being put into effect.

This book tells the story of how 13 villages have been affected by these agricultural and social reforms. The villages were not selected to constitute a technically accurate cross section of rural Japan; such a selection would have been impossible. Rather, they were chosen to represent the maximum variety of types that could feasibly be studied within the limits of available time and resources. Thus, they included one village from each major geographical region and one or more from each major agricultural type.

The statistics presented in this report were obtained by the authors in the 13 villages at the time of the field studies. On the basis of general experience with local statistics in Japan, some inaccuracy and lack of uniformity can be expected. The authors are aware, however, of no instance in which minor discrepancies or errors alter the interpretations offered here.

Part I of this book gives the reader background information essential for an understanding of the basic conditions of rural Japan today. Part II describes the major changes which took place in the 13 villages during June 1947 to December 1948. Part III summarizes the distinctive features of each of the villages. Part IV analyzes in some detail the changes that have occurred as a result of post-Surrender conditions and post-Surrender legislation.

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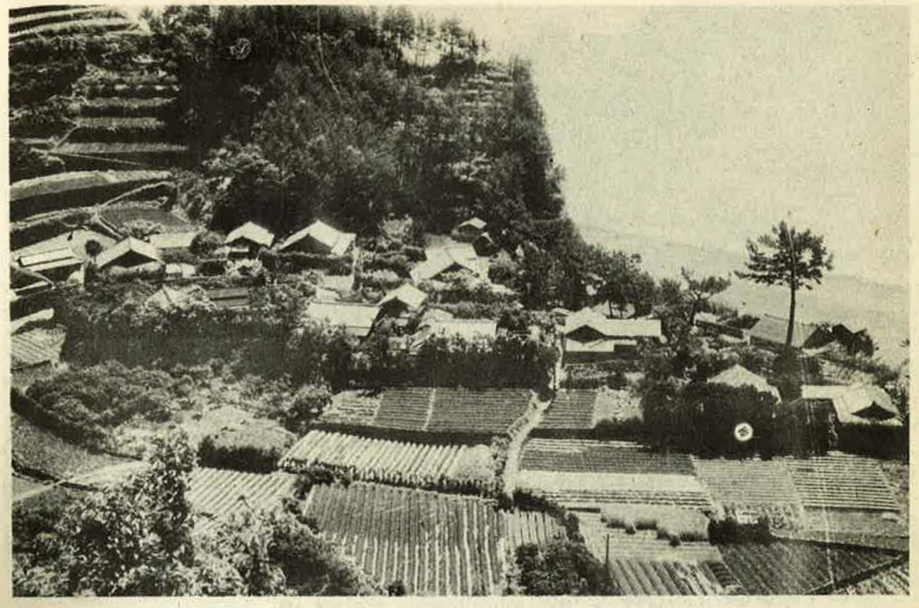
PART I

RURAL JAPAN TODAY

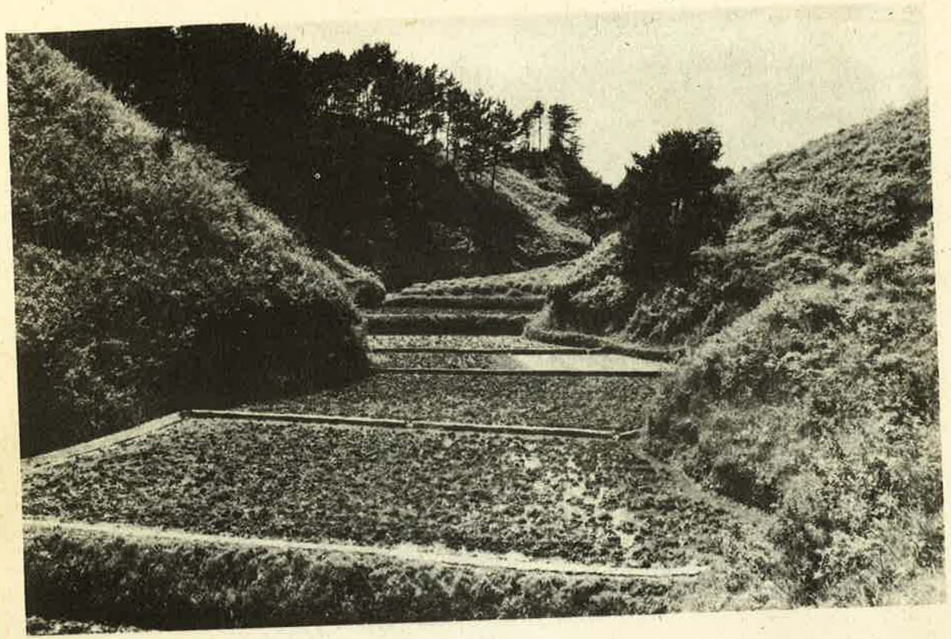
The first part of this report is a short pictorial and descriptive study of rural Japan today, with a quick look at the countryside and some over-all facts about the land, growing crops, people at work, rural dwellings, the family at home, village life, schoolhouses, shrines and temples, and a note on recent changes.

Gardenlike Fields, Wooded Mountains, and the Sea



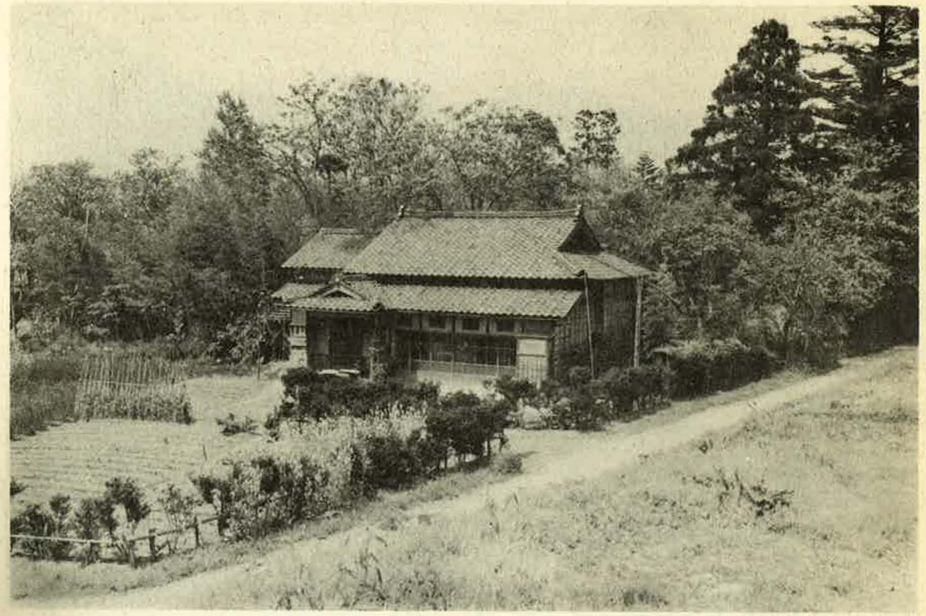
Wherever you turn in rural Japan you see well-kept fields, wooded mountains, and often the sea--the Pacific Ocean, the Japan Sea, the Inland Sea. From the seas, the forests, and the fields come the major portions of Japan's food, shelter, and clothing--and some things for export. Fish and seaweed come from the sea; timber, fuel, and compost from the forests; and rice and tea, wheat and barley, vegetables and fruits, just a little meat, and mulberry leaves for silkworms from the upland and lowland fields.

Farm Land Is Limited



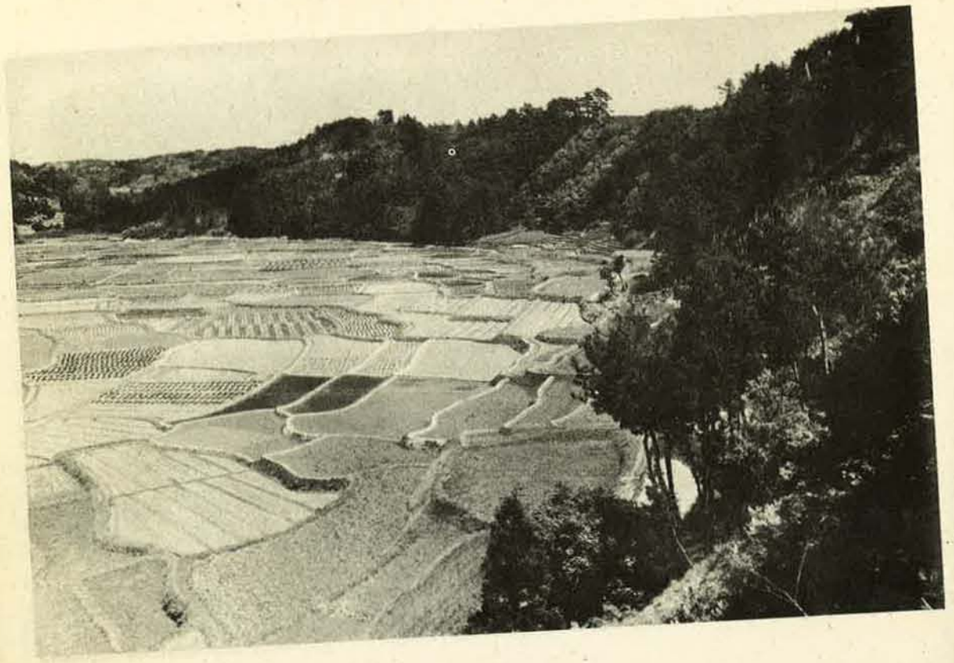
A little less than one-sixth of the total land area is in farms, even though practically all of the land that can be put into crops is now being cultivated. Great amounts of human labor have gone into the construction of high terraces on steep mountain slopes to fashion new fields; much labor too, has gone into the building of farm roads and irrigation systems to service those hillside fields. The work goes on without interruption, as many of the fields, roads, and ditches on the slopes and in the valleys are continually imperiled by the heavy runoff of water from the mountains. Except for the continuous and effective effort of the farmers, the area in cultivation would be much smaller than it is. At the very most, perhaps not more than 19 percent of the land area can be farmed.

Farms Are Small



Farms average a little less than 2 1/2 acres, and nearly one-third of them are one acre or smaller. The average size of the farms in the more recently settled island of Hokkaido is about 10 acres, in the major island of Honshu a little more than 2 acres, in Kyushu 2 acres, and in Shikoku a little more than 1 1/2 acres. The farms are smallest in the areas where settlement is oldest, arable land is most limited, specialization is greatest, and where farm incomes can most easily be supplemented by off-farm work. So great is the pressure for land that cucumbers often are tied up on poles, and pumpkin vines may be planted at the foot of a trellis leading to the roof of a farm building.

Fields Are Tiny and Scattered

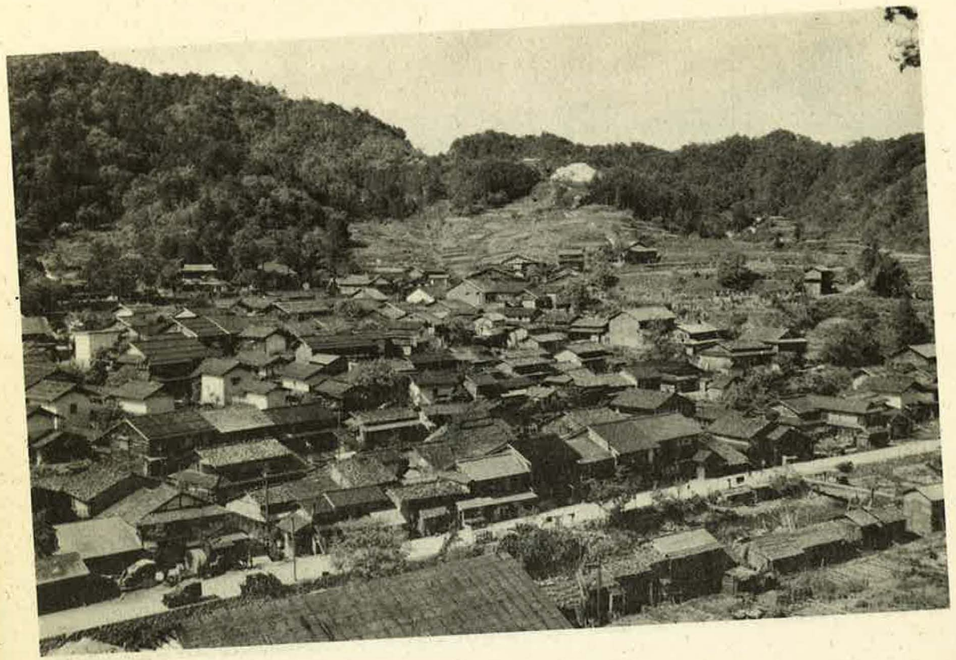


An average farm consists of about 16 individual fields or plots of cultivated land, which means that a field or patch averages about one-sixth of an acre. The fields are most numerous and scattered in the areas that have been farmed longest and where rice cultivation is most intensive; fields are least numerous and least scattered in the more newly settled areas in Hokkaido and northern Honshu. Tha little fields cultivated by a farmer often do not lie next to each other, but rather are scattered about--one here, two or three there, another off over there, and so on. This involves more work than if they were all together. However, there are compensations: Pest and flood damages, which often are localized, seldom affect all of the fields. The family farm is made up of these scattered tracts.

The Land Has Been Cherished

To the Japanese farmer, the land has been the pearl of great price --a means of earning a living, of perpetuating the family line, and generally of maintaining the pattern of human relationships, especially as these relationships are tied into rank and work, duties, and obligations. The determination of the people to hold on to their ownership and cultivation rights to the land, coupled with paddy farming, has resulted over the generations in much land subdivision--until now the fields of a single farm household often are scattered, and farm operating units are so small they can sensibly be subdivided no further.

Farm Houses Are Close Together

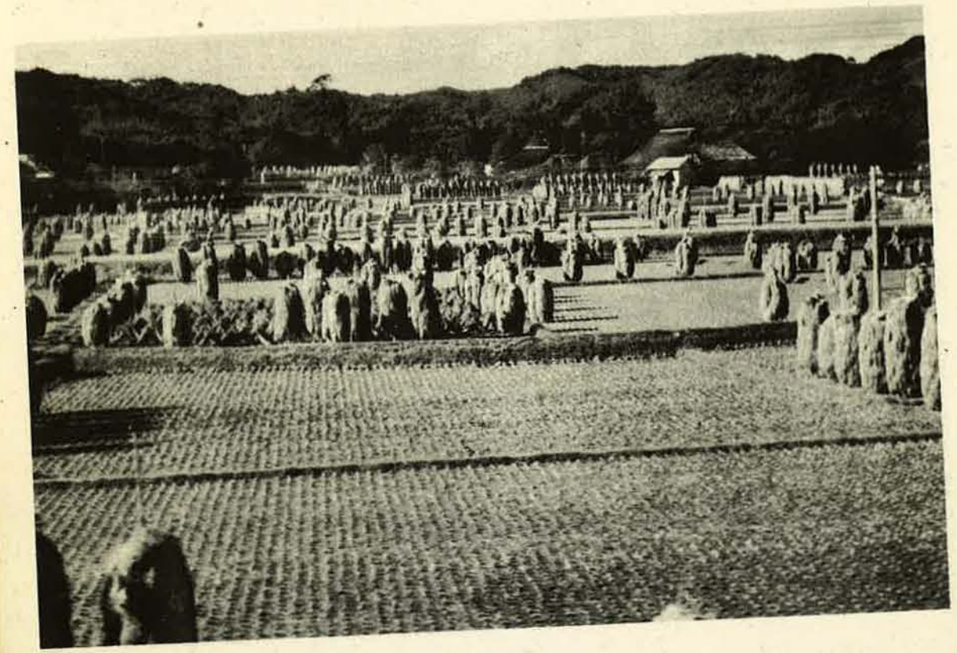


In most of Japan farm houses are clustered together in hamlets rather than dispersed on farms. The constant movement of the farm people to and from their outlying little fields has resulted in a network of narrow farm roads near the hamlet, then trails farther out, and beyond them a path to each and every field. There is much face-to-face contact among the people. Families w o have lived together for generations swap work with one another on many occasions and jointly maintain their farm roads, shrines, and temples. Everybody knows everything about everybody else, and there is little room for strangers not vouched for by local households.

Irrigation Is Widespread

Numerous streams, large and small, coming down from the mountains, are channelled into the paddy fields through a vast and intricate network of handmade waterways and dikes. A little more than one-fifth of all the cultivated land in Hokkaido is irrigated; in the three longer-settled southern islands, the proportion is three-fifths. Even in areas of excessively high rainfall much additional water is needed to flood the paddy each year from the time the land is readied for the young rice sprouts in the spring to the ripening of the rice in the fall. There is a saying in Japan that the farmer's feet are never dry. Any sign of low water in the stream or pond--whether from summer drought, or leakage, or greediness of other farmers--is cause for alarm. Irrigation is everybody's business; it is old, and institutionalized. It determines the size and shape of fields--most of which of necessity are small--and the location of farmsteads, and even human relations, because paddy farming has long been characterized by social arrangements that fit in with the farm management practices and household industries of rice farmers.

Crop Yields Are High



The great input of labor and skill and fertilizer results in high yields. Literally every seed is planted at the right time and every growing plant cultivated at the right time. The result is that Japan's rice yields per acre are among the highest in the world. Traditional ways of doing things are passed down from one generation to the next; experiment stations as well as local master farmers have made important contributions in developing the best varieties and in determining the most effective uses of commercial fertilizers and compost.

Where Possible, Two or More Crops Usually Are Produced Each Year

Two crops are produced each year in most of southern Japan; this practice is extended as far north as possible. Roughly one-third of all farm land is double-cropped; in some of the southern prefectures, as much as 90 percent is double-cropped. In many parts of central Japan, rice seedlings are transplanted to the paddy soon after winter wheat and barley are harvested; in some low-lying paddy areas, winter cereals can be grown only by strip ridging the land to get the ridges high enough above the water level to produce these grains. On much of the upland in central and southern Japan, a summer crop such as the sweet potatoes shown here is interplanted with wheat and barley before the latter are harvested.

Great Care Is Given to Details

Even the smallest details are attended to, for food is short and manpower is plentiful. Twigs for fire are bundled to be stored under the eaves; rice straw is kept straight so it can be made into rope, sacks, or sandals; and the small children search every foot of a rice, wheat, or barley field for the few heads that were dropped in harvesting. To get just the right amount of fruit on a tree, a farmer and his family may do hand thinning, and to keep harmful insects away from the maturing fruit, the farmer usually ties a small paper bag over each pear or apple, peach or loquat. The application of labor often goes beyond the point of diminishing returns, that is, labor will be applied so long as there is hope for any additional returns.

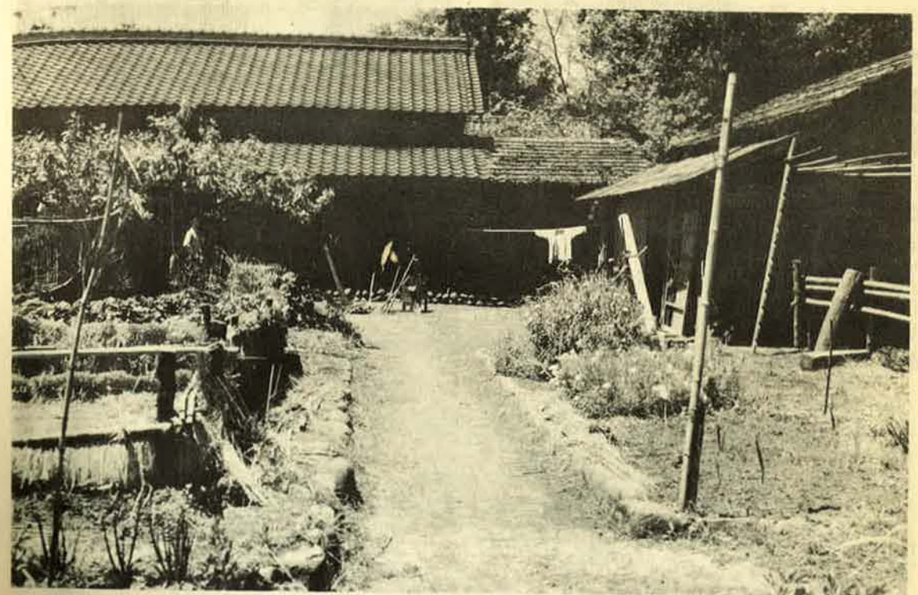
Fertilizer for the Land Is Always Prized

Fertilizers of all kinds are needed. Most farm families collect leaves and grass for compost, often on mountain sides at a considerable distance from the fields. Rice, wheat, and barley straw, and any other crop residues not required for other purposes are used for compost. Human waste is collected regularly from village and urban dwellings and carried to the fields. Commercial fertilizer is purchased and used in large quantities. When commercial fertilizer supplies are short, as was the case during and after World War II, the farmers face a decline in yields and are compelled to collect more compost from the forests and to grow more green manure, such as legumes, to put back into the land.

Everything Is Saved and Used

Straw, dry leaves, twigs, night soil--everything is saved, and everything used. There is no choice but to grow as much as possible and to buy as little as possible. The pressure of the population on the land--related as it is to the agricultural, industrial, and foreign trade situation--coupled with the aspirations of the people, results in the full use of physical and human resources. Even so, the scarcity of food resources is so great that the maintenance of a minimum adequate diet is a difficult matter.

Space Is Found for Flowers, Shrubs, and Trees



Although the farmer seldom has space for a lawn of any kind, and the farm yard itself is quite small, somewhere around the house there is usually an azalea bush or two and a clump or so of chrysanthemums. Flowers are liked for their beauty and are needed as offerings before the household altar. Even a small formal garden--with a stone lantern, a little pool, a twisted pine, and colorful shrubs--may be arranged in a corner of the yard. A high hedge, thin and trimmed, may grow on the side of the house close to a little field; a pear tree may stand in the bend of an irrigation ditch; and on a steep slope that separates two upland fields at different levels a few apple or persimmon trees may be planted.

There Is Little Livestock

There is one draft cow (or ox) to about every third farm, and a draft horse to about every fifth farm. Some families without a draft animal exchange their own labor for the use of an animal; the rate of exchange is usually about two days of man labor for one of animal labor. On the average, there is one dairy milk cow to every 42 farms. Except for the high slender hedges and bamboo palings immediately around the dwellings, there are practically no fences. Chickens are few in number, and most families with chickens have four or less. Other than fish, little meat is eaten. The general shortage of food makes it necessary for the people to consume grain directly. Naturally enough, there are relatively few birds; wild animals are rare; and at most dwellings there is no cat, seldom a dog.

Farm Machinery Is Scarce

Farms have relatively few motors; most of these motors are electric and the great majority are of three horsepower or less. Internal combustion engines are even less numerous and seldom new. Electric current is available almost everywhere, and electric outlets for small machinery may be seen here and there between the little fields. During and since World War II electric power often has been insufficient to keep the current going continuously, and even when it is on, it is too weak for effective use much of the time.

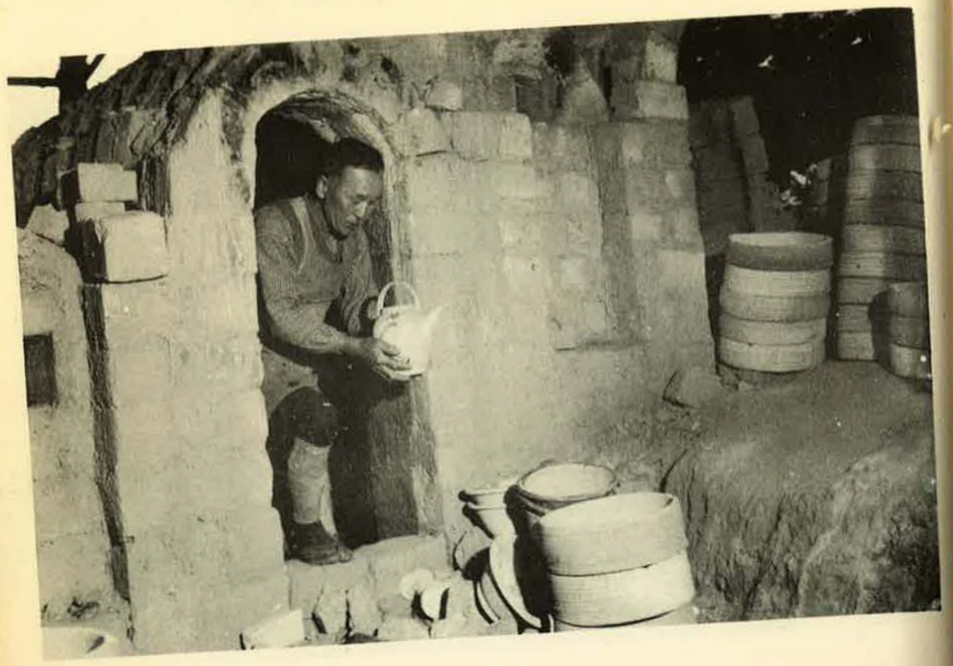
Human Labor Is Abundant

As noted already, the rural economy is based on a superabundance of human labor. The production of rice, the main agricultural enterprise, requires more than 80 man-days an acre each year. The seed is sown in a bed, and the young sprouts are transplanted to the paddy. To ready the paddy for the young plants, farmers work the soil into the consistency of pancake batter. Then come the tedious cultivation and weeding of narrow rows, the maintenance of water at the right level, and the control of diseases and pests. Later come the hand-sickle cutting of the matured rice, the drying of it in the straw on poles erected on or near the fields, and finally the threshing, hulling, and polishing of the grain. All of the planting, cultivating, and harvesting is hand work. Most of the threshing is done by power-driven and foot pedal machines, but some is still done by hand. Even more hand labor is required for such farm enterprises as the growing of silk worms, the production of tea, and the cultivation of fruit.

Farm Tools Are Simple

Most farmers use simple, old-fashioned hand tools. Most common is the "kuwa", a long-bladed, short-handled hoe. Next in importance are the sickle, ax, and plow. Other equally simple tools usually are used for separating the wheat and rice grains from the straw, for raking up the chaff, and for peeling and shredding foods. The great majority of farmers can put all the farm tools they own in a small hand cart. Farm tools are simple; many of them have remained unchanged for centuries; and they are handled skillfully. The hoe that is used day after day, year after year, becomes almost an elongation of the human arm, with back muscles attuned to the easiest way to lift it up and the best way to bring it down. There is monotony and variety--deep digging to break the ground in the spring, much pulling and pushing and striking here and there to ready the land for the new crop, and careful skimming of the hoe just under the surface to clear the weeds away from the young plant.

Most Farm Incomes Are Supplemented



On an average, about one-third of the income of farm households is obtained from the home processing of agricultural products, from handicrafts such as pottery, "geta" (wooden clogs), Japanese-style paper, and basketry, from off-farm wage work done by members of the family, and by money earned in the house at piece-price rates for weaving or assembling materials furnished by a supply merchant. The remuneration is small, but, from the standpoint of the low-income family, a little more income is better than no additional income at all.

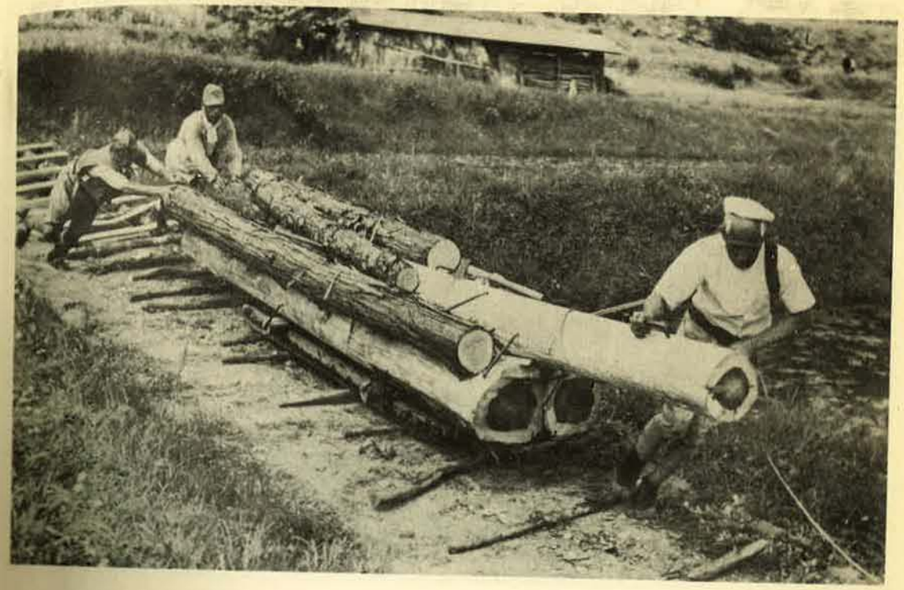
Some Farm Products Are Processed at Home

Processing of agricultural products in farm homes is common. Rope and bags are made from rice straw, thick floor mats are made from straw and home-grown "i" rush, and crates, baskets, fence splints, and numerous other things from the ever-present bamboo. Sliced sweet potatoes and persimmons are dried, "daikon" (giant white radish) and Chinese cabbage are pickled, and soybeans are preserved. Rice often is polished in the home, and there may be some weaving of silk fabrics. Small power-driven motors speed the work in a few households, and foot pedal machines in some localities are fairly common, but the great portion of the home processing of farm products is done by hand. Silkworms generally are raised inside the farm dwelling so that they will not be chilled on cold wet days or at night; air conditioning has often been approximated, for farmers have long been aware that the worms do best when heat and humidity are kept fairly constant.

Men and Women Alike Do Heavy Work

Men and women often work side by side on the farms, in the forests, and in fishing operations along the shore, but rarely out at sea. The incoming bride in a farm home by tradition helps with the housework, and she usually is counted as a full-fledged laborer. Along the farm roads and footpaths in level and mountainous areas, men and women carry farm products, compost, fuel, and building material. Some use a carrying frame, but more of them let the weight of their loads rest directly on their shoulders and backs. At the sawmill and the charcoal pit, the woman lifts one end of the green log and the man the other, and by the sea the men and women in rope harness together drag the boats and nets up on the beach.

Nearly One-Half of the People Live by Farming and Forestry



Almost 40,000,000 people, nearly one-half of the total population, receive the major portions of their living from farming and forestry. Except for the increase since the end of World War II, the number of farm households has remained about the same for many decades, at about 5,500,000. The population increase during these decades has regularly gone into nonfarm employment. After farming and forestry, manufacturing and commerce are the next most important occupations.

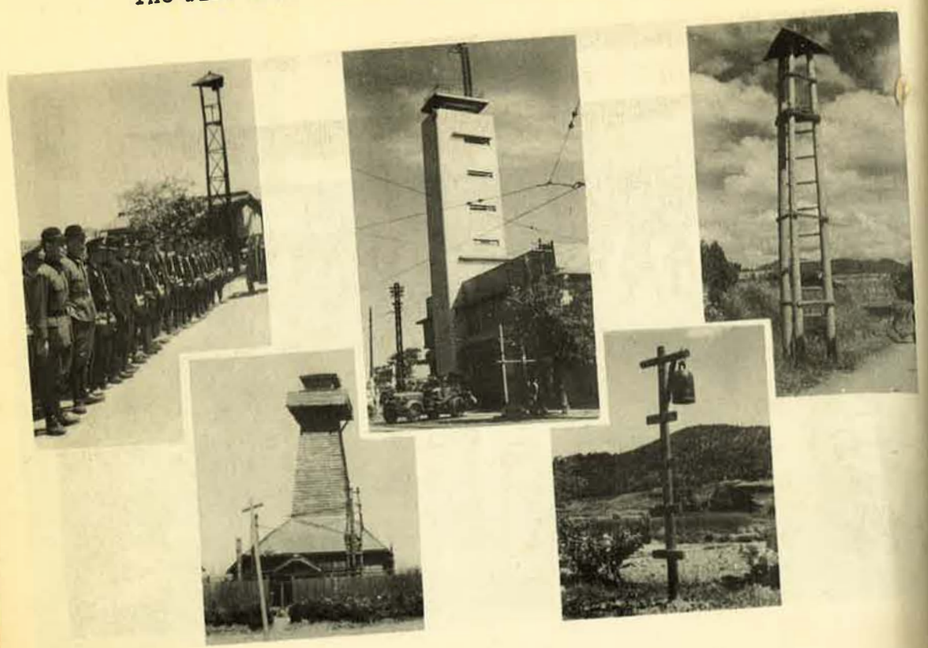
Fishing Is Important Too

Fish is the source of 85 percent of all animal protein consumed in Japan. About 1,300,000 employed persons are engaged all or part of each year in the production of fish and other aquatic products; numerous farm households along the extensive seacoast supplement their living by fishing and gathering seaweed. Fishing operations vary from hand collection of shellfish along the coast to well-equipped whaling fleets that remain on the high seas for months at a time. All together, big and little, about 450,000 vessels are engaged in fishing. Japan is the leading fish producing nation in the world.

Japan Is a Country of Villeges

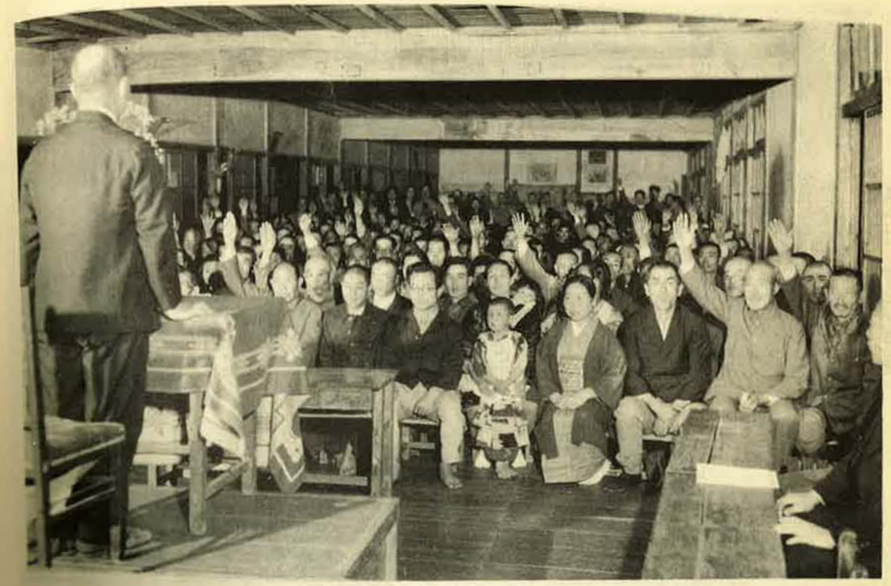
Village organization and way of life are not limited to the villages, where the majority of the people live. They also pervade the towns and cities. Except for the downtown business areas, even the largest cities are in many respects clusters of villages. Many of the metropolitan districts came into being when the population of the hamlets in the villages of an area expanded until there was more or less continuous settlement. The home address of a city dweller usually includes the name of the village-like locality in which he lives. Excepting only the downtown business districts, there are still small farming areas scattered here and there throughout the extended one- and two-storied dwellings and shops of the cities.

The Fire Alarm Tower Is a Symbol of Village Life



In all parts of the country, fire alarm towers are numerous--in isolated areas and at regular intervals throughout the cities. Some towers are rustic, some ornate. Most have a single bell; few have electric sirens. Practically every household is within hearing distance of a fire alarm. In villages and towns, the younger men are organized as volunteers to fight fires; in cities, professional firemen do the work. Thatched roofs, wooden structures, and paper-covered sliding doors make fire a constant hazard in Japan where dwellings are close together. Many houses have one or more fire prevention posters. According to a Japanese proverb, there are four terrors: earthquake, thunder, fire, and fathers.

Agricultural Cooperatives Are Numerous

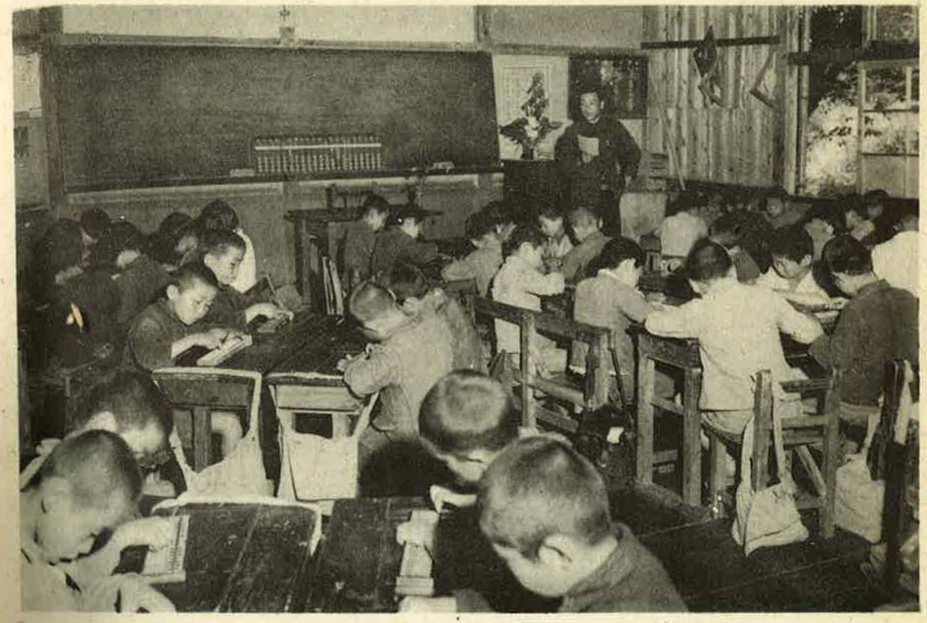


There are nearly three times as many local agricultural cooperatives in Japan as there are villages. General-purpose cooperatives are the most important single type. They provide depositing and lending facilities to more than 90 percent of the farmers; they also process and market agricultural products, sell farm supplies, operate common facilities, and assist farmers in obtaining technical assistance. These general-purpose cooperatives usually are organized on a village basis, although some of the large villages have two or three so as to put them within easy reach of all farmers. The other cooperatives are specialized in character and vary greatly in size of area served. The sericultural (silk) and reclamation cooperatives usually serve a buraku (subdivision of a village), whereas fruit marketing, poultry raising, and dairy cooperatives may serve an entire village, a prefecture, or an even larger unit.

Every Village Has a School

Schoolhouses are centrally located, and they are very much alike throughout the country. Everywhere in Japan, schools have level playgrounds in front of the buildings, even in mountain villages where much dirt must be moved to make even a small level playground. The school grounds often are edged with cherry trees, and not infrequently feature a pedestalled statue of Ninomiya, the farmer saint who preached work and learning, and who by his writings and counselling helped to improve the farmers' position in the general economy. The school children enjoy the regular athletic meetings in the fall of the year and the excursions to scenic and historic spots in the spring. Attendance is almost 100 percent in the compulsory school age--i e, the elementary and the new lower secondary schools. Children seldom miss school unless they are sick.

Schoolrooms Are Congested



In addition to studying the usual subjects familiar to Western children, Japanese children must spend time learning to use the abacus and mastering the complicated ideographs of the written language. Since the Surrender instruction in alphabetic writing has increased in the schools. The school building program was retarded during the war; resultant shortage in school buildings, coupled with the increase in the number of years of compulsory schooling, has crowded the existing facilities. However, an extensive building program is under way.

Festivals Are Observed Regularly

Every village has its festivals--some somber, some gay. There are festivals for good weather, for dedications of new crops to the local gods, for celebration of the new harvest, and for the annual return of the ancestral spirits. In some areas, in order to guide the returning spirits to the right household, a fire is built at evening before each entrance. Dolls in all of their finery are displayed in the boys' and girls' festivals. To celebrate Buddha's birthday the people gather at the temple to accept sweetened green tea from the priest. On New Year's Day, the greatest celebration of all, pine and bamboo ornaments are displayed in front of many of the houses, and people visit their neighbors and relatives to exchange greetings. Costumes and masks, old and revered, and scary to the uninitiated, are used on almost any festive occasion. Village festivals are in fact a combination of religious rites and holiday celebrations. They afford ample opportunity to keep folklore alive and to allow the rural people--who have no regular weekly day of rest from the boredom of a generally monotonous life--to enjoy agreed-upon holidays scattered throughout the year.

Village Organization Generally Is Uniform

Each village is an independent municipality, and has a village hall where records are kept and village business is transacted. Officers elected by the people include the headman, or mayor, and assemblymen. Japan has 46 prefectures, 234 independent cities, and 613 gun (counties), which contain 1,850 towns and 8,386 villages. In rural areas, most public activities are administered on the village level--taxation, education, relief, police, crop deliveries, and so on. To obtain food for the urban dwellers, the government collects each year at government-fixed prices a considerable volume of all staple crops (rice, wheat, barley, sweet potatoes, and white potatoes). These crop delivery quotas, which amount to about one-half of the total crop, are administered on a village basis, as are also the incentive payments, i e, government certificates which enable the farmer to buy stipulated supplies at fixed prices if he meets or surpasses his delivery quota.

Shrines and Temples Are Everywhere

Most of the people support the Shinto shrines and Buddhist temples, which, like the schools, occupy prominent places in all villages. The shrines and the temples are often in the midst of park-like areas, usually quite small, under towering cryptomeria and cypress trees planted a century or more ago. Flowering cherries and other ornamental trees and shrubs are common in the extensive grounds of the largest temples and shrines. Historically, these religious organizations with their priests served the general needs of the villages. Out of these religious organizations have come the specialized activities now carried on by the village hall, the courts, the post office, the public schools, the health clinics, and the welfare agencies.

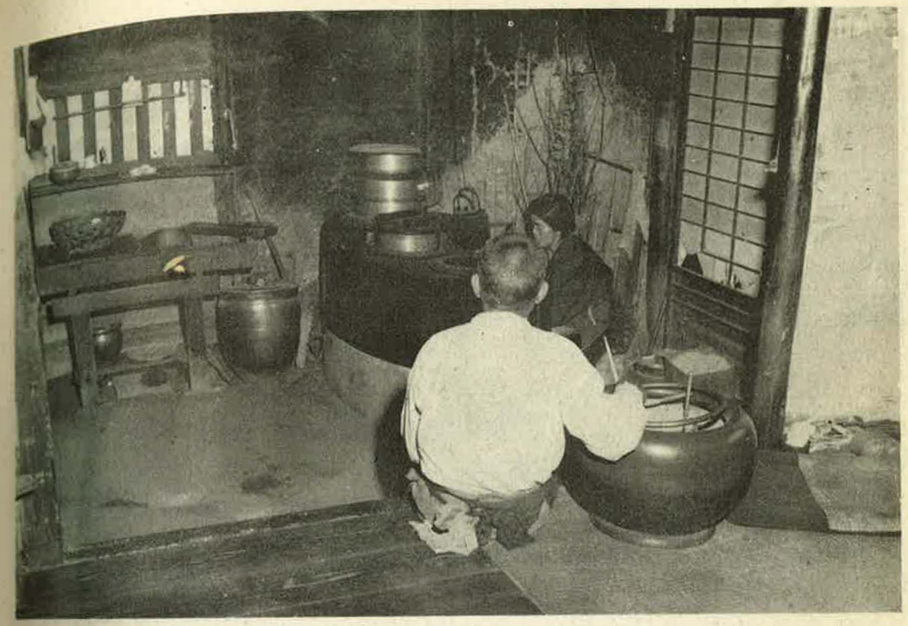
Many, Many Statuettes Are Seen

Small wooden, stone, or metal figures of religious and historical personages and objects appear in all sorts of places--by the roads and trails, upon irrigation ditch banks, along the streams, between the fields, in the crevices of rock ledges, deep in the coal mines, near the sawmills, by the seaside, on schoolhouse grounds, at the temples and shrines, and in and around the homes of the people. Also, along the open-country roads and in the hamlets, towns, and cities, are numerous markers and monuments.

Dwellings Are Highly Functional

With a minimum of household equipment, the people eat, sleep, and entertain their friends: for sitting, small movable cushions on the floor; for eating, a tray on the floor or low table, with lacquer or porcelain dishes and chopsticks; for sleeping, a pallet on the floor that can be rolled up and put on a shelf. All of these activities, one after the other, often take place in the same room. Recessed in one wall of such an all-purpose room may be the "tokonoma" with its scroll and vase of flowers; against another wall of this same room may be a Buddhist altar, containing religious objects and other reminders of departed ancestors, and a Shinto shrine where charms from famous shrines are placed. A small shrine to Kojin, the fireplace god, may hang from the rafters in the kitchen.

Family Living Is Simple



The smoke comes out under the eaves and up near the peak of the roof, for most farm dwellings have no chimneys. Cooking is done over an open twig or charcoal fire, and the hands are warmed from glowing charcoal in movable urns, called "hibachi". In colder areas, heat often is provided by an open hearth. Another common heating device is the "kotatsu", a depression in the floor in which a charcoal fire is placed. Family members sit with their legs in the "kotatsu" and cover themselves with a thick quilt. The water in the hot bath may be heated by fire immediately under the tub. Most foods are preserved by drying or pickling; and fuel, tools, and livestock--as well as food--are kept under the dwelling house roof, or nearby. Babies are carried on the backs of their mothers, older sisters and brothers, or grandparents as they go about their regular activities, whether work or play. The floor is always clean, as footwear is removed before family members enter the straw-matted portions of the dwelling.

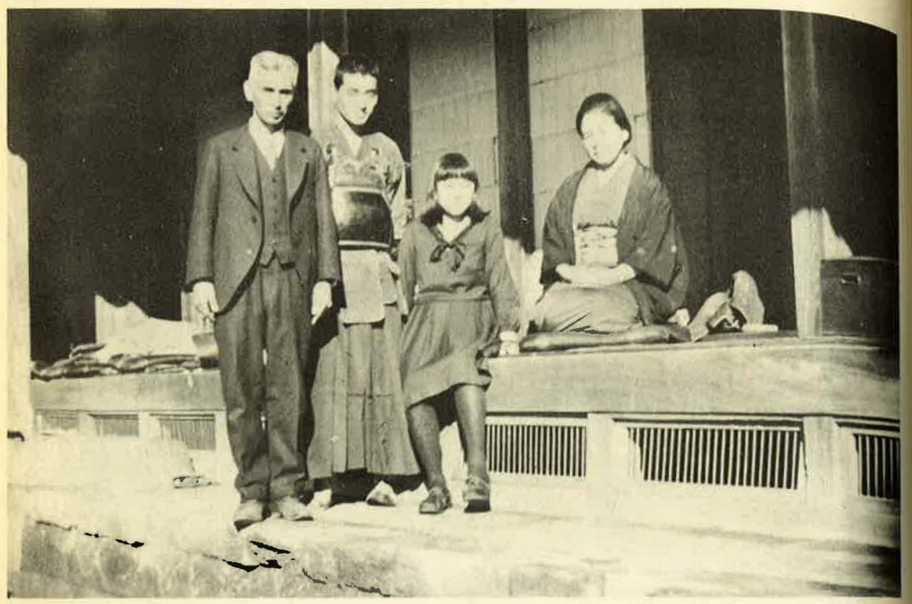
Nearly All Farm Dwellings Have Electricity

Most households have two or three drop bulbs of low wattage; more than one-half of all rural households have radios. Most of the current is generated from hydroelectric plants which are numerous and scattered, located as they are on the many relatively short and steep rivers that flow out of the extensive wooded mountain areas. Electrical current is off for hours at a time, as mentioned earlier, because of inadequate water supply for the generation of power in periods of low rainfall, and from the lack of a sufficient supply of coal for thermal generators.

Family Organization Is Traditional

Many rural families have lived at the same place and in much the same way for 10 or 15 generations or more. The maintenance of the family group has taken precedence over the rights of the individual. Marriages usually have been arranged by the parents of the bride and groom, with the assistance of a go-between. The role of the go-between is to protect the interests of each of the families and to minimize embarrassment between them. The practice of primogeniture has often been followed to convey real property intact from one generation to the next. For families with daughters and without a son, a "yoshi" marriage has been a common way of perpetuating the family line; in such a marriage, the new husband is legally adopted into the bride's family and takes her family name.

Class Distinctions Are Deep-Rooted But Are Changing



Differences in status, based upon the traditional land tenure system, have long played an important part in Japanese village life. Generation after generation, the landlords have tended to remain in their privileged economic and social position, and the farm tenants and smallest landowners have tended to remain at the bottom of the rural social structure. The owner-cultivator group, which has been large in many areas, has occupied an intermediate position. The status differences between landowners--large and small--and tenants have been buttressed by the distinctively Japanese head- and branch-family system, by devotion to ancestors, and by feudal ties which ideally involve leadership, patronage, and protection on the one hand, and loyalty and deference on the other. Over the years, many people from various elements of the population have been restive under this restrictive system, and some changes have occurred both in local practices and in legislation affecting rural areas. But generally speaking, rural Japan was still largely controlled by the landowning households up through the end of World War II hostilities. Since then, the very foundations of the traditional feudal system have been shaken.

Some Segregation Has Continued

In numerous villages of central and southern Japan live the Eta people, who lead a somewhat segregated existence. There are at least 1,000,000 of them in Japan, about one-half of them in rural areas; one or more out of every 80 families in rural Japan is an Eta family. The fact that most of them live in segregated buraku has given rise to the commonly used circumlocution: the "special buraku people". Many of them continue to perform their traditional menial occupations, such as animal slaughtering, leather-working, basket weaving, and clog and sandal making. More likely than not, they are the poorest people in the villages, and the farms they cultivate are the smallest. Although they were legally emancipated in 1871 by Imperial decree, their low economic status and their special occupations continue to be accompanied by social restrictions, particularly in personal relations and religious participation. Even where Eta have achieved a high degree of economic and political acceptance, which has occurred more commonly in the recent past than ever before, marriage for them into the majority group has remained rigidly tabooed.

Almost Everything In Japan Is Small And Numerous, Except . . .

. . . the lone Mt Fuji. The beauty of this peak, of the Japanese Alps, and of other high mountains that tower majestically over a rural countryside of small people, on small farms, in small villages, by small streams, makes it understandable that these mountains are held in reverence.

PART II

RECENT CHANGES IN VILLAGE LIFE

The remainder of this report centers around current conditions and recent changes in 13 carefully selected villages in which observations were made in May and June 1947 and again in November and December 1948. Except for one substitution, the same villages were restudied.

In the pages that follow, the more significant of the changes which occurred are summarized. More detailed descriptions of these changes are given in Part IV.

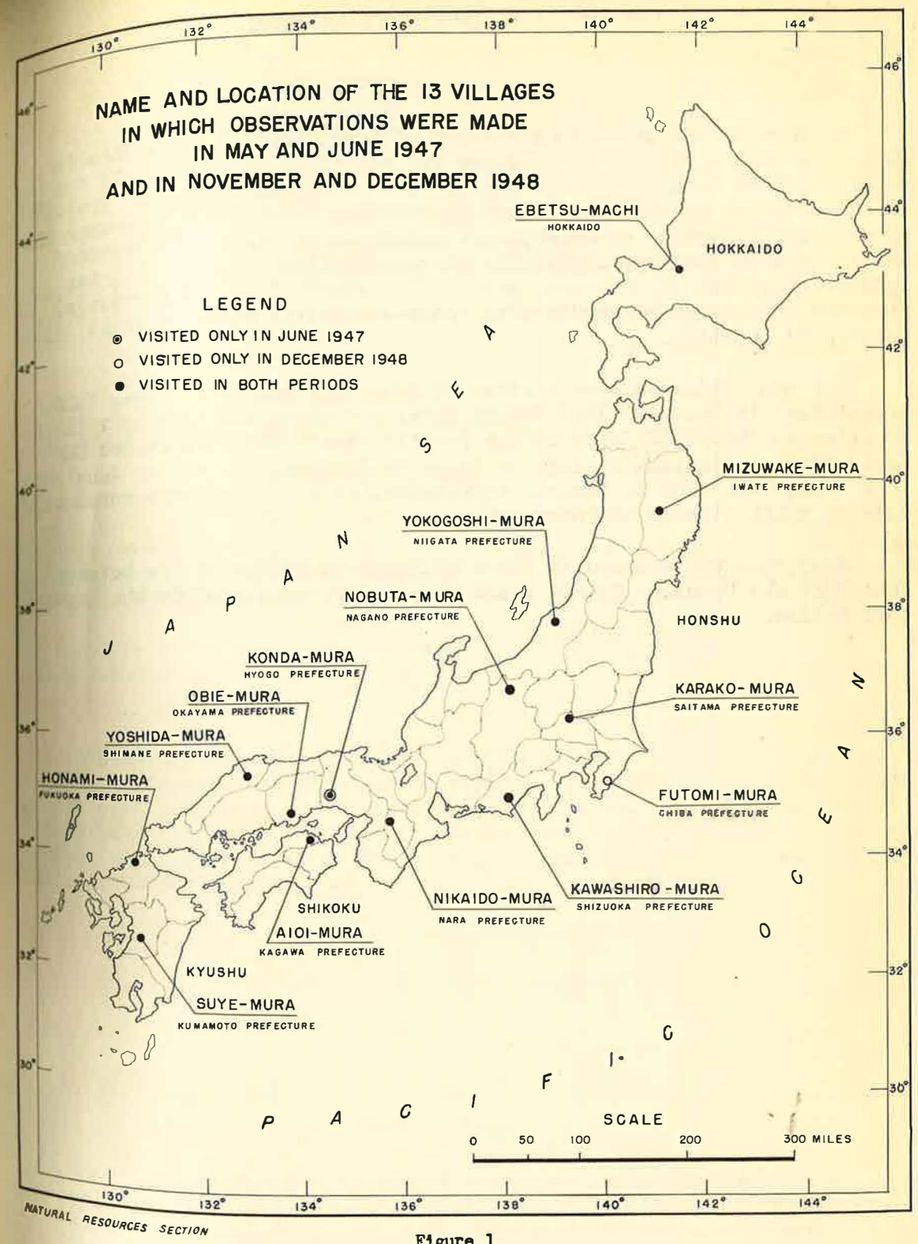


Figure 1

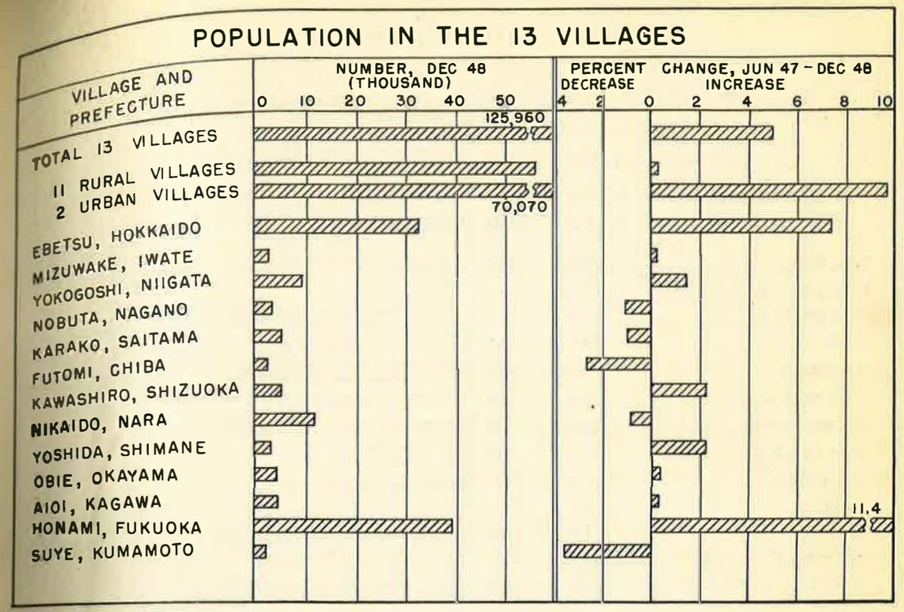
How the 13 Villages Were Selected

Because of the tremendous variety of conditions of rural life in Japan, no combination of 13 villages can represent completely all the possible types found among the nearly 8,500 villages in Japan. Therefore, an effort was made to select 13 villages which would represent the widest possible range of types. The principal criteria of selection were: type of farming, population characteristics, degrees of urban influence, amount of off-farm employment, extent of feudal survivals, presence or absence of handicrafts, characteristics of the terrain, and geographic location.

The same villages were visited in June 1947 and in December 1948, except that in December 1948 Futomi-mura, a fishing and farming village 80 miles southeast of Tokyo on the Pacific coast, was substituted for Konda-mura, a highland village in Hyogo Prefecture, visited in June 1947. This change was made to improve representation by including a rural village in which fishing is important.

Many changes occurred in these villages in the 18 months between June 1947 and December 1948. These changes are presented in the pages that follow.

Population Increased



NATURAL RESOURCES SECTION — DATA FROM TABLE I

Figure 2

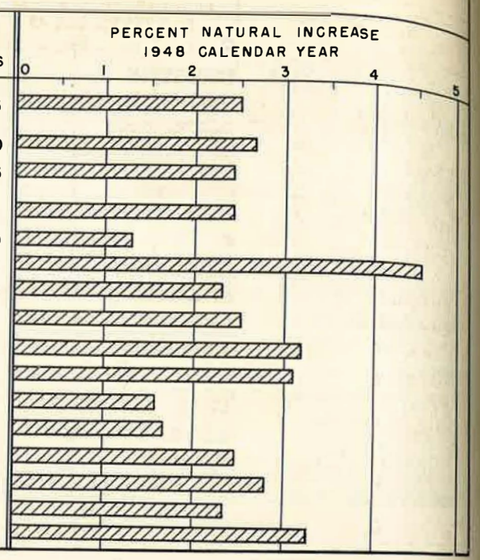
Eleven of the villages 1/ are entirely rural, and two, Ebetsu and Honami, encompass good-sized urban centers. The total population of the 13 villages increased 5.3 percent between June 1947 and December 1948. The largest increases occurred in the two most populous villages; decreases occurred in four of the rural villages in central Japan, and in one in southern Japan.

1/ For the purposes of this report "village" means the small local geographical and administrative units that were studied: 12 mura and one machi. "Mura" is normally translated as "village", "machi" as "town". See Appendix A for a glossary of Japanese words.

Natural Increase Was Marked

BIRTHS AND DEATHS IN 1948

VILLAGE	NUMBER BIRTHS	NUMBER DEATHS
TOTAL 13 VILLAGES	4,938	1,786
11 RURAL VILLAGES	2,484	990
2 URBAN VILLAGES	2,454	796
EBETSU	1,037	315
MIZUWAKE	113	70
YOKOGOSHI	624	192
NOBUTA	141	56
KARAKO	227	92
FUTOMI	132	43
KAWASHIRO	280	103
NIKAIDO	377	195
YOSHIDA	117	63
OBIE	155	59
AIOI	212	82
HONAMI	1,417	481
SUYE	106	35



NATURAL RESOURCES SECTION

DATA FROM TABLE 2

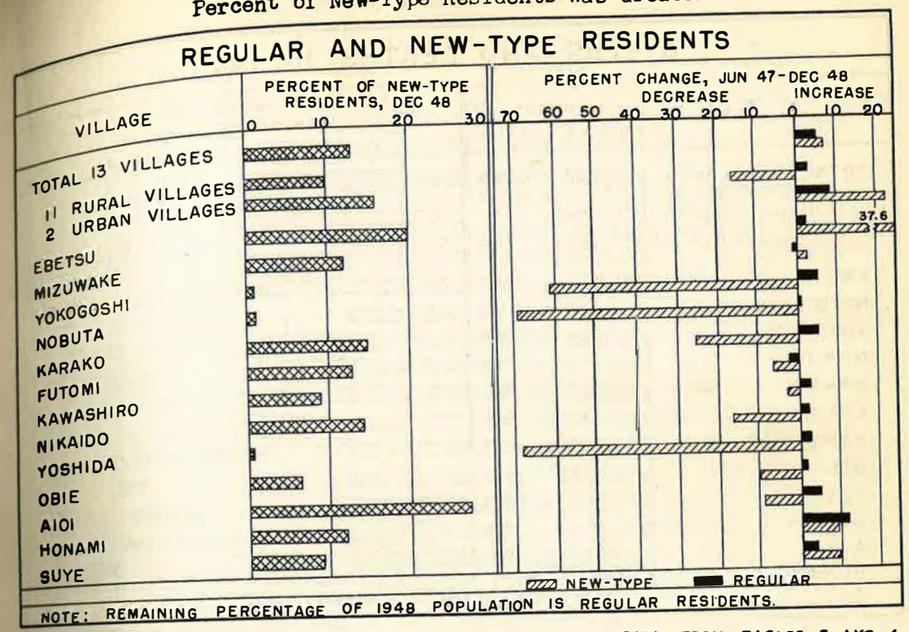
Figure 3

In the 13 villages there were 3,152 more births than deaths in the 1948 calendar year, resulting in a natural increase in total population of 2.5 percent. A natural increase occurred in each of the villages, ranging from 3.3 percent in Suye to 1.3 percent in Mizuwake. Generally speaking, the rate of natural increase was greater in the rural villages than in the urban. Japanese population experts report that the rate of increase of births over deaths for the country as a whole has been unusually high since the end of World War II hostilities. 2/

2/ For recent population data on Japan as a whole, see "Public Health and Welfare in Japan", published August 1948 by Public Health and Welfare Section, General Headquarters, Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers, Tokyo, Japan. See also "Japanese Economic Statistics", a monthly publication of Economic and Scientific Section, GHQ.

Percent of New-Type Residents Was Greater

REGULAR AND NEW-TYPE RESIDENTS



NOTE: REMAINING PERCENTAGE OF 1948 POPULATION IS REGULAR RESIDENTS.

NATURAL RESOURCES SECTION

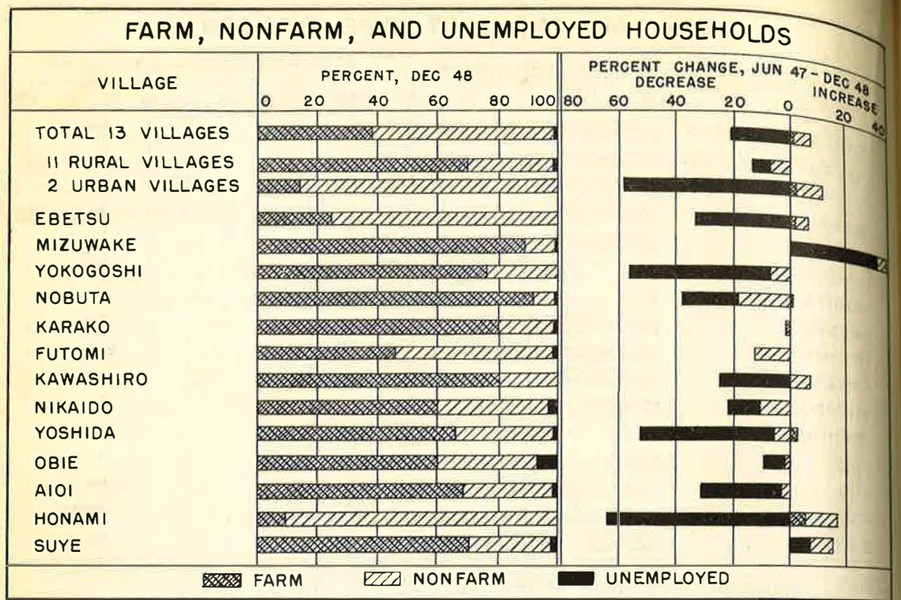
DATA FROM TABLES 3 AND 4

Figure 4

The increase in the number of regular residents was due mainly to the gain of births over deaths in all villages except Honami; there the increase in regular residents was due to an influx of miners attracted by the special inducements offered to them.

New-type residents--that is, evacuees from the cities and civilian and military repatriates--made up 13 percent of the total population of the 13 villages in December 1948. The proportion of these new residents in the total population ranged from less than 0.5 percent in Yoshida to 27 percent in Aioi. The percentage of new residents was highest in one of the most populous villages, in villages near a city, and in villages from which many inhabitants had left for the colonies or military service and returned after the war. In the 18-month period under study, the number of civilian repatriates increased 22.5 percent, and military repatriates 6.1 percent, whereas evacuees decreased 21.6 percent. The greatest decrease of evacuees occurred in the more isolated rural villages.

Nonfarm Increased More Than Farm Households



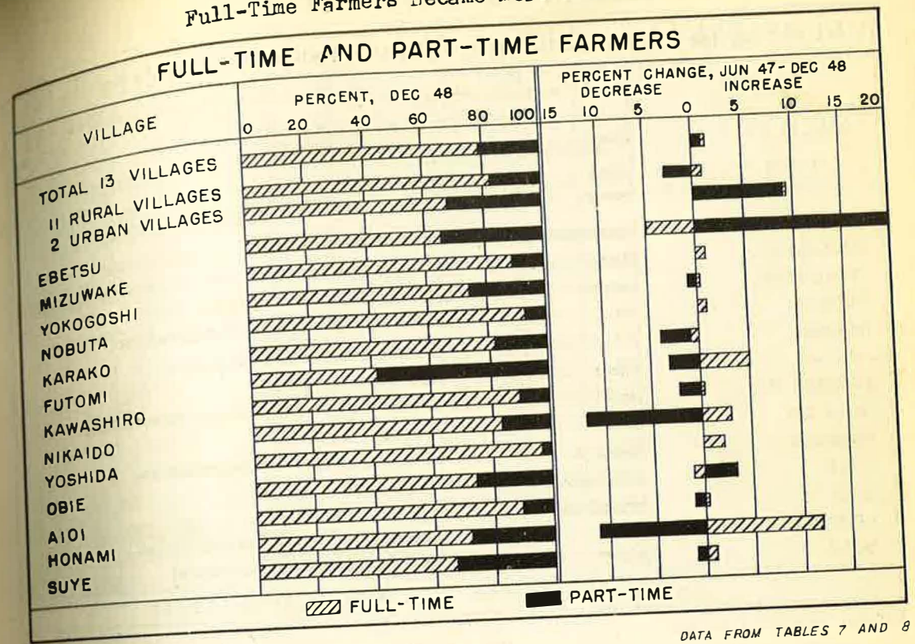
NATURAL RESOURCES SECTION DATA FROM TABLES 5 AND 6

Figure 5

The proportion of farm households to all households ranged from 92 percent in the mountain village of Nobuta to nine percent in the populous mining village of Honami.

The number of farm households in the 13 villages increased one percent; the number of nonfarm households increased almost six percent. In fact, all the nonfarm occupations of industry, commerce, and transportation, liberal professions, and fishing increased relatively more than farm households. However, the greatest numerical gain in nonfarm households was in Honami, in which the "all other" group (mostly miners) increased 831; and the second greatest nonfarm numerical gain was in the second most populous village, Ebetsu. Together, these two villages showed an increase of 13 percent in the number of nonfarm households, whereas in the 11 rural villages as a whole, there was a decrease of four percent.

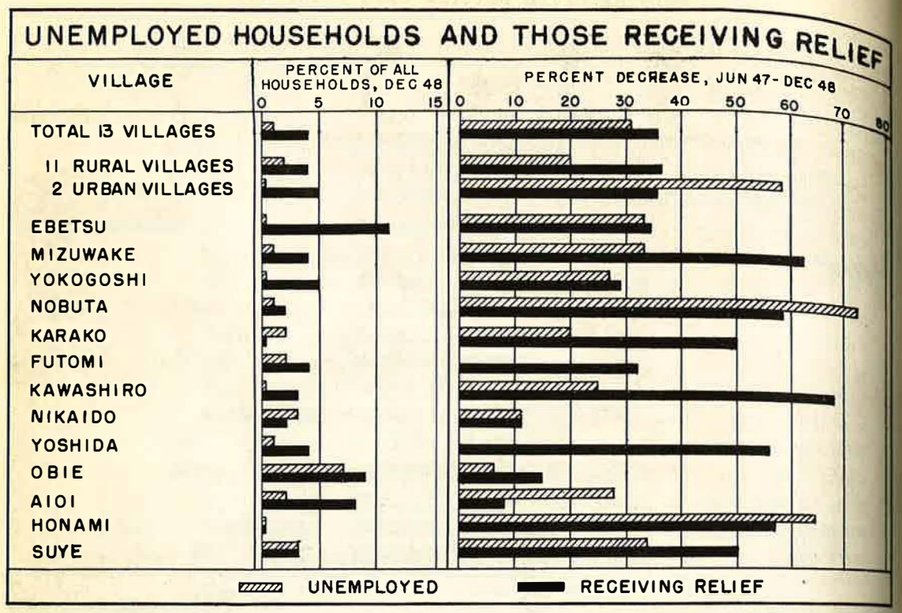
Full-Time Farmers Became More Numerous



NATURAL RESOURCES SECTION DATA FROM TABLES 7 AND 8

Figure 6

Three villages, Ebetsu, Yokogoshi, and Nikaido, had more than 1,000 farmers, and two, Futomi and Suye, had less than 300. Full-time farmers made up the largest proportion of all farm households, especially in the rural villages. The percentage of part-time farmers was higher in the more populous villages and in the fishing village of Futomi. The number of full-time farmers increased in 10 of the 13 villages, whereas part-time farmers increased in but two of them. The greatest increase in part-time farmers was in Ebetsu, where the expanding industrial employment attracted many persons who also worked on farms part-time. The shift from part-time to full-time farmers seems to have resulted partly from part-time farmers involuntarily becoming full-time farmers through loss of off-farm employment.



NATURAL RESOURCES SECTION DATA FROM TABLE 9

Figure 7

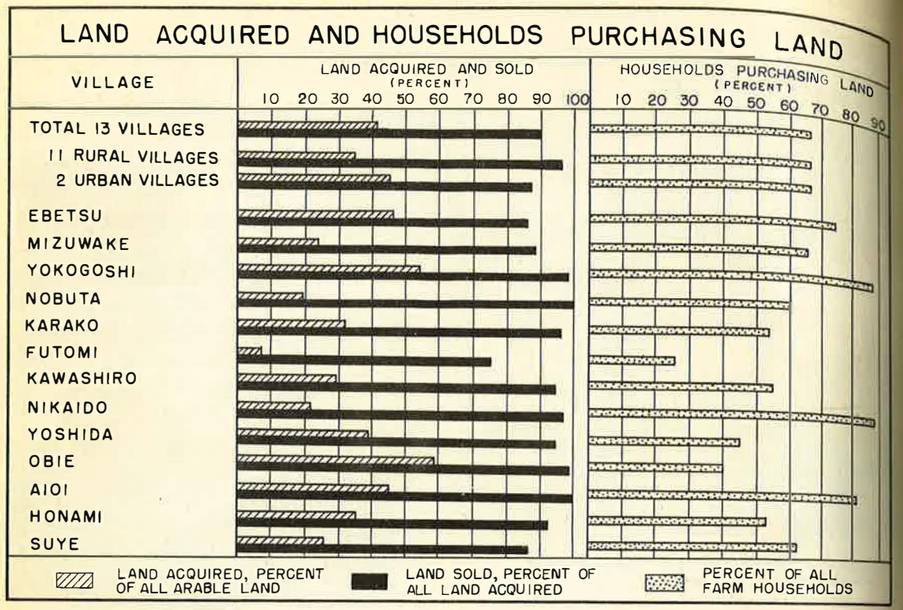
The proportion of unemployed households in December 1948 ranged from seven percent in Obie to less than 0.5 percent in both of the urban villages and in two rural villages, Yokogoshi and Kawashiro. In the 13 villages as a whole, the number of unemployed households decreased 31 percent in the 18 months under study. Decreases occurred in all but Futomi and Yoshida, and in those two the number remained the same.

The number of households receiving relief in the 13 villages as a whole was greater in December 1948 than the number of unemployed households, because some employed households did not earn enough to care for the minimum needs of the family, and because unemployment in rural villages is often relatively invisible and therefore under-reported. The number of relief cases decreased in all of the villages, a 36 percent decrease for the 13 as a whole. This decline was due to the decrease in unemployment, the return of adult male repatriates to their families, and the current government policy of thinning the relief rolls.

Agricultural cooperative associations employ many office workers.

The arable lands owned by absentee landlords and by temples and shrines, as well as the lands of resident owners who had more than their legal retention limits, had been bought by the government through the village agricultural land commissions during the 18-month period under study. Practically all of this land had already been resold to the families who tenanted it. The government-controlled agricultural associations were organized in all of the villages. Other agrarian reforms include land reclamation and the new agricultural extension program.

Land Reform Activities Were Extensive



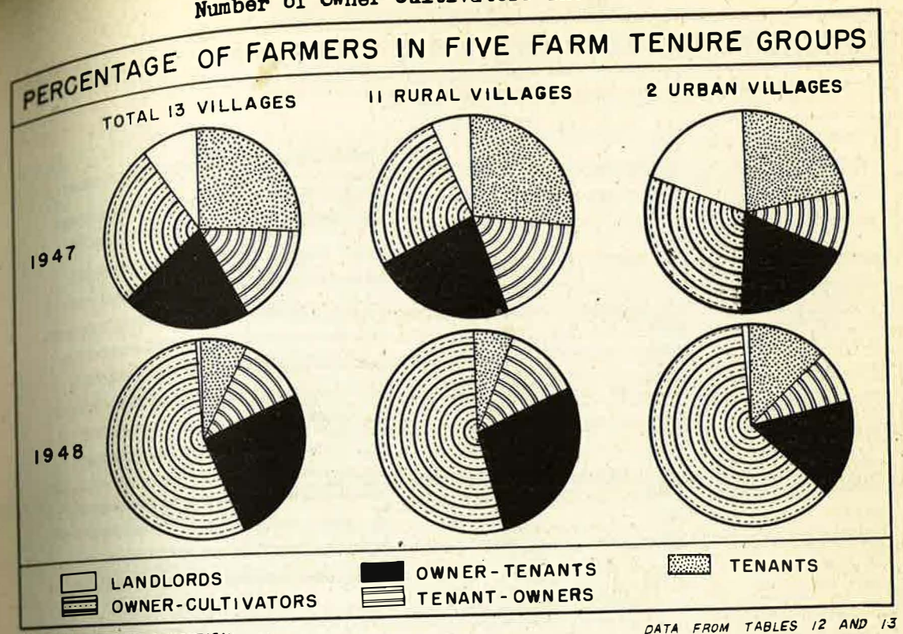
NATURAL RESOURCES SECTION — DATA FROM TABLES 10 AND 11

Figure 8

A total of 5,858 cho of land (one cho equals 2.451 acres)--or 41 percent of the arable land in these villages--had been acquired by the government through the local agricultural land commissions. Of this total, 90 percent had been sold to 5,895 operating part-owners and tenants, or 67 percent of all farm households in these villages. Of the 609 cho still held by the local commissions, arrangements had already been made to sell 77 cho to tenants early in 1949. Another 22 cho held by the land commissions in six villages were being temporarily leased to 285 farm operators too small to qualify to purchase land under the program. The remaining 510 cho still held by the local land commissions were mostly in Ebetsu, where more land had been bought than in the other 12 villages combined and where the program was furthest from completion. These 510 cho were being operated temporarily by former owners, pending arrangements for sale to eligible purchasers. 3/

3/ For further details about the land reform, see discussions of land reform in Chapter 1, Part IV.

Number of Owner-Cultivators Increased

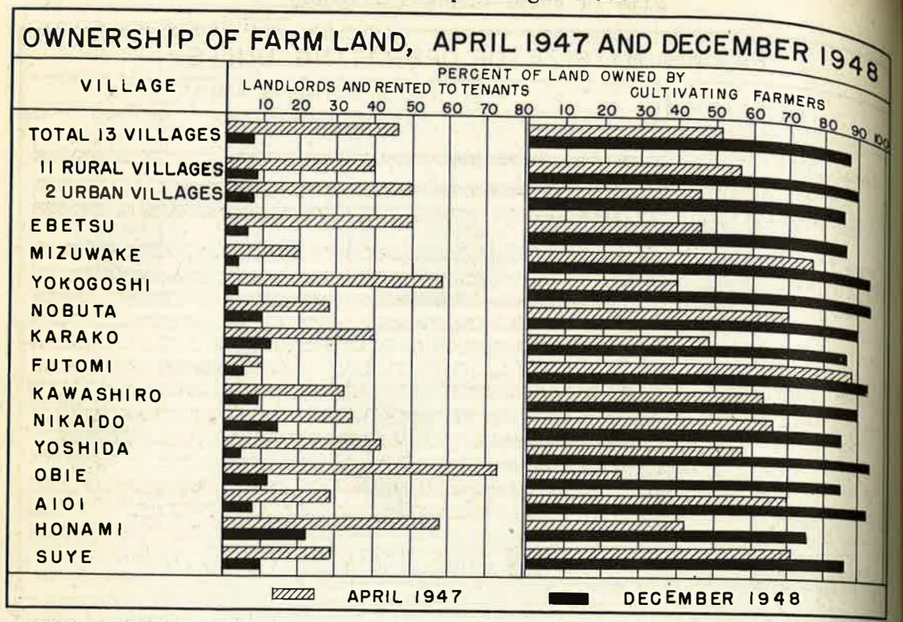


NATURAL RESOURCES SECTION — DATA FROM TABLES 12 AND 13

Figure 9

Landlords and owner-cultivators made up 36 percent of all farm households in these villages in June 1947 and 56 percent in December 1948. Pure tenants accounted for 26 percent of all farmers in June 1947 and eight percent in December 1948.

The number of owner-cultivators increased 112 percent in the 18 months, and pure tenants decreased 70 percent. Landlords disappeared completely during the period of observation except in one village. Owner-tenants increased in number in most villages, whereas tenant-owners decreased. For definitions of these tenure groups see Table 12.



NATURAL RESOURCES SECTION

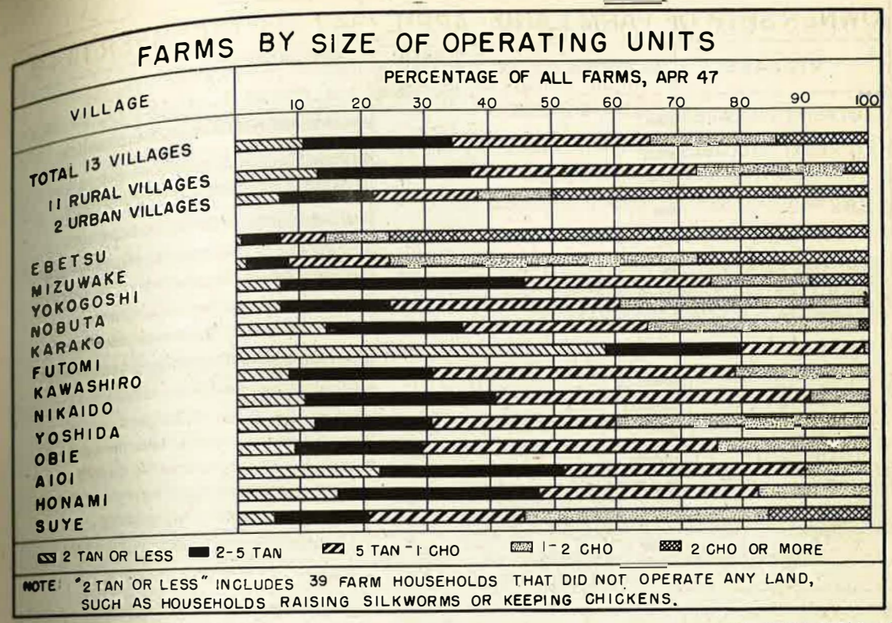
DATA FROM TABLE 14

Figure 10

The effect of land reform on the pattern of ownership of agricultural land is best illustrated by the percentages of land under tenancy and under owner-operation at the beginning and the end of the 18-month period. In April 1947, 4/ landlords owned 46 percent of the agricultural land in the 13 villages, in December 1948 only seven percent. Similarly, in April 1947, only 51 percent of the land was cultivated by the men who owned it; by December 1948, tenant purchases of land formerly owned by landlords had increased this percentage to 88.

The extent of change varied from village to village, but the pattern of the shift was the same in all. In Ebetsu, Yokogoshi, Obie, and Honami, 50 percent or more of the agricultural land was landlord-owned in April 1947; in December 1948 this percentage had been reduced to 6 in Ebetsu, 3 in Yokogoshi, 12 in Obie, and 23 in Honami. In seven villages, 90 percent or more of the cultivated land came into possession of the actual cultivators; in none of the villages was this percentage less than 75. Many households which previously had owned no land became landowners during this period (Table 15).

4/ The first purchase of land by the government was on 31 March 1947.



NATURAL RESOURCES SECTION

DATA FROM TABLE 16

Figure 11

In April 1947, nearly one-third of all farms were between five tan and one cho in size, a little more than one-third were larger than this, and a little more than one-third were smaller. The operating units were in general smaller in central and southern Japan than in northern Japan. The average size of farms for the 13 villages was 1.6 cho. In Ebetsu farms averaged 5.6 cho; in the other 12 villages the average farm was 0.9 cho in size. 5/

The slight changes in the size of farm operating units from April 1947 to December 1948 may be of some significance. Small decreases occurred in the number of small units (less than two tan) and in the number of the larger units (more than one cho); increases occurred in the number of farms from two tan to one cho. That is, the number of medium-sized farms increased, whereas the number of the smallest and largest farms decreased (Table 17).

5/ For further details, see discussion of size of farms in Chapter 2, Part IV.

Farmers Were Active in New Cooperatives

Bulletin boards keep farmers well informed.

Directors of the village agricultural cooperative association meet in Aioi.

Under the new agricultural cooperative association system, farmers are beginning to take a more active part in the cooperative buying of their supplies and selling of their farm products. Only farmers can be active members of cooperatives, and the farmers on the boards of directors shape the policy of the organizations. Farmers are increasingly inclined to turn to the new organization for assistance and guidance. As a result, many of the village cooperatives are beginning to take a real interest in village prospects and problems.

In June 1947, the nation-wide system of compulsory agricultural associations was still in operation. Villagers looked upon the village associations primarily as the local units of a national organization. In November 1947, when the Agricultural Cooperative Association Law was enacted, companion legislation dissolved the compulsory associations. 6/

6/ For further details, see discussion of agricultural cooperatives in Chapter 1, Part IV.

Most Villages Had Reclamation Plans

More new land is being cultivated.

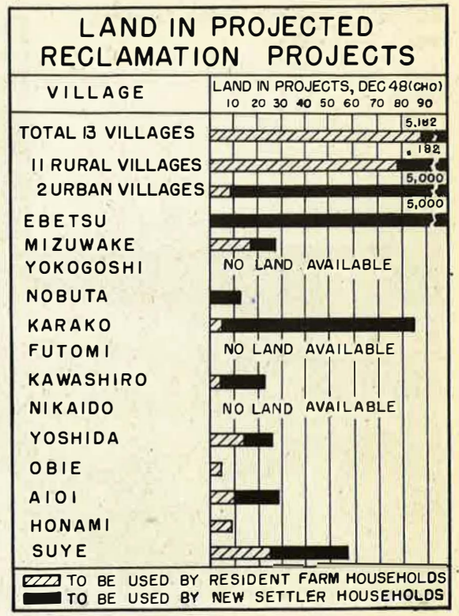
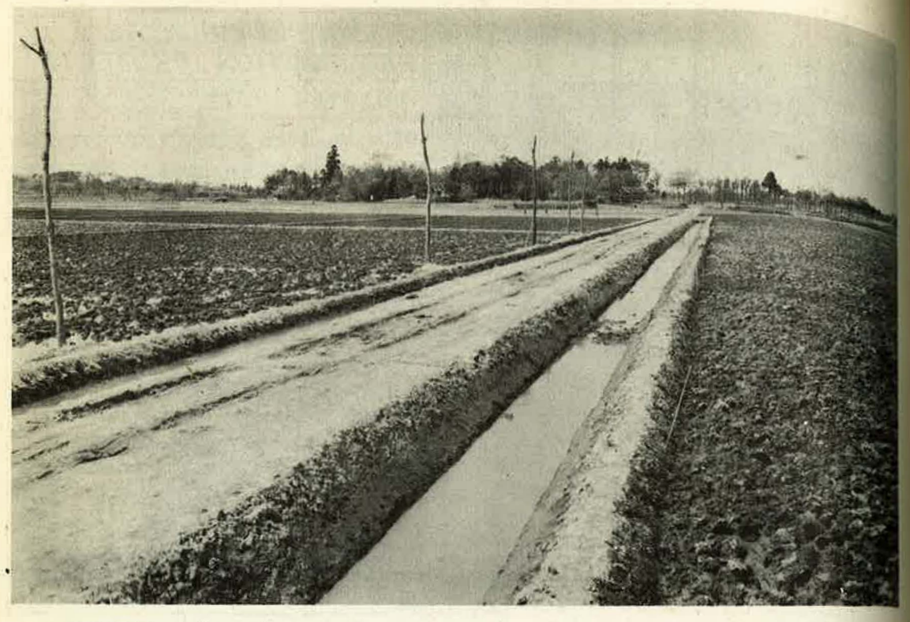


Figure 12

Ten of the 13 villages had plans for land reclamation projects. No land was available for reclamation in the other three, Yokogoshi, Futomi, and Nikaido. A total of 5,270 cho was involved in planned projects. About 5,000 cho of this was in Ebetsu. Effective work there had not been started in December 1948, but about 40 new households were already established in four relatively new reclamation projects. Of the 270 cho in the reclamation projects of the other villages, 88 were intended to increase the cultivated land of present resident farm households, and the remainder were intended to accommodate an estimated 99 new settler households, nearly one-half of them already located on the land. In Ebetsu it was estimated that about 500 new settler households could be established in the extensive peat bogs, if major ditching and drainage were arranged. 7/

7/ For further details, see discussion of land reclamation in Chapter 1, Part IV.



Ditches and roads are straightened through land "amelioration".

The term land "amelioration" is used to designate the laying out of straight boundaries, ditches, and roads in farming areas having numerous and scattered irregularly shaped small holdings. Work of this type is being carried on in only one of the 13 villages, Yokogoshi. Costs for the project in which Yokogoshi participates are prorated as follows: 61 percent by the national government, 19 percent by the prefectural government, and 20 percent by the farmers. The farmers in Yokogoshi do not believe they can afford such a project, particularly if an agricultural depression comes. Although they fear the cost, they desire the benefits of the additional land and the increased production which will result. Village leaders estimated that the work is increasing the yield of the area by about 10 percent through making a little more land available for crops and through increase in yields. Most farmers seem to prefer the larger, regularly shaped fields because they can be drained and flooded more easily.

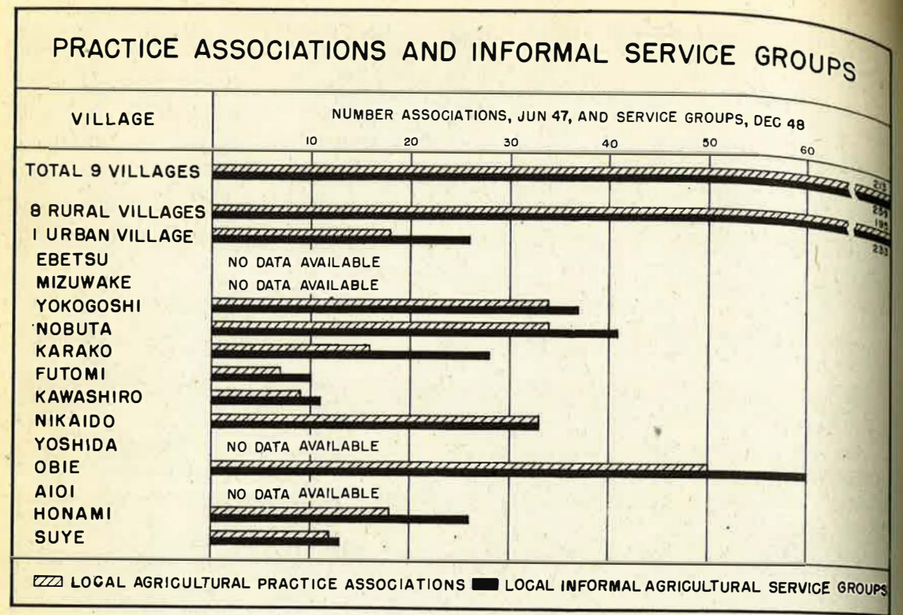
The farm people are taking a more active interest in politics.

Many more farmers in these villages occupied leadership positions in December 1948 than 18 months earlier. This change seems to have been brought about primarily by the successful operation of the local agricultural land commissions, the launching of new agricultural cooperative associations, and the development of local leadership in connection with the land reclamation and land "amelioration" projects. All of these activities provided a rather realistic framework for the operation of a large adult educational program. 8/

Farmers in the majority of the villages seemed to be taking politics and village affairs generally more seriously at the end of the 18-month period than they had at the beginning of it. Some of the new owners were expressing themselves more in public gatherings and appeared to be increasingly aware of their responsibilities as taxpayers.

8/ For further details, see discussion of the adult educational phase of the agrarian reforms in Chapter 1, Part IV.

Informal Service Groups Were Strengthened



NATURAL RESOURCES SECTION

DATA FROM TABLE 18

Figure 13

The highly cohesive locality groups, prominent in all of the villages, seemed to have been strengthened by the formation of the cooperatives. The informal agricultural service groups which sprang up in 1948 are smaller and more closely identified with the natural locality groupings of the people than had been the local agricultural practice associations, dissolved by law in late 1947.

The present informal service groups tend to parallel local groupings as determined by the buying and trading habits of the people, their participation in religious rites and festivals, work exchange practices, and the 10-family and five-family groups. One cooperative operated a saw mill, another operated a "daikon" pickle factory and a bamboo handicraft shop, and a third a small "tatami" (rush mat) factory. 9/

9/ For further details, see discussion on agricultural cooperative associations in Chapter 1, Part IV.

Taxes Became Outstanding Problems

PERCENT INCREASE IN MAJOR TYPES OF TAXES FROM 1946 FISCAL YEAR TO 1947 FISCAL YEAR

Village	Total	Legally Levied Taxes			Public Imposts a/	National Income Tax b/	Special Public Imposts c/
		National	Prefectural	Village			
Total 13	305	310	453	428	217	425	579
11 rural	259	251	395	385	249	622	1,369
2 urban	351	370	494	458	180	355	199
Ebetsu	360	468	422	433	131	412	265
Mizuwake	143	119	367	331	165	549	645
Yokogoshi	781	1,028	405	313	405	622	4,212
Nobuta	497	1,469	478	292	139	418	1,140
Karako	554	533	614	596	608	1,428	173,300 d/
Futomi	350	498	351	369	233	456	1,660
Kawashiro	668	1,375	455	444	169	1,186	1,120
Nikaido	532	939	327	271	173	617	343
Yoshida	60	54	256	498	207	265	233
Obie	227	213	420	577	210	504	1,163
Aioi	319	570	318	374	175	458	674
Honami	349	356	544	476	215	347	162
Suye	488	491	427	408	497	489	3,344

a/ Informal taxes collected for charity, education, health, religious activities, etc.
b/ This category within national levied taxes is itemized separately because of the high percentage of increase.
c/ This category within public imposts is itemized separately because of the high percentage of increase. It includes imposts for education, health, and youth and women activities.
d/ Percent increase is high because of the small figure (¥1,000) in 1946-47. The figure for 1947-48 was ¥1,734,000.

Table A

For the 13 villages as a whole the taxes (in yen) for the 1947 fiscal year 10/ were 300 percent higher than those of the 1946 fiscal year. During the 1947 fiscal year, the yen value had depreciated by two-thirds, as measured by the official yen price of rice in March 1948. The real increase in taxes as a whole was perhaps about 25-30 percent.

The greatest increases, yen-wise, occurred in the national income tax and in local public imposts for education and health activities. Local imposts for education and other public services probably will be even higher in the next few years, because of the widespread erection of new lower secondary school buildings and the additional local support given to other community activities. In June 1947, taxes were mentioned only as one of the farmers' concerns; in December 1948, taxes were most frequently mentioned as the outstanding problem.

10/ Unless otherwise stated, this applies to the Japanese fiscal year, 1 Apr 47-31 Mar 48.

Delivery Quotas Were Heavier

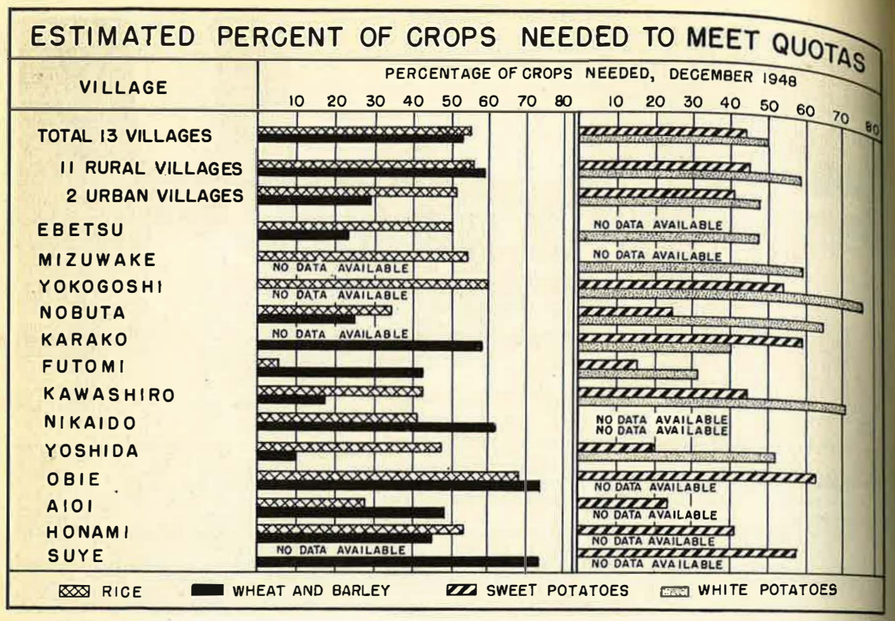


Figure 14

Increases of staple crop quotas for delivery to the government at official prices between 1947 and 1948 were reported generally. Crops were relatively better during the latter year, and quotas were more easily met. Local estimates of the proportion of the five individual staple crops needed to meet village delivery quotas in 1948 were: for rice, from 68 percent in Obie to five percent in the fishing farming village of Futomi; for wheat and barley, from 74 percent in Obie to 10 percent in Yoshida; for sweet potatoes, from 63 percent in Obie to 15 percent in Futomi; white potatoes, from 76 percent in Yokogoshi to 31 percent in Futomi. The entire production of a few crops, such as tobacco and hemp, which are government monopolies, was delivered to the government. Objection to the size of crop delivery quotas is general throughout the villages.

Appeal Procedures Were Utilized

Farmers compare their tax assessments and their crop quota allocations.

The availability of appeal procedures was generally known by the majority of the villagers, and in the more recent months the utilization of such procedures had increased. Some of the better-informed farmers knew that appeals could be carried up through village or county to the prefecture and even to the national government; a few said that if they could not get what they thought was right and just, they would appeal directly to General MacArthur. Others knew only enough of the procedure to take up the matter with the village or district office, and a few ex-tenants indicated that they still sought advice from their former landlords.

Nearly one-third of the 1,217 heads of households who filled in the questionnaire (Appendix B), and who had been assessed for an income tax, reported that they had appealed their income tax assessment one or more times, and 25 percent of 1,195 respondents who had grain quotas to meet had at one time or another appealed their grain quotas. Village leaders judged that more of these appeals had occurred in the 18 months under study than in any other 18-month period. Many more appeals occurred in some villages than in others for a variety of local reasons.

Pre-Planting Quotas Generally Were Popular

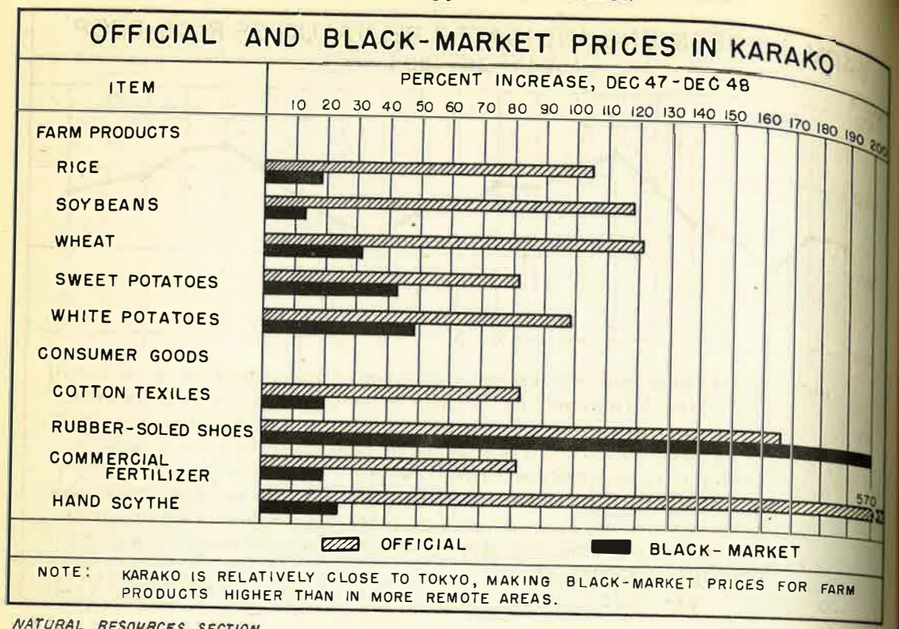
This farmer says he rather likes the pre-planting quota.

To encourage farmers to increase production, delivery quotas for 1948 were announced prior to planting dates. In the villages where yields are dependable, the farmers liked this method, because they thought it afforded them an opportunity to benefit by exceeding their quotas. The farmers in Futomi, where yields have been uncertain because of recurring typhoons, disliked pre-planting quotas, because in bad years they would have to buy rice for their own use.

More Incentive Goods Were Available

Cotton textiles and rubber boots are popular incentive items.

Certificates for purchasing consumer goods at fixed prices were offered the farmers as an incentive to deliver crops in amounts to meet and to exceed their collection quotas. Incentive goods to farmers generally increased as manufactured articles became more readily available and as the government made a determined effort to collect larger amounts of staple foods. The most popular incentive goods were cotton textiles and rubber-soled shoes. "Sake" (Japanese wine), beer, and tobacco as luxury items, used generally by men only, also were widely purchased; a few village leaders expressed preference for luxury items that the whole family could enjoy, such as sugar.



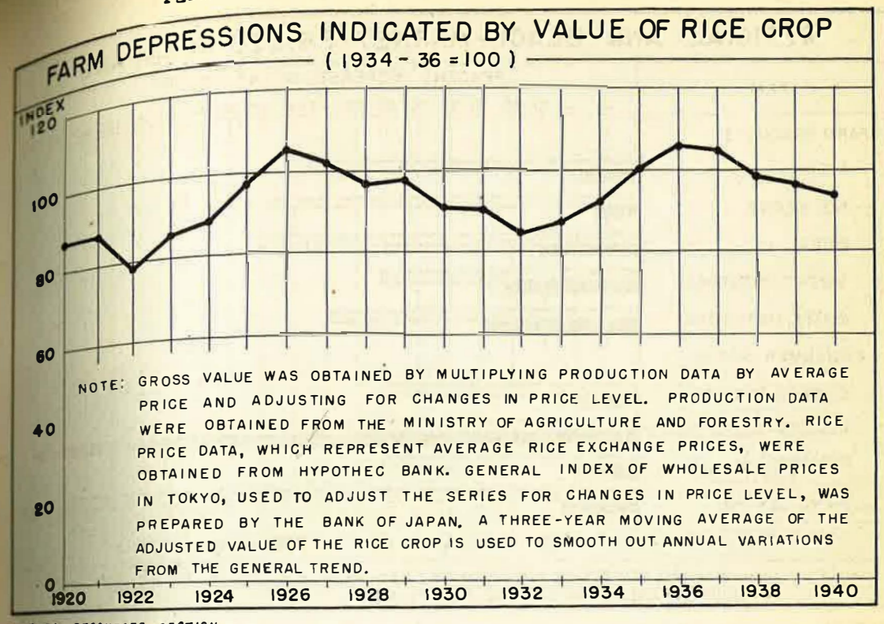
NATURAL RESOURCES SECTION

DATA FROM TABLE 2/

Figure 15

Farmers everywhere complained of mounting costs of supplies. They contended that the amount they received for their farm products had not kept pace with the prices of things they purchased. This situation was aggravated by the fact that although they still had to buy many of their supplies on the black market, their sale of farm products to the black market had declined sharply. Furthermore, farmers in all villages reported a shrinkage in the difference between black market and official prices for farm products.

The farmers' black market had declined for several reasons. More food had become available to urban dwellers at official prices because of the larger and earlier food deliveries of the farmers, brought about by the increased supplies of commercial fertilizer, the added publicity given to early collections, and the increase of goods used as incentives for farmers to meet or exceed their delivery quotas. Other factors were the high level of food imports and the more extensive prosecution of black marketeers. In Karako, which is near Tokyo, available information showed that the black-market price of rice was about seven times the official price in December 1947; in December 1948, it was four times as high. The black market price for cotton textile goods dropped from eight times to 5 1/2 times as high as the official price.



NATURAL RESOURCES SECTION

Figure 16

Farmers in all villages seemed to assume in late 1948 that an agricultural depression was imminent. They pointed out as evidence the facts that taxes were higher, delivery quotas were heavier, black market food prices had declined, and farm prices had not kept pace with the price of consumer goods. They feared that the post-Surrender farming boom was at an end, and many recalled with anxiety the depressions following World War I and the world-wide depression which began in 1929, when the price of rice and other crops fell so low that hundreds of thousands of farmers went into serious debt. Many of their discussions about economic conditions might well have been prefaced by some such phrase as: "In view of the impending agricultural depression". 11/

11/ For details, see discussion on agrarian problems in Chapter 2, Part IV.

. . . But Evidence Showed They Were Comparatively Well Off

Many farmers have purchased basic items in recent months.

Despite the farmers' general fear of hard times ahead and some evidence of decline from 1947, there were many indications that they were still comparatively well off. Yen savings had increased in most of the villages, but the value of the savings remained constant or perhaps even declined slightly in view of the depreciation of the yen. The borrowings of farmers to produce their crops had increased slightly in most villages. Little indebtedness was evident in December 1948, but many village leaders expressed the opinion that farmers would soon have to go in debt. Nevertheless, consumer goods in the local stores had increased greatly since June 1947, and farmers had been buying at a rapid rate.

In the 18 months, many purchases of radios, livestock, and farm machinery were made, as the succeeding pages will show. In this connection, two considerations are important: (1) consumer goods had become available after a long time, and (2) farmers had money to buy them, even though they often may have used a considerable part of their cash resources.

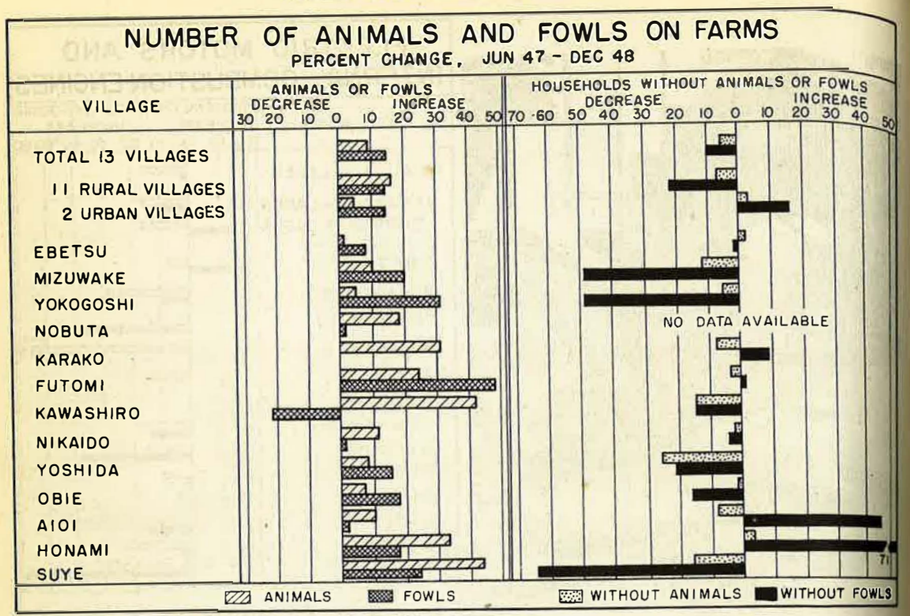
More Technical Assistance Was Desired

A farm adviser conducts a demonstration at Mizuwake.

Almost all farmers expressed a desire for a greater amount of technical assistance. Higher taxes, heavier delivery quotas, continued inflation, and the decline of the black market had made them keenly aware of the need to produce as much as possible. More farmers were seeking advice from neighbors who do an outstanding job in one phase or another of farming. The new owners, especially, desire technical assistance, for they want to hold on to their newly bought land. They are reluctant to turn to their ex-landlords for counsel and guidance, lest they weaken their land-ownership position.

In about one-half of the villages, the new agricultural extension system was being discussed. There were many indications that an agricultural extension system that can serve as a practical technical service to meet the needs of the new landowners will be used widely.

Livestock and Fowls Increased



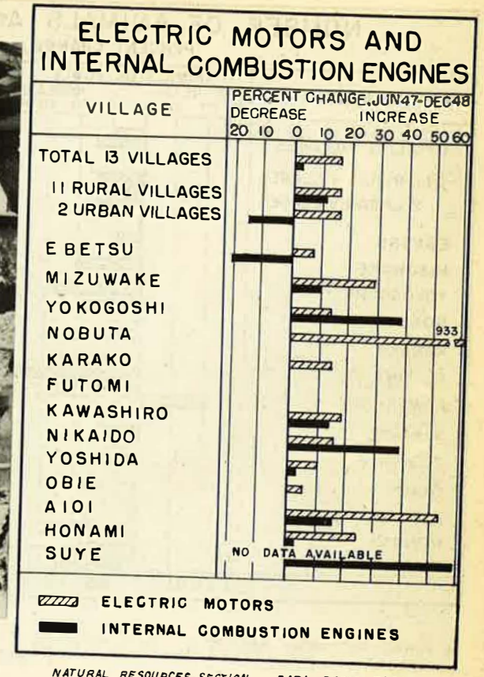
NATURAL RESOURCES SECTION DATA FROM TABLES 22 AND 23

Figure 17

Livestock of all kinds--horses, cows, hogs, goats, and sheep--increased nine percent in number between June 1947 and December 1948. The greatest relative increases were of the smaller animals, especially goats and pigs. Even so, goats and pigs together were but one-half as numerous as draft cattle or draft horses in December 1948; sheep were less than one-half as numerous as horses and but two-thirds as numerous as draft cattle (Table 24). Nearly one-half of all the animals in the 13 villages were in Ebetsu; two-thirds of all horses were in this one village. The greatest relative increases in livestock occurred in the villages in central and southern Japan, where livestock numbers have traditionally been smallest. The total amount of fowls, fairly evenly distributed throughout the villages, increased 14 percent. Chickens made up 98 percent of all fowls.

Farm households without any animals decreased five percent during the 18-month period; those without any fowl decreased 10 percent.

More Machinery Was Purchased



NATURAL RESOURCES SECTION DATA FROM TABLE 25

Figure 18

Power-driven threshers are uncommon.

Power-driven farm machinery increased markedly during the 18 months as electric motors became available for purchase. The relatively favorable economic conditions enabled the farmers to make many purchases. Most of the increase in farm machinery was in small electric motors and threshers. Individually owned electric motors increased 16 percent and jointly owned motors 19 percent (Table 26). Internal combustion engines, most common in Obie and Ebetsu, increased two percent, but this increase was entirely in jointly owned rather than individually owned engines. Most of the internal combustion engines jointly owned were located in agricultural cooperatives. Small-sized walking tractors (most of them three horsepower) numbered 41 in December 1948; they had decreased two percent during the 18-month period. Power-driven rice threshers, 1,465 in December 1948, increased nine percent.

Work Exchange Declined Slightly

The ratio of workers to the land area is very high.

In most villages, traditional exchange of farm work between farm families declined slightly. This decline seemed to result from the increased availability of family labor and the greater efficiency brought about by the use of work animals and machinery. More work animals and more motors on farms are affording farmers a greater opportunity for self-sufficiency and self-reliance. Some families appeared glad to keep their affairs a little more to themselves, as taxes and delivery quotas are traditionally fixed on the basis of the knowledge possessed by village leaders of the economic situation of each family.

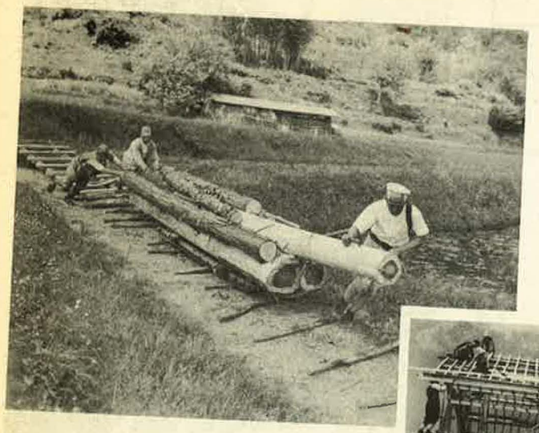
Home Processing Expanded

Farm households supplement low cash income by handicrafts.

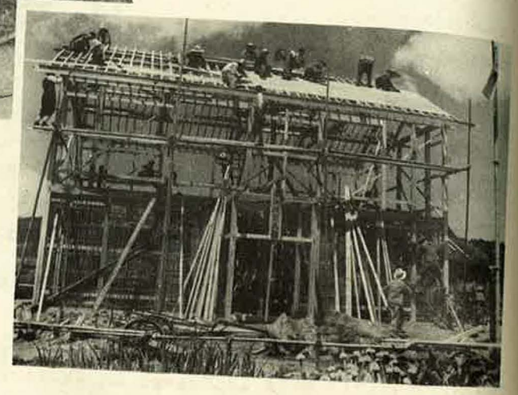
Home processing of farm products is common. Here "zori" are being made.

Local processing of one or more farm products was well-established in each of the villages. Some home processing expanded during the 18 months. About one-third of the national farm household income is from home processing, handicrafts, and wages obtained from off-farm work. The making of "tatami" matting and of straw ropes and bales increased in several of the villages. No decrease of any traditional home industry or handicraft was noticed. Leaders of the agricultural cooperatives in many of the villages expressed the hope that still other farm products might be processed locally. They looked upon the expansion of local processing and handicrafts as one possible way to increase farm income a bit more.

Forest Reserves Decreased



Logs are usually sledded to the highway by hand.



More lumber is needed, for both new construction and repair of war damage.

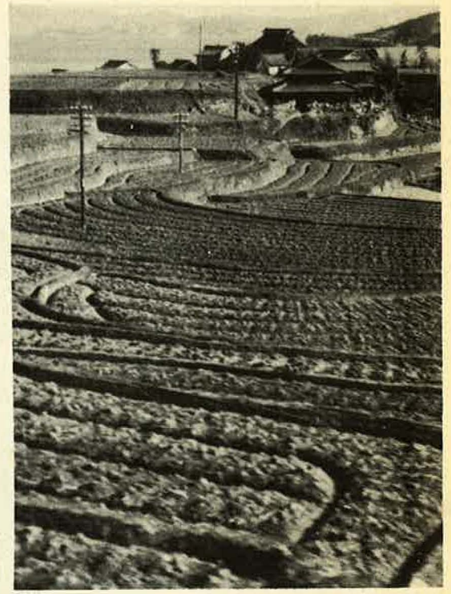
The volume of forest reserves decreased in the 18-month period under study, principally because of the extraordinary need for building materials in the cities at a time of low growing timber reserves and restricted timber imports. The forest reserves would have been reduced even more rapidly had charcoal and timber prices not declined. Replanting of seedlings was reported to be lagging far behind the rate at which the forests had been cut during and since the war. Erosion in forest areas was reported to be increasing.

Some New Crops Were Planted

SOME CHANGES IN CROPS PRODUCED DURING SURVEY PERIOD

Village	Changes in Crops Produced
Ebetsu	A new variety of taro root crop introduced
Misuwake	"I" rush for "tatami" matting increased
Yokogoshi	No change
Mobuto	Pyrethrum flowers introduced; more tobacco; some wheat transplanted
Kareko	More vegetables; more mulberry for silkworms
Futomi	More flowers grown for Tokyo market
Kawashiro	No change
Nikaido	Marked increase in transplanted wheat and barley
Yoshida	No change
Obie	"I" rush for "tatami" matting increased; a little more seed and cotton
Aioi	No change
Honami	Marked increase in transplanted wheat; more vegetables
Suye	"I" rush and sugar cane greatly expanded

Table B



Wheat is transplanted to the fields.

The production of "i" rush for "tatami" matting and the local weaving of "tatami" mats increased in three villages. Pyrethrum was introduced in one village, and more tobacco also was grown. Vegetables became the leading crop in one village, Karako, because it was designated as a vegetable-producing area by the Tokyo municipal office. Transplanting of wheat increased in three villages, with large increases in two of them; in Nikaido, for instance, the number of families following this practice increased from 18 in 1947 to more than 400 in 1948. The transplanting of wheat sprouts from beds to the field allows them to get sufficient growth in the fall to make a larger yield than is otherwise possible, because the land where they are grown can be prepared for wheat only after the rice is harvested. No change of importance occurred in the crops produced in four villages.

More Commercial Fertilizer Was Available

Commercial fertilizer is applied to the fields by hand.

Compost from the forests is a means of increasing crop yields.

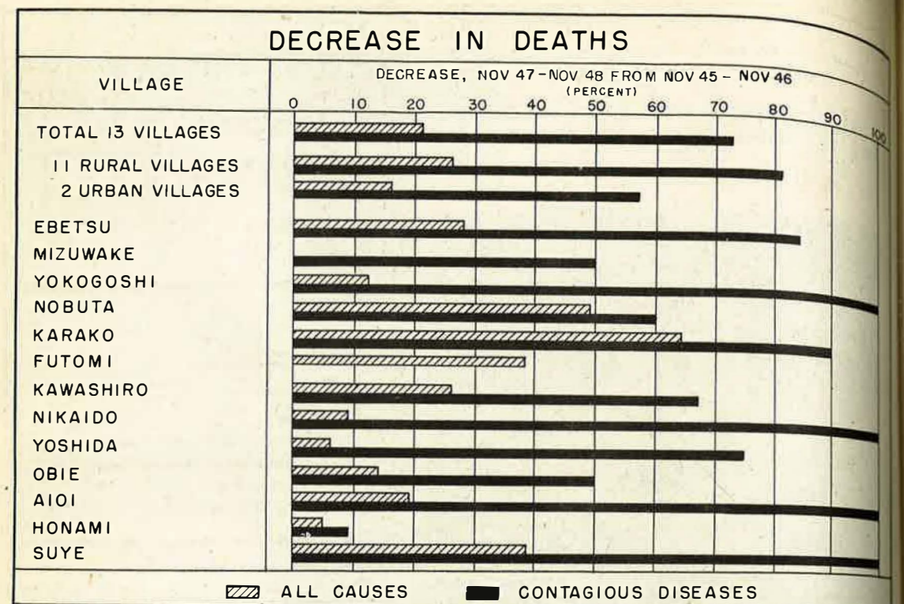
Available commercial fertilizer supplies have increased greatly in recent months. The farmers received about three-fourths as much nitrogen as they wanted in 1948. The supply of potash and phosphate, however, was far from adequate. In one village, Yoshida, the increased use of compost--mostly from the forests--in recent years resulted in a desire for less commercial fertilizer than formerly. Yoshida villagers reported the use of compost for fertilizer to be highly satisfactory, particularly in view of the abundance of local manpower for the work of gathering and preparing compost, the unusual local accessibility of sources of compost, and the high price of commercial fertilizer.

Sanitary Facilities Did Not Change

A stream near a farm house is handy, but the water is usually impure.

Amid all the other changes that are taking place in the villages, no changes of consequence occurred in sanitation. In general, sanitary facilities remain the traditional ones. Stream water is used for washing, houses have no running water, and simple outside privies are used. The only exceptions noted were an increase of piped water into homes in three villages--Obie, Nikaido, and Honami.

Number of Deaths Decreased

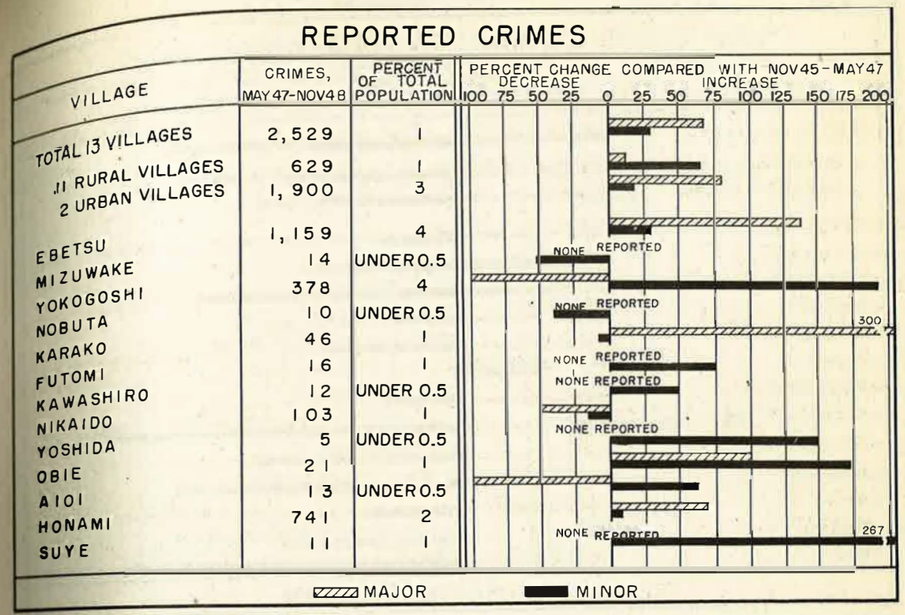


NATURAL RESOURCES SECTION DATA FROM TABLES 27 AND 28

Figure 19

In each village health conditions had improved. The number of deaths showed a continuing decline in practically all villages; there were 19 percent fewer deaths in 1948 than in 1947, and 21 percent fewer than in 1946. The decline of death from contagious diseases was even greater--59 percent fewer in 1948 than for the year before and 73 percent fewer than for two years ago. In five of the 13 villages there was no death from a contagious disease in 1948. Contagious diseases made up 4.4 percent of all deaths in 1946, 3.0 percent in 1947, and 1.5 percent in 1948. Decline in the death rate was attributed to more food, compulsory inoculations, widespread use of DDT, the establishment of additional clinics, and the increase of medical supplies--in part from drugs brought in from the United States.

Reported Crimes Increased

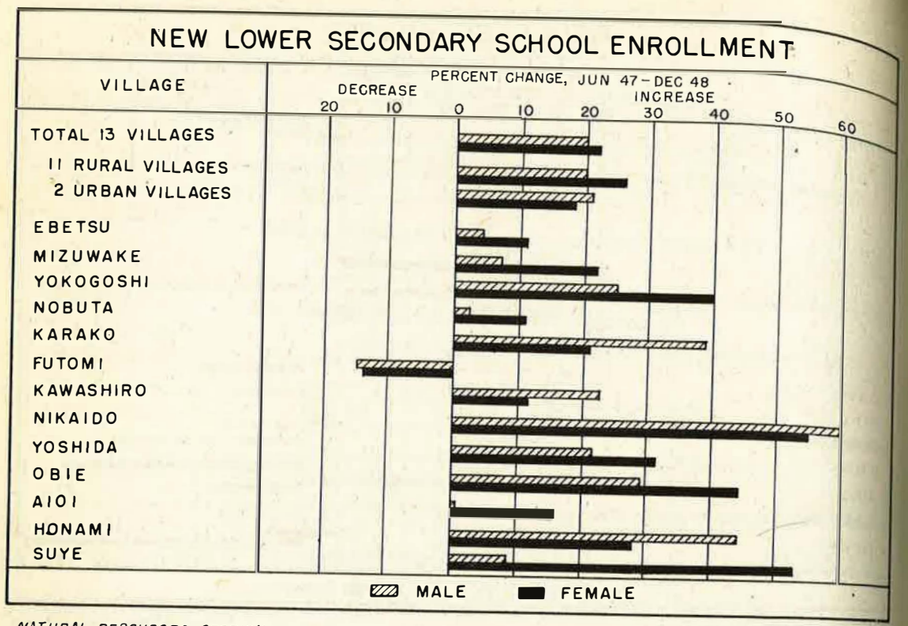


NATURAL RESOURCES SECTION DATA FROM TABLE 29

Figure 20

As measured by police records, the number of major and minor crimes increased in the 13 villages as a whole, with the major crimes showing the greater relative increase. Major crimes (such as murder, burglary, and arson) increased most in the two populous villages; minor crimes increased most in the smaller villages. More than 96 percent of all offenses were listed as minor crimes. In three villages no major crimes were committed in the 18-month period under study. Murders occurred during this period only in the two populous villages. In five of the rural villages, there has never been a recorded murder.

Lower Secondary School Enrollment Increased



NATURAL RESOURCES SECTION

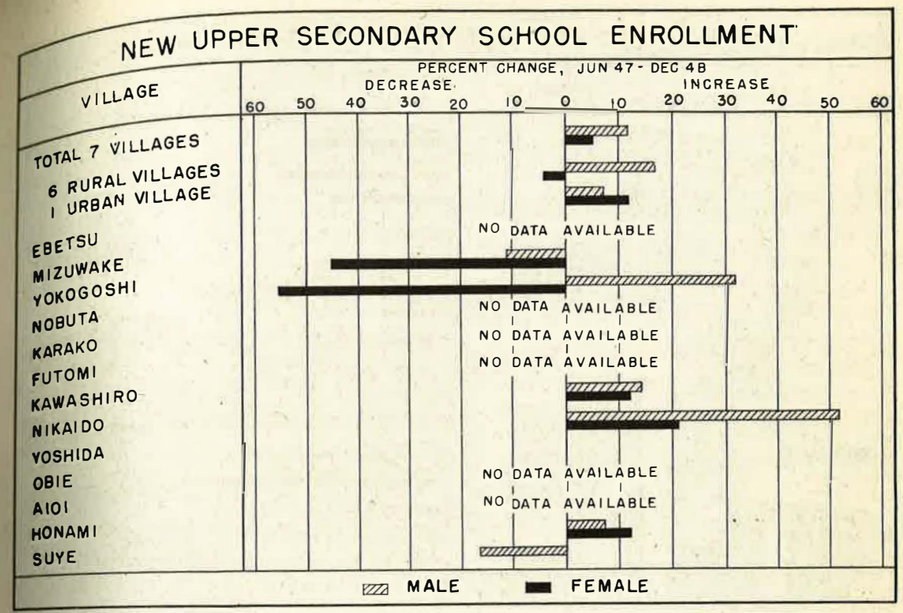
DATA FROM TABLE 30

Figure 21

Enrollment in the new lower secondary schools (equivalent to the American junior high school) increased 21 percent during the 18-month period; nearly one-half of the students were girls, whose number increased 22 percent as compared with a 20 percent increase in the number of boys. The decrease in enrollment in Futomi corresponded with the drop in total population during the survey period. Attendance through new lower secondary school is compulsory. Nine years of school education are compulsory. In all the villages, children, except invalids, attended school regularly.

Each of the 13 villages had arranged for the establishment of new lower secondary schools. In five villages, new school buildings have been completed and are in use; in five, construction of the buildings was well under way or scheduled for the near future; and in three, the new lower secondary school could be accommodated in existing school buildings. In two of the villages, Nobuta and Obie, the buildings are being erected and operated jointly with adjacent villages.

More Students Attended Upper Secondary School



NATURAL RESOURCES SECTION

DATA FROM TABLE 31

Figure 22

Only one of the 13 villages, Ebetsu, had a new upper secondary school (senior high school). In six villages, local arrangements for young people wanting to attend new upper secondary school had been made, such as reduction of commercial bus fares for students attending a new upper secondary school in a nearby village. In seven villages for which detailed information is available, school enrollment increased about 10 percent during the 18-month period. The number of girls increased five percent and accounted for about one-third of the total enrollment at the end of the period; the number of boys increased 12 percent.

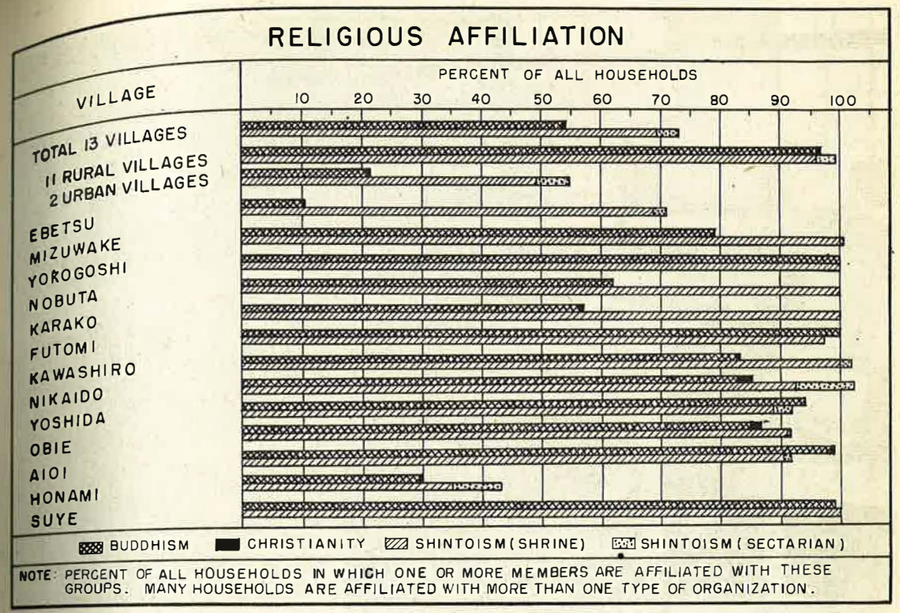
PTA's Were Organized

The Nikaido Parent-Teachers Association discusses school problems.

In 12 of the 13 villages, parent-teachers associations were organized during the 18 months under consideration; in Ebetsu a PTA had already been organized in April 1947. In most villages, both membership and the distribution of official positions was about equally divided between men and women. The PTA seems to enlist the active participation of women to a greater extent than any other general community organization. 12/

12/ For further details about schools, see discussion of educational activities in Chapter 7, Part IV.

Religious Activities Changed



NATURAL RESOURCES SECTION — DATA FROM TABLE 32

Figure 23

Participation in Shinto shrines and Buddhist temples has declined, and festivals have been reduced in number. However, the one or two Shinto festivals still held each year have become noticeably more elaborate than heretofore. Religious organizations find themselves in increasingly difficult economic circumstances because of inflation which has reduced the value of customary money contributions, loss of arable lands by some of the shrines and temples through land reform, and the separation of church and state (in accordance with the Shinto Directive) which makes religious organizations dependent on voluntary participation and contributions.

Many families were supporting both the Shinto shrines and the Buddhist temples. The number of Christians in the villages increased 24 percent in the 18 months but accounted for only 0.4 percent of the households. There were no Christians in six of the villages, and nearly one-half of the families with Christians in them were in one village, Nikaido. 13/

13/ For further details, see discussion of religious organizations in Chapter 6, Part IV.

Western clothes and permanent waves are most popular with younger women.

This 20-year-old grandson of a "samurai" has a western-style room.

The use of western-style clothes has increased perceptibly. Most men now have one or more changes of western clothes, which they use fairly frequently, and some women are wearing western clothes. Those women who do occasionally wear them are usually from the nonfarming groups such as clerks and teachers. More permanent waves are being obtained, particularly by younger women. Knowledge of some simple English words has become wide-spread, especially among the children, who use such words as "hello", "goodbye", and "OK". A few English terms for new ideas and objects are used rather than traditional Japanese terms. This usage developed after the Surrender. Common among these terms are such words as "PTA" and "democracy".

This groom is wearing western clothing rather than traditional dress.

Eighteen months is too short a time to be certain of changes in family life, so attention is given to the period since the end of hostilities. During this time there was a rise in divorces and in "yoshi" marriages, that is, marriages in which the husband is adopted by the wife's family and takes the name of her family. The number of divorces increased, in part because of the legalization of divorces between soldiers presumed dead and wives who had remarried. The right of the wife to sue for divorce was granted by the revised Civil Code, but this did not seem to have affected the divorce rate in the villages. "Yoshi" marriages increased in number just after the Surrender, as families who lost sons arranged to perpetuate the family line. Both divorces and "yoshi" marriages were less frequent in the 18 months since June 1947 than they were in the 18 months before that date. 14/

14/ For further details, see discussion of family life in Chapter 5, Part IV.

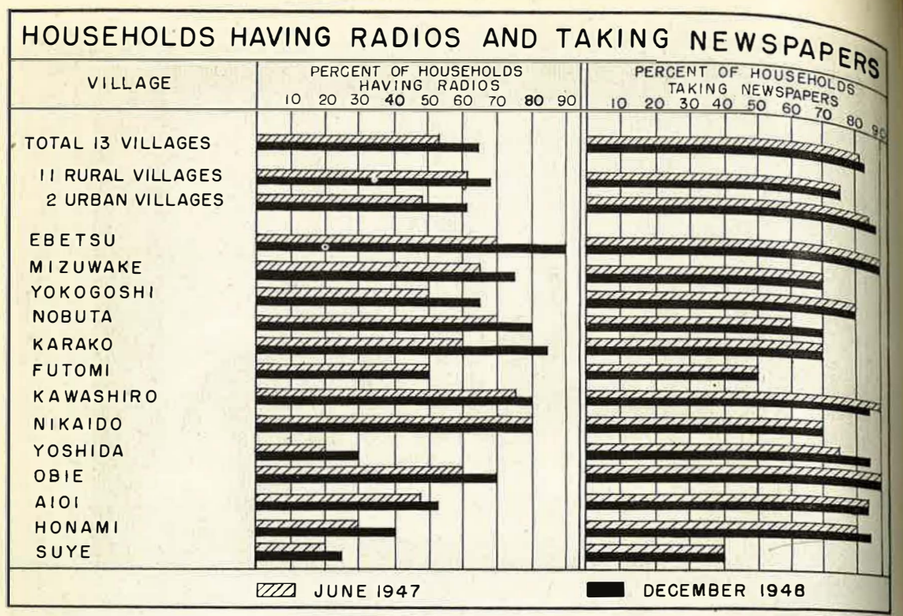


Figure 24

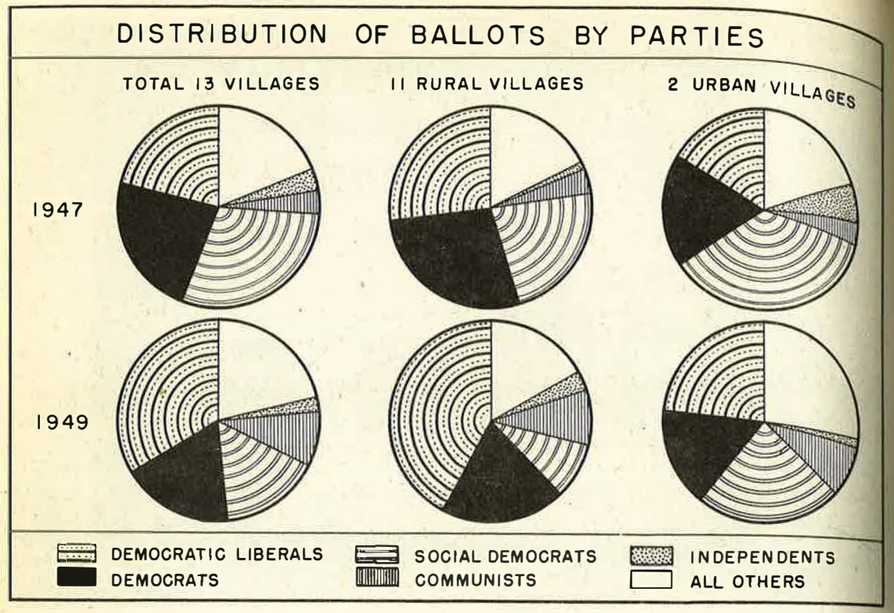
Radios became more numerous in all of the villages. About two-thirds of the farm households had radios in December 1948. Also, in the judgment of village leaders, a higher proportion of all radios were in working order at the end of the 18-month period than at the beginning of it. The leaders reported considerable interest in the new farm radio programs but pointed out that reception often was poor because of weak current and that frequently the electricity was cut off entirely. Newspaper circulation remained much the same in each of the villages. Additional households wanted to subscribe, but limited newsprint made it impossible for the newspapers to accept more subscriptions.

Young people in Obie meet to discuss current topics.

Youth associations were active in all of the villages. Their chief activities were participating in village construction projects, staging plays, and sponsoring such activities as parties and discussions. Many of them had small libraries, and more than one-half of them issued publications of poetry and agricultural topics. The youth of the villages seemed to be taking a more active part in village political life. 15/

15/ For further details about youth organizations and political participation, see Chapters 4 and 7, Part IV.

Party Preferences Changed



NATURAL RESOURCES SECTION — DATA FROM TABLE 35

Figure 25

The number of persons voting increased between April 1947 and January 1949, especially in the rural villages (Table 34). The largest increase was in Obie, where only 44 percent had voted in April 1947. Many of the new voters in Obie were women. The heaviest voting in 1948 was in Yoshida, the most feudalistic and remote of all the villages.

The Social Democratic and the Democratic party lost strength during the period. Many voters shifted to the conservative Democratic Liberal party, and a smaller number to the Communist party. Most village leaders insisted that voting was not along party lines, but for individual candidates. When the villages were revisited late in 1948, 34 percent of the respondents to the questionnaire reported that they had voted for the conservative Liberal party in the April 1947 election, and 44 percent said they would vote for the renamed Democratic Liberal party in the next general election. Twenty-eight percent reported they had voted for Social Democratic candidates at the last election, and six percent said they would vote that way at the then forthcoming election. About one percent stated they had voted for Communist candidates in the last election, and only a slightly higher percentage said they would vote that way at the next.

Women Participated More in Politics

Women cast ballots for the first time.

In the April 1947 elections, 65 percent of the women of voting age in 13 villages cast ballots for a House of Representatives candidate; in the January 1949 elections, 70 percent of them voted. In the latter elections, 47 percent of all voters were women, and several of the candidates were women. In Yoshida and Kawashiro women were elected to the village assembly. 16/

16/ For further details, see the discussions of women's organizations and political participation in Chapter 4, Part IV.

Villagers Viewed the Future With More Confidence

Villagers are taking a more lively interest in public affairs.

Noticeable changes occurred in the outlook of the villagers. In general, they appeared more hopeful about the future. In December 1948, they definitely assumed that the land reform program would be successfully completed, whereas 18 months earlier both tenants and landlords in many of the villages evinced considerable misgivings about the outcome. During the 18-month period farmers achieved a real voice in the new agricultural cooperative associations, and some additional much-wanted land was being made available to resident and new settler households through land reclamation projects. The villagers were beginning to wonder how the proposed agricultural extension systems might affect them. They knew that taxes were higher, delivery quotas were heavier, and inflation had worsened; they feared a depression and in general assumed that the road ahead would not be easy. Even so, they seemed to be somewhat relieved to have some working basis for estimating what their life would be like in the months ahead.

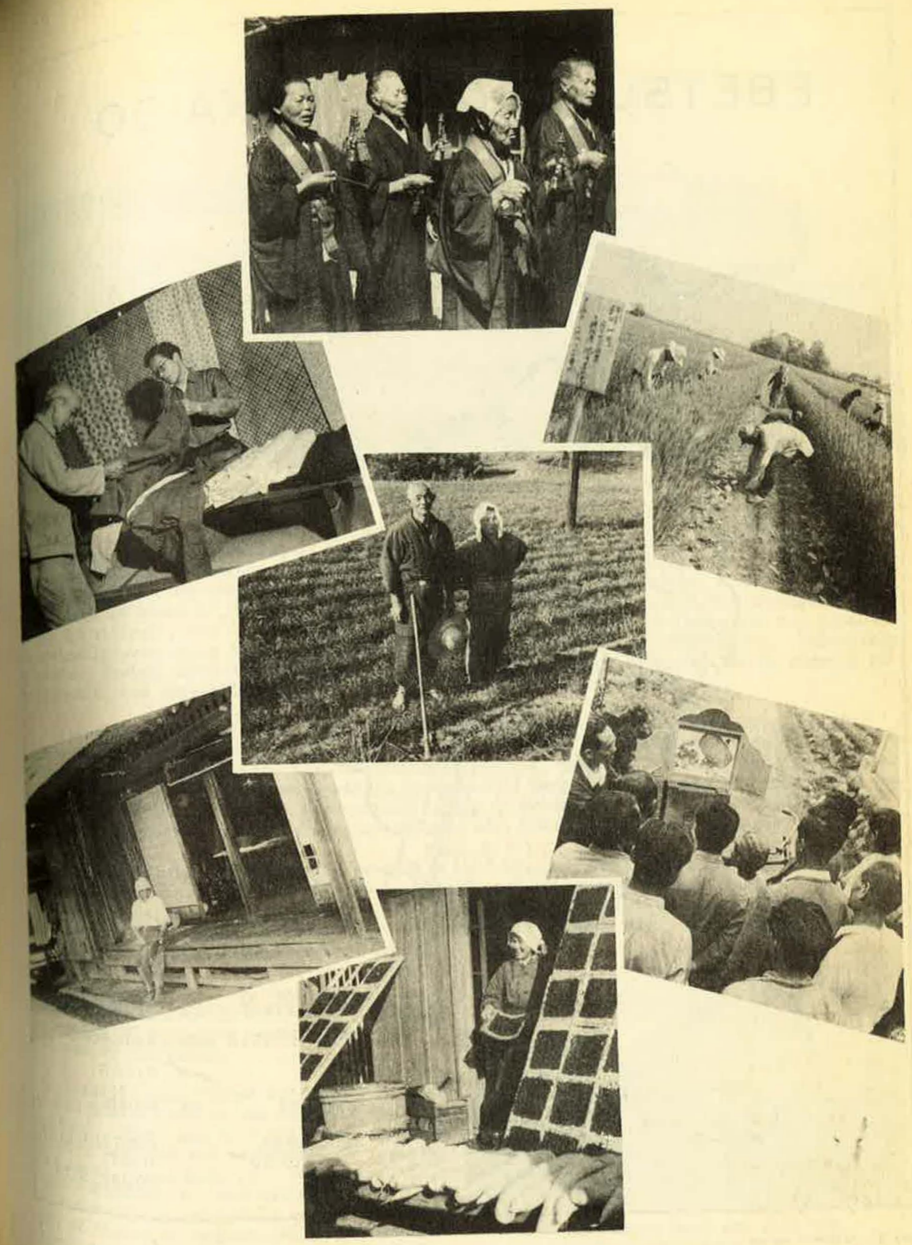
PART III

A BRIEF DESCRIPTION OF EACH OF THE 13 VILLAGES

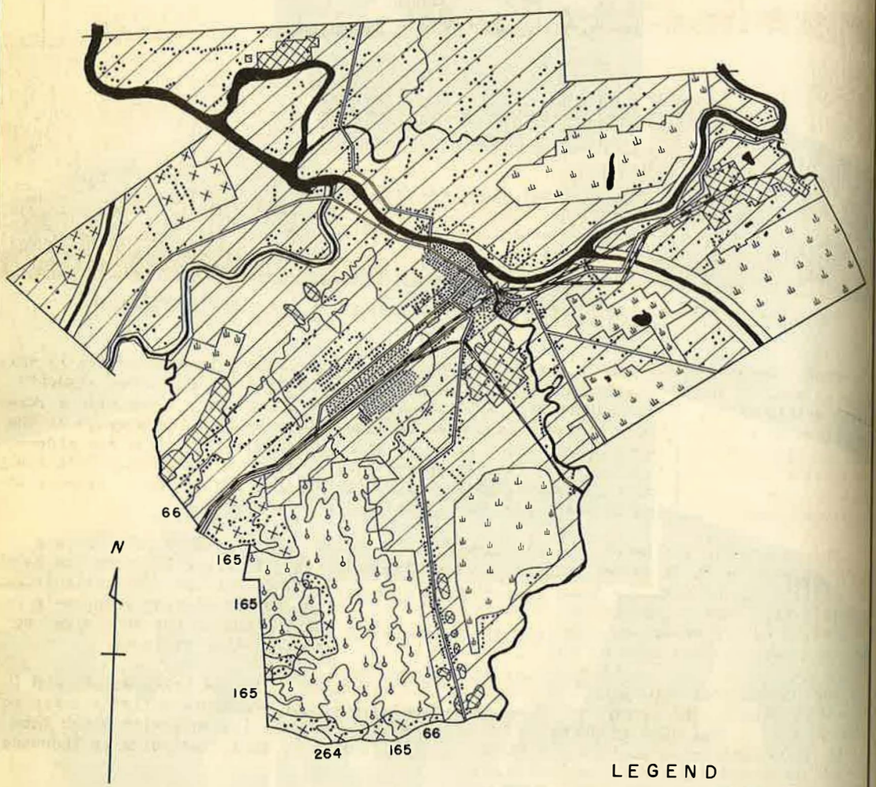
Here is an over-all view of each of the 13 villages -- with emphasis on distinctive features: the land area, and how it is used; the people of the villages, where they live, and how they make a living; the economic and social organizations and institutions in the village; and the changes that occurred in these phases of village life in the 18-month period from June 1947 to December 1948.

For a detailed statement of the way in which the 13 villages were selected, see the introduction to Part II.

Each village is described in turn, beginning with the northernmost one, Ebetsu in Hokkaido, and ending with the southernmost one, Suye in Kumamoto Prefecture.



EBETSU-MACHI, HOKKAIDO



NATURAL RESOURCES SECTION

Figure 26

Distinctive Features of Ebetsu-Machi

Ebetsu's land area is seven times the average of the other 12 villages.

Ebetsu-machi in Hokkaido is the latest settled and the largest in area of the 13 villages as well as the second largest in population. It combines rural and urban elements, having within it two urban centers with a total of about 20,000 people, along with a rural population of about 10,000. Ebetsu's land area is seven times that of the average of the other 12 villages, and farms average nine times as large. Roads are straight and wide--practically everything is larger and farther apart than in the other villages. Relatively speaking, Ebetsu (like Hokkaido generally) is a frontier area, as indicated by recency of settlement, low population density, and more individualistic living.

Farmsteads are scattered over the farming area and are not clustered into hamlets nearly so much as in the other villages. Rice, the main crop, is grown in paddy, as in the other villages, and similar, too, are Ebetsu's shrines, temples, schools, and agricultural cooperatives. Even so, Ebetsu--settled later and by many different migrant groups--is representative of the newer and less crowded island of Hokkaido. Land is not subdivided so much, and new settlers have more opportunities here than in the other villages.

Much industrial employment is available in a big paper mill, the brick kilns, and in other factories in and around the town. More than 3,000 people commute daily by train to Sapporo, the capital city of Hokkaido, 20 miles away. The relative ease with which farm people can obtain urban employment affects rural life in many ways, including an increase of cash incomes and a wider range of social and economic contacts. Part-time farmers increased 20 percent from June 1947 to December 1948, whereas in most other villages the number of part-time farmers remained constant or decreased.

A hip-roofed barn and silo are prominent on this farm.

Civilian repatriates are numerous; more live in Ebetsu than in the other 12 villages combined. There are four principal reasons: the opportunities for settlement on reclaimable land; the absence of a background of rigid tradition, so that assimilation into the community is relatively easy; the closeness of Ebetsu to Sapporo, which was a chief assembly point for Japanese returning from

Potatoes are stored outside under a deep layer of dirt.

Sakhalin and Manchuria; and the presence of numerous industries which offer opportunities for employment.

Ecologically, Ebetsu is a widespread area, much of it sparsely populated, with two urban centers. Each of these is a trade center with many institutions that serve the surrounding rural area. Although buraku organizations are noticeably weaker in Ebetsu than in the other 12 villages, they appear to be getting stronger and more traditional as time passes.

There is about as much livestock in Ebetsu alone as in the other 12 villages combined. More than one-half of the milk cows and draft horses are in this village. In Ebetsu, an average of two out of three farms have a horse, whereas in the other 12 villages only one farm in six has a horse. There are a few more cows in Ebetsu than there are farms; in the other villages there is only one milk cow to 11 farm households. Farming techniques are relatively advanced. Although livestock is more common, fences are just as rare here as in any of the other villages. Ebetsu has a few large hip-roofed barns and silos and many smaller ones patterned after the big ones. Local residents report that the large ones were built first at some of the larger dairy and livestock breeding farms. White potatoes are an important crop, second to rice. Many cone-shaped earthen potato hills for outdoor storage are seen in the late fall and winter in the fields near farm dwellings.

Two out of every three households own a horse.

Peat bogs make up about 40 percent of the land area. Extensive land reclamation is tentatively projected by the government, and some scattered settlements have been launched in recent years by groups of families who moved in from other parts of Japan and from abroad. A Christian group hopes to be able to reclaim and settle a large area. Projected land reclamation efforts cover about 5,000 cho. Some of Ebetsu's peat land has been reclaimed by drainage, which is a major operation, and by the application of clay. Reclamation has been most successful around the outer edges of the peat lands adjacent to uplands already being farmed.

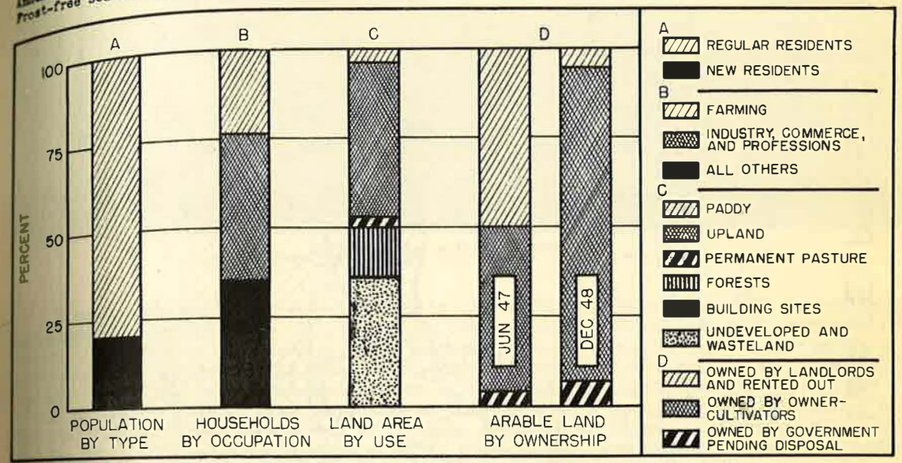
Workers apply clay to a peat bog.

Many efforts to reclaim peat land have failed, especially when attempted in the middle of the bog, where the peat is deepest, drainage problems worst, and clay banks farthest away. It was reported that most of the failures occurred because not enough attention had been given to the construction of a major drainage system; also, giant pumps may have to be installed to lift the water from low-lying canals up to the river level so it will flow out to the sea. Village leaders are keenly interested in peat bog reclamation, for if it can be done successfully, there is room for much local expansion.

Further Facts About Ebetsu

Total population	30,234
Total households	5,577
Farm households	1,316
Total land area (cho)	15,907
Cultivated land (cho)	7,535
Average size of farm (cho)	5.6
Percent of total area in which more than one crop is grown	0
Annual precipitation (inches)	41.4
Frost-free season (days)	138

Elevation above sea level (feet)	
At village hall	36
At lowest and highest points	10-320
Draft animals	
Number	2,050
Average per farm household	1.56
Electric motors and internal combustion engines	
Number	288
Average per farm household	0.22



NATURAL RESOURCES SECTION

Major Changes in the 18-Month Period

Ownership of 41 percent of the arable land was transferred to operating tenants
Two general purpose agricultural cooperative associations were set up on dissolution of town unit of the Nogyokai in fall of 1947
Number of civilian repatriates, mainly from Manchuria and Sakhalin, increased 15 percent
Four new lower secondary school buildings are under construction
A parent-teachers association was organized in each school
Industrial employment increased
Christian settlement and other reclamation projects were begun in the extensive peat bog areas
A marked increase in crime occurred

Distinctive Local Problems

Adequate drainage for peat bog reclamation
Better storage for white potatoes
Development of consumer demand for white potatoes to insure future market after elimination of food controls
Difficulty of making a single unit of Ebetsu, because of its extensive geographic area

Main Agricultural Products

Rice
White potatoes
Oats
Milk
Wheat and barley
Soybeans

Institutions and Organizations

Schools
- 11 elementary schools
- 4 new lower secondary schools
- 2 new upper secondary schools (1 public, 1 private)

Religious organizations
- 10 Buddhist temples--10 resident priests
- 12 Shrine Shinto--3 resident priests
- 8 Sectarian Shinto--8 resident priests
- 2 Christian churches--1 minister

Cooperatives
- Ebetsu-Machi Agricultural Cooperative Assn
- Nopporo Agricultural Cooperative Assn
- Setagaya Settlers Agricultural Cooperative Assn
- New Nopporo Settlers Agricultural Cooperative Assn
- Kakuyama Settlers Agricultural Cooperative Assn
- Many small claying cooperatives

Miscellaneous organizations
- Farmers' Union
- Young Men's Improvement Assn
- Youth Association
- Parent-Teachers' Assn (one for each school)
- Firemen's Assn
- Agricultural Mutual Relief Assn
- Fishery Assn
- Civil Engineering Assn
- Paper Mill Labor Union

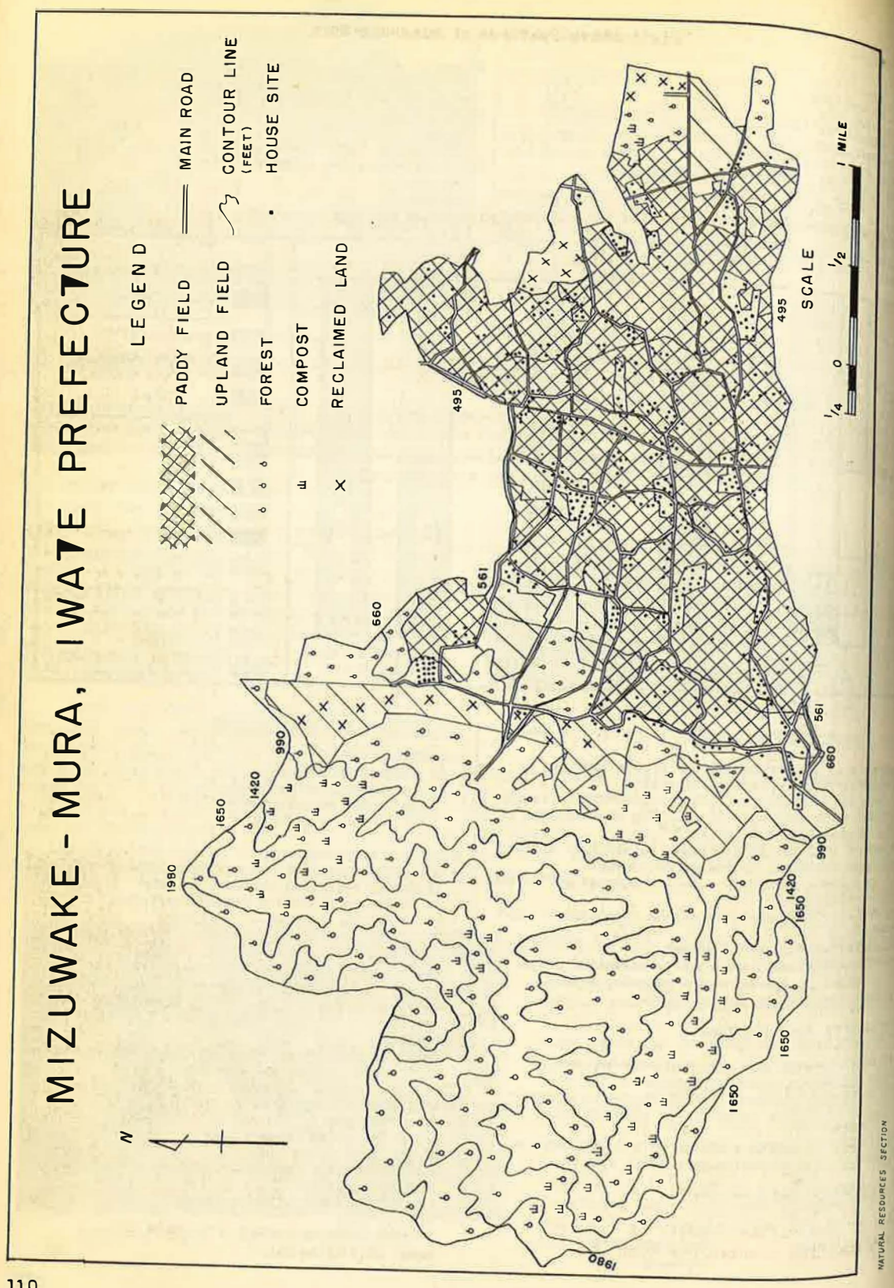
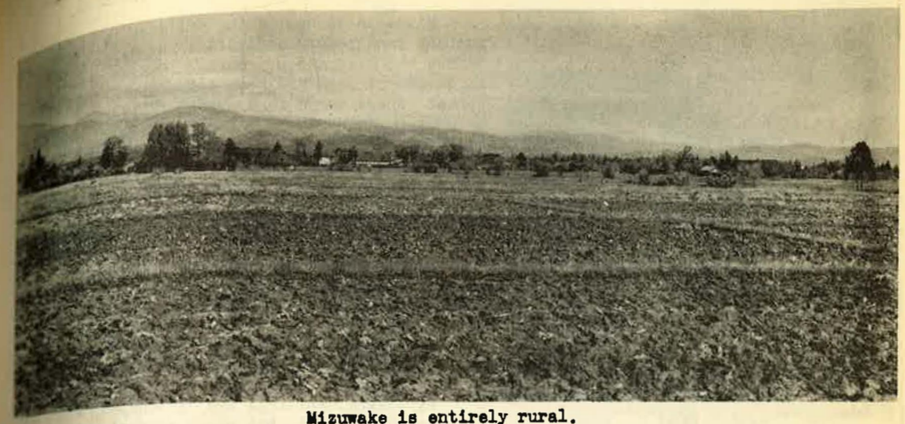


Figure 27

Distinctive Features of Mizuwake-Mura



Mizuwake is entirely rural.

Mizuwake-mura in north central Honshu is of the Tohoku region type, rather feudalistic and generally unprogressive. The village is entirely rural; 88 percent of all households make a living primarily by farming. The eastern one-third of the village is the center of cultivation; 22 percent of the total village area is paddy, and nine percent is cultivated upland. Nearly all of the remainder of the village contains mountainous forests, owned mainly by the government. The ruggedness of these mountains has prevented the building of any roads through them. The mayors of Mizuwake and seven adjoining villages are trying to get the title of these forests transferred to the villages, basing their claim on ancient records said to indicate that these forests did once belong to these villages.

Economic opportunities are limited. The population remained practically stationary during the 18-month period. The belief is held generally that the economic conditions of the villagers will improve through added income from forestry products if the village officials are successful in their effort to obtain title to the national forests. Fuel and compost for village use now can be procured from the forests, but no charcoal can be made for sale and no lumber can be sold. The only important supplementary sources of income are employment outside of the village, local manufacturing of rice straw rope and mats, and weaving of "tatami" mats. The latter are made in farm households on looms from locally grown "i" rush. The villagers refer to this weaving industry as a "girl saver", because by it farm families can remain solvent without having to contract their maturing girls to operators of textile mills or to other employers.

Straw mats and rope are made on looms in the home.

Farms are relatively large and scattered, as compared with the 11 longer-settled villages to the south. The average size of farms was 1.6 cho, about twice the average farm size of nine of the villages south of it. A long-standing problem has been the

A young woman carries compost to the fields.

inadequate water supply in dry periods. A reservoir is being constructed in the mountains.

Mizuwake is one of the villages in which important land reform activities had taken place before the Occupation. During 1938-43, titles to 30 cho of land had been transferred from absentee owners to 35 farm tenant families. The largest purchase was 1.3 cho. The sale of the land was carried out in somewhat the same way as in the post-Surrender land reform program. The latter program served a double purpose in this village; it sold more land, 162 cho, to tenants and it confirmed the pre-Occupation transactions.

Before the Occupation land reclamation had already started on the upper edges of the cultivated areas, with 22 cho accommodating 18 new households. The area has since been expanded to include 27 more cho. Five new households already have been located on the reclaimed land.

Many farm dwellings are "L"-shaped, with the farm animals kept in the short side of the "L", a convenience in rainy and snowy weather. Livestock is relatively more numerous in Mizuwake than in any of the 11 villages south of it. Exclusive of Ebetsu, a more specialized livestock area, nearly 30 percent of the draft horses in the villages were in Mizuwake, although less than six percent of the farm households were in this village.

The social structure of this village revolves around a combination of groupings, based first on the initial settlements along the many small water courses used for irrigation; second, on the mutual aid practices of households in the same locality; and third, on the extended family system. All three of these traditional groupings have been in existence for many generations and remain fairly strong.

Two popular Shinto shrines attract 30,000 to 40,000 pilgrims annually from all over Iwate Prefecture. One shrine has a life-sized sacred white horse, many statues of foxes, and numerous "torii". These shrines make Mizuwake well-known throughout the countryside.

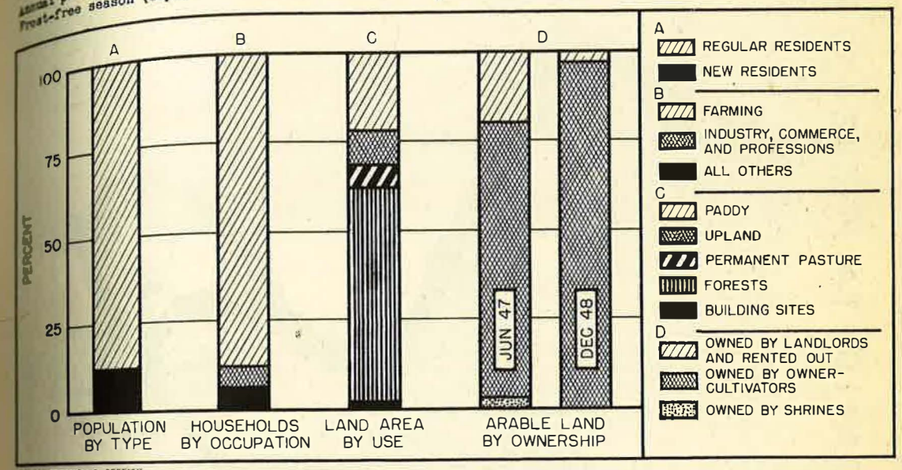
A stall for the draft horse is in the short side of this "L"-shaped dwelling.

A sacred horse stands in a popular shrine.

Further Facts About Mizuwake

Total population	3,272
Total households	509
Farm households	448
Total land area (cho)	2,327
Cultivated land (cho)	712
Average size of farm (cho)	1.6
Percent of total area in which more than one crop is grown	11
Annual precipitation (inches)	47.7
Frost-free season (days)	153

Elevation above sea level (feet)	
At village hall	508
At lowest and highest points	360-3,210
Draft animals	
Number	465
Average per farm household	1.04
Electric motors and internal combustion engines	
Number	84
Average per farm household	0.19



NATURAL RESOURCES SECTION

Major Changes in the 18-Month Period

Ownership of 20 percent of the arable land was transferred to operating tenants
Six new agricultural cooperative associations, in addition to the general village agricultural cooperative, were established upon dissolution in late 1947 of the local unit of Nogyokai
Production of "i" rush for "tatami" mats doubled
A new lower secondary school was organized; a new building is planned
A parent-teachers association was organized
Seven new dwellings were erected--five on reclamation project; two replaced dwellings that burned
A health clinic was established jointly with a neighboring village

Distinctive Local Problems

Shortage of water for paddy
Desire that titles to national forest be transferred to village to permit fuller use of forest resources
Additional work required because early delivery of rice quota caused delay in sowing wheat and barley

Main Agricultural Products

Rice
White potatoes
Fruit
"I" rush
Silk

Institutions and Organizations

Schools
1 elementary school
1 new lower secondary school

Religious organizations
5 Shrine Shinto--2 resident priests
1 Sectarian Shinto--no resident priests
2 Buddhist temples--2 resident priests

Cooperatives
Mizuwake Agricultural Cooperative Assn
Sericulture Cooperative Assn
Fruit Growers' Cooperative Assn
Reclamation Settlers Agricultural Cooperative Assn
New Settlers Rural Industry Agricultural Cooperative Assn
Forestry Cooperative Assn
Livestock Agricultural Cooperative Assn

Miscellaneous organizations
Youth Assn
Women's Assn
Social Education Commission
Parent-Teachers' Assn
Educational Commission (gun level)
Agricultural Mutual Relief Assn
Firemen's Assn
Tobacco Growers' Assn
Farmers' Union

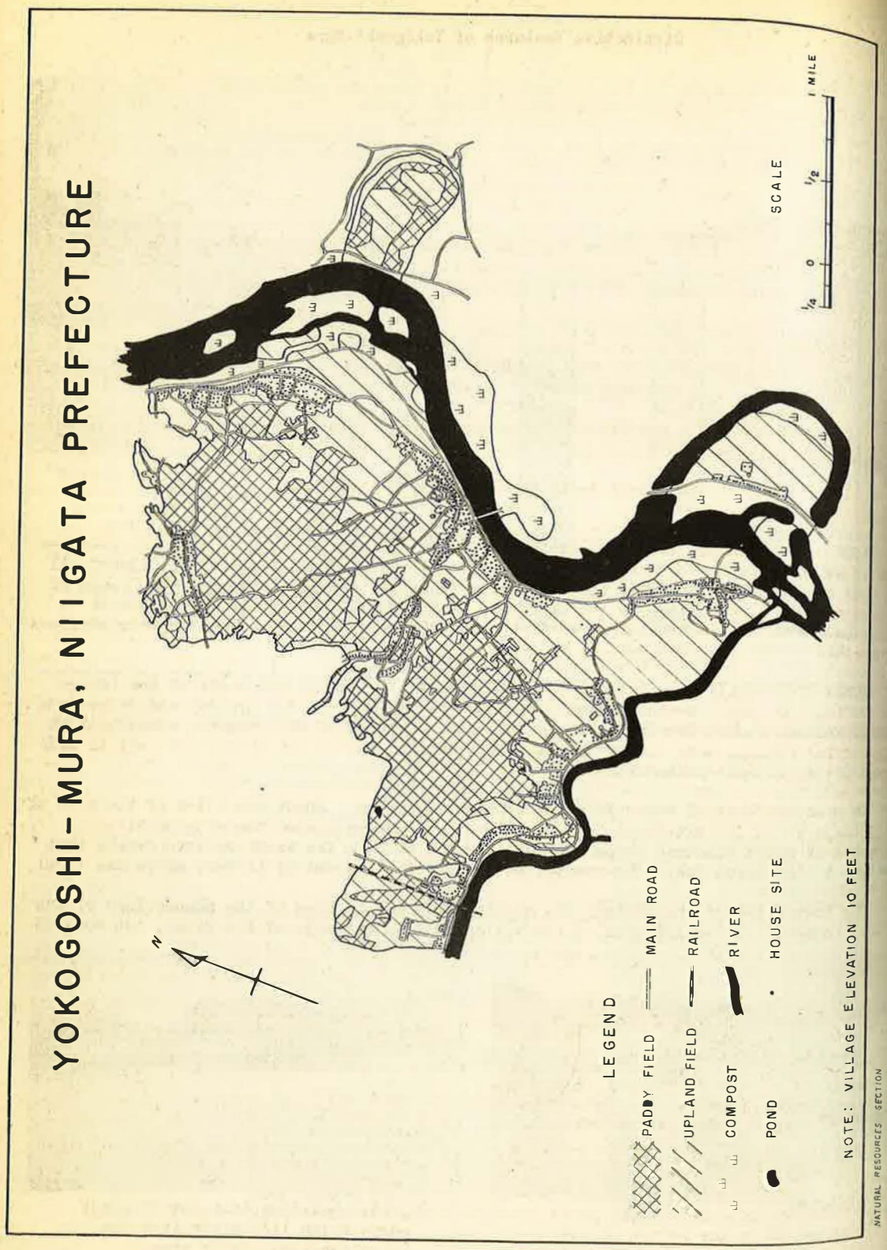
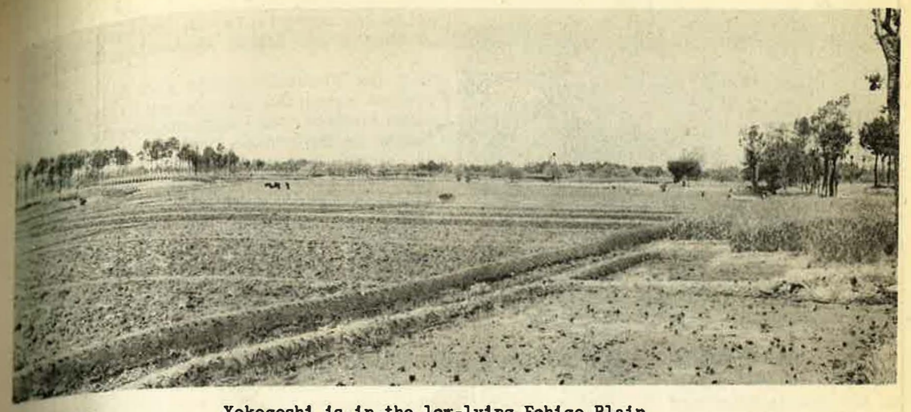


Figure 28

Distinctive Features of Yokogoshi-Mura



Yokogoshi is in the low-lying Echigo Plain.

Yokogoshi is in the low-lying Echigo Plain, on the Agano-gawa (Agano River) near the city of Niigata, in one of the most intensive rice-producing areas of Japan. Almost all the land is in cultivation, the only exception being the grasslands inside the levees of the Agano-gawa. The village is wholly rural. More than 95 percent of the land area is cultivated, with nearly two-thirds of it paddy. Obtaining household fuel in this treeless village has always been tedious and expensive.

Mites (Trombicula akamushi and T. deliensis) which inhabit the banks of the Agano-gawa during the summer months transmit Japanese river fever (scrub typhus) and cause some illness and occasional fatalities in the village. Because of this hazard, added to that of recurring floods, many of the narrow strips of land inside the levees are left to wild "kaya" grass, used in making thatched roofs. 35X

An overabundance of water is an ever-present problem. About one-third of the area of the village is in the extensive below-sea-level paddy area around the city of Niigata. Batteries of giant electric pumps run continuously to lift the water up into canals that flow out to the Japan Sea. The average elevation of Yokogoshi is 11 feet above sea level. 11X

The boundaries of the village are highly irregular because of the meanderings of the river. Formerly the entire area of the village was on one side of the river, but some 60

Tree branches and "kaya" grass are stacked along the levees of the Agano-gawa.

This building contains 20 giant pumps which lift water from the below-sea-level paddy area.

The partitions dividing one field from another are very narrow.

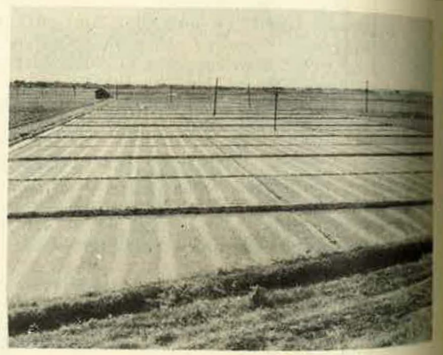
years ago flood waters cut a new channel, and since then about one-fifth of the village has been separated from the main part. Households are concentrated in settlements, most of them on the higher lands along the rivers.

The 10-family groups here have been important since the village was first settled a few hundred years ago, and remain the basic factor in the social structure of the village. In economic cooperation, the basic group is the "noka kokumiai" (farmers' small union), which is a large grouping of neighbors. Most of the rice seedlings for transplanting to the paddy are produced in great cooperative seed beds, with many of these small unions participating. Some small farm machinery is owned and used jointly by these small union groups. Two or three households within the 10-family groups commonly exchanged work in the past, and much of this work continues.

Economic opportunities are limited largely to farming, except for small operations in bamboo, "daikon" pickling, and rope making. The nonfarm households, comprising one-fourth of the total, decreased during the 18-month period, whereas the farm households increased slightly. The total population increased slightly, despite a decrease in the number of repatriates and evacuees.

The tradition of farm unions is old and strong in Yokogoshi, and agitation for land reform has a long history. The village had a highly feudalistic structure, with a few households owning most of the land. The great majority of the farm people actively welcomed the land reform program.

Yokogoshi participates in one of the land "amelioration" projects, which consists of laying off the paddy in a regular grid-iron system of straight irrigation ditches, drainage canals, and roads. Agricultural leaders report that straightening of the ditches and roads has resulted in about a 10-percent increase in crop yields--partly from the additional land made available and partly from the more efficient farm practices permitted. There are 300 cho in the project in this village and about 30,000 cho in the entire project. About three-fifths of the cost is borne by the national government; the remainder is divided about evenly between the prefectural government and the farmers. The farmers like the additional yields made possible by "amelioration" but often complain of the cost and of the elimination of their small ancient fields.



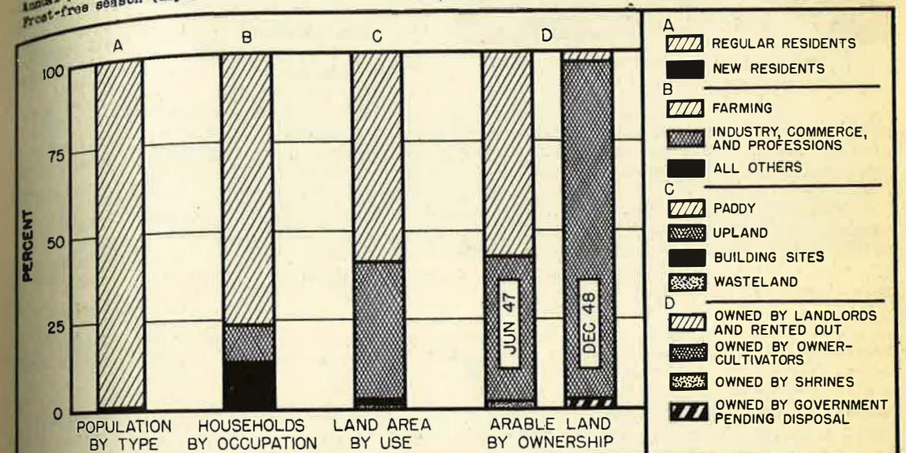
Rice seedlings are produced in large cooperative seed beds.

Potatoes are an important secondary crop in this village.

Further Facts About Yokogoshi

Total population	9,583
Total households	1,448
Farm households	1,096
Total land area (cho)	1,558
Cultivated land (cho)	1,512
Average size of farm (cho)	1.2
Percent of total area in which more than one crop is grown	7
Annual precipitation (inches)	69.8
Frost-free season (days)	223

Elevation above sea level (feet)	
At village hall	12
At lowest and highest points	10-15
Draft animals	
Number	468
Average per farm household	0.43
Electric motors and internal combustion engines	
Number	364
Average per farm household	0.33



NATURAL RESOURCES SECTION

Major Changes in the 18-Month Period

Ownership of 54 percent of the arable land was transferred to operating tenants; now 94 percent of all land is operated by owner-cultivators
Temples and shrines owned two percent of arable land at beginning of period and owned none at end of it
Thirty-four local agricultural practice associations were dissolved, and 37 new agricultural service groups were organized
The land "amelioration" project was carried forward
A school building for the new lower secon ary school was started
A bamboo basketry and a pickle factory were started by a village cooperative
The dwellings of a former large landlord became a much patronized museum--a branch of the National Museum

Distinctive Local Problems

Shortage of fuel
Overabundance of water
The deadly insect along the Agano-gawa which causes Japanese river fever
Consolidation of little fields which is needed badly but which can be done only by "amelioration" an expensive operation
Cost of new lower secondary school building heavy, yet the building is only half as large as needed
The shift of the Agano river channel which separated one settlement from the rest of the village

Main Agricultural Products

Rice
White potatoes
Sweet potatoes
Vegetables
Fruits

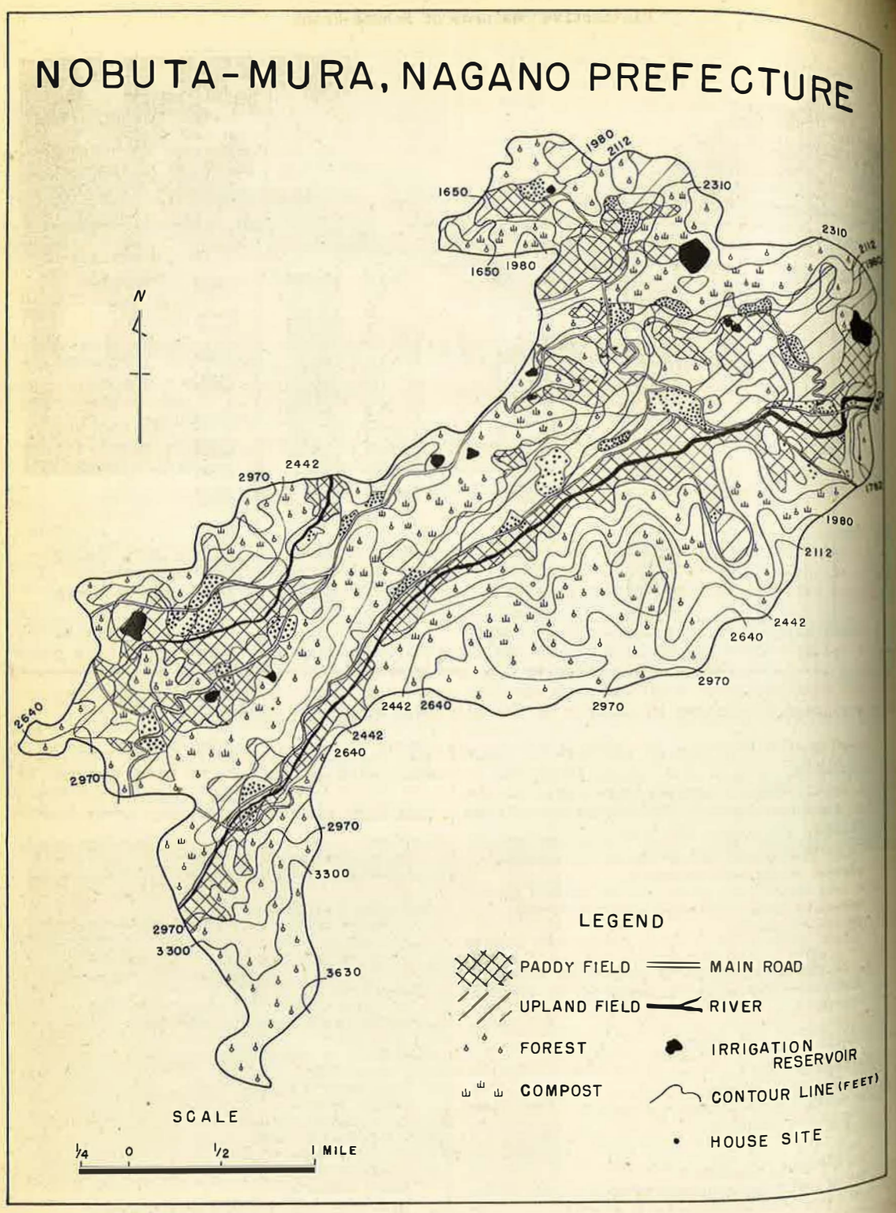
Institutions and Organizations

Schools
4 elementary schools
1 new lower secondary school

Religious organizations
14 Shrine Shinto--no resident priests
16 Buddhist temples--20 resident priests, including teachers in school for priests

Cooperatives
Yokogoshi Agricultural Cooperative Assn
Sericulture Cooperative (gun-wide)

Miscellaneous organizations
Farmers' Union
Youth Assn
Women's Assn
Parent-Teachers' Assn
Fruit Growers' Assn
Vegetable Growers' Assn
Service Assn
School Committee
Agricultural Fair Assn
Agricultural Mutual Relief Assn
Firemen's Assn



NATURAL RESOURCES SECTION

Figure 29

Distinctive Features of Nobuta-Machi

Nobuta is a mountain village not far from the Japan Alps.

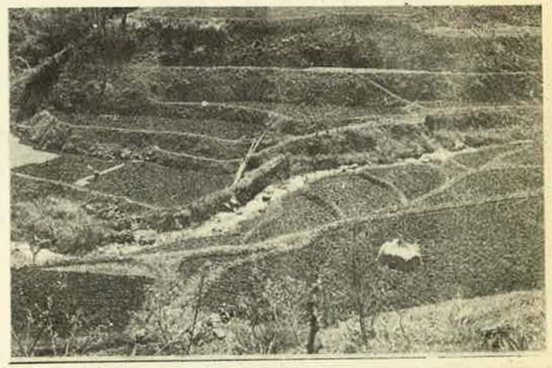
Nobuta is an inland mountain village in north central Japan. A little more than one-fourth of the land area is in cultivation. One-sixth of the total area of the village is in upland hillside farming, mostly wheat and barley, white potatoes, and sweet potatoes.

Paddy fields, which account for 10 percent of the land area of the village, lie in the narrow valleys along the small streams. Small paddy fields sometimes extend on up the mountainside to the highest sources of water. Great effort has often gone into the construction and maintenance of high steep terraces to make additional small paddy fields. Dwellings are grouped together by hamlets on the hillsides above the paddy.

More than 70 percent of the area of the village is in forest, much of it on very rugged mountains. All of the forest lands are privately owned except for two percent owned by the village. Forest products are basic to the local economy, especially charcoal and timber for sale and compost for use in the fields. From many places in the upper portion of the village, the Japan Alps, covered by snow much of the year, may be seen in the distance.

Economic opportunities are limited, for farming here is not very profitable, and the timber is being cut faster than it is growing. Much replanting of forest areas is needed. The population decreased about one percent between June 1947 and December 1948, mostly because of the return of evacuees to the cities and the general outward migration of people in search of work.

As planned, 12 cho of land will be brought into cultivation through land reclamation in the next few years. Six new settler



Paddies are tiny and irregular and are surrounded by high embankments.

These logs and firewood are stacked on a mountain road ready for transportation to the village.

households will be located on this land (two of them are there now), and a little additional land will be available to enlarge present farms. Because of the smallness of the project, the poor quality of the soil, and high elevation--about 2,000 feet above sea level--the village leaders do not expect much economic benefit from the reclamation efforts.

The social structure is based on the five-family group and the extended family; the hamlet is made up of several five-family groups. In recent times many activities, such as those of the youth and women's associations, have centered more and more around the "oaza", a subdivision of the village, of which there are seven. Feudal ties are still strong in this village, where a few landed households have traditionally occupied controlling positions.

There are about a dozen Eta households and also two households of "hinin" (literally "nonhumans"). The former live in a settlement of their own and generally do small farming in addition to shoe repairing and working in a "geta" factory; the latter are more sharply separated from the rest of the people and engage in small-scale gardening, hunting, leather work, and miscellaneous repair work.

Nobuta villagers wanted a new lower secondary school building. However, they thought the cost would be too high for them to bear alone, so they arranged with the officials in adjacent Kofu-mura for the joint erection and operation of a school that serves both villages. The new school building has been built near the boundary line between the two mountainous villages.

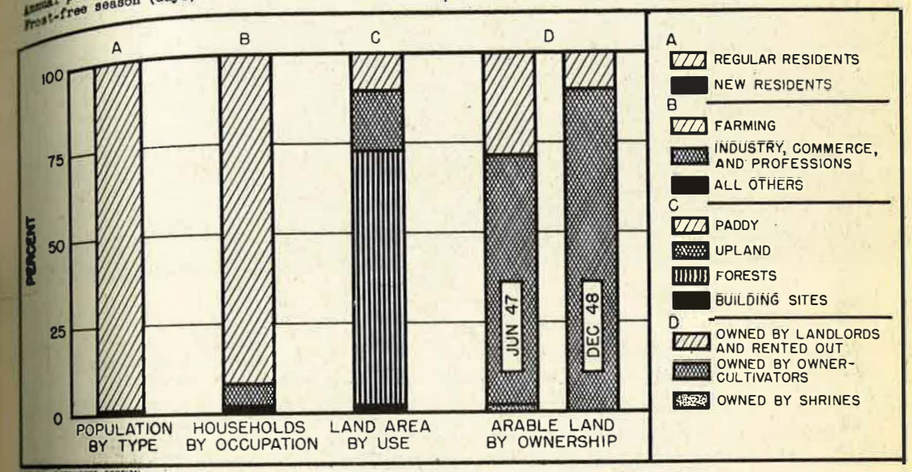
New households already have settled on this land which is part of the reclamation project.

A new lower secondary school building is being erected by the villages of Nobuta and Kofu.

Further Facts About Nobuta

Total population	3,667
Total households	659
Farm households	607
Total land area (cho)	1,864
Cultivated land (cho)	506
Average size of farm (cho)	0.8
Percent of total area in which more than one crop is grown	33
Annual precipitation (inches)	39
Frost-free season (days)	158

Elevation above sea level (feet)	
At village hall	1,561
At lowest and highest points	1,380-3,820
Draft animals	
Number	223
Average per farm household	0.37
Electric motors and internal combustion engines	
Number	42
Average per farm household	0.07



NATURAL RESOURCES SECTION

Major Changes in the 18-Month Period

Ownership of 19 percent of the arable land was transferred to operating tenants
Upon the dissolution of the Nogyokai, 34 local agricultural practice associations were dissolved and 11 local agricultural service groups were set up
A new lower secondary school was established jointly with a neighboring village
A parent-teachers association was organized
A small amount of pyrethrum was planted
Electric motors on farms increased from three to 31
Milk cows increased from 0 to 23

Distinctive Local Problems

Decline in forest products; forests being depleted faster than they are being replanted
Limited economic opportunities
Joint operation with adjoining village of new lower secondary school

Main Agricultural Products

Rice
White potatoes
Sweet potatoes
Wheat and barley
Silkworms

Institutions and Organizations

Schools
1 elementary school
1 jointly operated new lower secondary school

Religious organizations
7 Shrine Shinto--1 resident priest
6 Buddhist temples--1 resident priest

Cooperatives
Nobuta Agricultural Cooperative Assn

Miscellaneous organizations
Youth Assn
Women's Assn
Parent-Teachers' Assn
Agricultural Mutual Relief Assn
Forestry Assn (to be organized early in 1949)
Firemen's Assn

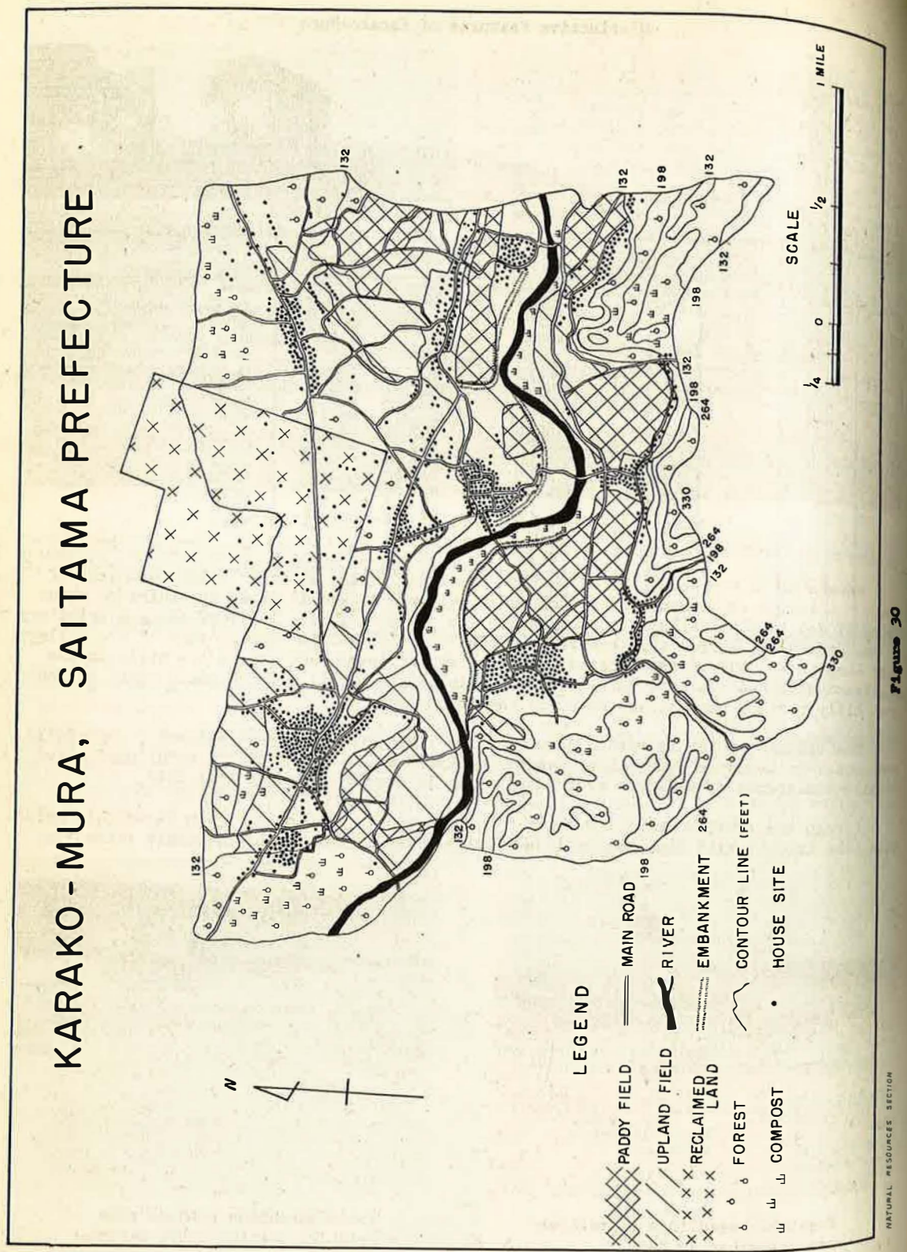


Figure 30

Distinctive Features of Karako-Mura

One-third of the land area of Karako is in paddy.

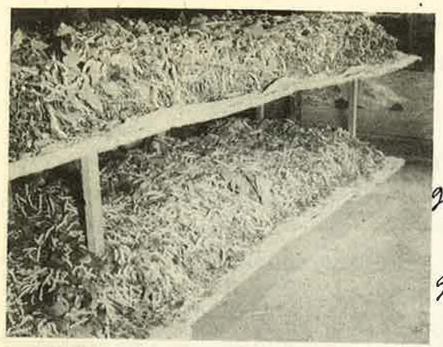
Karako is in the west central part of the Kanto Plain, about 50 miles northwest of Tokyo. A little more than one-half of the total area is arable land, one-third of which is paddy and two-thirds cultivated upland. The paddy is in the lowlands along a tributary of the Ara-kawa. Levees are necessary to control flood waters through much of the village. More than two-fifths of the village is in forest, on level land and in the hills on the southwest side. All of the forest is privately owned, except for one small tract in the most hilly part of the village owned by the government.

The village, which is within easy reach of Tokyo, has many new residents, especially evacuees. In December 1948, these evacuees comprised 14 percent of the total population, despite a decrease of new-type residents in the 18 months preceding that date.

Karako was settled about 300 years ago, principally by families from Yamanashi Prefecture, who brought with them the extended family system. The social structure takes its

Vegetable seedlings of various types are grown in beds.

Most households produce some vegetables for the Tokyo market.



Raising silkworms is an important industry in Karako.

character to some extent from this early extended family system, but it is influenced by compact locality groupings which center around local shrines as well as the long-established economic and social arrangements among the villagers.

One of the seven buraku is made up of Eta families, who live more or less apart from the other villagers and are isolated from them, especially in matters pertaining to religion and marriage. The local population was affected during World War II, and for some time after hostilities ended, by the presence of large numbers of Koreans brought in as unskilled laborers to work on a military airport and at the excavation of an ammunition dump in the side of a nearby mountain. However, all of the Koreans had left the village by the end of 1948.

Karako differed from the other 12 villages in 1948 because vegetables were a more important crop than rice. The village is within the area designated by the Tokyo metropolitan office as a vegetable-producing area for the Tokyo market. As an incentive to produce vegetables, larger allocations of commercial fertilizer have been made available to the farmers. Rice, soybeans, wheat and barley, sweet potatoes, and mulberry for silkworms also are important crops. The area in mulberry increased during the 18 months under study, in response to the program of the prefectural government to increase production of raw silk.

A land reclamation project on an abandoned military airport of about 180 cho is being carried forward. Eighty cho of reclamation land in this village will accommodate about 39 new settler families. In this project, the house sites are dispersed over the farming area, with the land of each household lying immediately around the dwelling. This is not the general settlement pattern in the older parts of the village, although the dwellings in it are not so much in compact groupings as scattered along the main roads.

Fertilizer is scattered by hand.

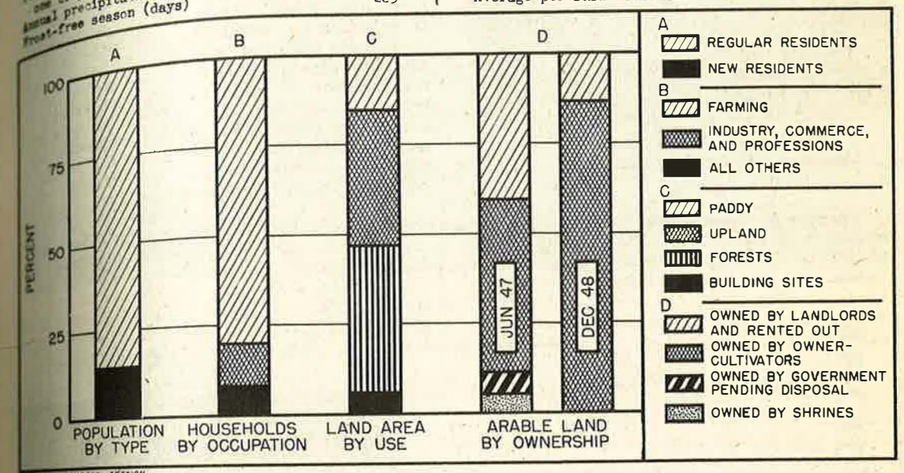
Harvesting of wheat is done by hand.

Nine of the families on the reclamation project are Catholics who came from south Japan in two groups. Most of the other families on the project came in small groups from different parts of the island. That part of the reclamation area which is in Karako may be organized as a separate buraku within the next few months. Villagers believe this proposed arrangement would be highly satisfactory because certain problems, such as the scarcity of fertilizer, particularly potash, and the lack of water for paddy lands, are distinctive to the reclamation area. Also, the social organization of the reclamation households differs because of their diverse backgrounds and dispersed settlement.

Further Facts About Karako

Total population	5,471
Total households	939
Farm households	749
Total land area (cho)	1,180
Cultivated land (cho)	622
Average size of farm (cho)	0.8
Percent of total area in which more than one crop is grown	27
Annual precipitation (inches)	51.2
Frost-free season (days)	203

Elevation above sea level (feet)	
At village hall	138
At lowest and highest points	80-360
Draft animals	
Number	347
Average per farm household	0.46
Electric motors and internal combustion engines	
Number	205
Average per farm household	0.27



NATURAL RESOURCES SECTION

Major Changes in the 18-Month Period

Ownership of 30 percent of the arable land was transferred to the operating tenants
Land owned by temples (five percent of all arable land) was sold to tenants under the land reform program
Upon the dissolution of Nogyokai, 16 local agricultural practice associations were dissolved and 28 local agricultural groups were organized
A new lower secondary school building was erected
A parent-teachers association was organized
A vegetable marketing association was set up to market vegetables in Tokyo
A sericulture cooperative association was established to service producers of raw silk
The area in mulberry for silkworms was increased
A pig raising association was organized

Distinctive Local Problems

Production of vegetables reported by farmers to be less profitable than traditional rice farming
Irrigation water not dependable since wartime airfield and mountainside ammunition dump were started
Excessive cutting of forest for lumber and charcoal
Reclamation farmers finding abandoned airfield land unproductive because top soil was removed from large areas in leveling the land for an airfield

Main Agricultural Products

Vegetables
Rice
Soybeans
Wheat and barley
Sweet potatoes
Silk

Institutions and Organizations

Schools
2 elementary schools
1 new lower secondary school

Religious organizations
6 Shrine Shinto--1 resident priest
5 Buddhist temples--3 resident priests

Cooperatives
Karako Agricultural Cooperative Assn
Sericulture Cooperative Assn
Reclamation Agriculture Cooperative Assn
Dairy Cooperative Assn (gun-wide)
Horticulture Cooperative Assn (gun-wide)

Miscellaneous organizations
Parent-Teachers' Assn
Karako Athletic Assn
Social Education Commission
Youth Assn
Farmers' Union
Vegetable Marketing Assn
Pig Raising Assn
Agricultural Mutual Relief Assn
Firemen's Assn

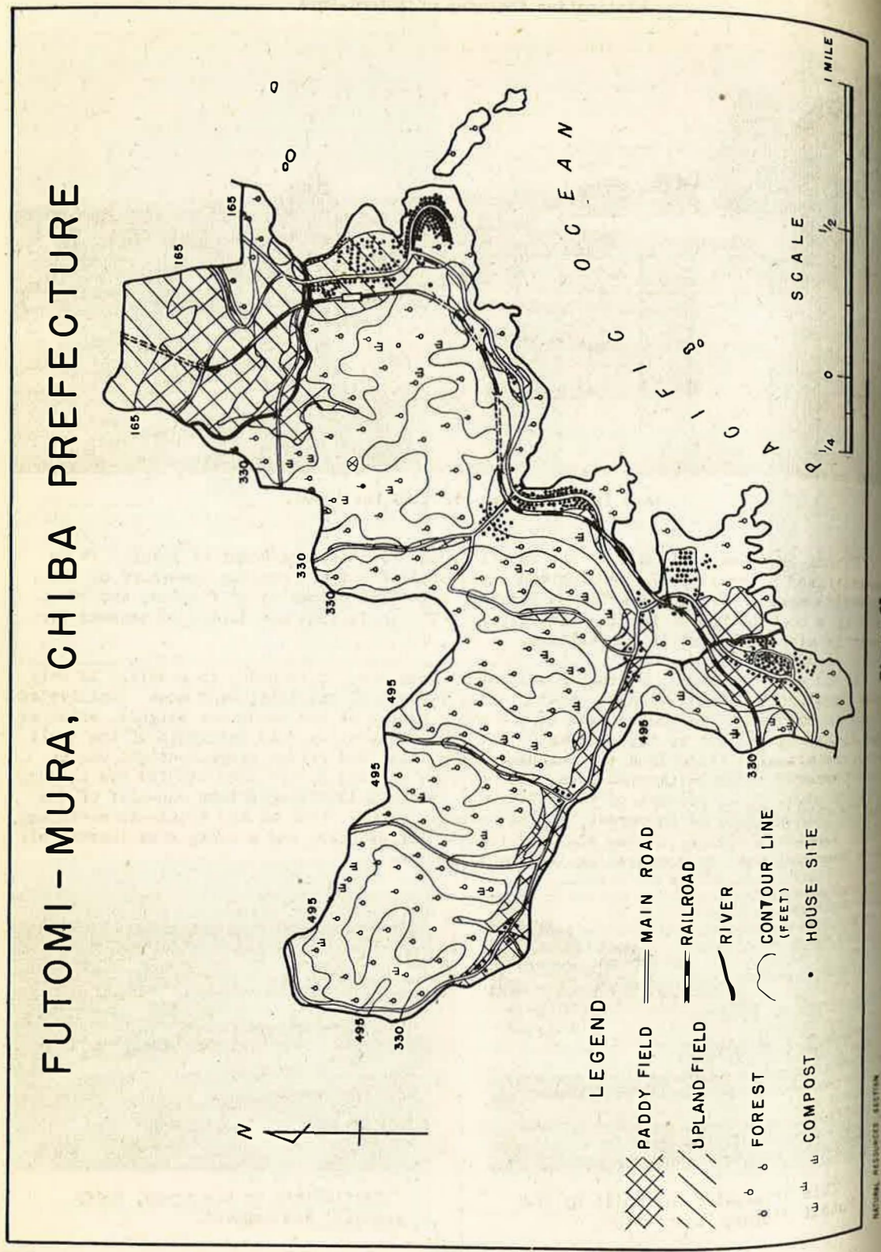
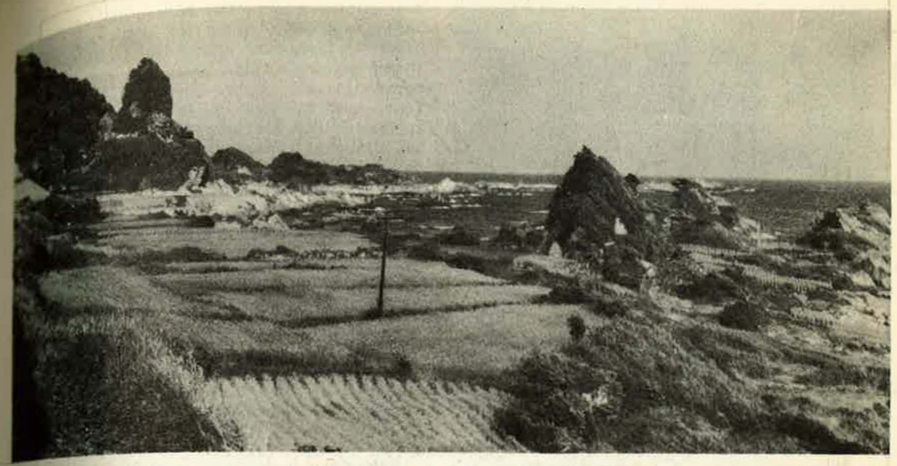


Figure 31



Land is cultivated right to the ocean.

Futomi is a small village on the Pacific coast 80 miles southeast of Tokyo. It is characterized by small-scale farming and small-scale fishing. Roughly one-third of the households make a living primarily by farming, one-third primarily by fishing, and one-third by a combination of farming and fishing. The collection and drying of seaweed for market is also important in the village.

Farms are very small, averaging only about four tan. Rice paddy is possible in only three small parts of the village, making up 14 percent of the total land area. Cultivated upland is even more limited because of the steep slopes of the sandstone heights, which at many places extend out to the seacoast. Because of the widespread ownership of the small farms, relatively little land was purchased under the land reform program--eight cho or seven percent of the cultivated area. The average for the 13 villages studied was 44 cho, which amounted to 41 percent of the cultivated land. A little more than one-half of the area of this village is in forest, and the remainder--one-fifth of the total--is wasteland, mostly sandstone cliffs, carved and scalloped by the weather, and a rocky area immediately above the surf that is rendered useless by typhoons.

This breakwater was built by the Futomi fishery association.

Settlements on the rough, rocky seacoast are compact.

Seaweed collection is important.

Except for a few dwellings along a narrow inland stream, the households in the village are located along the coast road with numerous fisherman households on a spur road that runs around the lower edges of a craggy peninsula east of the road. More than three-fourths of the area of the entire village is too rough for dwellings. The railroad along the seacoast repeatedly tunnels through mountains that extend to the very edge of the water.

With opportunities for earning a livelihood in farming and fishing quite limited, the population decreased three percent between June 1947 and December 1948. There were few civilian repatriates here, the number of evacuees decreased noticeably, and the number of regular residents also declined. Emigration of people from this village, especially young people in their late teens, to the Tokyo-Yokohama area has been a regular occurrence. As a result, many farm households and fishing households are inherited by the younger sons rather than by the eldest, as is common in most of Japan.

Crop failures here have been common, because of the destructive typhoons every two or three years. There is no possibility of a reclamation project in the village. To increase their incomes, the farmers take advantage of their comparative nearness to the Tokyo market. They specialize in the production of chrysanthemums, carnations, and other flowers for sale in Tokyo, and in the production and processing, at a local dairy cooperative, of dairy products, also for the Tokyo market. The area in flowers and the number of milk cows both increased during the 18-month period. A typical house site is shown in Figure 39.

The families who devote their time primarily to fishing are concentrated in a separate fishing buraku which is located at the base of the steep sandstone peninsula that juts out into the Pacific. Just east of the peninsula are two small islands, used mainly for local recreation. Seaweed is processed jointly by a group of families.

Feudalism has traditionally been powerful, but in recent months a distinct shift has occurred. More of the positions in the village office and in organizations are being filled by the heads of rank-and-file households.

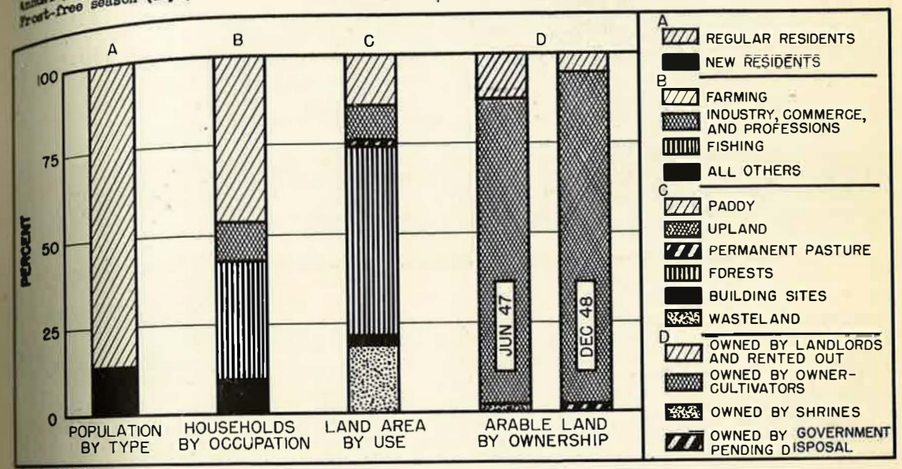
Drying is a common method of preservation for fish; the dried fish are then packed for shipment.

Keeping the nets in repair is a continuing problem for the fisherman.

Further Facts About Futomi

Total population	2,752
Total households	560
Farm households	257
Total land area (cho)	478
Cultivated land (cho)	116
Average size of farm (cho)	0.4
Percent of total area in which more than one crop is grown	26
Annual precipitation (inches)	83.0
Frost-free season (days)	259

Elevation above sea level (feet)	
At village hall	10
At lowest and highest points	0-610
Draft animals	
Number	19
Average per farm household	0.07
Electric motors and internal combustion engines	
Number	14
Average per farm household	0.05



NATURAL RESOURCES SECTION

Major Changes in the 18-Month Period

Population decreased three percent, with losses occurring among both new-type and regular residents
Ownership of seven percent of the arable land was transferred to operating tenants
Seven local agricultural practice associations were dissolved, and 10 new agricultural service groups were established
A tourist association was set up to promote tourist activities to the islands off the coast
A florist association was re-established
A youth association was established
A parent-teachers association was organized
Fishing expanded a little
The firemen's association was reorganized

Distinctive Local Problems

Recurring typhoons that destroy crops and damage fishing equipment
Difficulty in arranging for construction of new lower secondary school building because of low per capita tax base
Emigration necessitated by scarcity of local economic opportunities

Main Agricultural Products

Rice
Sweet potatoes
Wheat and barley
White potatoes
Milk
Flowers

Institutions and Organizations

Schools
1 elementary school
1 new lower secondary school (planned)

Religious organizations
6 Shrine Shinto--no resident priests
4 Buddhist temples--2 resident priests

Cooperatives
Futomi Agricultural Cooperative Assn
Dairy Cooperative

Miscellaneous organizations
Fishery Assn
Youth Assn
Firemen's Assn
Parent-Teachers' Assn
Florist Assn
Tourist Assn
Agricultural Mutual Relief Assn

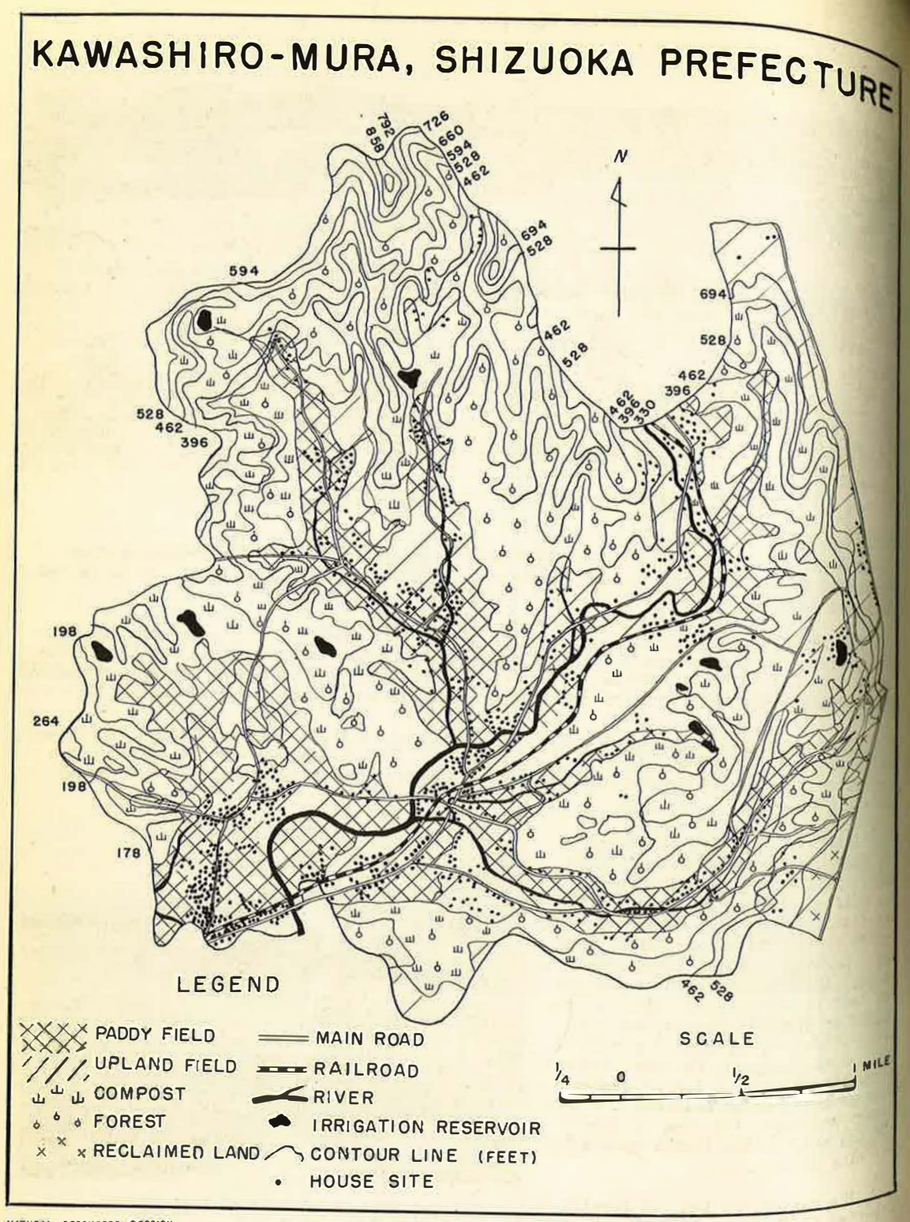
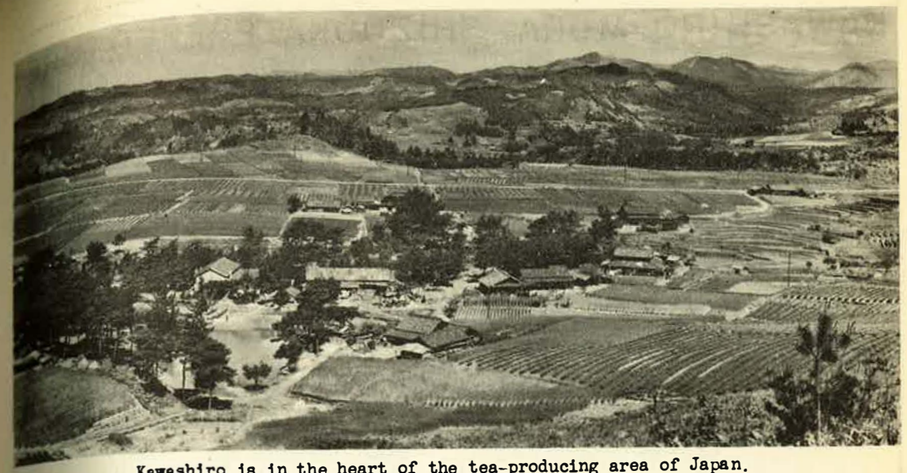


Figure 32

Distinctive Features of Kawashiro-Mura



Kawashiro is in the heart of the tea-producing area of Japan.

The village of Kawashiro is in the heart of Japan's principal tea-producing area, which borders on the Pacific coast, southeast of Tokyo. The arable land lies in narrow strips along streams, more or less like the veins of a maple leaf.

Kawashiro is proud of its tea, which grows in well-trimmed rows on the rolling hillsides, giving to many a locality the appearance of a great formal garden. On a hillside facing the railroad as it passes through the village is a giant sign in living tea bushes: "OGASA TEA PRODUCING AREA". This living tea sign has been there for many years.

Processing the tea which is raised and preparing it for market provide an additional source of income for the residents of Kawashiro. In the village are about 60 small tea processing plants, which hire an average of about five employees each for a four-month period in the summer.

A little more than one-third of the land area of this village is in cultivation--tea comprising about one-half of it. Most of the remaining fields are paddy. More than one-fourth of the village is forest, the major portion of which is privately owned. About one-seventh of the forest land is owned by the village, assigned to specific buraku, and further subdivided for use of groups of local householders. Because of the heavy annual application of compost that is required to maintain the necessary moisture, the area in forest and the area in tea fields have a definite relationship.

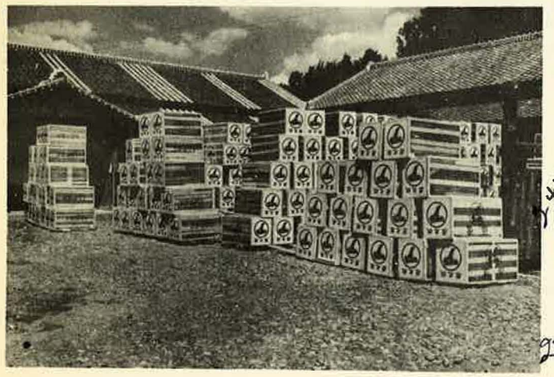
The market for tea, as locally reported in December 1948, had been

Women pick tea leaves at the government experiment station.

A tea advertising sign in living tea plants can be seen from the train passing through Kawashiro.

Many factories have been built in Shizuoka Prefecture.

Processing and packaging tea for market provide additional summer employment in the village.



dull, resulting in serious problems for the tea producers. The village leaders were anxious to find markets, especially abroad, for their surplus tea production.

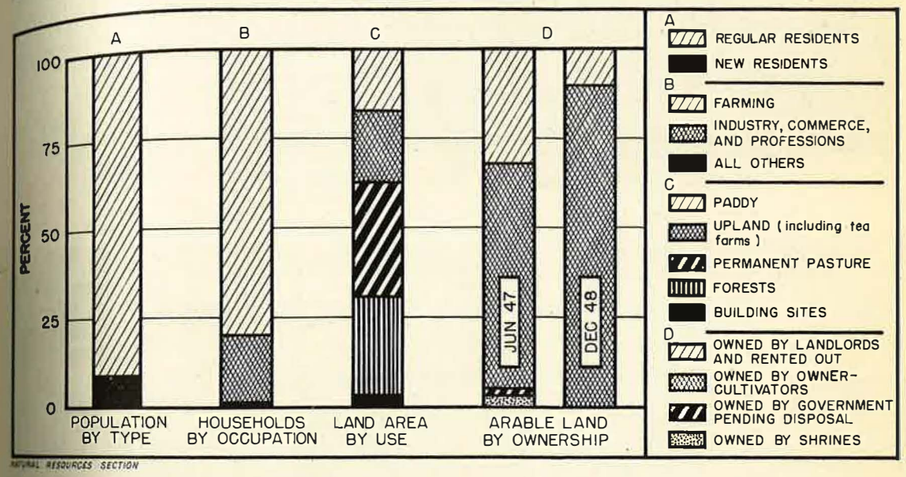
Economic opportunities, centering on tea and rice farming, have expanded slightly through increased off-farm employment and additional processing of farm products, principally rope made from rice straw and oil pressed from rape seed. The population increased two percent in the 18 months. The number of regular residents, who made up more than 90 percent of the population, increased, and new-type residents decreased during the period.

Land reclamation involving 22 cho in forest portions of the village area also is under way. Nine new families already have been settled on reclaimed land, and an estimated 50 resident families will be able to enlarge their present small holdings through reclamation.

The social structure of the village is based on a combination of generally self-sufficient buraku--each of which was earlier a separate village--kinship groups (extended families), or remnants of 10-family groupings. Such activities as maintenance of roads, care of the sick, and funeral arrangements usually are handled within this framework. For many years this village has been the scene of intense political rivalry.

Further Facts About Kawashiro

Total population	5,757	Elevation above sea level (feet)	
Total households	964	At village hall	197
Farm households	768	At lowest and highest points	8-920
Total land area (cho)	1,545	Draft animals	
Cultivated land (cho)	544	Number	125
Average size of farm (cho)	0.7	Average per farm household	0.16
Percent of total area in which more than one crop is grown	31	Electric motors and internal combustion engines	
Annual precipitation (inches)	87.6	Number	175
Frost-free season (days)	244	Average per farm household	0.23



NATURAL RESOURCES SECTION

Major Changes in the 18-Month Period

Ownership of 27 percent of the arable land was transferred to the operating tenants
Employee unions were organized among village hall employees and among the employees of the village agricultural cooperative association
A commercial and industrial association was set up to promote the sale of tea
A parent-teachers association was organized
A new lower secondary school building was erected
A room was built for school lunches at an elementary school
A clinic was established
Marked increases of power-driven rice hulling machines, from 121 to 175, and of power-driven rice threshing machines, from 46 to 80

Distinctive Local Problems

Finding markets for tea
Difficulty of arranging for compost from forest for tea plants
Loss of tea fields and other farm land from military airfield construction

Main Agricultural Products

Rice
Tea
Sweet potatoes
Wheat and barley
White potatoes

Institutions and Organizations

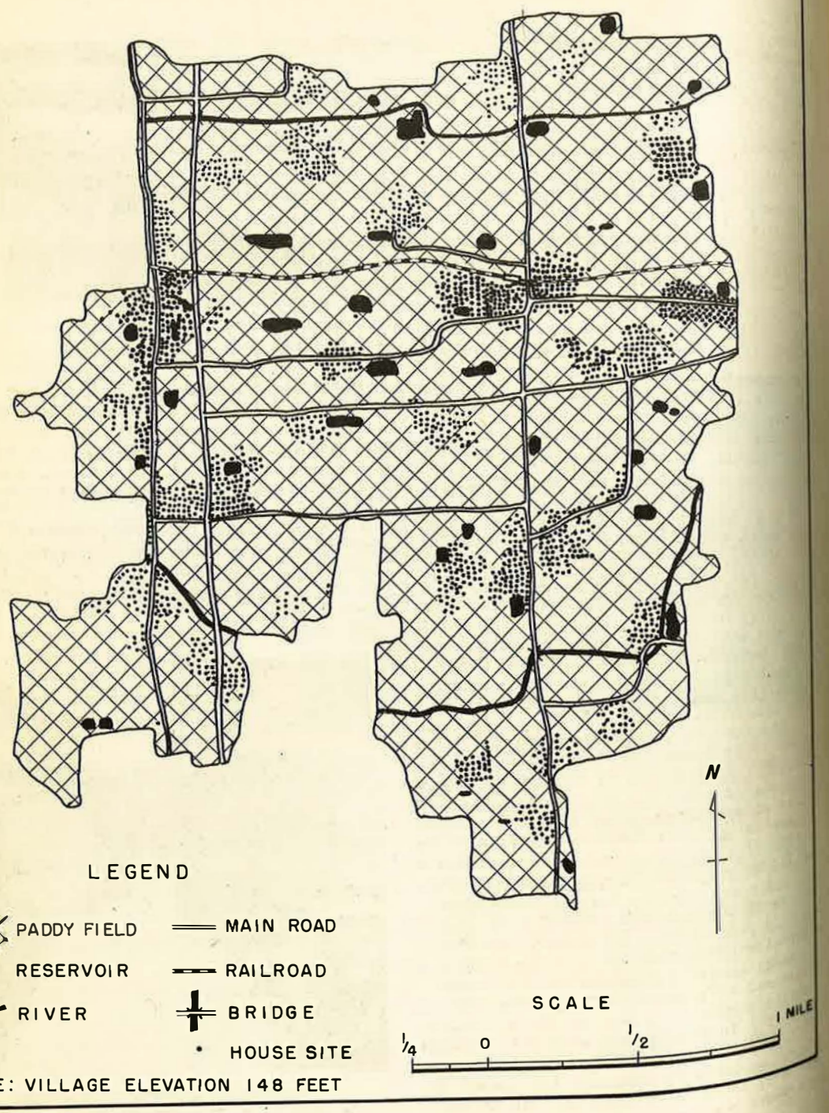
Schools
2 elementary schools
1 new lower secondary school

Religious organizations
8 Shrine Shinto--no resident priests
10 Buddhist temples--7 resident priests

Cooperatives
Kawashiro Agricultural Cooperative Assn

Miscellaneous organizations
Employees' Union of workers in village hall and in local cooperative
New Settlers Assn
Commercial and Industrial Assn
Women's Assn
Youth Assn
Parent-Teachers' Assn
Livelihood Protective Assn
Firemen's Protective Assn
Agricultural Mutual Relief Assn

NIKAIDO-MURA, NARA PREFECTURE



NATURAL RESOURCES SECTION

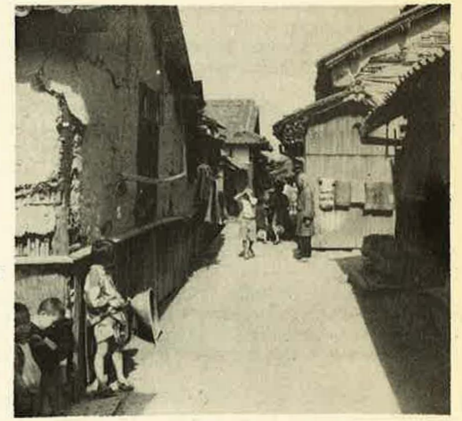
Figure 33

Nikaido is in flat, open country.

Nikaido-mura, in the Yamato plain of northern Nara Prefecture, is in flat, open country. It is wholly rural but is within easy reach of Osaka, Nara, and Kyoto and is located next to the town of Tambaichi. Approximately one-fourth of the area is in irrigation ponds and house sites. Nearly 70 percent of the area is in paddy and only four percent in cultivated upland. There is no possibility of a reclamation project in this village, where the land is so completely used; this area has been farmed for more than a thousand years.

With more than 90 percent of all cultivated land in paddy, farm life centers around rice, with wheat grown as a second crop in winter on the same land. An increasing proportion of the wheat is transplanted as seedlings from seed beds to fields. This enables the crop to get started early enough in the fall and be ready for harvesting by early summer. Farms are small, nine-tenths of them being one cho or less. Practically all of the work is done by hand. The 1,160 farm households in the village own a total of 158 draft animals and only 20 other farm animals of any kind. More than 85 percent of the farm households in December 1948 had no animals of any kind, and 33 percent had no fowls.

The farmers obtain their fuel from the wooded areas outside of the village, usually arranged for by groups of households who pay a stipulated price for a given amount of sticks of specified size. Compost in this village is entirely from rice straw and the residue of other local crops. Before World War II, watermelons were an important product, but more recently few have been grown because of the national necessity of increasing rice production. As locally reported, watermelon production was popular because of the ready market for melons in the nearby cities and also because of the generally inadequate supply of water for the extensive paddy area in Nikaido and adjacent villages. Beans and bulbs are still produced in marketable quantities, although the amount of land that could be devoted to them in recent years has been limited.



Homes, as elsewhere in Japan, are of simple construction, and many of them are old.

The headquarters of the Tenri sect of Sectarian Shinto is in the nearby town of Tambaichi.

Most houses in Nikaido have inner courts, in which many household and farm processing activities are conducted.

Nikaido is the most populous of the 11 entirely rural villages. The dwellings in Nikaido are all grouped by hamlets, as shown on the map. Nearly every one of the hamlets was, many decades ago, a separate village, with a shallow moat around it. Each hamlet has a separate storage pond for irrigation, and its own shrine and temple. As a result, this village now has 28 shrines belonging to Shrine Shinto, five shrines of Sectarian Shinto, and 21 Buddhist temples. The headquarters of the Tenri sect, a Sectarian Shinto religion, is in Tambaichi, and some of the dormitory buildings of the headquarters are in Nikaido, providing added economic and social activity for many villagers. Forty-seven households in Nikaido have Christians in them, which is a larger proportion of Christians than in any of the other 12 villages. Because there is no Christian church in the village, Nikaido Christians go to Tambaichi in order to attend church services.

The internal arrangements of houses and yards are distinctive; many houses have an inner court. In an area of crowded population, this affords space at each dwelling to dry the newly threshed rice and wheat on straw mats in the sun, as well as to do the great amount of home processing of agricultural products, especially the making of rice straw rope and straw bales.

The resident population increased two percent during the 18-month period, but a decrease of 40 percent occurred among evacuees, most of whom returned to Osaka.

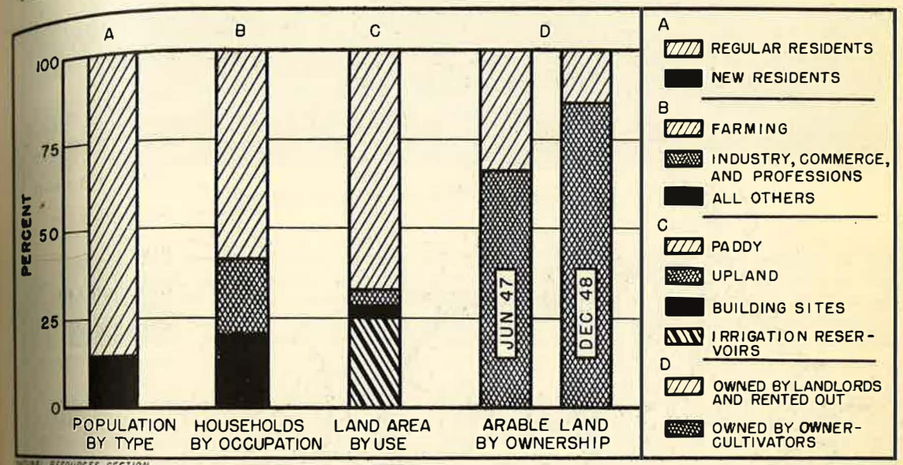
One buraku of this village is made up entirely of 92 Eta households. These follow a rather distinctive economy as compared with the remainder of the village. They do a little farming, make great quantities of "geta", do leather goods work, and engage in many other small household industries. The Eta and the other villagers do not intermarry.

The basic social structure of the village stems from the fact that each of the compact settlements still constitutes a semi-independent municipality. Within each are a number of long-established cohesive groups ("kaito") that traditionally exchanged work in busy seasons, helped in time of sickness and death, and maintained the local shrines and temples.

Further Facts About Nikaido

Total population	11,437
Total households	2,086
Farm households	1,160
Total land area (cho)	1,281
Cultivated land (cho)	926
Average size of farm (cho)	0.8
Percent of total area in which more than one crop is grown	81
Annual precipitation (inches)	55.5
Frost-free season (days)	193

Elevation above sea level (feet)	
At village hall	187
At lowest and highest points	150-190
Draf animals	
Number	158
Average per farm household	0.14
Electric motors and internal combustion engines	
Number	130
Average per farm household	0.11



RURAL RESOURCES SECTION

Major Changes in the 18-Month Period

Ownership of 19 percent of the arable land was transferred to the operating tenants; 88 percent of all farm households bought some land under the program
A rural industry association was organized
A savings association was established
The firemen's association was reorganized
A parent-teachers association was organized
A new hospital was built, and a clinic established
Number of households with running piped water (serviced from Tambaichi) increased from 300 to 350
Number of farm households who transplanted wheat and barley seedlings from seed beds to fields increased from 15 to 400

Distinctive Local Problems

Scarcity of water for irrigation
High cost and inaccessibility of fuel
Necessity of producing rice when watermelons and other crops are locally believed to be more profitable

Main Agricultural Products

Rice
Wheat and barley
Vegetables
Seeds and bulbs
Fruits and flowers

Institutions and Organizations

Schools
3 elementary schools
1 new lower secondary school

Religious organizations
28 Shrine Shinto--2 resident priests
5 Sectarian Shinto--5 resident priests, most of whom have other full-time work
21 Buddhist temples--21 resident priests (5 are priestesses), more than half of whom do full-time work elsewhere

Cooperatives
Nikaido Agricultural Cooperative Assn

Miscellaneous organizations
Rural Industry Assn
Savings Assn
Firemen's Assn
Mutual Health Insurance Assn
Parent-Teachers' Assn
Women's Assn
Youth Assn
Agricultural Mutual Relief Assn

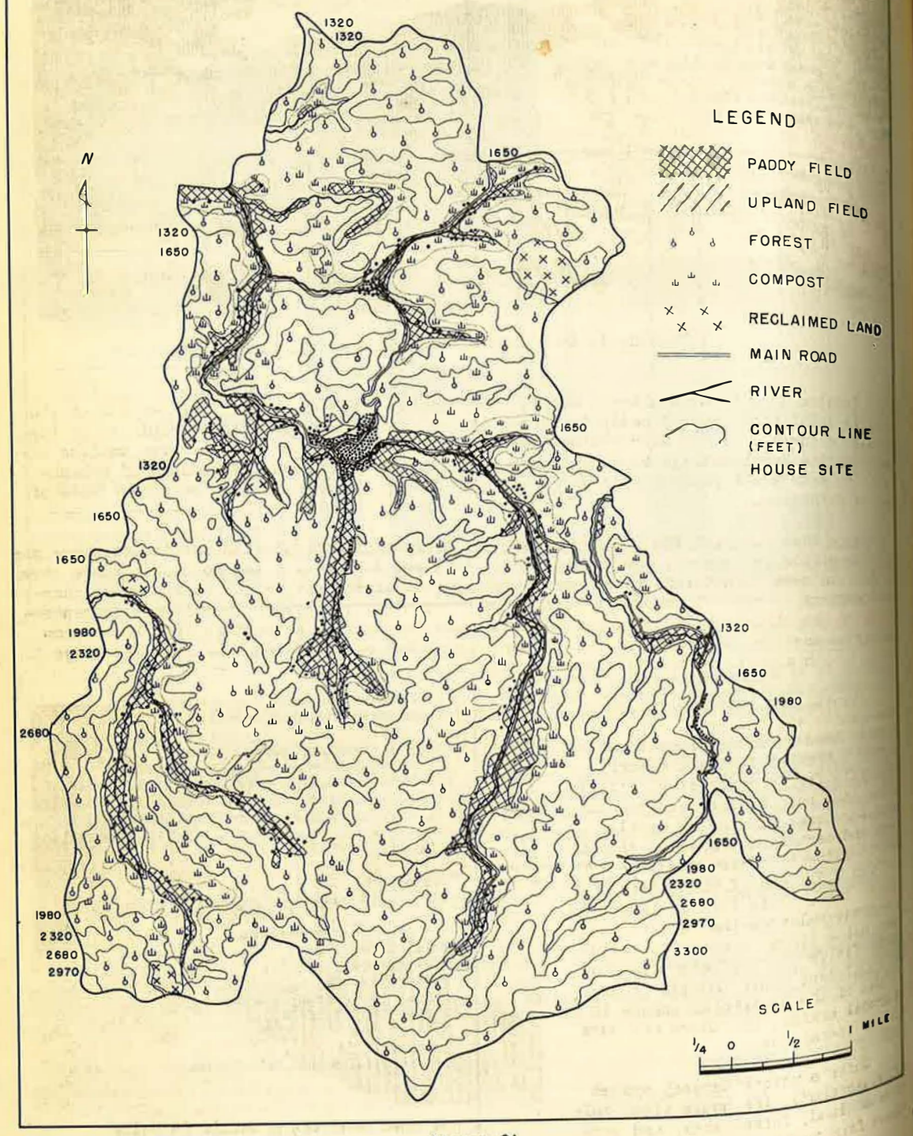


Figure 34

Yoshida is in a remote, mountainous region.

Yoshida-mura is mountainous, remote, and heavily forested. Only four percent of the area is cultivated, mostly paddy in narrow strips along the streams that originate in the extensive forests of the surrounding mountains. The arable area would be even smaller except for the great outlays of human labor in the construction and maintenance of embankments to make small paddy fields as far as possible up the mountainside on either side of the swift streams.

More than one-half the households are in the compact mountainside settlement where the village office is located; the remainder are in a settlement over the mountains where steel used to be made, scattered up the narrow valleys, or living off in the mountains as charcoal workers. Roads of necessity follow the streams and are rare. In only one instance--north of the village hall settlement--does a road lead across a mountain from one narrow valley to another. A second road is being constructed south across a mountainous ridge to connect with a part of the village that is difficult to reach.

Forest land comprises 69 percent of the village area. When cultivable land is sold, traditional rights to gather fuel and compost materials from the forest go with it. Under land reform, the land commission purchased 130 cho of arable land and certified the sales of 140 cho in 1945-46; linked with the 270 cho was 2,311 cho of traditional forest land. This linkage is due to the great reliance the farmers place upon using forest compost to enrich their fields and producing charcoal to supplement their income. Four-fifths of the households engage in charcoal making, and there are some timber operations.

Under a unique tenancy system ("kabukosaku"), the house site, cultivated land, forest area, and sometimes farm tools and livestock are

A new road over the mountain is being constructed.

Farmers rely on compost from the forest to enrich their fields.

rented by the farm tenant as a unit from a single landlord. Along with this arrangement go the loyalty and deference of the tenant and the patronage, protection, and leadership of the landlord.

Livelihood opportunities are limited to small farming operations, charcoal making, and a little wood and metal handicraft work. Yoshida is too inaccessible for villagers to commute to outside employment. In the 18 months under study, the four repatriates in the village moved out and there were no evacuees, although officials reported that there had been 170 in December 1945. Regular residents increased 2.5 percent from June 1947 to December 1948. There are seven Eta households near the old smelter settlement. They are very poor and are decreasing in number, for the people who move out seldom return.

Village life had been highly feudal, centering around a family whose ancestors founded the village more than 700 years ago. Prior to land reform, this family paid about 70 percent of all village taxes; it pays 15 percent now. As of 1945, the family owned in this and adjoining villages more than 15,000 cho of mountains and forests, as well as several hundred cho of tenant-cultivated fields along the scattered streams. The family also owned a smeltery in the mountains where there was iron sand; this smeltery ceased operations 20 years ago. The non-landowning households had for generations been beholden to the landlord family for economic aid and for the support of religious institutions. The landlord-tenant system in this village involved a five-step hierarchy, so that the landlord never had personal contact with his tenants.

The large, well-constructed, well-equipped school building is a monument to the dominant role of the feudal family. The building, erected in 1937 chiefly with funds donated by this family, is large enough to accommodate the new lower secondary school.

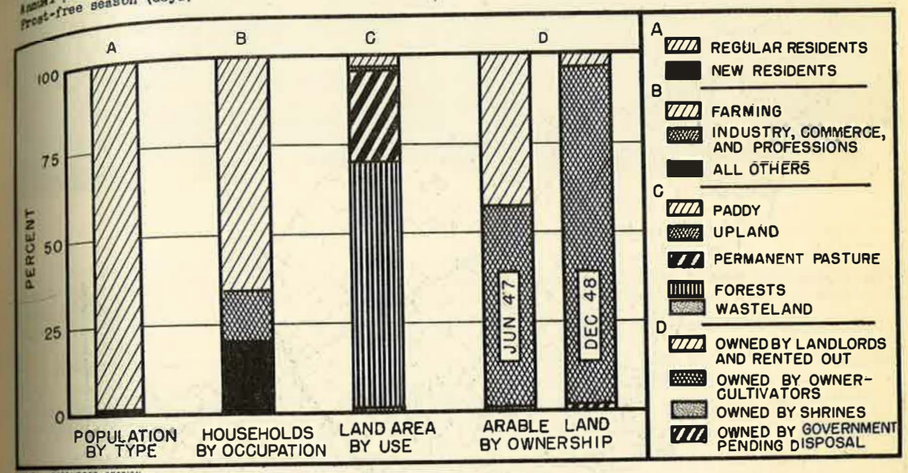
New owner-operators are relatively more numerous in this village than in any other. Great changes have occurred during recent months. In April 1947, 139 farm households--38 percent of the total--owned neither farm land nor house site. In December 1948, there were only five such households. As a result, the people are taking a much greater interest in the collecting and spending of taxes and in village affairs in general. Ninety-eight percent of all people of voting age voted in January 1949, by far the highest political participation in any of the villages. Also unique in this traditionally feudal village was a woman's successful candidacy, despite keen opposition, for a seat in the village assembly. It is not yet clear whether the high political participation is the product of a new democratic fervor or is a further example of how completely the people's established habits of obedience can be manipulated.

The school building is well-constructed and well-equipped.

Further Facts About Yoshida

Total population	3,192
Total households	567
Farm households	372
Total land area (cho)	9,518
Cultivated land (cho)	336
Average size of farm (cho)	0.9
Percent of total area in which more than one crop is grown	0.3
Annual precipitation (inches)	76.2
Frost-free season (days)	198

Elevation above sea level (feet)	
At village hall	1,246
At lowest and highest points	720-3,600
Draft animals	
Number	449
Average per farm household	1.21
Electric motors and internal combustion engines	
Number	183
Average per farm household	0.49



NATURAL RESOURCES SECTION

Major Changes in the 18-Month Period

Ownership of 36 percent of the arable land was transferred to operating tenants by the Land Commission. (Before the land reform, in 1945 and 1946, a somewhat larger amount of land had already been sold to tenants. These sales were certified by the Land Commission, which means that since 1945 approximately 80 percent of the arable land in the village has been transferred to tenant operators.)
The villagers, generally accustomed to little responsible participation, have begun to become aware of their role as taxpayers and independent voters.
A new lower secondary school was organized
A parent-teachers association was organized
A new road is being built over a mountain to connect an isolated narrow valley with the village office

Distinctive Local Problems

Inaccessibility because of remoteness
High cost of transferring charcoal and other forest products to market
Overcutting of forest for charcoal and timber

Main Agricultural Products

Rice
White potatoes
Sweet potatoes
Soybeans
Wheat and barley
Raw silk

Institutions and Organizations

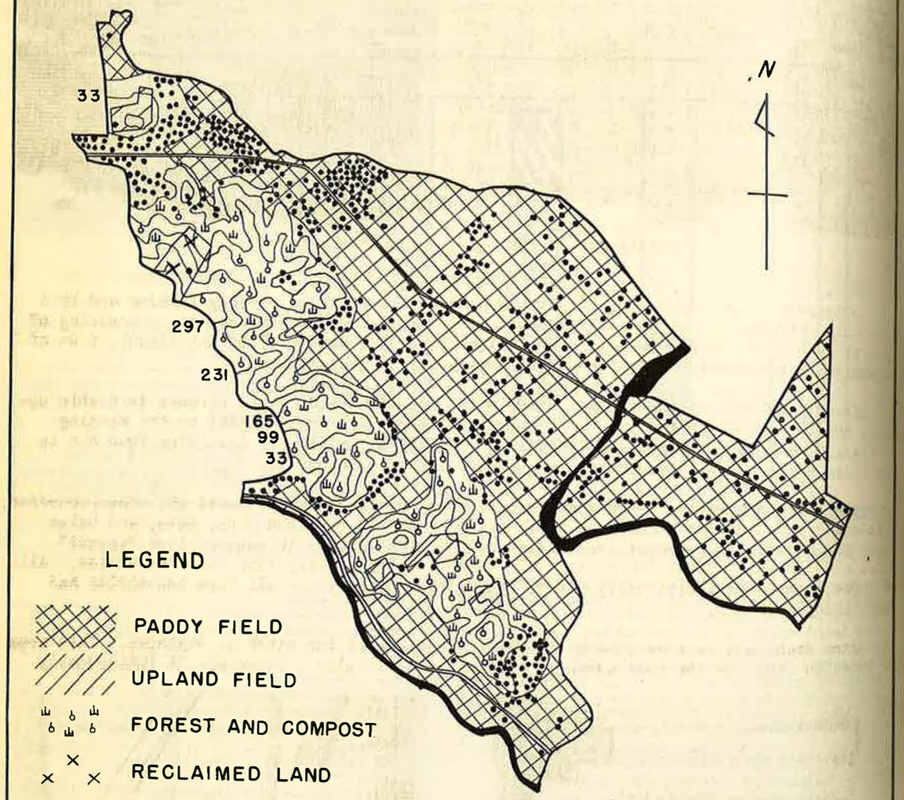
Schools
1 elementary school
6 branch elementary schools
1 new lower secondary school (no new building needed)

Religious organizations
4 Shrine Shinto--1 resident priest
5 Buddhist temples--6 resident priests

Cooperatives
Yoshida Agricultural Cooperative Assn
Livestock Cooperative (gun-wide)
Sericulture Cooperative (gun-wide)
New Settlers Cooperative (gun-wide)

Miscellaneous organizations
Commercial and Industrial Assn
Parent-Teachers' Assn
Firemen's Assn
Charcoal Producers Assn
Women's Assn
Youth Assn
Farmers' Union
Mutual Relief Assn

OBIE-MURA, OKAYAMA PREFECTURE



NATURAL RESOURCES SECTION

Figure 35

Distinctive Features of Obie-Mura

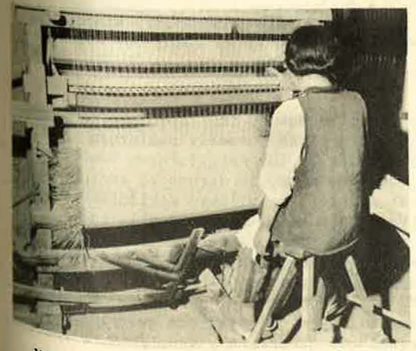
Settlements in Obie are somewhat scattered.

Obie-mura is wholly rural. It 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. Life in the village is influenced by the proximity of the sizable town of Kurashiki, where considerable industrial employment is available.

Seventy percent of the village area is in intensive paddy, five percent in arable upland, and 20 percent in forest. Most roads are narrow and run parallel to the winding irrigation and drainage ditches. A small land reclamation effort, involving four cho in the hilly section, will be used to enlarge present farm holdings.

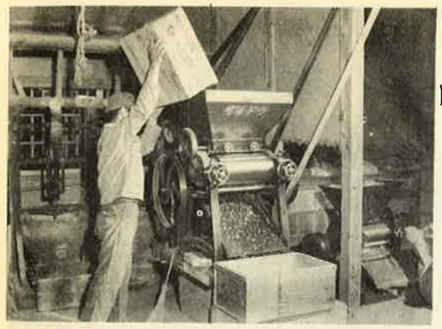
The farms are small, averaging 0.8 cho. Many agricultural products are home-processed, particularly "tatami" matting from the locally grown "i" rush and rope, mats, and bales from rice straw. In December 1948, there were in the village 50 motor-driven "tatami" looms and 300 foot-driven looms, or about three looms for every four farm households. All of these looms were individually owned. More than one-tenth of all farm households had rope-making machines.

Farm machinery is more common in Obie than in any of the other 12 villages. This area is known in Japan as the most advanced in farm mechanization. There are 35 individually



Most of the homes have "tatami" looms.

Making rope is an important home industry.



Farm machinery, such as these milling machines at the cooperative mill, is plentiful in Obie.

owned small walking tractors, six-sevenths of the tractors in the 13 villages. There are 274 stationary gasoline engines and 400 power-driven rice threshers, one-third of the total in the 13 villages. Here, as elsewhere in Japan, the machines are small. Most of the tractors are three horsepower, and all individually owned engines are less than three horsepower.

In addition to the individually owned farm machinery, there are 17 cooperatively owned electric motors and four stationary gasoline engines, all three horsepower or more. Electric outlets in paddy fields provide a means of readily accessible power; at threshing time, electric cords are plugged in. The use of machinery in Obie has been stimulated by the interest of the Ohara Institute at nearby Kurashiki in promoting mechanized farming.

Piped running water from Kurashiki now serves 120 households in Obie, and 60 more expect to be served within three years. Obie is arranging for joint operation of a new lower secondary school with a nearby village. A new jo ntly erected school building is scheduled to be ready by 1950.

The population gained slightly (0.3 percent) during the 18 months. The number of regular residents increased by one percent, and the number of new-type residents decreased by 10 percent. There are 25 Eta families in Obie, six of them being small farmers. Most of the Eta households live principally by animal slaughtering, leather working, and sandal making. They live apart from the other residents both socially and religiously.

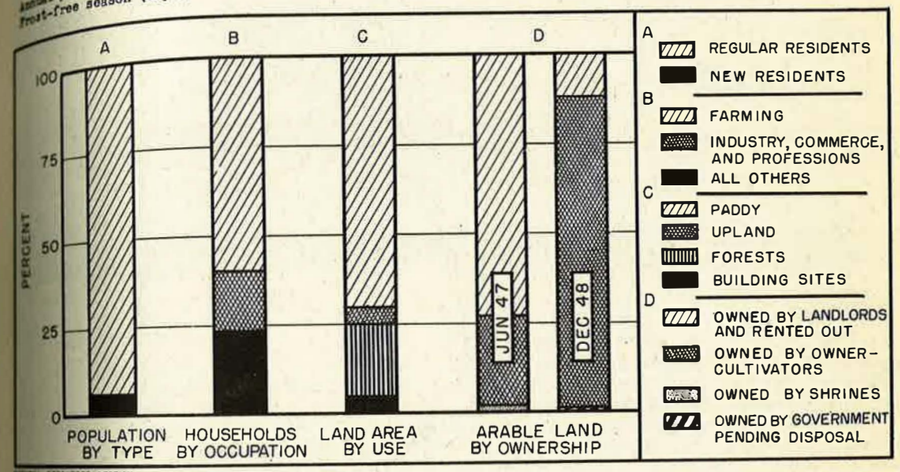
The basic unit of local organization in Obie is the "no yogumi", the agricultural cooperative group. This group, usually consisting of about 10 families, performs many of the functions normally performed in other communities by the neighborhood association. At the same time, it serves as an informal local unit of the village agricultural cooperative. Because of the unusually large amount of farm equipment, this community has little need for the cooperation of the neighborhood groups in rice transplanting and harvesting such as is common in other parts of Japan. A special type of religious grouping, the "kogumi" or "kona ama", functions on religious and funerary occasions.

The new lower secondary school is expected to be ready for occupancy in 1950.

These motorcycle trucks are owned by the agriculture cooperative.

Further Facts About Obie

Total population	4,050	Elevation above sea level (feet)	
Total households	824	At village hall	13
Farm households	492	At lowest and highest points	5-330
Total land area (cho)	526	Draft animals	
Cultivated land (cho)	367	Number	312
Average size of farm (cho)	0.8	Average per farm household	0.63
Percent of total area in which more than one crop is grown	84	Electric motors and internal combustion engines	
Annual precipitation (inches)	42.8	Number	481
Frost-free season (days)	223	Average per farm household	0.98



NATURAL RESOURCES SECTION

Major Changes in the 18-Month Period

Ownership of 59 percent of the arable land was transferred to the operating tenants
Fifty local agricultural practice associations were dissolved, and 60 agricultural service groups were organized
A new community hall was opened
A new lower secondary school was organized
A parent-teachers association was organized
Marketing of "tatami" matting was established on a cooperative basis
Financing of funeral services was arranged for cooperatively

Distinctive Local Problems

Too little irrigation water

Main Agricultural Products

Rice
Wheat and barley
Rye
Rush for "tatami"
Sweet potatoes
Fruit

Institutions and Organizations

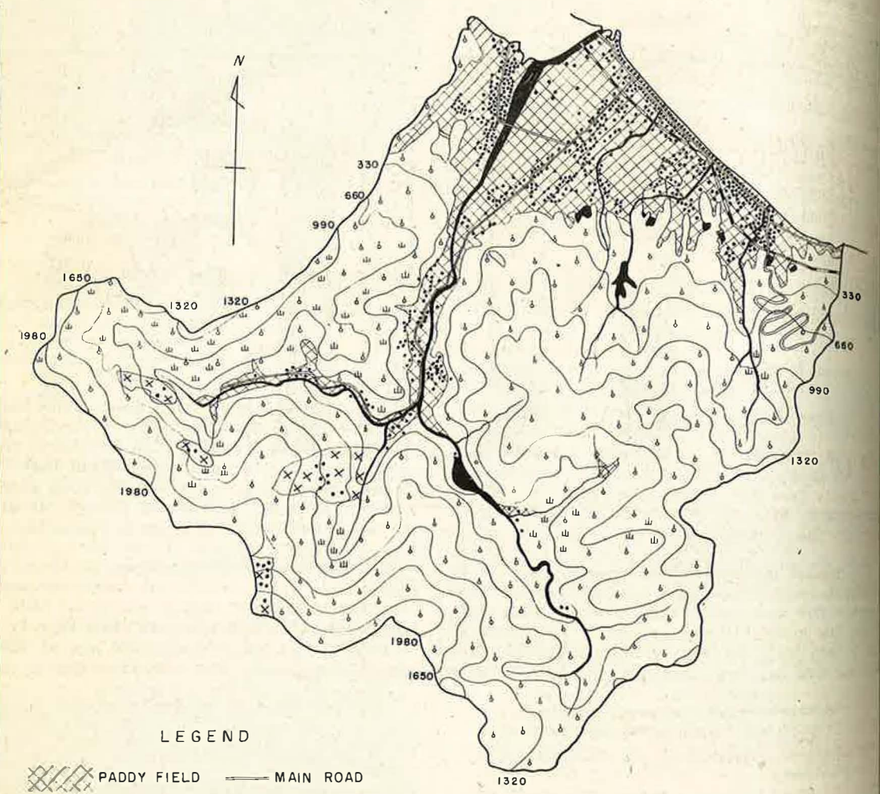
Schools
1 elementary school
1 new lower secondary school (new building planned)

Religious organizations
4 Shrine Shinto--no resident priests
4 Buddhist temples--4 resident priests

Cooperatives
Obie Agricultural Cooperative Asen

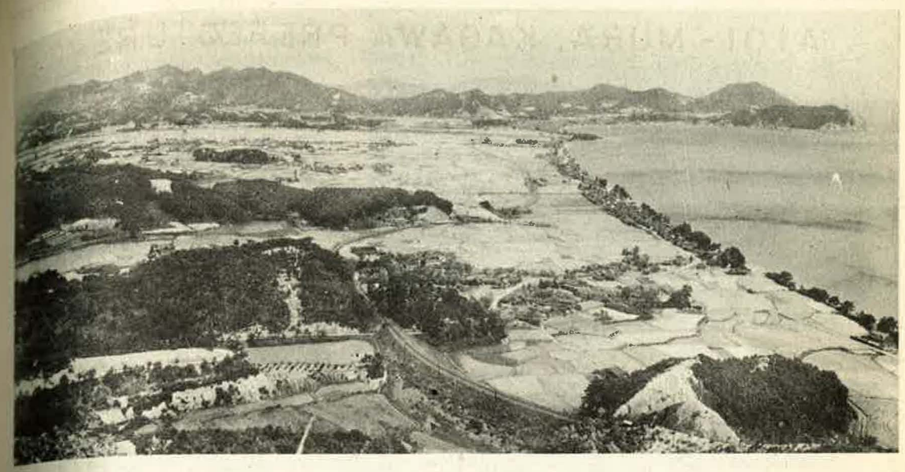
Miscellaneous organizations
Firemen's Assn
Parent-Teachers' Assn
Agricultural Mutual Relief Assn
Reclamation Assn
Youth Assn
Women's Assn

AIOI-MURA, KAGAWA PREFECTURE



NATURAL RESOURCES SECTION

Figure 36



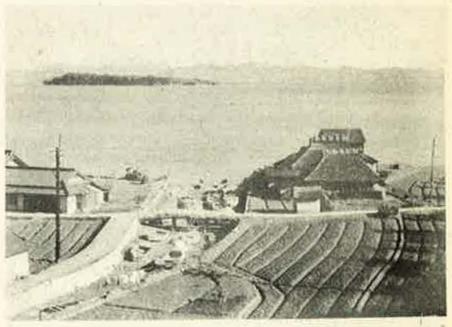
Aioi lies along the coast of the Inland Sea.

Aioi-mura, on the island of Shikoku, has little arable land and much forest. The one-eighth of the land that is cultivated--nearly all paddy--lies along the coast of the Inland Sea and in a narrow strip along a two-pronged stream that flows from the high mountains in the southern part of the village. These extensive forested mountains are so rugged that no roads traverse them. The dwellings (Figure 40) are concentrated in the paddy area along the coast, with a few households scattered up the narrow valley. A score of households are off in the mountains--charcoal workers and new settlers working on reclamation projects.

Forest undergrowth is scanty, because of low rainfall and sandy hillsides, so less compost is gathered here than in most of the villages. The extensive forest lands are used mostly for charcoal, with sawable timber only in the better-watered higher mountains back from the coast. Farms are small and intensely cultivated. The average size farm is only five tan, the smallest of any of the 13 villages except the fishing-farming village of Futomi. The land and the sea are close together in Aioi, physically and economically.

Scattered land reclamation projects, totalling 28 cho, were under way in the southwestern portions of the village. Ten cho will be used to enlarge existing farms and the remainder to provide settlement opportunities for 12 new families. Several repatriate households from Manchuria are located on this land.

As the result of an earthquake in late 1946, some of the paddy land along the coast sank, and salt water began to seep in. This sunken land can be cultivated only because of the construction of a deeply laid sea wall along the shore line. The project furnished some greatly needed local employment; it is being paid for by the national and the prefectural governments.



Paddy fields lie close to the sea in Aioi.

The sea wall protects Aioi against erosion.

Some regular nonfarm employment is available. One or more members from each of about 50 farm households are employed in a rope manufacturing plant. The rope is made of rice straw and is used mostly by fishermen in this and nearby villages. Some few women make straw rope by hand, without any machines or tools. A local soy sauce factory, sawmill, and sugar refinery provide some gainful work. Fishing affords the major income for 48 households.

The population gained slightly during the 18 months. Regular residents increased four percent, and new-type residents decreased nine percent. Even so, new-type residents made up 27 percent of the population at the end of the period. Even though Aioi is rather remote, new-type residents are relatively more numerous here than in any other village, because many people who had emigrated to Manchuria returned to Aioi after 1945.

A local unit of one of the farmers' unions was organized in this village in 1946 and was strong in June 1947. The land reform and other agrarian programs were then being carried forward with enthusiasm, and the cooperative had set up and was operating a sawmill.

94 Aioi has 76 Eta households who live in a settlement by themselves. Most of them are small farm operators, although much of their meager income is obtained from various small industries at home and from wage work outside their settlement. In 1948, they were permitted to become members of the hamlet shrine association. They take the ashes of their dead to a temple in Takamatsu, 30 miles away, and marry within their own group, though usually not within the village.

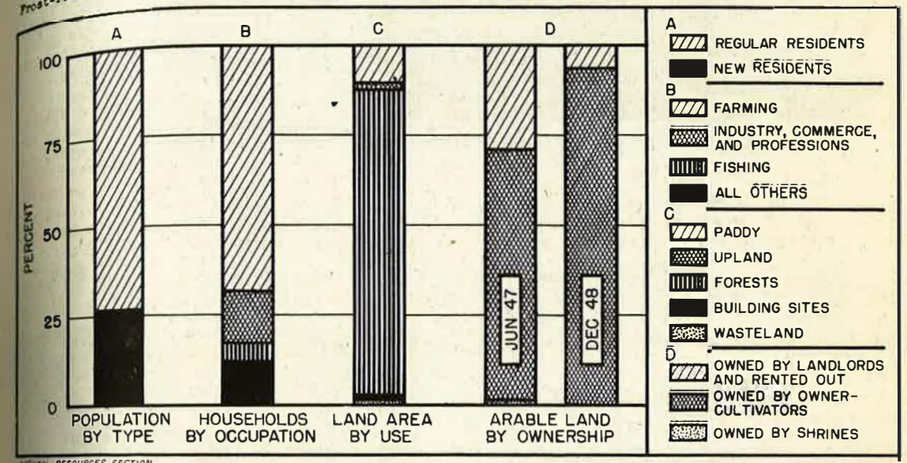
Villagers are awakened a little before sunrise by the ringing of this large temple bell.

A farmer rethatches his roof.

96 The social structure of Aioi takes its character from the highly self-contained nature of the six "oaza" which constitute the village. Until 1888, each of the six was an independent village, and each has in general maintained its own identity through support of local shrines and other community activities. Long-established seven- and eight-household groups ("memba") still function for 90 weddings, but funerals are conducted by a special funeral group, and work exchange is commonly carried on only by two or three neighboring households.

Further Facts About Aioi

Total population	4,569	Elevation above sea level (feet)	
Total households	916	At village hall	10
Farm households	622	At lowest and highest points	0-2,270
Total land area (cho)	2,868	Draft animals	
Cultivated land (cho)	323	Number	399
Average size of farm (cho)	0.5	Average per farm household	0.64
Percent of total area in which more than one crop is grown	80	Electric motors and internal combustion engines	
Annual precipitation (inches)	44.6	Number	72
Frost-free season (days)	228	Average per farm household	0.12



NATURAL RESOURCES SECTION

Major Changes in the 18-Month Period

Ownership of 45 percent of the arable land was transferred to the operating tenants
The cooperative began to operate a sawmill
The village office employed a public health nurse
A retaining wall at the coast line was started to keep salt water from seeping into the sunken paddy
Several sizable farm dwellings were built or renovated and a few settlers' dwellings erected
Eta families were permitted to become parishioners of the local shrine for first time
A reclamation agricultural cooperative association was organized
A new lower secondary school building was erected
A parent-teachers association was organized

Distinctive Local Problems

Seepage of salt water into sunken paddy near coast
Discrimination against Eta households
Some conflict between repatriates from Manchuria and regular residents

Main Agricultural Products

Rice
Wheat and barley
Straw rush for "tatami" matting
Sugar cane
Sweet potatoes
Tobacco

Institutions and Organizations

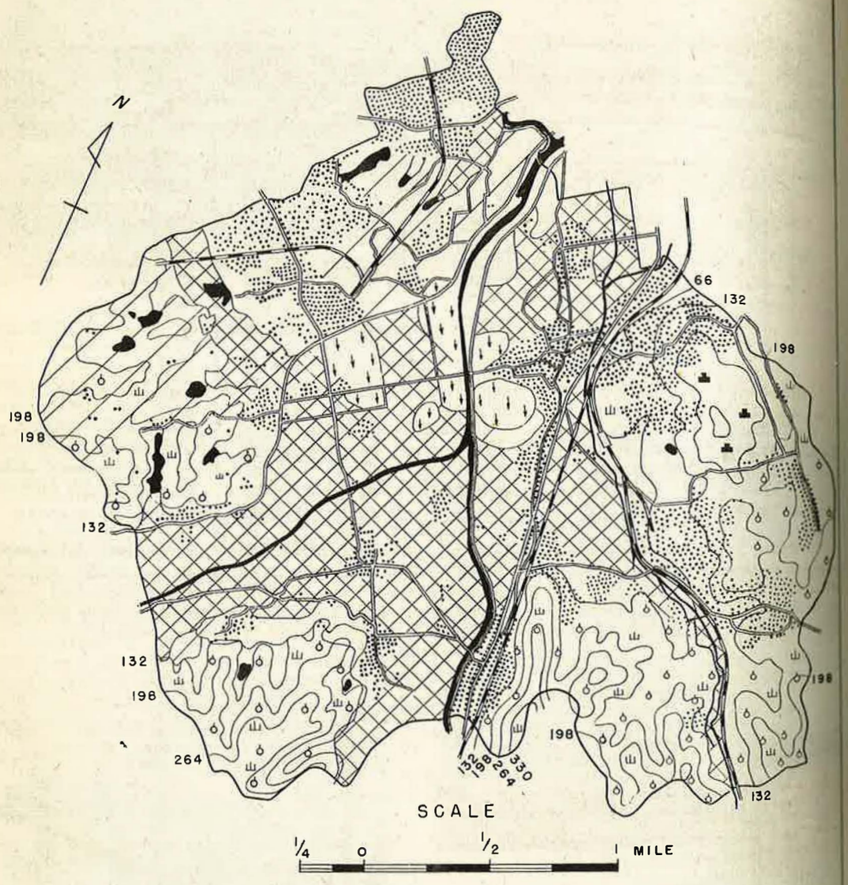
Schools
1 elementary school
1 new lower secondary school

Religious organizations
8 Shrine Shinto--no resident priests
1 Sectarian Shinto--no resident priests
10 Buddhist temples--2 resident priests

Cooperatives
Aioi Agricultural Cooperative Assn
Reclamation Agricultural Cooperative Assn
Hog Raising Cooperative Assn (prefectural level)

Miscellaneous organizations
Tobacco Practice Assn
Farmers' Union
Equity Club
Women's Assn
Firemen's Assn
Parent-Teachers' Assn
Forest Assn
Fishermen's Assn
Youth Assn
Agricultural Mutual Relief Assn

HONAMI-MURA, FUKUOKA PREFECTURE



NATURAL RESOURCES SECTION

Figure 37

Distinctive Features of Honami-Mura

Honami is the most populous of the 13 villages.

Honami-mura is in the mining area of Fukuoka, in northern Kyushu. It is the most populous village studied, having nearly 40,000 inhabitants. A little less than one-tenth of the households live by farming, about eight-tenths by mining; one-third of the farm households have one or more members working in the mines, full- or part-time. The farming area is concentrated in the low-lying central portions of the village. One-third of the village area is in cultivation, nine-tenths of this being paddy. One-fourth is in forest, one-fourth in wasteland, and the remainder in building sites.

Mining has resulted in the sinking of considerable farm land area; some has lowered several feet and is now under water, while other land has sunk enough to be too wet for effective farming. The one-fourth of the area classed as wasteland includes coal tipples as well as the sunken farm land. According to estimates, the sunken farm land increased about two percent in the 18 months, new ponds having formed in several places.

Coal tipples and sunken farm land filled with water are common.

Four-fifths of the miners live in company houses.

Miners leave cars after completing day's work.

Nine cho on a wooded slope is to be cleared of underbrush for cultivation. No new families are to be settled; the area reclaimed will be used to enlarge existing farms in this part of the village.

Practically all of the employees of the three larger mining interests--four-fifths of all miners--live in mining company settlements. The remainder are employed by smaller mining companies and do not live in such settlements. The population increased 11 percent during the 18 months; new-type residents increased nine percent and regular residents 12 percent, chiefly because of the influx of households attracted to the coal mines by the special inducements offered to mine workers and their families. There was considerable movement in and out of the mining villages by both new-type and regular residents. The population of the village would have increased even more if housing facilities had been available for additional miners. About 400 new houses are now under construction by the three big mining companies.

Approximately 70 percent of the households now have piped running water. If present plans are carried out, all dwellings will have running water by 1951.

There are 160 Eta households, most of whom have recently become owner-operators. They live in five buraku. Many associate freely with other people on economic matters, but marriage and ordinary social contacts are confined to their own group.

Honami has more cases where both husband and wife are members of the agricultural cooperative association than does any other village. Thirty percent of all members were women. The average for the 13 villages is 12 percent.

Honami is near the urban center of Iizuka and in many respects is a suburb of it.

Miners receive incentive goods at the company store.

Each mining company has its own shrine.

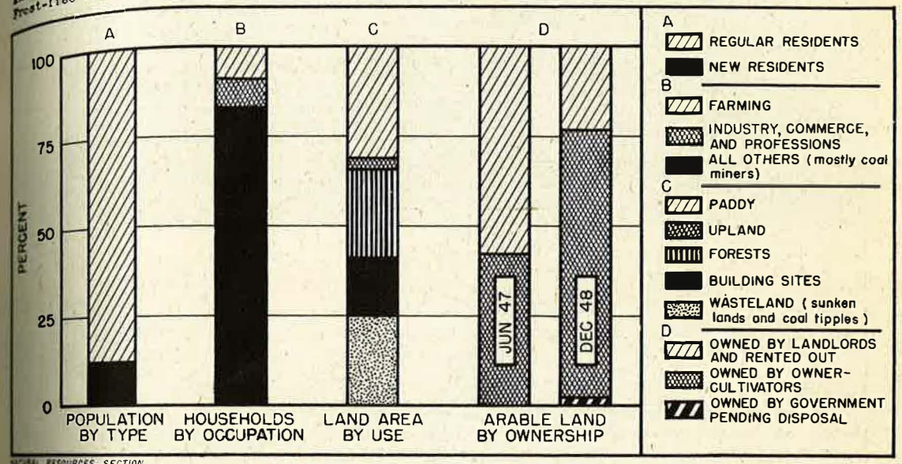
The people have business and social contacts there and send their children to its new upper secondary school. Nevertheless, the basic social structure in rural areas still centers upon the traditional neighborhood groupings. In the mining settlements the neighborhood groups are of a newer and less cohesive type. Since 1946, most miners have been members of labor unions, which conduct their activities independent of the neighborhood groupings.

Protective deities are enshrined in each settlement at larger mines; miniature shrines are at the entrance of each mine and the most dangerous spots within the mines.

Further Facts About Honami

Total population	39,836
Total households	7,910
Farm households	703
Total land area (cho)	1,322
Cultivated land (cho)	443
Average size of farm (cho)	0.6
Percent of total area in which more than one crop is grown	88
Annual precipitation (inches)	63.9
Frost-free season (days)	203

Elevation above sea level (feet)	
At village hall	62
At lowest and highest points	60-370
Draft animals	
Number	419
Average per farm household	0.59
Electric motors and internal combustion engines	
Number	188
Average per farm household	0.27



NATURAL RESOURCES SECTION

Major Changes in the 18-Month Period

Ownership of 33 percent of the arable land was transferred to operating tenants
Eighteen local agricultural practice associations were dissolved, and 26 new agricultural service groups were organized
Two new lower secondary school buildings were started
400 new mining dwelling units are nearing completion
Transplanting of wheat trebled
Piped water to dwellings increased
Amount of sunken land caused by mining increased
Parent teachers associations were organized

Distinctive Local Problems

Sunken land
Scarcity of housing facilities for miners
Little community feeling between farmers and miners

Main Agricultural Products

Rice
Wheat and barley
Vegetables
Sweet potatoes

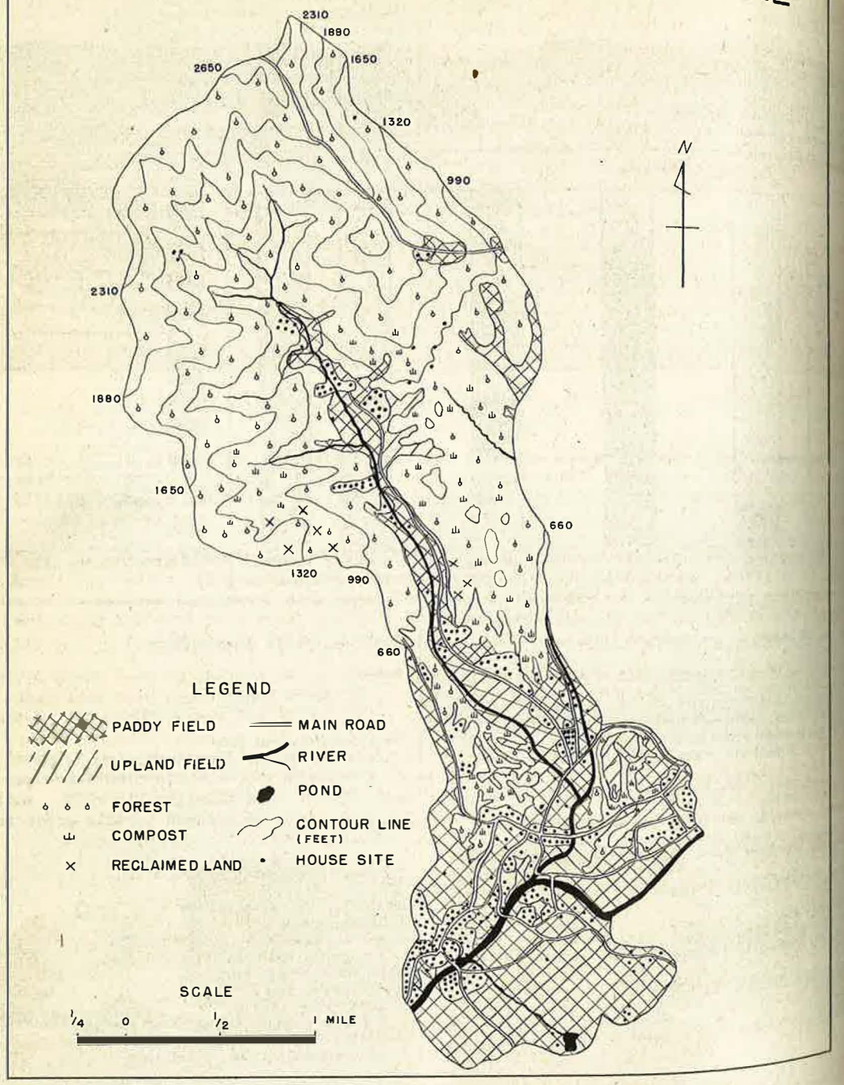
Institutions and Organizations

Schools
- 3 elementary schools
- 2 new lower secondary schools

Religious organizations
- 24 Shrine Shinto--1 resident priest
- 2 Sectarian Shinto--no resident priests
- 12 Buddhist temples--4 resident priests

Cooperatives
- Honami Agricultural Cooperative Assn
- Miners' Health Cooperative Assn
- Livestock Cooperative (gun-wide)

Miscellaneous organizations
- Youth Assn
- Women's Assn
- Commercial Men's Assn
- Parent-Teachers' Assn
- Firemen's Assn
- Boy Scouts
- 3 sanitary teams (miners only participating)
- Health Insurance Assn
- Agricultural Mutual Relief Assn



NATURAL RESOURCES SECTION

Figure 38

Distinctive Features of Suye-Mura

Suye is a small mountain village.

Suye-mura is a small, remote mountain village in Kumamoto Prefecture, in the central part of the island of Kyushu. One-third of the land area is arable, and the other two-thirds is in forest. There is about twice as much paddy as cultivated upland. Rice is the main crop.

The settlement pattern consists generally of fairly compact small groupings. The population is concentrated in the low-lying lands along the Kuma-gawa, which runs through the southern portions of the village. A strip of paddy with occasional settlement extends through the middle of the village and along a stream that flows down from the mountains. The settlements in this valley have road connections only with the main part of the village.

Livelihood opportunities are limited. Two-thirds of the households earn their living primarily by farming; the principal nonfarm employment is in small commercial establishments, in a local whiskey distillery, and in the extensive forest areas. Charcoal is the most important forest product; charcoal operations were greatly expanded during the war. In the 18 months, the cultivation of mulberry for silk worms was increased, and in an effort to increase incomes the residents tried several experiments, such as planting sugar cane--mostly on the borders of fields--growing more tobacco, and planting "i" rush. Additional sewing machines were purchased to enable village women to process textile goods in

Workers remove cocoons from silkworm bed.

Many of the homes have been established for generations.

Weathered stone shrines are seen along the roadside.

The population increased by four percent in the 18 months. Increases occurred in the number of both regular and new-type residents, particularly of military repatriates. The number of evacuees decreased.

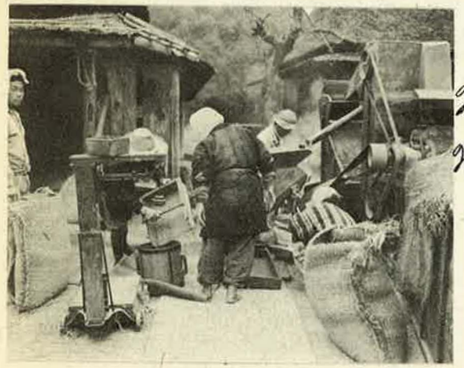
This village shows many evidences of antiquity. Midway up the narrow valley in the center of the village is the abandoned old temple with weatherworn gravestones nearby, and weathered gravestones of earlier times are seen here and there along the roadsides.

their own homes. Four "tatami" mat looms, the first in the village, were purchased and put to use weaving locally grown rush.

Approximately one-half of the extensive forest areas are owned by the national government, one-eighth by the prefectural government, one-eighth by private individuals, and one-sixteenth by the village; the remainder is owned jointly by local groups. Residents reported that these jointly owned forest lands earlier belonged to an ancient temple, long since abandoned, and that after many years of use by the local households their joint ownership came to be recognized.

Land reclamation, as now planned, will open up approximately 50 cho of forest land for cultivation. A little more than one-half of this, in a forested highland area, is expected to accommodate about 30 new settlers; the remainder, scattered throughout the lower portions of the village, will be available for resident farmers to enlarge their operations.

A new lower secondary school was erected recently.



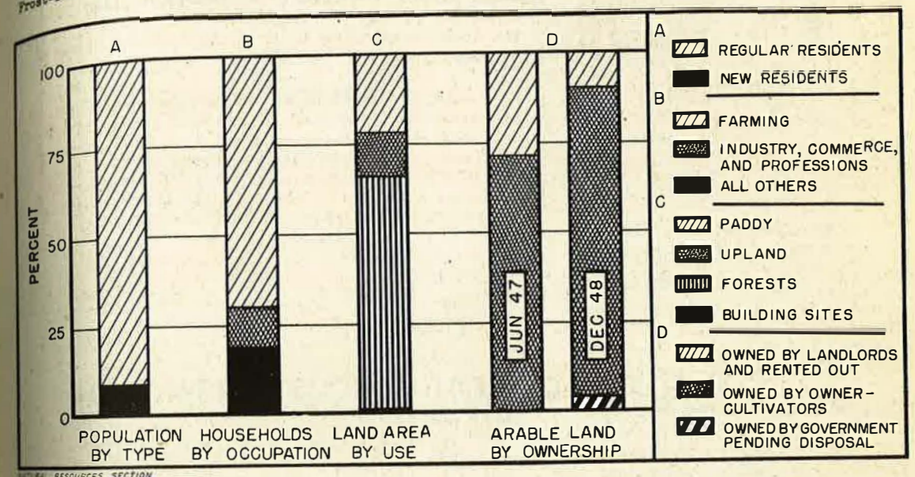
Threshed rice is weighed in a farm yard.

The social structure of the village centers around the general self-sufficiency of the 12 buraku, the 41 highly cohesive locality groupings of long standing, and the well-established custom of rotation of religious rites and feasts among groups of households.

The villagers report that it has been difficult for them to maintain the schools and other public services, because of the limited village income from taxes. Erection of the new lower secondary school was said to be especially burdensome, in view of the high income taxes and heavy crop delivery quotas.

Further Facts About Suye

Total population	2,140	Elevation above sea level (feet)	
Total households	357	At village hall	476
Farm households	249	At lowest and highest points	460-2,700
Total land area (cho)	1,132	Draft animals	
Cultivated land (cho)	383	Number	268
Average size of farm (cho)	1.5	Average per farm household	1.08
Percent of total area in which more than one crop is grown	61	Internal combustion engines	
Annual precipitation (inches)	71.3	Number	68
Frost-free season (days)	208	Average per farm household	0.27



NATURAL RESOURCES SECTION

Major Changes in the 18-Month Period

Ownership of 19 percent of the arable land was transferred to operating tenants
A public health nurse was hired by the village to serve the schools and general public
"i" rush was planted for the first time
A new lower secondary school building was erected
A police station was built
Sugar cane was planted for the first time
Four foot-operated "tatami" mat looms were bought
A sericulture cooperative association was organized
A parent-teachers association was organized

Distinctive Local Problems

Depletion of the forests by overcutting of trees
Low prices for charcoal, "tatami" matting, and other farm products, partly because of the remote location of village

Main Agricultural Products

Rice
Wheat and barley
Sweet potatoes
Vegetables
Silk

Institutions and Organizations

Schools
1 elementary school
1 new lower secondary school

Religious organizations
1 Shrine Shinto--1 resident priest
1 Buddhist temple--1 resident priest

Cooperatives
Suye Agricultural Cooperative Assn
Sericulture Cooperative Assn
Livestock Assn (gun-wide)

Miscellaneous organizations
Women's Assn
Youth Assn
Parent-Teachers' Assn
Crime Prevention Assn
Firemen's Assn
Tobacco Cultivators' Assn
Agricultural Mutual Relief Assn
Forest Owners Assn

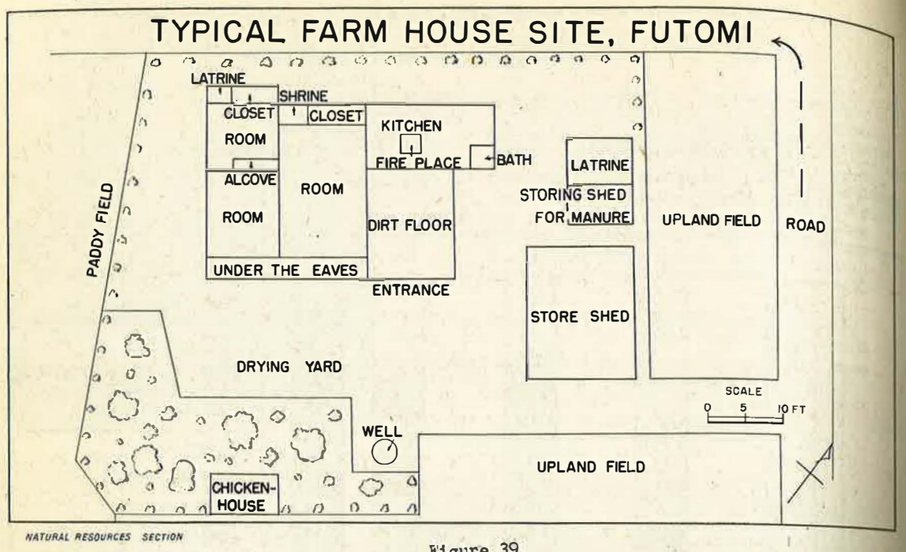


Figure 39

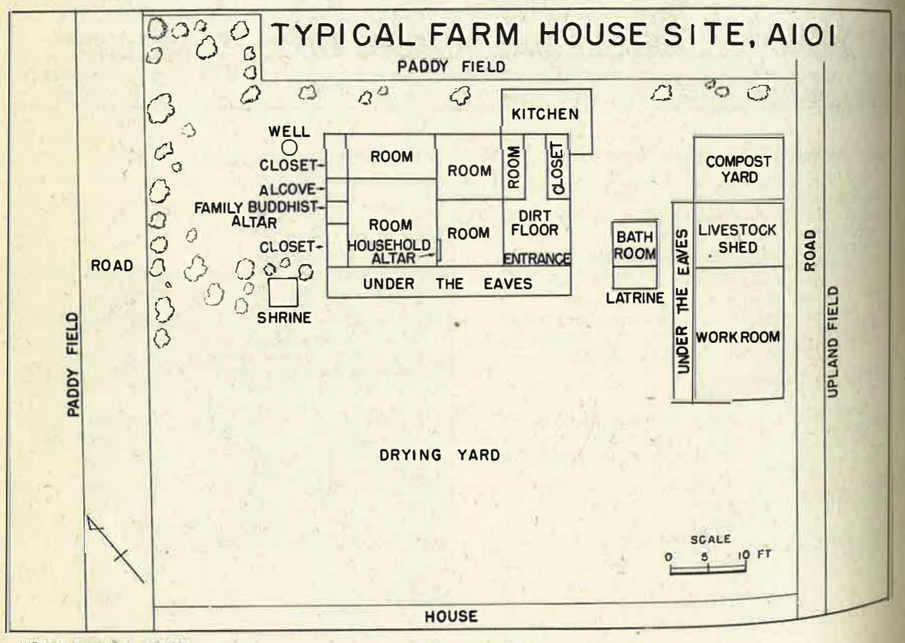


Figure 40

PART IV

ANALYSES OF SPECIAL PHASES OF VILLAGE LIFE

In this final part of the report, attention is given to certain matters which are too involved for adequate treatment in the topical approach used thus far. The subjects discussed are the recent agrarian reforms, the continuing rural problems, factors affecting village and community organization, leadership and political participation, family life in the villages, religious and educational conditions, and the general outlook of the people. Use is made of the first-hand materials that were obtained from village records, from interviews with village leaders and representative households, from questionnaires filled in by representatives of 1,300 households, and from the general over-all observations of the field staff.

Chapter 1

AGRARIAN REFORM

Agrarian reforms were the cause of most of the important changes that took place in the 13 villages from June 1947 to December 1948. In the opinion of those interviewed, most significant of these reforms was the land reform program, followed by the establishment of the new agricultural cooperative associations and by the land reclamation program, provided it resulted in more land for the villagers. 17/

AGRICULTURAL LAND REFORM

In 12 of the 13 villages, local leaders agreed that the most important change which had taken place in the 18 months under study was the transfer of land to operating tenants. As may be seen in Table 10, the proportion of all cultivated land transferred to tenant operators from April 1946 to December 1948 averaged 41 percent for the villages as a whole. During this period, 67 percent of all of the farm operators had purchased some land under the program (Table 11). 18/ Only in the farming-fishing village of Futomi, where but seven percent of the farm land was transferred to tenants and but 26 percent of the farm operators bought land, did local leaders rate the land reform program second in importance, placing reform of the fishery associations first.

In all villages, there were clear indications that the people thought the agricultural land reform program would be carried through to completion. However, in none of the villages had the recent sales to the farmers been registered in the land ledger in the registry office under the jurisdiction of the Attorney General's Office. This registration is a long and involved task, because so many separate small fields are involved. In all villages, arrangements were being made to go forward with the registration. In most villages, land reform officials estimated that registration would be completed early in 1950.

Nearly all of the lands purchased through the village land commissions were resold to the families who were tenanting them (Figure 41). This course was adopted in recognition of the moral lien held by tenants on the land they cultivate and the solidarity and general immobility of the Japanese rural family, as well as to ensure the least possible disturbance to production. The only exceptions of consequence were households operating less than two tan who generally were considered part-time farmers and therefore ineligible for purchase, or the land they farmed was adjudged insufficient to provide a dependable living primarily by farming. The land reform, as anticipated by its promoters, brought no dislocation to the farming population. A small increase in the number of farm households was caused principally by the inability of maturing youth to obtain remunerative off-farm employment.

17/ See Appendix C for copy of Memorandum issued by General Headquarters, Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers, in December 1945 to the Japanese Government directing it to enact land reform and other legislation to improve the economic conditions of the farm people of Japan.

18/ See Appendix D for a brief summary of the agricultural land reform program for the country as a whole and a summary of background data about the farming conditions which the land reform was launched to correct.

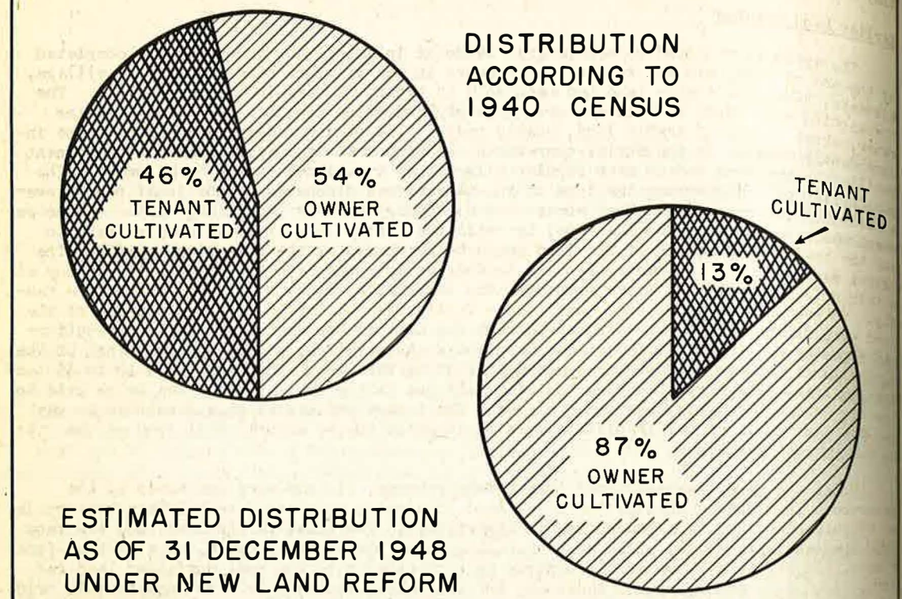


Figure 41

There was no evidence whatsoever that any of the new owner-operators would prefer to be tenants again or that they would just as soon be tenants as owners. Available evidence was conclusive that the new owners in the villages desire to hold on to the land they have been able to acquire and to remain in their new status as landowners. This determination may have important effects upon such matters as the extent of participation of the people in political affairs and in local organizations and agencies, the types of public services provided by local taxes, and the interest farmers have in technical information to increase their yields through better seeds, more effective fertilizer for their fields, and better marketing outlets.

Most new owners, along with the other farmers, reported that they found taxes high, delivery quotas heavy, and the continuing inflation burdensome. Also, they generally agreed that the decline in the black market in agricultural products has made it more difficult for farmers to make enough income to meet expenses, especially in view of the fact that they had to purchase on the black market many commodities unavailable through ration channels. A number of new owner-operators in each of the villages were asked if, in the face of these economic problems, each of which had become worse during the 18 months, they would prefer to, or would just as soon, be tenants again. All of them said "no"; they wanted to hold on to their ownership of the land.

Time and again the new owner-operators pointed out that it had been a lifetime hope of theirs, and often of their fathers before them, to own some land; several added that they had had no real hope of getting land in their lifetime, but now that they have it they want to keep it.

Earlier Land Reforms

The agricultural land reform program launched in late 1946, and virtually completed by the end of 1948, was not without forerunners in the villages studied. In one village, Mizuwake, 30 cho of arable land had been sold to tenant farmers in the late 1930's. The transaction came about in this manner: A large landowning family held, as an absentee owner, about 50 cho of arable land, mostly paddy. The owning family, which had become independently wealthy in industrial operations, continued to take an interest in the tenant families on the land and to make regular pilgrimages to a local shrine in Mizuwake. The possibility of transferring the land to the tenants was discussed by the local people over a period of several years. They worked out a strategy whereby the village mayor was to request the priest of the local shrine, to which the family came at least once a year, to ask the head of the family if the land could be purchased by the operating tenants. The priest was to assure the owner that the tenants would appreciate the opportunity to buy at a fair price, and that he himself thought the proposition might be of interest to the family. As events turned out, the head of the family was willing to sell. The sales of the land were financed by the government through the Central Cooperative Bank for Agriculture and Forestry and the local Industrial Cooperative Association, within the framework of the Agricultural Land Adjustment Law enacted in 1938 by the Diet. The land was sold to 35 tenant families. The largest amount bought by any one family was 1.3 cho. The price paid to the big landowning family was fixed by law. The tenant purchasers were permitted to pay for the land in 24 annual installments, with interest on the amount still owed at the rate of 3.2 percent per annum.

Under the recent agricultural land reform program, 162 cho were purchased by the government in Mizuwake through the local land commission and resold to 295 farm households, or 66 percent of the farm households in the village. The local people look upon the late 1930 transactions, all of which went unchallenged by the recent program, as a sort of forerunner. It was permissive and incomplete as contrasted with the post-Surrender land reform, which was compulsory and thorough, but was pointed to locally with considerable pride.

A second and larger pre-land reform sale of land to tenants occurred in late 1945 and early 1946 in Yoshida, where a large landlord sold 137 cho to more than 200 farm tenants. 19/

Agitation in prewar times for improved landlord-tenant relations had been widespread in three villages, Yokogoshi, Aioi, and Kawashiro, while in several other villages smaller numbers of tenants had let it be known that they wanted better leasing conditions.

In talking of the near completion of the initial phase of the agricultural land reform program in late 1948, villagers said they had found it hard to believe that so comprehensive a program would really be launched and carried through.

Educational Aspects

The adult education aspect of the agricultural land reform program was evident everywhere. Tenant members of the commission, many of whom were obviously ill at ease and insecure in their new posts when the villages were visited in June 1947, were somewhat seasoned performers in open meetings 18 months later, having, in the meantime, taken a responsible part in numerous transactions and decisions.

19/ Throughout Japan, between 1926 and 1946, more than 300,000 cho were bought by tenant farmers under various government programs which fixed the price and facilitated the financing when needed. All transactions were voluntary on the part of seller and buyer.

The selection of an agricultural land commission in some villages afforded all of the adult farm population, tenants as well as owners, an opportunity to vote on a matter of real interest to all elements of the village. In some villages, elections were not held, but instead candidates for membership on the commission were chosen at a burak caucus. In about one-half of the villages, the number of candidates selected was the same as the number of posts to be filled, and so these buraku nominations amounted to elections. The composition of each commission, however chosen, was of first importance, for it contained five tenants, two owner-cultivators, and three landlords. The very composition of these commissions proclaimed the fact that the tenants' interests were to be protected by the tenants themselves, rather than by someone acting on their behalf as had been the case in the traditional paternalism of rural Japan.

Soon after the agricultural land commissioners had been selected in December 1946, they began to explore their assignment. The first phase was the purchasing of the arable land of absentee owners and corporations, for these purchases did not involve the complicated matter of determining retention rates before purchase. Later, lands rented out by temples and shrines were purchased, and then the lands of resident owner-operators and temple and shrine lands operated by priests or by groups of parishioners. The maximum retention rate in most villages was about three cho, although in the village of Ebetsu, as in the rest of Hokkaido, the retention rate was considerably higher (10 cho) because the scale of agricultural operations is larger.

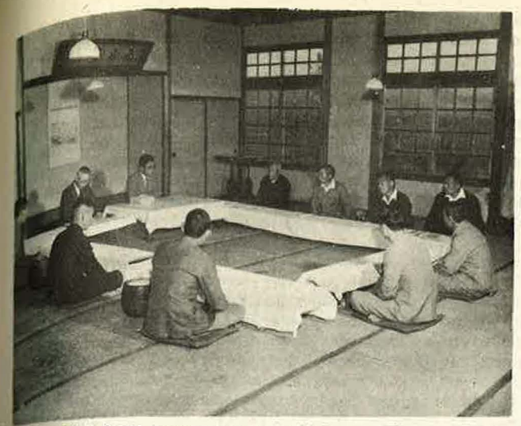
The purchasing of absentee-owned land went smoothly, but some difficulties were encountered during the purchasing of resident-owned and temple-owned lands. The least difficulty was experienced in Yokogoshi, where agitation for improvements in land tenure had been active for many years, and in Obie and Aioi, which had a great preponderance of tenants. However, the early success of the local commissions in arranging for the purchases from the absentee owners provided a much-needed training for the later purchases from the religious organizations and the resident owners.

In June 1947, many villagers, especially in southern Japan, doubted that the land reform would actually be carried out. Many tenants wanted to play the game safe. They wanted to own the land, if ownership were possible, but, not being absolutely certain that it would be sold to them, they wanted to maintain their traditional accepted relationships with the landowning families from whom they rented.

Rumors that the new land reform program might not be carried through on schedule were widespread during the first visit to the villages. In June 1947, numerous persons reported that tenants were saying that they did not want to become owners or did not know whether or not they wanted to. However, when direct answers were sought from tenants themselves, the most definite information obtained was that they feared they might not be able to become owners. Clearly some of the unfavorable rumors were being passed along, if not originated, by various large landowners and their agents.

As the commissions proceeded on schedule with their purchasing program, and especially when the reselling of the land started, the importance attached by the villagers to membership on the commission increased greatly. Then, and only then, did it become clear that the tenant members of the commissions actually had authority. Every week added to the prestige of the commissions, especially their tenant members. Until the resale of the land began, many of the tenant members did not know just what their situation was. Most of them seemed to have assumed that the landlord members of the commission were cooperating in the program under duress, and that as soon as they had the opportunity to undo what was being done, their sense of self-interest would lead them in that direction.

The purchase and resale of the land was a tedious matter. In each village, hundreds and hundreds of small tracts were involved, each with its own size and shape, and, in addition, many tracts with forest or other rights had to be dealt with. More than this, some tenant families could not purchase because the plots they were tenanting were not for sale; that is, the fields might be those which an owner-operator could hold within his retention right, in addition to the area he was cultivating. Such tenants often wanted and were



The land commission at Aioi, as elsewhere, is composed of five farmer tenants, three landlords (farmers who lease out some land), and two owner-cultivators. The eleventh man is the commission's chief clerk.

eligible to purchase land. The commissions sometimes resourcefully worked out an exchange of plots between absentee owners and those that could still be rented by resident operators. In these cases, two or more transactions had to take place before the tenant could buy, which meant additional detailed work by the commission. The vast amount of detail involved becomes understandable when it is noted that in the village of Aioi 2,000 pieces of land were involved in purchase and resale, in Nikaido 4,000, and in Yokogoshi more than 11,000.

The clerks of the commissions played a most important part in the whole program. It was they who calculated how much land was to be purchased, and from whom; they kept the records of the transactions and received and first studied the instructions that came to the commission's office. In many villages, the clerks were literally the teachers of the commission members.

By the time agreement had been reached as to which families could buy which tracts of land, tenant families and families from whom land had been purchased began to believe that the initial phase of the program would be completed on schedule. By that time, the early fall of 1948, the villagers had become generally aware of the actual authority of the commission. This authority became especially convincing as the village offices began arrangements for formal entry of the sales in the land ledger in the registry office under the jurisdiction of the Attorney General's Office.

Others, in addition to tenant members and clerks, who received valuable new training through the execution of the land reform program were the buraku representatives who took an active part in the work of the commissions, especially when the land in question was located in their particular part of the village. Each commission had an average of at least three clerks and perhaps not less than a half dozen buraku representatives. Thus, about 15 to 20 men in each village had unique first-hand leadership training within two years, and at least one-third of these were from the farm tenant group, who within the old tenure system could hardly have hoped to play such a role.

In December 1948, there were 11,025 local land commissions. Thus, of the perhaps 200,000 persons who received leadership training by serving on these commissions, no less than 66,000 were from the farm tenant group. So, quite aside from the many benefits which the new owner-operators are obtaining from the land they have purchased under the land reform program, the method used in making the transfers has in a very short time produced a sizable group of potential new leaders in rural Japan.

Many a tense moment accompanied the activities of the local land commissions. In the name of the government, the commission--half of whose voting members were tenants traditionally without leadership experience--was purchasing land that established, and oftentimes influential, households had owned for years, land which these households looked forward to keeping in the families for years to come. The tenant members, aware of the precedent-breaking activity with which they were identified, had the assurance of the government that they were expected to represent the interests of the tenants while the commission--acting on behalf of the government--bought and resold the land as designated by law.

Tenant members played a new and undefined role in the village. Some of them were reckless and overbearing in their powers; some seemed inarticulate and as subservient as ever; and now and then some few functioned as the agents of their landlords. The landed families, too, behaved in different ways: Some seemed to cooperate in the program; some were neutral; others did whatever they could in their own ways, within the limits of the unusual circumstances, to discredit the work of the commissions and to ridicule the activities of the tenant members. In the villages visited, however, there had been no violence. In every village some persons thought the land reform had done more harm than good, but many more thought it had done more good than harm. The rivalry for control between the commissions--especially the tenant members of the commissions--and the traditional leadership of the villages was the factor which made the land reform activities such an important adult educational enterprise.

Village Leadership

The question of leadership in relation to land reform legislation and other agrarian programs will be discussed in full in Chapter 4. Suffice it to say here that in practically all of the villages, the leaders estimated that from 10 to 40 percent of the people now in leadership positions would not be occupying them had it not been for the land reform and related agrarian programs. Some of this new leadership emerged around the new cooperatives, which are discussed later in this chapter, but the largest part emerged from the vital experiences involved in the purchase and resale activities of the local agricultural land commissions. In practically all instances, the villagers estimated that in 10 years, one-third to one-half of all local leaders would be coming from the new owner-operator households.

The effects of the land reform program upon local leadership were continually evident. A discussion on this subject held in Yokogoshi was very illuminating. A meeting was held in the village hall assembly room. Looking up at the large portraits of six of the former headmen, the present officials stated that not one of the officers in the village hall at that time could have held office under conditions prevailing when these earlier mayors were in authority. These six mayors were: a brother of the head of the large local landowning family, a relative of the same family, an owner of 52 cho, an owner of 10 cho, an owner of 30 cho, and an owner of 10 cho. The present mayor owns no land. He had been a clerk in the village office for more than 30 years until he became deputy mayor; in 1947, he was elected mayor. He has long been identified with the farmers' union. His background is generally similar to that of the majority of the present assemblymen, nearly all of whom are new owner-operators who were tenants a couple of years ago. Under the previous seven mayors, practically all of the assemblymen had been landowners, despite the fact that just before the land reform program was launched, 46 percent of all farmers rented 90 percent or more of the land they cultivated, and 72 percent rented half or more of their land.

Great changes in leadership had also occurred in Obie and Aioi. But in each, the new landowner group that had come into control in 1946-47 had been effectively challenged and put out of office by the more traditional leadership elements. Political rivalry in each village was keen, and old and new leaders in these and in many of the other villages will probably be busy for some time learning to live and work with one another.

Prospects of Completion

In December 1948, the land reform program generally was considered practically complete. But, as mentioned already, only a few of the sales had yet been recorded in the land registry book in the district office of the Attorney General. The general expectation was that the records of these sales would be made in the village office and that they would be certified by the prefectural officials and then entered on the Attorney General's land registry book. The new owner-operators received repeated assurances that an application filed with the local land commission for registration of land purchases would be accepted as binding by the representatives in the registry office, under the jurisdiction of the Attorney General's office, until actual registration is made.

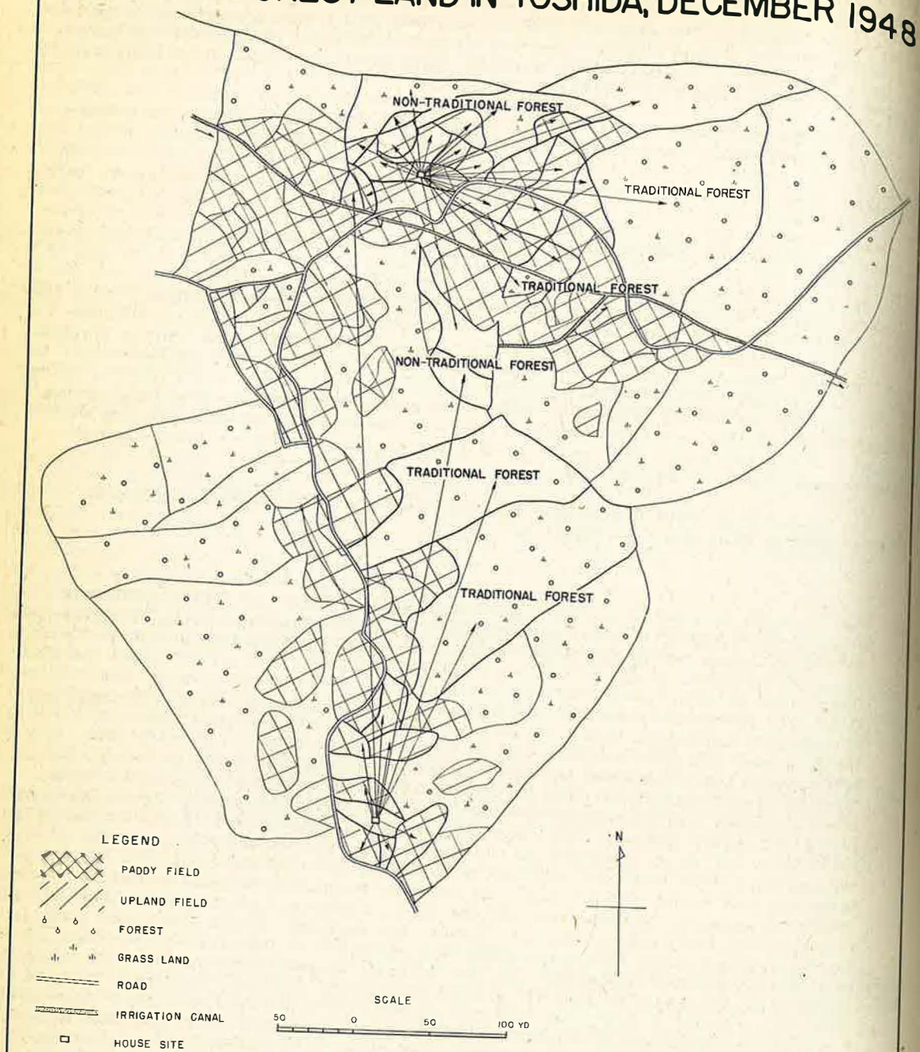
Of all the new owner-operators with whom discussions were held, in assembled groups and at their homes, only two expressed serious misgivings about the completion of the land reform program. One said that he would be certain that the land was really his only when it had been recorded in the land registry book; that even yet he thought there might be a change of policy in Tokyo. The other said that he would feel that his purchase of land was morally more binding if the owners of the land had been paid a more adequate price by the government. He was glad to have the land but thought that he had obtained it too cheaply and that, therefore, it did not belong to him as truly as if the former owner had received a price more nearly commensurate with its value.

Most of the members of the village land commissions felt that they had nearly completed their assignment, for they had been so busy with the purchase and resale of the numerous small tracts that they regarded these transactions as their major, and, in some instances, their only responsibility. For example, in two villages, complaints were made by farm operators, most of them new owner-operators, to the effect that they had lost their customary access to the forest for fuel and compost. In neither village did the chairman or other members of the commission seem to know that their group was responsible for maintaining intact the traditional rights of farmers to gether compost and firewood needed by their families from the forest. In one instance, the forest land had been sold, and the purchaser claimed that he had not been advised of any forest rights of villagers. The commission members seemed willing enough to have complaints brought to them, for they considered themselves primarily a referee agency, or a court of relief. Land reform legislation, however, makes it clear that the local commissions have the active responsibility for seeing that no rights are violated. In short, it is the commission's responsibility to see that no one has grounds for complaint, rather than merely to make some disposition of the complaints that arise. Commission members generally seemed to be unaware that they were charged with the additional responsibility of approving rental contracts covering such tenanted land operations as remained.

The relationship between ownership of arable land and forest land in Yoshida in December 1948 is illustrated in Figure 42. 20/

20/ The two small squares in the upper and lower parts of Figure 42 indicate the home sites of two farmers, and the lines radiating from them show the pieces of arable land and forest land owned by the farmers. In a few instances the farmers have to travel considerable distances to cultivate small tracts of paddy land. Traditional forest is forest land which is traditionally associated with tracts of paddy land. The cultivator of a particular paddy had the traditional right prior to land reform to gather pine needles and leaves from a stated tract of forest land and apply this compost to the rice land. He also had the right to gather fuelwood from the forest tract. The Agricultural Land Adjustment Law empowers the local land commission to require the owner of traditional forest land to permit the new owner of the paddy land to continue to gather compost and firewood in the traditionally associated forest land upon payment of proper compensation. If the traditionally associated forest land has been used mainly for forest purposes and not for grazing the purchaser of the paddy land can buy the forest tract only if the owner is willing to sell. Should the forest land have been used mainly for grazing, the approval of the land commission must be obtained before the sale can be completed. If the owner of such a piece of forest land used primarily for grazing does not wish to sell, the purchaser of the associated paddy land can apply to the local land commission under Article 2 of the Owner-Farmer Establishment Special Measures Law within one year to have the government purchase the tract of forest land for resale to him. If a tract of forest serves as a windbreak for paddy land the urchaser of the paddy land can apply to the local land commission under Article 15 of the Owner-Farmer Establishment Special Measures Law within one year to have the government purchase for resale to him the piece of forest land which serves as the windbreak. The government is required to make the purchase and sell the piece of windbreak forest land to the owner of the paddy land. These interpretations of the Land Adjustment Law and the Owner-Farmer Law were obtained from the Agricultural Land Section, Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry.

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN OWNERSHIP OF ARABLE LAND AND FOREST LAND IN YOSHIDA, DECEMBER 1948



NATURAL RESOURCES SECTION

Figure 42

Village leaders generally believed that the land reform program would be beneficial. They pointed out that some of the larger landowners were worse off, but that, even so, the community as a whole would benefit. The same general opinions were given in interviews with village leaders assembled in the village office, in interviews with farmers in their homes, and in the returns received from 1,300 questionnaires administered in the villages (Appendix B). Results of Sections 1-3, which deal with the farmers' reactions to various aspects of the land reform program, showed noticeable difference in responses, with more tenants than landlords thinking the program was good and pre-land reform owner-operators usually occupying a middle position.

It was reported in the villages that large landowners did not object to the program too much. The explanation is perhaps six-fold:

(1) The land reform program was supported by a military occupation, which left little choice.

(2) The general stoical outlook of the people is such that they seem to accept any occurrence as more or less inevitable.

(3) Evidence exists that the Japanese themselves had given much thought to the matter of landlord-tenant relations; permissive legislation had already been worked out years ago whereby tenants could buy land under reasonably equitable conditions, if they could find any for sale.

(4) In the more rural villages, a great proportion of the farm tenants were kinsmen of the landlords or long-time residents on family lands, and over the years--whether the land was tenanted by kinsmen or not--considerable ritual had developed in connection with tenant-landlord relations. In short, in many of the villages, the tenants were in effect branch houses or sub-families of the landed household, and religious traditions, as well as economic and family arrangements, fostered this relationship. As a result, many of the landowners seemed willing to acknowledge that tenant families were not wholly without claims to the land they cultivated.

(5) The opportunities of the larger landowners to make money from their leased-out lands had already been undermined by legislation which shifted the basis of rent from fixed rents in kind to a relatively low cash rent per unit of land, and by special tax legislation in 1946 and 1947 which subjected landowners to heavy tax levies causing many of them to forfeit their land for taxes.

(6) Large landowners generally, through their relatively wide range of economic contacts, have opportunities to enter types of business other than agriculture.

Most of the former large resident landlords still occupy leading positions in the villages. Some have extensive forest holdings, some have industrial and commercial investments, and some are professional people. Since the sale of their arable land to the government, some have experimented with new business ventures, such as sawmilling or merchandising, or with some kind of service to the community. In one instance, in Yokogoshi, a large landlord arranged for his house, which contained a considerable number of art objects, to become a branch of the National Museum. He seems to relish this arrangement and boasts of the tens of thousands of people who each year, for a small fee, go through his museum. He has achieved two ends: a means for maintaining his prestige and a means for performing a traditional seignorial service to the community. As a test of the possible meaning of this museum to the local people, some 75 assembled villagers were asked how many of them had been through the museum. Almost every hand went up.

A few of the large landlords reported that their positions had definitely declined in the community and that they had no means for maintaining their customary way of life and for continuing their customary contributions to the community. This fact was mentioned by a few of the heads of the households affected, sometimes by village leaders, and rather frequently by priests of shrines and temples which had been supported mainly by large landowning families.

The greatest overt opposition to the land reform program came from the medium-sized and small resident owners and owner-operators who had to sell some land under the program. Many of them complained of losing their lands. As noted above, theirs were the last lands purchased for the government by commissions in the villages. The records indicate that most lands owned by households in excess of retention limits were rented out rather than cultivated by the family. Some families, especially those few who cultivated land in excess of their retention rights, complained of this loss in concrete terms--that now a son at home would need to find a livelihood elsewhere, or that it would not be possible, as planned, to give the children an upper secondary or college education, or that they could not establish for their son or daughter or cousin a separate household as they had hoped. To others, the loss of a tan or even a half cho was reported to have made little difference, for the land still held has been used more intensively, and the family members continue to be employed profitably. Elderly couples living mostly on the rent from their farms were reported to have been especially handicapped, because cash rent ceilings were kept unchanged in spite of the mounting inflation and, at the same time, the area of land ownership has been reduced.

Broadly speaking, land reform has raised the status of the majority of small farmers and has lowered the status of some of the middle and smaller landowners. In short, the traditional differences between these groups have been reduced.

Tenure and Operation

The changes that occurred between April 1947 and December 1948 in the ownership and operation of the land in three villages are shown in Figures 43, 44, and 45. The detailed facts for a small representative farming area in each of three villages are presented. In Yoshida (Figure 43), practically all of the farmers who were tenants have become owner-cultivators. (They tenanted land prior to the land reform, bought it, and became owner-cultivators.) The households which own and operate the same amounts of land can readily be seen on the figure, for such households are at the point of intercept between the ownership axis and the cultivation axis. There were 22 pure tenants in April 1947 and none in December 1948. The one farmer who in April 1947 owned slightly more land than he cultivated had sold the difference by December 1948.

A second type of situation is illustrated (Figure 44) for a locality in Nikaido. Compared with April 1947, the amount of land owned by most operators in December 1948 was more nearly the same as the amount that they cultivated, but comparatively few achieved full ownership. Seven of the eight operators in April 1947 who owned land in excess of what they operated themselves had sold land, and 16 of the 22 tenants had bought land, before December 1948. Even so, only seven households were pure owner-cultivators at the end of 1948, and four of these had been such before the land reform program began. In this locality, the gap between the area owned and the area cultivated was narrowed for both large owners and tenants. After the owners sold land their holdings only slightly exceeded the amount they cultivated; after the tenants bought land, their ownership more nearly approximated the size of their operations.

In the locality in Suye (Figure 45), the factors mentioned above are again evident. The size of operations of one of the largest operators decreased and the size of operations of the smallest operators increased, leaving fewer farms in the smallest and largest categories and more in the medium-sized categories. A similar situation exists in all 13 villages, as shown in Table 17.

Figures 43-45 make two points clear: (1) Ownership of farm land changed greatly from April 1947 to December 1948, but (2) the size of the farm management units changed little. By way of summery, as shown in Tables C and D (p 175), most farmers either bought or sold land. Of the 89 farm households in the three localities in the three villages, 64 owned more land in December 1948 than they had in April 1947, 11 owned less, and 14 owned the same. On the other hand, 84 farm management operations remained the same, 2 increased, and 3 decreased.

Changes in the land situation also may be seen in Figures 46 and 47, which show for the localities studied intensively in Obie and Nikaido: (1) the tracts of land (small fields) which were operated by owners in April 1947 and in December 1948, (2) the tracts which had been purchased by operating tenants between April 1947 and December 1948, and

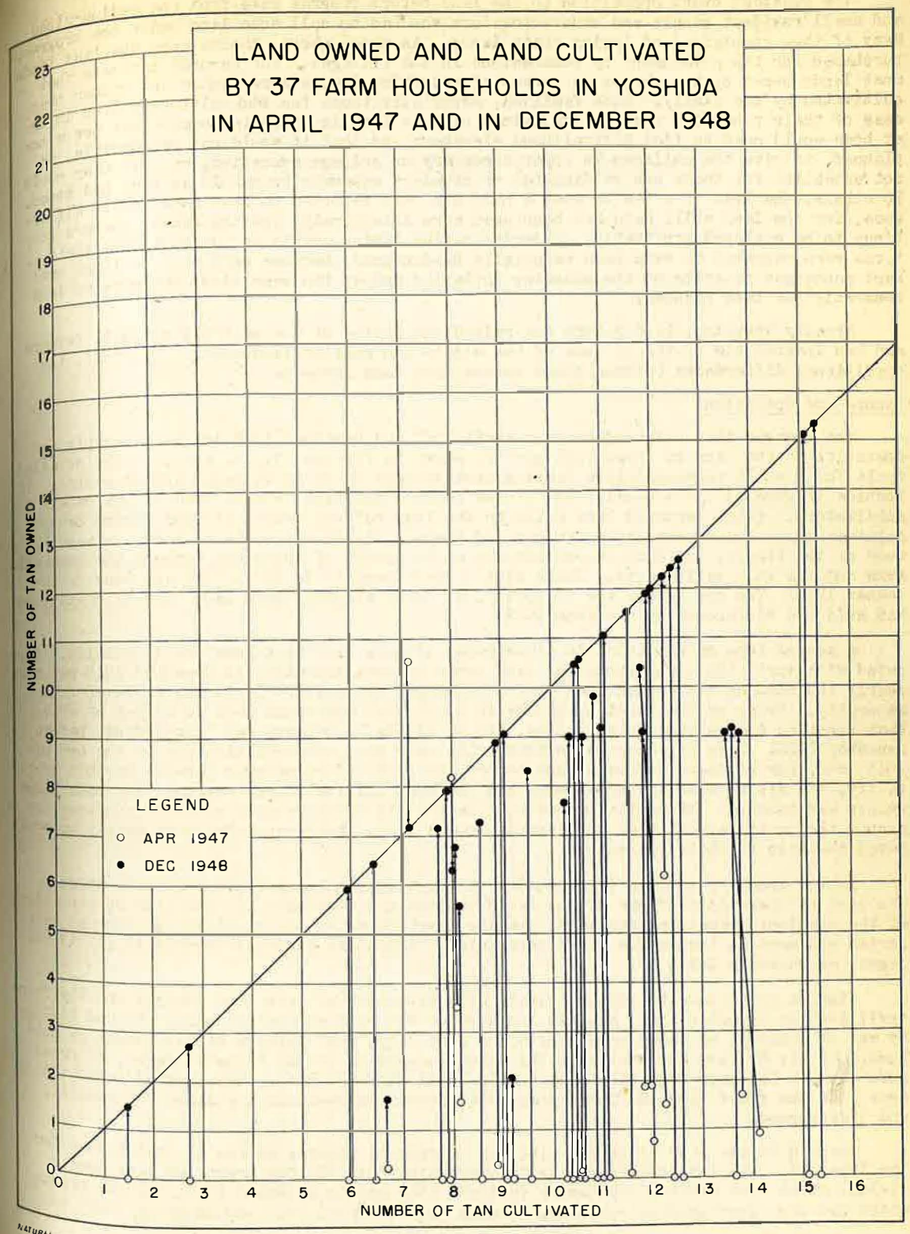
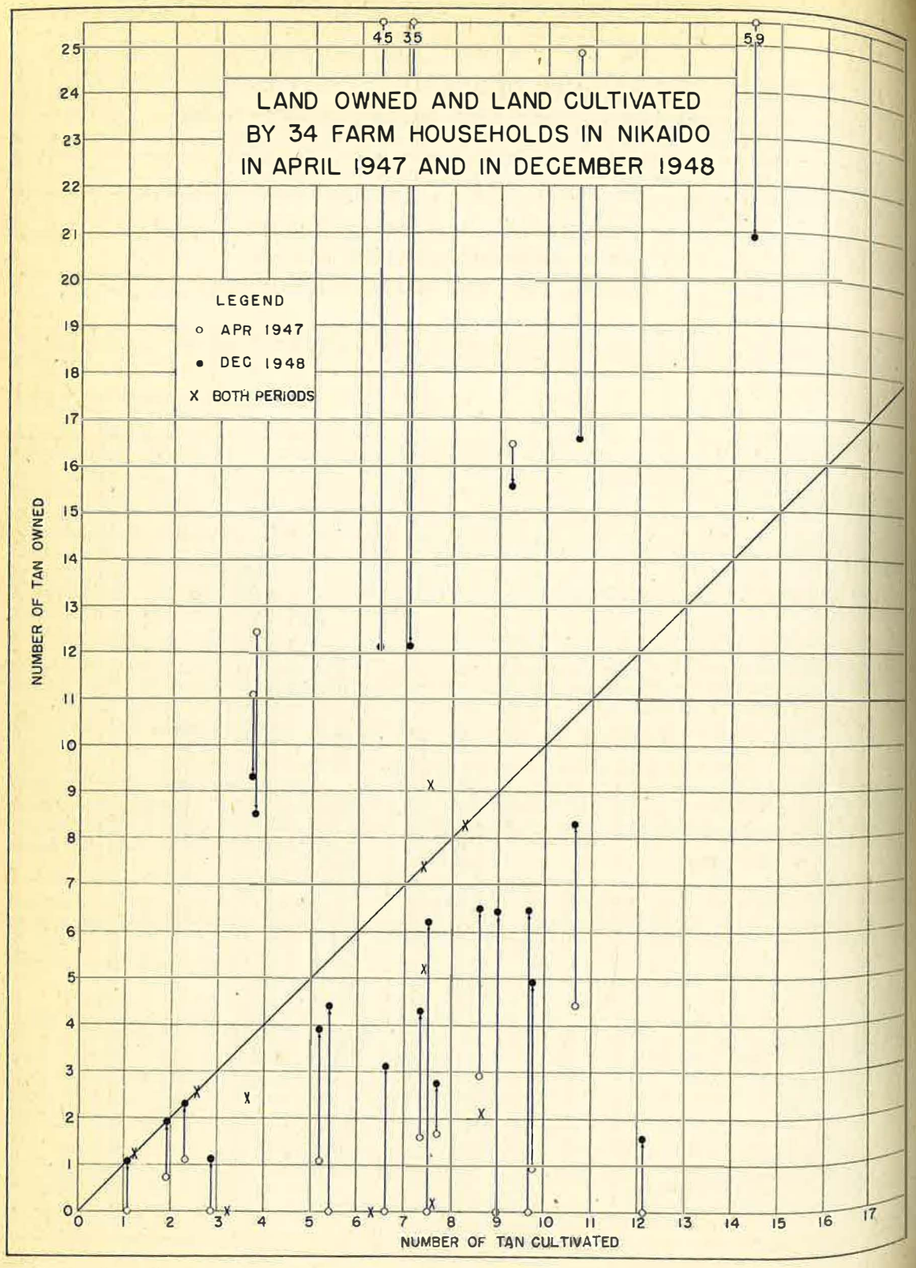
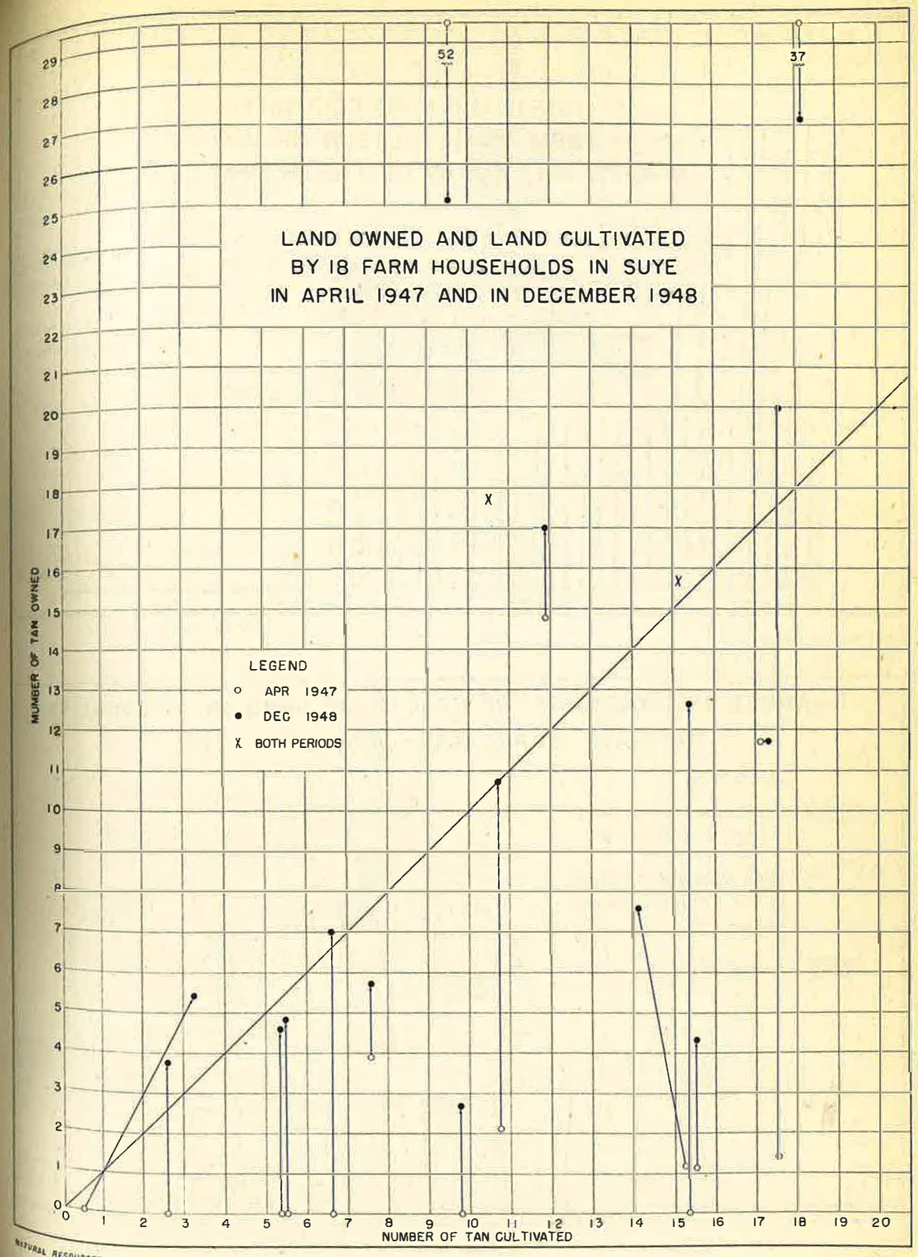


Figure 43



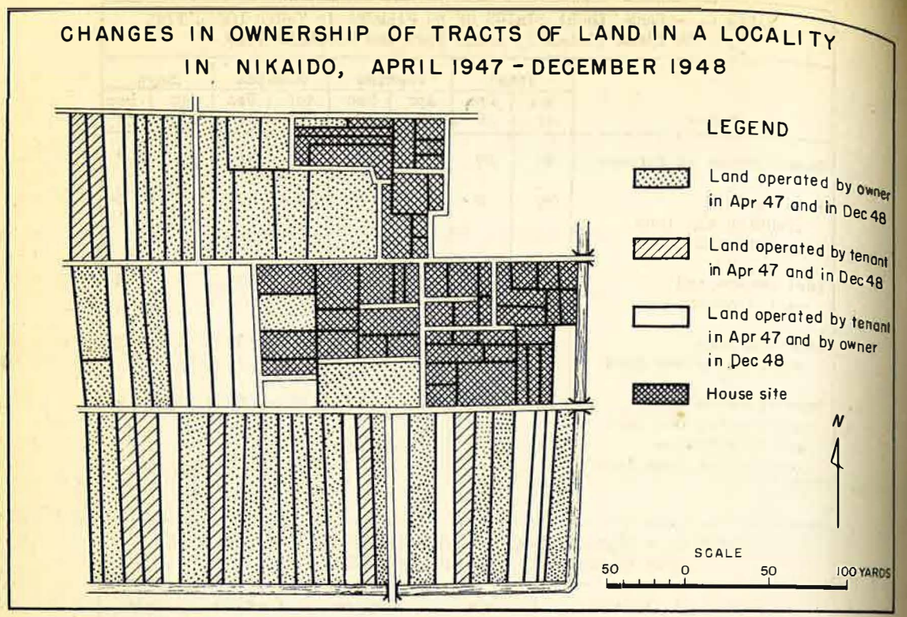
NATURAL RESOURCES SECTION

Figure 44



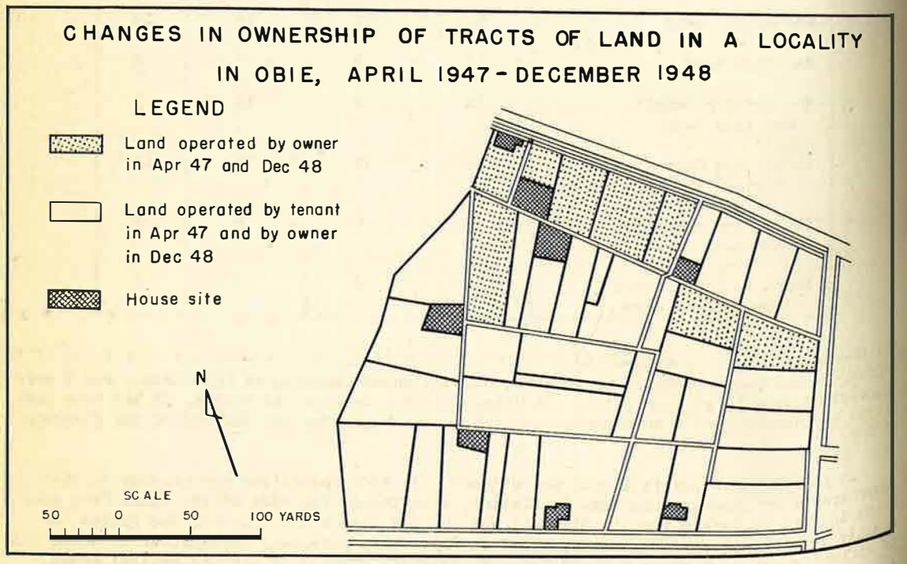
NATURAL RESOURCES SECTION

Figure 45



NATURAL RESOURCES SECTION

Figure 46



NATURAL RESOURCES SECTION

Figure 47

TABLE C. - FARM TENURE STATUS OF 89 FARMERS IN THREE LOCALITIES IN THREE VILLAGES, APRIL 1947 AND DECEMBER 1948

Status	Total		Yoshida		Nikaido		Suye	
	Apr 47	Dec 48	Apr 47	Dec 48	Apr 47	Dec 48	Apr 47	Dec 48
Total number of farmers	89	89	37	37	34	34	18	18
Pure tenants (renting all land cultivated)	39	2	22	0	10	2	7	0
Part owners and part tenants	32	42	14	17	12	17	6	8
Owner-farmers cultivating own land	4	27	0	19	4	7	0	1
Owner-farmers cultivating own land and in addition leasing out some land	14	18	1	1	8	8	5	9

TABLE D. - CHANGES IN FARM OWNERSHIP AND SIZE OF OPERATION FOR 89 FARMERS, APRIL 1947-DECEMBER 1948

Number of Farmers	Total	Yoshida	Nikaido	Suye
Total	89	37	34	18
Who bought land	64	35	16	13
Who sold land	11	2	7	2
Who neither bought nor sold land	14	0	11	3
Whose farm operation remained the same size	84	35	34	15
Whose farm operation increased in size	2	0	0	2
Whose farm operation decreased in size	3	2	0	1

(3) the tracts which were tenanted in both 1947 and 1948. In Nikaido, out of a total of 56 tracts, 16 had been purchased by tenants, 33 were owner-operated at both dates, and 7 were operated by tenants at both dates. In Obie, out of a total of 41 tracts, 33 had been purchased by tenants, and 8 were owner-operated at the beginning and the end of the 18-month period.

In passing, two points should be noticed: (1) Farm operations are carried on with fewer tracts of land in Obie than in Nikaido, even though the size of the total farm operation in Obie is larger than in Nikaido; and (2) the shapes and sizes of the fields, on equally level land, differ greatly, those in Obie being generally rectangular in shape but of differing sizes, whereas most of those in Nikaido, outside of the residential areas,

are oblong and highly regular in shape and size. This type of plot arrangement, which is still found in Nikaido, was borrowed from the Chinese a thousand years ago, for such conveniences as tax collection, and has not changed a great deal.

Land Purchases

Of the 5,858 cho of land purchased through the land commissions in the 13 villages (Table 10), 39 percent was paddy, 40 percent was cultivated upland, and 21 percent was pasture and forest land suitable for reclamation and therefore subject to land reform.

The village commissions purchased land for the government from 3,000 owners, 1,640 of whom were resident owners and 1,360 absentee owners. Of the total area purchased, 63 percent was from resident owners and 37 percent from absentee owners. The average amount purchased from the resident owners was 2.4 cho and from the absentee owners 1.8 cho. The greatest number of resident owners from whom purchases were made was in Nikaido (346). Yokogoshi had the largest number of absentee owners (210) from whom purchases were made, as shown in Table E.

TABLE E. - NUMBER OF RESIDENT AND ABSENTEE LANDOWNERS FROM WHOM LAND WAS PURCHASED, APRIL 1947-DECEMBER 1948

Village	Resident Owners		Absentee Landlords	
	Number	Land Purchased Through Commission a/ (cho)	Number	Land Purchased Through Commission a/ (cho)
Total 13	1,640	3,264	1,360	2,108
11 rural	1,376	1,310	1,032	544
2 urban	264	1,954	328	1,564
Ebetsu	193	1,892	173	1,468
Mizuwake	128	65	103	70
Yokogoshi	58	610	210	200
Nobuta	130	87	25	10
Karako	60	ND	70	ND
Futomi	12	3	59	5
Kawashiro	201	ND	91	ND
Nikaido	346	180	99	19
Yoshida	81	124	11	5
Obie	60	122	109	109
Aioi	114	69	104	75
Honami	71	62	155	96
Suye	186	50	151	51

a/ These amounts are less than those shown in Table 10 because breakdown according to resident or absentee purchasers was not available for Karako and Kawashiro. Also, these data do not include land paid to the government in lieu of taxes which was included in Table 10 as land acquired under the land reform program.

ND: No data available

The largest amount of land purchased from one person in any village was 110 cho in Yokogoshi from a resident owner; the second largest amount was 50 cho in Obie from an absentee owner, followed by 44 cho in Yoshida from a resident owner, and 16 cho in Honami from an absentee owner. In Nobuta, the largest amount bought from a single owner was 10 cho bought from a resident owner, but this owner previously had forfeited 35 cho of arable

land to the government in lieu of unpaid taxes. In Yoshida, the large resident owner, who sold 44 cho to the local commission, had already sold 93 cho of arable land two years previously in a special transaction, which stood unchallenged by the village land commission. Adding these earlier transactions to those of the commission, the resident owner in Yoshida has sold to the government 137 cho, the largest amount sold by a single owner in any of the villages.

These data on changes in land ownership resulting from the land reform program show that most of the farmers were affected in the redistribution of land; therefore, any discussion of the significance of the initial phases of land reform in relation to leadership, citizenship, and democratic behavior concerns the vast majority of farmers.

By design, however, some local land was continued under tenant operation. In addition to assuring the former owner some remaining land, these retentions allow for payment of rent from land as support for elderly people and others unable to operate their own fields and also provide leeway for future land transfers so as to permit the establishment of an occasional new householder. The proportion of the arable land rented out in December 1948 averaged 11 percent for the villages as a whole. The range was from one percent in Yokogoshi to 25 percent in Honami.

LAND RECLAMATION PROJECTS

Ten of the 13 villages had land reclamation projects (Table 18). The largest project by far was in Ebetsu and involved about 5,000 cho. In the other nine villages, projects totaled 270 cho, the largest amount in any one village being 85 cho in Karako. The progress of work on these projects varied from one village to another, with new households already working on some projects and other projects still in the early planning stage. In Ebetsu, relatively little real headway has been made in the extensive projected reclamation, practically all of which is in peat bog areas. Here all the reclamation land is to be utilized for new households; in the other villages 88 of the 270 cho of reclamation land are to be used to enlarge the holdings of present farmers, and 182 cho are to be used for about 99 new households.

Reclamation projects are not possible in Yokogoshi, Futomi, and Nikaido because full use is being made of all the land for forests, reservoirs, and house sites. In nine of the other 10 villages, there is little possibility of further reclamation. In Ebetsu, where more work of this nature might be done, it is not yet known whether the peat bog reclamation efforts can be successful. If they are, further reclamation, in addition to the 5,000 cho now under consideration, is possible. On the other hand, not all of the reclamation now tentatively planned may be carried out.

Peat bog reclamation seems to be a major hope of the leaders in Ebetsu, and it has been discussed a great deal in recent months. Exploratory efforts to start another reclamation project, for settling about 500 Christian families in a peat area in Ebetsu and an adjoining village also have been made in recent months. Apparently, however, a reasonable hope can be felt for success of these and other tentative projects only if an effective major drainage system is provided in each settlement area and if clay is applied to the peat bog in considerable quantity to make it usable for farming. In December 1948, villagers held little hope for either of these things being done in the months just ahead.

Of the 182 cho in the villages other than Ebetsu to be used by new settlers, 70 cho in scattered small amounts are being administered by the local agricultural land commissions; the remaining 112 cho are in larger projects and are being administered by prefectural reclamation officials.

In December 1948 the village people, except in Ebetsu, were pleased with the local reclamation projects. In June 1947, however, many villagers had been noncommittal or had definitely objected to the reclamation projects. They seemed to resent the proposals, for they thought the new land would be made available only to new settlers. They felt there

were already enough farm households, and the addition of new ones on the new land not only would lessen the chances for the long-established households to increase their land holdings but would also cut down on the amounts of fuel and compost the latter would be able to procure. Most serious of all, in their thinking, was that if the land were opened up for new settlers, the enlargement of their own farms by means of local reclamation projects would be forever precluded. The change in attitude toward land reclamation by December 1948 seems to have turned upon the fact that, as mentioned above, more than one-third of the reclaimed land, except in Ebetsu, is to be used to enlarge the holdings of resident operators.

The positions occupied by the new residents in the life of the villages vary greatly. In the older localities, most of the new residents are people who had been born there and had moved to Formosa, Manchuria, or some other colony. These families are readily reabsorbed into the life of the community, because of their family and personal connections. In Karako, a long-established village, the new settlers on the abandoned airport are looking forward to establishing their own buraku. Here, however, as in Ebetsu, the majority of the new settlers are not kinsmen of local families, but people who had moved into the reclamation areas in small groups from backgrounds that differ both from the local villagers and from each other. In the scattered peat bog reclamation areas in Ebetsu, practically all of the settlers were "outsiders" who had moved there in small groups.

THE NEW AGRICULTURAL COOPERATIVES

In December 1948, 12 of the villages each had one village-wide general purpose agricultural cooperative association. In the 13th, Ebetsu, which is large in area and populous, there were two, so that farmers could have more convenient access to one or the other. The 13 villages as a whole had 29 specialized agricultural cooperative associations, also on the village level. One of the most important specialized activities is sericulture, and many of the sericultural cooperatives were therefore also organized on the buraku level. Special cooperatives serve local groups of families on the larger reclamation projects. In addition, villagers participate in gun or prefectural cooperatives which center around such activities as the marketing of livestock, dairy products, fruits, and poultry.

Mizuwake had seven local cooperatives, the largest number of this type in any one village. Six villages had only a village-wide general purpose cooperative. In eight villages, some of the farmers were members of gun-wide cooperatives, and in one village, some farmers belonged to a prefectural cooperative.

General Purpose Cooperatives

In December 1948, the membership in general purpose cooperatives in the 13 villages totaled 11,179 and included one or more members from about 95 percent of all farm households. About 12 percent were associate members, i e, nonfarm people who are permitted a limited type of membership without voting privileges. Further facts about membership, boards of directors, and informal neighborhood groups are shown in Table 38.

The present agricultural cooperative associations, established under the terms of a law which became effective in December 1947, have as their purpose rendering maximum service to the membership. They are democratically controlled and are operated by the members for their own benefit. A statement about the creation of the new agricultural cooperative associations and a description of the conditions which led to the dissolution of the wartime agricultural associations (Nogyokai) are contained in Appendix E.

As shown in Table 38, of the 144 members of the boards of directors of the new agricultural cooperative associations, only 39 were formerly officers in the Nogyokai. The election of directors without prior experience to 73 percent of the posts was a change of real importance in most villages. (Actual farmers, for the first time, constituted the majority of the board members of the farmers' organization in the village.)

More than four-fifths of the board members of the new agricultural cooperatives are actual farmers. Here the board of directors at Karako holds a meeting.

Board of Directors

A new and distinctive character has been given to the whole cooperative framework at the village level by the election of farmers to virtually all the positions on the boards of directors. In six of the nine villages for which detailed information on this subject is available, more than four-fifths of the directors were farmers who had not been directors of the government-controlled Nogyokai; the remainder had been former Nogyokai directors. This use of at least a few Nogyokai officials was in many instances helpful in enabling the cooperative to function effectively, because these officials were acquainted with the functions and projects of the Nogyokai. Some of the properties of the Nogyokai were acquired by the new cooperatives under the law which authorized them to take over such properties. Capital investments of the general purpose cooperatives in each village are shown in Table F.

TABLE F. - CAPITAL INVESTMENT IN COOPERATIVES AND FEDERATIONS, DECEMBER 1948
(yen)

Name of Association	Paid-Up Capital of Village Cooperatives a/	Capital Subscriptions in Federations b/	Unpaid Subscriptions in Federations b/ as of Dec 48
Total 14	4,056,700	1,865,450	584,500
11 rural	2,377,000	1,568,450	584,500
3 urban	1,679,700	297,000	0
Ebetsu c/	651,000	135,000	0
	713,000	62,000	0
Mizuwake	128,000	200,000	150,000
Yokogoshi	360,000	35,000	0
Nobuta	285,000	91,000	0
Karako	301,900	65,000	0
Kawashiro	97,000	300,000	225,000
Futomi	116,700	43,000	0
Nikaido	511,800	300,000	0
Yoshida	186,800	130,000	67,500
Obie	108,600	80,450	0
Aioi	239,200	284,000	142,000
Honami	315,700	100,000	0
Suye	42,000	40,000	0

a/ Most village agricultural cooperative associations plan to increase their paid-up capital stocks in the near future, some as much as ¥1,000,000.
b/ A federation is a cooperative, the members of which are local cooperative associations.
c/ Ebetsu has two general-purpose cooperatives.

The fact that a majority of the directors were farmers without previous administrative experience was clear in many villages. They were not nearly so ready of speech about the cooperatives or affairs in general as had been the directors of the Nogyokai, 18 months earlier. These farmer-directors of the new agricultural cooperative associations were deliberate, and their thinking was centered on the village cooperative itself. They did not seem to know, or care, much about over-all cooperative matters; rather they devoted their attention primarily to the concrete contributions the cooperative could make in the solution of such purely local problems as expanding local processing of farm products, making and selling more handicraft products, obtaining supplies, and marketing farm products. The limitations in the outlook of the new farmer-directors might prove to be their greatest strength in relating the new agricultural cooperatives to local conditions.

The new agricultural cooperatives are generally reported by farmers to be a real improvement over the earlier agricultural associations. Various concrete improvements are mentioned, particularly the fact that the delivery quotas need not be turned in at the new agricultural cooperatives unless the farmer elects to do so. Under the present system, any dealer who has been designated as an official handler can receive quota deliveries, and almost any dealer can be designated as such if enough farmers certify their desire to deliver to him. Also, the farmer can usually obtain payment for the crops delivered on the day of delivery or on the following day, whereas under the Nogyokai a week to a month often passed. Farmers obviously like to receive their payments promptly--best of all on the same day that they deliver their quotas.

A farmer starts out for the cooperative to deliver his crops.

Another improvement, as the farmers see it, is that the new cooperatives are much closer to the farmers. They report that they feel much more as if they were coming to their own organization than they did under Nogyokai conditions. This feeling was most noticeable among the small farmers, including those with the fewest contacts, who pointed out that they received their checks promptly and that the management and officers seemed to have more time to talk with them about their own farm problems. Not all farmers shared these views, but a majority seemed to have more faith in the new cooperatives than the farmers had had in the Nogyokai when the villages were visited 18 months earlier.

Much of the field work for this report was done in November and December 1948, just a few months after most of the new agricultural cooperative associations were established. Some of the less informed villagers seemed to know little or nothing about the cooperatives other than that the Nogyokai had been dissolved and that the cooperatives had been organized. In many villages, special buraku meetings were held in which the membership of the Nogyokai was transferred en masse to the new cooperatives.

Women's Participation

The legislation creating the new agricultural cooperative associations authorized women who qualify as farmers to become voting members on a basis of equality with men. In practice, however, actual membership of women was almost entirely limited to households in which there was no adult male head. In eight villages, five percent or less of all members were women. The highest proportion of women in any village was 30 percent, and the average

for all 13 villages was 12 percent. In each of the villages there were some instances in which both husband and wife were members. In most of the villages, persons interviewed felt that relatively few women would ever join the cooperatives, though they believed that the membership of women would gradually increase over a period of years. The general point of view was that the husband is the head of the family and hence its natural representative in the cooperative. In two of the villages--those with the fewest women members--the assembled village leaders laughed when the question was asked whether women were members. Attitudes of the farmers on the desirability of having women officials in the cooperatives are given in Appendix B, Section 4.

Chapter 2

PROBLEMS OF THE FARMERS

The problems of which the farmers in the 13 villages were most keenly aware in December 1948 were: (1) increased taxes; (2) inflation and the decline of the black market; (3) heavier delivery quotas; and (4) limited supplies of rationed cotton goods, rubber shoes, and fertilizer (particularly potash and phosphate).

INCREASED TAXES

Increased taxes were a principal problem everywhere. In June 1947, taxes were mentioned as just one among several problems; in December 1948, taxes had become the most talked-about problem.

Taxes and public imposts in the 1947 fiscal year increased sharply over those in the 1946 fiscal year as shown in Table A, Part II. One of the most noticeable increases was in the national income tax, which is now the biggest single tax for farmers. The average increase, in spite of considerable variation, was more pronounced in the 11 rural villages (622 percent) than in the two urban villages (355 percent). However, because 1946 was the first year that most farmers were subject to income taxation, tax assessment procedures were at first not standardized, and the size of tax assessments seemed to be influenced in varying degrees by such factors as the availability of nonfarm income tax sources in the area, the political strength of local farmers, and the local tax collection goal fixed by the government.

Special or one-time taxes represent a substantial part of the taxes collected in some of the villages. However, these taxes are not part of the regular taxing program and so affect only a few of the wealthiest farmers.

Prefectural and village taxes are imposed within the framework established by national legislation and are levied at standard rates. The land, house, and business taxes in the 1946 fiscal year were changed into local taxes to provide additional revenue sources for local governments. Increasing costs of local government and legal limitations on local taxing possibilities have necessitated a substantial increase in informal public imposts to defray expenditures which are essentially of a public nature. Most of these imposts were assessed on the basis of local customary concepts of ability to pay, determined by such factors as scale of farming, amount of property owned, social prestige, and family circumstances. Although these levies have no legal basis, social and community pressures are sufficient to make payment compulsory.

The principal public impost is for the construction of the new schools needed to accommodate the increased enrollment caused by the extension of the period of compulsory education to nine years. The 1948 outlay for this purpose is larger in many of the villages than it was in 1946 or 1947. Because of differences in local construction and financing schedules, however, in other villages the principal part of the burden fell in 1946 or 1947. The increased costs for education have generally resulted in a permanent increase in local levies. In some villages, the pressure of staple food collection quotas has caused increased imposts for financing irrigation projects aimed at increasing rice production.

The new owner-operators were somewhat fearful that they might lose, through higher taxes, some of the gains that they made during the relatively prosperous immediate post-Surrender period. More of them have been appealing their tax assessments than ever, but this is a tedious time-consuming procedure which often requires that they go to the village hall to get records of their crop yields and other pertinent facts to place before the district tax officer. For a discussion of the farmers' attitudes towards taxes see Appendix B, Section 5. For information about the use of appeal procedures see Section 6.

INFLATION AND THE DECLINE OF THE BLACK MARKET

The problem of inflation was on the tongues of villagers everywhere. According to the villagers, inflation entered into discussions of farming operations and into decisions as to whether or not their children went to high school; it determined the upkeep of the shrines and temples; and it affected the outlook for the future. Frequent references were made to the phenomenally large amount of yen now needed to purchase a plow, a bicycle, a power-driven thresher, or a calf.

Although farm prices are established on a parity with official prices of items purchased by farmers, farmers pointed out that scarcity of these items at official prices made it necessary to purchase a substantial portion of commodities at black-market prices. On the other hand, the improved food situation and more stringent controls resulted in less selling of farm products at black-market prices. Again and again farmers mentioned that inflation was not hurting them so much as was the imbalance between farm incomes, which are received increasingly from the sale of farm products through official prices, and living expenses, which still involve the purchase of many necessities through unofficial sources.

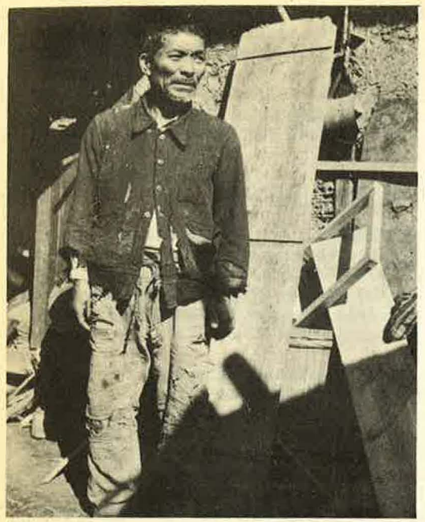
Villagers, naturally enough, were loath to acknowledge that they personally had sold farm products on the black market, but they would talk freely about the black market activities of villagers "in general". They insisted that they simply had to purchase necessities on the black market because not enough were available in rationed supplies and that some selling on the black market was necessary to obtain enough money for unavoidable black market purchases. The farmers felt it would be much easier to sell within official channels if the supply of essential consumer goods at official prices were more abundant.

The reasons for the decline of the black market were discussed in Part II: (1) more adequate food imports; (2) larger yields, resulting partly from more fertilizer; (3) earlier food deliveries resulting from an increase of incentive goods and better publicity for delivery of quotas; and (4) more use of the courts to prosecute black market offenders in some localities.

HEAVIER DELIVERY QUOTAS

Some farmers in all of the villages, and practically all the farmers in some villages, complained of the heavy delivery quotas and said that they are getting even heavier. This matter seemed to be of great concern.

The percentage of the 1948 crop locally estimated as needed to satisfy the delivery quotas varied greatly, as shown in Table 20. Apparently, no uniform method of assessing delivery quotas was followed. They differed markedly between generally similar villages and between farm households cultivating similar crops. Quite naturally, the complaints were greatest in those villages where crop yields were short for one reason or another, and in general among the particular farmers everywhere whose quotas required the largest portion of their crops. In short, the people who were not bothered about their quotas said nothing, whereas the farmers who were bothered complained loudly. For further information on farmers' attitude toward quotas, see Appendix B, Section 5.



New clothes are scarce indeed in some of the poorer homes.

A simple hot bath is a luxury when one comes in from the fields tired and sweaty.

Shortages of clothing were mentioned by residents of practically all villages as one of the greatest local problems. Cotton cloth has been especially scarce, and so have rubber-soled boots and shoes. The need for more clothing was evident everywhere, as many of the farm people were wearing heavily patched garments. Moreover, many of the ready-made articles of clothing which were available had to be ripped up and remade because purchasers could not get the sizes needed, and because bolt cotton was unavailable for making clothing that was sorely needed for one member or another of the household.

Farmers listed lack of clothing second in answer to the question, "What are the greatest difficulties in your living conditions at the present time?" Thirty-one percent specified income tax, 25 percent clothing, 19 percent high prices, 12 percent food, 11 percent delivery quotas, 6 percent lack of cash, 4 percent shortage of fertilizer, 1 percent shortage of labor, and 4 percent other difficulties. 21/

The lack of fertilizer and compost was of critical importance, for the farmer's yield is lower when he has too little of either, and yet he must perform the same amount of work. As noted in Part II, about three-fourths of the villages had as much nitrogen fertilizer as needed, but not nearly enough phosphate and potash, especially the latter. Farmers are hopefully looking forward to the time when they will have all the commercial fertilizer they want.

The amount of compost that is used by a farmer is determined largely by the amount of family labor that can be devoted to the time-consuming work of collecting materials for making it, because in most areas forests containing compost material are within reach. Broadly speaking, the land reform has resulted in no significant changes in the rights of farmers to collect compost material, although in three of the 13 villages several farmers had trouble in exercising their right to gather materials from forest and grassland for compost. In practically every instance these handicaps were removed.

21/ These percentages add to more than 100 percent, because a total of 1,195 farmers (92 percent of the sample) gave 1,364 answers to this portion of the questionnaire.

Other problems of great importance exist in rural Japan: (1) limited arable land, (2) small scattered fields, (3) population density, and (4) inaccessibility of fuel and compost. Also significant are the small amount of livestock and machinery and the great input of human labor.

TABLE G. - AVERAGE SIZE OF FARMS AND PERCENTAGE OF FARMS SMALLER THAN ONE-HALF CHO, DECEMBER 1948

Village	Average Size of Farm Operation Unit (cho)	Percentage of All Farm Households Operating Less than One-Half Cho
Total 13	1.6	34.8
Ebetsu	5.6	6.5
Mizuwake	1.6	8.9
Yokogoshi	1.4	45.8
Nobuta	0.8	23.1
Karako	0.8	36.3
Futomi	0.4	79.6
Kawashiro	0.7	32.0
Nikaido	0.8	45.9
Yoshida	0.9	31.5
Obie	0.6	29.3
Aioi	0.5	52.7
Honami	0.6	46.8
Suye	1.5	18.9

Farmers are willing to move a lot of dirt in order to enlarge the area of a field a very small amount.

Limited Arable Land

The small size of the farm operation units is indicated in Table G. Farms are smallest in central and southern Japan where double cropping is possible because of the warmer climate and where cultivation is intense because the area has been settled longer. Futomi, where farms are smallest of all, has limited arable land, and the villagers supplement their incomes by fishing and gathering seaweed. Farms are largest in the three northern villages and in the extreme southern village of Suye. Ebetsu, with the largest farms of all, is on the more recently settled island of Hokkaido where more land is available. Also, the climate is more severe so that the operation of more land is necessary to offset the attendant risks, and the possibility of double cropping is eliminated because of the short growing season.

Small Scattered Fields

Although briefly mentioned in Part I, the problem inherent in farm management when fields are widely scattered requires further attention.

Figures 48, 49, and 50 show the location of 70 plots of seven farmers in Suye, 35 plots of seven farmers in Yokogoshi, and 19 plots of one farmer in Karako. The farmers in Suye have an average of 10 plots inside the selected locality and one-half a plot outside that area; in Yokogoshi, the farmers have an average of five plots inside and 16 outside the area. The farmer in Karako has seven paddy and 12 upland plots which are widely scattered.

NUMBER AND LOCATION OF 70 PLOTS OPERATED BY SEVEN FARMERS IN SUYE, DECEMBER 1948

NATURAL RESOURCES SECTION

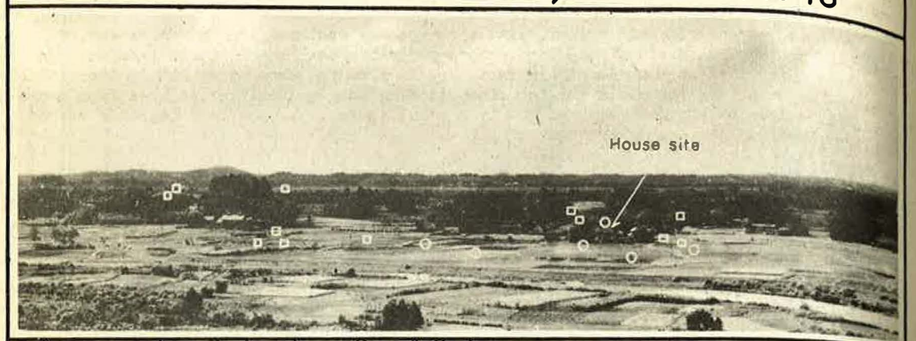
Figure 48

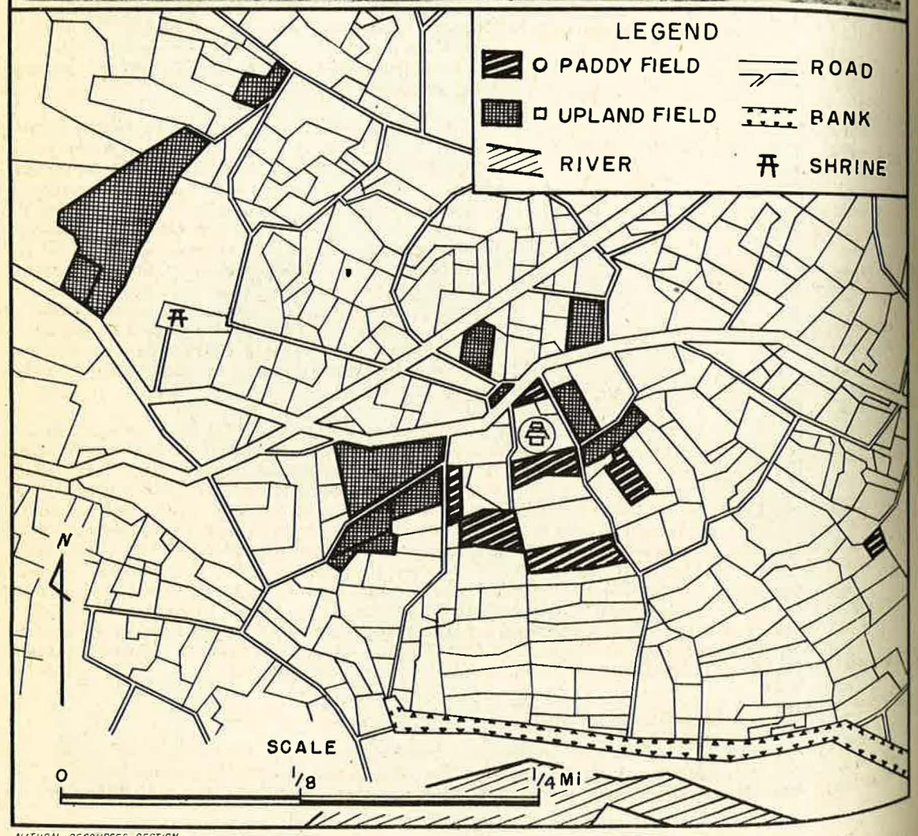
NUMBER AND LOCATION OF 35 PLOTS OPERATED BY SEVEN FARMERS IN YOKOGOSHI, DECEMBER 1948

NATURAL RESOURCES SECTION

Figure 49

LOCATION OF 19 PLOTS OPERATED BY ONE FARMER IN KARAKO, DECEMBER 1948





NATURAL RESOURCES SECTION

Figure 50

The average number of plots per farm in the localities studied intensively in the 13 villages ranged from 3 1/2 in Ebetsu to 20 in Yokogoshi. Broadly, the number and scattering of plots per farm were greatest in the localities where paddy farming is oldest and most intensive.

As noted earlier in this report, little change has occurred in the number and location of plots as a result of the land reform program. The "amelioration" project, in Yokogoshi, described at some length in Part III, is slow and expensive, but it does afford a means for enlarging the plots and for consolidating the land cultivated by a farm household. This type of approach was thought by the villagers to be the only feasible way to achieve consolidation and enlargement of plots.

If it were not for the great outlay of work by farm families in slack seasons to prepare new land for cultivation, the amount of arable land would be even smaller than it is. Many fields are made on extremely steep slopes by constructing bench terraces. Generally, hoes and shovels are the only equipment used in the construction of such terrace fields, but sometimes the soil is moved with a small cart on a movable track.

TABLE H. - POPULATION DENSITY PER SQUARE MILE, DECEMBER 1948

Village	Population per Square Mile	
	Total	Farm
Total 13	793	300
11 rural	602	417
2 urban	1,062	159
Ebetsu	496	117
Mizuwake	368	324
Yokogoshi	1,597	1,209
Nobuta	516	475
Karako	1,216	970
Futomi	1,529	702
Kawashiro	976	778
Nikaido	2,334	1,300
Yoshida	87	57
Obie	2,025	1,209
Aioi	415	282
Honami	7,811	696
Suye	498	347

Population Density

The population is large, but resources are limited. The total population density for the 13 villages as a whole is 793 per square mile, and the farm population density is 300 per square mile, as shown in Table H.

The total population density is heaviest in Honami, a coal mining community. Also densely populated are Nikaido, Yokogoshi, and Obie, which are old settlements where much intensive cultivation of paddy land is done in the flat, open country. In Yoshida, which has the lowest population density, 96 percent of the land area is in forest. Other villages with extensive forest lands in rugged mountain areas and correspondingly low density of population are Aioi, Mizuwake, and Suye. In Ebetsu, where settlement occurred relatively late and where there is much unused peat bog land, density of population is relatively low.

The negative aspects of a high population density and of small scattered fields are obvious, but there may be positive aspects too. Scattered tiny fields consume much of the family's time going from one field to another; the other side of the picture is that floods are seldom equally bad all across a valley, pests usually are worse in some places than others, spring frosts seldom affect the young plants in all fields alike, and autumn frosts do more damage to maturing crops in some parts of a cultivated area than in another. Furthermore, because the fields are small and scattered, busy farmers are automatically provided with an opportunity to talk and exchange news with many other farmers. The social significance of the small scattered field system is therefore considerable; the frequent meetings have incalculable effects upon politics, religion, and social life, as well as upon the dissemination and standardization of agricultural techniques.

Inaccessibility of Fuel and Compost

In some mountain villages, such as Nobuta, Yoshida, and Suye, the arrangements for gathering fuel and compost are quite simple. The farmer and his family gather compost materials, usually at some nearby wooded or grassland area, when not busy with other work.

At their convenience, they haul or carry it to a point near their dwelling, mix in refuse from the kitchen, and throw a bucket of water on it now and then. After a few months it will have rotted and can be hauled or carried to the fields.

In other villages, obtaining compost is a major operation. This is especially true in villages like Nikaido and Yokogoshi, in which there is no forest and in which permanent meadow land is scarce. In Yokogoshi, some grass is available from the banks of the extensive levees on either side of the Aganogawa. Many families from Yokogoshi and Nikaido have no choice but to go long distances for fuel sticks and compost materials or to buy charcoal and rely on farm waste for compost. The result is that full use is made of all straw and other crop and animal residue.

In Nikaido, groups of local families form fuel-gathering units and arrange for cutting sticks of specified sizes in designated wooded areas in forests outside the village, often at a considerable distance from their homes. This fuel must either be carried home, or delivered by hired truck, because there are so few draft animals in the village.

Fuel is gathered far up on the mountainside and carried to a temporary cart road where it is loaded and taken to the main highway.

In Mizuwake, an intermediate type of village from the standpoint of accessibility of fuel and compost areas, some families living in the extensive paddy areas in the eastern part of the village gather compost materials near at hand, while others go far into the mountains. The rights to fuel and compost in the forest are somewhat like the rights of Mizuwake farm households to water for their paddy--first come, first served. The later a household was established in an area, the farther away their fuel and compost area is likely to be. In many villages, much could be learned about the time of the establishment of the various households by the position of their forest and fuel right area.

FEAR OF AN AGRICULTURAL DEPRESSION

The villagers generally assumed that an agricultural depression was just ahead. Many of their comments could well have been prefaced by some such phrase as: "In view of the hard times to be caused by the forthcoming depression". Yet leaders also pointed out that farmers had borrowed relatively little more money than usual, that practically all of the borrowed money would be repaid, and that farmers were not going into debt very much. But everywhere the fear was expressed that they would soon have to do so.

In many villages, savings of farmers in December 1948 were about as large, and in some few villages larger, than they were in June 1947. Reference is made here to real savings, that is, to the actual value of savings when inflation has been taken into consideration, not to the yen amount. The point should be made that the second visit was made just after harvest time and that much of the savings were scheduled to be withdrawn later, whereas the earlier visit was made at the time of the seasonal low in farm deposits. Harvest time, however, is not a time of unusual pessimism if yields are sufficient to take care of such outstanding debts as have been incurred in producing the crop.

Reasons for the pessimistic outlook were not clear, but among them certainly were increasing taxes, heavier delivery quotas, and the widespread belief that prices which farmers received for their products had risen less rapidly than the price of supplies that

Everywhere farmers talked of hard times ahead.

they bought, particularly since many essentials had to be purchased on the black market. In short, the farmers felt that the basic trends were leading them into harder times.

Clearly, psychological factors were involved. The farmers' widespread fear may have turned upon the fact that urban conditions were relatively improved and farmers no longer occupied a preferred and unique position in the national economy. For analysis of the farmers' attitudes towards general economic problems see Appendix B, Section 7.

DESIRE FOR MORE TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE

In all of the villages the farmers were anxious to have additional technical assistance. They wanted it badly, for they need higher yields. The dissolution of the Nogyokai disrupted the technical assistance previously provided by them. In December 1948, the new Agricultural Extension Service was first being discussed in most of the villages. Indications were that the farmers would take most readily to the new extension system if it functioned separate and apart from enforcement of delivery quotas and other regulations imposed upon them.

The new owner-farmers, especially, were eager to find some source of technical assistance that met their immediate needs. They were not inclined to go to their former landlords for counsel, for they feared that to do so might in some way jeopardize their status as new owners. As pointed out earlier, they wanted above all else to retain the ownership of the land they had bought.

The whole matter of technical assistance was in a period of change. Villagers did not seem to know what to expect. In some villages, assurances had been given that the new extension system would take care of the need for farm guidance, while in other villages the farmers had been told that, if necessary, the village would employ ita own experts.

Chapter 3

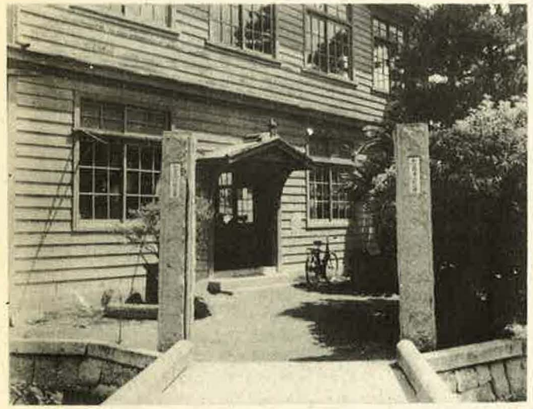
VILLAGE AND COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION

In the organization of the Japanese rural village, the socio-economic entity of the village as a whole is as important as the numerous spatial, economic, social, and religious groupings within it. Practically all nation-wide activities, such as the collection of income taxes, the collection of crop quotas, and the operation of the land reform program, utilize the village as the local administrative unit.

VILLAGE ADMINISTRATION

Villages generally are divided for administrative purposes into a number of semi-autonomous local units, usually designated by the terms ku, oaza, or buraku. The first two of these terms have been employed since prewar times, but the last has been used as a legal designation only since the war years. Each local unit is headed by an elected official, whose primary function is to maintain liaison between the village office and the buraku residents. (The term buraku will hereafter be used as a convenient term for referring to all types of local administrative units in the villages, whatever their legal designation may be.) Many important decisions concerning buraku affairs are made at assemblies attended by all heads of households.

The buraku is the basic unit for all economic and social activities in the community. The more important community organizations, such as the general agricultural cooperative association, the youth association, the women's association, and the fire brigade, usually are established locally on a buraku basis.



The village hall at Obie is typical of the government office buildings in the 13 villages.

The administration of village affairs is the responsibility of the mayor, who is elected for a four-year term in a general village election. He is assisted by a deputy, appointed by the mayor with the approval of the village assembly. All local legislation is enacted by the assembly, whose members also are elected for a four-year term.

Village assemblies today have a larger membership and more non-landlord members than did the assemblies before 1947. In all of the villages except Honami and Ibetsu, the number of assemblymen was increased by the Local Autonomy Law of 17 April 1947. Under the law, villages with a population of less than 5,000 have 16 assemblymen rather than the 12 of the old system; villages of 5,000-10,000 have 22 instead of 14; villages of 10,000-20,000 have 26 instead of 24. The maximum remains 30 in villages over 20,000.

Prior to the land reform program, assemblymen generally were elected from the landlord and owner-operator groups. The village assembly elections held in April 1947 resulted in a marked decrease in the number of landlords elected and a proportionate increase in the representation of owner-operators, tenants, and non-farmers. Table I compares the pre-land reform composition of the village assemblies before and after the 1947 elections. The number of landlords on the assemblies decreased by 27, and the number of owner-operators, tenants, and non-farmers increased by 32, 22, and 13 respectively. Tenants appeared for the first time in the village assemblies in Karako, Futomi, Kawashiro, and Nikaido; in Yokogoshi, their number increased so greatly that they completely dominated the village assembly.

TABLE I. - MEMBERS OF VILLAGE ASSEMBLIES BY LAND TENURE STATUS a/

Village	Year	Total	Landlords	Owner-Cultivators	Tenants	Non-farmers
Total 13	1942-47	213	44	92	12	65
	1947-	253	17	124	34	78
11 rural	1942-47	159	42	78	10	29
	1947-	194	17	109	31	37
2 urban	1942-47	54	2	14	2	36
	1947-	59	0	15	3	41
Ebetsu	1942-47	24	1	10	0	13
	1947-	30	0	9	0	21
Mizuwake	1942-47	12	5	5	1	1
	1947-	16	3	9	4	0
Yokogoshi	1942-47	18	8	5	5	0
	1947-	22	1	6	14	1
Nobuta	1942-47	12	0	12	0	0
	1947-	16	0	16	0	0
Karako	1942-47	18	5	12	0	1
	1947-	22	2	13	5	2
Futomi	1942-47	12	0	6	0	6
	1947-	16	0	5	1	10
Kawashiro	1942-47	15	9	5	0	1
	1947-	22	5	13	4	0
Nikaido	1942-47	24	8	4	0	12
	1947-	16	5	2	1	8
Obie	1942-47	12	1	7	0	4
	1947-	16	0	9	0	7
Aioi	1942-47	12	2	10	0	0
	1947-	16	0	16	0	0
Yoshida	1942-47	12	2	4	3	3
	1947-	16	1	9	0	6
Honami	1942-47	30	1	4	2	23
	1947-	29 b/	0	6	3	20
Suye	1942-47	12	2	8	1	1
	1947-	16	0	11	2	3

a/ As of December 1946: 1 e, pre-land reform status. Definitions are those used in land reform legislation. See Part II.
b/ The Honami assembly now has one vacant seat.

In prewar times, except in Honami, Ebetsu, and Yoshida, residents of the various ku nominated the assemblymen in the number that had been allocated to them according to population. The formality of an election was then held to satisfy legal requirements. At Honami and at Ebetsu, where the population was considerably larger and more heterogeneous, different occupational groups elected the number of assemblymen assigned to them on the basis of proportional representation. At Yoshida, where strong feudalistic traditions have persisted to the present, the largest landlord had sufficient influence, until 1947, to select two-thirds of the village assembly, because he paid about 70 percent of the village taxes.

During the war, in the majority of the villages, residents had little choice in selecting their assemblymen. Nominations for the assembly were made by nationalist political groups, such as the local branch of the Imperial Rule Assistance Association, and the villagers had to accept their selections.

Under the Local Autonomy Law of 1947, assemblymen are legally considered to be representatives of the entire village. However, in actual practice, they are still generally regarded as buraku representatives and are nominated as such in all villages except Honami, Ebetsu, and Yoshida. In Honami and Ebetsu, the assemblymen represent occupational groups rather than buraku, and in Yoshida, they represent either the interests of the leading landlord or of various community organizations, such as the farmers' union and the women's association.

Before the Local Autonomy Law, the mayor was elected by the village assembly and served as its chairman. He was also responsible for the appointment and dismissal of all public officials in the village. Under the provisions of the Law, the mayor is elected directly by the villagers and is prohibited from presiding at sessions of the assembly. The chairman of the assembly is now elected by that body from among its membership. Also, the mayor must obtain the approval of the assembly for the appointment and dismissal of all important village officials, particularly the deputy mayor and village treasurer.

Until 1947, the village assemblies convened three or four times each year to approve the annual budget drafted by the mayor and to authorize payment of village expenses. Except for these duties, all local administrative functions were performed by the mayor.

Since 1947, the village assemblies have been meeting in regular session six times annually and in extraordinary sessions more frequently. Before and during the war, special sessions were rarely, if ever, called, but now the assemblies convene in emergency session in some villages as often as once a week. Until 1947, the assemblymen received only token payments, such as "lunch fees", but at present they are paid a small annual salary.

A considerable portion of the administrative work formerly performed by the mayor is now delegated to three or four committees within the assembly. The most common committees in the villages are general affairs, social welfare, economic, and education. In Yoshida, a finance committee was formed in 1947 to draft the annual budget, and a special meeting of the assembly is held annually to approve the final draft. Furthermore, in most villages the assemblymen sound out public opinion toward major issues before emergency sessions and call buraku meetings after the sessions to inform their constituents of action taken.

Until 1947, the mayor, as chairman of the village assembly, introduced all bills and utilized his position to see that they were enacted, particularly in the urban villages of Ebetsu and Honami, where the mayors represented powerful political factions. Under the Local Autonomy Law, the mayor may still introduce bills, but in actual practice most originate in the various committees.

BURAKU ADMINISTRATION

Before 1940, the villages were divided for administrative purposes into ku. Most of these ku had been autonomous units until 1888, when small communities were grouped into large units in accordance with the Regulations for Cities, Towns, and Villages.

The head of the ku prior to 1941 usually was appointed for a term of two to four years by the village mayor, with the approval of the village assembly. His primary duty was to maintain liaison between the village office and the ku residents. He also mediated disputes

Clerks in the village office at Aioi work on the budget in preparation for the next meeting of the assembly.

and supervised the construction and repair of roads, bridges, and irrigation works within the ku. In villages where there were no tax payment unions, he was also held responsible for the collection of taxes.

On 11 September 1940, the Home Ministry, in Instruction No 17, ordered a neighborhood association system established in all cities, towns, and villages. "Buraku-kai" (hamlet associations) were ordered organized in villages and "chonai-kai" (town associations) in towns and cities. Each association was to be headed by a chief to be elected by the members, with approval of the head of the city, town, or village. The instruction further ordered the establishment of "rimpohan" (neighborhood groups) to function as executive neighborhood groups under the hamlet associations, and "tonarigumi" (neighborhood associations) under the town associations. In areas where a number of associations had to be formed, a federation of these groups was permitted.

By April 1941, all of the 13 villages had adjusted to this system. In most villages, the ku or one of its subdivisions formed the basis for the hamlet associations, and the neighborhood group replaced the 5- and 10-household associations as the subordinate organ of the hamlet associations.

In addition to assuming all of the duties previously performed by the head of the ku, the chief of the hamlet association, under Instruction No 17, was charged with certain wartime responsibilities, the most important being food rationing and the distribution of clothing. Registration for food rationing and the issuing of ration books were handled by the hamlet associations, although the actual distribution was performed by the local offices of the prefectural ration offices in each village. Scarce commodities other than food, such as charcoal, clothing, and tobacco, were rationed directly through the hamlet associations. In addition, many neighborhood groups bought unrationed foods in bulk for distribution to their members.

After the Surrender, the neighborhood groups continued to function much as before, except for the elimination of specific wartime functions. On 22 January 1947, the Home Ministry, through Instruction No 4, rescinded the 1940 Instruction establishing the neighborhood association system. All hamlet and town associations were ordered to dissolve by 1 April 1947, and their administrative functions were transferred to local governmental agencies.

In the ensuing period of transition, however, many of the neighborhood groups continued unchanged with the same officials and the same functions, except for a few administrative tasks that had been transferred to the local government. To effect the complete abolition of the systems, the Cabinet on 3 May 1947 issued Government Ordinance No 15 prohibiting all individuals who had served as chiefs or assistant chiefs of the neighborhood associations from holding similar positions within the same area for the succeeding four years. Furthermore, national and local officials were prohibited from issuing administrative orders to the neighborhood associations, and all heads of neighborhood groups were likewise barred from giving orders to their former constituents. The Ordinance also stipulated that all organizations similar in function to the neighborhood groups were to be dissolved by 31 May 1947.

With the issuance of this Ordinance, the government instituted the system of rationing staple foods and clothing directly to individual households rather than to the hamlet associations.

In effect, these government directives brought about a revision of the administrative systems in 10 of the 13 villages to a condition approximating their prewar status, except for changes in the titles of the officials. In the majority of these 10 villages, the term "liaison official" has been substituted for the "hamlet association chief", and the term "assistant liaison official" for the "neighborhood group chief". The duties appear to have changed very little, except for the relinquishment of certain wartime responsibilities. Liaison officials today are in charge of all matters pertaining to their buraku at the village office, while assistant liaison officials serve as agents between the liaison officials and the buraku residents. Because liaison officials function only when the need arises, most of them hold other full-time jobs and receive very little compensation from the village office for their work. There is no buraku office for transacting official business, so all of the work is performed at home or at the village office. In the majority of the villages, the officials are elected annually by the buraku residents; in areas where people are reluctant to assume this responsibility, buraku residents take turns at being liaison officials. However, in three of the villages the government directives had more far-reaching effects. The most conspicuous change in buraku administration occurred in Nobuta, where all of the administrative functions performed by the neighborhood associations have been taken over by three organizations--the welfare association, the consumers' union, and the tax payment association--which have branches throughout the village. In Nikaido, in addition to the liaison officials, there are statistical, educational, welfare, and food adjustment commissions and tax-payment associations with village-wide representation. In Kawashiro, besides a buraku liaison official, several other officials handle some of the administrative matters which in most of the other villages are handled by the liaison official, such as those pertaining to health, welfare, public works, education, and rationing.

Both before and during the war, official notices from the village office generally were transmitted directly to the villagers by the heads of the neighborhood groups. At present, important notices are still transmitted orally to the buraku residents by the liaison officials, but there is a growing tendency to use bulletin boards for disseminating official information. In all of the 13 villages, the number of bulletin boards has increased considerably since the Surrender. In addition to the village office, certain community organizations, notably the agricultural cooperative and the youth association, utilize this means for disseminating information to their members.

Prior to the war, the management of such local affairs as the distribution of tax bills and the repairing of roads in the majority of the villages was delegated to heads of the ku who often acted upon the recommendations made at meetings of heads of households. During the war, major decisions on these matters (as well as on rationing) were made by officials of the hamlet associations. Since the dissolution of the neighborhood association system, all important matters concerning the buraku are decided at meetings attended by the heads of all households in the buraku. A general buraku assembly is called at least once a year to elect officials and to determine the annual budget, and special meetings are convened from time to time as occasion demands.

In villages where there are buraku-owned forests, as in Futomi, Aioi, and Yoshida, the disposition of forest use and products is decided at buraku assemblies. Generally speaking, a certain portion of the forests is reserved for communal purposes, and residents are prohibited from felling trees there except on specified occasions. Community profits are utilized for joint undertakings or distributed equally to each household in the buraku. Other wooded sections are either assigned in equal shares to all of the households in the buraku or used freely by all buraku residents. In some villages, grassland is divided among households according to the acreage of their cultivated fields, while in others, access to grassland is restricted to specified days in the year, at which time all buraku residents turn out to cut grass for fertilizer.

Neighbors assist each other at rice planting time.

The construction and repair of roads, bridges, schools, and other public works continue to be the joint responsibility of buraku residents, as in prewar times. At least twice a year volunteer labor is required for the construction of roads and similar public work. In some instances, this labor is obtained by calling upon the services of one member of each household; in others, the work is performed with or without payment by the youth association. The cost of construction and repairs is borne by buraku residents, except in large-scale undertakings, in which case the village office usually grants a subsidy, as in prewar times. The irrigation repairs are generally performed by the families who utilize them.

COOPERATIVE LABOR

In prewar times, assistance in farming was exchanged in most villages between members of the neighborhood group. Members aided each other in planting rice, weeding paddy fields, sowing wheat, fertilizing fields, and harvesting. The members of an extended family also helped each other, particularly if they lived close to each other, but mutual farming aid was carried on primarily by the neighborhood group. In villages where the buraku were relatively small, as in Suye, all of the buraku residents participated in the rice planting and harvesting.

In Mizuwake, where cooperative labor was particularly well developed, a special type of mutual aid group existed for every farming activity, the size depending on the nature of the work. Thus, the group participating in rice planting generally consisted of six or seven households, that for weeding paddy fields was made up of four or five, and those for sowing beans and wheat and for transporting fertilizer were limited to two or three households. Generally speaking, membership in a work group consisted of neighbors and relatives who depended upon one another for mutual aid, but participation was not necessarily confined to immediate neighbors. Thus, in planting rice and in weeding paddy fields, the cooperating group was composed of those who utilized the same irrigation system. Also, participation in these mutual aid groups was not restricted to one's own local administrative area; farmers living at the outskirts of a buraku frequently exchanged labor with residents of the neighboring buraku. Each Mizuwake household, therefore, participated in a number of mutual aid groups, membership in each being determined by the nature of the work.

In all the villages, neighbors extended farming assistance to families whose male members were ill, or to aged couples without sons. In such instances, villagers did not expect that the aid would be reciprocated in the form of return labor. In villages where the extended family system was well-developed, as in Mizuwake, Nobuta, and Yokogoshi, unilateral aid in farming also was extended by branch families to their head family. In the majority of the villages, however, head families always returned the labor given them by their branch families.

During the war, mutual aid in farming was generally conducted on a large-scale cooperative basis, under the aegis of the neighborhood associations. Since the dissolution of these associations in May 1947, the traditional mutual aid groups have been revived only in Karako, Nikaido, and Mizuwake. In the other 10 villages, two or three neighbors as well as a few relatives assist each other during the planting and harvesting seasons. Except in Mizuwake, where the traditional work groups have been fully revived, labor exchange appears

to be restricted to the planting and harvesting of rice. Certain tasks formerly performed by the mutual aid groups, such as weeding paddy fields, sowing wheat, and fertilizing fields, are now done by individual households.

The post-Surrender trend toward a decrease in size of the mutual aid group is in all probability the result of the increase in the family labor supply brought about by the influx of civilian and military repatriates, as well as of the increased use of livestock and farm machinery (see Part II). Food shortages and inflation also appear to have had some effect, because providing the food for the many workers who gathered for mutual aid, which was a traditional obligation, is extremely difficult under current economic conditions.

Assistance at weddings in prewar times generally was exchanged between close relatives and friends. All other relatives residing within a reasonable distance and all members of the neighborhood group usually were invited, but only as guests.

The group participating in funerals was always larger than the wedding group and frequently included several neighborhood groups. Relatives attended funerals but did not participate in the attendant arrangements, which included the feeding of guests; these were performed by the neighborhood groups. Certain tasks, such as escorting the priest to the ceremony, cremating the body, and digging the grave, were traditionally assigned to the neighborhood group of the deceased.

The size of the groups participating in weddings and funerals decreased considerably in all the villages in recent years. Villagers attributed this directly to food shortages and to the high cost of entertaining guests. Attendance at weddings in most villages is now restricted to close relatives and friends. In the few villages where the neighborhood group is still invited, the size of the group has decreased. Thus in Karako, all members of the "kasumi" (a neighborhood group consisting of five five-household associations) were traditionally invited to weddings, but since the Surrender, participation is restricted to the single five-household association to which the family belongs.

Funerals continue to be conducted by neighborhood groups in all villages, but the number of participants has decreased at Karako, Nobuta, Futomi, Honami, and Suye. Funeral arrangements, which in the past were carried out by several neighborhood groups, are now performed by one; where the entire buraku once turned out, attendance is now restricted to the neighborhood group of the deceased.

The funeral procession halts for a special ceremony before cremation of the body.

COMMUNITY ORGANIZATIONS

Since the dissolution of the government-controlled Nogyokai in August 1948, its local branches have been replaced in all villages by informal local agricultural service groups. 22/ In the transition from the agricultural associations to the cooperatives, local chapters have been rearranged to coincide more closely with natural locality groupings. In the course of this readjustment, the number of such groups has increased in most of the villages. At least one informal agricultural service group of the cooperative is located in each buraku in the 13 villages.

22/ See Chapter 1 for details on the agricultural cooperatives.

Local units of the Japan Farmers' Union also have been established in the majority of the villages, but because their membership is relatively small, they are generally organized only on the village level. Buraku chapters exist only in Yokogoshi, where the Union is particularly strong. In some of the villages, there are local farmers' unions which are unaffiliated with national organizations.

Chapters of the youth association and the women's association 23/ have been organized in almost every buraku in villages where these organizations exist. Meetings of the village associations occur only once or twice a year, so most of the activities are conducted on the buraku level.

Fire brigades, which function under the direct supervision of the local police office, are also established on a buraku basis. Although definite personnel are assigned to the fire brigade, all able-bodied men in the buraku between the ages of 25 and 45 are expected to assist in the event of a fire.

23/ See Chapter 7 for further details concerning the youth associations and the women's associations.

Chapter 4

LEADERSHIP AND POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

The Occupation encountered a situation in which rural leadership rested largely in the hands of a small class of landowning families. This class, by virtue of its economic control of the land, its education, and its traditional authority, was able to exercise local leadership in political as well as in general agricultural affairs. Since the Meiji Restoration, Japan has had male suffrage, and the landed classes have not held the status and power associated with that of some of the landed aristocracies of Europe. However, the landlords unquestionably have been the dominant leadership force in rural life.

The post-Surrender reforms in Japan attacked many of the legal and economic bases of this landlord domination. The land reform program itself substantially reduced the economic power of rural landlordism by either wiping it out entirely, reducing it to modest dimensions, or restricting it to forest, rather than arable land, holdings. The extension of suffrage to the entire adult population (including women), the inauguration of a system of direct elections, and the strengthening of local autonomy all had far-reaching effects. The most dramatic single measure, which at one stroke removed from leadership control large numbers of the pre-Surrender ruling group, was the exclusion from public office of persons associated with "military nationalism and aggression". This was the action known as the "purge". The development of democratic and voluntary organizations to replace the compulsory wartime organizations also allowed scope for the emergence of new leadership. The increasing assumption of responsibility by former tenants in land commissions, farmers' unions, agricultural cooperatives, and other organizations also was a notable phenomenon. Finally, the rapid dissemination of a new democratic atmosphere--through the radio, the press, and civic organizations of all kinds--played an important role.

Thus, with the tremendous weakening of the power of the local ruling groups, the small farmers themselves had to accept more and more positive leadership responsibilities. In many areas they were ill-prepared to assume these responsibilities, but they rapidly learned through the actual exercise of authority. In other areas, which had a greater tradition of small farmer organization, the transition was easier. This transition to a broader and more democratic base of rural leadership--in the small farmers--is far from complete, nor is it inevitably guaranteed by the legal and economic changes which have taken place since the Surrender. The various reform measures which bear directly or indirectly upon the structure of rural leadership--the land reform, the new Constitution, the revised Civil Code, extension of suffrage to women and to young men, voluntary organizations--provide the conditions within which a firm new leadership of small independent farmers can develop.

CHANGES IN VILLAGE LEADERSHIP

The changes in leadership can be seen most clearly in the changes in official and semi-official positions in the 13 villages since the Surrender. The most conspicuous changes have occurred in the ranks of mayors, assemblymen, and the officials of the various agricultural organizations. In December 1948, more than two-thirds of the public officials and approximately one-half of the directors of the village agricultural cooperative were holding their present positions for the first time. This shift toward a new leadership appears chiefly to be the result of the "purge directive" and the land reform program; the former removed many of the former leaders from their posts, whereas the latter prepared a new group of people to function as leaders.

The largest landlord in Yoshida enjoys working at his pottery wheel.

The mayor of Nikaido affixes his "han" (personal seal) to a document.

The "purge directive", issued 4 January 1946 by the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers 24/, resulted in a Japanese Government Imperial Ordinance which ordered the removal from public office and the exclusion from government service of the following categories of individuals: (1) persons active in military nationalism and aggression and (2) influential members of ultra-nationalistic, terroristic, or secret patriotic societies. Special reference was made to the Imperial Rule Assistance Association, the Imperial Rule Assistance Political Society, and the Political Association of Greater Japan. Because most of the influential individuals in the 13 villages usually held responsible positions in the Imperial Rule Assistance Association or similar organizations, the blanket order removed much of the former experienced leadership from active participation in village affairs. All wartime mayors, for example, were disqualified from holding any public office, because one of their functions had been to serve as head of the local branch of the Imperial Rule Assistance Association. Large landowners were in general similarly affected, because their substantial contributions to patriotic causes had been rewarded by important posts in the same organization. Thus, the three largest landlords in the 13 villages had held the chairmanship of their prefectural chapter of the Imperial Rule Assistance Association.

The extent to which the purge directive affected local leadership may be estimated from the fact that of the 39 individuals characterized by farmers as most influential before the Surrender 25/, 28 were prohibited by the directive from holding public office.

24/ SCAPIN 550, Removal and Exclusion of Undesirable Personnel from Public Offices, 4 January 1946; Imperial Ordinance No 109, 27 February 1946; amended by Imperial Ordinance No 1, 4 January 1947.

25/ In the questionnaire submitted to 100 heads of households in every village, the respondents were requested to list the three most influential men in their community before the Surrender and the three most influential in the post-Surrender Period.

At the same time that many of the established leaders were being excluded from public office, a new group of leaders was emerging in connection with agrarian reform programe. As noted in Chapter 1, many of the tenant and owner-operator members (especially the latter) of the local land commissions have become recognized as leaders.

The Mayor: Until the Local Autonomy Law of April 1947, the mayor was elected by the village assembly rather than by direct popular vote. Except in Honami, Ebetsu, and Futomi, which are not wholly agricultural communities, the mayor generally was drawn from the landlord or owner-operator group. Large landlords usually were able to exert pressure on the village assembly to have themselves or their nominees elected as mayor to insure that their policies would prevail. In Yokogoshi, for example, the largest landlord frequently had the heads of his branch families installed as mayors, and at one time the second largest landlord in the village assumed the mayoralty himself. In Yoshida, the large landlord, who paid 70 percent of the village taxes and so had sufficient influence to select two-thirds of the village assembly, had no difficulty in persuading the assembly to accept mayors of his choice. When he was dissatisfied with local candidates, he had sufficient authority to bring about the appointment of nonvillagers of his choice. Finally in 1945, he himself became mayor.

The first general election for mayor in April 1947 witnessed a complete turnover among the mayors because of the categorical elimination of former mayors by the "purge directive". Except in Mizuwake, where a prewar mayor was elected, all of the newly elected mayors had never held the office before. However, all of them, except the mayor in Suye, had held some sort of official position in the village prior to their election as mayor. Most of them had served as deputy mayors, assemblymen, or officials of the Nogyokai or of its predecessors.

The first general mayoralty elections also resulted in the election of six landless (or almost landless) individuals, who undoubtedly would never have become mayor prior to the land reform program. In Obie and Aioi, the mayors were former tenants, who had been elected largely through the efforts of the local chapters of the Japan Farmers' Union, of which they were chairmen. In Yoshida, the mayor was a repatriate from Manchuria who had returned to the village as a small tenant. In Yokogoshi, the mayor had been a village office employee for more than 30 years prior to his election, and he owned no land. In Suye, the mayor was a repatriate from Formosa and therefore classified as an absentee landlord and disqualified from owning land under land reform legislation. In Kawashiro, the mayor had owned only five tan of land before the land reform; he was the poorest mayor in the history of the village.

The Village Assembly: Prior to 1947, assemblymen in the purely agricultural villages generally were nominated from the landlord and owner-operator groups. In villages with a mixed economy, such as Futomi, Ebetsu, and Honami, nonfarmers constituted more than one-half of the assembly. Of a total of 213 assemblymen in the 13 villages immediately before the election, 44 were landlords, 92 owner-operators, 12 tenants, and 65 nonfarmers.

The elections of April 1947 witnessed a marked decrease in the number of landlords elected and a corresponding increase in owner-operators and tenants. Of a total of 253 assemblymen elected at that time, landlords numbered only 17, whereas owner-operators had increased to 124 and tenants to 34 (Table I). The greatest numerical increase in tenants occurred in Yokogoshi, Karako, and Kawashiro, villages in which the local farmers' unions had campaigned actively. The farmers unions of Yokogoshi and Kawashiro have acquired considerable organizational experience through their long history of conflict with the landlords. In Yokogoshi, for example, 17 out of the 22 assemblymen elected in 1947 were members of the Japan Farmers' Union.

The 1947 village assembly elections also saw a slight increase in Eta representation in Karako and Honami. Before the war, a total of four Eta had been assemblymen in three of the villages: two in Karako and one each in Nikaido and Honami. In the 1947 elections, three Eta assemblymen were elected in Karako, two in Honami, and one each in Nikaido and Aioi. The increase in Karako resulted automatically from the increase in the number of

assemblymen authorized by the Local Autonomy Law. In most villages, the assemblymen in practice are elected by their own buraku rather than by the village as a whole. Therefore, the increase in the number of authorized assemblymen is reallocated proportionately to the population of each buraku. In this reallocation, the Eta buraku in Karako was allotted one more assemblyman. Because the Eta 26/ are segregated in special buraku or are limited to a certain section of a buraku, it is usual for an Eta to represent his community whenever representation is on a buraku basis.

The election of an Eta to the village assembly in Aioi in 1947 for the first time is another indication of the general improvement of the Eta position in this community. As noted in Chapter 6, the Eta have also been allowed since November 1948 to become parishioners of the Shinto shrine located in their buraku; until that time, they had been prohibited from worshipping at the shrine.

Women were first elected to the village assembly in the 13 villages in April 1947; two were elected, one in Kawashiro and one in Yoshida. Before 1947 Japan had no elected women officials. Their election was considerably helped by the intense and active campaigns carried on by the village women's associations.

Since the enactment of the Local Autonomy Law, the powers of the assemblymen have increased greatly, particularly in villages formerly dominated by large landlords. Under the old system, the mayor, as chairman of the assembly, introduced all bills and utilized his position to force their passage, particularly in villages where he was backed by powerful political factions or by influential landlords. Under the new law, the mayor may still introduce bills into the assembly, but, in actuality, the majority of them originate in the various committees of the assembly. Because the chairman of the assembly is now elected from among its membership, the mayor's relation with the assemblymen is less intimate than formerly, and he can no longer intimidate them into passing bills favorable to him or to his sponsors. Furthermore, he must now obtain the approval of the assembly for the appointment and dismissal of all important village officials, especially the deputy mayor and the treasurer.

In Karako, Yokogoshi, Kawashiro, Nikaido, and Honami the village assembly appears very active and ready to assume all of the responsibilities thrust upon it by the Local Autonomy Law. In some of the other villages, the new system does not yet appear to be functioning very effectively.

LEADERSHIP IN THE AGRICULTURAL COOPERATIVES

Since the dissolution of the government-controlled agricultural associations in August 1948, at least one cooperative--a general agricultural cooperative association--has been established in each of the 13 villages; in six of the villages, one or more specialized agricultural cooperatives have been organized. A number of gun-wide agricultural cooperative associations also have been organized since the dissolution of the Nogyokai.

One of the most important aspects of the change to the agricultural cooperatives has been the emergence of large numbers of new leaders who had had little association with the management of the government-controlled Nogyokai. This great change in leadership composition came about principally because: (1) In most of the villages, some persons felt that because the government now looked with disfavor on the Nogyokai, the assumption of leadership in the new democratic agricultural cooperatives by persons who had held positions of responsibility in the Nogyokai would be improper. (2) The tendency is for younger people to undertake positions of responsibility; in the new cooperatives, most officials

26/ The Eta population is considerable in only four of the villages studied: Karako, Nikaido, Honami, and Aioi. Yoshida, Nobuta, and Obie have smaller Eta populations.

are in their thirties or forties. (3) The new cooperatives generally have a larger number of officials than did the old Nogyokai so that a larger number of farmers are able to participate in the management of their cooperatives. (4) Some of the Nogyokai officials were barred from office under the provisions of the "purge directive".

The most striking exception to the general trend was in Ebetsu, where most of the officials of the old Nogyokai continued to hold positions of considerable responsibility, even in the new agricultural cooperatives. Of the 12 persons who were directors of the Nogyokai immediately prior to its dissolution, six became directors of the new Ebetsu-Machi Agricultural Cooperative Association, one a director of the Nopporo Agricultural Cooperative Association, and the other five were elected to the town assembly. Even so, less than one-half of the 44 directors in the present general agricultural cooperatives had been directors of the old Nogyokai. In the 13 villages as a whole, well over one-half of the directors of the cooperatives are serving as officials in agricultural organizations for the first time. The greatest shift in agricultural leadership occurred in villages where the Japan Farmers' Union is especially strong, as in Aioi, Yokogoshi, and Kawashiro. In the last village, for example, out of 19 directors of the village cooperative, only two had served as officials in the village Nogyokai.

The chairmanship of the agricultural cooperatives also showed evidence of new leadership. In eight of the villages, the cooperative association chairmen were men who had never held positions of leadership in the Nogyokai. In four villages--Karako, Nobuta, Ebetsu, and Suye--the chairmen were formerly Nogyokai directors. In only one instance, Mizuwake, had the chairman of the Nogyokai become chairman of the village cooperative. However, throughout the 13 villages, many of the former Nogyokai chairmen still held influential posts. Although some of them were barred from public office by the "purge directive", others are serving as mayors, village assemblymen, land commissioners, and officials of important community organizations. In five villages--Kawashiro, Nikaido, Yoshida, Ebetsu, and Mizuwake--the present mayors were formerly chairmen of the Nogyokai.

CHANGES IN VOTING BEHAVIOR

In the years before the war, Japan had a number of political parties and a parliamentary cabinet system. Most of the prewar cabinets were coalitions in which the relative strength of the various parties changed from election to election. The principal prewar parties were the Seiyukai and the Minsei-to; on the left various minor parties, such as the Socialist party, the Social Masses party, and the Proletarian party, appeared intermittently on the political scene. The small Communist party was an illegal organization throughout the prewar period.

During the war, the activities of political parties virtually ceased, and the traditional parties were replaced by the patriotic front Imperial Rule Assistance Political Society. No elections were held, and the cabinets were composed primarily of nonelected military men and some minor representation from the civilian party factions. Early in the Occupation, the restrictions upon the activities of political parties were removed, and intense political activity commenced in preparation for an election held in April 1946.

For the most part, continuity existed between the prewar and the immediate post-Surrender parties. The Seiyukai became the post-Surrender Liberal party, eventually renamed the Democratic Liberal party. The Minsei-to became the Progressive party, later renamed the Democratic party. The various left factions, except for the Communists, became the post-Surrender Social Democratic party, and the Communist party became a legal party for the first time in Japanese history. A large number of minor parties also came into existence; the most important of these was the People's Cooperative party which appealed primarily for farm support.

The April 1947 Diet elections resulted in a coalition government of representatives of the Democratic, Social Democratic, and People's Cooperative parties, although the conservative Liberal party received a slight plurality of the popular vote for the House of

Representatives. 27/ In the 13 villages, however, the Social Democrats polled the largest number of votes, followed by the Democrats and the Liberals (Table 35). The proportion of Social Democratic votes was four percent greater than the national average, whereas the Democratic and Liberal votes were respectively two percent and six percent less than the national average. 28/

Except for those villages where the Japan Farmers' Union had been active in the election campaigns, voting habits in the first post-Surrender elections showed little change from the immediate prewar patterns. Villages which had traditionally voted for candidates of a certain party because the largest landlord had supported it, or because they happened to be located in a given political bailiwick, continued to vote for the candidates of those parties. In Nobuta, the largest landlord had been a member of the Seiyukai and a member of the House of Peers before the war. The villagers here had traditionally supported his party, and in April 1947, 57 percent of the votes were cast for the candidate of the Liberal party. Similarly, in Yoshida, where the largest landlord supported the Minsei-to, 60 percent of the votes were polled by the Democratic party. Nikaido, which had been a Minsei-to bailiwick before the war, gave a majority of votes to candidates of the Democratic party in the immediate post-Surrender period. Even in the January 1949 election, when the Democratic Liberal party won a majority of the House of Representatives, more than 50 percent of the Nikaido votes remained Democratic.

Social Democratic support was greatest in villages where the Japan Farmers' Union had been active, as in Aioi and Yokogoshi. The Social Democrats also polled sizable votes in the two urban villages, Honami and Ebetsu. In Honami, the majority of the Social Democratic voters were coal miners, and in Ebetsu, the strongest party supporters were members of farmer and labor unions.

In the January 1949 elections, a considerable change occurred in the national popular vote and in the distribution of representatives among the parties. The Democratic Liberals won a plurality of the popular vote and a majority of the House of Representatives, and organized a single-party cabinet. Both the Social Democratic and the Democratic parties declined considerably, while the Communist party showed strong gains. 29/

The national trend was reflected in the 13 villages. The proportion of Democratic Liberal votes was 1.6 times what it had been in 1947; that of Communist votes was 2.4 times the 1947 proportion. (The Communists polled 3.8 of the votes in 1947 and 9.1 percent in 1949.) Similar to national results, the proportion of Democratic and Social Democratic votes declined. The 1949 Democratic vote was 79 percent of the 1947 vote, and the 1949 Social Democratic vote was 55 percent of the 1947 vote. 30/ Although the percentage of votes received by the Social Democratic, Democratic, and Communist parties in the 1949 elections corresponded closely with the national averages for those parties, the percentage of votes polled by the Democratic Liberal party in the 13 villages was 10 percent less than the national average.

27/ In the 1947 elections, the nation-wide Liberal vote was 26.7 percent; the Social Democratic, 26.2 percent; the Democratic, 25.1 percent; and the People's Cooperative, 6.8 percent. The remainder of the votes were for minor parties and independent candidates.

28/ In the 1947 elections in the 13 villages, the Liberals received 21.4 percent of the total votes; the Social Democrats, 29.8 percent; and the Democrats, 22.5 percent. The remainder of the votes went to minor parties and independent candidates.

29/ In the 1949 elections, the nation-wide Democratic Liberal vote was 43.8 percent; the Social Democrat, 13.5 percent; the Democratic, 15.8 percent; and the Communist, 9.6 percent. The remainder of the votes were for minor parties and independent candidates.

30/ In the 1949 elections in the 13 villages, the Democratic Liberals received 33.6 percent of the total votes; Social Democrats, 16.5 percent; the Democrats, 17.7 percent; and the Communists, 9.1 percent. The remainder of the votes were for minor parties and independent candidates.

By contrast with the national elections, political parties play a much smaller role in local elections. Generally speaking, except for Communist party candidates, candidates for local office run as individuals, rather than as representatives of national political parties. In only two villages, Aioi and Yokogoshi, did the official candidates of a political party gain a sizable number of votes. In these villages, the Social Democratic party, with the support of the Japan Farmers' Union, sponsored official candidates who had considerable success in the elections. Both villages are in prefectures that have a long history of agrarian unrest and of political rivalry between landlords and tenants. But even in these exceptional cases, voting was not strictly along party lines, as evidenced by the fact that although the Social Democratic party succeeded in capturing 17 seats in the 22-man assembly in Yokogoshi, its candidate for mayor was not elected. To reconcile the differences between a Social Democratic assembly and a conservative mayor, a Social Democratic deputy mayor had to be appointed.

POLITICAL PARTICIPATION BY WOMEN

Japan's new constitution grants women the rights both to vote and to hold public office. However, feminine participation in politics in the 13 villages is restricted to voting. Except for Yoshida and Kawashiro, where four women candidates were nominated for the village assembly in the 1947 elections, no women actively campaigned for village, prefectural, or national office in the 1947 or 1949 elections. In all 13 villages, there were only two elected women officials, both village assemblywomen.

In 1947, 65 percent of the feminine electorate turned out for the national elections; in 1949, the turnout increased to 70 percent. Generally, in the 13 villages, less feminine interest in voting was shown in the northern than in the central and western villages.

Although more women than men were eligible to vote in all villages except Honami, in all post-Surrender elections (except in Yoshida) more men than women actually voted. The feminine percentage most closely approximated that of men in prefectural and village elections. In villages where men have a keen interest in politics, women usually show a correspondingly high interest in voting. Thus, in Yoshida, Kawashiro, and Suye, where male voting rates were consistently high, the women's voting rates tended to be high also. Furthermore, wherever the number of male votes increased in the 1949 elections (as compared with 1947), a corresponding increase occurred in the number of women's votes. Thus, in Obie, where male votes increased by 21 percent, women's votes increased by 22 percent; in Aioi, where male votes increased by 19 percent, women's votes increased by 32 percent.

The assemblywoman in Yoshida is one of two elected women officials in the 13 villages.

The highest women's voting rate was in Yoshida, where 98 percent of the feminine electorate turned out to vote in the January 1949 elections. In all post-Surrender elections, the proportion of women's votes in Yoshida has consistently kept pace with the highest percentage for men in all of the villages. This is of particular significance when it is recalled that of the 13 villages, Yoshida is the most remote from urban influences and has the most feudalistic social structure.

The voting interest of Yoshida women is due in considerable part to

the energetic activity of the chairwoman of the local women's association, who is the well-educated wife of the former great landowner of the village. The women's association in Yoshida is the most active of all the women's organizations in the 13 villages in the political education of its members: it publishes a monthly summary of local and national news; it holds political meetings before elections to acquaint the village women with the personal histories and platforms of the candidates; it also nominated women candidates for the village assembly in the 1947 elections.

Although the women's vote was large, there was little evidence that they took an active interest in political affairs. Because Japanese men generally regard women's voting with some amusement, if not with contempt, women rarely consult them on political matters. Most of their political discussions are with other women. Few women attend political meetings with men, and the majority of those who do are young.

Evidence suggests that the large turnout of women at the polls was in considerable part a result of factors other than a high degree of interest in political affairs. The women frequently reported that they voted because they were afraid that their neighbors would gossip about them if they did not. Social pressure for fulfilling such civic duties as voting is very considerable in a Japanese community. The schools contribute to this pressure by having the children urge their parents to vote. The large turnout at the January 1949 elections also was stimulated by the villagers' desire to win radios and commendations offered by the government and the Mainichi newspaper to villages having a high turnout at elections.

Another factor of considerable importance is the activity of particularly influential or capable individuals in the community. In some communities, women of broad experience and education had considerable success in guiding the political education and participation of the village women. In Yoshida, the influence of the chairwoman of the women's association was strongly reinforced by the traditional authority of her family, which had been the great landowner of the area for many generations. Thus, through her suggestions--which within the traditional framework of the village were virtually commands--and her efforts at political education, a turnout of 98 percent of the women was achieved in the January 1949 elections. This turnout may be more a tribute to her efforts than evidence of a rise in the status or of the political interest of the village women.

Ninety-eight percent of the feminine electorate in Yoshida turned out to vote in the January 1949 election. Here women are among those registering and receiving their election ballots.

Most of the women interviewed felt it was a little premature for women to run for public office. They were convinced that women needed more education to equip them to compete successfully with men. They further felt that women officials would tend to show too much deference toward men so that their activity would be ineffective.

Most of the women seemed to be aware that changes have occurred in their legal status under the Occupation, but they are not quite certain what these changes are. Officers of the women's associations, except in Honami and Yoshida, said that only about five percent of the women have a working knowledge of women's rights as defined in the new Constitution and the revised Civil Code. In Honami and Yoshida, where officers of the women's association had sponsored several lectures on the Constitution and the Civil Code in every buraku, at least 50 percent of the women were adjudged to be aware of

these rights. Most farm wives work in the fields all day and are busy with household chores in the evening and so have little opportunity to listen to the radio or to read newspapers and magazines to keep abreast of current changes.

Aside from voting, women's rights are generally regarded in all 13 villages as theoretical rights--something provided for in the Constitution and the Civil Code, but something about which there is little need to do anything, at least in the immediate future.

Although the majority of men have a disdainful attitude toward women's voting, seasoned village leaders here and there--whether holding official positions or not--expressed the belief that now that the women are becoming accustomed to voting, they will not read ly relinquish their rights. In this connection, it is well to remember that although most women are not taking advantage of their opportunity to sue for divorce and to protect the r property rights under the provisions of the revised Civil Code, some few women in the villages had availed themselves of these new rights. What the situation ahead will be remains to be seen.

Chapter 5

THE CHANGING FAMILY

The Japanese family is a close-knit economic and social group. Especially in the rural areas, the sense of family--of belonging to a family, of acting in the family name, of defending the family honor, of doing things in behalf of the family, of being worthy of the family ancestors--is very strong. Until the recent revision of the Civil Code, family properties usually were transmitted as a unit to the eldest son. People regard the maintenance of ancestral shrines as one of their most important duties. Membership in many kinds of organizations is on a family basis. Marriage is a family affair, usually arranged by parents, often with the help of a go-between. Important questions involving family members are commonly decided by a family council. Every child is early and permanently recorded in a family registry which is kept in the village office. Family continuity is so important that when there is no male heir, every effort is made to adopt a son to carry on the family name.

This sense of belonging is extended to a kinship group larger than one's immediate family. The extended family group is often formally organized, and even in areas where it is not, its informal authority is recognized. The formal extended family consists of a main family and a group of branch families which have traditional obligations and relations to each other. In large extended families, there may be a "great" main family and grandchild branch families as well, together making up a very large number of relatives. The relations between the main family and the branch families are based upon obedience and service on the part of the branch family, and protection and patronage on the part of the main family.

Today, this traditional Japanese family system is undergoing great change. The war, the experiences of young men abroad, the Occupation, and post-Surrender legislation are having a telling effect. In this chapter, some important aspects of this changing situation will be noted.

SOCIAL ASPECTS

The Extended Family

Before the land reform program, landlords and moderately wealthy owner-operators customarily set up branch families ("bunke") for their younger sons at the time of their marriage. The amount of land given to a branch family at the time of its establishment depended upon the affluence of its head family ("honke") but generally constituted 10-30 percent of the head family's real property. In addition, the branch family received a house, furniture, farming implements, and other items necessary for an independent existence. The creation of branch families entailed a great financial burden on the head family, as may be seen in the folk saying that "the setting up of a branch family means a lifelong famine". Even before the land reform, the establishment of branch families had already become more difficult, because after the Meiji era there was insufficient land for subdivision and allotment to younger sons.

In the majority of the 13 villages, the general prewar practice was to establish the branch family in the same locality as its head family; this facilitated reciprocal relations

and strengthened the solidarity of the extended family. However, in response to local conditions, practices differed from village to village. Thus, in Ebetsu, where virgin land was still abundantly available, the setting up of branch families was a relatively easy matter, even for ordinary farmers. Upon the marriage of a younger son, a father generally was able to purchase a tract of uncultivated land for his son, instead of subdividing his own property. If the land was infertile, the father contributed top soil and permitted his son to utilize his peat bogs freely. In Mizuwake, on the other hand, where surplus land was unavailable, a small farmer could rent land from a landlord and transfer his tenancy right to his younger son. In this manner, the latter became economically independent and could assume his place in the community as a full-fledged tenant farmer. In Futomi, where arable land is scarce and fishing is the major source of income, the creation of branch families was relatively easy. Because the younger sons could achieve economic independence as fishermen, the father's principal duty was to provide a house. In Nikaido, a farmer without surplus land generally contributed money to help his sons establish themselves in some nonagricultural work in the village or in nearby cities. As is common in other villages as well, younger sons usually were given more education than their eldest brother to prepare them for earning a living outside of farming.

Since the land reform the creation of the traditional branch family--entailing the division of land and the building of a separate dwelling--has become almost impossible, even for former landlords. To meet the situation, some younger sons are marrying into farm households as "yoshi" (adopted sons); others are compelled to find nonagricultural occupations, usually outside of the village. A few wealthy families are still able to build new houses when their younger sons marry, but in the majority of cases, married younger sons either rent houses or continue to live with their families. In Suye and Aioi, in contrast with the general trend, branch families were increasing because the villagers were finding difficulty in locating work and housing in the cities.

The mutual aid activities and solidarity of the extended family have been in a process of change for many years. This process, which is in the direction of lessening the importance of the extended family, has been accelerated since the Surrender.

Before the war, members of the extended family customarily assisted each other during the busy farming season. The more influential head families, however, did not have to reciprocate for aid which they received from their branch families. This practice of assistance has been discontinued in most villages since the Surrender, although groupings of two or three related households living near each other may exchange labor, especially if they belong to the same mutual aid group.

The head family and its branch families still keep in touch with each other on such occasions as births, marriages, and funerals. In prewar times, branch families used to gather at the home of their head family on New Year's Day, during the Feast of the Dead (O-Bon), and during the Ancestors' Festival (Senzo-matsuri), when they jointly worshipped the family tutelary god and their ancestors and held a family feast. During the war, these customs became highly abbreviated because of food shortages and the expense involved in exchanging presents. In villages where the extended family system was particularly strong, as in Mizuwake, Nobuta, and Yokogoshi, all branch families within a buraku gathered at the house of the direct descendant of the founder of the family on New Year's Day and at O-Bon to pray to their common ancestor. This practice is no longer observed as rigidly as it was, and branch families tend to assemble only at the home of their immediate head family on these occasions.

Prior to the war, members of the extended family in all of the villages were obligated to go to the assistance of any member in financial difficulties, and they were expected to consult the head of the family about the selection of brides for their sons. At present, neither of these practices is followed in about half of the villages. Also, in most of the villages, the head family no longer acts as go-between in the selection of spouses for members of its branch families. To an increasing extent, go-betweens are nonrelatives.

When the extended family used to assemble on ceremonial occasions, a definite honorary seating arrangement was observed. The highest seat of honor was accorded to the direct

descendant of the founder of the family, followed in succession by the branch families in the order of their establishment. Branch families separated directly from the main family ranked higher in social status than those separated from branch families. Such a seating arrangement is observed at present in only three villages: Mizuwake, Nobuta, and Yokogoshi. In Yokogoshi, members of branch families often enter the house of the main family through the back rather than through the front entrance, to signify their social inferiority.

Since 1945, the range of recognized mutual obligation within the extended family has narrowed to three generations and to those directly separated from the family (or second branch family at most). The largest extended family encountered, which was in Mizuwake, consisted of 20 families; an extended family of 60 families had once lived in this village. That such families once exerted a powerful influence in the community is attested to by the use of such terms of respect as "oyakata-sama" (literally, honorable master), "oya-sama" (literally, honorable parent), and "danna-sama" (literally, honorable master, lord) towards the main families.

In summary, it can be said that the gradual deterioration of the extended family system, which began in the mid-Taisho era (about 1920) was considerably accelerated by post-Surrender conditions and by the land reform program; the establishment of branch families has become almost impossible, and sons, who in earlier days might have remained in the community and thus participated in the extended family activities, now are becoming adopted husbands or are going to live outside of their home village. The land reform has tended to level the economic differences between the head families and their branch families and is thereby weakening these traditional economic and social ties which were based upon the unequal economic status of the two groups.

Inheritance

Traditionally, land inheritance has been based upon primogeniture in Japan. Furthermore, the position of head of the household was also passed on by succession, usually--but not always--to the same person who inherited the land. In some areas, formal retirement at the age of 60 to 65 is common. In the traditional practice, a man retires from the active management of his farm and transfers the headship of the household and the ownership of the family property to his eldest son. These inheritance patterns were customary and were also legally prescribed in the Civil Code. However, the post-Surrender Civil Code provides that all children and relatives have the right to share in the inheritance, including land. 31/ Under the revised Civil Code, the acquisition of the position of head of the household is no longer dependent upon death or retirement of the previous head or on the formal establishment of a branch family.

An important element of the Japanese family system is its emphasis upon mutual obligation and responsibility for the welfare of the members. A more successful member of a family is obligated to give aid to the less successful members. This applies particularly to the eldest son, especially if he is the son who has inherited the land. Along with the land, he inherits the responsibility for the care of his parents and for other members of his close family as well, if they should need aid. The successor also inherits his father's debts, if any, and the obligation to repay them.

In practice, inheritance procedure varied in response to local and personal circumstances. Respondents to the questionnaire reported the following inheritance practices in their own families: to eldest son only, 78 percent; to all sons, but different amounts according to age, 13; divided equally among all sons, 4; other arrangement, 5.

The consensus of most of the farmers interviewed was that if the inheritance provision of the revised Civil Code were carried out, the family as an economic unit would encounter great difficulties. The questionnaire revealed a similar attitude. When asked what would

31/ Article 900 of the revised Civil Code stipulates that in the event the heirs are the spouse and lineal descendants, the former shall inherit one-third of the property, and the latter two-thirds; if the heirs are the spouse and lineal ascendants, the property shall be divided equally; and if the heirs are the spouse and the siblings of the deceased, the spouse shall receive two-thirds, and the latter one-third.

happen if all the sons and daughters were given land equally, respondents replied as follows: the family would be unable to get along, 67 percent; the future of the children would improve, 16; neither the family nor the children would be affected, 6; don't know, 10; other answers, 1.

Farmers frequently argued that the land holdings were too small to provide a subsistence for all family members if they were subdivided further. Although the minimum acreage required for independent farming varied from village to village--from five tan in Nikaido, where the land is particularly fertile, to 15 cho in a dairying buraku in Ebetsu--the feeling is widespread that at least one cho is necessary for supporting an average family of five. Because present land holdings are already so close to this minimum required level, the majority thought that the new inheritance provisions are impractical and that a more realistic revision is necessary before they can afford to abandon their traditional inheritance practices. A few expressed the fear that they would be abandoned by their children if its provisions were carried out. Many more feared inheritance disputes among their children after their death.

The majority of young people interviewed in youth association meetings favored the continuance of the traditional methods of inheritance. Because the elder brother is obligated to take care of the aged parents and look after the welfare of the younger children until they reach maturity, it was only proper, they argued, that he should inherit the family's property. In Ebetsu, for example, members of the youth association stated that they felt that their parents' obligation to them ends with their own maturity, and they did not feel that they had the right to receive a share of the inheritance.

Disputes over inheritance of land arising from the new Code occurred only at Nobuta, Nikaido, and Aioi. The one case in Nobuta and the two cases in Nikaido were attributed to discord among brothers, whereas the fourth case, at Aioi, involved the efforts of a war widow to share in the property left by her husband.

Marriage

In Japan as a whole, and particularly in rural communities, the traditional pattern of marriage has been one in which the families chose the spouses for their children, and a go-between was used to conduct the necessary interfamilial negotiations and to conclude the arrangements. The traditional system, which depended upon the requirement of parental approval for marriage, was strongly supported by the old Civil Code, which stipulated the necessity of parental approval for marriages when the man and woman were less than 30 and 25 years of age respectively. In addition to the traditional and legal support for this system of marriage, many detailed economic and social arrangements of community life also acted to rein orce the authority of the parents and the acquiescence of the children.

Parental approval could be manifested in a variety of ways. It could mean little more than the registration of parental approval of the free choice made by a son or daughter. At the other extreme, it could take the form of forcing a marriage against the will of the children, or of dissolving a marriage against the will of the children. Normally, marriage arrangements in practice were somewhere between these two extremes. To some extent, parents usually took their children's views into consideration, and children usually were willing to be guided by their parents.

Many factors were considered in the selection of spouses. A basic requirement in determining the appropriateness of a prospective marriage was the relative social status of the two families. The closer the status of the two families, the more favorably would a marriage be regarded. Also, great emphasis was traditionally placed upon the "stock" of the family: marriage into families with a history of leprosy, tuberculosis, or insanity was avoided; a family lineage suspected of a history of possession, whether in the form of "inugami" (dog god) or of "kitsune-mochi" (fox possessor), was shunned; non-Eta families would never consider the marriage of their son or daughter to an Eta, as the Japanese felt that no matter how much worldly success an Eta might achieve, he could never overcome the taint of his lineage. Family wealth has also been looked upon as an important matter. In

some instances, marriages with persons from certain communities or areas were traditionally frowned upon. In addition, favorable and unfavorable zodiacal signs and conjectures were observed closely. Age differences also were given some weight; a difference of four or eight years was considered unfavorable, whereas an interval of three, five, or seven years was considered favorable. A function of the go-between was to investigate all of these as well as other important factors in order that the marriage should be perfectly suitable to both families.

In the normal traditional pattern, the bride "comes to" or is "received by" the husband's family. Sometimes, when a family has no male heir to carry on the family line, a husband will be adopted, usually from a related family, as a son and will enter his wife's family. The adopted son ("yoshi") is traditionally regarded as a slightly contemptible figure, and normally only under economic stress would a father permit his younger sons to be adopted. This aversion is expressed in the folk saying: "If you have as little as a pint of rice bran, don't become a 'yoshi'."

In recent years, the war, the Occupation, the unsettled economic conditions, the new Constitution, and the revised Civil Code all have contributed to an atmosphere of change. This atmosphere has permitted certain elements of the population--who for one reason or another were discontented with the traditional marriage pattern, or whose family situation was such that individual choice was possible--to break away from the customary system of parental selection of spouses. The war permitted many rural young people to travel and to observe a less traditional way of life; the Occupation has furthered the dissemination of Western ideas of individualism. The unsettled economic conditions (and the land reform) have reordered the economic arrangements of many families; the Constitution guarantees the freedom of the individual; and the revised Civil Code (in contrast to the old one) stipulates that the consent of the prospective bride and groom is the sole requirement for marriage. However, a wide gap occurs between the awareness of alternatives and the feasibility of putting them into practice; and the social and economic conditions which have traditionally supported the system of parental selection remain for the most part untouched by the existence of the revised Civil Code. Thus, although many of the prerequisites for change exist, there is no evidence that the incidence of parental selection has materially declined in the 13 villages since the Surrender.

However, some changes have occurred which affect the traditional system of marriage. Although parental approval continues to be of great importance, forced marriages in the years since the Surrender are not so common. Parents in some villages mentioned that their daughters were less acquiescent about marrying men whom they did not like. Emphasis upon social and economic status as criteria for the selection of spouses has diminished markedly. Although only economic factors are considered in some of the villages, the personal characteristics of the prospective spouses are being emphasized more and more. In prospective farm wives, health and ability to work are particularly desired. The change in attitudes among young people has been even more marked. Although they recognize the practical difficulties involved, most of them favor greater freedom of choice in marriage.

Much less change has occurred in some of the other traditional criteria. The importance of "stock" continues to be emphasized. The presence of hereditary taint, whether of physical and mental disease or of status, such as surrounds the Eta, continues to be an obstacle to marriage. Marriage with dog-god or fox possessor families is still avoided, and traditional considerations concerning the proper geographical location of the prospective spouse's family are still observed in some villages.

Since the Surrender the number of "yoshi" marriages has increased notably. This has come about principally for two reasons. Many families had lost their sons in the war, and in order to continue the family line, had had to adopt sons-in-law. Secondly, because of the stringent limitation of land and the consequent difficulties in the establishment of branch families, younger sons who wish to continue in farming, rather than leave the village for nonfarm employment, have become more willing to accept the status of adopted husband.

The return of discharged soldiers to their homes resulted in an unusual increase in the rate of marriage, and the end of conscription led to a reduction in the average age of both brides and grooms. The greatest reduction in the average age of marriage took place in Honami, a coal mining community, where, because of the government program of incentives for increased coal production, miners have priority in housing construction and receive substantial family allowances.

A noteworthy change in all the villages has occurred in connection with marriage ceremonies which have become more elaborate since the Surrender than they have ever been in rural areas. This may be attributed to the post-Surrender farming boom, which made more cash than ever before available to many farm families, as well as to the removal of wartime restrictions upon lavish expenditures. In Kawashiro, for example, the leaders of the women's association complained that marriage has become "a competition for trousseau" and reported that their association had conducted three campaigns to persuade the families of prospective spouses to set a limit upon wedding expenses.

Divorce

Because of the Japanese rural custom of not registering marriages until the birth of the first child or sometimes not until a year after marriage, determination of the exact number of divorces that occurred during the period under investigation was extremely difficult. Most divorces take place within the year after marriage and before the birth of a child, and the actual number of divorces may have been considerably larger than the number officially recorded. To cite an example, the village of Karako is sometimes called a "yome-dashi-mura" (literally, village which expels daughters-in-law) by neighboring communities because of the large number of divorces that take place annually; second wives were said to be common, and several cases were cited of men in their early thirties living with their fourth or fifth wives. However, the statistical registers in the Karako village office recorded only five divorces during 1945, seven during 1946 and 1947, and four during 1948.

The peak in recorded divorces in the villages was during 1947. This rise in the divorce rate was chiefly attributed to the legalization of divorces of war widows whose former husbands, officially listed as dead, returned after their wives had already remarried, as well as to the incompatibility of military repatriates and their long-separated wives. In the majority of villages, and for the 13 villages as a whole, the number of recorded divorces during 1948 decreased sharply.

Traditionally, the chief cause of divorce throughout rural Japan has been the incompatibility of the wife and her mother-in-law. This is still true in the 11 rural villages; in the urban villages of Ebetsu and Honami, incompatibility of the spouses was cited as the chief cause and mother-in-law trouble as the second. In all villages, prolonged illness of the wife was frequently listed as a reason for divorce.

Until the revised Civil Code was promulgated, Japanese women were not able to sue for divorce, and divorce action was considered to be a prerogative of the husband. Under the revised Civil Code, however, wives can sue for divorce on the same grounds as can husbands. Nevertheless, the post-Surrender divorce proceedings recorded in the villages were all initiated by men. However, two cases of court action initiated by women were on record: Two women petitioned the Domestic Relations Court after their divorce for property settlement, as provided for in the new Civil Code. 32/ In Karako, a wife refused to return to her husband after seven years of marriage because of in-law difficulties, and consequently she was divorced by her husband. Spurred by her relatives, she applied for property settlement to

32/ According to Article 768 of the new Civil Code, in divorce by agreement a spouse may demand the distribution of property from the other spouse. If no agreement is reached between the parties, either party may apply to the Court of Domestic Relations for legal distribution of their property. The Court determines whether such distribution should be made or not, and, in the event of distribution, stipulates the amount and mode of settlement.

the Domestic Relations Court and was awarded ¥100,000. In Suye, a woman with five children was divorced by her husband, a well-to-do landlord, and returned to her parents in a nearby town. After a few months, her relatives prodded her into instituting a property claim to the Domestic Relations Court, and as a consequence, her husband was ordered by the Court to pay her ¥195,000.

Except for these two cases, no immediate effects of the divorce provisions in the revised Civil Code were observed. The majority of women interviewed in the villages looked askance upon the new divorce laws, whereas the men generally laughed heartily at the notion of being divorced by their wives. However, during the post-Surrender period, wives seem less willing to put up with domineering mothers-in-law, and it has become more common for wives to leave their husbands than for the husbands to send their wives back to their parents, as happened in prewar times.

Retirement

In prewar times the custom in all villages was for a man to retire from active management of his farm between the ages of 60 and 65, if he could afford to do so. At the time of retirement, the headship of the household, as well as the ownership of property, was transferred to the heir, and the father ceased to participate as the official representative of his family. His wife then relinquished the management of domestic affairs to the heir's wife and assumed a subordinate position in her relationships with her. In spite of this formal retirement, however, the father and mother commonly continued to perform such farm and household chores as their health permitted.

Because only a few individuals went through the formalities of legal retirement--primarily to avoid the payment of inheritance taxes--determination of the number of actual retirements that have occurred is difficult. Of the few that are officially recorded in the census registers in the village offices, the greatest number in the post-Surrender period took place during 1946 and were attributed to the belated registration of wartime retirements. After the revised Civil Code became effective in January 1948, no retirements have been recorded, because the necessity for a legal change in the headship of the family upon a man's retirement from active life has been eliminated. Under the revised Civil Code, a man automatically becomes the head of a new household upon marriage; under the old system, the family heir, upon the retirement or death of the father, became head of the household of which his father had been head. Although a married son is legally regarded as the head of his own household, the traditional practice continues of treating the father as the head of the household until his death or retirement or until the son has his own separate dwelling.

In prewar times, two types of retirement had been practiced in the villages. In the first type, an elderly couple moved to a separate dwelling and established independent housekeeping upon retirement. In such cases, the family property generally was divided between the man and his successor. This type of retirement was comparatively rare and was practiced only by the extremely wealthy, or by parents who could not get along with their heir; it was most frequent among parents with adopted sons-in-law. In the second type, the old couple simply relinquished their habitual sleeping room and retired to a more secluded room. This "nebeya-tsugi" ("sleeping-room bequeathal") was the usual type of retirement.

A new trend is toward earlier and more gradual transfer of farm and household management to the heir. However, because of uncertainties arising from the revised Civil Code the actual transfer of property title itself was said to occur only at the time of the death of the head of the household.

OCCUPATIONAL ASPECTS

Division of Labor

Certain types of heavy work on the farm, such as plowing, constructing and repairing irrigation ditches, and operating some farm machinery, usually are performed by the men of

Men and women work together in the fields. His headgear is a product of the 1920's; hers is centuries old.

The woman leads the horse while the man plows in preparing the paddy field for the rice seedlings.

the household. Other work, such as the the transplanting of rice and the weeding of paddy fields, generally is left to the women. Both sexes participate in some heavy work, especially harvesting crops, carrying rice and wheat bundles, and carrying fuel and compost. Children in their teens assist their parents. Women too old to work usually remain at home to take care of the grandchildren and perform simple household chores.

Because the acreage cultivated is small, usually not enough work is available for all of the members of large families. In prewar times, many younger sons who were not conscripted for military service migrated upon maturity to urban areas in search of seasonal work during the slack farming period between November and March, or for more permanent work in factories and business firms. Because of food shortages and the difficulty in obtaining jobs and housing in cities, the number seeking outside employment has decreased considerably since 1945. An increasing number of the younger sons therefore are looking for such solutions as marriage into other farm households as adopted sons or land reclamation in order to be able to remain in the village.

Occupational Migration

Because of the shortage of work opportunities within the village, many people leave, often for long periods of time, to find employment elsewhere. Such people, called "dekaseginin", retain their official residence in their home village.

This type of migration is most frequent from Futomi, where the scarcity of arable land and the small scale of the fishing industry have for a long time impelled many adults to seek employment outside of the village. In December 1948, 278 individuals were listed as migrants, of whom 170 were either in Chiba or in Kanagawa prefectures as fishermen, 51 as maids in Tokyo, and 57 others as clerks and factory workers in Tokyo and Yokohama. The custom in this village has been for girls to work for two to three years as maids in wealthy homes in Tokyo in order to "learn manners" before marriage.

In Mizuwake, approximately 50 young men were working in "sake" breweries in Shizuoka and Hokkaido in December 1948. In prewar times, as many as 200 left annually for "sake" breweries scattered from Shizuoka to Sakhalin, but because of the closing down of breweries during the war, migration practically ceased. Although the breweries have reopened, migration has not reached prewar levels. The village reclamation project is one of the factors that make it likely that fewer men will be going out as seasonal laborers than in the past.

Migrants from Nikaido generally go to the nearby cities of Osaka, Nara, and Kyoto and work chiefly as maids, clerks, and factory laborers. Young men from Aioi seek work chiefly in factories and business firms in Osaka, Kobe, Okayama, and Takamatsu. A great many of the migrants from Aioi were reported to be Eta, most of whom work as stevedores in Kobe.

Although the number of people who work away from home for extended periods of time has decreased somewhat, the number of daily commuters is increasing in all villages near urban centers. More than 3,000 Ebetsu residents commute daily to Sapporo, a 45-minute ride by train, to work in government offices and in business and industrial concerns. From Kawashiro, 130 men and 30 women leave the village daily to work in nearby towns; 90 of them are government railway employees. From Aioi and Nikaido, a substantial number commute to work in factories and business firms in nearby cities.

POSITION OF WOMEN

Current Status

The status of women in Japan is lower than it is in most Western countries. This is particularly true in rural areas, where feudal traditions have survived the longest and change to modern practices has been slowest. In addition, the majority of rural women are housewives rather than independent members of the labor force. The lower status of Japanese women has been signalized by many legal restrictions, which are gradually disappearing as a result of post-Surrender constitutional reforms and the new democratic atmosphere that is developing. Women did not have the franchise, they could not own property independently of their husbands, they had no right to a share of the father's or husband's inheritance, they could not be elected to public office, and they could not initiate action for divorce. In addition to these and other legal disabilities, the lower status of women was indicated and enforced by many acts and relations of daily life. Traditionally a proper wife was expected to walk several paces behind her husband when accompanying him; women were expected to serve the men but not to participate with them in social gatherings; women were expected to be obedient to men.

Under the impact of the new Constitution and the revised Civil Code, increasing signs of change can be noted in the activities as well as in the status of women. Women have been enfranchised and are permitted an increasing participation in political activities. They are developing an increasing awareness of their new legal rights and are showing a generally higher level of participation in community affairs than they did formerly. In spite of these developments, however, it should not be assumed that old practices have been instantaneously and completely replaced by new democratic practices.

Real social equality with men is not publicly accorded women in any of the 13 villages. Joint participation of men and women in nonfamilial social functions is unheard of. Generally, men and women have social gatherings separately, or the women prepare and serve food to the men and then eat by themselves in the kitchen. In Suye, for example, during festivals, the men assemble at a community hall for drinking and feasting, while the women gather at some private home to partake of "manju" (bean paste buns) or "mazemeshi" (rice cooked with vegetables) by themselves.

The increasing participation of women in community political activities is not necessarily accompanied by a corresponding improvement in social status. At Yoshida, where the female voting percentage was consistently higher than in any of the other 12 villages, 33/ where more women appear to have knowledge of their legal rights under the Constitution and the Civil Code, and where there was even a woman in the village assembly, the social status of women seems to be the lowest of any of the villages. The use of the term of respect "okusan" (madam) is still restricted to the women of the leading family and to the wives of the village doctor, the Shinto priest, and the village policeman.

33/ See section on Political Participation by Women, in Chapter 4.

Except in Honami, where more than one hundred farm women are members of the village agricultural cooperative, women took little part in economic organizations. Because membership in cooperatives is nearly always by households, women do not attend meetings unless their husbands are ill or otherwise unable to go. No women hold office in any of the agricultural cooperatives, but a few are officials in the buraku chapters of the sericultural cooperative at Nobuta.

Although Article 762 of the revised Civil Code permits ownership of property by wives, independent of their husbands, women still seem to follow the traditional practice of having their property registered in their husbands' names. Again, although the revised Civil Code stipulates that a widow is entitled to inherit some portion of the family property upon the death of her husband, no cases have been reported of women having yet inherited under this provision. In Aioi, the case of a widow who had instituted legal action to obtain her share of the inheritance was the sole instance reported in the 13 villages of a woman defying tradition by exercising this newly acquired legal right. She was a war widow with two children who had been deprived of her share in the inheritance by her father-in-law's transferral of her husband's property to the husband's younger brother. Encouraged by her relatives, she petitioned the Court of Domestic Relations for intervention.

Because family property generally is inherited intact--in the Japanese saying, "even unto the rat's dung in the closet"--by a single heir, it is difficult for a widow, under existing traditions, to share in the inheritance. The majority of women interviewed were doubtful about the practicality of the inheritance provisions of the revised Civil Code and favored the continuation of the old custom. They held the general view that the land holdings were too small to justify division among individual family members and that such action would be economically harmful. Widows felt it was "only right" that the son who takes care of them after their husband's death should receive the entire inheritance.

Throughout Japan, women have an important economic function in the farm household. They perform almost as much farm work as do men, and some specialized operations such as sericulture are conducted almost entirely by them.

The earnings of all family members are turned over to the head of the household, who distributes the money as needed. The wife of the household head, however, is entrusted with a certain amount of financial responsibility in managing the household. Children may receive a certain portion of their earnings as spending money. During the war, a large number of girls migrated to neighboring cities to work in spinning mills and factories, but at present the number who leave for outside work is considerably smaller. In some of the villages near urban communities, fathers are not enthusiastic about having their daughters leave the farm to work. They argue that practically all of their daughters' earnings are used for living expenses and for such trivia as cosmetics and that little or nothing is sent home to the family. In some northern villages, however, fathers are glad to have their daughters work and contribute to the support of the family.

In Futomi, where one-third of the families live primarily by fishing, women appear to exercise more power in the management of the household than in purely farming families. The husbands are absent for long periods at a time, and therefore the women are entrusted with the general financial management of the household and with the cultivation of the family fields.

Although women are in general considered to be below men in status, the degree of respect shown to a woman by persons outside of her own family seems to depend to a considerable extent upon the status of her husband. Thus, wives of influential landlords generally are accorded more respect and deference than are men of average or low status within the community. The wife of the largest landlord in Yoshida is treated with greater respect by the villagers than is accorded any man outside of her own family.

Within the family itself, status is determined by age and relationship to the head of the household. The wife of the head of the household holds the highest status of all the women in the family and is treated with deference by male members of the household. When a mother-in-law relinquishes the domestic management of the household to her daughter-in-law at the time of the retirement of her husband, she automatically assumes a subordinate position in all future relationships with her successor, although a certain amount of deference is accorded her because of her age.

Rearing of children is a major concern of the women in the villages.

The authority of the mother-in-law over her daughter-in-law is traditional in Japanese families. In most places, the slightest arrogance on the part of the daughter-in-law is sufficient cause for her being sent home to her parents and divorced. Furthermore, in some villages the mother-in-law still measures the rice to be cooked at each meal, and the daughter-in-law can not even approach the rice bin. She can only assume the responsibility for running the household upon the retirement of her mother-in-law, when she is presented with a rice paddle as a symbol of her new status. Reportedly in most villages women rarely become the mistresses of their own households before the age of 40. In Mizuwake, where women of three generations frequently live under one roof, the eldest daughter-in-law (even if she is a grandmother) still takes orders from her mother-in-law. However, the authority of the mother-in-law seems to have declined somewhat in some of the villages.

Current Problems

One of the main concerns of women is the problem of rearing their children. Post-1945 conditions have brought about what the villagers consider a "moral laxness", and they are uncertain over disciplinary methods for coping with it. Lack of obedience and "talking back" to parents, precocious smoking, arrogance, and thievery were reported on the increase by worried parents. They tend to attribute these conditions to a confusion of the new democratic ideas with "license", the relaxation of the former rigid discipline of the schools, and the elimination of the formal "shushin" ("morals") course from the school curriculum.

Village women considered the shortage of clothing material their second major problem. The greatest needs everywhere are for work clothes for women and clothing for children. Women were indignant because so many incentive goods are designed for men rather than women. They pointed out that women do almost as much farm work as men, so they should be given more consideration in selection of incentive goods. They also mentioned that luxury items, such as "sake", tobacco, and silk brocade, were not useful for them. What they desired most of all was cotton textiles in the bolt so that clothing could be made for members of the family most in need of it.

This miner's wife, like all the village women, is concerned with the problem of feeding her family.

Because the majority of the village women are farmers' wives, food rationing is not a matter of great concern to them. However, farmers everywhere expressed keen interest in the preparation of the rationed Western foods, particularly corn meal and white potatoes. These two foods are more or less new items to the Japanese 34/, and the majority of farmers' wives are most eager to learn how they can be made more palatable.

Farm women also were anxious to know how they could reduce their housework so they could have more time for recreational activities. They had heard of American women running households and maintaining careers simultaneously and were curious to know how such a thing could be done. Village women pointed out over and over again that farm wives could find time for reading only when ill and confined to bed.

34/ White potatoes have been used in soups, and in stews to be eaten along with rice, in farming communities in Japan for many years, but never as a substitute for rice until after the Surrender.

Chapter 6

RELIGION

RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATIONS

In Japan the two principal popular religions are Buddhism and Shinto. Christianity has always played a comparatively minor role in the lives of the people, and according to best available estimates the number of Christians does not exceed one-half of one percent of the total population. 35/ The combined membership of these three religions is greater than the total population. This phenomenon is explained by the fact that the various religions are not exclusive, competitive sects as in the West, so that support of one does not preclude simultaneous support of another. In consequence, many Japanese are simultaneously both Shintoists and Buddhists. Even membership in a Catholic or Protestant church does not prevent one from supporting Buddhist and Shinto institutions.

In fact, to a large extent Shinto and Buddhism complement each other. People attend Shinto shrines to celebrate the spring and autumn festivals, to pray when there is illness in the family, to formalize the passage from youth to adulthood or from adulthood to old age, to seek better weather for crops, or to ask for other special favors. They visit Buddhist temples at the festivals of the equinoxes, during the summer at O-Bon (Feast of the Dead), and to attend funerals and memorial services for the dead. To some extent, Shinto is the religion of life problems and crises, and Buddhism is the religion of death and the afterlife. It has been said, and with some truth, that every Japanese is born a Shintoist and dies a Buddhist.

Numerically, Buddhism has the largest following of any Japanese religion. It is divided into six major sects: Nara, Tendai, Shingon, Amida, Zen, and Nichiren. Of these Amida is the largest. Its four sub-sects--Yuzunembutsu, Jodo, Jodo-shin, and Ji--have a total following of nearly 18,000,000. The Zen and Shingon sects rank next in numerical importance, followed by Nichiren, which, although not so strong in numbers, exerts comparable influence.

Shinto is the indigenous religion of Japan. When Buddhism was introduced into Japan in the sixth century AD, Shinto took on many Buddhist characteristics, and the two religions existed side by side for centuries. During the long Tokugawa Shogunate (1603-1868), Buddhism was virtually the state religion of Japan. After the Meiji Restoration (1868), the new government attempted to suppress Buddhism and make Shinto the state religion. Its efforts met with a great deal of opposition from Buddhist leaders and from certain Shinto sects. In response to this pressure, the plan was changed so that all religious sects which were not affiliated with Buddhism or Christianity came to be regarded by the government as Shinto, and Buddhist sects were allowed to continue unmolested. In 1882, all Shinto sects were divided by official decree into two categories: Sectarian Shinto and Shrine or State Shinto. From that date until the Surrender, the two groups received different treatment from the government. Sectarian Shinto was regarded as a religious sect comparable to Buddhism and Christianity, and its affairs were supervised along with these by the Ministry of Education. Shrine Shinto, on the other hand, was declared nonreligious and treated by the government as a state institution under the supervision of the Home Ministry. Sectarian Shinto was denied the use of state shrines as meeting places and, except in special cases,

35/ The most recent estimates place the membership of Christian churches at 370,000.

was not permitted the use of the "torii", a special type of sacred archway which became the symbol of Shrine Shinto shrines. Sectarian Shinto received no financial support from the government and had to rely upon contributions from its adherents. In contrast with Shrine Shinto, in which ritual and ceremonies were observed by priests alone, Sectarian Shinto priests conducted regular religious services before a congregation. The more important sects designated as Sectarian Shinto are Taishakyo, Mitakekyo (also called Ontakekyo), Tenrikyo, and Konkokyo.

Unlike Sectarian Shinto, Shrine Shinto shrines received direct supervision and financial support from the national and local governments. The amount of financial support depended upon the grade of the particular shrine. 36/ Special legal enactments regulated matters concerning organization, ceremonies, and the priesthood. The activities of shrines were limited to the celebration of ceremonies and festivals considered appropriate to the fostering of national ideals. The religious element in shrines was subordinated to the inculcation of loyalty to the Emperor and the State and the worship of the Sun Goddess, the legendary ancestress of the Imperial Family. Complete control of the shrines was maintained through the network of authority which went from the Home Ministry through the prefectural, city, town, and village governments. Every priest in Shrine Shinto waa a government official, and during the war period, some of the important shrines were headed by military officers. The great Yasukuni Shrine for the war dead in Tokyo was headed by a major general from 1937 to the Surrender.

Complete control by the government of all religions in Japan was established on 1 April 1940 with the enforcement of the Religious Bodies Law of 1939. During the war, all religions, including the recognized Christian groups, were organized into patriotic societies under the Great Japan Religious Patriotic Association, headed by the Minister of Education. Many of the religious buildings were requisitioned by the Army, and religious affairs were handled almost exclusively by government officials who possessed near-dictatorial powers.

A directive (the Shinto Directive) was issued to the Japanese government on 15 December 1945 by the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers, calling for the separation of religion and state, and for the placing of "all religions, faiths, and creeds upon exactly the same basis"--including Shinto. The directive specifically forbade: the sponsorship, support, perpetuation, control, and dissemination of Shinto by the government; the use of public funds in financing Shinto shrines; and the dissemination of Shinto doctrines in any form and by any means in educational institutions supported wholly or in part by public funds. Private support of Shinto shrines was permitted, but the directive required that such support be entirely voluntary and in no way derived from forced or involuntary contributions.

Among the legislation enacted to implement this and other SCAP directives on religion were the Religious Corporations Ordinances of 28 December 1945 which simplified the procedure for the incorporation of religious groups, removed the requirement of government recognition, and deprived government agencies of any control whatsoever over religious activities. Freedom of religion was specifically guaranteed by Articles 19 and 20 of the new Constitution.

Two other post-Surrender laws had a considerable effect upon the economic basis of religious organizations. The land reform law required that religious institutions sell all

36/ Classification of the shrines followed a rigid hierarchy. The Grand Shrine of Ise stood at the pinnacle. Below it were national, "special national", state, prefectural, district, and village shrines, and "shrines without rank". Below these were thousands of small, unrecognized shrines. National and "special national" shrines received gifts from the Imperial Household Department and state shrines from the national treasury. The prefectural, district, and village shrines were supervised by local government officials and received token grants from local government treasuries. Shrines without rank received no regular financial support from any government office. They relied wholly on contributions from the shrine associations as well as from the entire population in general.

their arable land to the government for resale to farmers. Another law terminated the system by which religious organizations had leased forest land rent-free from the government. The post-Surrender legislation affecting religion had two principal results on a national scale. On the one hand, the elimination of government and police control resulted in a considerable increase of freedom of religious activity. On the other hand, both shrines and temples experienced extreme financial difficulties because of the post-Surrender economic situation (inflation, loss of income from stocks and bonds) and such legislation as the withdrawal of government grants, the cancellation of forest leases, the land reform, and the prohibition upon raising funds through neighborhood associations.

In the 13 villages, the changes and rearrangements resulting thus far from the post-Surrender legislation and economic situation have been much less thorough-going than in the country as a whole. Most of the changes seem to have developed in response to the necessity for solving the economic problems of shrine and temple maintenance.

MEMBERSHIP

Except for the establishment of a new Tenrikyo church in Honami, the number of religious organizations in the 13 villages did not change during the 18-month period, and the total membership of all religious organizations increased only slightly. The wave of new Shinto and Buddhist sects which has been sweeping the whole country since the Surrender has hardly brought a ripple to the 13 villages; only two of these minor sects have found support, and by a total of only six families in one village, Aioi.

In December 1948, there were 245 shrines, temples, and churches in the 13 villages. Of these, 127 were Shrine Shinto, 18 Sectarian Shinto, 98 Buddhist, and 2 Christian.

Membership in Shrine Shinto organizations in December 1948 totaled 15,938 families, an increase of four percent over the membership in 1947. During the same period, Buddhist membership also increased four percent and totaled 12,483 families in December 1948. Of the eight Buddhist sects represented in the villages, the Jodo-Shin sect is the most popular, having a following of 4,301 families. It is followed by Zen (2,634 families), Shingon (2,188), Nichiren (1,063), Yuzunembutsu (845), Jodo (829), Tendai (352), and Ji (131). The distribution of Sectarian Shinto sects is as follows: Tenrikyo, 437 families (78 percent of them are in Nikaido and Ebetsu); Konkokyo, about 600 families (all in Honami); and Ontakekyo, two churches in Ebetsu.

A "torii" gate marks the entrance to Tsubaki Hachimangu, a Shinto shrine in Honami.

The number of Christian families in the villages increased from 74 to 92. In December 1948, there were Christians in approximately one-third of one percent of all village families. More than one-half of the Christians were in Nikaido, and the remainder were in villages adjacent to urban centers. No Christian families live in the more isolated villages of Mizuwake, Yokogoshi, Nobuta, Futomi, Suye, or Yoshida.

There are Shinto shrines in all the villages, and villagers invariably attend their own local shrine. However, since the various Buddhist and Sectarian Shinto sects do not have buildings in all of the villages, many people are compelled to patronize temples and churches in neighboring communities.

Headquarters of the popular Tenri Sectarian Shinto sect is in Tambaichi near Nikaido.

THE PRIESTHOOD

Only 12 Shrine Shinto priests live in the villages. Five of the villages reported that they have not had resident priests for at least a decade, and a few villages had not had a resident priest for as long as 40 years. The shrines which do not have their own resident priests obtain the services of priests from shrines in neighboring communities during festival periods.

In contrast to the shrines, almost every Buddhist temple has at least one resident priest. Some of the smaller temples in Yokogoshi and Nikaido are staffed by priestesses whose status is lower than that of priests. These temples ("amadera") are generally branches of larger temples in the village. The funerals and festivals at an "amadera" usually are conducted by priests from the main temple, although minor religious services, such as the offering of prayers at death anniversaries, are performed by the priestesses.

The position of a Shinto priest is generally a hereditary one. To cite an extreme example, a priest in Honami claims to be the 35th generation lineal descendant of a priestly family that has been serving the same shrine for more than 1,200 years. On the other hand, the Buddhist priesthood is generally not hereditary, except for priests of the Jodo-Shin sect. Until the Meiji era, a priest from the Jodo-Shin sect usually was succeeded by a trusted disciple, but since then succession by his eldest son has been more common. Although all of the Buddhist priests are graduates of the theological schools, none of the Shinto priests in the 13 villages has had formal religious schooling.

The Chojuji Buddhist temple in Yoshida is simple, like all village temples.

All of the younger Shinto priests have full-time jobs in addition to their priestly duties. Many of them work in the village office or farm. The "35th generation" priest in Honami, for example, serves as deputy mayor in addition to his duties at 17 buraku and four coal mine shrines in the village. In Nikaido, the two Shinto priests are full-time farmers who function as priests only during festivals. Because their salary has always been very low, even in prewar days Shinto priests had to have outside work in order to support their families.

Before the war the Buddhist clergy had been able to manage on their salaries; after the Surrender, however, more than one-half have

The Buddhist priest talks with a Christian missionary in the town of Narita near Futomi.

been compelled to do outside work as well. Most of them farm, teach, or work in the village office. The priest of the Jodo-Shin temple in Yoshida, for example, serves as principal of the new lower secondary school.

The only Protestant minister in the 13 villages, a repatriate from Sakhalin, lives in Ebetsu. Catholic fathers commute weekly to Ebetsu and to Karako to hold Mass.

ACTIVITIES

Shinto and Buddhist institutions in the villages have responded differently to the post-Surrender situation. The total number of Shinto festivals observed has declined, primarily because ultra-nationalist ceremonies (such as Empire Day and the Emperor's Birthday) have been prohibited by law. The festivals which remain, however, have become increasingly elaborate and exuberant in a number of villages. The carrying of portable shrines ("omikoshi") by the young men through the village streets and the colorful lion's dance "shishi-mai" (both of which had been prohibited during the war) have again become common sights in the villages during festivals. Buddhist festivals, however, have decreased both in number and in elaborateness. In many villages, the more elaborate and expensive festivals are no longer observed regularly every year. The only Buddhist festivals held regularly in all of the villages are on the occasion of the Feast of the Dead and the vernal and autumnal exquinoxes. Before the war, the majority of Buddhist temples held masses at least once a month, but in 1948 they held them only about one-half as often. In addition, the observance of death anniversaries has become less elaborate, and fewer individuals participate. Formerly, all close relatives from neighboring communities gathered for the occasion, but attendance today is more restricted. Because of the need to economize, fewer anniversaries are celebrated. Families either ignore certain anniversaries or combine several into one occasion.

In some of the villages, temples sponsor such activities as Sunday schools, women's clubs, and youth groups. In Mizuwake and Ebetsu, as many as 100 boys and girls of school age attend the bi-weekly Sunday schools, where they hear sermons, sing hymns, or see movies or "kamishibai". The Daieiji temple in Yokogoshi operates a Buddhist seminary where 15 students are undergoing a two-year training course for the priesthood.

The Buddhist women's associations at Nobuta, Ebetsu, and Suye--comprising as many as 250 members--regularly assemble to listen to sermons and to have a social gathering. In Nobuta and Suye young people can discuss religion in Buddhist youth groups. A kindergarten and a Sunday school are held at the Protestant church in Ebetsu.

In addition, a majority of the villages have groups called "ko", generally consisting of 10 to 20 individuals who gather regularly--sometimes as frequently as once a month--at some member's home for refreshments and occasionally to listen to sermons. Originally these "ko" were religious groups sponsored by a shrine or temple for religious purposes, but today they are primarily social groups. Their meetings constitute one of the few forms of nonfamilial recreation available to farmers.

Prior to the war, two types of "ko" were common in the villages. One type devoted itself to organizing pilgrimages for its members to locally or nationally known shrines and

temples; the other undertook the responsibility for the performance of certain rituals on Buddhist holidays. The best known of the first types were the Ise ko, whose members visited the Ise shrines in Mie Prefecture, and the Odaishi ko, whose members visited Koyasan, the head temple of the Shingon sect, in Wakayama Prefecture, or other important Shingon temples. Because it was impossible in most instances for the entire membership of a ko to undertake a pilgrimage, representatives usually were selected to make the trip. Their return with sacred charms and tablets was the occasion for celebration among ko members. In some villages, members of a ko saved a certain sum each month, and when a sufficient amount had been accumulated, the group started out on its pilgrimage, usually accompanied by the priest of the sponsoring shrine or temple. Before the land reform program, three ko in Nikaido owned from one to 2 1/2 tan of land each, which the members cultivated in turn in order to raise funds for the pilgrimages. Because of travel restrictions and food shortages, most of the activities of these ko were suspended during the war. The post-Surrender economic situation has not been conducive to their revival, and those still in existence have not regained their prewar status.

The second type of ko functioned only during Buddhist holidays, when the members gathered to perform the rituals for which they were responsible and to have a party. At present, the activities of these ko appear to be restricted to occasional gatherings at some member's home to listen to sermons and to partake of tea, cakes, and fruit.

CURRENT PROBLEMS

Most shrines and temples are confronted with difficult financial problems. Except for the two large Inari shrines in Mizuwake, which have supporters throughout the prefecture, all of the religious organizations in the villages have difficulty financing themselves.

Traditionally, shrines were supported by funds which came from a number of sources. The most important of these was the organized parishioners, the "ujiko", an organization of neighbors whose primary function was to provide financial support to the shrines. Until the Shinto Directive, participation in the "ujiko" was, in effect, compulsory for all buraku residents. Another important source was the land holdings or forest leases which provided cash income or a contribution to the upkeep of the priest and shrine. Some of the shrines also had fairly substantial income-producing investments in stocks and bonds. The sale of amulets and charms to visitors provided a considerable income for many shrines. Contributions from wealthy parishioners also constituted an important financial aid to shrines. Finally, the priests often were substantially aided by contributions of rice, salt, "sake", fish, and vegetables from the parishioners; at harvest time, they frequently recieved offerings of the first fruits.

Financial support for temples was derived in much the same way. Membership in the association of temple supporters, the "danto", was not compulsory, as was membership in the "ujiko", but was limited to the faithful. However, as in the case of the shrines, considerable income was obtained from land and forest holdings, investments, sale of charms and amulets, contributions, and offerings of agricultural products.

The traditional basis of shrine and temple support was thus affected directly and indirectly by the post-Surrender economic situation, the Shinto Directive, and the land reform.

Contributions from the ujiko continue to be the chief source of shrine income. In spite of the fact that ujiko membership is now voluntary, nearly all villsgers belong to an ujiko and contribute to the support of the village or buraku shrine, except in Honami, where approximately one-third of the residents refused to join. In Honami, more than one-third of the villagers are coal miners who patronize four coal mine shrines which have no ujiko and are completely financed by the mine owners. Therefore, they do not feel they need to participate in the ujiko of other shrines.

Representatives of the ujiko, who are usually elected by the parishioners for a four-year term to supervise the financial management of the shrine, continue to collect the

contributions. Whenever donations are needed for a special purpose, such as the repairing of the shrine or the observance of a festival, the representatives determine the amount needed and notify the parishioners of the decision. The representatives are usually the most influential men in the buraku, and the majority appear to have held the post since prewar times. At Nikaido, the functions of the representatives are performed in some buraku by men over 60 years of age, who make a round of the houses to obtain contributions. When the amount collected is insufficient, they are obligated to make up the deficit personally.

Since the Shinto Directive, contributions from the ujiko have been voluntary. Although the face value of the contributions has not decreased, the true value has decreased greatly because of inflation. Priests frequently complain that many parishioners are not fully aware of the effects of the inflation, and feel rather generous when they offer ¥10 instead of the ¥1.00 they had been donating for years. In Ebetsu, the representative of the village shrine estimated that at least ¥60 per person is now needed to equal the pre-Surrender ¥1.50 which had been the customary donation. For example, the sacrificial "sake" ("omiki") used in religious ceremonies, which before the war had cost only ¥1.00 or ¥2.00, went up to as high as ¥3,000 in the post-Surrender period.

Inflation has also substantially reduced the purchasing power of income derived from investments and from the interest on shrine reserve funds. The discontinuance of the custom of presenting agricultural products to shrines may also be attributed to the post-Surrender economic situation.

Loss of government subsidies under the Shinto Directive has had little effect on the shrines, because they had received only token gifts or none at all.

Eighty percent of the income of temples is now derived from voluntary contributions and 20 percent from fees for conducting funeral and memorial services. According to the priests, post-Surrender offerings have not decreased in face value but they are no longer commensurate with the current cost of operating temples. Furthermore, because of food shortages, farmers are no longer making seasonal presentations of agricultural products, and priests who traditionally had been paid in rice are now receiving cash.

Aside from a very few shrines and temples, religious institutions in the 13 villages were not greatly affected by the land reform program. Of a total of 226 cho of arable land bought by the land commissions from religious groups in all the villages, 138 cho had belonged to six shrines and temples in three villages. Religious organizations in a few of the villages still own 67 cho of forest land not subject to the land reform program.

Those shrines and temples which had depended on the proceeds from their land for support are currently leaning heavily on parishioners' contributions. Priests of once wealthy temples, like the Daieiji temple in Yokogoshi which sold 23 cho and the Jokuji temple in Karako which sold 17 cho, are reluctant to call upon their parishioners for help and are considering resorting to alms begging--a traditional custom of Buddhist temples--rather than requesting outright donations from the temple support organizations.

By December 1948, in spite of the fact that the large landlords had lost considerable tracts of land under the land reform program, there had been no substantial decrease in their contributions; but it is being anticipated by many of the priests.

Attendance at Shinto shrines has decreased considerably since the end of hostilities. In addition to the effects of the Shinto Directive and the new Constitution which prohibit compulsory attendance at religious functions, many informed villagers feel that religious faith has declined following Japan's defeat. Villagers today normally visit shrines only during festivals.

Shrine attendance was greatest during the war, when villagers made frequent visits either individually or in groups to pray for victory and for the safety of soldiers abroad. Neighborhood groups took turns in cleaning shrines during the war, and all villagers visited shrines in groups at least once a month. Furthermore, teachers were required to escort their students there on regular visits. The village shrine was also the scene for both welcomes and farewells for soldiers.

Religious fervor in the villages reached its lowest ebb shortly after the Surrender, and shrine attendance became negligible. For the first time, voices were heard openly challenging the existence of the Shinto and Buddhist deities and questioning the need for attendance at shrines and temples. Some persons argued that because they had been told that the gods were fighting for their cause and would lead them to victory, the defeat of Japan showed either that the government had misled them about the existence of the gods, or that, if the gods existed at all, they had abandoned Japan. This violent initial reaction to wartime propaganda was said to have subsided somewhat. In contrast with the shrines, however, attendance at Buddhist temples has not changed much. The 13 villages lost a large number of young men during the war, and Buddhist memorial services must be observed for them.

In the two villages with the greatest concentration of Christians, village leaders reported a considerable increase of interest in Christianity since 1945, particularly among the youth. In Nikaido, where there was an increase of 60 Protestants and 15 Catholics during the 18-month period--an average increase of 47 percent--more people were said to be reading the Bible than formerly.

Chapter 7

EDUCATION MEDIA

THE SCHOOL SYSTEM

Prior to the enactment of the School Education Law (Diet Law No 26) on 31 March 1947, the Japanese school system consisted of four categories of schools: an eight-year elementary school, a five-year middle school, a three-year higher school, and a three-year university. The elementary school was further subdivided into a six-year lower elementary school (compulsory) and a two-year higher elementary school. Students seeking more than elementary school education enrolled in a middle school immediately after completing the six years' course, whereas those who wanted only two years of education more than the compulsory six continued to attend the elementary school for another two years. The middle schools were subdivided into boys' and girls' middle schools, and the higher schools into ordinary high schools and technical schools.

The School Education Law of 1947 abolished this complicated system, including the segregation of boys and girls, and instituted a uniform school system patterned after the American 6-3-3-4 educational system; i e, a six-year elementary school, a three-year lower secondary school, a three-year upper secondary school, and a four-year university. The lower secondary school (junior high school) was put into effect at the beginning of the school year on 1 April 1947, and the upper secondary school (senior high school) a year later. The number of years of compulsory schooling was gradually increased from six to nine during 1947-49.

Arrangements for the new lower secondary schools had been completed in all villages by December 1948. In five of them, new school buildings had been erected during the year and were in use; in five others, classes were being held in the elementary school buildings while the new buildings were under construction. In the remaining three villages, no new buildings were contemplated, and lower secondary school classes were being held in existing school buildings.

Ebetsu is the only one of the villages that has upper secondary schools. In other villages, students must attend upper secondary school in neighboring towns or villages. Some villages have made arrangements for reduced student bus fares to facilitate attendance.

In all villages, except those where existing facilities are being utilized for the new lower secondary schools, the villagers complained of the heavy burden of financing the construction of the new schools. In most villages, the major portion of the costs is defrayed by contributions from the residents, collected in most instances by means of an informal public impost. In a few villages, this is supplemented to some extent by grants from the government and the village office. In Suye, for example, out of the ¥1,000,000 needed for construction of the new school, ¥240,000 was provided by the government, ¥100,000 by the village office, and the remainder by the villagers in cash and labor. Each household contributed 10 man-days of labor. In Nobuta and Obie, where the new schools are being built in cooperation with adjacent villages, the costs are being divided between the two villages. Thus, Nobuta must provide ¥2,550,000 of the ¥5,050,000 needed for the construction of the joint school. In Obie, of the ¥2,500,000 required, ¥600,000 will be provided by the government, ¥1,000,000 will be raised by loans, and the remaining ¥900,000 will be collected from the residents of both villages.

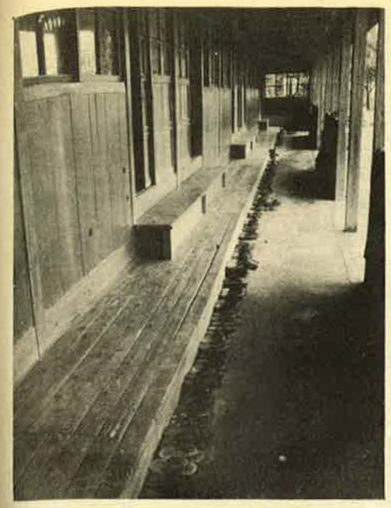
This school building at Kawa shiro is one of the recently constructed new lower secondary schools.

A large die is sometime used to teach arithmetic to primary pupils.

Enrollment in the new lower secondary schools in the 13 villages increased 21 percent between June 1947 and December 1948. Nearly one-half of the students were girls, who increased by 22 percent, as compared with a 20 percent increase of boys. Evidence exists that enrollment in the new upper secondary schools in December 1948 was greater than enrollment in earlier schools of a similar level.

Educational statistics for the 18-month period indicate that preference is still given to males. Among the 1,086 students attending new upper secondary schools in 12 villages in December 1948, boys outnumbered girls by 180. Although the number of university boys in the villages increased slightly from 51 in June 1947 to 55 in December 1948, the number of university girls declined from five to none. Higher education for girls is not generally advocated by the villagers. They seemed to feel that too much education might endanger a girl's opportunities for marriage.

No active opposition to coeducation was encountered. Coeducation had been practiced before the war in the lower grades of the elementary schools in all villages and in the higher grades in the smaller villages, so it was not a complete novelty. A few of the mothers interviewed in December 1948 admitted that they were at first perturbed at the idea of their daughters attending classes with high school boys but that by now their fears had subsided. Representatives of all youth associations, except those at Yoshida and Nobuta, expressed great enthusiasm for coeducation. They reasoned that if democracy were to succeed in Japan, the same type of education was necessary for both sexes. However, at Yoshida the boy leaders contended that there was too great a difference between the sexes to justify the same type of education, and that if women were to remain feminine, they should not be allowed to "imitate men". At Nobuta, girl leaders preferred separation of the sexes at school on the grounds that they felt constraint in the presence of boys and that they might be mistreated. The boys said that the presence of girls inhibited their behavior.



"Geta" are removed before entering the school building.

Children help in the upkeep of the school building. Here Suye girls clean the school' corridors.

PARENT-TEACHERS' ASSOCIATION

Before and during the war almost all Japanese communities had both parents' associations and mothers' associations which were concerned with school affairs. These were displaced after the Surrender by parent-teachers' associations, whose organization was encouraged by the Occupation as a way to obtain greater participation of parents in the affairs of the new decentralized school system and in order to promote the welfare of children. Each of the 13 villages now has a parent-teachers' association. They were organized in 12 of the villages during the 18 months under consideration; in Ebetsu, the association was established in April 1947.

In most villages, the PTA has both a general village organization and individual school chapters. Membership generally is restricted to parents of school children, but in a few villages it is extended to all villagers. The village associations have boards of advisers who usually are individuals prominent in other community organizations, such as the women's association and the youth association. For example, in Kawashiro the board includes, in addition to three representatives from each of the nine buraku in the village, five representatives each from the women's association, the youth association, and the teachers' group. Fifteen members are elected from the board to serve as officers of the PTA. Throughout the 13 villages, approximately one-third of the PTA officers are women. Feminine participation in the PTA appears to be on a more equal footing with men than it is in any other community organization.

The activities of the PTA are usually confined to economic and educational matters. Fees paid by the members are expended on school equipment or used for the furtherance of the welfare of school children and teachers. Round table conferences between teachers and parents are held each month in the different buraku in most villages to discuss educational problems, as well as problems connected with child training. In many villages, parents also make monthly school inspections to acquaint themselves with school problems.

Teacher participation has increased since the shift from the parents' associations to the PTA's. Formerly, teachers never appeared at buraku meetings to discuss school problems or to consult parents on school policies; before the Surrender, all school policies not dictated by the Ministry of Education were determined by the teachers in consultation with village officials. Today, both parents and teachers were said to have a greater voice in the education of children than ever before.

Since the shift to the PTA's, meetings have also become more frequent. In former times, meetings of the parents' associations were held only once or twice a year, usually in connection with some personal matter, such as the disciplining of an unruly child. Today, PTA meetings are convened at least once a month to discuss matters which affect all school children, rather than just individuals.

Membership in the parents' association was generally restricted to men, although wives frequently represented them at meetings. Membership in the PTA is open to both sexes. Officers of the parents' association were appointed by the principal of the school to which the organization belonged, but those in the PTA are elected by the members.

ADULT EDUCATION GROUPS

In all 13 villages, in addition to the organizations already mentioned, three community organizations--the women's association, the youth association, and the citizens' association--conducted adult educational activities.

Women's Association

A women's association, with a membership of 40 to 95 percent of all married women, exists in 10 of the villages. There are none in Ebetsu, Futomi, and Karako. All were formed by June 1947 to replace the local chapters of the Greater Japan Women's Association, a compulsory wartime national women's organization, which was dissolved shortly after the end of hostilities. 37/

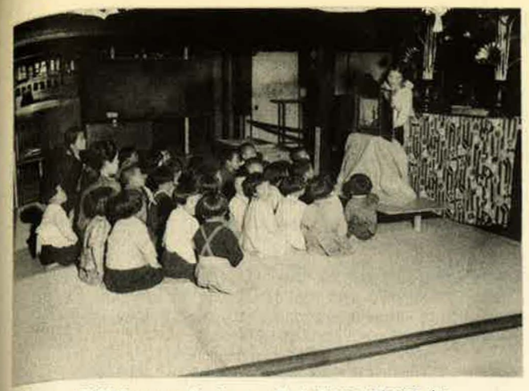
The associations are organized on two levels: a village organization, to which all members belong, and local chapters in subdivisions of the village. Officers of the village organization are elected from among the officers of the local chapters. They are usually graduates of women's high schools or technical schools and are the best-educated women in the communities. Village-wide meetings usually are convened annually to discuss the budget and activities for the year. Local meetings are held at least once a month.

The women's associations are primarily concerned with the promotion of women's and children's welfare, and they sponsor such activities as discussion groups on women's and children's problems and classes in sewing, cooking, and flower arrangement. Lectures on the new Constitution and the revised Civil Code also were conducted at the time of their promulgation in six of the villages.

Officers of village women's associations are usually the best educated women in the community.

In addition, a number of special activities are sponsored. At Mizuwake, the association annually entertains parents of the war dead during the O-Bon festival, and at Kawashiro it holds a dinner every March for all residents over 77 years of age. (Seventy-seven is considered to be a very auspicious age.) The Kawashiro women's association also conducts a mothers' school for the education of farm wives. Under its plan, 72 women take a 70-hour course on social, economic, and legal problems each year; it is anticipated that every woman in the village will have taken the course at least once in the next 10 years. During the 18-month period, this association also staged three vigorous but futile campaigns to eliminate lavish marriage ceremonies which have developed with the post-Surrender farming boom. It also attempted matchmaking for older girls who were experiencing difficulty in getting married.

37/ Toward the end of the war, two patriotic women's organizations, the Aikoku Fujin Kai (Patriotic Women's Association) and the Kokubo Fujin Kai (Women's National Defense Association) were merged to form the Dai Nippon Fujin Kai (Greater Japan Women's Association).



Children enjoying a "picture-play" in the day nursery school of the Keisho temple, Yoshida-mura. The nursery school is sponsored by the women's association.

At Yoshida, where the officers are well-educated, and where the vice-chairman was one of the two elected village assemblywomen in the 13 villages, the women's association is particularly active in keeping its membership well-informed on local and national views. It is the only one of the 10 associations which issues a monthly report on local and national affairs--in fact, it is the only one which issues publications of any sort--and it is unique in that it conducts political meetings before elections to acquaint village women with the personal histories and platforms of the candidates. It is also distinctive in the fact that, like the Kawashiro association, it brought about the election of a woman candidate to the village assembly in April 1947. In its program for the promotion of child welfare, the Yoshida association operates a nursery for 50 preschool children at one of the Buddhist temples, and it invites outside lecturers from time to time to acquaint mothers with the latest information on health, sanitation, infant care, and food preservation.

In most villages, funds for activities are acquired through the assessment of annual dues which range from ¥5.00 to ¥15. In addition, some women's associations raise money by salvaging rags, making slippers, and sponsoring plays and musicals.

In addition to the general women's association which exists in most of the villages, a Buddhist women's organization has been organized in Nobuta, Suye, and Ebetsu; the membership varies between 120 and 250 women. The organizations are attached either to the Jodo-Shin or Shingon sect temples, where the members gather three to five times a year to listen to sermons.

Besides these, there are many women's "ko" 38/ in the villages. Each is usually composed of from 10 to 15 neighbors who assemble occasionally at some member's home to make "manju" and exchange local gossip. In prewar times, most of these small local groups were affiliated with religious organizations and sponsored regular pilgrimages to famed shrines and temples. During the war, because of travel restrictions, the custom was suspended, and it has not yet been revived.

Youth Associations

By 1947, youth associations had been formed in all of the villages. In Karako, Obie, and Aioi, young men and women belong to separate associations; in the other 10 villages, young men and women participate in the same organization, and the meetings of these associations furnish one of the few opportunities for young men and women to meet socially.

38/ For further details on the "ko", consult Chapter 6.

In all of the villages, there are both village-wide and local associations. The majority of the youth associations in central and southern Japan are affiliated with county and prefectural youth associations.

Membership generally is restricted to males between the ages of 15 and 30 and to unmarried girls between 15 and 25. Practically every eligible person holds membership. Officers of the village-wide association usually are older than the rank-and-file membership and invariably are the best-educated young people in the community. The chairmen at Futomi and Yoshida, for example, are principals of the lower secondary schools and are 42 and 36 years of age respectively. Each association has a chairman and two vice-chairmen; in the joint male-female associations, the chairman is always a male, but one of the two vice-chairmen is a female.

The village-wide associations meet only once a year at the village office and generally restrict their deliberations to the annual budget and the planning of activities for the year. Local chapters, however, meet at least once a month at a schoolhouse, temple, or community hall and carry on the active work of the organizations.

The majority of youth associations are divided into several sections, each charged with a specific function. The sections differ somewhat from village to village but usually consist of the following: general affairs, culture, industry, public welfare, and social welfare. Each section is expected to engage in appropriate community activities. Thus, at Kawashiro the public welfare section of the youth association cooperates with the public health committee of the village assembly in epidemic prevention activities, and the social welfare section supports the PTA, the Community Chest drive, and various relief activities in the village. The culture section in most villages is primarily concerned with the providing of public entertainment, such as movies and plays.

During 1948, the youth associations in all of the villages sponsored such activities as lectures on political and agricultural problems, discussion groups on social problems 39/ and books, plays, movies, agricultural exhibits, and athletic meets. Classes were conducted in Western-style sewing, the tea ceremony, and flower arrangement for the benefit of girls.

In seven of the villages, the youth associations publish a monthly or quarterly magazine of agricultural news, poetry, and essays. At Kawashiro, where the youth group is particularly active, a number of publications are issued regularly. The cultural section publishes a mimeographed magazine entitled Village Pride, and the social welfare section issues a number of pamphlets on social problems. The most notable of these was a series published in 1948 under the title of Social Report. It dealt with such matters of public interest as the status of the land reform program, methods of tax collection, the village rice quota, and bills under discussion at the village assembly. At Suye, the association was unable to maintain a regular publication, but members read their own poetry and essays at buraku meetings.

Libraries for the use of the community are operated by the youth associations in seven of the villages. In five of these, a central library is housed in the village office or the schoolhouse; in the other two, very small buraku-scale libraries are operated. The libraries range from 50 to 1,000 volumes, which are primarily on cultural and agricultural topics.

To finance these activities, annual dues ranging from ¥5.00 to ¥100 are collected from members in seven villages. However, the main income usually is derived from payment by the

39/ The most popular topics for discussion in most of the villages were reported to be: "Should a wife embrace her husband's religion?", "Free marriage or arranged marriage?", and "Is black-marketeering good or bad?"

village office for public service rendered by the members, such as the construction and repair of roads and schoolhouses and the cleaning of river channels. During 1948, the youth association in Karako received ¥1,500 for repairing village roads and for serving as night watchmen; in Yokogoshi, the association received ¥5,000 for cleaning the river channel; and the Kawashiro association earned ¥10,000 for helping to construct the new lower secondary school. In Kawashiro, each buraku chapter operates an experimental farm plot covering approximately one tan in acreage, the proceeds of which are utilized for chapter expenses. At Suye, nearly 250 members turned out twice during the year to work for the nearby district foresty offices as a means of raising funds for the association.

The majority of the youth leaders interviewed in the villages appeared to have a general knowledge of the contents of the new Constitution and the revised Civil Code. They reported that they had acquired their information through lectures at youth association meetings, or through the radio, newspapers, or magazines. News broadcasts were popular with youth leaders in all villages.

The youth associations are not themselves active in political affairs although small cliques within them appear to be very active. However, political discussion groups may be found within the association, as in Mizuwake. 40/

In June 1947, villagers were greatly opposed to the youth associations. By December 1948, this appears to have subsided greatly; mild opposition was expressed only in three villages. In Karako and Nobuta, the associations were criticized for taking up too much working time, and in Ebetsu for inculcating "dangerous ideas" in the minds of the young. The youth in all villages, however, exhibited great enthusiasm for the associations, which continue to be one of the few extra-familial social activities in the village. Girls were particularly enthusiastic.

Citizens' Associations

Citizens' associations ("kominkan") for the civic education of the villagers were newly organized in six villages. Except for two villages, Honami and Suye, the citizens' associations appear to be organizations in name only and have not yet begun to function. No citizens' public hall has been erected in any of the villages, although arrangements are being made in Yokogoshi for the construction of one in early 1949. Village offices and schoolhouses are being utilized at present for meetings of the village association, and meeting halls of different buraku are used by branch chapters in Suye and Honami.

Membership in the citizens' association is open to all villagers. The officers are elected, usually from among public officials and school teachers. In Honami, for example, the chairmanship is held by the deputy mayor, the two vice-chairmanships by assemblymen, and the secretaryship by the lower secondary school principal. Furthermore, the committee which plans the association's activities is composed of representatives of community organizations. Thus, among the 26 members of the committee at Honami, there are six assemblymen, six school principals, one village clerk, two representatives each of the village agricultural cooperative, the welfare committee, the youth association, and the women's association.

In Honami, where the organization is particularly well developed, the village association is divided into 10 departments, each with its own schedule of activities. These include: general affairs, culture, library, industry, physical training, arts, health, women, youth, and children. During 1948, the village association arranged a Youth Festival and an oratorical contest, and the buraku chapters sponsored classes in flower arrangement, lectures on current events, athletic meets, children's parties, and a newssheet for posting on bulletin boards.

In Suye, the citizens' association sponsors two sets of lectures monthly, one for all adults and the other for women only. The general lectures included such subjects as the

40/ For information on the political activities of youth, consult Chapter 4.

new Constitution, farming techniques, cooperatives, and village government. Lectures for women were confined to those with feminine appeal, such as home sanitation, infant care, nursing, and rearing of children. 41/

INFORMATION MEDIA

Information concerning political and agricultural matters, such as agricultural legislation, farming techniques, rationing, and marketing of crops, is of vital importance to farmers. In the villages visited, the chief sources of this information are the newspaper and the radio, and to a lesser extent, posters, leaflets, movies, and "kamishibai".

Responses to the questionnaire submitted to 100 heads of households in each village revealed that a large majority of the villagers subscribe to a newspaper. Of those who filled in the questionnaire, 83 percent reported that they took a newspaper, the majority of them subscribing to a national paper rather than to a local or regional newspaper. The most isolated villages had the lowest percentages of newspaper subscribers.

Approximately two-thirds of the households in the 13 villages owned radios in December 1948. As compared with the findings of the 1947 survey, reported radio ownership has gone up in almost every village. Some correlation was apparent between radio ownership and economic factors, as evidenced by the fact that only 56 percent of the pre-land reform tenants reported ownership, as compared with 71 percent of the owner-cultivators and 79 percent of the pre-land reform landlords.

Movie theaters are found only in the two urban villages, Honami and Ebetsu. The residents of the other villages must go to neighboring towns to see movies, or they can see only the occasional movies that come to the village five to ten times annually under the auspices of the youth association or the village cooperative. The movie show usually consists of a historical drama, a newsreel, and an educational short feature. Movies of an educational nature are regularly shown to school children in five of the villages. Only three villages reported seeing American documentary films in the 18 months under consideration.

Posters, leaflets, and "kamishibai" are also variously used in the villages for the dissemination of information concerning such matters of interest to farmers as the land reform program, taxation, and delivery quotas.

41/ For a statement of the adult education aspects of the application of the land reform program, see Chapter 1.

POSTLUDE

POSTLUDE

The field studies on which this report is based were made in May and June 1947, when the land reform program was just getting under way, and in November and December 1948, when the sale of land to tenants was nearing completion. Between these two dates the life of the rural people of Japan was being affected by many changes brought about by the land reform program as well as by other influences. The data obtained in the field studies thus provide the reader an excellent opportunity to study the "before" and "after" situation with respect to the land reform program. However, the changes which were under observation are not, in any sense, as neat and clean-cut as might be implied by the terms "before" and "after"; the flow of social and economic history is no respecter of the arbitrary cut-off points of the social observer. Many agricultural programs were just getting under way at the time of the second survey, and many changes have occurred throughout rural Japan since December 1948. The Japanese village is still very much "in transition".

Thus a study of this kind can never be complete and definitive. Problems and situations which arise during the period of observation may persist unaltered for long periods of time; they may become intensified; they may pale into insignificance; or they may be solved by measures which come into operation afterwards. The chroniclers of a small slice of history are therefore compelled to accept the modest limits defined by their period of observation. While this manuscript was in preparation after field studies had been completed, many further changes were going on in rural Japan, and many problems which were noted during the research were in process of solution.

To bring the reader up-to-date on general trends, the more important changes which have occurred on the national scene are summarized in this Postlude. The highlights are emphasized, and the references are almost entirely limited to the agricultural programs. No national elections have been held since January 1949; community and village organization remain fundamentally as described in the text; and no changes seem to have occurred in religion, family organization, or education which would require substantial revision of the descriptions given in the text.

THE LAND REFORM PROGRAM

At the end of the survey period, December 1948, the initial phase of the land reform program--the transfer of land to former tenants--was nearing completion, and most farmers were confident that the program would be carried through to completion. Their confidence was well-founded, for by 31 March 1950 these transfers had been substantially accomplished. (See Appendix D for a detailed statistical statement of the accomplishments.)

The actual registration of land purchases, a long and involved task, had barely begun in December 1948; in the 13 villages it had not started at all. By 31 March 1950, this task had been virtually completed throughout Japan. Each of the approximately 30,000,000 parcels of land transferred under the land reform program was first checked with both the local tax office and the local land registry office to insure the accuracy of boundary descriptions and adequacy of title. A writ of transfer then was filed with the land registry office of the Attorney General; the formal acceptance of a writ by this office constitutes the legal registration of title. Thus, by the end of March 1950 the former tenants had legal recognition of their ownership of the newly acquired land.

In anticipation of the completion of registration in early 1950, the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry made plans in the fall and winter of 1949 for changes in the basic land reform legislation--changes designed to put the program on a permanent basis. A substantial group of amendments to the basic legislation was prepared, and on 31 March 1950 was submitted to the Diet. These proposed amendments provided for a shift in the source of basic authority from the Owner-Farmer Establishment Special Measures Law, a temporary measure, to a permanent Agricultural Land Adjustment Law. They were still under discussion on the closing day of the Diet, 2 May 1950, and will be reintroduced in the coming Extraordinary Session of the Diet.

An important change in the administrative aspect of the land reform program which occurred since the field studies was a redistribution of representation on the local land commissions. In the first elections of December 1947, members were elected to the commission as representatives of the pre-land reform tenure groups; the proportional distribution was five tenants, two owner-cultivators, and three landlords. Each group elected its own representatives. In 1949, practically all changes in tenure status had been made, making necessary the alteration of the basis of representation for the second local land commission elections, held 18 August 1949. Tenure status as of that date was used as the basis, and the composition of the commissions, which reflected the new distribution of tenure groups, consisted of two tenants, six owner-cultivators, and two landlords. Again, each group elected its own representatives.

LAND RECLAMATION

By December 1948, most farmers in the 13 villages had come to accept the land reclamation projects more enthusiastically, because they had come to learn that the new land was to be used for local farmers as well as for repatriates. During 1949, the national reclamation policy became definitely one of aiding local farmers, and first priority on allocations of reclaimable land was given to local farmers willing to reclaim land without subsidy rather than to repatriates, as had hitherto been the practice. Land not desired by local people is offered to others, who are paid reclamation and housing subsidies and granted farm management loans. The emphasis in the reclamation program has shifted from short-time emergency measures designed to aid repatriates and to increase food production to a long-range program of increasing the amount of the agricultural land of farming communities.

By 2 March 1950, 1,208,124 cho of land had been purchased by the government through the local land commissions for reclamation and future sale to farmers; by 31 March 272,429 cho of this land had been sold to individuals for private reclamation. This comprises a large proportion of the land readily reclaimable by individuals.

AGRICULTURAL COOPERATIVES

By December 1948, agricultural cooperatives had displaced the former agricultural associations in the 13 villages as well as throughout Japan. However, the actual liquidation of the assets of the agricultural associations was a complicated and time-consuming task which was in progress during the survey period. As of 31 March 1950, the liquidation of 10,721 local agricultural associations and an estimated 172,000 agricultural and sericultural practice associations was 97 percent complete, and assets valued at more than 49 billion yen had been transferred from local associations to the new cooperatives. (See Appendix E for a detailed statistical statement of the growth of cooperatives.)

Since the time of the survey period the most important local problems of the new agricultural cooperatives have centered around their adjustment to the post-inflationary situation. Most of the cooperative officials had had no previous experience in the conduct of cooperative business activities. In many instances they failed to curtail the purchases of goods when prices began declining during the summer and fall of 1949. Most cooperatives were undercapitalized and paid for these goods with money deposited by the

members. A number of cooperatives experienced difficulty in meeting the requests of members for withdrawal of deposits to pay for fertilizer and other expenses during the spring of 1950. Partial amendments to the Agricultural Cooperative Association Law in 1950 provide financial standards and regulatory powers over financial activities of cooperatives.

TAXES

High taxes and public imposts continue to be a problem for the farmers as for all segments of the population. A significant event was the publication of the report of the Shoup Taxation Mission in the fall of 1949. The over-all intent of many of the reforms recommended by the Mission was to rationalize the tax structure in order to effect an equitable distribution of the tax burden, to eliminate informal public imposts, and to grant local governments greater financial autonomy. Most of the recommendations were enacted into law without significant changes during the Session of the Diet which closed on 2 May 1950; the proposed revision of the local tax law, however, failed to pass the House of Councillors. As a group, farmers benefited from the reforms. Discriminatory provisions in the income tax law relating to basic exemptions were corrected, tax administration was improved, and a number of excise taxes were reduced or eliminated. Although the full effect of these reforms is not yet evident, it is apparent that the farmers' tax burdens for the 1949 fiscal year were lighter than they had been in the 1947 or 1948 fiscal years.

INFLATION AND THE DECLINE OF THE BLACK MARKET

In December 1948, the farmers were affected by the imbalance between their incomes, which were derived from the sale of produce at official prices, and their living expenses, which were determined to a large extent by the inflated black market prices of many consumer goods. Since the survey period, the course of inflation has changed somewhat. The first balanced national budget in many years was formulated in April 1949; fiscal and monetary controls were put into effect, and many subsidies were eliminated. This has been reflected in a lowered effective demand at the same time that the supplies of goods were becoming more plentiful. Prices have begun to level off, and in some instances to decline. Some agricultural cooperatives, caught with over-priced inventories of goods, face financial problems.

The farmer has been affected in a number of ways. Although his costs have declined somewhat, the price of some commodities, such as fertilizer, has increased because of the removal of subsidies. At the same time, his income from the black market sale of farm products has fallen off sharply. In some isolated areas, the black market prices of farm products are equal to or even below controlled prices. Farmers face a shrinkage in their real income; the days of inflation-borne rural prosperity have ended.

The change in the course of inflation will undoubtedly necessitate numerous readjustments in the financing of farm enterprises. Some hardships are bound to occur. However, these adjustments are essential to the development of long-range stability in rural communities. The agricultural reforms carried out since the Surrender have done much to make the farmer's lot more bearable, and they have created an institutional structure through which he can work to improve his circumstances, but they have not touched the basic problem of overcrowding on agricultural land. As long as the present ratio of farmers to farmland persists, the agricultural problem cannot be fully solved. Although the farmer still is in a more favorable position than he was before the war, a decline from the artificial prosperity of the post-Surrender inflation period was inevitable, and further decline can be anticipated. In this respect, Japanese Government and Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers agricultural specialists are making concerted efforts to formulate measures for stabilizing the agricultural economy at a reasonable level.

DELIVERY QUOTAS

Both at the beginning and at the end of the survey period, farmers complained about the heavy delivery quotas. Since then, quotas have become less of a problem, and several changes have been made in the delivery system itself. Beginning with the 1950 crop, collection and distribution controls on both sweet and white potatoes were removed, although the government will continue to purchase and distribute a portion of these crops during 1950, chiefly as a price-stabilizing measure. Quota-allocation regulations were revised to permit increases as well as reductions in preplanting quotas. The bonus payment for over-quota delivery of 1949 rice was reduced from the 1948 level of three times the base price to two times. As noted above, the prices paid for crops collected under the quota system in some instances were higher than black market prices, a sharp reversal of the situation in 1947 and 1948.

INCENTIVE GOODS

The incentive goods program, which in 1947 and 1948 offered farmers the opportunity to purchase high-priced or otherwise unobtainable goods at controlled prices as a reward for meeting crop quotas, has undergone a considerable change. The supply of consumer commodities has become relatively plentiful, and free market prices are now lower than official prices in many instances. Textiles and rubber goods in particular have become more readily available. Under these conditions, farmers have come to prefer buying in the free market, because they usually have a wider choice of both type and quality of goods. Thus, in early 1950, a crisis confronted retail dealers, because farmers were not buying the large stocks of incentive textile goods which were priced higher than free market cloth of equal or better quality. The incentive goods program probably will be drastically curtailed or abolished in 1950.

FERTILIZER SUPPLIES

The fertilizer supply situation has improved substantially since the survey period. The distribution of commercial fertilizer to farmers during the 1949 fall period (1 August-31 December) showed marked improvement over that of the same period in 1948 both in total tonnage and in timing of the distribution. The 1949 allocations of commercial nitrogenous and phosphatic fertilizer were double those of 1948. By the end of December, farmers had received 100 percent of their allocations, as compared with 97 percent and 88 percent respectively during the fall of 1948. The greatest improvement in quantity allocated occurred in potash. Farmers received 86,200 metric tons, as compared with only 9,300 tons during the fall of 1948. Considerable fertilizer was purchased by farmers during August and the first half of September 1949, whereas in 1948 no appreciable quantities were available until after 20 September. During the fall of 1949 Japanese farmers generally not only received all the fertilizer allocated, but obtained it in time for most efficient use.

Reduction of fertilizer subsidies in the 1949 fiscal year resulted in successive increases in the price of fertilizer in January and March 1950. The greatest problem of farmers in relation to fertilizer now is financing purchases rather than an inadequate supply.

CONSOLIDATION OF PLOTS

A persistent problem of efficient farm management in Japan is the wide distribution of the cultivated plots. Ultimately, the solution will be for farmers to exchange plots with one another and to combine adjoining plots so that more of a farmer's land will be continuous. But these are slow and complicated solutions and are now largely in the planning stage.

AGRICULTURAL EXTENSION

At the time of the second field survey, the agricultural extension system, which was authorized by the Law for the Improvement and Promotion of Agriculture, enacted by the Diet 5 July 1948, was being discussed in the villages. The law envisions a farm adviser for each village in Japan and a home adviser for each three to five villages. Because of the financial problems of the program, the planned goals will not be reached for several years. During the development period, farmers will continue to obtain technical advice from former Nogyokai farm experts, now employed by prefectural guidance associations and village cooperatives.

In the new program, the number of farm advisers is being increased steadily; home advisers are being located throughout the country; subject-matter specialists to coordinate research results with extension practices have been selected in all prefectures. Training schools on extension methods are being held to improve the effectiveness of the farm and home advisers. Special emphasis will be given to the development of an adequate home advisory service for farm women and of clubs patterned after the American 4-H Clubs for farm youth. Local advisory committees of farmers and farm wives are being organized to consult with extension personnel in the development of programs.

SUMMARY

The Japanese village still is in transition; some noticeable changes have occurred since the survey period ended, while other village conditions remain much the same. The solidarity of the kinship group continues to be an all-important value to most villagers, although at the same time some of them are sensing that the exercise of individual choices may run counter to family solidarity. Village organization, with its highly cohesive local groups, retains its importance, but traditional relationships within the village are being increasingly affected by economic activity, and by the more active participation of a larger proportion of the people in community affairs. Local officials are now elected by more voters than before. Many new faces have appeared among local leaders. The land reform program has enabled more farmers to own the land they cultivate, and the agricultural cooperatives and new Civil Code have afforded the villagers a firmer voice in their own economic and social affairs. As they did in December 1948, however, alert village leaders point out the need for constructive measures to safeguard the gains made in recent years.

APPENDICES AND TABLES

Appendix A

DEFINITIONS OF JAPANESE TERMS

amadera	Buddhist nunnery
bunke	Branch family
buraku	Subdivision of a village, similar to an unincorporated hamlet in the United States.
buraku-kai	Association of buraku residents in villages, established by law between 1940 and 1947, to carry on certain local government administrative functions.
cho	Unit of measurement comprising 2.451 acres
chonai-kai	Association of local community residents in towns and cities, similar to the buraku-kai in rural villages.
daikon	Giant white radish
denna-sama	Title of respect used referentially to husbands and both referentially and vocatively to superiors. Literally, honorable master; lord.
danto	Association of temple supporters
dekaseginin	Persons who leave their native village for temporary employment but retain their official residence in the village.
Eta	Descendents of a pre-Meiji outcast group, generally with low economic status and special occupations, accompanied by social, residential, and religious restrictions. The word Eta, which means literally "defilement abundant", is a term of insult and is sedulously avoided by Japanese people. Normally many circumlocutions, such as "shinheimin" (new common people), "tokushu burakumin" (special buraku people), or "burakumin" (buraku people), are used. In this report, the word Eta is used as a matter of convenience; the term probably will not carry the same insulting connotations to the non-Japanese reader, and the use of the longer circumlocutions could result in confusion.
-gawa (-kawa)	River
geta	Wooden clogs
gun	Administrative subdivision of a prefecture, similar to an American county.
han	Personal seal used for signature
hibachi	Movable urn in which charcoal is burned for heating and cooking
hinin	Literally, nonhuman; persons similar in status to the Eta, but descendants of a pre-Meiji outcast group consisting chiefly of such floating elements of the population as beggars, mountebanks, jugglers, strolling players, and mendicants.
honke	Head family
i	The rush Juncus effusus, used in making mats.
inugami	Persons believed to have powers of bewitchment, in some instances causing their victims to assume characteristics of dogs. Literally, "dog-god".
jiyushugi	Freedom; liberalism.
kabukosaku-sei	A term used in Shimane Prefecture to refer to the tenancy arrangement in which the house, forest, and sometimes farm tools and livestock are rented by the tenant as a unit from the landlord.
kaito	In general, a group of neighbors engaging in mutual agricultural aid. The group may also, as in Nikaido, engage in mutual aid in other fields, such as assistance in the event of sickness or death or maintenance of shrines and temples.
kamishibai	Japanese "picture play" in which illustrated cards are shown successively on a miniature stage to illustrate a narrative; used primarily for children.
kan	Unit of dry weight equalling 8.267 pounds

kanji	Chinese ideographs used together with syllabic symbols in writing Japanese
kasumi	Regional term for a neighborhood group consisting of five 5-man groups
kaya	Miscanthus, a grass used to make roof thatch.
kitsune-mochi	Persons believed to have powers of bewitchment, in some instances causing their victims to assume characteristics of foxes. Literally, "possessor of foxes".
ko	Group of persons joined together for the furtherance of mutual interests; these may be economic, religious, or social. Originally the term was restricted to groups banded together for religious purposes.
kogumi (ko-nakama)	A religious group of approximately 10 households which functions during funerals
koku	Unit of dry weight equivalent to 330 pounds of rice, 301 pounds of wheat, or 283 pounds of soybeans.
kominkan	Citizens' associations which engage in civic educational work
kotatsu	A heating device consisting of a depression in the floor in which a charcoal fire is placed
ku	A ward or similar subdivision of a village, town, or city.
kuwa	Long-bladed, short-handled hoe.
machi	Town
manju	Buns with bean paste or other filling
mazemeshi	Rice cooked with vegetables and sometimes meat
memba	Local term for a group of seven or eight households which cooperate in the event of weddings, funerals, or work exchange.
minshushugi	Democracy
mura	Village
nebeya-tsugi	Form of retirement from headship of the household which is symbolized by the transfer of the elderly couple from their former room to a more secluded room
nogyokai	Agricultural association; name for both the individual associations and the nation-wide system of compulsory associations formed in 1940 and supplanted during the Occupation by the voluntary agricultural cooperatives.
noka kokumiai	Literally, a farmers' small union; a large grouping of neighbors who assist each other in farm work.
nokyogumi	An agricultural cooperative group of approximately 10 families, which performs many of the functions normally performed by the neighborhood associations.
oaza	Subdivision of a village, similar to a buraku.
O-Bon	Buddhist religious festival held in late summer in honor of departed ancestors. It is sometimes called the "Feast of the Dead" or the "Lantern Festival".
okusama (okusan)	Title of respect, in general used referentially and vocatively for another person's wife (not one's own); in urban areas, it is widely used as a term of address to any respectable women of married age; in rural areas married women are usually addressed as "aunt" (obasan) and the term okusama is one of high respect.
omiki	Sacramental wine
omikoshi	Portable Shinto shrine
oyakata (oyakatasama)	Title of respect meaning "honorable master"
oyasama	Title of respect meaning "honorable parent"
reigi saho	Etiquette; manners.

rimpoban	Wartime form of neighborhood group which had local administrative functions
romaji	Alphabetic writing of Japanese in Roman letters
sake	Light rice wine
samurai	Military retainer of a feudal lord; a warrior.
Senzo-matsuri	Ancestors' Festival
shishi-mai	The lion's dance, performed during Shinto festivals.
shushin	A formal course of study, formerly given in the elementary schools, consisting of such topics as etiquette, Emperor worship, patriotism, and filial piety. Literally, "moral training".
tan	Unit of measurement which equals 0.245 acre
tatami	Rush mat used for flooring
tokonoma	Recessed portion of a room used for decoration; frequently a scroll and vase of flowers are placed there.
tonarigumi	Neighborhood associations; during the war, they had local administrative functions.
tono-sama	Feudal lord; a term used for highly exalted personages.
torii	Shinto shrine gate
ujiko	Shrine support organization
yome-dashi-mura	Name given to a village which has a large number of divorces. Literally, "village which expels daughters-in-law".
yoshi	Adopted husbands; the husband is legally adopted into the bride's family and takes her family name.
zori	Straw sandals

Appendix B

QUESTIONNAIRE ON FARMERS' ATTITUDES TOWARD RURAL PROBLEMS

Introduction

During the survey of 13 villages in November and December, 1948, a questionnaire was given to a sample of the heads of farm households in each village. The sample was not intended to be a representative cross section of the population of rural communities throughout Japan, but only a sample of the heads of farm households 1/ of the selected villages. It is, therefore, a sample of a specialized group and should be interpreted as such.

However, with respect to tenure status, the sample percentages correspond closely to those found in the total rural population:

TENURE STATUS AS OF SEPTEMBER 1946

Category	The Sample: Number of Heads of Households	The Sample: Percent of All Respondents	All Japan a/: Number of Households	All Japan a/: Percent of All Farmers
Tenants	599	46.08	2,427,495	44.88
Owner-cultivators	594	45.69	2,446,433	45.23
Landlords	93	7.15	535,412	9.89
Unknown b/	14	1.08		
TOTAL	1,300	100.00	5,409,340	100.00

a/ Data are from Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry and are based on number of registered voting households for the 1946 land commission elections.

b/ Fourteen respondents failed to note their status on their questionnaire. The responses to these questionnaires were omitted in this analysis in all tenure status breakdowns.

1/ In each village, between 5 and 10 of the selected heads of farm households were unable to appear personally to fill out a questionnaire. In such instances, another member of the family (usually a wife or a son) filled out the questionnaire.

TENURE STATUS AS OF NOVEMBER-DECEMBER 1949

Category	The Sample: Number of Heads of Households	The Sample: Percent of All Respondents	All Japan a/: Number of Households	All Japan a/: Percent of All Farmers
Tenants	113	8.69	b/	8.3
Owner-cultivators	1,121	86.23	b/	83.8
Landlords	52	4.00	b/	7.9
Unknown	14	1.08	b/	
TOTAL	1,300	100.00	5,909,227 c/	100.0

a/ Estimates by Ministry of Agrioulture and Forestry

b/ Exact data not available

c/ As of 1947, Source: "Monthly Statistical Bulletin", No 115, August 1948, Ministry of Agrioulture and Forestry.

Because of time and staff limitations, the size of the sample in each village was limited to 100 respondents. Exactly 100 heads of farm households were selected in each village, regardless of the total number of farm households. These individuals were selected from the land commission election registries for 1946 which contain information on all farmers in a village: the size of their family, the size of their holdings, the amount of land rented to or from others, and the location of their home. They were used in this study as the basis for selecting the sample partly because they are complete, accurate, and accessible, but largely because they contain information upon which a sample based upon tenure status prior to the land reform could be drawn. The 1946 entries in these registries were made current as of the date of the sample; i e, death and other personal changes not related to land reform were taken into consideration. The sample, therefore, contains landlords, tenants, and owner-cultivators in proportion to their numbers in September 1946 and was so constructed in order to reflect the reactions of each group to the land reform program.

In each village the 100 respondents were selected by the technique of stratified random sampling. That is, they were selected randomly from the registry in proportion to the number of landlords, tenants, and owner-cultivators in each buraku as of 1946. This method of sampling may have resulted in a sampling error ranging between one and seven percent per village, depending upon the proportion of responses in any given answer category.

School teachers were trained in each village to administer the questionnaire. The individuals selected for the sample came to the school building or the village office and filled out the questionnaire themselves. A small proportion of respondents in each village sample were interviewed directly by the researchers in order to test the general validity and meanings of the responses. Respondents were asked not to reveal their names and were urged to be completely frank and honest in their responses.

For purposes of uniformity, all "no response" answers have been excluded from the percentage calculations, unless stated otherwise. Similarly, all representations by tenure status and all references to tenure status are on the basis of pre-land reform tenure status, unless otherwise stated. This has been done for two reasons: first, it results in a more accurate analysis of the opinions and reactions of the tenure groups most affected by the land reform program, the pre-land reform tenants and landlords; and second, it is a representation which reflects the criteria used in the sample design.

Terms used to describe tenure status may not always correspond to the commonly accepted definitions of the words, but rather to the definitions used in land reform legislation. 2/ A tenant is described as a person engaging in cultivation who either owns no agricultural land or who cultivates at least twice as much land as he owns, a landlord as a person who does not cultivate the land he owns or who owns at least twice as much land as he cultivates, and an owner-cultivator as a person who cultivates, but who does not belong in either of the previous categories.

The number of individuals or items represented by each 100 percent is shown under each category. The amounts shown in the breakdowns do not always add up to the total of respondents because some categories in the breakdowns were not applicable and for some categories no data were available.

The following seven sections are excerpts from the questionnaire.

Section 1

Land Reform Program

In the early days of the land reform, critics expressed some doubt concerning the reaction of Japanese farmers. However, at the time of the present survey most farmers, especially the former tenants, were satisfied with the land reform program. One-half of all the respondents, and more than two-thirds of those who had been tenants prior to the land reform program, reported that their families had been benefited. More than one-half of all the respondents and exactly two-thirds of the tenants felt that the land reform program had been beneficial to their village. As expected, the program was unpopular among the former landlords. The majority of them reported that the program had not been beneficial to their family, and only 37 percent stated that the program had been good for their village.

2/ Agricultural Land Adjustment Law, Law No 42, 22 October 1946.

QUESTION: Do you think the land reform program is good for your village?

		All Respondents	Tenants	Owner-Cultivators	Landlords
	Number	1,290	597	586	93
ANSWER:	Yes	57 %	66 %	50 %	37 %
	No	5	4	5	16
	Both good and bad	28	20	35	37
	Don't know	10	10	10	10

QUESTION: Was the land reform program beneficial to your family?

		All Respondents	Tenants	Owner-Cultivators	Landlords
	Number	1,245	583	562	86
ANSWER:	Yes	50 %	68 %	38 %	8 %
	No	14	4	16	61
	Made no difference	29	22	39	27
	Don't know	7	6	7	4

In addition to the general finding that the land reform program had been beneficial, it was found that 39 percent of all of the farmers interviewed and 47 percent of the tenants felt positively that, without the land reform, conditions would have been worse than they are at present.

The farmers' evaluation of the land reform program seems to be based largely upon the actual benefits they have themselves derived from it, rather than upon more theoretical considerations. For example, a majority of those farmers who felt that conditions in the village would have been worse without the land reform program thought that the program had been beneficial to their family, whereas less than one-fourth of them thought that the program had not been beneficial to their family.

QUESTION: If there had been no land reform program, how do you think living conditions in the village would have been?

		All Respondents	Tenure Status: Tenants	Tenure Status: Owner-Cultivators	Tenure Status: Landlords	Attitude Toward Effect of Land Reform Program: Had Benefited Family	Had Not Benefited Family	Had Not Affected Family
	Number	1,292	598	587	93	622	168	363
ANSWER:	Better	8 %	8 %	7 %	12 %	9 %	9 %	4 %
	Worse	39	47	34	21	57	24	23
	No different	37	30	43	51	23	56	57
	Don't know	16	15	16	16	11	11	16

The correlations between pre-land reform tenancy status and post-land reform attitudes deserve special emphasis. Tenants, for whose betterment the program was initiated, expressed the greatest enthusiasm. Only eight percent of them thought that conditions in the village would have been better had there been no land reform, whereas 47 percent thought they would have been worse, and 30 percent that they would not have been different. Landlords, on the other hand, were more critical. That numbers of them are able to be objective concerning general village conditions is attested by the fact that a large majority of them felt that the land reform program had been either good or both good and bad for the village, whereas only 16 percent of them thought that it had definitely been bad. However, only eight percent of the landlords felt that the program had been beneficial to their own family, and a majority of them, 61 percent, thought definitely that it had not. The distinction that landlords seem to make between "good for the village" and "good for my family" is demonstrated by several facts. Only a slightly higher percentage of landlords than of other groups thought that living conditions in the village would have been better had there been no land reform, and 21 percent of the landlords expressed the belief that conditions would have been worse.

The land reform program did not seek to destroy tenancy completely, but rather to reduce it to a minimum and to eliminate its evils. Although absentee landlordism was totally eliminated, resident landlords were permitted to retain a certain amount of land for tenant cultivation under conditions specified by law. In April 1949, the total area thus retained and cultivated by tenants was about 600,000 cho, or approximately 10 percent of the total arable land in Japan. Critics of the land reform program have contended that these retention provisions are inimical to the stated purpose of the legislation and are an invitation to the landlords to maintain their traditional control in the rural community. Supporters of the law have replied that the margin of permissible tenancy which these provisions allow is sound for farm management reasons, as it permits that measure of flexibility required to adjust tenure conditions to the changing

social and economic requirements of individual farm operators. In the present survey, all respondents were asked how they felt about this much discussed point. Thirty-four percent of them thought that this retention should be permitted, 50 percent thought that it should not, and 16 percent stated that they did not know. As might be expected, tenants were the most critical of the provision, although 20 percent of them favored the law as it stands.

Of the farmers who reported that the land reform program had been beneficial to their family (a majority of whom were tenants prior to the land reform), nearly two-thirds thought that landlords should not be allowed to retain the excess land, while of those who reported that the program had not been beneficial, nearly two-thirds thought that landlords should be allowed to retain the land. 3/

QUESTION: It has been argued that a landowner should not be allowed to retain any land other than that which he actually cultivates himself. How do you feel about this?

		All Respondents	Tenure Status: Tenants	Tenure Status: Owner-Cultivators	Tenure Status: Landlords	Attitude Toward Effect of Land Reform Program: Had Benefited Family	Had Not Benefited Family	Had Not Affected Family
	Number	1,293	595	591	93	622	168	362
ANSWER:	He should	34 %	20 %	45 %	70 %	25 %	64 %	40 %
	He should not	50	63	40	21	64	28	42
	Don't know	16	17	15	9	11	8	18

Although the general level of satisfaction with the land reform program seemed to be high, many specific complaints concerning inadequacies of the program, local conditions, and unfairness were voiced by farmers. Twenty-four percent of the farmers interviewed offered specific observations. The most frequently mentioned points of dissatisfaction were the following: Landlords should not have been permitted to retain so much land cultivated by others; land purchase was unduly complex; and forest, meadow, and unreclaimed land should have been included in the program. Many of the points relate to local conditions or individual cases, for example, claims of unfair treatment by the land commission. Others, however, such as the suggestion that other lands be included within the categories of land subject to reform, touch on broader problems. The release of forest land, for example, is considered by some farmers to be a pressing problem in mountainous areas.

Section 2

Landlord-Tenant Relations

Before the land reform program was put into effect, the Japanese tenant farmer was substantially at the mercy of his landlord. Contractual arrangements were rarely formal and explicit, and in cases of doubt, the landlord's interpretations generally prevailed. A majority of these arrangements were oral. Under traditional tenancy, the land rental was commonly paid in kind, rather than in cash. This arrangement was frequently a burden upon tenants, for the rent was usually a stipulated amount of grain, set by the landlords and determined before the harvest on the basis of yields harvested during good seasons. In the event of a bad harvest, a tenant had to turn over a majority of his total crop to his landlord as rent and buy food to eat at the high prices common during a bad harvest year.

The provisions of land reform legislation stipulated changes in these conditions. In order to provide tenants with security of tenure and protection from dishonest landlords, the legislation provided that all tenant-landlord agreements be written, and that all written contracts be registered at the village office. The legislation also stipulated that contracts would specify the amount of farm rent, the terms of payment, the period of tenure, the conditions which would warrant rent reductions, and the provisions under which certain expenses incurred by the tenant would be shared by the landlord and under which remuneration for immovable improvements would be granted tenants in case of lease termination.

At the time the survey was made, the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry's program for promoting tenancy agreements had been in effect only six months. Nevertheless, eight percent of all farmers renting land from others reported that they had a written tenancy contract for all of the land, and 22 percent reported that they had a contract for part of their land, whereas 70 percent reported that they had no written contract for the land they rented from others. The same proportions were found among persons renting land to others.

3/ This issue seems to be a critical one in the lives of the farmers. When respondents were asked directly what points of dissatisfaction they had with the law, the most frequently mentioned specific complaint was that landlords should not have been permitted to retain so much land cultivated by others.

QUESTION: Do you have a written contract on leased land?

		Respondents Renting from Others	Respondents Renting to Others
	Number	574	290
ANSWER:	All	8 %	8 %
	Part	22	22
	None	70	70

A majority of all tenure groups felt that a written tenancy contract is necessary, and an even larger majority felt than if tenancy contracts were concluded, the conditions of the contract should be written in detail.

QUESTION: Do you think it necessary to exchange written tenant contracts when you lease or let land?

		All Respondents
	Number	1,283
ANSWER:	Yes	54 %
	Depends upon the man and the circumstances	33
	No	4
	Doesn't matter	5
	Don't know	4

QUESTION: Do you think it necessary to write all the conditions in detail in a tenancy contract?

		All Respondents
	Number	1,287
ANSWER:	Yes	76 %
	No	10
	Doesn't matter	10
	Don't know	4

Sixty-two percent of all respondents preferred payment of rent in cash rather than in kind. As might be expected, tenants and landlords differed widely in their preferences, and owner-cultivators tended to support the tenant point of view. Seventy-seven percent of the tenants preferred payment of rent in cash, as did 51 percent of the owner-cultivators, whereas 63 percent of the landlords favored payment in kind.

Preferences differed widely according to the extent to which the respondents thought that the land reform program had been beneficial to their family. A large majority of those farmers who thought that their family had been benefited by the program also favored the payment of rent in cash. A plurality of the respondents who felt that the program had not been beneficial to their family favored the payment of rent in kind, while nearly four out of very five who thought that land reform had been beneficial to their family favored payment in cash. This might be expected, as the majority of those who benefited were tenants.

QUESTION: Without regard to whether prices are high or low, which do you think is better: payment of rent in cash or payment of rent in kind?

		All Respondents	Tenure Status: Tenants	Tenure Status: Owner-Cultivators	Tenure Status: Landlords	Attitude Toward Effect of Land Reform Program: Had Benefited Family	Had Not Benefited Family	Had Not Affected Family
	Number	1,294	598	592	90	622	167	365
ANSWER:	Payment in kind	18 %	6 %	24 %	63 %	7 %	49 %	24 %
	Payment in cash	62	77	51	20	79	29	52
	No difference	14	11	18	15	10	18	18
	Don't know	6	6	7	2	4	4	6

There has been a good deal of discussion about the right of tenants to sublet their land without the consent of the landlord. Most of the farmers felt that this is wrong, although there was a higher percentage of objections from landlords than from tenants.

QUESTION: Do you think it is all right for a tenant to sublet leased land without the landlord's consent?

		All Respondents	Tenants	Owner-Cultivators	Landlords
	Number	1,296	599	591	92
ANSWER:	Yes	10 %	14 %	8 %	2 %
	No	82	78	85	94
	Don't know	8	8	7	4

Section 3

Local Land Commissions

Land reform legislation provided for the election of a local land commission in every city, town, and village in Japan to administer the program. As the executive organs of the land reform program, the local land commissions drafted the purchase plan for each village, determined the suitability of lands to be purchased, established prices within legal limits, verified the eligibility of purchasers, decided cases requiring unusual or special treatment, and effected the actual purchase and resale of land. Each local commission is composed of five tenants, three landowners, and two owner-cultivators, who were originally elected to serve for a two-year term. Elections were held during December of 1946. In only 52 percent of the cases, among the 10,777 local commissions, was it necessary to hold elections, because, in the other cases, the number of candidates equalled the number of positions to be filled. 4/ The lists of the electors were open to public inspection. Persons eligible to vote in the elections were those who were at least 20 years of age and members of households cultivating one tan or more of land in Japan Proper and three tan in Hokkaido. It is assumed in this analysis that many of the respondents who said that they had voted in the elections actually meant that they participated in the selection of a buraku nominee. 5/

A large majority of the respondents stated that they had voted in the land commission elections. Nearly two-thirds of them thought that their local commission members were the best people for the job, although one-fifth thought that although the members were good, there were others who were just as good. A higher percentage of tenants than landlords expressed confidence in the land commissions.

QUESTION: Did you vote in the land commission elections?

		All Respondents
	Number	1,268
ANSWER:	Yes	80 %
	No	20

QUESTION: Do you think the members of the land commissions in your village are the best persons for the job?

		All Respondents	Tenants	Owner-Cultivators	Landlords
	Number	1,298	598	593	93
ANSWER:	Best	61 %	64 %	59 %	46 %
	Good, but there are other good men	22	19	24	35
	Not the best	6	6	6	3
	Don't know	11	11	11	16

One of the most important duties of the land commission was to determine which individuals in the village were eligible to buy land that had been bought from owners by the government. Land reform legislation stipulates certain criteria of eligibility. In general, all persons who were "likely to devote themselves to agriculture" and who had demonstrated reasonable proficiency in farming were eligible to purchase land, with priority being given to those persons who on 23 November 1945 were tenants on the land they wished to buy. However, within the limits of these criteria, many decisions, concerning both the policy for the entire village and the policy to be applied to individuals, had to be made, and in most cases it was the local land commission that made them.

A majority of the respondents thought that the method used to determine individual eligibility had been appropriate. A higher percentage of owner-cultivators--the group least affected and most likely to have an objective point of view--than of other groups expressed this feeling. Persons who felt that the land reform program had been beneficial to their family were also the most satisfied; only nine percent of them thought that the method had been inappropriate, whereas 26 percent of those who felt that the land reform had not been beneficial to their family disapproved of the method used to determine eligibility. The large percentage of the people who felt that their family had been benefited by the land reform, and who also thought that the method of determining individual eligibility was appropriate, probably reflects the fact that the majority of those benefited were tenants, who were for the most part automatically eligible. The fact that one-half of the landlords (and nearly one-half of all farmers who felt that land reform had

4/ In the majority of those villages in which commissions were seated by proclamation, nominees were selected by democratic means in each of the buraku of the village. In accordance with Japanese law, whenever the number of nominees equalled the number of positions open, no elections were held, and the mayor simply seated the candidates by proclamation.

5/ On the basis of the results of field investigations conducted from 6-15 January 1947, Occupation authorities believe that from 75-80 percent of the land commissions were accepted as satisfactory by their constituents, and that in the majority of cases in which no elections had been held the selection of candidates had been accomplished according to democratic procedures. However, a few instances have been discovered in which there was evidence of voting controlled by vested community interests. The Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry took immediate steps to inform farmers of their rights under the law to recall commissioners who did not represent them. As a consequence, recall elections were held in many villages.

not been beneficial to their family) also thought the method was appropriate suggests that landlords, although objecting to the entire program, can be somewhat objective about the program's methods. A higher percentage of the heads of farm households (exclusive of those in Ebetsu) who, at the time the survey was made, cultivated from 1.51 to five tan per family member, approved than did those who cultivated less land per family member. A disproportionately high percentage of the people who cultivated less than one tan of land per family member replied that they did not know whether or not the method of determining eligibility was appropriate.

QUESTION: Do you think that the method of determining who was eligible to purchase land in the village was appropriate?

			Tenure Status			Attitude Toward Effect of Land Reform Program		
		All Respondents	Tenants	Owner-Cultivators	Landlords	Had Benefited Family	Had Not Benefited Family	Had Not Affected Family
	Number	1,281	594	581	93	617	166	357
ANSWER:	Yes	60 %	53 %	61 %	50 %	75 %	48 %	52 %
	No	13	18	13	12	9	26	13
	Don't know	27	29	26	38	16	26	35

	Amount of Land Cultivated per Family Member at Time of Survey a/		
	0-1 Tan	1.1-1.5 Tan	1.51-5.0 Tan
Number	411	311	449
Yes	51 %	59 %	66 %
No	12	16	13
Don't know	37	25	21

a/ Exclusive of Ebetsu, Hokkaido.

A majority of the respondents stated without qualification that they thought that those villagers who had bought land during the program were satisfied with the handling of their cases by the land commission, one-third thought that some might not be satisfied, and only three percent stated definitely that they thought the purchasers were not satisfied. A higher percentage of tenants, most of whom bought land themselves and thus might be in a better position to speak for all those who bought land, gave an unqualified answer expressing satisfaction than did other groups. Those farmers who indicated satisfaction with the benefits of the land reform program to their family also expressed the greatest satisfaction with the handling of the cases of others by the land commission.

QUESTION: Do you think that those who bought land under the provisions of the land reform law are satisfied with the handling of their case by the land commission or not?

			Tenure Status			Attitude Toward Effect of Land Reform Program		
		All Respondents	Tenants	Owner-Cultivators	Landlords	Had Benefited Family	Had Not Benefited Family	Had Not Affected Family
	Number	1,294	583	585	93	622	167	365
ANSWER:	Satisfied	53 %	60 %	48 %	41 %	66 %	45 %	45 %
	Some are satisfied, some are not	33	29	36	41	27	42	38
	Dissatisfied	3	2	4	2	3	4	3
	Don't know	11	9	12	16	4	9	14

Similar percentages of farmers expressed personal satisfaction with the way the land commission handled their own case. Among landlords, those who said they were personally satisfied were fewer in number than those who thought that people in general who had bought land were satisfied--not surprising, as few of this group bought land, and many of them were forced to sell it.

QUESTION: (For farmers who bought or sold land under the provisions of the land reform law) Were you personally satisfied with the way the land commission handled your case?

		All Respondents	Tenants	Owner-Cultivators	Landlords
	Number	1,150	568	497	78
ANSWER:	Satisfied	52 %	61 %	46 %	30 %

		All Respondents	Tenants	Owner-Cultivators	Landlords
	Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied	30 %	26 %	36 %	40 %
	Dissatisfied	13	10	13	26
	Don't know	5	3	5	4

Land reform legislation provides that the price of land shall henceforth be determined by the land commissions, acting in accordance with principles established by law, rather than by negotiations between the concerned parties. This was one of the issues which had caused the failure of all previous land reform programs in Japan, because without price controls, a majority of the tenants were unable to purchase land. Furthermore, the present land reform legislation stipulated that, in order to prevent speculation with land purchased from the government, land could not be resold privately, but that all resales would be made directly to the government on terms similar to those characterizing the original sale contract.

A majority of all farmers, and a majority of all tenure groups except landlords, favored the principle of price controls administered by the local land commissions. However, one-fifth of all farmers and one-fourth of the landlords and owner-cultivators thought that the determination of price should be made according to the circumstances. Nearly one-third of the landlords favored negotiation.

QUESTION: Which do you think is better: to have the price of land fixed by the land commission or to have the price fixed by negotiation between the parties concerned?

		All Respondents	Tenants	Owner-Cultivators	Landlords
	Number	1,297	598	592	93
ANSWER:	Land commission	61 %	74 %	52 %	32 %
	Depends upon the circumstances	20	15	25	24
	Negotiation	11	4	14	30
	Doesn't matter	6	4	7	11
	Don't know	2	3	2	3

Several provisions of land reform legislation protected the tenant by guaranteeing him security of tenure. This factor had been the cause of nearly one-half of prewar tenant-landlord disputes, and the lack of security of tenure had been one of the greatest evils of the tenancy system. Many tenant evictions were caused by the failure of tenants to pay the rent that they had agreed to pay in their contracts. However, under a provision of land reform legislation, all disputes arising out of any delay in payment of rent by the tenant for good cause must be settled by the land commission, rather than by consultation between the concerned parties.

A plurality of all the respondents favored the settlement of such questions by the land commission only in some cases; a plurality of the tenants favored settlement by the land commission in all cases; and less than 10 percent of the tenants preferred consultation. In general, tenants favored settlement by the land commission and landlords settlement by consultation, with owner-cultivators occupying a midway position.

QUESTION: In the event of delay in payment of rent by the tenant for good cause, do you think the question should be settled by the land commission, or do you think it should be settled by consultation between landlord and tenant only?

		All Respondents	Tenants	Owner-Cultivators	Landlords
	Number	1,292	595	590	93
ANSWER:	Land commission	38 %	46 %	34 %	22 %
	In some circumstances by the land commission	40	39	40	39
	Consultation between the concerned parties	14	8	16	32
	Doesn't matter	6	5	8	6
	Don't know	2	2	2	1

Section 4

Village Agricultural Cooperatives

In order to determine the extent to which farmers have direct contact with a cooperative, respondents were asked if they visited their cooperative often. About two-thirds reported that they did, and only

three percent stated that they never visit the cooperatives. Post-land reform landlords reported the least frequent regular visits to the cooperative. Pre-land reform tenants and owner-cultivators, and post-land reform owner-cultivators, reported the most frequent regular visits. Only a small percentage of these groups, in contrast to the percentage of landlords, reported that they never visit the cooperative.

QUESTION: Do you often go to your village cooperative?

		All Respondents	Pre-Land Reform Tenure Status			Post-Land Reform Tenure Status		
			Tenants	Owner-Cultivators	Landlords	Tenants	Owner-Cultivators	Landlords
	Number	1,281	596	592	93	113	1,116	52
ANSWER:	Yes, often	62 %	64 %	64 %	46 %	49 %	65 %	33 %
	No, not often	35	34	34	42	49	33	54
	Never	3	2	2	12	2	2	13

In contradistinction to the old local agricultural associations, the nonaffiliated village cooperatives are largely under the direction of their elected leadership, and the extent to which the members have confidence in the leadership of their cooperative should serve as a useful index of their general attitudes toward the cooperatives. A majority of the respondents expressed qualified confidence in their present officials, and over one-quarter of them expressed full confidence. All tenure groups expressed very similar attitudes.

QUESTION: Do you have confidence in the present officials of your cooperative?

		All Respondents
	Number	1,270
ANSWER:	Complete confidence	28 %
	Some confidence	55
	Little confidence	14
	No confidence	3

About one-third of all the respondents (most of whom were men) expressed a favorable attitude toward the inclusion of women among the officials of the agricultural cooperatives, whereas a plurality stated that it would make no difference. Only 13 percent thought that women officials definitely would not be beneficial. This seeming acceptance of women may be a superficial and theoretical attitude, as in not one village surveyed had a woman actually been made an official of a cooperative, and many of the respondents may have answered the question on the basis of their attitude toward the general participation of women in community activities.

QUESTION: Do you think it would be beneficial to your cooperative to include women among the officials?

		All Respondents
	Number	1,278
ANSWER:	Beneficial	34 %
	Not beneficial	13
	Makes no difference	43
	Don't know	10

Section 5

Taxes

The income tax seemed to be of predominant concern to farmers. Although there is evidence on this point independent of the findings of the questionnaire, 31 percent of the respondents spontaneously mentioned income taxes as one of their greatest difficulties at the present time. Furthermore, a plurality, 49 percent, of those farmers who had been assessed for an income tax felt that their own tax was unfair compared with that of others. One-half of the farmers felt that the grain quotas and the income taxes were equally difficult to bear; of the other half of the respondents, a larger proportion felt that the income taxes were more difficult than the grain quotas.

QUESTION: Do you think your income tax assessment is fair as compared with that of others?

		Respondents Assessed for an Income Tax
	Number	1,198
ANSWER:	Fair	24 %
	Unfair	49
	Don't know	27

QUESTION: Which do you find harder to bear, the grain quota or the income tax?

		Respondents Assessed for an Income Tax and Assigned Grain Quotas
	Number	1,136
ANSWER:	Grain quota	15 %
	Income tax	25
	Equally hard	57
	Don't know	3

Although not mentioned as the most burdensome by as many farmers as the income tax, the grain quota is nonetheless a serious grievance. Thirty-eight percent of those farmers who had quotas to meet felt that their quota was unfair compared with that of others (in contrast to 47 percent who thought that their quota was fair).

QUESTION: Do you think your grain quota is fair as compared with that of others?

		Respondents Assigned Grain Quota
	Number	1,172
ANSWER:	Fair	47 %
	Unfair	38
	Don't know	15

As a consequence of the large number of new village projects in a period of inflation, local assessments and contributions of all kinds have increased substantially. The majority of the farmers feel some of them to be a burden, but about as many farmers consider their own assessments to be fair as consider them to be unfair.

QUESTION: How do you feel about the village assessments and contributions?

		All Respondents
	Number	1,279
ANSWER:	Reasonable	15 %
	Some reasonable, some difficult	68
	Difficult	10
	Don't know	7

QUESTION: Do you think your village assessments are unfair as compared with those of others?

		All Respondents
	Number	1,261
ANSWER:	Fair	37 %
	Unfair	36
	Don't know	27

Nearly one-fourth of the respondents complained about the excessiveness of village assessments and contributions in general and about the nature of the system itself. Many specific complaints were made concerning assessments for particular purposes.

QUESTION: What kinds of village assessments and contributions do you find difficult?

		Respondents Who Mentioned This Kind a/		Respondents Who Mentioned This Kind a/
	Number	644		
ANSWER:	General complaints concerning excessiveness and the nature of the system itself	24	Temples and shrines	4 %
	School	5	Community Chest	3
	"Unknown purposes"	4	Local entertainments	2
			Lotteries	1
			Police office	1
			Village organizations other than the above	6

a/ These percentages add to less than 100 percent, as a total of 612 farmers (47 percent of the sample) supplied 644 answers to this question. Some farmers gave more than one answer.

Section 6

Use of Appeal Procedures

In order to minimize injustices, appeal procedures have been established. These enable farmers who feel that their crop quotas or their income tax assessments are too high to register an official appeal to their agricultural cooperative or their local tax office. A majority of the farmers in all tenure groups were aware of the fact that appeal procedures were available. More farmers knew of income tax appeal procedures than knew of grain quota appeal procedures.

QUESTION: If you consider your grain quota unfair, is it possible to appeal it?

		Respondents Assigned Grain Quota
	Number	1,262
ANSWER:	Yes	64 %
	No	22
	Don't know	14

QUESTION: If you consider your income tax assessment unfair, is it possible to appeal it?

		Respondents Assessed for an Income Tax
	Number	1,269
ANSWER:	Yes	72 %
	No	14
	Don't know	14

About one-fourth of the farmers not only knew of the existence of appeal procedures, but had actually made appeals. This is true of all three tenure groups. Village-by-village responses, presumably reflecting local conditions, show great variation. In Niksido, for example, only 17 percent of the farmers reported that they had appealed a grain quota, whereas 38 percent reported that they had appealed an income tax assessment; in Honami, 36 percent reported that they had appealed a grain quota and 46 percent that they had appealed a tax assessment. In 10 of the 13 villages, appeals to the income tax assessments were significantly, and in some cases markedly, higher than appeals to grain quotas. The percentages of farmers who had appealed their assessments and quotas, and who also thought them unfair, was twice that of those who had not appealed and thought them to be fair.

QUESTION: Have you ever appealed a grain quota?

		Respondents Assigned Grain Quota
	Number	1,195
ANSWER:	Yes	25 %
	No	75

QUESTION: Have you ever appealed an income tax assessment?

		Respondents Assessed for an Income Tax
	Number	1,217
ANSWER:	Yes	30 %
	No	70

QUESTION: Do you think your grain quota is fair compared with those of others?

		All Respondents	Respondents Assigned Grain Quota: Had Appealed It	Respondents Assigned Grain Quota: Had Not Appealed It
	Number	1,172	291	904
ANSWER:	Fair	47 %	30 %	54 %
	Unfair	38	64	30
	Don't know	15	6	16

QUESTION: Do you think your tax assessment is fair compared with those of others?

		All Respondents	Respondents Assigned Grain Quota: Had Appealed It	Respondents Assigned Grain Quota: Had Not Appealed It
	Number	1,198	369	848
ANSWER:	Fair	24 %	14 %	28 %
	Unfair	49	74	38
	Don't know	27	12	34

Section 7

General Economic Problems

Considerable and widespread uneasiness was evident among all classes of farmers concerning their current economic situation and their prospects for the near future. This underlying anxiety affected all farmers, whether or not they felt that they have been benefited by the land reform programs.

The majority of all tenure groups, including tenants (a large majority of whom have become owner-cultivators under the land reform program), felt that their living conditions had worsened in the last year. Only 13 percent felt that there had been an improvement. The prevailing pessimism seems to be independent of experience with the land reform program, as there was no appreciable tendency for farmers who felt that the land reform program had not been beneficial to their family to feel that living conditions were now worse than last year. The grievances most frequently mentioned by all tenure groups are high income taxes, the scarcity of clothing, and the general high prices.

QUESTION: How are living conditions in your family as compared with last year?

		All Respondents	Attitude Toward Effect of Land Reform Program: Had Benefited Family	Had Not Benefited Family	Had Not Affected Family
	Number	1,298	621	168	366
ANSWER:	Better	13 %	14 %	7 %	11 %
	Same	33	33	34	34
	Worse	51	52	55	53
	Don't know	3	1	4	2

The expectation of an agricultural depression was to some extent conditioned by the farmer's estimate of his current economic situation as compared with last year. A farmer who felt that his living conditions had worsened was more likely to expect a depression than a farmer who had experienced some improvement in conditions.

QUESTION: Do you think a severe depression will come during the next twelve months?

		All Respondents	Opinion of Living Conditions of Family Compared With Last Year: Better	Same	Worse
	Number	1,281	157	427	669
ANSWER:	Yes	42 %	38 %	32 %	50 %
	Maybe	36	34	46	31
	No	7	12	9	4
	Don't know	15	16	13	15

Similarly, the farmer's evaluation of his current condition was influenced strongly by his view of future prospects. Farmers who felt that a depression was bound to come were much more pessimistic about their living conditions than farmers who were not anticipating a depression.

QUESTION: How are living conditions in your family as compared with last year?

		All Respondents	Opinion on Probability of a Severe Depression Within a Year: Yes	Maybe	No
	Number	1,298	533	464	86
ANSWER:	Better	13 %	11 %	12 %	22 %
	Same	33	26	42	46
	Worse	51	62	44	31
	Don't know	3	1	2	1

Appendix C

GENERAL HEADQUARTERS
SUPREME COMMANDER FOR THE ALLIED POWERS

APO 500
9 December 1945

AG 602.6 (9 Dec 45)CIE
(SCAPIN 411)

MEMORANDUM FOR: IMPERIAL JAPANESE GOVERNMENT

THROUGH: Central Liaison Office, Tokyo

SUBJECT: Rural Land Reform

1. In order that the Imperial Japanese Government shall remove economic obstacles to the revival and strengthening of democratic tendencies, establish respect for the dignity of man, and destroy the economic bondage which has enslaved the Japanese farmer to centuries of feudal oppression, the Japanese Imperial Government is directed to take measures to insure that those who till the soil of Japan shall have more equal opportunity to enjoy the fruits of their labor.

2. The purpose of this order is to exterminate those pernicious ills which have long blighted the agrarian structure of a land where almost half the total population is engaged in husbandry. The more malevolent of these ills include:

a. Intense overcrowding of land

Almost half th farm households in Japan till less than one and one helf acres each.

b. Widespread tenancy under conditions highly unfavorable to tenants

More than three-fourths of the farmers in Japan are either partially or totally tenants, paying rental amounting to half or more of their annual crops.

c. A heavy burden of farm indebtedness combined with high rates of interest on farm loans

Farm indebtedness persists so that less than half the total farm households are able to support themselves on their agriculture income.

d. Government fiscal policies which discriminate against agriculture in favor of industry and trade

Interest rates and direct t xes on agriculture are more oppressive than those in commerce and industry.

e. Authoritative government control over farmers and farm organizations without regard for farmer interests

Arbitrary crop quotas established by disinterested control associations often restrict the farmer in the cultivation of crops for his own needs or economic advancement.

Emancipation of the Japanese farmer cannot begin until such basic farm evils are uprooted and destroyed.

3. The Japanese Imperial Government is therefore ordered to submit to this Headquarters on or before 15 March 1946 a program of rural land reform. This program shall contain plans for:

a. Transfer of land ownership from absentee land owners to land operators.

b. Provisions for purchase of farm lands from non-operating owners at equitable rates.

c. Provisions for tenant purchase of land at annual installments commensurate with tenant income.

d. Provisions for reasonable protection of farmer tenants against reversion to tenancy status. Such necessary safeguards should include:

(1) Access to long and short term farm credit at reasonable interest rates.
(2) Measures to protect the farmer against exploitation by processors and distributers.
(3) Measures to stabilize prices of agricultural produce.
(4) Plans for the diffusion of technical and other information of assistance to the agrarian population.
(5) A program to foster and encourage an agricultural co-operative movement free of domination by non-agrarian interests and dedicated to the economic and cultural advancement of the Japanese farmer.

e. The Japanese Imperial Government is requested to submit in addition to the above, such other proposals it deems necessary to guarantee to agriculture a share of the national income commensurate with its contribution.

FOR THE SUPREME COMMANDER:

/s/ H. W. Allen,
/t/ H. W. ALLEN
Colonel, A.G.D.,
Asst Adjutant General.

Appendix D

GENERAL HEADQUARTERS
SUPREME COMMANDER FOR THE ALLIED POWERS
Natural Resources Section

JAPANESE LAND REFORM PROGRAM

Abolition of the pernicious land tenure system which has long blighted Japanese agriculture and impaired development of a peaceful national economy has been a basic objective of the Occupation. Accomplishment of this objective is essential to the economic and political well-being of Japan.

Having an area of 142,270 square miles, Japan is smaller than the state of California. Only 16 percent of the total area is arable. Approximately 47 percent of the total population of about 81,600,000 depends on agriculture for all or part of its income. Before the Surrender, about 70 percent of the farmers rented all or part of the land they cultivated. Only nine percent of farm households cultivated more than two cho (4.9 acres) of land, and 67 percent cultivated less than one cho (2.45 acres). This overcrowding had led to a highly inequitable land tenure system with rents ranging from 50 to 70 percent of the annual crop and had resulted in widespread economic instability and social strife. Repulsed in their demands for remedial legislation, farmers, during the decade preceding World War II, consciously and unconsciously gave strong support to the military group which held out the promise of new lands and prosperity to be won through aggressive war. This course was thwarted by defeat and surrender. The tenant class in Occupied Japan, with demands for relief from their intolerable situation still foremost in their minds, remained a fertile field for any other extremist ideology promising a solution to their problems.

The elimination of this malignance was recognized as vital to the promotion of maximum production of staple foods and requisite social and economic stability. On 9 December 1945, the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers issued a directive to the Japanese Government "to take measures to insure that those who till the soil of Japan shall have a more equal opportunity to enjoy the fruits of their labor".

To implement this directive, legislation was enacted by the Diet and promulgated 21 October 1946. This legislation was in the form of two laws, the Owner Farmer Establishment Special Measures Law No 43, and the revised Agricultural Land Adjustment Law, No 42. Land reform has two main objectives: (1) transfer of land ownership to farmers who actually till the soil, and (2) improvement of farm tenancy practices for those who continue as tenants. The program has emphasized private rather than state, and individual rather than collective ownership of the land.

The program in each city, town, and village has been administered by a local land commission (11,322 for all Japan) elected by and from the farmers. The ratio of tenants, owners, and owner-cultivators 1/ on each commission was originally established by law at five, three, and two respectively. With the increase in the number of owner-cultivators, resulting from the land transfer phase of the reform, a change in representation on these commissions was necessary prior to the second general election held 18 August 1949. Accordingly, farmers were divided into three categories (roughly describable as tenants, landlords, and owner-farmers 2/), with Categories I and II each having two representatives, and Category III, six representatives. Each category elected its own representatives to the commission. Prefectural agricultural land commissions (also elected) coordinate and supervise the work of the local commissions. The prefectural commissions are under the general supervision of the Central (National) Agricultural Land Commission, of which the Minister of Agriculture and Forestry is chairman.

Agricultural lands subject to purchase have been: (1) lands owned by absentee landlords; (2) tenant-operated lands in excess of specified retention rates (the rates vary locally, but their average must not exceed one cho in Kyushu, Shikoku, and Honshu, or four cho in Hokkaido); (3) owner-operated lands in excess of specified retention rates (these also vary locally, but their average must not exceed three cho in Kyushu, Shikoku, and Honshu, or 12 cho in Hokkaido), except 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 objective of the corporation; and (5) lands capable of reclamation for agricultural use.

Lands subject to transfer have been purchased by the government through the agency of the local land commissions for resale to eligible buyers. Tenants on the land as of 23 November 1945, other tenants, and other persons who wish to cultivate the land have had priority to purchase, in the order named.

1/ The Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry defines these classifications as follows: (a) tenant, a person engaging in cultivation who either owns no agricultural land or owns an amount equal to less than one-third of that cultivated by him; (b) owner, a person who does not engage in cultivation of his land or whose owned lands exceed twice the amount cultivated by him; and (c) owner-cultivator, a person who engages in cultivation and owns agricultural land but who does not fall into either (a) or (b) above.

2/ Category I, those who cultivate lands they lease exceeding two tan (Hokkaido, five tan); Category II, those who lease to others agricultural land exceeding two tan (Hokkaido, five tan); Category III, all those not included in Categories I and II. The category to which a farmer who both leases to and leases from others is determined by the classification in which lies the greatest area of the land he cultivates.

Procedure to determine the official purchase price of land was based on that used by the Japanese Government during the war when land prices were frozen at levels current in 1938. A "record rental value" had long been established for almost every piece of agricultural land in Japan. This rental value was an officially calculated figure (based originally on actual rentals) which was revised every 10 years and was used for establishing taxes. Under wartime Japanese control (Temporary Control Ordinance of Price of Agricultural Lands No 109, 30 January 1941) the price of land was frozen at the September 1939 level which was calculated to be an average of 33 times the 1938 rental for paddy lands and 40 times the 1938 rental for upland. In 1946 under the Owner Farmer Establishment Special Measures Law, the price was set at 40 times the 1938 rental value for paddy land and 48 times the 1938 rental for upland. The purchase prices for all Japan, accordingly, averaged ¥760 per tan for paddy and ¥448 per tan for upland 3/, which were approximately equivalent to market prices. The purchase price of each parcel was set by the appropriate city, town, or village agricultural land commission, which had limited discretion as to local price levels within the general requirement that average prices must approximate those stated above.

Subsequent to the establishment of these official prices, post-Surrender inflationary pressures 4/ gave rise to demands on the part of former land owners for substantial increases in official land prices. These demands were not acceded to, however, because a change of price during the period of the initial transfer of land to tenants would have been impractical. Resistance by each seller to the early transfer of his land, in the hope that he could obtain higher prices, would effectively have stopped the transfer program. Further, those whose lands were purchased at an early date would have been unjustly discriminated against if later transfers were concluded at higher prices. Still another factor was the reluctance of the Japanese Government to add fuel to the inflationary fire by increases in the land prices of the nation.

Land purchased by the Japanese Government under land reform was paid for in 24-year bonds bearing 3.65 percent interest. Bonds were issued in denominations of ¥1,000, and residual fractions of the purchase price were paid in cash. Purchasers of land were permitted to pay all or part of the purchase price at the time of purchase, the balance to be paid in 24 equal annual installments with interest at 3.2 percent. Payments for the land, plus other expenses coincident with land ownership, may not in any year exceed one-third of the gross income from the land in that year. In event of crop failure or low farm prices, the government may reduce, defer, or cancel the annual payment.

Purchasers of land under this program were not permitted to use the land as collateral for loans during the amortization period without specific approval of the government. Tenant-purchasers desiring to discontinue their purchase contract during the amortization period or failing to use the land for agricultural purposes were required to sell their lands back to the government on terms similar to those of the original contract. All future land transactions were made subject to approval by the agricultural land commissions.

By 2 March 1950, the Japanese Government had acquired under the land reform program 4,700,658 acres of cultivated land, of which (as of 31 March 1950) 4,627,819 acres had been resold. The cultivated area operated by tenants thus has been reduced from an estimated 6,300,000 acres (46 percent of total cultivated area) to approximately 1,670,000 acres (11 percent). As of the same dates, respectively, 854,299 acres of pasture land had been acquired, of which 588,240 acres had been sold. An estimated additional 266,059 acres of pasture land await purchase. In addition to cultivated and pasture land, 2,961,112 acres of land had been acquired as of 2 March 1950 for reclamation and future resale to owner farmers as part of a long-range program for increasing the total cultivated area of the country. By 31 March 1950, 667,723 acres had been reclaimed and sold to individuals, or sold to individuals for private reclamation.

During this initial phase of the land reform program, approximately 30,000,000 parcels of land were transferred. In order to transfer title legally, each parcel was first checked with the local tax office and thereafter with the local land registry office as to accuracy of boundaries and adequacy of title. A writ of transfer was then filed with the land registry office. Formal acceptance by the registry office constitutes, in Japan, a legal registration of title. Inasmuch as each parcel was transferred first to the Japanese Government and thereafter was retransferred to the new purchaser, some 60,000,000 entries in the official land registry book were entailed. This gigantic task of registration was virtually complete by the deadline which had been set, 31 March 1950.

Although the land reform program is dedicated primarily to creating owner-farmers, total elimination of farm tenancy is not considered feasible. A small reservoir of land subject to tenancy is considered essential to a program of maximum food production. Flexibility in the land tenure pattern must be preserved to prevent withdrawal of land from cultivation in instances where the owner becomes temporarily unable to cultivate for himself. The land reform program therefore also includes provisions to insure fair tenancy practices for those who remain as tenants. The most important of these provisions are: (1) a written farm lease with all principal elements clearly stated; (2) cash payment of rent; (3) rent ceiling of 25 percent of the production from paddy and 15 percent from upland fields; and (4) rent contract cancellation or alteration subject to approval by the land commission. A model lease contract form to be used by tenants and landlords as a guide in drawing up their own contracts has been widely distributed.

3/ In addition to prices so fixed for the land purchased, the owner received a subsidy on that portion of the area purchased which corresponded in size to his retention rate. This subsidy averaged ¥220 per tan for paddy fields and ¥130 per tan for upland fields.

4/ Reflecting the depreciation in the value of the yen, the official Occupation rate changed from ¥15 to $1.00 at the time basic land reform legislation was enacted, to ¥360 to $1.00 as of this date; the official price to producers of brown rice rose from ¥220 per bale (60 kilograms) in November 1946 to ¥1,747 in November 1949.

The total cost to the Japanese Government of administering the land reform program was ¥12,699,265,229 for the period 1 September 1946-31 March 1950. Of this amount ¥8,712,000,362 was spent for the support of the 11,322 local land commissions. Principal responsibility and credit for the success of this program, involving transfer of title to about 30,000,000 individual parcels of land, accrues to these local land commissions. The average cost to the central government of operating an individual local land commission has been approximately $2,137 (computed on an assumed uniform rate of ¥360 to $1.00) for the period 1 September 1946-31 March 1950, or about $50 per month per commission. In a number of instances, prefectures and local governments have, on their own initiative, made available to local commissions additional small sums.

May 1950

Appendix E

GENERAL HEADQUARTERS
SUPREME COMMANDER FOR THE ALLIED POWERS
Natural Resources Section

AGRICULTURAL COOPERATIVE PROGRAM IN JAPAN

Approximately 6,246,000 farmers are engaged in farming Japan's 14,900,000 acres (6,079,000 cho) of cultivated land. Average farmers operate only about one cho. The extremely small size of their individual operations makes it essential that they pool their efforts and resources through cooperation to the greatest practical extent in order to achieve economic stability and maximum production. Toward this end, legislation which became effective on 15 December 1947 provided for the establishment of democratic, farmer-controlled cooperative associations in accord with internationally recognized cooperative principles.

Historical Development of Agricultural Cooperatives

Cooperative associations replace a monopolistic, government-controlled system of agricultural associations which had been developing in Japan since 1899. Legislation enacted that year established associations to improve farming practices. Membership was compulsory. A year later, industrial cooperatives were similarly authorized to facilitate trade and essential business--especially in rural areas. Although this law provided for voluntary membership and permitted some degree of independent action, the Japanese agricultural cooperative movement was from its inception primarily a government-sponsored movement. From 1932 until 1943 government control over cooperatives increased as the government sought to increase and direct agricultural production. At the same time, cooperative associations tended more and more to be dominated by landlord and business groups. The Agricultural Organization Law of 1943 combined the agricultural associations (Nokai) and industrial cooperatives (Sangyo Kumiai) into a single monopolistic association (Nogyokai) in each village, town, and city. These lower-level Nogyokai were federated into a prefectural Nogyokai in each prefecture, and the 46 prefectural Nogyokai were federated into a single national Nogyokai. Membership was compulsory for all farmers. This system of organization was completely controlled by the government and served to regulate agricultural prices and production, to handle collections and rationing, and to bring in rural capital for the war effort. The Nogyokai were one of the important means used to police farm communities in the war effort.

Abolition of this totalitarian structure was recognized by the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers as a preliminary requisite to fostering and encouraging an agricultural cooperative movement free from domination by nonagrarian interests and dedicated to the economic and cultural advancement of the Japanese farmer. Law No 133, promulgated 19 November 1947, required the dissolution, by 14 August 1948, of all of approximately 179,180 incorporated agricultural and sericultural practice associations and 10,720 incorporated local agricultural associations, as well as the 46 prefectural agricultural associations and the one national agricultural association. After the specified date these associations were prohibited from transacting any business and were required to proceed with the liquidation of assets. By 31 December 1949, liquidation of local agricultural associations, agricultural practice associations, and sericultural practice associations was 97 percent complete. Liquidation of local Nogyokai and practice associations has continued since that time. Assets valued at more than 49 billion yen have been successfully transferred from local agricultural associations to new cooperatives. Liquidation of the national Nogyokai and the 46 prefectural Nogyokai has made substantial progress but has been delayed by many complications. Generally, however, liquidation of these organizations will be completed during 1950.

By 15 April 1948, four months after the new Cooperative Law became effective, more than 5,000 cooperatives had obtained approval from the prefectural governments of their articles of incorporation. On 15 August 1948, when the Nogyokai were required by law to discontinue operations, 22,148 cooperatives were in operation. By that date about 200 federations had been organized by local cooperatives to provide them with wholesale purchasing and marketing services. By the second anniversary of the enactment of the Cooperative Law, 15 December 1949, nearly 33,000 local cooperatives and 1,000 federations had been approved by the administrative authorities. The number of cooperatives and federations as of 31 March 1950 are given in the table, Agricultural Cooperatives and Federations. The record shows that in the brief space of two years, Japanese farmers accomplished the reorganization of the government-controlled agricultural and practice associations into member-controlled cooperatives. This is a feat probably without equal in the history of cooperatives anywhere in the world.

AGRICULTURAL COOPERATIVES AND FEDERATIONS
As of 31 March 1950

Business Area	Individual Cooperatives			Federations		
	Stock	Nonstock	Total	Stock	Nonstock	Total
Less than a prefecture	16,997	16,441	33,438	639	105	744
Prefecture or more	78	9	87	376	29	405
TOTAL APPROVED	17,075	16,450	33,625	1,015	134	1,149

Volume of business records of cooperatives for the fiscal year ending 31 March 1949 shows that they handled 36 percent of all farmer purchases, 61 percent of all farmer sales, 64 percent of financial deposits, and 71 percent of loans to farmers.

As of 31 December 1949, membership in cooperatives totaled 8,300,000, of whom 450,000 were nonvoting associate members. More than 90 percent of all farm households were represented in at least one cooperative, and a substantial number of households participated in two or more associations. In most villages, general purpose cooperatives now provide the primary credit, marketing, purchasing, processing, and other essential services used by farmers.

Organization and Functioning of New Cooperatives

The new cooperative associations organized pursuant to Law No 132 have as their primary objective maximum service to participating members rather than payment of dividends on invested capital. They are incorporated enterprises, authorized to perform practically any economic service which will contribute to the advancement of farm communities. Fifteen or more farmers may organize a cooperative. Membership is voluntary. Each farmer member has one vote. Nonfarmers residing within the business area of the organization may be associate members with all privileges except voting. A farmer is defined as any individual who personally carries on or engages in agriculture. This definition includes all of those within a household whose activities make them eligible, and the participation of women is encouraged. The business area is defined by the articles of incorporation. Cooperatives are authorized to perform a wide variety of services. In addition to the general purpose local cooperatives, several types of specialized associations provide their members with technical production information and special supplies, as well as marketing a particular product such as silk cocoons or fruit. A breakdown of the number of cooperatives by function is shown in the following table.

AGRICULTURAL COOPERATIVES BY FUNCTION a/
As of 31 March 1950

Function	Stock	Nonstock	Total
General purpose	13,417	1,627	15,044
Sericulture	136	10,613	10,749
Livestock	495	491	986
Reclamation	1,348	3,057	4,405
Fruits	101	63	164
Tea	33	4	37
Firewood and charcoal	46	4	50
Poultry raising	86	18	104
Dairy farming	321	69	390
Others	1,092	504	1,596
TOTAL	17,075	16,450	33,525

a/ The totals for cooperatives classified by functions are less than the number in existence, owing to incomplete reports from some prefectures.

Two or more cooperatives may organize a federation of agricultural cooperatives. Such federations may perform any activity which the local cooperatives are authorized to perform, subject to certain restrictions concerning the simultaneous performance of various functions. If a federation is engaged in receiving deposits and making loans, it is prohibited from performing additional functions not connected with these activities. Federations engaging in educational, cultural, and welfare activities as their major function are not allowed simultaneously to engage in business activities except minor services directly related to the performance of their major function. Federations whose business area is larger than a prefecture are prohibited from simultaneously engaging in purchasing activities and the general marketing of various farm products. However, a marketing federation may handle special supplies required in the production and marketing of the products it markets for its members. Federations are listed by function in the table, Federations of Agricultural Cooperatives by Function.

FEDERATIONS OF AGRICULTURAL COOPERATIVES BY FUNCTION a/
As of 31 March 1950

Function	Approved by Central Government	Approved by Prefectural Government	Total
Credit	46	1	47
Purchasing	55	20	75
Marketing	55	30	85
Welfare	25	13	38
Rural indus ry	6	56	62
Guidance, education, and information	65	17	82
Livestock marketing	32	152	184
Sericulture marketing	41	217	258
Reclamation production and reclamation purchasing	37	12	49
Others	29	200	229
TOTAL	391	718	1,109

a/ The totals for federations classified by functions are less than the number in existence, owing to incomplete reports from some prefectures.

A cooperative association may charge expenses and require contributions in accordance with its articles of incorporation. It may organize as a capital stock or nonstock association, but a nonstock association may not both make loans and receive deposits. Liability for a share is limited to the amount of the share or, in the case of a nonstock organization, the amount of the authorized fee. In a capital stock association, each member must have a least one share, and the maximum number of shares which one member may own is specified in the articles of incorporation. Only members may hold stock. Transfer of stock is subject to the approval of the association. Primary responsibility for carrying out the agricultural cooperative program is vested in the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry.

Farmer Interest and Participation in Cooperatives

Farmer interest and participation in cooperatives is shown by the high proportion of farmers who are members and the large proportion of the credit, marketing, and purchasing activities in rural Japan performed by cooperatives. It is also shown in the election of officials of the new cooperatives. Analysis of the elections held during the spring of 1949 shows that 86 percent of local cooperative directors and auditors and about 69 percent of federation directors and auditors had never been directors or auditors in the agricultural associations abolished by Law No 133 of 19 November 1947. This indicates a substantial measure of transfer of leadership in rural economic affairs into new hands through exercise of democratic franchise by farmers.

Measures to Strengthen Cooperative Associations

Guidance federations and officials of the prefectural and national governments are conducting education programs to inform members about cooperative principles and practices and to instruct employees and officials regarding efficient operating procedures. A campaign is under way to more than double the membership capital of local cooperatives. Regulations are being developed covering the proper conduct of financial operations by cooperatives and limiting loans to those needed for agricultural purposes and for personal needs of members. The new cooperatives are functioning effectively and are making a notable contribution to the maintenance of democratic principles throughout the nation.

May 1950

TABLE 1.- POPULATION IN THE 13 VILLAGES IN DECEMBER 1948 AND PERCENTAGE OF CHANGE DURING SURVEY PERIOD a/

Village and Prefecture	Population Dec 48	Percent Change b/ Jun 47-Dec 48
Total 13 villages	125,960	5.3
11 rural villages	55,890	0.3
2 urban villages	70,070	9.7
Ebetsu-machi, Hokkaido	30,234	7.5
Mizusawa-mura, Iwate	3,272	0.1
Yokogoshi-mura, Niigata	9,583	1.5
Nobuta-mura, Nagano	3,667	-1.1
Karako-mura, Saitama	5,471	-0.9
Futomi-mura, Chiba	2,752	-2.6
Kawashiro-mura, Shizuoka	5,757	2.2
Nikaido-mura, Nara	11,437	-0.9
Yoshida-mura, Shimane	3,192	2.2
Obie-mura, Okayama	4,050	0.3
Aioi-mura, Kagawa	4,569	0.3
Honami-mura, Fukuoka	39,836	11.4
Suye-mura, Kumamoto	2,140	3.8

a/ June 1947 and December 1948
b/ Increase except where minus sign denotes decrease

TABLE 2.- BIRTHS, DEATHS, AND NATURAL POPULATION INCREASE DURING 1948 CALENDAR YEAR

Village	Number		Percent
	Births	Deaths	Natural Increase a/
Total	4,938	1,786	2.5
11 rural	2,484	990	2.7
2 urban	2,454	796	2.4
Ebetsu	1,037	315	2.4
Mizusawa	113	70	1.3
Yokogoshi	624	192	4.5
Nobuta	141	56	2.3
Karako	227	92	2.5
Futomi	132	43	3.2
Kawashiro	280	103	3.1
Nikaido	377	195	1.6
Yoshida	117	63	1.7
Obie	155	59	2.4
Aioi	212	82	2.8
Honami	1,417	481	2.3
Suye	106	35	3.3

a/ Equals number of births minus number of deaths, remainder divided by total population.

TABLE 3.- REGULAR AND NEW-TYPE RESIDENTS a/ IN DECEMBER 1948

Village	Regular Residents		New-Type Residents							
			Number				Percent of Total Population			
	Total	Percent of Total Population	Total	Civilian Repatriates	Military Repatriates	Evacuees	Total	Civilian Repatriates	Military Repatriates	Evacuees
Total 13	109,510	87	16,450	8,373	5,250	2,827	13	7	4	2
11 rural	50,317	90	5,573	1,178	2,163	2,232	10	2	4	4
2 urban	59,193	84	10,877	7,195	3,087	595	16	10	5	1
Ebetsu	24,192	80	6,042	4,382	1,442	218	20	14	5	1
Mizusawa	2,867	88	405	42	319	44	12	1	10	1
Yokogoshi	9,468	99	115	11	37	67	1	b/	b/	1
Nobuta	3,646	99	21	1	8	12	1	b/	b/	b/
Karako	4,675	85	796	0	48	748	15	b/	1	14
Futomi	2,402	87	350	21	174	155	13	1	6	6
Kawashiro	5,211	91	546	97	428	21	9	2	7	b/
Nikaido	9,803	86	1,634	502	689	443	14	4	6	4
Yoshida	3,187	99	5	1	4	0	b/	b/	2	0
Obie	3,798	94	252	104	95	53	6	3	2	1
Aioi	3,315	73	1,256	340	269	645	27	7	6	14
Honami	35,001	88	4,835	2,813	1,645	377	12	7	4	1
Suye	1,945	91	195	59	92	44	9	3	4	2

a/ New-type residents are civilian repatriates, military repatriates, and evacuees.
b/ Less than 0.5 percent

TABLE 4.- PERCENTAGE OF CHANGE IN NUMBER OF REGULAR AND NEW-TYPE RESIDENTS DURING SURVEY PERIOD a/

Village	Regular Residents	New-Type Residents			
		Total	Civilian Repatriates	Military Repatriates	Evacuees
Total 13	5.2	6.8	23.3	4.0	-20.8
11 rural	2.5	-15.0	-15.4	-2.0	-24.6
2 urban	7.6	23.0	33.5	8.7	2.5
Ebetsu	1.9	37.6	52.2	11.6	0.0
Mizusawa	-0.2	2.3	-17.6	7.0	-6.4
Yokogoshi	4.2	-61.4	-82.0	-74.3	-28.0
Nobuta	0.6	-69.4	-94.7	-68.0	-52.0
Karako	4.7	-25.0	-100.0	-25.0	-21.4
Futomi	-2.1	-5.9	-10.5	4.8	-17.1
Kawashiro	2.7	-2.7	- 4.0	4.9	-59.6
Nikaido	2.3	-16.3	-9.2	4.9	-40.4
Yoshida	2.5	-68.7	-66.7	-69.2	0.0
Obie	1.1	-9.7	-12.6	-9.5	-3.6
Aioi	4.2	-8.9	-5.8	3.5	-14.6
Honami	11.8	8.6	12.1	6.2	-3.8
Suye	3.2	9.6	0.0	37.3	-15.4

a/ Increase except where minus sign denotes decrease

TABLE 5.- NUMBER OF FARM, NONFARM, AND UNEMPLOYED HOUSEHOLDS IN DECEMBER 1948 AND PERCENTAGE OF CHANGE DURING SURVEY PERIOD

Village	Farm Households			Nonfarm Households								Unemployed Households	
				Number in Dec 48							Percent Change, Jun 47-Dec 48 a/		
	Total	Percent Change Jun 47-Dec 48 a/	Total	Total	Industry	Commerce, Transportation	Liberal Professions	Fishing	All Other Occupations	Total	Industry	Commerce, Transportation	Liberal Professions	Fishing	All Other Occupations	Total	Percent Change Jun 47-Dec 48 a/
Total 13	8,839	0.8	14,220	1,951	349	905	944	263	9,837	5.5	3.4	0.8	1.8	3.5	7.0	257	-20.9
11 rural	6,820	0.1	2,791	349	1,602	320	572	242	1,308	-6.1	-2.2	-1.2	-4.2	3.9	-10.4	218	-6.0
2 urban	2,019	3.1	11,429	1,602	747	905	372	21	8,529	8.8	4.8	1.6	12.7	0.0	10.3	39	-58.1
Ebetsu	1,316	2.2	4,249	1,396	57	513	297	21	2,022	5.3	4.8	4.3	16.5	0.0	4.6	12	-33.3
Mizusawa	448	0.4	57	72	351	11	12	0	27	5.6	16.7	22.2	9.1	NA	-3.6	4	-33.3
Yokogoshi	1,096	1.0	351	6	40	32	28	6	213	-6.1	-12.2	-17.9	-22.2	-14.3	1.7	1	-50.0
Nobuta	607	0.0	40	15	165	5	3	0	26	-18.4	0.0	0.0	-40.0	NA	-21.2	2	-20.0
Karako	749	-1.3	165	14	290	22	36	0	92	0.0	-1.3	0.0	0.0	NA	0.0	2	0.0
Futomi	257	0.4	290	78	190	43	3	193	37	-11.6	0.4	-15.7	-25.0	6.6	-53.2	1	0.0
Kawashiro	768	0.0	190			32	75	0	5	7.3	0.0	0.0	21.0	NA	0.0	2	25.0
Nikaido	1,160	-8.2	885	11	42	42	295	0	537	-11.2	8.3	-4.5	-10.3	NA	-12.3	41	-10.9
Yoshida	372	1.9	173	10	34	34	20	1	89	-4.9	7.1	21.4	0.0	NA	-16.0	22	46.7
Obie	492	0.4	275	24	38	38	81	0	131	-1.4	20.0	15.2	8.0	-50.0	-21.1	27	-6.6
Aioi	622	0.2	275	77	49	49	11	42	94	-2.5	-6.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	-22.2	21	-27.6
Honami	703	4.8	7,180	206	392	392	75	0	6,507	11.0	4.6	-1.8	0.0	0.0	12.2	27	-24.8
Suye	249	0.0	992	15	12	12	8	0	57	7.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	NA	14.0	14	6.7

a/ Increase except where minus sign denotes decrease
NA: Not applicable

TABLE 6 - PERCENTAGE OF FARM, NONFARM, AND UNEMPLOYED HOUSEHOLDS IN DECEMBER 1948

Village	Farm Households			Nonfarm Households							Unemployed Households
	Total	Full-Time	Part-Time	Total	Industry	Commerce, Transportation	Liberal Professions	Fishing	All Others		
Total 13	38	30	8	61	9	5	5	1	41		1
11 rural	70	58	12	28	4	3	7	3	11		2
2 urban	15	10	5	85	12	7	3	a/	63		a/
Ebetsu	24	16	8	76	26	9	6	a/	35		a/
Mizusawa	83	77	6	12	2	2	2	a/	5		1
Yokogoshi	76	57	19	24	6	2	1	0	14		a/
Nobuta	92	86	6	7	3	2	1	0	1		1
Karako	80	66	14	18	3	2	7	0	6		2
Futomi	46	19	27	52	2	2	1	34	7		2
Kawashiro	80	72	8	20	8	4	7	0	1		a/
Nikaido	60	49	11	37	1	2	17	0	17		3
Yoshida	66	64	2	33	3	3	8	a/	19		1
Obie	68	64	4	33	3	4	10	a/	16		7
Aioi	68	60	8	30	3	5	1	0	10		2
Honami	9	7	2	91	3	5	1	a/	82		a/
Suye	70	47	23	27	2	4	3	0	16		a/

a/ Less than 2.5 percent

TABLE 7.- NUMBER OF FULL-TIME AND PART-TIME FARMERS IN DECEMBER 1948

Village	Total Farmers	Full-Time Farmers		Part-Time Farmers	
		Number	Percent of Total	Number	Percent of Total
Total 13	8,839	6,966	78.8	1,873	21.2
11 rural	6,820	5,597	82.1	1,223	17.9
2 urban	2,019	1,369	67.8	650	32.2
Ebetsu	1,316	862	65.5	454	34.5
Mizusawa	448	400	89.3	48	10.7
Yokogoshi	1,096	822	75.0	274	25.0
Nobuta	607	567	93.4	40	6.6
Karako	749	615	82.1	134	17.9
Futomi	257	105	40.9	152	59.1
Kawashiro	768	688	89.6	80	10.4
Nikaido	1,160	957	82.5	203	17.5
Yoshida	372	362	97.3	10	2.7
Obie	492	363	73.8	129	26.2
Aioi	622	551	88.6	71	11.4
Honami	703	507	72.1	196	27.9
Suye	249	167	67.1	82	32.9

TABLE 9.- UNEMPLOYED HOUSEHOLDS AND HOUSEHOLDS RECEIVING RELIEF IN DECEMBER 1948 AND PERCENTAGE OF CHANGE DURING SURVEY PERIOD

Village	Unemployed Households			Households Receiving Relief		
	otal Dec 48	Percent o All Households	ercent Decrease Jun 47- Dec 48	otal Dec 48	Percent o All Households	ercent Decrease Jun 47- Dec 48
Tota 13	23		-3	996		-36
11 rural	9 5	2	-20	3 0	5	-3
2 urban	39	a/	-58	626		-36
Ebetsu	12	a/	-33	588	11	-34
Mizuwake	4		-33	19	4	-63
Yokogosh	8	a/	-27	67	4	-69
Nobuta	7		-73	14	2	-86
Karako	20	2	-20	4	a/	-50
Futomi	13	2	0	23	4	-32
Kawashiro	6	a/	-25	28	3	-68
Nikaido	41	(3)	-11	41	2	-11
Yoshida	8	(1)	0	21	4	-56
Obie	57	(5)	-7	74	9	-15
Aioi	21	2	-28	69	8	-47
Honami	27	(3)	-64	38	a/	-50
Suye	10		-33	10	3	-50

a/ Less than 0.5 percent

TABLE 8.- PERCENTAGE OF CHANGE IN NUMBER OF FULL-TIME AND PART-TIME FARMERS DURING SURVEY PERIOD a/

Village	Full-Time	Part-Time
Total 13	0.7	0.9
11 rural	0.8	-2.9
2 urban	0.4	9.1
Ebetsu	-5.4	20.4
Mizuwake	0.5	0.0
Yokogoshi	0.4	-0.7
Nobuta	1.1	0.0
Karako	-1.0	-2.9
Futomi	5.0	-2.6
Kawashiro	0.3	-2.4
Nikaido	2.7	-11.7
Yoshida	2.0	0.0
Obie	-0.5	3.2
Aioi	0.4	-1.4
Honami	12.2	-10.5
Suye	0.6	-1.2

a/ Increase except where minus sign denotes decrease

TABLE 10.- NUMBER OF FARM HOUSEHOLDS WHO PURCHASED OR LEASED LAND THROUGH LOCAL AGRICULTURAL LAND COMMISSIONS, AS OF DECEMBER 1948

Village	Land acquired		Disposition of Land Acquired			
	Arable Land Acquired (cho)	Percent of all Arable Land	Sold to Operator-Tenant Families		Status of All Other Land Purchased a/ (cho)	
			Total Land Sold (cho)	Percent of Land Acquired	Group I	Group II
Total 13	5,858	41	5,249	90	77	510
11 rural	2,245	35	2,157	96	77	0
2 urban	3,613	45	3,092	87	0	510
Ebetsu	3,456	46	2,947	86	19	0
Mizuwake	452	23	143	88	16	0
Yokogoshi	830	54	794	98	0	0
Nobuta	97	19	97	100	0	0
Karako	195	32	186	96	9	0
Futomi	8	7	6	75	1	0
Kawashiro	164	29	154	94	7	0
Nikaido	200	22	194	97	5	0
Yoshida	129	39	121	94	3	0
Obie	234	39	230	99	4	0
Aioi	145	45	145	100	0	0
Honami	157	35	146	93	0	0
Suye	154	26	87	86	13	0

a/ Group I - To be sold to operating tenants early in 1949
Group II - Temporarily leased to seller, pending disposal
Group III- Temporarily rented to operators too small to qualify as purchasers

TABLE 11.- LAND ACQUIRED THROUGH LOCAL AGRICULTURAL LAND COMMISSIONS AND DISPOSITION AS OF DECEMBER 1948

Village	Who Purchas d Land		Thos emporarily Leasing Land	
	Tot l Households	Percent of All Farm Households	Operators from Whom Land Was Purchased	Operators Too S all to Qualify as Purchasers
Vi sge				
o a 13	5,895	69	12	285
11 rural	4,547	67	0	210
2 urban	1,348	67	12	75
Ebetsu	978	74	12	0
Mizuwak	255	66	0	0
Yokogos	954	87	0	0
Nobuta	367	60	0	0
Karako	397	53	0	60
Futomi	68	26	0	75
Kawashiro	426	55	0	0
Nikaido	1018	88	0	35
Yoshida	166	45	0	28
Obie	397	40	0	0
Aioi	195	8	0	75
Honami	370	53	0	0
Suye	154	62	0	12

TABLE 12.- PERCENTAGE OF FARMERS IN EACH OF FIVE FARM TENURE GROUPS IN JUNE 1947 a/

Village	Owner-Farmers Owning 90% or More of Land Cultivated		Owner-Tenants Owning Less Than 90% of Land Cultivated		Tenants Owning No Land or Less Than 10%
	Landlords b/	Owner-Cultivators c/	50-90%	10-50%	
Total 13	9	27	22	16	26
11 rural	6	26	23	18	27
2 urban	19	30	19	10	22
Ebetsu	27	29	20	7	17
Mizuwake	4	24	27	16	29
Yokogoshi	8	9	11	26	46
Nobuta	3	12	51	20	14
Karako	9	12	29	29	21
Futomi	d/	57	29	9	5
Kawashiro	8	20	25	23	24
Nikaido	9	51	23	3	14
Yoshida	2	57	12	5	24
Obie	4	8	11	30	47
Aioi	3	19	19	18	41
Honami	3	31	17	16	33
Suye	4	35	26	9	26

a/ These definitions differ fro those which are used in land refore legislation, which are: (1) landlords, who cultivate less than 50 percent of hat they own, (2) owner-cultivators, who own less than twice and more than one-half of what they cultivate, and (3) tenants, who own less than 50 percent of what they cultivate.
b/ Leasing out one cho or more
c/ Leasing out less than one cho or none
d/ Less than 0.5 percent

TABLE 13.- PERCENTAGE OF CHANGE IN NUMBER OF FARMERS IN EACH FARM TENURE GROUP DURING SURVEY PERIOD a/

Village	Owner-Farmers Owning 90% or More of Land Cultivated		Owner Tenants Owning Less Than 90% of Land Cultivated		Tenants Owning No Land or Less Than 10%
	Landlords b/	Owner-Cultivators c/	50-90%	10-50%	
Total 13	-96	112	14	-32	-70
11 rural	-100	111	22	-34	-79
2 urban	-92	117	-17	-19	-33
Ebetsu	-93	154	-40	-42	-23
Mizuwake	-100	209	-58	-94	-55
Yokogoshi	-100	954	-83	-100	-100
Nobuta	-100	135	34	-85	-86
Karako	-100	89	46	-11	-64
Futomi	-100	16	-4	-48	-10
Kawashiro	-100	116	28	-7	-82
Nikaido	-100	3	39	248	-48
Yoshida	-100	57	-56	-71	-77
Obie	-100	10	165	88	-87
Aioi	-100	239	17	-86	-71
Honami	-91	50	35	1	-42
Suye	-100	10	116	-48	-95

a/ Increase except where minus sign denotes decrease
b/ Leasing out one cho or more
c/ Leasing out less than one cho or none

TABLE 14 - PERCENTAGE OF LAND OWNED BY LANDLORDS AND OWNER-CULTIVATORS, APRIL 1947 a/ AND DECEMBER 1948

Village	Owned by Landlords and Rented to Tenants		Owned by Owner-Cultivators		Owned by Others b/	
	Apr 47	Dec 48	Apr 47	Dec 48	Apr 47	Dec 48
Total 13	46	7	51	88	3	5
11 rural	40	8	57	90	3	2
2 urban	50	7	46	86	4	7
Ebetsu	50	6	46	87	4	7
Mizuwake	20	3	77	94	3	3
Yokogoshi	58	3	40	94	2	3
Nobuta	28	10	70	90	2	0
Karako	40	12	49	87	11	1
Futomi	10	5	88	93	2	2
Kawashiro	32	9	63	90	5	1
Nikaido	34	14	66	85	0	1
Yoshida	42	4	57	94	1	2
Obie	73	12	25	85	2	3
Aioi	29	7	70	93	1	0
Honami	58	23	42	75	0	2
Suye	29	10	71	86	0	4

a/ The first purchase of land by the government was made on 31 March 1947.
b/ Final disposition of small amounts of land, owned by temples and shrines or by the government, had not yet been made.

TABLE 15 - FARM HOUSEHOLDS OWNING NO LAND OR HOME SITE AND PERCENTAGE OF CHANGE, APRIL 1947 - DECEMBER 1948

Village	Number		Percent of All Farm Households		Percent Change a/ Apr 47-Dec 48
	Apr 47	Dec 48	Apr 47	Dec 48	
Total 13	379	164	4.3	1.9	-56.7
11 rural	313	121	4.6	1.8	-61.3
2 urban	66	43	3.4	2.1	-34.8
Ebetsu	48	29	3.7	2.2	-39.6
Mizuwake	25	22	5.6	4.9	-13.6
Yokogoshi	42	20	3.8	1.8	-52.4
Nobuta	8	8	1.3	1.3	0.0
Karako	10	10	1.3	1.3	0.0
Futomi	2	1	0.8	0.4	-50.0
Kawashiro	9	9	1.2	1.2	0.0
Nikaido	30	36	2.6	3.1	-20.0
Yoshida	139	5	38.1	1.3	-96.4
Obie	10	3	2.0	0.6	-70.0
Aioi	35	4	5.6	0.6	-88.6
Honami	18	14	2.7	2.0	-22.2
Suye	3	3	1.2	1.2	0.0

a/ Increase except where minus sign denotes decrease

TABLE 16.- PERCENTAGE OF FARMS BY SIZE OF OPERATING UNITS, APRIL 1947

Village	Less than 1 Tan a/	1-2 Tan	2-3 Tan	3-5 Tan	5 Tan-1 Cho	1-2 Cho	2 Cho and More
Total 13	5	6	6	17	32	20	14
11 rual	6	7	6	18	36	23	4
22 urban	2	5	4	11	16	12	50
Ebetsu	b/	1	1	5	7	10	76
Mizuwake	b/	2	b/	6	16	49	27
Yokogoshi	4	3	4	35	29	16	9
Nobuta	4	3	5	12	37	38	1
Karako	3	11	12	10	29	33	2
Futomi	39	14	8	14	19	1	0
Kawashiro	2	6	7	16	48	21	0
Nikaido	3	8	7	23	50	9	b/
Yoshida	7	6	4	14	29	10	0
Obie	4	5	4	16	47	24	b/
Aioi	12	11	10	19	38	10	0
Honami	5	11	9	22	36	17	0
Suye	1	5	8	7	24	39	16

a/ Includes 39 farm households that did not operate any land such as households raising silkworms or keeping chickens
b/ Less than 0.5 percent

TABLE 17.- PERCENTAGE OF CHANGE IN NUMBER OF FARMS, BY SIZE OF OPERATING UNITS, a/ APRIL 1947 - DECEMBER 1948

Village	Total	Less than 1 Tan b/	1-2 Tan	2-3 Tan	3-5 Tan	5 Tan-1 Cho	1-2 Cho	2 Cho and More
Total 13	1	-4	-1	6	4	3	-1	-7
11 rural	c/	-4	-3	7	6	3	-2	-40
2 urban	3	6	7	3	-5	2	14	2
Ebetsu	2	0	7	6	-32	7	17	2
Mizuwake	c/	0	-75	400	0	0	1	-2
Yokogoshi	c/	-34	-13	-38	8	29	2	-95
Nobuta	1	-10	22	-4	-4	4	1	-50
Karako	-1	23	-14	-1	4	-6	8	-25
Futomi	0	-2	4	-3	0	0	0	0
Kawashiro	1	7	11	2	5	-1	11	0
Nikaido	-c/	-21	7	33	11	-2	-45	-100
Yoshida	2	13	5	7	4	0	0	0
Obie	c/	5	8	-5	4	2	-6	0
Aioi	c/	-1	-17	32	-2	-2	0	0
Honami	5	7	7	2	8	-c/	11	33
Suye	2	-100	-8	-35	35	20	2	-26

a/ Increase except where minus sign denotes decrease
b/ Includes farm households that did not operate any land such as households raising silkworms or keeping chickens
c/ Less than 0.5 percent

TABLE 18.- LAND IN PROJECTED RECLAMATION PROJECTS AND EXPECTED NEW SETTLER HOUSEHOLDS, DECEMBER 1948

Village	Total Land in Projected Reclamation Projects (cho)	Land to be Used by Resident Farm Households (cho)	Land to be Used by New Settler Households a/ (cho)	New Settler Households Expected on Reclamation Projects
Total 10	5,270	88	5,182	599
8 rural	261	79	182	99
2 urban	5,009	9	5,000	500
Ebetsu	5,000	0	5,000	500
Mizuwake	27	17	10	7
Yokogoshi	b/	NA	NA	NA
Nobuta	12	0	12	6
Karako	85	5	80	39
Futomi	b/	NA	NA	NA
Kawashiro	22	4	18	9
Nikaido	b/	NA	NA	NA
Yoshida	26	14	12	6
Obie	4	4	0	0
Aioi	28	10	18	12
Honami	9	9	0	0
Suye	57	25	32	20

a/ Estimates only
b/ No land available for reclamation
NA: Not applicable

TABLE 19.- AGRICULTURAL PRACTICE ASSOCIATIONS IN JUNE 1947 AND INFORMAL SERVICE GROUPINGS IN DECEMBER 1948

Village	Local Agricultural Practice Assns, Jun 47	Local Informal Service Groupings, Dec 48	Percent Increase in Informal Groups over Practice Assns
Total 9	213	259	21.6
8 rural	195	233	19.5
1 urban	18	26	44.4
Ebetsu	ND	ND	ND
Mizuwake	ND	ND	ND
Yokogoshi	34	37	8.8
Nobuta	34	41	20.6
Karako	16	28	75.0
Futomi	7	10	42.9
Kawashiro	9	11	22.2
Nikaido	33	33	0.0
Yoshida	ND	ND	ND
Obie	50	60	20.0
Aioi	ND	ND	ND
Honami	18	26	44.4
Suye	12	13	8.3

ND: No data available

TABLE 20.- ESTIMATED PERCENTAGE OF STAPLE CROPS NEEDED TO MEET DELIVERY QUOTAS, DECEMBER 1948 a/

Village	Rice	Wheat and Barley	Sweet Potatoes	White Potatoes
Total 13	55	53	44	50
11 rural	56	59	45	58
2 urban	51	29	41	47
Ebetsu	50	23	ND	47
Mizuwake	54	ND	ND	59
Yokogoshi	60	ND	54	76
Nobuta	34	25	24	64
Karako	ND	58	59	40
Futomi	5	42	15	31
Kawashiro	42	17	44	71
Nikaido	41	62	ND	ND
Yoshida	47	10	19	53
Obie	68	74	63	ND
Aioi	27	48	23	ND
Honami	53	45	41	ND
Suye	ND	73	57	ND

a/ Estimates made by local village officials
ND: No data available

TABLE 21.- OFFICIAL AND BLACK-MARKET PRICES FOR FARM PRODUCTS AND CONSUMER GOODS IN KARAKO, a/ DECEMBER 1947 AND DECEMBER 1948

Item	Unit	Dec 47 (yen)	Dec 48 (yen)	Increase in 12-Month Period (percent)	Dec 47 (yen)	Dec 48 (yen)	Increase in 12-Month Period (percent)
Farm Products							
Rice	Koku b/	1,750	3,595	105.4	12,750	15,000	17.6
Soybeans	Koku	1,427	2,922	117.5	12,160	13,760	13.2
Wheat	Koku	1,023	2,260	120.9	6,850	9,130	31.4
Sweet potatoes	10 kan c/	96	173	80.6	175	250	42.9
White potatoes	10 kan	87	173	99.3	215	320	48.8
Consumer Goods							
Cotton textiles for work clothes	Suit	300	550	83.3	2,500	3,000	20.0
Rubber-soled shoes	Pair	69	185	166.2	150	450	200.0
Commercial fertiliser (ammonium sulfate)	10 kan	265	480	81.2	1,000	1,200	20.0
Hand scythe for harvesting	Piece	10	67	570.0	120	150	25.0

a/ Information from village officials and farmers. Karako is relatively close to Tokyo, making black-market prices for farm products higher than in more remote areas.
b/ One koku equals 330 pounds of rice, 301 pounds of wheat, or 283 pounds of soybeans.
c/ One kan equals 8.267 pounds.

TABLE 22.- NUMBER OF ANIMALS AND FOWLS ON FARMS IN DECEMBER 1948 AND PERCENTAGE OF CHANGE DURING SURVEY PERIOD

Village	Animals		Fowls	
	Number in Dec 48	Percent Increase Jun 47-Dec 48	Number in Dec 48	Percent Change a/ Jun 47-Dec 48
Total 13	10,096	9	32,327	14
11 rural	4,394	16	23,869	14
2 urban	5,702	4	8,458	14
Ebetsu	4,949	1	3,306	8
Mizuwake	658	10	1,385	20
Yokogoshi	529	5	8,299	31
Nobuta	429	18	667	1
Karako	521	31	1,026	b/
Futomi	184	24	707	48
Kawashiro	277	42	1,493	-23
Nikaido	178	11	3,026	1
Yoshida	501	8	980	16
Obie	341	7	3,195	18
Aioi	435	10	2,015	2
Honami	753	33	5,152	18
Suye	347	43	1,076	24

a/ Increase except where minus sign denotes decrease
b/ Less than 0.5 percent

TABLE 23.- FARM HOUSEHOLDS WITHOUT ANIMALS AND WITHOUT FOWLS IN DECEMBER 1948 AND PERCENTAGE OF CHANGE DURING SURVEY PERIOD

Village	Households Without Animals			Households Without Fowls		
	Total Dec 48	Percent of All Farm Households	Percent Change a/ Jun 47-Dec 48	Total Dec 48	Percent of All Farm Households	Percent Change a/ Jun 47-Dec 48
Total 12	3,641	44	-5	2,135	26	-10
10 rural	2,996	48	-7	1,310	21	-22
2 urban	645	32	3	825	41	16
Ebetsu	354	27	2	538	41	-1
Mizuwake	78	17	-12	57	13	-49
Yokogoshi	564	51	-6	234	21	-49
Nobuta	ND	ND	ND	ND	ND	ND
Karako	191	25	-8	123	16	9
Futomi	134	52	-3	161	63	1
Kawashiro	525	68	-14	132	17	-14
Nikaido	1,001	86	-2	383	33	-4
Yoshida	97	26	-26	54	15	-21
Obie	178	36	-1	105	21	-17
Aioi	193	31	-8	51	8	46
Honami	291	41	3	287	41	71
Suye	35	14	-17	10	4	-64

a/ Increase except where minus sign denotes decrease
ND: No data available

TABLE 24.- NUMBER OF ANIMALS BY TYPE IN DECEMBER 1948 AND PERCENTAGE OF CHANGE DURING SURVEY PERIOD

Village	Milk Cows		Draft Cows		Horses		Pigs		Sheep		Goats		Others	
	Total Dec 48	Percent Change a/ Jun 47-Dec 48	Total Dec 48	Percent Change a/ Jun 47-Dec 48	Total Dec 48	Percent Change a/ Jun 47-Dec 48	Total Dec 48	Percent Change a/ Jun 47-Dec 48	Total Dec 48	Percent Change a/ Jun 47-Dec 48	Total Dec 48	Percent Change a/ Jun 47-Dec 48	Total Dec 48	Percent Change a/ Jun 47-Dec 48
Total 13	1,696	3	2,483	7	3,212	1	516	56	1,424	7	727	60	30	9
11 rural	264	36	2,251	8	982	5	273	225	173	27	420	35	30	-9
2 urban	1,432	-1	232	4	2,237	1	243	-2	1,251	5	307	115	0	0
Ebetsu	1,406	1	37	-3	2,013	-1	215	-1	1,217	4	61	3	0	0
Mizuwake	2	0	33	-6	432	1	2	0	89	71	100	22	0	0
Yokogoshi	5	100	414	0	54	0	27	800	1	100	22	10	0	0
Nobuta	25	0	77	7	146	3	14	250	76	-7	92	42	0	0
Karako	34	100	220	23	127	-9	68	750	5	100	67	86	0	0
Futomi	21	21	77	0	2	0	17	112	0	0	11	37	0	0
Kawashiro	52	68	123	32	2	0	36	157	2	100	62	13	0	0
Nikaido	2	100	158	8	0	0	1	100	0	0	17	31	0	0
Yoshida	3	7	447	50	2	0	8	350	0	0	10	250	0	-9
Obie	0	50	305	2	7	0	15	100	0	0	15	67	30	0
Aioi	0	0	398	9	1	0	28	7	0	0	21	24	0	0
Honami	26	-31	195	5	8	10	76	-7	34	17	246	193	0	0
Suye	0	0	99	9	209	31		162	0	0	3	100	0	0

a/ Increase except where minus sign denotes decrease

TABLE 26.- MOTORS AND ENGINES USED ON FARMS IN DECEMBER 1948 AND PERCENTAGE OF CHANGE DURING SURVEY PERIOD

Village	Electric Motors				Internal Combustion Engines					
	Individually Owned		Jointly Owned		Individually Owned		Jointly Owned			
	Total Dec 48	Percent Increase Jun 47-Dec 48	Total Dec 48	Percent Increase Jun 47-Dec 48	Total Dec 48	Percent Increase a/ Jun 47-Dec 48	Total Dec 48	Percent Change a/ Jun 47-Dec 48		
Total 13	1,077	16	271	19	826	0	120	15		
11 rural	888	16	253	19	578	10	99	19		
2 urban	189	16	18	20	248	-17	21	0		
Ebetsu	76	9	13	0	184	-22	15	-12		
Mizuwake	40	29	0	0	42	14	2	-33		
Yokogoshi	230	21	116	2	18	39	0	0		
Nobuta	17	100	14	367	0	0	11	0		
Karako	195	15	5	0	5	0	0	0		
Futomi	3	0	4	0	7	0	0	0		
Kawashiro	69	11	34	36	65	14	7	17		
Nikaido	35	17	40	14	18	6	37	61		
Yoshida	38	11	9	0	53	4	23	0		
Obie	186	1	17	113	274	0	4	0		
Aioi	15	50	14	56	37	19	6	0		
Honami	113	22	5	150	64	0	6	50		
Suye	ND	ND	ND	ND	59	64	9	29		

a/ Increase except where minus sign denotes decrease
ND: No data available

TABLE 25.- ELECTRIC MOTORS AND INTERNAL COMBUSTION ENGINES USED ON FARMS IN DECEMBER 1948 AND PERCENTAGE OF CHANGE DURING SURVEY PERIOD

Village	Electric Motors		Internal Combustion Engines	
	Total Dec 48	Percent Increase Jun 47-Dec 48	Total Dec 48	Percent Change a/ Jun 47-Dec 48
Total 13	1,348	16	946	2
11 rural	1,141	16	677	11
2 urban	207	16	269	-16
Ebetsu	89	7	199	-21
Mizuwake	40	29	44	10
Yokogoshi	346	14	18	38
Nobuta	31	93 b/	11	0
Karako	200	0	5	0
Futomi	7	0	7	0
Kawashiro	103	18	72	14
Nikaido	75	15	55	38
Yoshida	107	10	76	3
Obie	293	6	278	c/
Aioi	98	53	43	16
Honami	118	24	70	3
Suye	ND	ND	68	58

a/ Increase except where minus sign denotes decrease
b/ The percentage is high because of the small number (three) in June 1947.
c/ Less than 0.5 percent
ND: No data available

TABLE 27.- PERCENTAGE DECREASE IN DEATHS FROM ALL CAUSES, NOVEMBER 1945-NOVEMBER 1948

Village	Death Rate per 1,000 Nov 47-Nov 48	Percent Decrease in Number, Nov 47-Nov 48 as Compared with	
		Nov 45-Nov 46 a/	Nov 46-Nov 47 b/
Total 13	12	21	19
11 rural	13	26	21
2 urban	11	16	17
Ebetsu	9	28	30
Mizuwake	11	0	24
Yokogoshi	13	12	7
Nobuta	12	49	35
Karako	9	64	54
Futomi	11	38	40
Kawashiro	12	26	17
Nikaido	14	9	19
Yoshida	19	6	3
Obie	11	14	19
Aioi	13	19	11
Honami	12	5	7
Suye	17	39	29

a/ Determined by subtracting number of deaths during Nov 47-Nov 48 from the number Nov 45-Nov 46 and dividing by the number Nov 45-Nov 46.
b/ Determined by subtracting number of deaths during Nov 47-Nov 48 from the number Nov 46-Nov 47 and dividing by the number Nov 46-Nov 47.

TABLE 28.- DEATHS CAUSED BY CONTAGIOUS DISEASES, PERCENTAGE OF ALL DEATHS AND PERCENTAGE OF DECREASE NOVEMBER 1945 - NOVEMBER 1948

Village	Percent of all Deaths Nov 47-Nov 48	Percent Decrease in Number, Nov 47-Nov 48 as Compared with	
		Nov 45-Nov 46 a/	Nov 46-Nov 47 b/
Total 13	1.5	73	59
11 rural	1.4	81	66
2 urban	1.6	57	52
Ebetsu	1.0	84	50
Mizuwake	7.3	50	0
Yokogoshi	0.0	100	0
Nobuta	4.7	60	+100 c/
Karako	3.8	90	83
Futomi	0.0	0	0
Kawashiro	1.4	67	50
Nikaido	0.0	100	100
Yoshida	1.6	75	67
Obie	2.3	50	+100 d/
Aioi	0.0	100	0
Honami	2.0	9	52
Suye	0.0	100	0

a/ Determined by subtracting number of deaths during Nov 47-Nov 48 from the number Nov 45-Nov 46 and dividing by the number Nov 45-Nov 46.
b/ Determined by subtracting number of deaths during Nov 47-Nov 48 from the number Nov 46-Nov 47 and dividing by the number Nov 46-Nov 47.
c/ Increase from no deaths in 1946-47 to two deaths in 1947-48
d/ Increase from no deaths in 1946-47 to one death in 1947-48

TABLE 29.- CRIMES REPORTED 16 MAY 1947 - 15 NOVEMBER 1948 AND PERCENTAGE OF CHANGE FROM 16 NOVEMBER 1945 - 15 MAY 1947

Village	Crimes Reported May 47-Nov 48	Percent of Total Population a/	Percent Change b/ In Number as Compared with Nov 45-May 47	Percent Change b/ in Major Crimes	Percent Change b/ in Minor Crimes
Total 13	2,529	1	30	69	29
11 rural	629	1	63	10	64
2 urban	1,900	3	22	80	20
Ebetsu	1,159	4	31	138	30
Mizuwake	14	c/	-53	d/	-53
Yokogoshi	378	4	189	-100	191
Nobuta	10	c/	-38	0	-40
Karako	46	1	0	300 e/	-7
Futomi	16	1	60	0	75
Kawashiro	12	c/	50	d/	50
Nikaido	103	1	-18	-50	-17
Yoshida	5	c/	150	d/	150
Obie	21	1	200	100 f/	171
Aioi	13	c/	44	-100	63
Honami	741	2	10	70	6
Suye	11	1	267	0	267

a/ Based on population as of 1 August 1948
b/ Increase except where minus sign denotes decrease
c/ Less than 0.5 percent
d/ No major crimes reported for either period in this village
e/ Percentage is high because of the low number (one) in Nov 45-May 47.
f/ None in Nov 45-May 47

TABLE 30.- PERCENTAGE OF CHANGE IN NEW LOWER SECONDARY SCHOOL ENROLLMENT a/ DURING SURVEY PERIOD b/

Village	Total	Male	Female
Total 13	21	20	22
11 rural	22	20	26
2 urban	20	21	18
Ebetsu	7	4	11
Mizuwake	14	7	22
Yokogoshi	31	25	40
Nobuta	7	3	11
Karako	30	38	21
Futomi	-14	-15	-14
Kawashiro	17	23	12
Nikaido	58	60	55
Yoshida	27	22	32
Obie	35	29	44
Aioi	8	1	16
Honami	36	44	28
Suye	27	8	53

a/ Level of junior high school
b/ Increase except where minus sign denotes decrease

TABLE 31.- PERCENTAGE OF CHANGE IN NEW UPPER SECONDARY SCHOOL a/ ENROLLMENT DURING SURVEY PERIOD b/

Village	Total	Male	Female
Total 7	10	12	5
6 rural	11	17	-4
1 urban	9	7	12
Ebetsu	ND	ND	ND
Mizuwake	-19	-11	-46
Yokogoshi	4	32	-56
Nobuta	ND	ND	ND
Karako	ND	ND	ND
Futomi	ND	ND	ND
Kawashiro	13	14	12
Nikaido	41	52	21
Yoshida	0	0	0
Obie	ND	ND	ND
Aioi	ND	ND	ND
Honami	9	7	12
Suye	-12	-17	0

a/ Level of senior high school
b/ Increase except where minus sign denotes decrease
ND: No data available

TABLE 32.-PERCENTAGE OF ALL HOUSEHOLDS IN WHICH ONE OR MORE MEMBERS ARE AFFILIATED WITH RELIGIOUS GROUPS, a/ DECEMBER 1948

Village	Shintoism		Buddhism	Christianity
	Shrine b/	Sectarian c/		
Total 13	68.8	4.5	53.0	0.4
11 rural	96.1	2.5	96.3	0.7
2 urban	48.5	8.0	21.2	0.2
Ebetsu	68.3	2.6	9.7	0.2
Mizuwake	100.0	0.6	78.2	0.0
Yokogoshi	100.0	0.0	100.0	0.0
Nobuta	100.0	0.1	61.7	0.0
Karako	100.0	0.0	55.7	1.0
Futomi	97.5	0.0	100.0	0.0
Kawashiro	100.0	1.5	83.2	0.2
Nikaido	92.6	9.6	82.7	2.3
Yoshida	88.9	2.6	93.7	0.0
Obie	91.9	0.4	84.6	1.2
Aioi	90.7	1.5	98.3	0.2
Honami	34.9	8.3	29.1	0.1
Suye	100.0	0.0	99.4	0.0

a/ Many households are affiliated with more than one type of religious organization.
b/ Shrine Shinto (Jinjya Shinto) refers to religious movements and organizations of shrines which from 1868 to 1945 became a part of the government-sponsored Shrine System (also known as State Shinto or Kokka Shinto). The Shrine System was disestablished by the Shinto Directives, 15 December 1945. The shrines themselves remain undisturbed and operate as local, independent religious organizations.
c/ Sectarian Shinto (Kyohai Shinto) was formerly used to refer to the 13 Shinto sects, which the government classified as religious, in order to distinguish them from Shrine Shinto, which was said to be nonreligious. The term is used today to designate all Shinto sects. The various organizations of Shrine are also technically Shinto sects, but the term is never used to apply to them.

TABLE 33.-PERCENTAGEOF HOUSEHOLDS HAVING RADIOS AND PERCENTAGE TAKING NEWSPAPERS IN JUNE 1947 AND IN DECEMBER 1948 a/

Village	Percent Having Radios		Percent Taking Daily Newspaper	
	Jun 47	Dec 48	Jun 47	Dec 48
Total 13	53	64	81	83
11 rural	61	68	76	76
2 urban	48	61	85	88
Ebetsu	70	90	90	90
Mizuwake	65	75	70	70
Yokogoshi	50	65	80	80
Nobuta	70	80	60	70
Karako	60	85	70	70
Futomi	50	50	50	50
Kawashiro	75	80	90	85
Nikaido	80	80	70	70
Yoshida	20	30	75	85
Obie	60	70	90	90
Aioi	47	52	85	85
Honami	30	40	80	85
Suye	20	25	40	40

a/ Estimates, based on reports of assembled village leaders.

TABLE 34.- PERCENTAGE OF PERSONS OF VOTING AGE WHO VOTED IN HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES ELECTIONS IN APRIL 1947 AND JANUARY 1949

Village	Percentage Voting in April 1947 Elections	Percentage Voting in January 1949 Elections
Total 13	69	75
11 rural	69	79
2 urban	71	72
Ebetsu	66	64
Mizuwake	66	71
Yokogoshi	57	74
Nobuta	60	71
Karako	70	89
Futomi	68	72
Kawashiro	83	92
Nikaido	74	77
Yoshida	85	98
Obie	44	65
Aioi	65	84
Honami	75	78
Suye	79	85

TABLE 35.- PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF BALLOTS BY PARTIES IN APRIL 1947 AND JANUARY 1949 a/

Village	Democratic Liberals b/		Democrats		Social Democrats		Communists		Independents		All Others c/	
	Apr 47	Jan 49	Apr 47	Jan 49	Apr 47	Jan 49	Apr 47	Jan 49	Apr 47	Jan 49	Apr 47	Jan 49
Total 13	21	34	23	18	30	16	4	9	4	2	18	21
11 rural	27	45	28	20	22	9	4	9	1	3	18	14
2 urban	16	23	18	16	37	24	4	9	6	1	19	27
Ebetsu	3	16	15	16	24	21	2	8	15	2	41	37
Mizuwake	14	49	54	1	26	32	3	6	0	11	3	1
Yokogoshi	6	21	52	26	36	11	4	12	0	0	2	30
Nobuta	56	40	15	21	18	6	3	15	0	0	8	18
Karako	43	72	31	6	21	5	4	14	0	0	1	3
Futomi	77	84	18	10	1	0	1	2	0	1	3	3
Kawashiro	40	53	16	3	26	8	12	13	0	19	6	4
Nikaido	2	18	25	50	8	4	1	6	0	0	64	22
Yoshida	7	33	59	24	18	21	8	10	0	3	8	9
Obie	39	40	6	19	37	8	3	4	0	0	15	29
Aioi	20	82	8	1	55	9	5	6	11	0	1	2
Honami	25	28	19	15	45	25	4	10	0	d/	7	22
Suye	78	69	13	13	3	2	d/	1	0	1	6	14

a/ In election for House of Representatives
b/ Called the Liberal Party in 1947
c/ Includes National Cooperatives and others
d/ Less than 0.5 percent

TABLE 36.- LAND USE, DECEMBER 1948
(percent)

Village	Total Land (cho)	Cultivated			Permanent Pasture	Forests	Building Sites	Waste-Lands
		Total	Paddy	Upland				
Total 13	41,506	34	12	22	9	39	2	16
11 rural	24,277	26	17	9	13	57	1	3
2 urban	17,229	46	6	40	3	14	2	35
Ebetsu	15,907	47	4	43	3	13	1	36
Mizuwake	2,327	31	22	9	6	61	2	0
Yokogoshi	1,568	97	59	38	0	0	2	1
Nobuta	1,864	27	10	17	a/	71	2	0
Karako	1,180	52	15	37	0	42	6	0
Futomi	1,545	24	14	10	2	52	3	19
Kawashiro	473	37	17	20	32	28	3	a/
Nikaido	1,281	72	68	4	0	0	3	25 b/
Yoshida	9,518	4	3	1	26	69	a/	1
Obie	528	75	70	5	0	20	5	a/
Aioi	2,868	12	10	2	0	86	1	1
Honami	1,322	34	31	3	0	25	16	25 c/
Suye	1,132	34	22	12	0	65	1	0

a/ Less than 0.5 percent
b/ Mostly water storage ponds for irrigation
c/ Sunken farm land (from coal mining) and coal tipples

TABLE 37 - PERCENTAGE OF ARABLE LAND BY OWNERSHIP, a/ JUNE 1947 AND DECEMBER 1948

Village	June 1947				December 1948			
	Group I	Group II	Group III	Group IV	Group I	Group II	Group III	Group IV
Total 13	46	51	1	2	7	89	b/	4
11 rural	39	58	2	1	8	92	b/	b/
2 urban	50	46	b/	4	7	86	0	7
Ebetsu	50	46	b/	4	6	87	0	7
Mizuwake	20	77	3	0	3	97	0	0
Yokogoshi	58	40	2	0	3	94	0	3
Nobuta	28	70	2	0	10	90	0	0
Karako	40	49	5	6	13	87	b/	b/
Futomi	10	88	2	0	5	93	0	2
Kawashiro	32	63	2	3	10	90	0	b/
Nikaido	34	66	0	b/	15	85	0	0
Yoshida	42	57	1	0	4	94	0	2
Obie	72	25	2	0	12	87	0	1
Aioi	29	70	1	0	6	94	0	b/
Honami	58	42	0	0	23	75	0	2
Suye	29	71	0	b/	10	86	b/	4

a/ Group I, owned by landlords and rented out; Group II, owned by owner-cultivators; Group III, owned by shrines and temples; Group IV, owned by government pending disposal.
b/ Less than 0.5 percent

TABLE 38.- MEMBERSHIP IN GENERAL PURPOSE AGRICULTURAL COOPERATIVE ASSOCIATIONS

Village	Members					Members of Board of Directors				Informal Neighborhood Groups a/ Dec 48	Local Agricultural Practice Associations b/ Jun 47
		Women		Associate Nonvoting			Former Nogyokai Officers	New Members			
	Total	Number	Percent of Total	Number	Percent of Total	Total		Number	Percent of Total		
Total 13	11,179	1,337	12	1,317	12	144	39	105	73	403	347
11 rural	7,748	707	9	841	11	95	22	73	77	278	239
2 urban	3,431	630	18	476	14	49	17	32	65	125	108
Ebetsu c/	1,431	30	2	63	4	16	7	9	56	99	90
Mizuwake	423	50	12	10	2	16	7	9	56	8	8
Yokogoshi	1,134	8	1	72	6	12	1	11	92	8	34
Nobuta	585	25 d/	4	20	3	12	5	7	58	37	34
Karako	744	20	3	56	8	16	5	11	69	41	16
Futomi	368	3	1	0	0	12	2	10	83	28	7
Kawashiro	840	35 d/	4	115	14	ND	ND	ND	ND	10	9
Nikaido	1,445	289	20	330	23	ND	ND	ND	ND	11	
Yoshida	486	19	4	157	32	ND	ND	ND	ND	33	33
Obie	520	20	4	30	6	13	5	8	62	12	11
Aioi	789	150	19	48	6	9	1	8	89	60	50
Honami	2,000	600	30	413	21	9	1	8	89	25	25
Suye	414	88	21	3	1	17	3	14	82	26	18
						12	2	10	83	13	12

a/ Independent of the new general purpose agricultural cooperative associations
b/ Diesolved in 1948
c/ This widespread village had two general purpose agricultural cooperative associations.
d/ Estimated
ND: No data available

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