

The Formation of *Minshuku* Regions in Japan

by

Hideya ISHII

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I. Introduction

The history of tourism in Japan may be traced back to the middle of Edo era (about 1700 A. D.).¹⁾ However, mass tourism, in its contemporary meaning, has rapidly developed only since about 1960 with the increase of recreational demand in Japan. The phenomena of tourism have concomitantly diversified and have changed in all aspects²⁾. So far as accommodations are concerned, the development of *minshuku*, which are cheap lodging facilities operated mostly by farmers or fishermen as a side work, has been particularly remarkable, and many *minshuku* regions have emerged throughout Japan³⁾. Generally these regions used to be typical agricultural or fishing villages in less-developed areas in Japan. The clarification of the process of formation of *minshuku* regions and its conditions has great urgency. The aim of this paper is to present an explanatory model of the process of formation of *minshuku* regions by taking up representative examples, and to make clear where and under what conditions *minshuku* regions have been formed.

As previous geographical studies on *minshuku*, we can list some papers. For example, T. Ozaki, K. Masuda, T. Ito and E. Aoki, and T. Ichikawa have discussed partially the development or the geographical meaning of *minshuku* in their papers⁴⁾. E. Takahama, R. Asakawa and J. Yamamura have presented case studies about *minshuku* regions⁵⁾. Besides these, S. Birukawa and others, and S. Shirasaka have synthesized the change of the *minshuku*

region in Minami Izu (Shizuoka prefecture) and in Nozawa Onsen mura (Nagano prefecture)⁶⁾. However, the number of studies on this topic is still limited, and a systematic consideration of this subject is non-existent. Therefore, it is necessary to consider the formation of *minshuku* regions systematically in order to get a more general understanding.

Minshuku region is defined here as the area, in which the effects of *minshuku* are evident above a certain degree in the employment structure, income composition, and landscape. A *minshuku* region would be formed as a form of response of agricultural or fishing villages to the general trend of increasing demand and diversification of tourism. In other words, the formation of a *minshuku* region is affected not only by the general tendency of the economy and social affairs of our nation, but also by many regional factors, such as geographical site, local resources, actual status of industry, pattern of land ownership etc. The manner of development of *minshuku* region has a local color. Therefore, when we discuss this theme, we should at first try to find some common characteristics among the various *minshuku* regions and to grasp some patterns in their process of development, before carrying out the case studies. Through this procedure, we can clarify the general tendencies and the regional meaning of the development of *minshuku* regions. Further, in examining the formation processes of a *minshuku* region, we should try to grasp it in relation to the overall structure of the region. In other words, the region is naturally a complex, which consists of various elements, and *minshuku* may be considered to be a result from the complicated combination of those elements.

From this point of view, the author has discussed in Chapter II the actual status of the development and distribution of *minshuku* and has tried to classify the *minshuku* regions into a few patterns. The next two chapters deal with the formation of representative *minshuku* regions in each pattern. In investigating the *minshuku* regions, their development and the conditions for it are examined chronologically, with particular attention being paid to the shifts in the economic activities and to the landscape, which reflect the natural and social environments.

II. Two Patterns of *Minshuku* Regions.

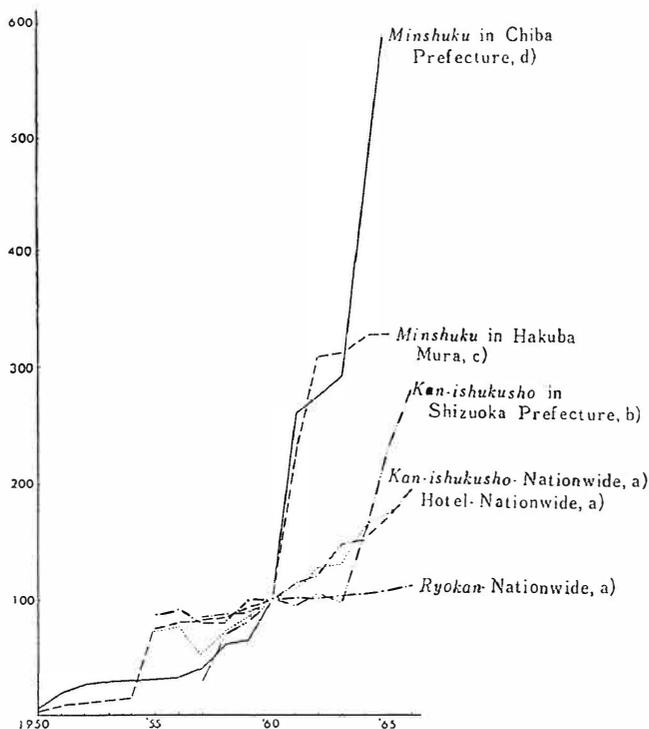
1. Development and Distribution of *Minshuku*.

1) Development of *Minshuku*.

The history of *minshuku* in Japan begins in the late Taisho and early Showa periods

(in the 1920's) when the first *minshuku* were opened in the mountain village of Hakuba in Nagano prefecture. From the end of the Meiji period (about 1900), the number of skiers and mountain climbers had been ever-increasing, and in response, the local inhabitants provided capital for services and facilities. At the same time, the increasing number of visitors led to a lessening of human contact between the local inhabitants and visitors. In the 1930's moreover, many farms of the Hakuba region were impoverished as a result of the national and world-wide depression. In the midst of such circumstances, the local inhabitants served as guides and provided lodgings for visitors and came to seek remuneration for their services. In other words, this was the beginning of farm *minshuku* as a form of lodgings distinct from the established Japanese inns (*ryokan*). The development of *minshuku* in the seaside town of Tomiyama in Chiba prefecture around 1929 and that of Nakazato in Niigata prefecture around 1931 were almost concurrent.

In the following years, *minshuku* developed gradually, but as the war came to cast a dark shadow over society, resulting in a decrease in tourism and the tightening of police



Source of Data:

- a) Ministry of Health and Welfare.
- b) Prefectural Office of Shizuoka.
- c) Japan Tourists Association.
- d) Prefectural Office of Chiba.

Fig. 1. The Change in the Number of Lodging Facilities (1960=100)

supervision, they declined.

In 1948, three years after the close of the war, the *ryokan* business law⁷⁾ was established, and from about 1950, *minshuku* began to be licensed as part of seasonal *ryokan* and *kan-ishukusho*. If we examine the cases of Hakuba mura (Nagano prefecture) and Chiba prefecture, for which records are extant, we find that in 1950 there were 8 *minshuku* in the former, and 15 at Tomiyama in 1951. From the period 1952-56, when it is said that the Japanese consumer economy recovered to the pre-war level, to about 1960 the number of *minshuku* grew at a steady pace (Fig. 1). From 1960 there was another rapid increase which can be linked to the "consumer boom" which occurred in this period. From about this time, the demand for tourism and travel within consumer life expanded greatly, leading to the growth in the number of *minshuku*.

According to Figure 1, if we take the number of *minshuku* in Hakuba in 1960 to be 100, by 1965, the index had increased to 327. In Chiba it had increased to 588, nearly a six fold increase. Further, there was a marked increase in the number of *minshuku* in the Izu peninsula (Shizuoka prefecture) from 1962, in the Sotobo area of Chiba prefecture from 1965, and the Miura peninsula (Kanagawa prefecture) and the Izu islands (Tokyo Metropolis) from 1966⁸⁾. However, unlike Hakuba, Uchibo and Niigata where *minshuku* sprung up spontaneously in response to local conditions, as typified by Izu, the development of many of these later *minshuku* was spurred on by private railroads and bus lines. From their beginnings such *minshuku* had a strong commercial aspect. Such *minshuku* characterize what might be called a kind of "minshuku boom" which occurred around 1966.

At present, there are no data which can reveal completely the changes in the number of *minshuku* nationwide throughout this period. Thus, if we examine the changes in the number of *kan-ishukusho*, more than half of which are *minshuku* (Fig. 1) and take the number in 1960 as 100, we find that in 1965 the index was 175, and in 1966, 195. When such figures are related to the rapid increase in the number of *minshuku* in Hakuba, Boso and Izu, it is clear that the growth of *minshuku* was concentrated in such particular areas.

2) Distribution of *Minshuku*.

Minshuku today are found not only in Chiba, Niigata, Nagano and Hyogo prefectures, but also in great numbers in Hokkaido, Yamagata, Gunma, Fukui, Gifu, Shizuoka, Shiga and Kyoto prefectures. There are fewer *minshuku* in the large cities, in their surrounding prefectures, and in Shikoku, Kyushu and the Sanriku region⁹⁾ (Fig. 2). The marked unevenness of distribution differs significantly from the distribution of *ryokan*. These facts suggest that *minshuku* tend to be found in areas of natural tourist attractions, and point out the

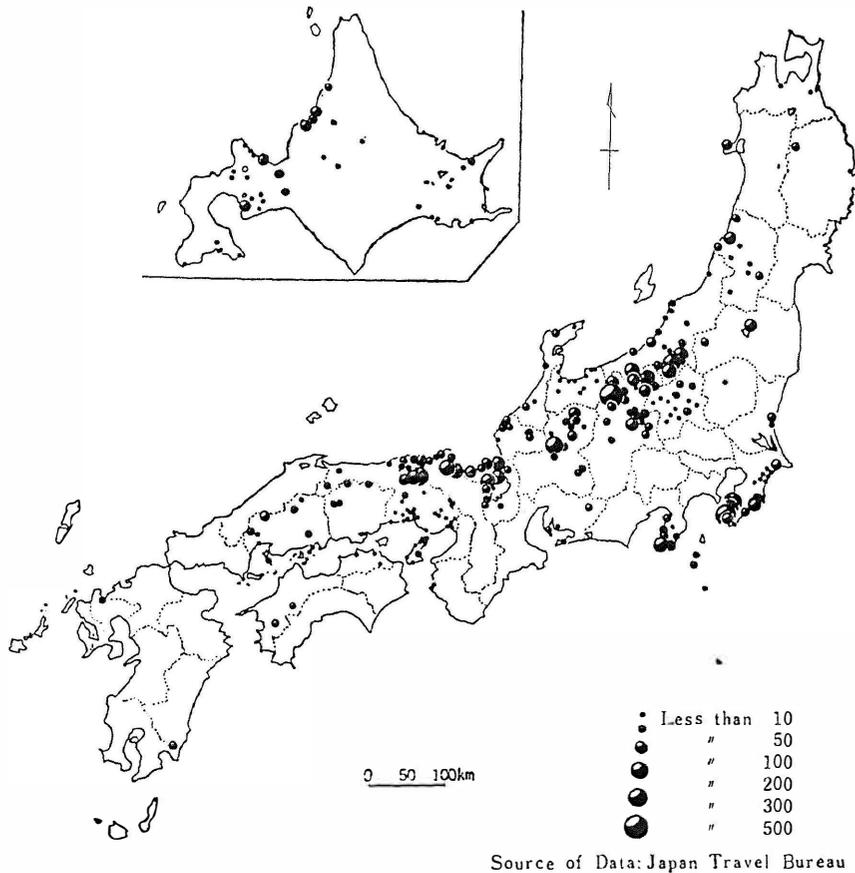


Fig. 2. The Distribution of *Minshuku* by Municipalities.

great importance of natural tourism resources in the development of *minshuku*.

The distribution of *minshuku* can be further divided into those of seaside, primarily those of Boso, Izu peninsula and the coastal areas of Fukui, Kyoto and Hyogo prefectures, and those of mountains, Minamiuonuma-gun in Niigata, Kitaazumi-gun and Iiyama-shi in Nagano and Kinosaki, Yabu-gun of Hyogo.

I have called *minshuku* regions those areas in which *minshuku* and their effects are evident above a certain degree in the employment patterns, income composition and in the landscape. However, it is difficult, because of insufficient data, to designate clearly *minshuku* regions by such standards. Therefore, in this study, I have taken as my criterion, lodging capacity, one of the important indices for determining tourist regions, and have designated provisionally as *minshuku* regions those towns, cities and villages with capacity over 1,000¹⁰⁾. With such regions as nuclei, *minshuku* are distributed throughout Japan. Excluding the *minshuku* regions of Hokkaido, Akita and Yamagata, they are all

located within 50-200 kilometers of metropolitan Tokyo, Osaka and Nagoya.

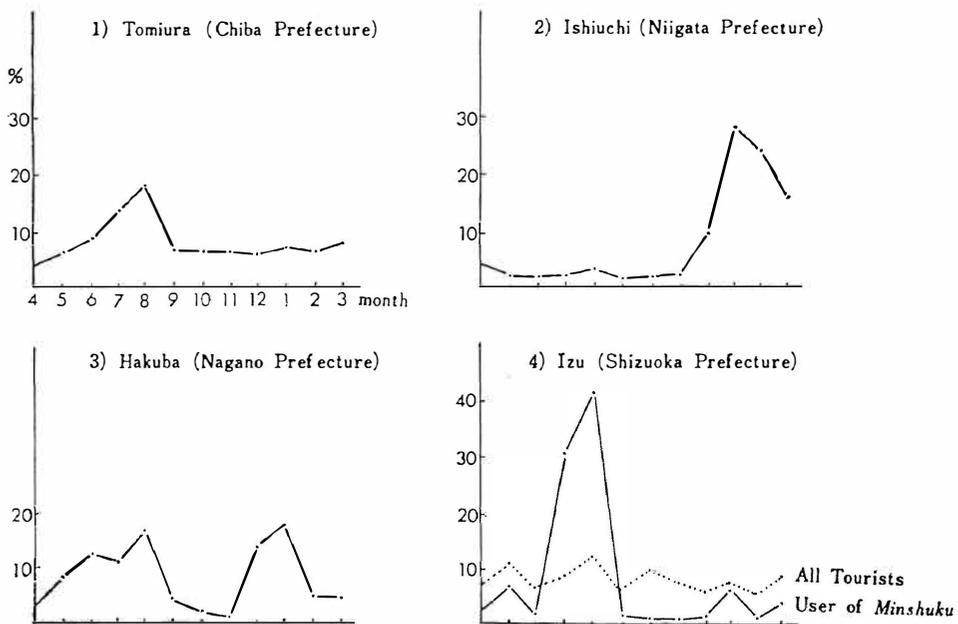
2. Patterns of Mountain and Coastal *Minshuku* Regions.

In the *minshuku* regions mentioned above, activities such as sightseeing, swimming, fishing, skiing, skating, mountain climbing and religious pilgrimages occur singly and in combination. The representative *minshuku* regions locate primarily either in skiing areas or bathing resorts, and the concentrated *minshuku* regions of Kitaazumi-gun, Minamiuonuma-gun, Izu and Boso peninsula are typical skiing areas and seaside resorts of Japan. In these two quite different environments—mountains suitable for skiing and beaches for swimming—*minshuku* developed in response to the differing objectives and needs of tourism¹⁾.

The characteristics by which a tourism region may be defined have been pointed out by various scholars. In this study, the development of the two patterns of *minshuku* region will be examined in terms of their seasonal aspect, which is related to the need of visitors, tourism resources and period of operation, and in terms of *minshuku* scale. The latter may be considered one index of the manner, in which *minshuku* developed due to regional differences.

1) Seasonality

As can be seen from Figure 3, the *minshuku* of Tomiura (Chiba prefecture), Izu and



Source of Data :

- 1).2) Stations of Japanese National Railways.
- 3) Information Bureau of Shinano Omachi Station.
- 4) Tourist Service Station of Tokai Bus and Municipal Office of Kamo-gun.

Fig. 3. Monthly Fluctuation of Tourists in Major *Minshuku* Regions.

Ishiuchi (Niigata prefecture) are of one season type. The peak season for the first two is summer, and for the third, winter. Hakuba falls into the two season type. All, however, have strong seasonal aspects. Further, it is clear that the winter peak of Hakuba and Ishiuchi is due to the large influx of skiers, and that the summer season of Tomiura and Izu, to visitors to the seashore. The second, summer season of Hakuba owes to mountaineers and users of the student village¹²⁹). As *minshuku* were established and investment in facilities increased, they have been transformed from a secondary enterprise to a primary. Thus, the tendency to lengthen the season of operation is evident not only in Nagano prefecture, where student villages were set up early, but also in Izu where *minshuku* are permitted to operate year-round, and in Niigata, where the period of operation from 1968 was lengthened to six months and a summer student village established. Further, in Chiba the number of *minshuku* which by establishing winter student villages obtain permits as year-round *kan-ishukusho* has grown rapidly. Thus generally throughout Japan at present, there is a trend for *minshuku* to become commercial enterprises. And while on one hand, investment in facilities has flourished, there are also efforts to move toward full, year-round utilization. In other words, the two season form of *minshuku* may be seen as a type which emerges in the process of breaking away from the single season constriction.

2) Scale of *Minshuku*.

Along with movement of tourists, lodging facilities are a feature which characterizes a tourism region. The criteria for determining lodging capacity differ according to place, but according to data furnished by the Japan Travel Bureau (JTB), the lodging capacity of a single *minshuku* is generally from 10 to 40 people. In the skiing *minshuku* region of Nagano, Niigata and Hyogo prefectures, the average capacity is 23, 32 and 28 people respectively. Averages for the seaside *minshuku* of Chiba, Kyoto, Fukui and Shizuoka prefecture are 39, 15, 13 and 15 respectively. If we exclude the *minshuku* of the Uchibo area of Chiba prefecture, which have developed as facilities for school summer camps, the seaside *minshuku* are smaller in scale than those of the skiing areas.

As a reason, we may point to the quite different form and size of the dwellings in the two regions. Houses in fishing villages, in comparison to farm houses, are smaller and have fewer rooms. Further, villages are often found on the narrow strips of land between the coast and cliff, with small individual plots of land. Such characteristics can be tied to the tendency of visitors to the seashore to take the form of small groups or families¹³⁰). On the other hand, Hakuba and Minamiuonumagun are regions in which sericulture flourished in the past, and houses are large. These areas, thus, became tied

to the large group formation which characterizes skiers. Moreover, in the *minshuku* of the skiing regions, drying rooms are necessary aside from facilities like toilet and kitchen, required by the building standards law for lodgings. Further, because the ski season is not a vacation time, demand for lodgings tends to be concentrated on weekends, necessitating large scale facilities. One result has been that even the silkworm rooms have been remodelled as guest facilities.

The difference in the seasonal fluctuation of visitors, according to whether a *minshuku* is of the summer or winter type, has a decisive influence on such matters as seasonal distribution of labor, the forms of side work of local inhabitants, and it can be anticipated that, as a result, it would bring about deviations in the form of operation. In other words, it can be anticipated that the manner of establishment and later development of the two types of *minshuku* regions will differ. I have stated above that there are two large patterns of *minshuku* regions, mountain and coastal. If we consider the formation of representative areas of each pattern, it will be possible to grasp more generally the formation of *minshuku* regions, which recently have become more and more diverse, and their geo-

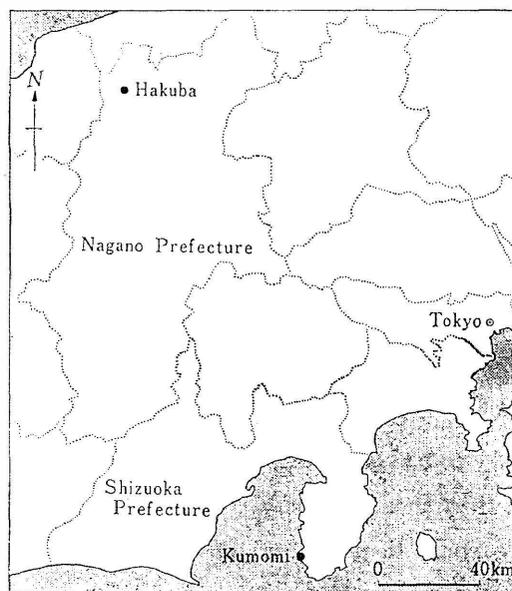


Fig. 4. Research Areas.

graphical characteristics. Thus, I will investigate the formation of the two *minshuku* regions, using as a model for the first, Hakuba-mura in Nagano prefecture, and for the latter, Kumomi in Matsuzaki machi, Kamo-gun, Shizuoka prefecture (Fig. 4).

III. The Formation of the Mountain Pattern *Minshuku* Region. The Case of Hakuba mura.

1. Overview of the Region.

Hakuba mura is situated in the northwest part of Nagano prefecture. It was established as a village in 1956 by the amalgamation of Hojo and Kamishiro mura. There are 1,540 households, with population of approximately 6,200. *Minshuku* number 450 and have a lodging capacity for over 20,000 visitors. It is a representative *minshuku* region. In terms of employment, 63% of the inhabitants are connected with agriculture and 76% of the households are farms. These percentages include those households and persons who are engaged in running *minshuku* as their main source of income as well as genuine, full-time farms. Nevertheless, they realistically reflect the basic, traditional agricultural character of Hakuba mura. Although the village is located in a mountainous region, people engaged in forestry comprise less than 1% of the population. This is because a large portion of the mountain land is broadleaf mixed forests or wastelands, rather than woodlands suitable for logging. Conversely, this latter fact is one of the causes which led to the early development of ski areas. The proportion of people employed in secondary and tertiary industries is 13 and 24%, respectively.

The life of Hakuba mura centers in the Hakuba basin. Its altitude is 730-800 meters. Snowfall in the basin reaches 1~2 meters. The mean day of first snowfall is November 4, and the last, April 13. The snow season lasts some five months. The northern part of the basin is a complex alluvial fan of Matsukawa River and Hirakawa River, where snow accumulation, extreme cold and scarcity of water have long been factors that have hindered agricultural development. However, with improved rice cultivation technology and the clearing of new fields, almost all of the arable land, excluding the immediate surroundings of the village, is under cultivation as paddy. The southern part of the basin was long an area in which there was a thriving silkworm industry. In contrast to the north, there is a marked utilization of dry fields. The Hakuba basin is roughly surrounded by mountain ranges, but on gentle slopes of the foothill line, broadleaf woodlands and brush areas that have been put to agricultural use can be found. In recent years, these latter areas have seen conspicuous development as ski slopes and as plots for vacation homes. Beyond these lands are the government-owned mountainous lands which comprise 58% of the area of the village.

2. The Early Developmental Years (Late Meiji to World War II)

1) The Birth of *Minshuku*.

Tourism in Hakuba mura had its beginnings in the last decade of the nineteenth century and the first of the twentieth, when a number of scientists and mountaineers climbed Mt. Hakuba. From about 1904, there was a sharp increase in the number of summer mountaineers from the general public. The roads on Mt. Hakuba, which earlier had been developed to serve the copper mines, were available to climbers. Latter in the Taisho and Showa periods, mountain skiing, in which winter mountaineering and skiing were combined, became

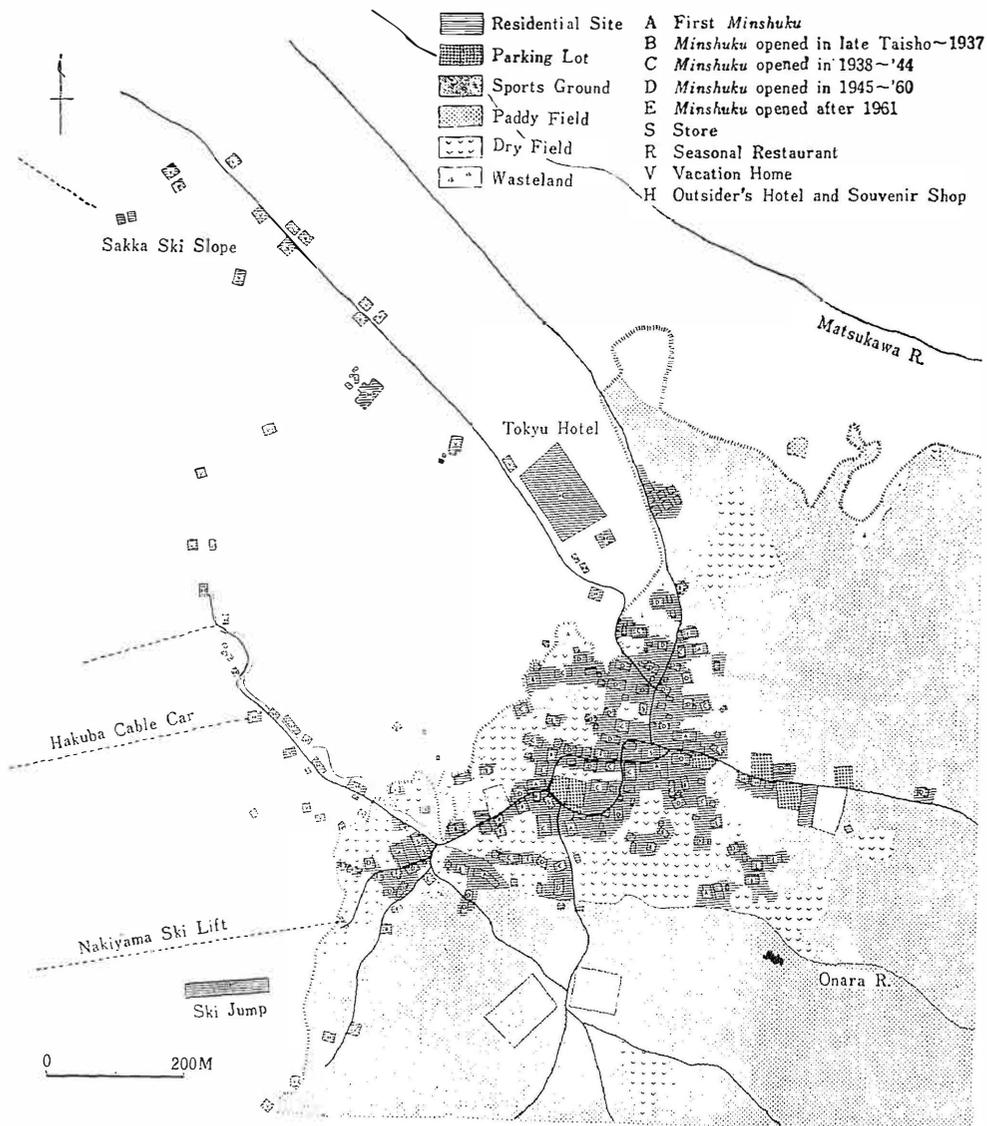


Fig. 5. The Development of *Minshuku* and Land Use in Hosono, Hakuba Mura (Nagano Prefecture)

popular (Skiing had been introduced to Japan in the Meiji period). In 1924, local mountain guides led by those of the Hosono village hold ski school in Warabidaira. This provided a strong impetus to the popularization of skiing. It was in such an atmosphere that the village of Hojo opened a village-operated ski lodge in Sakka in 1928. This was followed by one in Sarukura in 1929 and Ochikura in 1930. In 1932, the village hosted the Central Japan Championship Ski Tournament. Moreover, early in the Showa period, the Oito Railroad Line was completed, and the development of skiing areas and the sponsorship of ski meets were all the more aggressively pursued. However, with the coming of the war years, such activities declined drastically.

The tourist industry of Hakuba mura, thus, began with the operation of mountain huts for summer mountaineers. In this early period, there was only a single inn in the village. Because climbers need guides, the guides' homes gradually came to be used as lodgings both before and after the climb. At the time such lodgings were offered purely out of goodwill on the part of the guides, and it was the later development of winter mountaineering and skiing which stimulated the formation of *minshuku*. Through such a process, *minshuku* came to be developed in Hosono, a settlement of the guides.

In 1931, a mountaineering club was formed, with the most important members being the twelve mountain guides, in Hosono. In 1937 16 households led by these guides obtained permission from the police, who at the time were in charge of such matters, to operate *minshuku* (Fig. 5). In mountain *minshuku* regions, the general trend is for the rather well-off farms, which have abundant space and facilities, to operate *minshuku*.¹⁴⁾ In Hosono, however, the mountain guides fulfilled the leadership role. In the following years, the number of *minshuku* increased to 30, but the lodging capacity of each was no more than 10 people. The number of guests per *minshuku* in the winter season was at most 30~40 people. Thus in this period, the operation of *minshuku* became a purely secondary activity undertaken in the winter months when there were few agricultural activities.

2) Agriculture in the Early Years of *Minshuku* Operation

From the late Meiji to the Taisho and Showa periods, the major agricultural activities of Hakuba were raising horses and silkworms, and cultivating hemp. As winter sidework, there were firewood gathering, charcoal-bale making and dry straw crafts. Rice, one of the staples of the diet, had to be brought in from other regions. Because the water temperature of the paddies was reduced to such an extent by melting snow and because of the difficulty of keeping water in the sandy soil, one third of the crop would fail. Sericulture was particularly important in Kamishiro, and in 1921, 400 of 520 households were

engaged in this enterprise. However, mulberry was easily harmed by frost and snow, and in the Hojo region, which had found alternative sources of cash income such as horsebreeding, raising hemp and *minshuku* operation, silkworm production became widespread relatively late, in the early Showa period. During and after the last war, the industry received a heavy blow from the transformation of mulberry fields to food production by policy and rapidly declined. The Hakuba horse is known as "*shika no sho koma*" and the sale of stud horses was an important source of cash income. Moreover, horses were used for labor in the fields and their droppings as a source of fertilizer. In exchange for the loan of horses to the adjoining Ogawa mura, the villagers received soybean, *azuki* bean, buckwheat and persimmons all of which were important food sources.

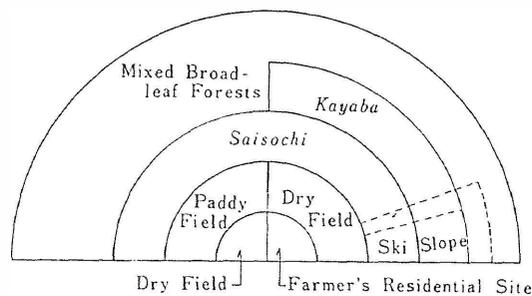


Fig. 6. Schema of Land Use in the Period of the Beginnings of *Minshuku* Operation.

In this period, *minshuku* guests, with a few exceptions, were skiers, and there was little competition between demands for the operation of *minshuku* and labor requirements for agriculture. Figure 6 shows a model of land use of that time. The immediate surroundings of the settlement were utilized for dry field cultivation of cash crops (mulberry, hemp) and for paddies. Soybean, potato and miscellaneous grains were also grown for subsistence. Soybean was used to make bean paste (*miso*) and a part of that was mixed with leaves of arrowroot, to make spring feed for horses. Deccan grass (*hie*) was used as winter feed. In the grass cutting and gathering areas (*saisochi*) along the rivers or at the foot of mountains, villagers gathered fodder and grasses to be mixed with horse droppings to make organic fertilizer. The harder brush and gramineous grasses of the *kayaba* were used for thatching and for making charcoal bales. In the early period, these areas were used for skiing because of the gentleness of the slope and because the grasses were cut. Beyond these areas were the mixed broadleaf forests, used to gather firewood, and the buds or young leaves which served as paddy fertilizer. Almost all the *saisochi* and *kayaba* were communal property, and few problems arose concerning their usage as ski areas.

If we take Hosono as an example (Fig. 5), we can see that hemp and mulberry

fields surrounded the settlement. Land along the Hirakawa river and the land where the Tokyu Hotel is now located were the *saisochi*, and the present Sakka ski slope, the *ka-yaba*. In this early period, the woodlands and other surrounding land were used in multiple and diverse manners to supplement the low agricultural productivity.

3. Period of *Minshuku* Build-up (1946 to '60)

1) Development of Tourism

As part of the great popularity of sports after the 2nd World War, the numbers of skiers in Japan mushroomed. From about 1951, slope skiing became the vogue, and it was from about 1953 that the operation of ski slopes generally came into the category of a tourism industry. Hakuba, which had been known for mountain skiing, suddenly became a center of attention. In the immediate post-war years, the mechanization of ski slopes became widespread due to the instigation by American armed forces. Thus in Hakuba, on Nishiyama in 1952 and Nakiyama at Hosono in 1954, wooden beamed ski lifts were installed. From about this time the number of skiers grew rapidly (Tab. 1).

Tab. 1. The Number of Tourists in Hakuba Mura

Year	Mountaineer ¹⁾	Skier ¹⁾	User of Student Villages ¹⁾	Tourist ²⁾
1933	3,000			
1939	6,151			
1941	5,327			
1944	960			
1948	4,500			
1949	4,334			
1950	8,000			
1951	37,880	20,400		
1955	77,700	50,200		
1960	185,400	112,400		336,362
1961				350,335
1962	211,200	240,200		354,432
1963				358,802
1964				658,344
1965				945,669
1966				1,165,229
1967	200,000	590,000	400,000	1,602,605

Source of Data: 1) Educational Section of Village Office.

2) Tourism Section of Village Office of Hakuba.

It is well-known that the influx of funds by Tokyu, headquartered at Tokyo, into the Haku-

ba area in 1958 was an epoch-making event for the growth of tourism in the area. However, we must not ignore the existence of previous local efforts. In fact, it was local efforts to develop slopes and to construct ski lifts that served to attract outsiders' investment. For example, the construction of the Hosono Nakiyama ski lift was undertaken by 30 local men, led by a handful of mountain guides, who were confident that skiing would grow increasingly popular. Incidentally, it is said that the operation of ski lifts is very profitable and that cost can be recovered in 2 or 3 years. Following this lift, the construction of others followed in rapid succession.

In 1958, the Hakuba Tourism Corporation was established as a subsidiary of Tokyu, and in the same year a cable car running some 2 km from Hosono to Usagidaira and the Tokyu Hotel between Hosono and Sakka were constructed. As a result, the development of skiing areas, which previously had been limited to the foot of the mountains, was expanded to include the entire Happo ridge. Moreover, more and more summer mountaineers were attracted to the slopes. In other words, the Tokyu investment became the moving force behind the sudden, immense growth of tourism industry in Hakuba. From 1959, the number of visitors to Hakuba grew at a remarkable rate (Tab. 1), and it became the foremost tourism area along the Oito Railroad Line.

The introduction of outside capital into Hakuba was accomplished in an ideal manner, later to be known as the Hakuba formula. In other words, the land, on which the various facilities are located, was formerly the communal property of Hosono and at present is rented to the Corporation. When the Corporation undertakes anything new, it must be approved by a tourism council composed of fourteen local representatives, three members of Tokyu and seven members from the village office. By holding the fundamental rights of ownership, local inhabitants were able to offer Tokyu the kind of advantageous conditions attractive to investment. At the same time, by forming an organization in which villagers were united, they were able to control arbitrary decision-making by outside investors.

Led by efforts to install ski lifts and the introduction of outside capital, expansion and remodelling of ski areas were undertaken vigorously. In this period, ski slopes were opened where the relief of the land was most suitable—usually with gentle slopes of 8~15%. In 1957, a ski area was opened on Sanosaka, and in 1959 in Iimori. Older, smaller ski areas such as Iwatake and Tsugaike were enlarged by clearing neighboring mixed broadleaf forest areas (Fig. 6). On the other hand, development in the eastern sector of Hakuba was slow, due to the absence of northern and eastern slopes, which are most suitable for skiing, and to distance from railroad stations.

Concomitant to such developments around the Happo ridge, the increase of transport capacity of the Oito railroad line was hastened, and in 1959, the sector between Omachi and Hakuba became electrified. By 1960, the number of skiers who visited Hakuba was in excess of 110,000. The number of mountain climbers also increased, and the operation of mountain huts grew rapidly in this period. The latter group rarely used *minshuku*. However, their presence served to increase the development of tourism in Hakuba by contributing to the village economy in other ways and by generating publicity.

2) Growth of *Minshuku*

As stated in the previous section, there were some 40~50 *minshuku* in Hosono and Shinden, the settlement of the mountain guides in the pre-war era. In the post war years, the numbers of skiers increased greatly, and by 1951, the number of *minshuku* users had reached 6,000. In 1949 five *minshuku* were established in Iida. Legislation for the operation of inns was placed on the books in 1948. Previous to this, *minshuku* had no legal definition or basis, and their development tended to be regulated by the police department or by already established inns. However, due in part to the efforts of sympathetic officials among the prefectural authorities, 8 of the Hosono *minshuku* were licensed in 1950 as *kan-ishukusho*. This is the beginning of what we recognize today as *minshuku*. In the following years, with the ever increasing popularity of slope skiing, the number of such *minshuku* grew rapidly.

There are no data which can show us precisely the year by year changes in the number of *minshuku*. However, an examination of the inn registry in the Health Center in Omachi concerned with Hosono reveals that 77 *minshuku* had been licensed in Hakuba mura by 1955 and that of them, about 40 were concentrated in Hosono. According to the law for the operation of inns and the resulting regulations of the Health Center, it was necessary to rebuild or remodel a house, before approval could be obtained. Often *minshuku* would operate for some time without a license. However, in 1961~62 when regulations came to be more strictly enforced, some 200 *minshuku* including many, which had been operating from the past, were licensed (Fig. 1). The *minshuku* of this period were designated for skiers and were scattered in the western sector of Hakuba, in the settlements of Hosono, Shinden, Kirikubo, Shiojima, Iida, Saruwatari, Yotsuya, Iimori and Misora. In the eastern sector, only three *minshuku* were found in Minekata. By 1960, about 60 of the 80 households in Hosono were operating *minshuku*.

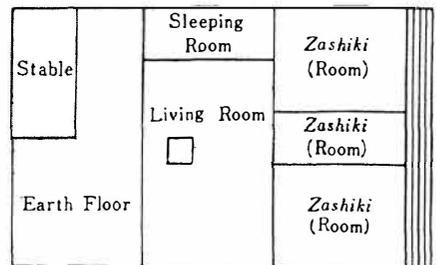
3) Growth of *Minshuku* and Changes in Agriculture.

Agriculture in Hakuba mura changed drastically in the post war years. For one, the widespread usage of power cultivator from about 1954 eliminated the need to keep horses as beasts of labor. The households at Hosono and Shinden, which had acquired a source of cash income from *minshuku*, began to convert their silkworm chambers to guest rooms. Sericulture fell into decline, as part of the efforts to reduce summer labor requirements. By 1960, this tendency had spread to the entire village.

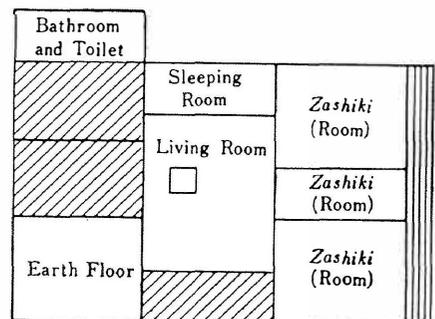
On the other hand, rice production showed a remarkable growth due to the development of the system of intermittent irrigation, the usage of improved fertilizers and weed killers, and improvements in the technology of rice cultivation such as that of introducing rich organic soils brought from elsewhere. Labor requirements were also greatly reduced. Moreover, numerous new fields were cleared and cultivated. In this period, the practice of rice cultivation and *minshuku* management became established as a fixed form. Because of the necessity of securing rice holdings in order to lower the cost of *minshuku* operation, rice cultivation developed in extremely close association with *minshuku* operation from the early stages. On the other hand, rice was the most assured source of cash income which could alleviate the uncertainty of *minshuku* operation.

In Hakuba mura there are many *minshuku*, which have added a two or three story attached wing with a corrugated roof to the original thatch-roofed house for the guest rooms. In the pre-war period, guests had been treated much the same as family members, and little alteration had been made to the original dwellings. However, with increasing number of visitors in the post-war period, the no longer necessary barns and silkworm chambers began to be remodelled as guest rooms. Efforts to remodel were given strong impetus by the Health Department's enforcement of the 1948 inn operation legislation. The traditional house in Hakuba was 5 *ken* by 8 *ken* (one *ken* is 180 cm) with a central, wood floored room, where the hearth was located (Fig. 7). As is common in regions of heavy snow fall, the stable was atta-

1) Before Remodeling



2) After Remodeling



 Guest Room

0  1 Ken

Fig. 7. An Example of Remodeling of a Farmhouse into *Minshuku*.

ched to the house. Since this was undesirable in terms of sanitation for *minshuku*, they were the first to be remodelled as guest rooms and baths. The living quarters and *zashiki*, which with the *tatami* removed had served as silkworm chambers, came to be used as guest quarters or as a dining area. In response to the rapid increase in the number of visitors in the period 1958~60, a pattern of remodelling, in which half the old house was replaced by a new guest-room wing, began to become widespread. In Hosono, for example, beginning with one building in 1952 and another in 1953, the practice had become prevalent throughout the village by 1959. In 1960 a *minshuku*, whose previous building had been destroyed by a fire, undertook to construct a full-scale, new inn building. This signalled the start of the "rebuilding boom" in Hakuba.

In the early period, personal capital in the form of profits from *minshuku* and from selling of lumber as construction material played an important role in remodelling. However, from about 1959~60, dependence on loans increased. In this period, local banks were still reluctant to lend money to *minshuku*, and the agricultural cooperative financed nearly all *minshuku* loans. The Hakuba Mura Agricultural Cooperative's policy from early on was to support *minshuku* and this was an important aid to their growth.

4. *Minshuku* Expansion (after 1961)

1) Expansion of Tourism

The year 1961 can be said to open new era of growth and diversification of tourism in Hakuba (Fig. 8). In the area of skiing, slope skiing which had started in the *kayaba* gradually grew, and from 1966 artificial, man-made slopes began to be constructed. In this period, moreover, the popularization of skiing and the rise in ski technology necessitated courses of 1~2 km in length. As a result, large scale ski slopes such as those along the Happo ridge, Iwatake and Iimori grew in popularity, while at the same time the number of *minshuku* in Kirikubo, Shinden, Hosono, Iimori and Iida, which are located at the base of these mountains, increased.

The area of southern and eastern part of Hakuba mura had in the earlier periods lagged behind in the development of tourism. However, after 1958, when sericulture rapidly declined, the area faced a kind of crisis in terms of industrial development and turned more vigorously to the development of tourism industries. As a beginning, a sports student village was opened in Sano in 1960, and in the following year it spread rapidly throughout Kamishiro and the eastern sector of Hakuba mura.

From the past, there had been mountain huts owned by various universities along the

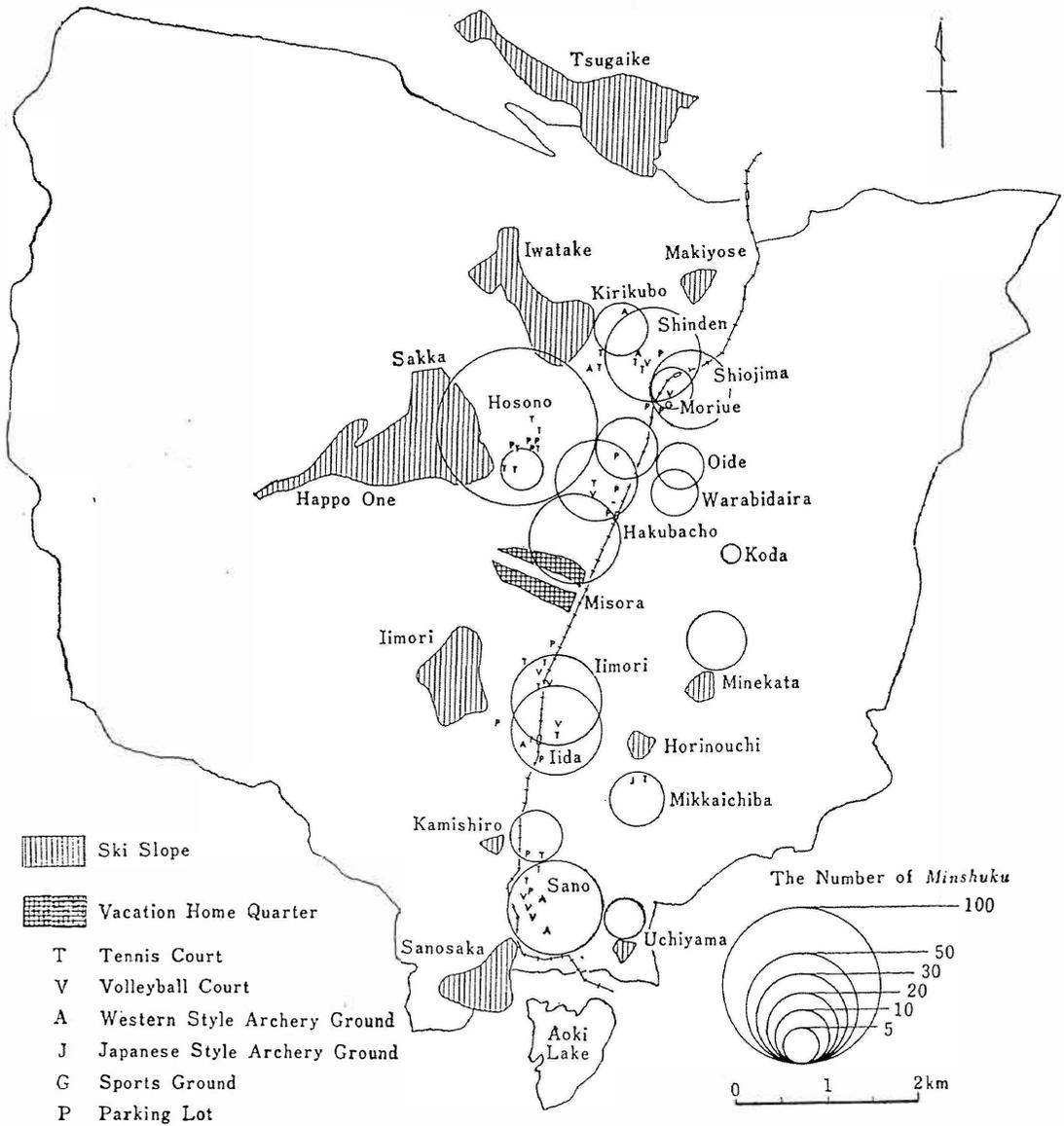


Fig. 8. The Distribution of Tourism Facilities in Hakuba Mura.

Happo and Tomi ridge. From about 1958, we can see an increase in the numbers of private summer homes, school and company dormitories. As a large scale land development for summer vacation homes, there was the development by a development corporation of 57 ha of pine forest along the Hirakawa. The land had been communal village property. From 1969, 36 ha of land along the south bank of the Hirakawa, that had been the communal property of Iimori, was developed by a real estate agent, and from 1968 21 ha of communal fields of Ochikura were developed as vacation home tracts by the prefectural development

corporation. Further, there are plans for development of the communal land of Hosono located along the north bank of the Hirakawa and of land on Sanosaka for vacation homes. Secondary facilities such as parking lots and sports grounds have also been built.

In the process of such diverse developments of tourism, by 1967, the number of *minshuku* exceeded 400 and the number of tourists 1,600,000.

2) Growth of *Minshuku* and Regional Differentiation

In Hakuba and especially in Hosono, where *minshuku* have developed to a very high degree, we can find *minshuku* of ferro-concrete buildings, some of which even have steam heat and home bars. Such *minshuku* have undertaken bold investments, by selling or converting farm land to recreational use, or borrowing large sums of money. In fact, their method of enterprise is fast going beyond the original concept of *minshuku*. However, not all *minshuku* are moving in the direction of becoming full-scale inns. Rather, the *minshuku* of Hakuba are becoming divided into two groups—a small group which makes *minshuku* operation its primary enterprise and the other for which agriculture still remains the foundation of life. The division between the two groups is especially noticeable in Hosono.

It is said that *minshuku* operation can be profitable, if there are at least 1000 guests per year. In Hakuba, there are about 10 *minshuku* which handle 8,000 guests annually, and about 50 which handle 3,000. About 100 *minshuku* have 1,000 guests, while the large number of remaining *minshuku* only lodge about 500 guests per year. These figures show that many *minshuku* are still operated in conjunction with rice cultivation as means of maintaining the household.

As tourist industry grew, Hakuba machi more and more came to assume a rather urban aspect. In 1960, Hakuba machi was designated as an Urban Development Region by the national government. From 1963, the shopping district in front of the railroad station was transformed into multistoried buildings, and roads in the area were widened and paved. The reconstruction of the shopping district along with the remodelling of *minshuku* brought about a kind of "building boom" in Hakuba.

This "building boom" had various effects. First of all, it caused an increase in the number of construction workers and day laborers. According to the Midyear Census of agriculture and forestry of 1965, the number of households partially supported by day labor had risen to 357, a figure which represents 30% of the farming household of Hakuba. These households are spread throughout the village, except in Hosono where *minshuku* had become so well-established. In other words, when capital investment in *min-*

shuku had become widespread, some numbers of households, which lacked capital, sought employment as construction workers or as day laborers to obtain cash income. Moreover, in response to the same situation, the number of households which sell their lands has grown. This has led to a rise in the price of land and has caused a slight breakdown of the development formula, by which the local inhabitants had been able to control the entry of outside investment and thus increase their own income.

Farm households of the eastern sector had lost an important source of cash income with the decline of sericulture, but as stated previously, the student village was established to get a new source of income, and the number of households which came to depend partially on income from labor and construction work increased. Moreover, the manner of agricultural operation, too, underwent great changes. Some households began to look toward tourism or its related aspects as a source of income. For example, in the Hanazono settlement, greens (*nozawana*) and Japanese long radish (*daikon*) had been grown to be marketed outside the village. Recently, however, more and more *nozawana* is grown to be sold to tourists as a souvenir product. In the marshy fields around Uchiyama, loach (*dojo*) and mud snail (*tanishi*) are raised to supply local *minshuku*.

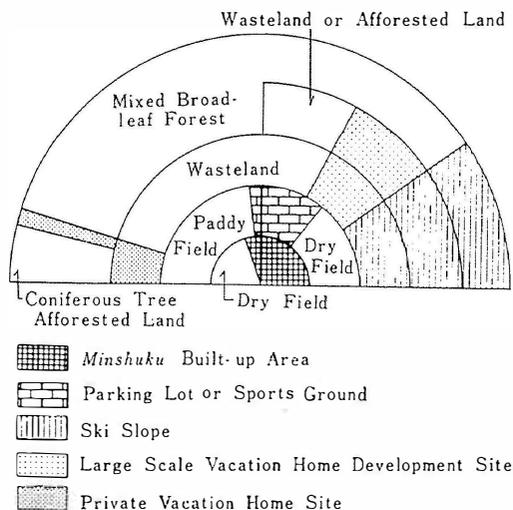


Fig. 9. Schema of Land Use of a *Minshuku* Village, Hakuba Mura.

3) Land Use and Landscape

Let us examine a model of land use in a typical *minshuku* settlement (Fig. 9). The settlement proper is filled with *minshuku*, seasonal restaurants and souvenir shops. In the surrounding fields, once used for the cultivation of various grains, we find vegetables for household or *minshuku* consumption. Mulberry fields were often abandoned or converted

into paddies, but following the construction of the student village, many have been converted to sports grounds, tennis and volley ball courts, and parking lots. From the time of the establishment of the student village to the present, tourism facilities have tended to be concentrated in the area of the former mulberry fields. The reason for this is that the profitability of paddy land is much higher than that of the mulberry fields, while, conversely, the cost of converting a paddy to other usage is about twice as high. Since the beginning of the governmental policy to discourage rice production, the number of paddies lying fallow has increased. Nevertheless, conversion to tourism usage is minimal. Even in Hosono only a few converted paddies can be seen. In fact, rice and summer vegetable cultivation for household and *minshuku* consumption is one factor sustaining *minshuku* as low-cost lodgings. This fact reflects the symbiotic relation between agriculture and *minshuku*.

The grass and brush fields, *saisochi* and *kayaba*, which had been an important form of land usage, has been transformed into large scale developments of vacation homes or ski areas. Much of what remains of such land has been left untended as social fallow land, while a portion, as a result of the extensive land utilization accompanying the development of tourism, has been reforested. The dormitories of companies and schools, and small scale private vacation homes have been built on the grass and brush fields or in private wooded land. Such buildings dot the landscape.

Tab. 2. Relation between Land Use and Type of Landownership in Hakuba Mura.

Land Use	Type of Landownership	Area
Forest	National Land	5,421ha
Afforested Land (Japanese Larch and Japanese Cedar)	Prefectural or Municipal Land	2,166
	Private Land	8,693
Mixed Broadleaf Forest (Vacation Home Site)	Private Land	1,568
	Communal Ownership	
<i>Kayaba</i> (Ski Slope)	Communal Ownership	
<i>Saisochi</i> (Ski Slope, Vacation Home Site, Wasteland)	Communal Ownership	128
Paddy Field and Dry Field	Private Land	1,013
Residential Site	Private Land	135

Thus, *kayaba*, *saisochi* and mixed broadleaf forests, some portion of which was communal village property, have fulfilled an important role in the development of tourism (Tab. 2). As stated earlier, *kayaba* and *saisochi* were early found well-suited for ski areas.

Further, as patterns of agriculture and living changed, their function as a source of feed, fertilizer and material for roofing was lost. As a result extensive acreage under communal control became available just at a time, when new possibilities of land use were becoming apparent. In Hosono, for example, where tourism developed early, such lands were smoothly converted to tourism usage. In the following period and especially after the influx of the Tokyu investment, development reached the mixed broadleaf forests and the *saisochi* along rivers, and the sale of such land or the utilization of lumber from them, further served the development of tourism by providing capital for investment.

IV. The Formation of the Coastal Pattern *Minshuku* Region.

The Case of Kumomi, Matsuzaki Machi

1. Survey of the Area under Study.

Kumomi is located in the southern part of Matsuzaki machi, the southwest of the Izu peninsula, Shizuoka prefecture (Fig. 4). It is surrounded by steep slopes and clings to a narrow strip of land along the small, northward flowing, Ota River. The village economy was traditionally based half on farming and half on fishing, with agar agar (*tengusa*) gathering as the principal activity. From about 1962, *minshuku* and tourism related industries began to develop. There are 135 households, and the population is about 540. Of these, 57 households operate *minshuku*. There are also six *ryokan* and ten souvenir shops, restaurants and stores. Further, it is said that there are some 20 households which lodge visitors as unlicensed *minshuku*. The area may thus be called a representative *minshuku* region.

The majority of households in Kumomi support themselves by a combination of two or three activities such as tourism related industries, agar agar gathering, farming for household consumption (rice and some vegetables), marguerite cultivation, and work as day laborers and construction workers in the winter season. Farm land comprises some 16 ha of paddy along the Ota River and about 23 ha of terraced fields. The average acreage available to a household is about 30 a. Much of the paddy land belong to large scale farm households with farmland over 50 a in this region. Other households own paddy land outside the settlement. Sixty per cent of the surrounding woodland is composed of *Oshima sakura* (a species of cherry tree) which in the past was a source of wood for charcoal.

2. The Foundations of *Minshuku* Development.

1) Traditional Industries.

Since the amount of land owned by the average household in Kumomi is not enough for it to be self-sufficient in rice production, the people of Kumomi have sought cash income to meet the cost of living in fishing, in commercial farming and in various usages of the surrounding woodlands. Until about 1945 the households of Kumomi were engaged in a number of activities such as cultivating rice in paddies, miscellaneous cereals and *kinusayaendo* (a species of garden pea) in fields, raising silkworms, gathering agar agar and other sea products, fishing, charcoal making, etc. At present, Kumomi and Nishina are among the leading producers of agar agar along the western coast of the Izu peninsula.¹⁶⁾ Agar agar gathering was begun in 1902. Since *urawari* was practiced¹⁶⁾, the industry did not greatly affect the local inhabitants' lives. Sericulture was abandoned, as a result of the war time policy of increasing food production. However, in the past the area around Matsuzaki was known as the breeding center of silkworm, and sericulture was operated for commercial purpose. *Kinusayaendo* can be grown in the mild winters with relatively little labor input. Moreover, it can be grown on steep inclines, and was produced widely in the area. But it cannot be grown successively, so the production of *kinusayaendo* gradually declined.

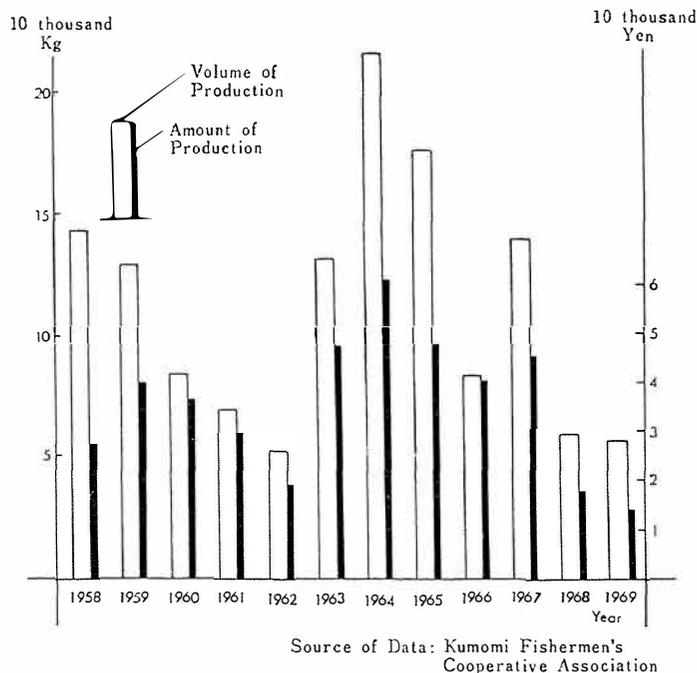


Fig. 10. Change of Agar Agar Production in Kumomi, Shizuoka Prefecture.

In 1949, the Kumomi Fishermen's Cooperative Association was established, and it was determined that agar agar could only be gathered by its members. Nine diving suits were acquired, and the number of *manga*, rake-like instruments for gathering agar agar on the sea floor, was increased to 30. From this time agar agar gathering developed as the leading industry of Kumomi. It may be said, that the survival of the settlement depended on it. In the years, 1957~59, 3 diving suits and 50 *manga* were added.

In the same period, mulberry fields were converted to cereal fields, and cultivation of flowers also was begun. This latter industry grew in importance, as a result of the rapid decline in the demand for charcoal beginning in 1957 and a slack in the agar agar industry in 1961~62 (Fig. 10). However, not only were successive plantings difficult, but the cultivation of flowers conflicted greatly with agar agar gathering in terms of labor demand and distribution. Both were concentrated during the spring to summer months. Moreover, the region faced increasingly stiff competition with other areas, especially Minami Izu and was at a disadvantage in terms of shipping. As a result, the industry failed to develop, and with the emergence of the *minshuku* industry has entirely disappeared, except for the cultivation of marguerites which needs little care.

Until about 1960, the industry, which along with agar agar gathering held a place of importance and which was a source of cash income in the winter season, was charcoal making. Trees, 10~15 years old were utilized. The most common was the *Oshima sakura*, followed by Japanese oak and *kunugi* (a kind of oak). In 1955, some 40 households were engaged in charcoal production and 20,000 bales were produced.

2) Regulation of the Agar Agar Based Village as a Communal Society.

The fishing industry of Kumomi is centered in fishing grounds to which the settlement has communal rights. As stated before, the major activity is agar agar gathering. In all aspects of the industry cooperative controls operate strongly. The Kumomi Fishermen's Cooperative buys agar agar from the gatherers and hires local people to dry, separate by quality, pack and store the agar agar. The Cooperative further markets it under its label and takes 30% of sales income as handling charges. The remainder is paid to the producers, according to their respective production level. In order to prevent indiscriminate gathering, to prevent unemployment in Kumomi and to foster the Cooperative's profits, precise regulations concerning gathering are laid down. Above and beyond conditions of Cooperative membership, there is a regulation, for example, which limits each household to one *manga*. Two households may together own one diving boat and only three members

in a household may be engaged in the agar agar industry. Other regulations concern the method of gathering. In particular, the use of diving suits has tended to bring about inequality among gatherers and to devastate the fishing ground. Thus, the use of diving suits is strictly regulated. Further, there are regulations concerning fishing periods; periods when gathering is forbidden, and the time at which boats may be put out to sea. The agar agar season is from the beginning of May to September, and there are an average of 80~90 days in which gathering is permitted. However, the average number of days that a single household gathers is 30~35 days. This number is determined by the officers of the cooperative in accordance with the provisions of the fishing period regulations. Days, on which gathering is not permitted, are maintained for the growth and protection of the agar agar, and also fall during periods of increased agricultural activity, other cooperative work, bereavement etc. of a cooperative member, and other circumstances of the cooperative.

The regulations of the communal fishing grounds are at present growing weaker, but in the past they were truly powerful. As a result, life was arranged within the framework of the communal society, and living patterns of the various households were fundamentally the same.

3) Combination of Industries.

In the pre-World War II period, the households of Kumomi were engaged in agar agar gathering, the season of which began in May and had its peak in July and August, in gathering abalone and turbo during summer, and in trapping lobster (*iseebi*) after the agar agar season. Among these, however, only agar agar gathering was of importance and there was no competition in the distribution of labor in fishing (Fig. 11). In June, the peak season for farming, agar agar gathering was often forbidden. The silk worm growing season overlapped with the beginning of the agar agar season, and as a result the peak season for the latter was fixed in July and August. Charcoal making began with kiln making in September and continued until following April. In the winter months there were no fishing activities except for trapping *iseebi*, and in agriculture there was only the cultivation of *kinusayaendo*, which required very little labor input. Thus, the various industries and their labor requirements were smoothly coordinated.

In the post-war period, agar agar gathering remained of foremost importance. In May through September, rice planting, weeding and flower cultivation were undertaken in the time left over. From October to April, the women were engaged in cutting flowers, helping with charcoal making and gathering firewood for the winter. The men were engaged in trapping *iseebi*, charcoal making, working as carpenters or day laborers, or they sought

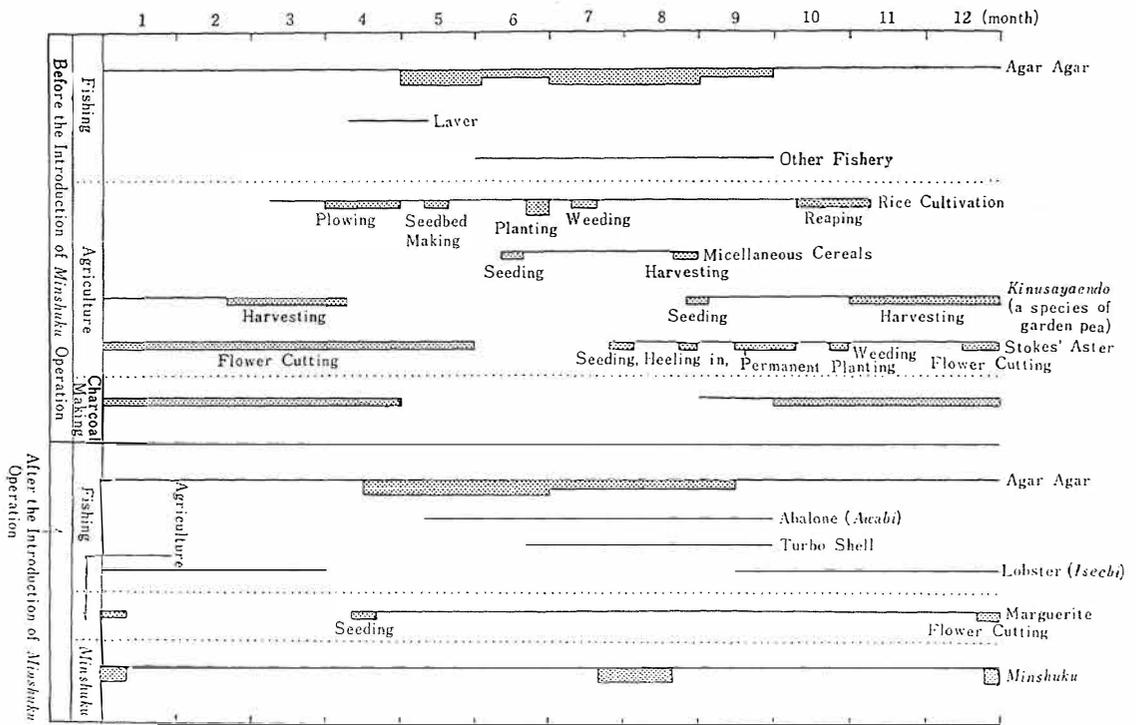


Fig. 11. Seasonal Distribution of Labor in Kumomi, Shizuoka Prefecture.

employment in various larger cities. Such a pattern of combining industries was the norm in the post-war period.

Households of Kumomi made full use of mountain land, fields and the sea, and maintained their livelihoods through the combination of industries with a complex calendrical distribution of labor. In more recent years, however, with the decline in flower cultivation and with the reduced demand for charcoal, the economy of Kumomi faced a period of great changes. Access to the sea, which was the center of the economic activities of the settlement, was the communal right of the inhabitants, and the utilization of the sea was based less on the principle of greatest gain than on that of common existence and common prosperity. Unlike other agar agar gathering centers in Izu, such as Shirahama, at Kumomi the amount of agar agar resources in the communal fishing grounds is rather large in proportion to the number of inhabitants. Further, diving suits, which make efficient gathering possible, were introduced relatively early. Nevertheless, because of the concept of common existence and common prosperity, it was difficult for individual households to obtain sufficient income from the agar agar industry to support themselves. It was necessary to

find some other means of cash income. This need is related to the vigorous movement from about 1960 to develop tourism industries.

3. Formation of the *Minshuku* Region.

1) Development of Tourism and the Growth of *Minshuku*.

The development of tourism in Matsuzaki machi, including Kumomi, had its beginnings in the opening of the Izukyu railroad line in 1961, and from 1962 large number of visitors descended upon the area. In 1964, a parkway was opened between the center of Matsuzaki and Kumomi, and in 1966 bus service was begun. Beaches, hot springs and fishing attracted tourists in Kumomi (Fig. 12). Further, in 1969, Mishima was made into a station of the *Tokaido Shinkansen*, while the Tomei expressway and the Nishi Izu skyline were completed. Thus, a "tourism boom" began in western Izu peninsula.

It is said that the first *minshuku* were opened in Kumomi in 1962. From 1964, their number increased rapidly. According to the records of licensing of *kan-ishukusho* of the Health Center in Matsuzaki and the author's own survey, previous to 1963, there were only 3 fishers' lodgings in Kumomi, and five unlicensed *minshuku* (Tab. 3). In 1964, all 16 lodgings, including the above, had obtained licenses as *ryokan* or as *kan-ishukusho*. With the opening of bus line in 1966, the number of lodgings increased to 43, to 57 by 1968, and to 63 by 1972.

The pattern of *minshuku* operation reflects the traditional form of economic activity in Kumomi. It is found most commonly in combination with farming or fishing. As a general trend in the coastal pattern of *minshuku* region, *minshuku* operation is begun by the middle scale households and spread gradually to the large scale households and to the whole village in general.¹⁷⁾ Because the tourism season for the coastal *minshuku* is summer, when there is serious competition of

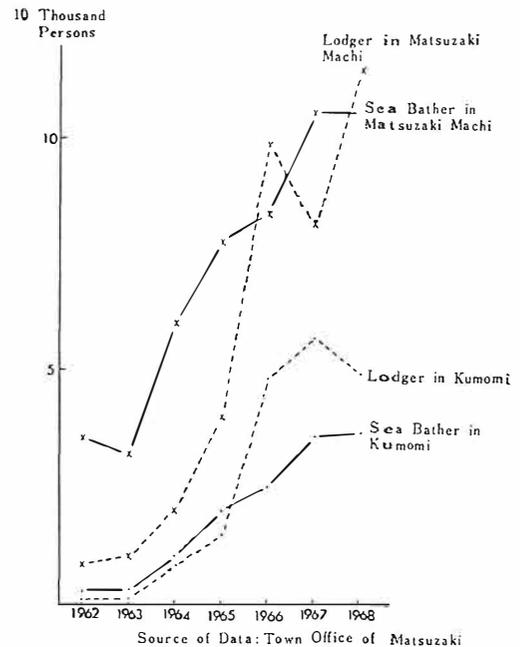


Fig. 12. Change in the Number of Tourists in Matsuzaki Machi and in Kumomi, Shizuoka Prefecture.

labor demands with the traditional industries of farming and fishing, it can be recognized that the middle level households may have a greater capacity for action than the upper to undertake a pioneering industry.

Tab. 3. Change in the Number of Lodging Facilities in Kumomi, Shizuoka Prefecture.

Year	<i>Ryokan</i>	<i>Minshuku</i>
1 9 6 2	2	2
1 9 6 3	2	6
1 9 6 4	3	1 3
1 9 6 5	4	3 1
1 9 6 6	5	3 8
1 9 6 7	6	4 3 (3 2)
1 9 6 8	6	5 1 (4 2)
1 9 6 9	6	(4 8)
1 9 7 0	6	(4 8)
1 9 7 1	6	(5 2)
1 9 7 2	6	(5 7)

Source of Data: Figures in parentheses; Municipal Office of Kamo-gun.
Others; Town Office of Matsuzaki.

2) Growth of *Minshuku* and the Changes in the Composite Pattern of Industries.

As stated previously, the fishing households of Kumomi maintained their livelihoods in the past through a complex combination of various industries. With the introduction of *minshuku*, this pattern was drastically changed. In the early stages of *minshuku* when guests were still few, it was possible to operate it as a secondary industry to agar agar gathering or flower cultivation, using female labor force. However, as the number of guests increased, *minshuku* operation came to demand constant and fixed labor force. Thus, *minshuku* began to compete in terms of labor distribution with farming and fishing, and caused great changes in the manner, in which industries were combined, and in the farming and fishing industries themselves. An examination of changes in the number of households engaged in fishing according to the Cnesus of Fishery, shows that in 1958 for all fishing households, fishing was the main industry. By 1968, for 60 out of 80, fishing was a secondary enterprise, while 4 households dedicated exclusively to fishing. It is clear that the regional characteristics of Kumomi is changing.

Of the various changes, let us first examine those of the fishing industry. With 1964 as a peak, agar agar gathering shows an over-all decline (Fig. 10). A number of reasons may be considered, but among the foremost are the shortening of the gathering period

because of competition of labor with *minshuku* and the resulting ruin of the fishing grounds. After the introduction of *minshuku* in Kumomi in 1965, two modern, flexible and light weight diving suits (*kan-isensuiki*) were obtained. Unlike the old helmet type which was operated by 3 or 4 men, these were operated by 2. In other words, they enabled labor to be freed for *minshuku* and could be utilized for other fishing and gathering activities. On the other hand, the number of *manga* diminished to 30. In the earlier period, the peak season for agar agar gathering had been fixed to July and August to avoid conflict with the sericulture and rice cultivation, but recently efforts are being made to gather agar agar in the spring. Other changes in fishing include the introduction, as in other parts of Izu, of pleasure fishing boats. In 1968 the village also saw the appearance of four households which specialized in line fishing for squid.

In agriculture, the only activities are rice cultivation in paddies, the raising of marguerite, which requires little care, and the cultivation of a few summer vegetables. We can find land which is going unfarmed, but it is said that of the paddies, such land comprises 4~5 ha, and of the fields 6~7 ha. Such land is found in places distant from the settlement. As a result of the decline in flower cultivation and conversely, the growth of *minshuku*, usage of farm land is undergoing change. From 1965~67, three parking lots were opened in former fields, while four parcels of land have been reforested.

The land surrounding the settlement are made up of communal *kayaba* and private mixed broadleaf forests. In the earlier period, the former was used as a source of grass for fertilizer and for roof thatching, and the latter for kindling wood and charcoal. Of the communal land, twenty-five ha along the Ota River has been converted to tangerine fields as part of an agricultural improvement plan. Nine households are participating in the efforts. *Kinusayaendo* are grown between the rows of tangerine trees. There are also plans to plant cherry, cryptomeria and Japanese cypress in the *kayaba*, but there is desire among local inhabitants, due to the rising price of land, to develop the land as lots for vacation homes. Excluding the purchase of land for small scale private summer homes, there has been only one development of vacation homes in Kumomi. The mixed broadleaf forest is at present unused and neglected. However, in the level areas where the charcoal kilns were formerly located, there is some planting of *Oshima sakura* in dense rows such as those of mulberry. The young leaves are used to wrap *sakura-mochi* (a kind of Japanese confection).

With the rise of tourism, the inhabitants of Kumomi have attempted to avoid conflict of labor requirements between various industries and *minshuku* operation, and the industries themselves have followed a process of great diversification.

3) Management of *Minshuku*.

The *minshuku* of Izu are generally of small scale, but have a strong commercial aspect. They have numerous small rooms which can be used to lodge guests, and they are licensed as *kan-ishukusho* or *ryokan*. There is a vigorous investment in facilities, and there are no *minshuku* which have not remodelled their original dwelling. Among those who are fairly enthusiastic about *minshuku*, investment runs from 3 to 5 million yen. Although the motive for starting *minshuku* may have been related to the enlargement or remodeling of homes, the investment is still quite large. Of the 130 million yen lent out by the Kumomi Fishermen's Cooperative, 100 million yen was for the development of *minshuku*. Such investment and development is made possible, because of the underlying economic strength of the agar agar industry.

At the same time, there are problems related to the distribution of labor. *Minshuku* guests converge on Kumomi primarily in summer (see Fig. 3). A full-time *minshuku* worker is necessary for every 10~15 guests. In the summer months, it is difficult to fulfill that requirement. As a result in the periods during July and August when agar agar is gathered, *minshuku* help is hired to avoid conflicts in labor. Efforts are being made to gather agar agar in the spring months. As a related phenomenon, the average size of a household in Kumomi which operates a *minshuku* is 4.5 people, while that of a non-*minshuku* household is 3.4. Although real income can be increased by operating *minshuku*, the necessity of hiring help or otherwise supporting a large number of people makes it difficult to net an income that corresponds with investment.

What are the factors which makes *minshuku* viable in Kumomi? First, tacit approval is given to the practice of packing some guests in one room during the busy season. In other words, there seems to be a general belief that the inefficiency of operation under such seasonal fluctuation may be compensated for by cutting down on services. Further, a large number of *minshuku* households are engaged not only in agar agar gathering but also in gathering shell fish and in fishing, not for the markets but for the *minshuku*. Such efforts may be thought to contribute to reducing the cost of *minshuku* operation.

The existence of *minshuku* as cheap lodging is made possible by such manners of combination with farming and fishing. At the same time, the difficulties in the distribution of labor especially in the summer months have led to the creation of small scale *minshuku* and have created other problems. Kumomi was a strongly communal society based on the principle of common existence and common prosperity, and composed of fishing households engaged primarily in agar agar gathering. However, with the rise of *minshuku*, there are people who do not bother to engage in agar agar gathering on

designated days. As a result, there has been a gradual decay of the fishing grounds. The number of people who have sought employment as day laborers has increased. The number of households in which the bread winner is employed as a day laborer, particularly in the winter months, has risen to approximately 100. Their economic instability presents a large problem.

4) Land Use and Landscape.

In the past, Kumomi was composed of fairly homogeneous households which supported themselves in a complex combination of industries. The communal fishing ground in front of the settlement was the nucleus of the society. The inhabitants engaged in fishing, with agar agar gathering being the most important activity, small scale farming for self-sustenance and limited marketing, and the utilization of the surrounding woodlands. However, with the development and growth of tourism, the patterns of land use and the landscape itself have undergone great changes.

At present, signs of the development of tourism, such as *minshuku*, shops and restaurants dot the settlement, and the areas along the beach where formerly agar agar was dried and loaded for the market, the pier and the net mending place have been transformed into bathing areas. One of the agar agar drying places has been converted to a parking lot. The arable land of Kumomi had always been used in accordance to the demands of time and circumstance; *kinusayaendo*, mulberry, various cereals and flowers were cultivated in association with the agar agar industry. As a result of competition with *minshuku* operation, however, land is now used primarily for rice, marguerite and a few summer vegetables for household and *minshuku* use. Much of the land has been put to fallow, while a portion has been converted to tourism use (parking lots). Much of the land traditionally used for gathering grass and brush, and the mountain woodlands formerly used to gather wood for charcoal making have been neglected, and some has been sold. We can see the beginnings here of land development for vacation homes. In this way, the use of farm land and woodlands has declined with the development of tourism and the local inhabitants' inclination toward tourism¹⁸⁾.

V. Conclusion

In this study, I have attempted to establish the pattern of *minshuku* regions according to the development and distribution of *minshuku*, and the general indices which distinguish a tou-

rist region. I have examined the processes of formation of representative *minshuku* regions. My purpose was to clarify the formation of *minshuku* regions in Japan; the circumstances and condition of their formation.

Minshuku grew rapidly from the 1960's in response to the increased amount and diversification of tourism. In its original form, *minshuku* developed where other forms of lodging were insufficient or somehow inappropriate. Their development was influenced by the condition of the extreme seasonality of utilization, and the specific form of tourism and tourists. The greater part of *minshuku* developed within 50~200 km of large metropolitan centers. Further, they are concentrated in specific areas that fall basically into ski or coastal, swimming areas. Broadly speaking, the regions of concentrated growth of *minshuku* can be classified either as a mountain or a coastal pattern.

The formation of Hakuba mura as a mountain pattern *minshuku* region can be summarized as follows. In the formative period, the relative importance of agriculture was large, and if we characterize a region by its economic activities, Hakuba of this period could be defined as an agricultural region. Typical of regions of cold climate, agricultural productivity was low, and other economic activities to obtain cash income were inevitably necessary. Such a requirement became tied to the influx of skiers and mountain climbers in the early Showa period and the later increase in the demands of tourism. Thus, the use of resources other than farmland, for example, mountain slopes became problematic. At the same time, the fact that there was a large amount of grass and brush fields, and mixed broadleaf forests of relatively low productivity, conversely, provided favorable conditions for the development of skiing areas.

The second period of development is the post-World War II period, when full-scale development of tourism occurred. Because Hakuba was already known in the pre-war period as a tourist area, the area came to the attention of the outside investors. Sources of cash income such as sericulture, horse breeding and hemp cultivation had been developed as the basis of the economy of the region, and it was the skillful utilization of the conditions founded in those economic bases that made possible the rapid growth of *minshuku*. Moreover, in the post war period, the technology of rice cultivation improved. Further, with the stabilized price of rice and with the advantages of labor distribution in rice cultivation and *minshuku* operation, a composite economy of rice cultivation and *minshuku* operation became an established form.

In the third period, as investment in facilities became widespread, *minshuku* themselves became differentiated, and a variety of tourism developments took place. A

portion of the fields surrounding the district, where *minshuku* were concentrated, were converted to tourism use by the inhabitants for whom *minshuku* operation was the economic mainstay. *Kayaba* and *saisochi* which had been abandoned and served no purpose were developed as ski areas and as plots for vacation homes. Land utilization became more intensive. By skillfully using their communal rights to such lands, local inhabitants were able to increase their income through land developments.

The above is a brief history of the development of *minshuku* region of Hakuba. Because of the natural environment of intense cold and heavy snows, agriculture in Hakuba was of low productivity, while conversely, the region was highly suitable for tourism development. This characteristic of the region played an important role in the development of *minshuku* within the complex of regional economic activities. It can be said that the skillful combination of *minshuku* and the traditional economic base, founded on the natural environment, led to the high level of development, described above. From such a standpoint, it is clear that the formation of the *minshuku* region in Hakuba is representative of processes in mountainous *minshuku* regions.

The development of Kumomi as a coastal *minshuku* region can be summarized as follows. The *minshuku* were formed and developed in combination with agriculture and fishing. In the Izu peninsula, *minshuku* have tended to develop in those areas, where agar agar gathering has been an important industry. As an industry, agar agar gathering was based upon the principle of communal existence and common prosperity of the inhabitants. This was conducted by applying strong regulatory measures to the society. The result was that productivity was by no means high, and that the households managed to support themselves only through a complex combination of economic activities related to fishing, farming and exploitation of mountains. From about 1957 ~ 58 in Kumomi, charcoal making and flower cultivation, which had been important sources of cash income, saw a rapid decline in profits due to decreasing demand and competition with other regions. New sources of cash income came to be sought. In such circumstances the development of tourism in Izu, due to the opening of the Izukyu line, became linked to the inhabitants' desire to increase their income and led to the introduction of *minshuku*.

In the introductory years, *minshuku* were clearly a secondary industry, but in later stages, their relative importance grew greatly. The most fundamental differences between the mountain and coastal *minshuku* is that in the latter, the primary season of activity being summer, there is a marked competition of labor between agriculture, fishing and *minshuku* operation. *Minshuku* operation is strongly determined by seasonality. Moreover, the foundation of their development as low-cost lodgings were agriculture and fishing.

Thus, there is a built-in contradiction that labor distribution becomes difficult, when attempts are made to increase the efficiency of operation. In Kumomi, because the formation of the *minshuku* district was relatively recent and because there was the influence of Izukyu, investment in facilities occurred briskly from the early stages. The households quickly became involved in *minshuku* operation. As a result, the concentration of labor requirements in the summer months gave rise to various problems such as an excessive investment in facilities, neglect of farm land, and the deterioration of fishing grounds. In the case of Kumomi, we can see efforts after the introduction of *minshuku* to seek economic activities of high productivity, and their differentiation and diversification. However, in terms of land use, the mountain lands and dry fields, whose value of utilization has decreased, have not been converted to multiple tourism use as in Hakuba. This is perhaps one of the limitations of the coastal pattern of *minshuku* region.

In the case of Kumomi, low economic productivity due to geographical location and historical circumstances, and the fact that these were conversely important conditions for the development tourism were in turn favorable to the development of *minshuku* within the regional complex.

It is, of course, difficult to state that all *minshuku* regions developed under the same conditions and in the same processes. However, the examples of Hakuba and Kumomi illustrate that in the differing conditions of a region of heavy snow fall, and of a coastal region, *minshuku* developed in a process through which traditional, regional industries became linked in recent years to the demands of tourism, and the two assumed a complex, conglomerate form. I believe that much of this process can be found applicable to other *minshuku* regions as well.

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Notes

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- 6) S. Birukawa, Sh. Yamamoto and others (1974): *Transformation des Villages Côtiers dans le sud l'Izu*, *Journal of Geogr.* Vol. 83, pp. 1-28, (in Japanese with French abstract).
S. Shirasaka (1976): *The Location and Development of Skiing Ground at Nozawa Spa Village*, Nagano prefecture, Central Japan, *Geogr. Rev. of Japan*, Vol. 49, pp. 341-360, (in Japanese with English abstract).
- 7) The law code for the operation of *ryokan* (the *ryokan gyoho*) has codified the licensing standards for lodging facilities. Thus, there are four types of lodgings—hotels, *ryokan*, *kan-ishukusho* and *geshuku*. Lodgings licensed as hotels must have more than 10 rooms of 9 m² in size or greater, and have western-style facilities. *Ryokan* must have more than 5 rooms of 7 m² or greater in size, and have Japanese style facilities. Lodgings which fall into neither of these two categories are classed as *kan-ishukusho*. They must have 4 rooms or less and minimal facilities. The term, *minshuku* has no legal basis, and they are licensed either as *ryokan* or *kan-ishukusho*. However, their rates and level of services are lower than those of the regular *ryokan*.
- 8) In the Sotobo area, there were 29 *minshuku* in Wada in 1965, 17 in Katsuura and in 1966 there were 54 in Onjuku. By that year, the number of *minshuku* in the entire Sotobo region had increased to approximately 200. The first *minshuku* were opened along the Miura coast in 1966, and by 1968 there were some 200 *minshuku* with lodging capacity for 10,000 in the Miura peninsula. In the Izu islands, too, the first *minshuku* opened in 1966, and by 1968 there were some 197 *minshuku* with lodging capacity for 3,200.
- 9) This figure is based upon the 1967 data from the Japan Travel Bureau. This was the first statistics concerning *minshuku*. Afterwards the number has generally increased, and moreover, *minshuku* have appeared in Kyushu and in the Tohoku region. Nevertheless, the pattern of distribution remains roughly the same.
- 10) In Hokkaido—Date machi, Mashike machi, Obira mura, Otaru shi; in Akita prefecture—Oga shi; in Yamagata prefecture—Tsuruoka shi, Atsumi machi; in Fukushima prefecture—Inawashiro machi; in Gunma prefecture—Fujimi machi, Niiharu mura; in Chiba prefecture—Katsuura shi, Tateyama shi, Kyo-nan machi, Tomiyama machi, Tomiura machi; in Niigata prefecture—Yuzawa ma-

- chi, Shiozawa machi, Muika machi, Yamato machi, Myokokogen machi, Naoetsu shi; in Shizuoka prefecture—Minami Izu machi; in Nagano prefecture—Hakuba mura, Azumi mura, Otari mura, Miasa mura, Nozawa Onsen mura, Iiyama shi, Takeshi mura; in Gifu prefecture—Shiratori machi, Kamioka machi; in Shiga prefecture—Imazu machi, Makino machi; in Fukui prefecture—Tsuruga shi, Takahama machi; in Kyoto fu—Miyatsu shi, Maizuru shi; in Hyogo prefecture—Hidaka machi, Sekinomiya machi.
- 11) For a discussion of the general conditions for the formation of *minshuku* regions, see 3). H. Ishii (1970).
 - 12) Student villages are *minshuku* in which students, primarily of high school or university age, take rooms individually for a relatively long period of time at a low rate during the summer vacation.
 - 13) According to a survey of *minshuku* users taken by the Nagano Railroad Administrative Bureau (Jan. 13-16, 1966, sample size 1,689) and a survey by the Chiba Prefectural Tourism Office (1966 July 23—Aug. 28, sample size 778), groups of more than 5 people made up 36.2% of the former and groups of less than 5 made up 54.8%, and in the latter, groups of more than 5 made up 23% and of less than 5, 64.2%. According to a survey conducted by the JTB in Izu (1966, July 27—Aug. 5, sample size 718) 74% were groups of less than 5 people, while 20.8% were of more than 5.
 - 14) H. Ishii (1969): Conditions for Existence of *Minshuku* in Izu Kumomi (Shizuoka prefecture) and in Echigo Nakazato (Niigata prefecture), Geogr. Rev. of Japan, Vol. 42, p. 483.
 - 15) S. Birukawa (1961): Agar-agar Plant: Its Distribution in the Sublittoral Zone and the Collecting Activities at the Coastal Community in Japan, *Chirigaku Kenkyu Hokoku* of Tokyo Kyoiku Univ., V, pp. 1-32, (in Japanese with English abstract).
 - 16) Traditionally, the villagers had communal rights to use the fishing grounds. However, at times, the village would sell or lease the rights of usage to gather agar agar, shell fish, etc. to a third party, usually outside tradesmen. The tradesmen would bring in their own divers (*ama*) from outside to do the work, and thus, such fishing activities had little effect on the lives of the villagers.
 - 17) Sh. Yamamoto and H. Ishii (1978): Transformation of a Coastal Settlement, Shirahama, on Izu Peninsula, *Tsukuba Studies in Human Geogr.* No. 2, pp. 157-174, (in Japanese with English abstract).
 - 18) See S. Birukawa, Sh. Yamamoto and others (1974), 6). p. 228.