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**Migration and occupational structure in modern Japan
: rural society and the industrialising economy in the pre-war period**

**Trends and patterns of migration in rural Japan
: an analysis of movement notifications from an agrarian
village**

**Masayuki TANIMOTO
(University of Tokyo, Japan)
tanimoto@e.u-tokyo.ac.jp**

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1. Introduction

This paper explores the trends and patterns of population movement in an agrarian village—Keitoku village located in Fukushima prefecture in north-eastern Japan—through analysis of the information given in notification forms filled in by those moving away from the village in the period between the 1890s and the 1930s¹.

On the basis of macro statistics, the literature on Japan's modern industrialisation has tended to point out the swift movement of labour from agriculture to industry, assuming the existence of surplus labour within agrarian society². On the other hand, emphasizing the social structure of the family system, the other stream of historiography insisted the constant outflow of workforce from the farming household³. However, it is now becoming clear that the agrarian household did not simply react passively to the impact of industrialisation, but strategically allocated its family labour to industrial as well as agricultural work⁴. Leaving the village could thus be seen as one of the alternatives available to members of rural households strategically involved in the industrialising economy.

By matching the attributes of emigrants—such as age, sex, sibling-order and income-level—to their geographical and occupational destinations, the paper shows that those leaving the village followed different migration patterns according to their positions in rural society⁵. This finding allows us to assume that migration was not a simple reaction to existing surplus labour, but was strongly influenced by the situation and intentions of each agrarian household. Bearing this in mind, the paper discusses the factors that determined the pattern and volume of labour mobility, in the light of the household economy and the nature of industrial occupations.

The next section gives detailed information about the village-level documents

¹ For the brief overview of Keitoku village, see Tanimoto (2002).

² Minami and Ono (1962).

³ Namiki(1955). Henmi (1956). Hayashi and Prescott (2008).

⁴ In terms of family strategy in Japan's farming households, see Tanimoto (2006). Sato (2004) represents the new wave of historical sociology focusing on internal migration in modern Japan.

⁵ The main precedent studies on this issue are as follows ; Nojiri(1943),Ushiyama(1975), Shimizu(1981).

we utilize in this paper, followed by a section that analyses the actual migration behaviour of the village inhabitants. The fourth section focuses on the juvenile male migrants who characterize the migration pattern of this village⁶. The last section briefly concludes.

2. ‘Temporary Residence notification: *Kiryu-todoke*’: Migrants’ movement notifications

The data set on which we based this paper is taken from the stored movement notifications found among the village documents. The notifications are based on a specific policy, *Kiryu* in Japanese, literally meaning ‘temporarily residing’, enforced by the Japanese central government since the late 1880s. Combined with the family registration system, *Koseki* in Japanese, this was the government’s means of ascertaining people’s whereabouts. People who wanted to move away from their originally registered place for more than 89 days had to notify the village office. The notification was made by means of a ‘movement form’ requiring the following information; movement details, destination address, name, date of birth, name of head of household, family relationship and occupation (since 1915) of each migrant. Movement brought about by marriage, adoption or divorce, entailing the alteration of the content of the family’s registration, was excluded from this notification. In other words, we can assume that most of the movements recorded in these notifications were relevant to migration to obtain jobs or education away from place of birth. In this sense, these notifications are appropriate for our research that focuses on the movement of labour in industrialising Japan.

However, we should bear in mind the limitations of the data set. First, the availability of the notifications is limited to the following time periods, because of the condition of the remaining documents in the village concerned: 1890–1906, 1915–1923, 1930–1931, 1934, 1938–1939, and 1944–1945. Some of these time periods include

⁶ Basically, the data sources of the following analysis are official documents of Keikoku village unless otherwise stated.

years for which the notifications were incomplete.

Second, we should be conscious of the fact that not all migrants necessarily notified the office, since failure to notify did not directly cause much trouble for migrants' lives. The notification of movement was first based on a government ordinance, and then on the 'Temporary Residence Act' that came into force in 1915. Though both of these included penalties such as fines for non-compliance, it seems to have been difficult for the local office to prosecute offenders without costly efforts. The 'capture-ratio' of the actual outward-migrants from the village, that is the proportion of the notified migrants to actual migrants, can be approximated by comparing the number of 'formal current inhabitants' obtained from the information on registered population and notified migrants, and the inhabitants who were actually there, obtained from the national population census⁷. In the case of 1920, the first year a national census was conducted in Japan, the 'capture-ratio' appeared to be approximately 60 percent⁸. We should bear in mind that the following analyses deal with approximately two-thirds of the actual migrants from this village.

3. The trends and patterns of outward migration in Keitoku village

(1) An overview

⁷ The following equations show the way to calculate the 'capture-ratio' of the actual migrants using the remaining notification data and other relevant information.

(1) Calculated number of present population = Number of registered inhabitants + Number of notified inward-migrants - Number of notified outward-migrants.

(2) Calculated number of present population - Number of present population in the Population Census = Number of un-notified outward-migrants - Number of un-notified inward-migrants

(3) 'Capture ratio' = Number of notified outward-migrants / Number of actual outward-migrants

Though it is impossible to obtain the accurate number of un-notified outward-migrants, we use the left side of equation (2) as an approximate number since the outward-migration far exceeded the inward-migration in the village concerned.

⁸ Calculated number of present population: 2,564, Present population in national census: 2,330, notified inward-migrants: 84, notified outward-migrants 470 (excluding outward migration for military services).

Keitoku village comprised around 400 households throughout the time period 1889–1945. Though outward migration consistently far exceeded inward migration, the population of actual village residents gradually increased during the years concerned in this paper. Keitoku village was mainly comprised of farming households ranging from owners to tenants, a typical feature of farming villages in modern as well as early modern Japan. In fact, 80 percent of Keitoku village’s gainfully occupied workers, whether head of household or family worker in a farming household, were engaged in agriculture.

As **Figure 1** shows, the number of outward migrants changed in phases. From 1880–1906, (prior to World War I), the number of migrants was averaged 50 per year, peaking in 1902. However, in 1916, the number reached more than 100, with the highest number in 1918 (Figure 1), the middle of the economic boom caused by World War I. The number of outward migrants decreased sharply after the economic crisis in 1920 and stagnated during the 1920s. After a sharp drop during the Great Depression in the early 1930s, outward migration resumed and reached nearly 100 in the late 1930s. Thus, we can discern two epochs: the World War I period, and the latter half of the 1930s. As both periods are usually characterized as prosperous times, it is obvious that outward migration was strongly influenced by the condition of the labour market, or by job opportunities beyond the village area.

The magnitude of the outward migration is shown in Figure1-2. Though the proportion of migrants to the total village inhabitants might have been less than five percent even in 1916⁹, the cases of migration per number of actual households reached 16 percent in 1916. If we adjust this number using the ‘capture-ratio’ of 60 percent, as calculated in the previous section, we can say that 27 percent of households experienced outward migration, (or to be precise, leaving the household for more than 89 days), of at least one of its members. Thus, even in an exclusively farming village, moving became a familiar behaviour to the inhabitants, at least after World War I. However, moving did not prevail evenly among the inhabitants. In the following sections, we will examine the

⁹ Though the accurate population of the village can only be obtained for the years of National Census, 1920 and 1930, we may speculate that the population in 1916 was a little more than 1920.

specific features of migration behaviour by showing the attributes, destinations and the occupations of the migrants.

(2) The attributes of migrants

The moving unit can be divided into two types; moving singly (single migration), and moving with other family members (plural migration). As Table 1 suggests, more than half of the migrants left their village taking their family. However, the unit of migration differed considerably by sex. A higher proportion of males than females migrated singly throughout the periods concerned. In fact, prior to World War I the number of male migrants moving without family members exceeded that of females by a factor of 3.2. Though the factor was cut to less than 1.5 times in the boom period during World War I, it increased in the 1930s.

The age of moving is an important component of migration behaviour. Table 2 shows the proportion of migrants by age. As we are focusing on working age, the proportions are calculated based on the total migrants aged ten or over. The significant fact shown in Table 2-1 is that over 70 percent of total migrants were aged 20 or over. Furthermore, throughout these periods, usually one-third but at least a quarter of migrants was aged 35 or over.

The bottom half of Table 2 extracts the age data for the cases of single migration (i.e. migration without family members). Regarding male migrants, migrants in their twenties dominated up to the first half of the 1930s, and then, an increase in the number of teens characterized single male migration in the 1930s. Teens, however, dominated female single migration after World War I. These facts suggest the specific nature of the labour demand differed by sex and period of time.

Sibling order is also worth discussing when we look at the family strategy of farming households. Specifically, the male sibling order is significant, in view of the Japanese sole inheritance system '*ie*' that tended to designate the first son as the sole successor in the Japanese household unit, including as property not only the land but also the right to cultivate tenanted land. In the light of this inheritance system, it is noticeable that somewhat fewer than half the outward migrants were potential

‘successors’ under *ie* from 1889–1905 in Table 3, as *ie* in theory was supposed to retain the successors. The proportion of non-successors, however, decreased to one-third during 1915–1923 and to a quarter in the 1930s, matching the course of the inheritance system of *ie*. This might suggest that the motivation behind migration altered significantly in the light of the *ie* system before and after World War I.

(3) The destination of migrants

The geographical distribution of the destinations of the outward migrants is shown in Table 3. Regarding the total migrants in Table 3-1, the main destination changed from neighbouring villages (rural area in Fukushima prefecture) during 1889–1905 to metropolitan areas (Tokyo and Kanagawa) after World War I. The trend towards the latter can be seen in other areas outside Fukushima prefecture. The nearest town, Kitagata, about ten kilometres away from Keitoku-village, absorbed approximately a quarter during 1889–1905, and then gradually became less significant in the period between the wars. In contrast, the proportion received by neighbouring cities such as Wakamatsu, Koriyama was consistently low. The high proportion received by Hokkaido, the ‘frontier’ or ‘inner colony’ of modern Japan, declined sharply in the 1930s.

Table 4-2 focuses on the single migration of either sex. The destination of male migrants as shown in this Table reveals the dramatic change since World War I. Migration to the areas within Fukushima prefecture lost its dominant position, while migration to the metropolitan area continuously increased, the proportion reaching over 50 percent in the latter half of the 1930s. The trend of single female migration seems more complicated than that of males. Although the direction of the change from the period 1889–1905 to the period 1915–1923 seems to have been similar, the destination of females in the 1930s was completely different to that of single males. The continuous high proportion received by Kitagata except for the period 1915–1923 is also noteworthy in the case of females.

(4) Occupations and migrants

The geographical distribution of the migrants discussed above suggests a particular relationship between destination and occupation. Specifically, the trend of single migration from rural areas to metropolitan areas seems to be a reflection of the progress of industrialisation, changing the job opportunities from the first industry to second and tertiary industries.

Information regarding the migrants' occupations at the destination has been routinely obtainable since 1914, the year when the "Temporary Residence Act" was enacted requiring the recording of occupation¹⁰ on the notification form. The discussion in this section is based on this information with specific classification of the occupations as follows.

- 1) Agriculture: Farming household, Agricultural labourer
- 2) Unskilled: Daily labourer, Construction worker, Factory errand boy, Domestic servant
- 3) Mining: Mine worker
- 4) Commerce and manufacturing: Shopkeeper, Manufacturer, Craftsman, Apprentice, Shop assistant, Salesman
- 5) Factory worker: Silk reeling, Electric machine manufacturing, etc.
- 6) Office worker and professional: Railroad worker, Teacher, Government official, Office worker
- 7) Student: Teacher training school, School of nursing

This classification is based on two major criteria: the type of job organization, and the level of skill required for the job. Employment by a modern organization characterizes the workers in 5) and 6), while 1) and 4) imply job opportunities under indigenous entities such as farming households and small workshops on a self-employed basis. In contrast, 2) and 3) can be characterized not by the type of employer but the type of work in terms of the level of skill. The student, 7), might be positioned as a step towards skilled worker employed by modern organizations. As the following analysis shows,

¹⁰ Though there is no definition of the occupations filled in on the form, most of them can be interpreted as occupations at the destination.

this classification works well to detect the particular relationships between attributes, destinations and occupations of the migrants.

Table 5 shows the geographical distribution of migrants' occupations. We can confirm that the geographical distribution of the migrants' destinations had to do with the occupations they sought. The rural area in Fukushima prefecture as well as Hokkaido closely related to the agricultural work opportunities. Hokkaido also absorbed the unskilled workers, showing a similar pattern of distribution of occupation to Japan's colonies and to foreign countries. In contrast, the metropolitan areas, Tokyo and Kanagawa, and the other areas outside Fukushima (except Hokkaido) were dominated by the factory workers, office workers and professionals connected to the modern organizations. Although the other category of industrial occupation—commerce and manufacturing—occupied around 15 percent in these areas, this was the largest occupation in Kitakata town, at just under 40 percent. Unskilled as well as agricultural labourers, the latter of which might have been employed by farming households perhaps on a temporary basis, also predominated in Kitakata. The other cities in Fukushima were characterized by the significant proportion of students as well as office workers and professionals.

As Table 6 reveals, the distribution of the migrants' occupations at the destinations changed from the 1910s to the 1930s. Apart from the relatively stable proportion of office workers and professionals, the large preponderance of agricultural occupations during 1915–1923, which might be a vestige of the pre World War I period, was replaced by unskilled workers and commerce and manufacturing in the early 1930s and by factory workers in the late 1930s and the 1940s. Single migration was typical of the factory worker, and this category shows the highest percentage (78.4 percent), slightly higher than students, whereas plural migration dominated agriculture, at 29.1 percent. The high percentage of females among factory workers up to the early 1930s suggests a structural change in the labour market for factory workers in the late 1930s. It is also noticeable that the number of migrants in plural migration exceeded that of single migration in the cases of unskilled worker and miners. 'Commerce and manufacturing' and 'Office workers and professionals' are positioned in between,

probably including the two different types of migrations.

These facts suggest a specific relationship between occupations and migration pattern, and the information on attributes of migrants gives an important clue to understanding these relationships. In fact, according to Table 7, the proportions among migrants of actual as well as potential *ie* successors of a household was relatively low for 'Factory workers', 'Office workers and professionals' and 'Students', and high for 'Agriculture', 'Unskilled labourers' and 'Miners'. 'Commerce and manufacturing' seems to be in between. Thus, the ratios by occupation in Table 7 seem to be negatively correlated to that of single migration in Table 6.

The age of migration was also specific by occupation. The upper half of Table 8 shows that the male single migration for agricultural, unskilled and mining workers was concentrated on the relatively older ages, over 20 years old, contrasting with the factory workers, nearly half of whom were teenagers. The wide range of age distribution for 'Commerce and manufacturing' is also worth noting. A small but significant proportion of teenage migrants left the village to be employed by manufacturing or commercial workshops. In contrast, the age distribution of female single migrants shown in the bottom half of the table was inclined towards teenagers, particularly in case of the factory workers in the textile industry.

By using the tax related documents¹¹, Table 9 tries to show the relation between migrants' occupations at destination and economic status of the households with which migrants were affiliated while living in Keitoku village. Though the number in the sample is limited, the matching pattern of migration and economic status was apparent in the Table. The migrants seeking jobs as 'Office workers and professionals' clustered in the upper level. As these jobs are supposed to require a higher than primary level school education, it is natural that 'Students' in the Table show a similar pattern. The lower level, however, mainly produced unskilled labourers, agricultural workers and factory workers. Among these three categories, unskilled labourers clustered in the

¹¹ A village resident's tax in modern Japan, *Kosuware* in Japanese, was imposed on each household according to its economic status. The economic status was estimated by officials of the local government, positioning each household in a ranking table. Table 9 was produced by matching the names of the head of household as it appeared in *Kosuware* and the migrant notification forms.

lowest level, followed by the agricultural workers. Though one-third of factory workers appeared in the lowest level, male factory workers were concentrated in the middle levels, 50–60 percent and 60–70 percent from the top. The diversity of ‘Commerce and manufacturing’ is also observed in this Table, ranging from top to bottom, but the main producing level was the middle range, 30–70 percent from the top.

(5) Summary: Diverse patterns of outward migration

Thus far, we have observed the various aspects of outward migrations in Keitoku village. Lastly in this section, let us put the results of the study in order and establish the patterns of migration behaviour in this village.

The boom period from World War I had a great impact on the migration behaviour of this village. Before this period, migration was rather limited in volume, the major part comprising family unit migration, seeking job opportunities in the agrarian or unskilled labour markets. In other words, migrations in this period often implied the permanent departure of a whole household from the village community.

In contrast, the driving force of the increase of outward migrants from the boom period of World War I was the single migration of non-successors who were excluded from the succession of the household, *ie.* The increase of single migration to be a factory worker was typical of this, comprising nearly 40 percent of migrants in the late 1930s, whereas becoming ‘skilled’ workers in the workshops of commerce or the manufacturing sector consistently occupied a certain proportion of the occupations in the 1920s and mid 1930s, showing an almost equivalent ratio to unskilled worker. On top of that, ‘Office workers and professionals’ stayed at 20 to nearly 40 percent throughout the periods concerned.

Combining the summary above with the economic status of migrants’ originally affiliated household, we put forward several patterns of outward migration from this village. Though leaving as a family unit accounted for the major part of migration before World War I, single migration of non-successors seeking non-agricultural work has characterized migration since the boom period of World War I. In the 1920s and mid 1930s, the upper levels consistently produced migrants for ‘Office

workers and professionals’, whereas the unskilled workers came out from the lower layers. The middle level mainly produced the workers for ‘Commerce and manufacturing’ up to the mid-1930s, and ‘Factory workers’ came to the fore in the late 1930s. The increase in migration for factory workers was accompanied by the decrease in the migration age of males, from over 20s to teens. As female migration did not experience the big change, it was the single male migration that characterized the periodical change, so, the drastic change in the late 1930s can be attributed to the appearance of factory work. In other words, even for non-successors, migrants were over the age of 20 before they left Keitoku village.

Was this the norm in other areas? Or does this mean the existence of surplus labour in the interwar villages? In the final section, we touch briefly on this question by referring to data other than village documents.

4. The feature of juvenile male migrants in Keitoku village

First, let us make some estimation of the weight of juvenile males to the total outward migrants by areas. The population data by ages in the National Census, conducted every five years since 1920, enable us to estimate the net outflow of a certain cohort, which can be the proxy of the number of net outward migrants, between the census years concerned. Figure 2 tries to show the weight of juvenile outward migrants by prefecture in relation to the magnitude of the outward migration. The horizontal axis, that plots “the net decrease of males aged 15-19 in 5 years divided by that of aged 20-29”, proximately denotes the weight of juvenile (teenaged) males at the prefecture concerned, and the vertical axis, that plots “the net decrease of males aged 15-19 in 5 years divided by the original population of them, that is the population of males aged 10-14 in the starting year”, proximately denotes the magnitude of the migration at the prefecture concerned¹³. Figure 2 shows that the number of teen aged migrants fell short of that of

¹³ Strictly speaking, the number calculated by this equation included not only the net outflow of the people but also the number of people disappeared by deaths. Regarding juvenile ages, however, the number of deaths seems not to have large influence on the results as death rate of these ages was rather low.

twenties in many prefectures up to the period of 1930-1935, and so did in Fukushima prefecture, in which Keitoku village is located. Therefore, although the areas where the weight of juvenile male migrants were much high certainly existed, the case of Fukushima prefecture, and probably that of Keitoku village, were not the extreme in Japan's rural society during the interwar period.

This fact raises an interesting question when we refer to the age at which juvenile males started their career in non-agricultural occupation such as commercial as well as manufacturing workshops, more favorable job opportunities than unskilled works¹⁴. Table 10 reveals that the mode of the starting age of "apprentice"¹⁵ at workshops in Tokyo was 16 and very few in the late teens in the 1930s. In other words, a village inhabitant who wanted to get into the non-agricultural workshops as an "apprentice" should have left his / her birth place before the age of 20 at the latest. Then, why many migrants of Keitoku-village, specifically in the form of single migration, delayed their moving after twenties, resulting frequently in entering unskilled labour market?

Two different factors seem to be worth discussing to account for this puzzle. One is the labour demand for juvenile males in the village. As farming household was based on family labour, even non-successor might be a precious workforce under a certain circumstance of a family cycle such as the period prior to the marriage of the successor that would introduce additional labour ; a successor's' spouse. The other is the lack or weakness of the connection to the "apprentice" market in metropolitan areas. This also seems to have been a plausible situation when we remind that the employers, small and medium sized workshops scattered in industrial and commercial areas, might have been limited in ability in spreading the recruiting network over the remote rural areas.

It is not possible in this paper to make any decisive conclusions about these

¹⁴ The life courses of the workers in urban small and medium workshops are discussed in Tanimoto (forthcoming).

¹⁵ Though there were few formal apprenticeship actually practicing in early 20th century Japan, some official reports used the term "apprentice" to describe the feature of juvenile workers, reflecting the "informal" apprenticeship working among the urban non-agricultural workshops.

two possibilities. However, we can assume that these two possibilities have to do with a significant question whether the rural society in modern Japan was the reservoir of “surplus labour”.

We can interpret that the former factor was derived from the strategy of the household that demanded a male family member to stay in the household for a specific period. If so, we cannot simply say that the juvenile males in the village was merely the existence of “surplus labour” included in the farming household. On the other hand, the latter factor can be interpreted as the expression of the underdeveloped labour market, resulting in the failure of absorbing juvenile workers in the rural areas. In this case, it was more of the demand side that influenced the movement of labour from rural to urban areas, occasionally leaving “surplus labour” in the villages.

Thus, both interpretations seem to include some truths. If so, it is not appropriate to approach the question by forcing the choice between the two. Therefore, the significant point to be explored further is the change of the balance between household strategy and the market force over time. In the light of this approach, the fact that the juvenile male migrants increased significantly in the late 1930s, along with the rise of factory work as an occupation, would come to light as a clue to discern the significance of each factor.

5. Concluding remarks

In this paper, we have observed the trends and patterns of population movement in an agrarian village, Keitoku, by utilizing micro level data set based on the notification forms stored in village official documents. Among the interesting findings summarized in the last part of chapter 3, relatively small proportion of juvenile male migrants specifically draw our attention since this fact seems to be somewhat inconsistent to the general understanding of the behaviour of the farming household that had to discharge the non-successor from their household based on solo inheritance system. This point stimulates us to reconsider the actual implication of the concept of “surplus labour” in the context of the rural history of industrializing Japan.

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Figure 1-1

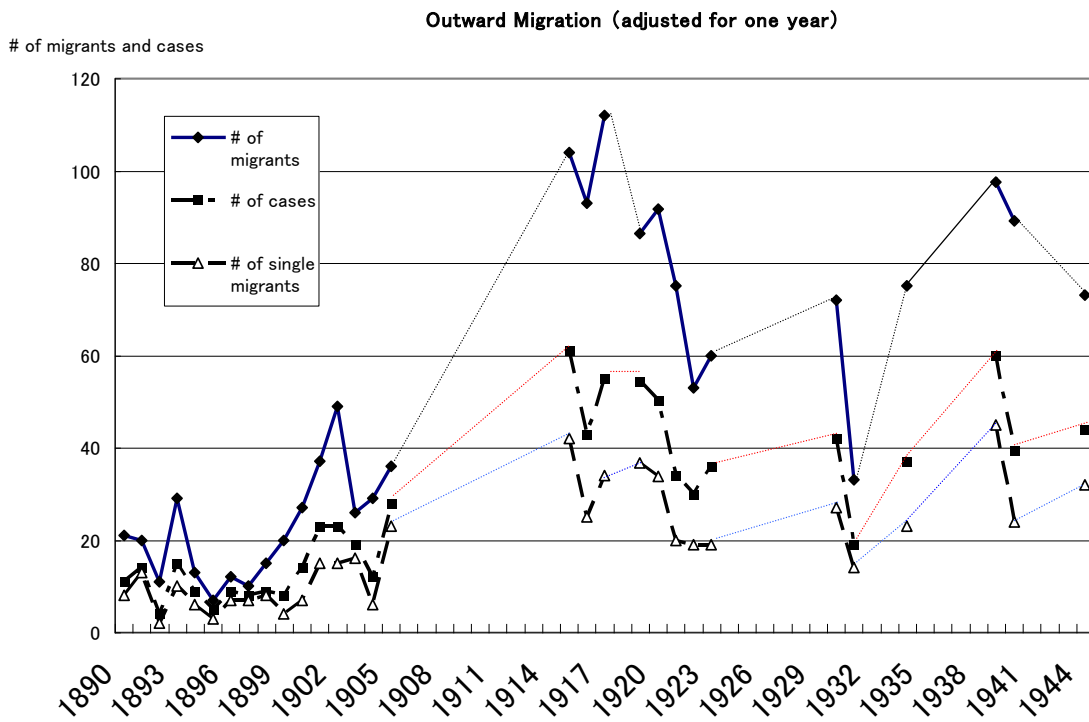


Figure 1-2

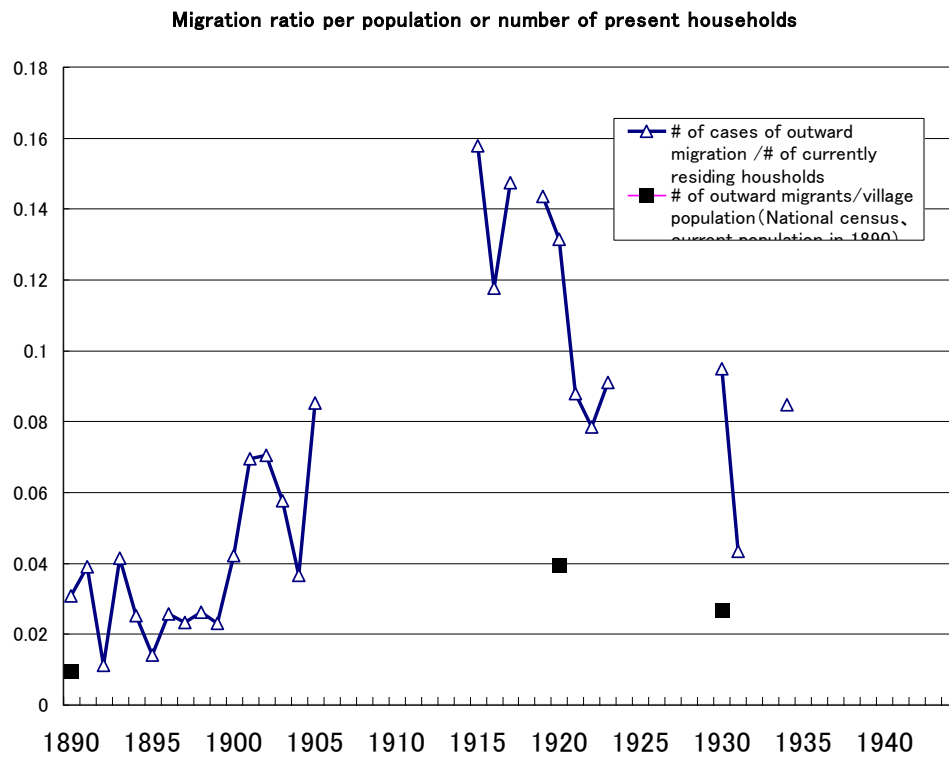


Table 1 Patterns and sex ratio of outward migrants

<u># of migrants in single migration / Total # of migrants</u>			
	Total	Female	Male
1889-1905	35.5	20.9	45.4
1915-1923	27.5	23.5	31.3
1930-34	18.8	10.8	27.8
1939-40	26.5	17.6	35.3
<u>Sex ratio (Male / Female)</u>			
	Total	Female	Male
1889-1905	147.5	101.8	320.7
1915-1923	104.4	93.8	139.2
1930-34	96.8	78.3	250.0
1939-40	100.0	78.6	200.0

Table 2 Age of migrants

(%)					
<u>Proprtion of migrants by age to total outward migrants</u>					
<u>Age</u>	1889-1905	1915-1923	1930-34	1939-40	1944-45
Total					
10-14	13.6	12.4	17.4	12.3	7.1
15-19	8.9	15.0	11.0	15.8	16.7
20-24	14.4	19.1	16.5	12.3	14.3
25-29	17.1	13.6	15.6	15.8	28.6
30-34	17.1	12.4	14.7	10.5	11.9
35and over	28.8	27.4	24.8	33.3	21.4
Total	344	468	178	187	106
under 10	83	141	68	77	41
<u>Proprtion of migrants by age to total outward migrants</u>					
	1889-1905	1915-1923	1930-34	1939-40	1944-45
Male in single migration					
10-14	14.4	11.2	8.0	6.3	6.7
15-19	12.2	12.2	16.0	31.3	46.7
20-24	23.3	30.6	28.0	25.0	20.0
25-29	13.3	16.3	20.0	25.0	0.0
30-34	14.4	11.2	16.0	0.0	6.7
35and over	22.2	18.4	12.0	12.5	20.0
Female in single migration					
10-14	10.7	14.3	44.4	22.2	14.3
15-19	7.1	28.6	11.1	33.3	0.0
20-24	14.3	30.0	33.3	0.0	14.3
25-29	14.3	11.4	0.0	0.0	28.6
30-34	25.0	7.1	11.1	0.0	0.0
35and over	28.6	8.6	0.0	44.4	42.9

Table 3

(%)

Relationship to the head of household, male migrants

	1889-1905	1915-1923	1930 onward
Successor	48.6	36.3	26.9
Head	22.7	16.7	7.7
First child	23.8	16.4	15.4
Adopted child or son-in law	2.2	3.1	3.8
Non-successor	41.4	44.6	52.6
Second child or under	24.3	29.2	26.9
Collateral relatives	17.1	15.4	25.6
Grand child	3.9	13.8	12.8
Others	6.1	5.2	7.7

Table 4 Geographical distribution of destinations

(%)

	Fukushima prefecture			Outside Fukushima prefecture			Colonies and foreign
	Kitakata town	Cities(Fukushima and Wakamatsu, Koriyama)	Rural area	Tokyo/Kanagawa	Hokkaido	Others	
Total							
1889-1905	23.5	4.7	42.7	9.9	10.2	8.7	0.0
1915-1923	20.2	7.1	17.4	21.9	20.0	11.6	1.6
1930-34	14.4	4.8	24.6	30.5	3.2	17.6	1.1
1939-40	22.6	12.3	9.4	32.1	0.0	18.9	2.8
Male by single migration							
1889-1905	14.0	7.5	43.0	10.8	9.7	14.0	0.0
1915-1923	6.8	10.7	15.5	33.0	8.7	21.4	2.9
1930-34	8.0	8.0	4.0	44.0	4.0	28.0	0.0
1939-40	0.0	5.6	5.6	55.6	0.0	22.2	11.1
Female by single migration							
1889-1905	41.4	3.4	31.0	13.8	3.4	6.9	0.0
1915-1923	10.8	12.2	18.9	28.4	4.1	25.7	0.0
1930-34	30.0	10.0	30.0	30.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
1939-40	55.6	22.2	0.0	11.1	0.0	0.0	0.0

Table 5 Distribution of occupation by destination

	Entire periods(1915-1945)						(%)
	Fukushima prefecture			Outside Fukushima prefecture			Colonies and foreign countries
	Kitakata town	Cities(Fukushima Wakamatsu, Koriyama)	Rural area	Tokyo/Kanagawa	Hokkaido	Others	
Agriculture	22.4	3.1	30.9	47.5	2.4	0.0	37.5
Unskilled work	19.0	6.3	16.4	25.0	4.8	8.3	25.0
Miner	0.0	0.0	9.1	2.5	0.0	6.7	0.0
Commerce and manufacturing	37.9	18.8	7.3	10.0	15.7	13.3	12.5
Factory worker	8.6	6.3	7.3	2.5	28.9	25.0	0.0
Office worker and professional	8.6	31.3	20.0	12.5	32.5	36.7	25.0
Student	3.4	31.3	7.3	0.0	9.6	5.0	0.0
Others	0.0	3.1	0.0	0.0	1.2	0.0	0.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table 6

Distribution of occupation by period, migration pattern and sex

	(%)						
	(Entire periods)				(Entire periods)		
	1915-23	1930-34	1939-45	Total	Single migration ratio	Female ratio	
Agriculture	19.4	6.1	4.3	16.2		29.1	34.5
Unskilled work	11.3	20.4	8.5	12.7		41.9	23.3
Miner	4.1	0.0	2.1	2.9		40.0	0.0
Commerce and manufacturing	18.9	24.5	17.0	19.5		56.1	22.7
Factory worker	13.1	8.2	38.3	15.0		78.4	39.2
Office worker and professional	22.5	38.8	23.4	25.1		50.6	10.6
Student	9.9	2.0	6.4	8.0		77.8	44.4
Others	0.9	0.0	0.0	0.6		50.0	50.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0		53.1	25.4
Female ratio/Total	31.5	12.2	14.9	25.4			
Female ratio/Factory worker	55.2	75.0	5.6				
Female ratio/Commerce and manufacturing	28.6	0.0	25.0				
# of samples	222	49	47	339		180	86

Table 7 Occupation and family order

Proportion of head and first child (%)			
Male	Total	Single migration	Plural migration (same surname)
Agriculture	50.0	25.0	65.0
Unskilled work	58.1	46.2	66.7
Miner	57.1	40.0	100.0
Commerce and manufacturing	47.7	32.0	68.4
Factory worker	22.6	24.0	16.7
Office worker and professional	37.1	33.3	40.5
Student	21.4	30.0	0.0
Others	100.0	0.0	100.0
Total	41.7	31.7	53.3

Table 8 Occupation and age (Single migration)

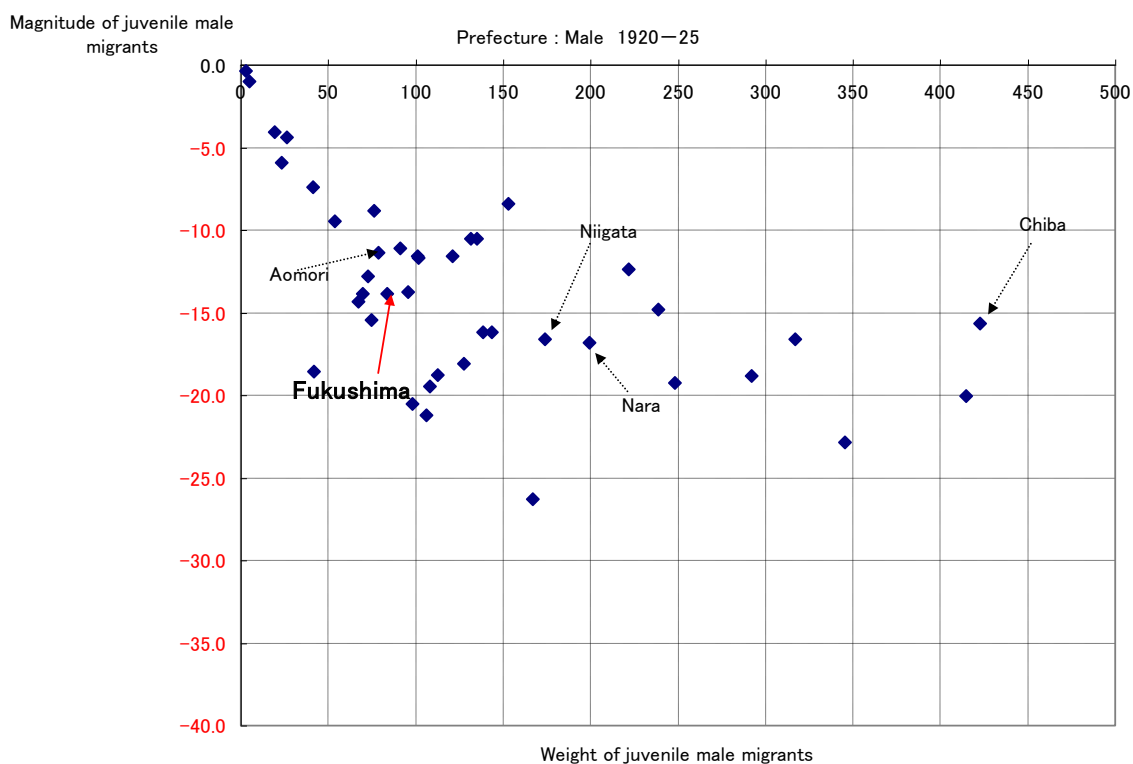
Entire periods (1915-1945) (%)				
	14 and under	15-19	20-24	25 and over
Male in single migration				
Agriculture	0.0	0.0	38.5	61.5
Unskilled work	0.0	0.0	30.8	69.2
Miner	0.0	0.0	50.0	50.0
Commerce and manufacturing	6.7	13.3	36.7	43.3
Factory worker	0.0	45.5	27.3	22.7
Office worker and professional	0.0	11.1	22.2	63.9
Student	9.1	54.5	27.3	9.1
Others				
Total	2.3	18.6	30.2	47.3
Female in single migration				
Agriculture	33.3	0.0	33.3	33.3
Unskilled work	0.0	40.0	0.0	60.0
Miner				
Commerce and manufacturing	0.0	14.3	28.6	57.1
Factory worker	21.1	47.4	21.1	10.5
Office worker and professional	0.0	28.6	57.1	14.3
Student	20.0	60.0	20.0	0.0
Others	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
Total	13.5	38.5	25.0	23.1

Table 9 Economic status of affiliated households of migrants and their occupation at destinations

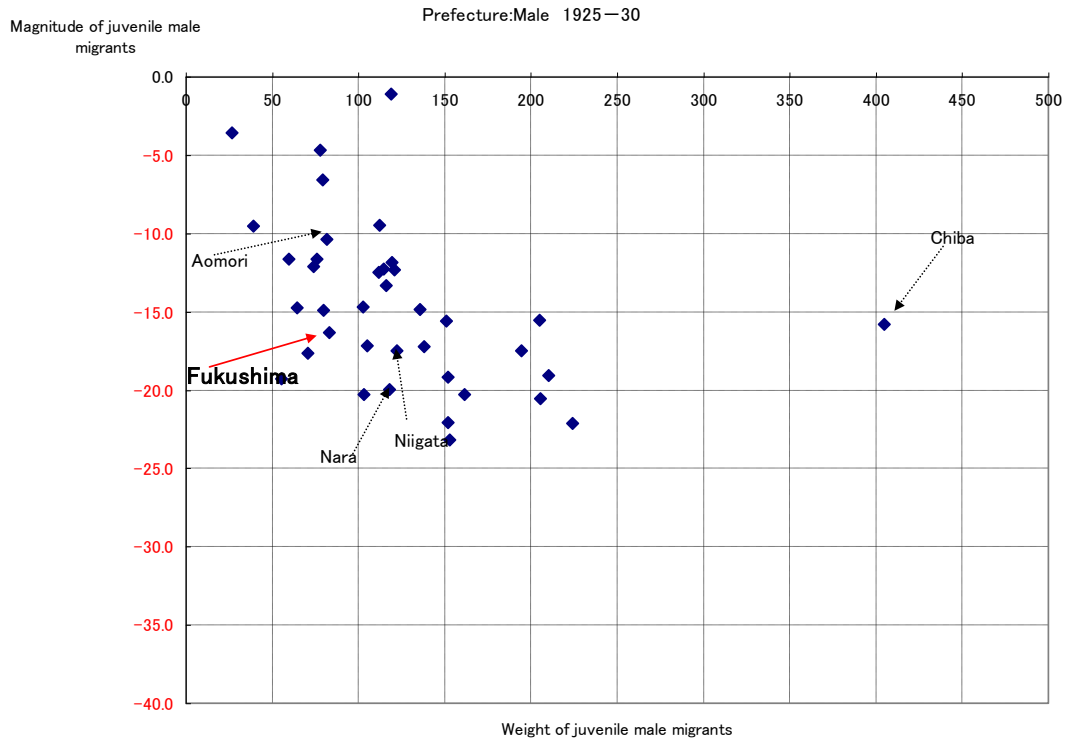
	(%)							
Order by value of imposed village tax	Agriculture	Unskilled work	Miner	Commerce and manufacturing	Factory worker	(female factory worker)	Office worker and professional	Student
Within upper 10%	4.8			13.6			23.5	40.0
10—20%	4.8			9.1			23.5	13.3
20—30%	9.5				7.1	20.0	11.8	20.0
30—40%				22.7			2.9	13.3
40—50%	9.5	9.1		9.1	14.3		5.9	6.7
50—60%	9.5	18.2	50.0	13.6	21.4	20.0	17.6	6.7
60—70%	19.0	9.1	50.0	18.2	21.4		2.9	
70—80%	38.1	27.3		9.1	7.1		8.8	
80—90%	4.8	36.4		4.5	28.6	60.0	2.9	
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
# of samples	21	11	2	22	14	5	34	15

Note) Unknown cases are excluded.

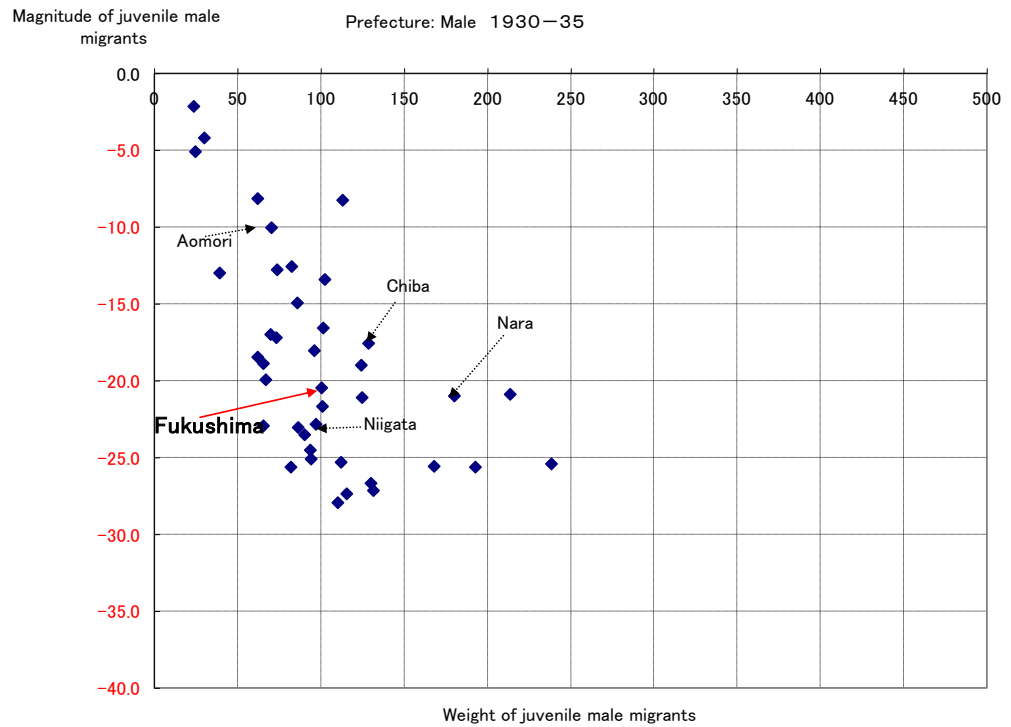
Figure 2 source) National Census 1920,1925,1930,1935,1940
1920-1925



1925-1930



1930-1935



1935-1940

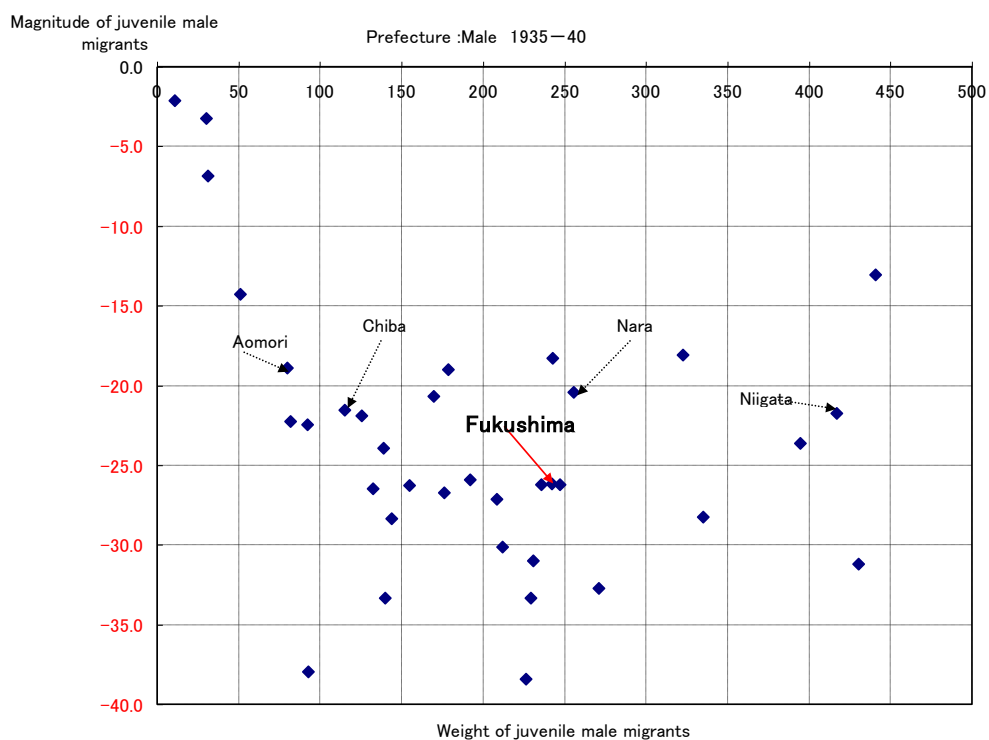


Table 10 The starting age of “apprentice” at small and medium workshops in Tokyo ca. 1939

The starting age of “apprentice”(ca.1939)

Age	# of “apprentice”
12 and under	16
13	82
14	326
15	714
16	934
17	615
18	245
19	26
20	16
21 and over	4
Unknown	2
Total	2980

Source) Tokyo Prefecture ed. *Chushokigyo no Keiejijyo to Totei no Roudou Jijyo*