Profiles of Japan's Culture*

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* This Paper entitled "Profiles of Japan's Culture" comprises Part Three of *An English-Japanese Dictionary of Area Studies Terms —with Profiles of Japan's Culture-*.

Incidentally, the contents of the above work are as follows:

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Introduction

Organization and Rationale

This essay comprises two chapters: Major features of Japan and Seleted characteristics of Japan's culture. The former is composed of four sections while the latter of twelve sections. The discussion has been structured to maintain a close connection with Parts I and II.

I have adopted largely regional, terminological and cross-cultural approaches to my hypotheses and discussions in the hope that it will be both stimulating and convincing. Attention has been paid to the points which ordinary Japanese make light of and generally overlook. Taking "Fields of Personal Study" (Part I) and "An English-Japanese Dictionary of Area Studies Terms" (Part II) into consideration, I first identify major concepts related to Classes 2 through 5 and then elaborate on each in turn in an extended discussion, with extensive cross- reference to selected terminology from the *Dictionary*. Each of these major concepts relates to Japan and also to the overall organizing concept of this essay. I then present 12 concepts of Japanese culture.

Japan is no longer an agricultural country. In all, agriculture, forestry and fisheries comprised only 2.3 percent of the Japanese Real GDP while the manufacturing sector constituted as much as 25.7 % in 1992[1]. As urbanization has expanded, rural Japan has shrunk. Japan has developed into a major world economic power. Rural Japan and farming are now the

(1) *Japan Almanac*, 1995.

sectors which may be overlooked by the public and may be made light of even by specialists. Attention will be paid to the underlying economic power of the rural sectors. This is, of course, a reflection of Parts I and II.

An examination of Table 1 reveals which terms are stressed and to which aspects the I have paid most attention.

Approaches

Area studies concepts and those derived from field work represents

Table 1 Terms which have attracted the greatest elaboration in the *Dictionary*

Terms	No. of Lines in the *Dictionary*	No. of sub-classifications
village	131	4
farm	108	6
rice	106	5
cattle	100	6
land	84	4
farming	78	5
fishing	76	5
house	71	4
irrigation	61	4
map	58	5
Japanese garden	55	6
market	55	3
dietary pattern	47	5
pickles	47	4
geography	46	4
edible legume	45	4
industry	45	4
institution	44	5
approach	44	3
ritual	43	4
implement	43	7
caste	43	3
system	42	3
tribe	42	5

Notes: prepared from Part II *Dictionary*

the most effective approach to analyze Japan's culture.

My hypotheses (of Japan's culture) are presented in this Part III on the basis of conceptualization. Seventeen categories (Nos.16–32) are listed under the subsection of conceptualization in Part I. In Part II, primary entries of which BT/PSC. are conceptualizations may be listed as follows:

communication, concept, conception, considerateness, definition, determinism, diagnosis, globalism, image, information, inspection, integration, intelligence, interest, interpretation, investigation, logic, Malthusianism, objectivity, paradigm, perception, postulate, rationale, research, retrieval, synthesis, significance

Concepts, conception and conceptualization: I have paid particular attention to the idea of conceptualization, as can be seen in the frequent appearance of conceptualization(s) as PSC. in Part II and the special layout of conceptualization(s) as a subsection in Part I. Creativity in conceptualization is an essential skill for any scholar and necessary to form conceptions. It may be said that conceptualization is the central organizing principle of this *Dictionary* and in particular of Class 1 of Part I. All persons, but particularly scholars, are endowed with the power of conceptualization. An examination of Parts I and II will demonstrate to the reader what world view, view of life, view of life and death, view of nature, historical view, lifestyle and life history I have had. Through a comparative examination of categories, terms, and groups of terms related to primary entries, readers could compose essays on India, New Zealand, and other countries, as well as Japan.

However, I shall be accused of being remiss if I do not present my own essay on the basis of these terms and terminologies. "Profiles of Japan's Culture" presented here is not comprehensive, and is given as an example.

It is my basic stance to focus on the region while placing high value on terminology. Attention has been paid to analyzing Japan in comparison with a variety of other countries. In addition, consideration is given to the subdivision of Japan into different regions, and a historical perspective is often provided.

It is indeed true that agricultural output comprises only 5.5 of the total national economy and rural population (population of towns and villages; that is, population besides those of cities) comprises as little as 22.6% of the Japanese population in 1990[2]. However, Japan's culture may not be understood in depth without a full analysis of rural and agricultural Japan. As is symbolized by the survival of compact villages throughout Japan, industrialization, urbanization, and aging are all recent developments and occurances. Within a century, Japan has experienced what Western countries have gradually developed over the past three centuries.

An effort is made to globally view Japan and its culture. A comparative approach is made case by case. However, New Zealand, India and the united states are most often adopted for comparative examination. As regards Japan, stress is laid upon the "Honshu, Shikoku and Kyushu"subregion.

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(2)——; *Major Aspects of Population of Japan* , Statistics Bureau, Management and Coordination Agency, 1992.

An attempt was made to formulate a conceptual model of a theme at the start of each section. This theme is detailed and enlarged upon in the succeeding description.

Chapter 1. Major Features of Japan

Section 1. Human Dominance over the Environment

Japan is a country in which extremely competitive people live within a high density of population, buildings, traffic and transportation systems. The land has been altered by mankind, and nature has been thoroughly humanized. Japan may therefore be best understood by paying most attention to human activities through the axes of space and time.

It is generally accepted that northest and southwest types have been the typology for analyzing the social economic structure of Japan. However, I present here another viewpoint for better understanding Japan.

The two space viewpoints which should be taken into account are the "southwest- northeast axis" and "center and periphery" model(3) . From a bioclimatic standpoint,the regional personalities of Japan can be appreciated largely in terms of gradual movement from southwest to northeast. If we go north in the temperate zone of central Japan, we realize a gradual decrease in the elements of warm Japanese *fudo* (social-cultural environment linked with physical elements) : trees and fruits such as palm, fern, satsuma orange, camellia, castanopsis cuspidata

(3) Hiroshi Ishida: *An Historical-Cultural Geography of Japan*, 1981.

(pasania), *kaki* (Japanese persimmon); industrial crops such as tobacco, cotton mulberry; vegetables such as taro, gourd, sweet potato, squash, eggplant, cucumber, white radish (daikon radish); and fish such as flying fish, sardine, gray mullet, porgy, and horse mackerel. These are contrasted with, if we go south in the region, a gradual decrease in the elements of cool Japanese *fudo:* trees and fruits such as Japanese fir, beech, white birch, apple; fish such as cod, salmon, trout, Pacific herring, and saury.

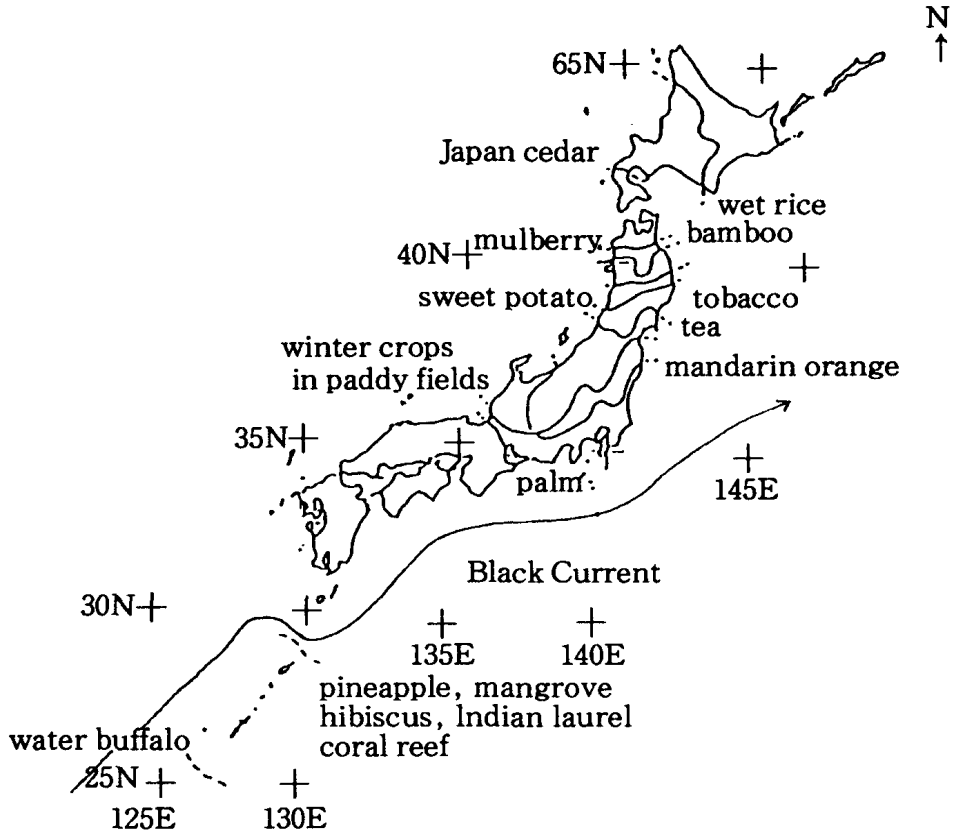

Fig. 1 Northern Limit of Cultivated Crops and Plants and Animals (Domestic and Wild)
Sources: H. Ishida, *An Historical-Cultural Geography of Japan and New Zealand, 1981.*

On the other hand, from the historical and cultural —— that is, a human viewpoint——, the regional character of Japan may well be better

understood by the "center and periphery"model. This applies in particular to linguistic phenomena (such as survival of ancient words) and frontier movements (represented by *jori* remains and sites of forts).

If we apply the above two viewpoints, "southwest-northeast" and "center and periphery" to rice and fish, the mainstay of the Japanese diet, an interesting hypothesis emerges as follows: fishing activities may be better understood in the light of the southwest-northeast axis, but rice cultivation in the light of "center and periphery".

In this connection, I propose three large subdivisions of Japan.

1. Honshu, Shikoku and Kyushu
2. Ryukyu
3. Hokkaido

The region "Honshu, Shikoku and Kyushu", particularly the western half of the region, is the cultural and historical hearth of Japan from where political power and cultures spread north and south. The regions of Hokkaido and Ryukyu each had its own culture, but has gradually been assimilitated into the Yamato (Nippon, Japanese) culture.

Hokkaido represents a boreal climate and the other two regions a temperate one. Viewed minutely, Ryukyu has more subtropical elements as shown in Fig. 1. Ryukyu is the area where the mangrove grows and coral reefs have developed along the seashore and in the sea, and where the natural landscape is beautifully colored by hibuscuses and pineapples which are cultivated. In the southwestern part (the Sakishima Islands.), water buffalo are employed in farming and transportation.

The "Honshu,Shikoku and Kyushu" region may safely be subdivided into two subregions:

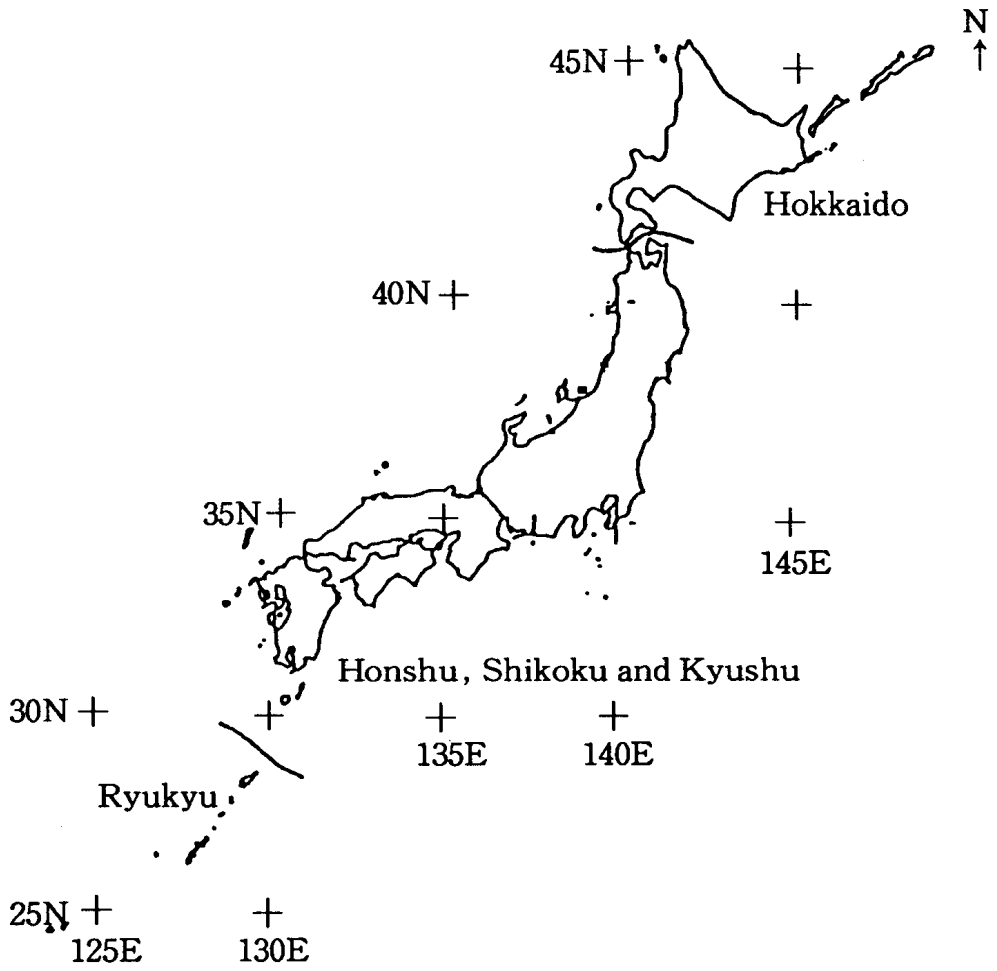

Fig. 2 Three Large Subdivisions of Japan

1-1 Western Honshu, Shikoku and Kyushu.

1-2 Eastern Honshu.

The the cool limit of the low ground ratten (*Trachyearpus Fortunei Wendl*.a kind of palm) delineates the former subregion (1-1) where older political powers and civilization gave strong influences to the surrounding regions. Eastern Honshu has politically and culturally dominated other areas since the Early Modern Period.

Marked characteristics are also seen in natural features and agricultural aspects of regions and subregions. The baiu rainfall is most typically seen in subregion (1-1). About one-fourth of the annual rainfall

concentrates in this baiu season in subregion (1-1), but only one-fifth of the rain falls in the baiu season in subregion (1-2).

In passing, I shall refer to the significance of regions and related expressions in my *Dictionary*. I have included as primary entries region, regionalism, regionalization, regional approach, regional character, regional subdivision, regional substructure and so on. These will reveal an important aspect of my approach to Japan.

Some additional comments can also be made here as regards the "center and periphery" model of Japan. The late Professor Peter Schöller (1913-1988) pointed to the over-centralization of the government of modern Japan in contrast to the fact that the Japanese territory is long and narrow as shown in Fig. 1. This may be strikingly contrasted with Germany, where the Government is decentralized despite a rectangle shape[4]. Professor Martin Schwindt (1906-1991) attributed this centralized government of Japan to the system of alternate-year residence of daimyo in Edo in Early Modern Period[5].

Observing the marked development of deregulation, i,e. devolution[6], in New Zealand, I realize how deeply Japanese centralization is rooted in history and how slow Japan's deregulation is.

"Unity in Diversity" is a key phrase to understanding many Asian countries, including India[7] and Indonesia[8].

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(4) Personal communication with Professor P. Schöller, 1966.

(5) Personal communication with Professor Martin Schwindt, 1966.

(6) "Devolution" seems to me to be the keyword in the early stage of administrative reform in N.Z. and the keyword devolution was followed by restructuring, further by deregulation. Deregulation in the 1990's involved rapid and comprehensive changes, which are widely known overseas as "The New Zealand Experiment".
For further details, please see the following:

The key phrase is, moreover, a slogan for unity amidst diversity. In comparison with these countries, in Japan it seems important that regional differences and decentralization are subordinate, to the unity of the culture.

It may be convenient at this point to propose a periodization of Japanese history as follows:

Ancient Times, mid-3rd century ~ late 12th century

Medieval (Middle) Period, late 12th century ~ late 16th century

Modern Era, 1573~

Early Modern Period, 1573~1888

Modern Period, 1889~1945

Contemporary Period, 1945~

I have also pointed out some major historical-cultural features as follows[9]:

(1) origin of agriculture, (2) enforcement of *jori* system, (3) coexistence of Shintoism and Buddhism, (4) construction of castles and castle towns, (5) the system requiring that a feudal lord (daimyo) reside in Edo (Tokyo) every other year, (6) Meiji Restoration, (7) land reform and the revision of constitution revision soon after World War II, (8) rapid economic growth from

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Rt Hon Bill Birch: *Tax Reduction and Social Policy Programme-Details*, 1996.
Richard Le Heron and Eric Pawson (eds.), *Changing Places: New Zealand in the Ninties*, 1996.

(7) e.g. See. H. Ishida, "A Geographical Investigation in India", *Towards Area Studies*, Part 2, 1982.

(8) e.g. See. Arifin Bey: *The Indoesian Identity*, 1975.

(9) For more detail, see H. Ishida, *An Historical- Geographical Geography of Japan*, University of Hiroshima, 1981

1960~1975.

Though reference is made to Ancient Times and the Medieval Period, stress is laid on the Modern Era: particularly on the Modern Period and the Contemporary Period.

As descriptions and discussions are often related to the Contemporary Period, I present sub-periods of the Contemporary Period on the basis of economic affairs as follows:

1. Period of collapse and reform, 1945-1950
2. Recovery period, 1951-1959
3. Rapid economic growth period, 1960-1975
4. Slow growth period, 1976-1989
5. Stagnation period, 1990-

Japan was the first predominantly non-Christian country to develop capitalism and to "modernize". Incentives and motive forces for this modernization have been discussed by many scholars at home and abroad. I have sought to identify the underlying process of development in the behavioral patterns of people in the early diffusion of education and the highly literacy rate in the Edo period[10].

Human toil, education, incentives, and behavioral patterns have been major factors in Japan's growth. Strong leadership and networks of different spheres were important in the accumulation of funds and development of light industries towards the end of the nineteenth century.

(10) H. Ishida, "Education, Incentives, and Growth — Education in Rural Areas and Entrepreneurs in Okayama in Modern Times", *Department of Economics, Discussion Paper*, The University of Queensland, Dec. 1992, 34pp.

Contemporary Japan may be better understood if attention is paid to her historical development processes. In this connection, I have organized in detail groups of terms related to various events and aspects in the Modern Period. These are based of course on academic reseach and are a reflection of the experiences of myself[11] , my family[12] and relatives[13].

Section 2. A Mountainous Land with a Muggy Climate

The nature of the larger parts of Japan is characterized by rugged mountains, humid climate and warm-cool temperate forests. This is reflected in the sophisticated irrigation farming. Mountainous topography and a muggy climate have been well utilized to produce a high agricultural yield and to support a large population and industrial consumers.

It has been a proverbial truth that Japan has a mild climate and is blessed with fertile land. This is indeed true when we compare Japan with China and India. Within the Sumeru mandala[14] : the world with

(11), (12) H. Ishida, *Towards Area Studies*, Kokonshoin, 1982.
Ibid, "Past and Current Directions in my Scholarly Research", *Bulletin of Reseach Center for Human Science, Fukuyama University*, No.6, 1991.
(13) H. Ishida, "The Modernization of Japan, Seen from the Career of an Enlightened *Shishi* (Noble-minded Patriot) in H. Ishida, *An Historical-Cultural Geography of Japan*, University of Hiroshima, 1981, pp.24-42.
H. Ishida, "Promotion and Development of the Spinning Industry as Seen from Statesman's Life" ,*op.cit.*, 43-60.

three countries, India, China and Japan major ones, Japanese physical settings are considered to be blessed. However, if Japanese natural geography is compared with the UK and New Zealand, Japan's climate is not mild at all, as is understood by the climograph which is illustrated in my *Dictionary*.

It seems that the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs tends to publicize Japan as a country where it snows quite a bit. It is indeed true that it snows in the larger part of Japan[15], but the climate of the larger part of Japan is rather warm. In the course of geographical investigation, two old German professors enjoyed swimming in the Seto Inland Sea in early November in 1966, when no Japanese would dare to swim in the sea. I was surprised at their behavior and was told that they enjoyed swimming in the North Sea in summer in which sea water temperature was below 16℃ at the warmest. Thereby I discovered how warm the sea

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(14) My *Dictionary* reads as follows:

Sumeru (Sanskrit)	須弥山(Japanese transliteration音訳)
Sumeru(Sanskrit)	妙高山(Japanese translation意訳)
Sumeru(Sanskrit) Banskrit) BT/psc.	宗教
Sumeru(Sanskrit) RT.～mandala	シュメル宇宙
Sumeru(Sanskrit)～(Shumisen)map	シュメル（須弥山）宇宙図
Sumeru(Sanskrit)See 2.map	
Sumeru(Sanskrit)RT.～Theory	須弥山説
Sumeru(Sanskrit)～universe	須弥山宇宙

Also in the second entries of map, I incorporate the following:

Hindu-Buddhist map	ヒンズー教・仏教地図
NT.2 Jambu-dripa world	瞻部（せんぶ）州世界図
NT.3 the world with four subdivisions	四主的地域区分図
the world with three countries	三国世界図

(15) There is a big regional difference in snowfall in Japan. Northern Japan (particularly the Japan Sea Littoral) experiences heavy snowfall while Ryukyu no snowfall.

water temperatures are in Japan. Although the average sea temperatures of the North Sea do not exceed 16℃ in any month of the year both along the German Coast and near the U.K., average monthly sea temperature in the Seto Inland Sea exceeds 16℃ for half the year.

Japanese "*fudo*" (climate and environment) is characterized mostly by baiu rains[16]. Except for "late heavy *baiu*" (*hange* rain) of the "baiu season", it lightly rains when *ume* (*Prunus mume* Sieb. et Zucc.) trees bear fruits. *Ume* flowers have been greatly appreciated from the ancient times. "The flower" originally meant the *ume* flower. *Ume* trees not only present us fragrant flowers in early spring but also delicious fruits which have constituted a basic point of the Japanese diet. Baiu rains provide the "blessed water", by which rice transplantation has been carried out.

Baiu rains have recently, with the development of industrialization and urbanization, been spoken badly of. It must, however, be recalled that owing to baiu rains the remarkable farming system has been established; furthermore, the rapid achievement of industrialization and urbanization has been helped much by the resources of these rains. Development of industrialization and urbanization need a large quantity of water resources. Baiu rains, which account for about a quarter of an annual rainfall (Table 2), are stored in dams for industrial and urban uses. Thus, the way was paved for the industrial and urban development. In this connection, it may be said that the achievement of industrialization and urbanization owe much to the resouces of Baiu rains.

(16) It is true that G.T.Trewartha (1896-1984) used the term of "maiu" or "baiu" for Baiu rains, but in America neither the words baiu nor baiu rains are generally used for *tsuyu*: instead "rainy season" is used to denote "tsuyu".

Next mention will be made of an aspect of the farmers' calender in connection with the baiu rains. Crops such as corn, beans, taro, and sweet potatoes are sown or planted using rainfall intermitent in the late spring. Just before the coming of baiu rains, harvests of winter crops, such as potatoes, onions, wheat and barley must be completed.

Fully using the blessed baiu rains, the greatest agricultural event, rice transplanting, is carried out. Before rapid economic growth, the labor market, ecocomic and social rhythms were geared for the rice transplantation. About one month with the plum rains the mid-term was the culmination of rural activities, as revealed by the following sayings:

1) "ten days suited for reaping wheat and barley"
2) "ten days suited for transplanting
3) "ten sweltering[17] days after[18] baiu rains"

Farmers are then extremely busy with the switchover of the farming system from winter to summer crops.

Processes of baiu rain weather strongly influence the production of the above two major grains and also national businesses. If baiu rains do not come in time as expected, all things assume an acute phase. It was more serious when irrigation ponds and canals were not improved. Thus, various agricultural rituals were also performed in this season. People were full of life in the baiu season.

The Japanese, who are physically acclimated to the wet season of the

(17) I recall the scorching weather in the Hebei Plain in North China, which is compared with the sweltering weather in Japan.

(18) The highest temperature spell appears *before* the rainy season, the monsoon in the Ganga Plain in India in contrast with the fact that in Japan it appears *after* the rainy season, baiu rains.

baiu rains, do not feel so unpleasant with muggy weather. I was astonished to hear an American teacher from California claim: the baiu rains were enough to make her cry. To the Japanese the baiu rains were the "blessed rain", to which all was geared.

Rural people are well aware of the processes of the Baiu rains, particularly of "the late heavy baiu" ("*hange* rain"). We have a saying "Planted in '*hange*', the harvest is half". This saying has a twofold meaning :

1. If rice transplantion is made as late as '*hange*', the harvest will be reduced by half of the average harvest.
2. If rice plantation is managed to be performed availing '*hange*' rain, as much as half of the average harvest will be guaranteed.

It is true that '*hange* rain' (the late heavy baiu) formerly caused floods, but the floods have seldom drought disaster, as all has been geared for it. However, the combination of planless city' development', urban sprawl and the exploitation of forests and destruction of the ecosystem, have given it a bad reputation. In other words, with the passage of time, the people's view of the baiu rains and the mass media's way of information delivery have changed.

As stated in the foregoing section, the significance of the baiu rains is greatest in the subregion "Honshu, Shikoku and Kyushu", followed by Ryukyu. It will be further revealed by the examination of Table 2.

The northward procession of the baiu which begins in May in Ryukyu, in mid-June in Hiroshima, and in late June in Sendai may well be compared to the northwestward shift of the monsoon rains from the lower Ganga plains during June. This rain is splendidly memorialized by

Table 2. Onset, end, and importance of the Baiu Rains by Region (average from 1961 to 1990)

regions		places	onset, end	Baiu rains (mm.)	ratio of Baiu Rains to the annual rainfall(%)
Hokkaido		Sapporo	——* ——*	——*	——
Honshu, Shikoku and Kyushu	Eastern	Aomori	June 14, July 26	159.5	11.7
		Sendai	June 12, July 23	244.2	20.3
		Niigata	June 9, July 20	268.6	15.1
		Tokyo	June 9, July 20	267.5	19.0
		Nagoya	June 9, July 18	361.1	23.5
	Western	Osaka	June 8, July 19	314.5	23.9
		Hiroshima	June 8, July 19	486.6	31.3
		Takamatsu	June 6, July 16	268.6	23.4
		Fukuoka	June 8, July 18	453.1	28.2
		Kagoshima	June 2, July 13	637.1	28.5
Ryukyu		Naha	May 11, June 23	487.2	23.9

Source: *Climatic Table of Japan*, Japan Meteorological Agency, 1991.
Note. * No Baiu rains are apparent.

R. Tagore (1861-1941).

The soils of Japan (which are classified as pedalfers) are not fertile in comparison with the soils (pedocals) of the larger parts of the economically advanced countries of the North America and Europe. The mountainous topography of Japan is often said to be a hindrance to land use. However, it must be remembered that the mountainous portions form the catchment areas of the irrigation works upon which rice cultivation depends. Moreover, they are now water reservoirs and suppliers not only to paddy fields but also to urban and industrial consumers. Japan is one of the few countries where annual rainfall generally reaches as much as 1750 mm on average. It has a mountainous topography with heavy precipitation that supports an environment that sustains more than 120 million inhabitants in a limited surface area.

A "muggy climate and rice cultivation" would usually remind

Europeans of human toil and low living standards. In a sense Japan was seen as nothing but a rare exeception when I was stying in the European world in the 1960's. At that time Japanese were proud of Japan's abundant and clean river flow and did not concern ourselves with the cost of water before the onset of rapid economic growth from around 1960. The significance of water has now changed. Before rapid economic growth, the "water problem" was that of how to distribute irrigation water from major irrigation canals to minor canals and eventually to each paddy field. But with the rapid increase in water consumption for domestic and industrial usage, the scramble for the control of water supplies between *traditional* irrigation usage and *new* domestic and industrial usage has become very serious. As was mentioned earlier, the average rainfall of Japan per unit area is 1750 mm, which is twice the world average. However, annual rainfall per capita is as little as 5500m^3, which is one-fifth of the world average[20]. To make matters worse, fluctuations in precipitation are large both yearly and regionally.

Carrying out field work in different areas, particularly observing the two cattle drawn plough by peasants in the Punjab Plains in 1972, I realized that the traditional system of agricultural technologies in Japan was developed with a stress on weeding. The irrigated paddy field itself is a remarkable system to control weeds. Furthermore, a careful weeding system was established with the growing of rice plants. A variety of agricultural implements for weeding were devised in irrigated rice fields and dry fields as well.

(20) Ojima, M., "Development, Consumption of Groundwater and improvement of Water Quality of Groundwater", *Technical Paper*, Fukuyama University, 1995.

As rainfall increases in the summer, temperatures increase and much water is brought during the same season. At the same time, weeds grow quickly in the striking contrast to the countries with a winter rain climate.

In order to overcome weeding chores, Japan has developed the following two systems:

(1) weeding by submerging

(2) mulching with straw

Timely weeding work and the effective control of irrigation have been the motivating forces for people's industrious behavior and for the leaders' regional organization. Soils of the dry fields in Japan are humid and soft enough to be plowable by man-drawn plows, even by other tillage implements such as a "window hoe". There was no need for plowing to be drawn by more than two draught animals. The drawing power of a single ox was strong enough in Japan. I am not, however, saying that plowing by cattle or horse was not prevalent in Japan.

As will be guessed by the previous discussions[21] of the stubble grazing and *Flurzwang*, cattle and horses played an important role in many sectors and had a significant meaning in theories of Japanese economy and society. Plowing by horses and cattle was practised more widely than generally supposed. Cattle were the peasants' treasures. In some regions, there were words which classify peasants according to domestic animals as follows:

horse peasants

(21) Ishida, H., *Towards Area Studies*, Kokonoshoin, 1982.

cattle peasants

basket peasants (peasants without animals)

Such a classification of peasants may remind readers of the similar classification of peasants in many other countries. The important difference is that the demand for draft animals was weak in comparison with countries with pedalfer. Since their technological system was developed with weeding as central work. Accordingly, the term "grass farming[22]" seems strange to Japanese who have developed an agriculture which stresses weeding.

Switching the discussion from precipitation and lowland agricultural systems to the use of uplands, "topography and land use" in Japan have been interpreted by European observers as follows:

> Land is left idle on hills near the village in contrast with the low land, which is intensively utilized. Such a view has been expressed until quite recently by Europeans who are accustomed to observing hills developed for meadows and farms.
>
> Incidentally Europeans' surprise at reccent land use is as below: The Japanese megalopolis is not planted with trees, but the paddy land is still carefully cultivated, although approximately one-third of it has remained as social fallow for the past twenty years. This observation is made in comparison with the landscape (completely planted with trees) of the American megalopolis on the Atlantic Seaboard.

In connection with land use of mountains, reference should be made

(22) e.g. See M.McG.Cooper, *Grass Farming*, Dairy Farmer (Books) Ltd., 1961.

here to the vegetation of the mountains in Western Japan. In southwest Japan, mountains expecting some particular parts such as shrine groves, were utilized in the later period of Early Modern Era as shown in Table 3.

The larger part of mountains was originally covered with trees. The primary forests were beech forests in the high altitudes and evergreen oak forest in the lower areas. The agency of man caused changes in the surface of the mountains. "Slash-and-burn cultivation"[23], which was practised from the Jyomon Period, destroyed the primary forests. Then, an increase in the demand for firewood for pottery making, salt making and castle town building brought about an extinction of the primary forest. Thus, the surface of the mountains was transferred to the states shown in Table 3.

Pine trees are very characteristic of Japan, and it will be seen that pine trees have long been the most important decorations at New Year. We have a phrase: Pine-bamboo-plum. These three kinds of plants are appreciated particularly as the New Year decorations. Pine trees rank first. Pine trees have been not only the most important resources but also the central trees of the Japanese garden. Pine (*matsu*) have been characteristic trees of Japan. The Japanese red pine (*Pinus densiflora*) and Japanese black pine (*P.thunbergii*) are the major pine species. The former is widely distributed in Japan while the latter has been limited to coastlines, and some other areas. Black pine trees are especially valued as garden trees. Landscape gardening was developed with the black pine as a central feature.

(23) H.Ishida, "Terminologies of Rice Cultivation in Japan", *Fukuyama Economic Reuiew*, Vol.17, No.1, 1992.

Table 3. Changes in Mountain Vegetation and Mountainous Land use of Southwestern Japan

periods / primary forest zones	Later period of the Early Modern Era	Approximately 1890 to 1965	At present
beech tree zone	secondary deciduous broad-leaved and red pine forests	(1) deterioration of secondary deciduous and pine forest (2) afforestation of Japanese cedar and *hinoki* cypress	deteriora-tion
evergreen oak zone	(1) firewood oak forest (a) without rough grazing in the forest (b) with rough grazing in the forest (2) pasture for rough grazing (3) Japanese red pine and black pine forests (4) meadows (5) cultivation	(1) Japanese cedar forest (2) *hinoki* (Japanese) cypress forest (3) Japanese red pine and black pine (4) firewood forest (a) without rough grazing (b) with rough grazing (5) pasture for rough grazing (6) meadows	(1) deteri-oration of planted cedar and *hinoki* (2) turn to thickets (bush)

The Japanese red pine (*akamatsu*) forest has been in a poor state of health. Despite attempts to control insects and other pests, damage to this forest will continue unless significant steps are taken to combat air pollution. The Japanese term *akamatsu* has not been incorporated into general English, but the term *akamatsu* is used by specialists. The *akamatsu* has been a characteristic feature of the Japanese landscape and has provided people with resources for construction and fuel. The *akamatsu* was so familiar that it attracted controversy among scholars. Some contended that the *akamatsu* brings national decay and others that it brings national growth.

Such controversy may safely be attributed to people's observations:

the *akamatsu* is secondary vegetation in retrogressive succession; and also the *akamatsu* is the first tree in progressive succession. That is to say, the *akamatsu* grows firstly on bare hills, often in plantation work. In fact, it has been observed that bare hills, slopes and hills for rough grazing have gradually become covered with *akamatsu*. This process has resulted in the opinion that the *akamatsu* brings the nation prosperity.

As the *akamatsu* is a sun-loving tree, the undergrowth of the *akamatsu* must be cleared in order to keep it successively growing. People's lives depended quite heavily upon the mountains in many ways. *Akamatsu* forest were customarily used for firewood, grazing land, and meadows, with the result that the mountains were preserved in good conditions. However, as a result of the fuel revolution during the 1960's villagers have ceased working in the mountains. The undergrowth including the *kudzu* vine (which forms matle community on forest edges) have gradually grown thick. Then shade trees such as evergreen oak have also grown, worsening the environment for red pine trees. Dominant plants, particularly bamboo thickets, are invading the deteriorated *akamatsu* forests. Air pollution insects, and other pests are now delivering the *akamatsu* forest a deadening blow. The *akamatsu* forests in Western Japan may be replaced by dense thickets.

The bamboo, the second plant of the New Year decorations, is now invading the former territory of the pine tree and is in very active and progressive succession. The bamboo provided warriors with sources for arrows (the term arrow bamboo will remind readers of the important aspect of Japanese history), resources for utensils, building and construction. Bamboo sprouts are also eaten. Bamboo was closely tied to

Japanese daily life and social system in the rural area.

Bamboo groves were communally controlled in the Early Modern Era and later also restricted by holders. Now that man's control has weakened, bamboo thikets seem to have started to invade in all directions. Such an ongoing succession of the vegetation reminds readers of the landscape in South China and Southeast Asia where the bamboo is dominating the areal vegetation.

The third plant of the New Year decorations is the plum, which I have previously mentioned. Though not listed in the trio plants of the New Year Decorations, the fern, *urajiro* (*Gleichenia japonica*) is indispensable for the New Year decoration. Speaking of the ferns, many readers will be reminded of *Fern and Tiki* by David P. Ausubel, 1965. This book is a remarkable essay on New Zealand. The fern is the most characteristic bush in New Zealand and buds were eaten by Maoris. In Japan the fern is a undergrowth or grows on open sites and young sprouts of some species were eaten by people. Without inclusion of the fern (*urajiro*) the New Year's Ceremony cannot be properly performed.

Returning to the discussion of the progressive and retrogressive successions of vegetations. Red pine trees took the place of evergreen broad leaved trees such as the evergreen oak. Also heavy human impacts turned the primary vegetation to pasture, meadow and dry field. Now that people have left upland again to nature, and man's agency in the mountains has suddenly decreased, potential evergreen oak belts are turning to the original vegetations. If these trends continue for some generations, an original primary forest will return.

It may be interesting to note that there are additional trees, bushes

and grasses whose original names are used, by specialists. The following plants are known by foreign observers to be native and characteristic of Japanese vegetation and *fudo*.

sugi [Cryptomeria;Japanese cedar]

hinoki [hinoki [Japanese] cypress]

kuzu [arrowroot;kudzu vine]

hagi [lespedeza;Japanese bush clover]

Professor R.Tüxen (1899–1980) was extremely interested in the *kudzu* vine (Pueraria lobata) which was seen everywhere in Japan. "Pueraria! Pueraria! Don't kill trees! Don't destroy the forest!" How often he shouted and spoke to the *kudzu* vine while carrying out field work in the Seto Inland Area in 1966.

It must be of interest to note that in the Eary Modern Period peasants used to dig the rhizomes of *kudzu* vines to make *kudzu* starch.

It may be worthwhile to refer to the relations of the names of countries to the characteristic vegetations and products of the countries. Brazil (country) was named after the wood/tree, while japan (lacquer ware) was named after the country Japan and china (porcelain) also after the country China.

Section 3. The Shadow of Rapid Economic Growth

Japan has competitive manufacturing industries in contrast to its quasi-capitalistic individualistic agriculture. Such an imbalance is a serious hindrance to the Japanese economy today.

Table 1 shows that farm, rice, cattle and land and other terms related to them are elaborated in full detail in Part II. Agricultural protectionism has functioned to keep a balance of earnings per capita among different economic activities in Japan. Although it has indeed worked to strengthen purchasing power to broaden the domestic market for the time being, it has spoiled farming itself if viewed in the long term. Low agricultural productivity per capita is today quite a serious problem. It has become notorious that prices of Japanese agricultural products are amazingly high in comparison with those found in foreign countries.

Townfolk will no longer tolerate rural fundamentalism, whch must not victimize urban population and manufacturing. Agricultural productivity increased towards the turn of the twentieth century: it may be safely said that a green revolution occurred a half a century earlier than in other Asian countries. However, the rural cultivators' standard of living was not high largely due to landlordism and the small size of land holdings. Comparative studies of the Japanese economy, and particularly of rural cultivators' living standards, are revealing: Japanese nationals emigrated as indentured labor to South America from 1899 to as

late as 1941.

During World War II, the Staple Food Control Act was enforced with the result that cultivators were prohibited to trade staple food freely. After the war,a land reform was enforced to transfer landlord's land to tenants. This land reform resulted in the elevation of the disadvantaged tenants to the social status of owner cultivators, both economically and politically as well. The Agricultural Co-operative Act also functioned to regulate cultivators, together with the Agricultural Land Act which was mentioned earlier. The Agricultural Land Act played a significant role in increasing rice production in the beginning, but it has been functioning adversely since 1976. It has also been criticized particularly from abroad. Deregulation of agriculture is a controversial issue today. The Agricultural Co-operative worked to the benefit of small scale rice cultivators.

"Shortage of farm land and surplus of farm labor" had been proverbial for many years in Japan. In accordance with the rapid growth of the economy, the younger generation in rural areas moved to town to work in companies and factories. As a result, Japan came to be confronted with a shortage of farm labor and a surplus of rice products. Thus the area of paddy field under cultivation came to be controlled by the central government. As far as rice cultivation is concerned, its economy is in fact completely centrally controlled.

To most rice cultivators, rice cultivation seems to be more a way of life than a way to make a living. Rice cultivators cannot be financed by banks through mortgages on rice fields. Enlargement of their holdings is difficult to achieve.The mechanization and the application of agricultural

chemicals and fertilizers have rapidly increased but production costs have been a problem.

Drastic measures must be taken in order to cope with overseas rice production. It is necessary for the Japanese to change their view of agriculture. I have long argued that the Japanese government should adopt the following terms: economic units, hobby farms and mixed farming, and clarify such terms as dairy farms, full-time farm(ers) in order to be comparable to the definitions which are used in many other countries. Only if these terms are adopted in the government statistics and applied to Japanese farming and farm household(s), can genuine and new observations be presented: furthermore, some clues about how to develop capitalistic, individualistic farms may be gained thereby.

It may be more effective to repeal or relax the following three Acts: the Staple Food Control Act, the Agricultural Land Act, and the Agricultural Co-operative Association Act, which have strongly controlled Japanese farming. Though relaxation of the Agricultural Land Act alone did not cause an enlargement of land holdings, the recent relaxation of the Staple Food Control Act has together encouraged the emergence of large scale farms.

Manufacturing industries have been highly competitive, in striking contrast with the farming sector. However, today this is no longer the case. As a result of the high yen, many manufacturing industries have decreased in international competitive power. In order to cope with this critical situation, all enterprises are making desperate efforts and countermeasures are being taken in many sectors: reconsideration is being made of the Japanese style of management such as lifetime

employment, the seniority system, etc.. Restructuring and factory transfers overseas have been in progress. These policies have created a serious problem of unemployment.

In order to cope with an increase in unemployment, various measures are being considered. The work sharing system of Germany captured the interest of the Japanese. A linkage between profitability and full employment is a perennial issue. Accepting New Zealand's Goal of full employment, the San Francisco Conference (1951) announced that all participant nations adopted this policy. An endeavor has been made to adopt this policy by many states. Germany, which achieved an "economic miracle" of the least annual working hours within the framework of the welfare state, has very recently announced a work sharing system in expectation of an increase in employment.

Underemployment in Japanese agriculture and in government offices related to agriculture have been critically discussed by many reviewers. "Agricultural involution" not only characterizes the agriculture in Indonesia today, but also was typical of Japanese agriculture before 1965. Japan has pushed rural overpopulation into urban industries. Urban industrial sectors have greedily pulled labour from various sectors. However, Japan has recently been confronted with underemployment, unemployment and even with reconsideration of the welfare state.

A basic drawback of the Japanese economy is the stratified structure of its industry. Although it worked advantageously for the rapid growth of her economy from 1960 to 1975, it has since then worked adversely. With the above drawback, even "economic animals" and worker bees will find difficulty in coping with the international competition. It is a matter of regret that there are many unethical entrepreneuers and businessmen.

Section 4. A Strong Socio-cultural Tradition

Among economically advanced countries, Japan is rare in that the village still remains dominant in the country's landscape. The village is a reflection of the geography and history of Japan.

The proposition that "The village is a microcosm of Japan" was often used by the late Professor R. B. Hall (1896-1975), Dean of the Center for Area Studies, University of Michigan, who was succeeded by the late Professor R. K. Beardsley (1918-1978). This view dominated the thinking of the Okayama Branch of the University of Michigan Center for Japanese Studies[24].

I benefited greatly by working with R.B. Hall, J.W. Hall (1916-) and R.K.Beardsley in Okayama in the 1960's. The experience acted as a guidline for my own investigations in New Zealand and India. I subsequently wrote about the validity and significance of the village study in geography[25]. Furthermore, I discussed the importance of village study in history and presented detailed topologies of communal villages[26].

In this connection, we may note that "village" is the term for which the group organization of related terms is most highly elaborated in Part

(24) H. Ishida, *Geographical and Related Studies of Japan by Foreign Observers*, Kokonshoin, 1985.

(25) H. Ishida, *Geographical Field Research in Northwestern India*, University of Hiroshima, 1974.

(26) H. Ishida (ed.), *A History of Kumayama Town: Communal Village History*, 1993. *Idem*. (ed.), *A History of Kasaoka City*, 1996.

II of my *Dictionary*. Professor J. Schmithüsen (1909–1984) told me in 1965: "I observed the natural aspects of Japan and could understand the Japanese economy by careful analysis of statistics, but the socio-cultural aspects are extremely difficult for me to understand". This effusion of his thoughts on Japan reminded me of my own experience of research on Contemporary Maori Agriculture[27]. I suggested to him that he should come to stay in my countryside home with us for a week to observe rural Japan on foot and/or by bicycle. He was pleased to observe things which were neither seen nor realized while staying in the city. It was in the autumn festival season in 1966. The Japanese village has retained features which are vital to a proper understanding of Japanese society and culture. A careful examination of the village reveals various aspects of Japan's culture.

The Japanese village may be observed by Europeans to be a compact agglomeration and of traditional communal character. On the other hand, it appears to Indian people's eyes that the Japanese village is open, small sized and urbanized. Though we Japanese may not be fully aware of the implication and significance of such village types, it is rather an exception among economically developed countries where, for the most part, the compact village has given way to a dispersed type of settlement. Despite land reform and plot consolidation, the Japanese rural landscape rural landscape is still characterized by fragmented plots and small size of holdings, which have been the foundation of the above village type.

There has been a policy to undermine the traditional feudalistic village

(27) H. Ishida, "A Geography of Contemporary Maori Agriculture", *The IIth Pacific Science Congress, Tokyo* , 1966.

community. The aim has been achieved but in the process people have sometimes lost their solidarity. The administrative authorities of late have been urging villagers to organize into new communities on the basis of individualism (and not communalism) in order to promote local solidarity.

I propose a coherence-disintegration continuum of the village character of Japan as follows:

communal coherence → solidarity → integration → loosening → disintegration → collapse

↓

re-integration

The above changing processes of the settlement character is strikingly contrasted with those in the United States, where dispersed homesteads were dominant. How to organize isolated homesteads to foster solidarity in rural areas in America became most important. An organization of ' neighborhood' and 'community' has been considered for social and economic stability and security.This thought and movement have recently come to Japan. Incidentally, in Japan bonds of the traditional village community were so strong that measures were taken in order to break the traditional coherence in Japan. Faced with serious social problems, Japanese have come to reconsider the value of the village.

The emergence of collective housing has brought a new aspect to the Japanese landscape. In addition to traditional villages, there have also emerged collective housing villages. Large scale collective housing

("*danchi*") was developed in major urban center earlier and spread to smaller urban areas. Collective housing areas of various sizes were also developed in rural areas. Small size "*danchi*" may be called " *danchi mura*" (collective housing villages) and are in striking contrast to traditional compact villages, not only in external appearance, but also in lifestyle. With the construction of such collective housing villages ("*danchi mura*") many local authority areas have taken on the attributes of urban areas.

Construction of collective housing has generated both physical and social problems. Collective housing was in many cases constructed at the foot of mountains. The late Professor P. Schöller exquisitely described the destruction of mountains as " *yama-kiri*"[28]. He aptly parodied "*hara-kiri*" ("*seppuku*",warrior's suicide by disembowelment) to the cutting of mountains, which often causes serious disasters.

Let us now switch our discussion from the village to urban centers. An amazing population accumulation took place in the three major metropolitan regions during the period of Japan's most rapid economic growth. In 1990 three metropolitan regions (Tokyo, Osaka and Nagoya) contained 47.7 per cent of the total population but shared only 27.4 per cent of the total land area of Japan. However, counter-migration from these metropolises to non-metropolises has also taken place, along with the exodus from the city center to the urban fringes.

Japanese Inner cities are facing deterioration. A hollowing-out of the urban center is seen everywhere, but the hollowing-out and deterioration of downtowns in Japan is not so serious as in America. Nevertheless,

(28) Personal communication with Professor P.Schöller, 1966.

renewal of built-up areas is urgent for Japan's urban municipalities.

Urban development and rural decay are closely connected with the rapid changes in the family structure. As mentioned earlier, the traditional family system was abolished after World War II. The (nuclear) family has gradually secured a firm economic foundation with the rapid growth of the Japanese economy, as mentioned in Chapter 1-Section 3. However, overstress on individual freedom and frequent movements of bread winners have led to age-old problems. Japan has turned to social welfare to cope with new family problem, but it is neither wise nor possible to leave all these problems for solution by the welfare state (*See* §8, Chap. 2). The day has come when we reconsider the value of the family.

Profiles of Japan's Culture*

日本文化の横顔

本論は、『地域研究英日用語辞（事）典、（付）日本文化の横顔』の第三部である。そのため第一部（個人の研究分野）、第二部（地域研究英日用語辞（事）典）との関連において論述する。一般的に言って、地域研究の場合、地域に埋没してしまって思想・コンセプトが貧弱になりがちである。「地域を見据え用語を大切に」を研究のモットーにしてきた私は、こゝに日本を例にとって、地域的研究法と概念・用語的研究法の統合に意を用いさらに通文化的研究法などを援用して、ユニークな日本文化論を展開しようとするものである。

研究方法・意義を論じ（序論）たのに続き、第一章において、日本の特徴を自然環境を支配する人間、蒸し暑い気候と山勝ちの国土、高度経済成長の陰り、根強い社会文化的伝統、など4つの節に分けて論ずるものである。本研究展開のために、まず日本の地域区分、時代区分（近現代は特に細かく）を提示する。日本の地域区分として次のごとく地域三区分を提案する。

本州・四国・九州

〔ｉ〕 西本州・四国・九州

〔ii〕 東本州

琉球

北海道

時代区分については次のごとく時代三区分を示す

古代

中世

近世

（ｉ） 初期近世　（ii） 近代　（iii） 現代

現代については、次の通りの5時期に区分する。

〔ⅰ〕 戦後混乱・改革期，1945～1950

〔ⅱ〕 復興期，1951～1959

〔ⅲ〕 経済高度成長期，1960～1975

〔ⅳ〕 経済低成長期，1976～1989

〔ⅴ〕 経済停滞期，1990～

「島国だから」と、農業経営地の零細性など日本のもつ劣性点を、そこに持っていくが如き見方の是正を迫り、「山勝ち多雨」（ことに梅雨）のもつ積極的意義を改めて指摘し社会文化との関連を論ずる。

米と魚は日本の食文化の中核であるだけでなく、国際的にみて日本を最も特色づけるものといってよかろう。それは日本の風土そのものといってよく、日本文化の基層をなしている。米作は中央から周辺に展開しており、“中央・周辺”モデルによってよりよく理解されよう。それに比べて魚撈は西南→東北ないし東北→西南という西南・東北軸によってよりよく解明されよう。日本の社会経済構造分析に「東北型」・「西南型」の二類型の援用が、従来一般的であったが、「西南東北軸」と「中央周辺モデル」という新しい分析視解を提示する。

日本は南北に狭長・気候的にも大きく異なるり、地域差がきわめて大きいのにもかかわらず、権限の中央政府への過度な集中が今なおみられる点を改めて注目し、それはまさに歴史的生成であり根深さを論述する。

瀬戸内海沿岸・山陽地方を中心に、近世以降の山地利用・植生変化を考察し、環境破壊・革命進行のプロセスを論証する。経済高度成長の結果、日本は経済大国となったものの、産業の二重構造、工業と農業、大企業と中小企業、国際的競争力の強いもの弱いもの、などなど構造上の問題がある。このような情勢下にあって農業は、ＧＤＰでは今や2.3％にすぎず、産業的意義が小さいからとて“安楽死”を密かに待つべきではない。さりとて社会的・文化的意義が大きいとして政治的結着によって“農業保護”を加速すべきものでもない。

国際的に通用する概念用語によって統計処理し、国際的にみた日本農業の真相

をまず明らかにすることが焦眉の急であると論ずる。

世界の工業先進国のなかで、村落が今なお農村景観で支配的であることは、日本の大きな特徴である。コミニティー喪失が世界的に憂えられている今日、日本の村は西ドイツ一部の村（ドルフ）などとともに、その役割意義が改めて考えさゝれるものである。

先進国・福祉先発国の多くで、かずかずの弊害が生じてきている。そのため、累進課税などを手直し、家族価値を見直し、コミュニティ（地域社会）造りに躍起になっているのである。このような世界的趨勢下で、本論は日本の食文化、家・村の持っていたよさの再発見、日本社会文化の根幹をなす家・村のもつ意義の再考を迫ろうとするるものである。そして、日本社会の文化の根底にある村と家を通文化的に論述する。

第二章（12節よりなる）及び「展望」は次号にゆずる。