

12.5 Migration and occupational structure in modern Japan: rural society and the industrialising economy in the pre-war period Room 203

Convener: Masayuki Tanimoto

Chair: Chiaki Yamamoto

12.51 Penelope Francks – Understanding Japanese rural history in a comparative context: from surplus labour to the labour-intensive path of development

Previous work – in Japanese and English – has looked at the role of the rural sector in Japan's development, and inter-sectoral labour transfer in particular, from a largely macro perspective. Japan was a key example for early two-sector models and the assumption that the straightforward transfer of workers from agriculture to industry was central to Japanese development is still to be found underlying quantitative research. However, few studies have ever looked at how the process actually worked at the level of villages and households.

This matters especially now that, in both development studies and economic history, the rural sector is no longer regarded as simply a passive reservoir of agricultural labour available for transfer to a specialised industrial sector. In fact, current work on Japanese rural history is demonstrating how farm household strategies involving income diversification and pluriactivity operated in ways that proved not incompatible with modern economic growth. Research is revealing how demographic patterns and institutional structures were inter-related with the economic and technological changes that enabled rural households to utilise their available labour more fully, to the extent that non-agricultural producers had no choice but to adapt their organisation and production methods to the requirements of workers still based in agricultural households. The implications of this for the pattern of long-term development are considerable and the paper will suggest that they provide the rural basis for the so-called 'labour-intensive path of development' of which Japan is now seen as a pioneer in Asia.

Penelope Francks is an Honorary Lecturer at Leeds and Research Associate, Japan Research Centre, SOAS. She has a BA in Economics, Cambridge (1971); MSc, PhD in Japanese Economic History, SOAS, London (1978). She holds visiting positions in Japan at Hitotsubashi University, Kyushu University, Tokyo University and others, is a member of the Asian Studies Panel, RAE 2001 and 2008, and is currently Chair, Japan Foundation Endowment Fund. Main publications include *Technology and Agricultural Development in Pre-War Japan* (Yale U.P., 1983); *Japanese Economic Development* (Routledge 1992, sec. ed. 1999); *Rural Economic Development in Japan* (Routledge, 2006); *The Japanese Consumer: an Alternative Economic History of Modern Japan* (Cambridge U.P., 2009), and papers in *Journal of Asian Studies*, *Japan Forum*, *World Development*, etc. Dr Francks is currently working on a project on Japanese consumption history with Prof. Janet Hunter at the LSE.

12.52 Masayuki Tanimoto – Trends and patterns of migration in rural Japan: an analysis of movement notifications from an agrarian village

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 1930s.

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 society. 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 work. 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 society. 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.

Masayuki Tanimoto is Professor of Economic History at the Graduate School of Economics, University of Tokyo and a Doctor of Economics (University of Tokyo, 1999). From 2005 to 2006 he was Academic Visitor, Department of Economic History, LSE. His publications include *The Weaving Industry in the Japanese Indigenous Economic Development* (in Japanese) (1998); as editor, *The Role of Tradition in Japan's Industrialization: Another Path to Industrialization* (2006); 'Cotton and the Peasant Economy: Foreign Fibre in Early Modern Japan' in Riello, Giorgio and Prasanna Parthasarathi, eds, *The Spinning World: A Global History of Cotton Textile, 1200-1850* (2009); 'The Development of Dispersed Production Organization in the Inter-war Period: The Case of the Japanese Toy Industry' in Okazaki, Tetsuji, ed., *Production Organization in Japanese Economic Development* (2007); and 'Agricultural Labourers in the "Peasant Society": Case Studies of Farming Villages in Early Modern Kinai' (in Japanese) *Housei University Kesizai-Shirin (Housei University Economic Review)* 73 (2006).

12.53 Shinji Sugayama – Migration and career formation among young male workers from rural areas: evidence from physical examinations for conscription

How did migration from rural areas lead to the development of occupational careers among individual workers in pre-war Japan? What kinds of jobs were available to young male workers fresh from agricultural villages, and how did they form the initial stages of their occupational careers? How did this change over the course of Japanese industrialisation? This paper addresses these issues, by looking into data from the physical examinations of potential conscripts, with special reference to the case of Sekishiba-village in Yama county, Fukushima prefecture.

Under the conscription system in the prewar period, all men were in principle required to undergo a physical examination at their *honseki-chi* (place of registration), which was identical with their birthplace in most instances, when reaching adulthood. In the case of Sekishiba village, examination data include records of the examinee's present address, present occupation and the year when employed, together with his former occupation and the year when employed. They can be therefore regarded as high-quality 100 per cent surveys of the migration and occupational careers of 20-year-old males who were born in Sekishiba village.

Data cover the late 1930s and the early 1940s, when the Japanese economy was experiencing a rapid expansion of the heavy and chemical industries. At that time, a majority of the examinees were those who had left Sekishiba village and were engaged in occupations in the modern sector, such as factory worker and white-collar employee. The paper clarifies that there was a significant difference between those engaged in occupations in the modern sector and those engaged in ones in the traditional sector (such as artisan or shop-boy) with respect to age when first employed, academic achievements, and social backgrounds.

Shinji Sugayama is Professor of Business History, at the Department of Business Administration, Tohoku Gakuin University, and Master of Economics (Rikkyo University, 1984). His publications include (with Takehiko Kariya and Hiroshi Ishida) *Schools, Public Employment Offices, and the Labour Market in Postwar Japan* (in Japanese) (2000); 'The Careers and the Labour Market of Japanese Factory Workers on the Eve of Rapid Economic Growth' (in Japanese) SSJA Data Archive Research Paper Series 43, Information Center for Social Science Research on Japan Institute of Social Science, University of Tokyo (2009); 'Work Rules, Wages and Single Status: The Shaping of the "Japanese Employment System"' *Business Hist.* 37 (1995); 'Business Education, Training, and the Emergence of the "Japanese Employment System"' in Nobuo Kawabe and Eisuke Daito eds., *Education and Training in the*

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Development of Modern Corporations (1993); 'The Bureaucratization of Japanese Firms and Academic Credentialism: A Case Study of Hitachi Ltd', *Japanese Yearbook on Business History* (1991).