

Social Theory and Geographical Thought

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SOCIAL THEORY AND GEOGRAPHICAL THOUGHT

Compiled and edited by NOZAWA Hideki

**Japanese Contributions to the
History of Geographical Thought (6)**

Institute of Geography
Faculty of Letters
Kyushu University, Fukuoka

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Editor's Notes

- 1) Japanese words are romanized in this volume according to the Hepburn style.
- 2) We have not used macrons to indicate long vowels in Japanese words.
- 3) In the text, Japanese names are written in the Japanese style, i.e. with family names before given names.
- 4) For the references to periodical material, (J) denotes essays written only in Japanese, (J-E) essays written in Japanese with an English summary.

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Preface

This volume is a report of the Japanese research group for the history of geographical thought, subsidized by a Grant-in-Aid for Co-operative Research (A), the Ministry of Education, Science, Sports and Culture (Project number 05301091, Project Leader Professor Nozawa Hideki of Kyushu University, in the fiscal years 1992-1995). We had study meetings four times for three years, in which each member of this group made his or her report respectively. Among these reports, we must make special mention of the lecture given by Mister Philippe Pinchemel, professor emeritus of the University of Paris in the autumn meeting of 1994, and we should like to express our gratitude to him for his contribution to this volume.

The common subject of our research group for the fiscal years 1992-95 was "Social Theory and Human Geography: Its Intellectual History". This theme may give a certain abrupt impression, as compared with the ones discussed so far in our research group. We wanted to shift a little more the subject of our group from the study of history of geographical thought itself to the epistemological and methodological problems in geography. We aimed to consider the latter through the geographical thought that would mediate between social theory and human geography. For that purpose, new young geographers participated in our research group, and their results occupy half of this volume.

We should like to thank the people who contributed to this volume and all those who participated in the study meetings. We are also grateful to many others for their useful comments and suggestions.

NOZAWA Hideki

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Permanences et évolutions dans la géographie française durant un siècle

Philippe PINCHEMEL

Une approche chronologique était possible pour présenter l'évolution de la géographie française durant quelque cent années. Une périodisation de cette histoire amènerait à distinguer cinq époques:

1. 1890-1925. La géographie vidalienne
2. 1925-1960. Le modèle français de la géographie classique
3. 1960-1980. De la nouvelle géographie aux nouvelles géographies
4. 1980-... Doutes et certitudes, la géographie éclatée ou la géographie recentrée ?

Sans abandonner tout appui chronologique, il a semblé plus intéressant de présenter une série de réflexions sur les permanences et les transformations enregistrées par la géographie française.

Les permanences et les héritages

Une des données les plus permanentes de la géographie depuis les années 1870 est la prédominance de sa fonction scolaire et universitaire.

La géographie s'est développée dans le système universitaire français afin de former des professeurs de l'enseignement secondaire et indirectement des instituteurs des écoles primaires. Jusqu'à une époque récente l'accent était mis sur la préparation aux concours de recrutement des lycées: agrégation puis C.A.P.E.S. Les cours d'agrégation étaient les cours "nobles", de prestige, ceux dans lesquels les universitaires investissaient le plus, ceux qui leur valaient le plus de renommée.

Ces cours se prolongeaient dans des cours

polycopiés, des livres, des "manuels" d'enseignement supérieur ou d'enseignement secondaire.

On peut s'étonner du contraste apparent entre les investissements considérables représentés par l'élaboration de thèses de doctorat d'Etat en matière de recherche et la prédominance d'un enseignement formant des professeurs plutôt que des chercheurs.

Mais on peut en retour se demander si cette fonction universitaire "pédagogique" n'a pas affecté inconsciemment la nature même, l'esprit même de la recherche: thèses volumineuses, tableaux, synthèses dans lesquels la part de la recherche stricto sensu, pointue, apparaît parfois faible.

En tout cas, force est de constater que la géographie universitaire accaparée par des missions didactiques a perdu de vue ses responsabilités professionnelles aussi bien, pourrait-on ajouter, que son rayonnement hors du monde universitaire.

Une autre spécificité de la géographie française sur la longue durée est la formation littéraire des géographes. La géographie s'est développée dans les Facultés des Lettres, le plus souvent associée à l'histoire. Au départ, dans le courant du XIX^e siècle les premiers géographes universitaires ont été des historiens, à commencer par le fondateur, Paul Vidal de la Blache.

Cette situation a fortement marqué la géographie, positivement et négativement.

- Positivement, en amenant les géographes à produire des oeuvres littéraires: descriptions paysagères, tableaux régionaux, se signalant par les qualités de style, la composition, la recherche de la synthèse brillante.

- Négativement, en maintenant les géographes à bonne distance des sciences naturelles, des méthodes quantitatives, des techniques statistiques, plus généralement de la familiarité avec une démarche véritablement scientifique, théorique. Nous en voyons l'illustration dans plusieurs caractéristiques de la géographie française au cours des récentes décennies:

- la très difficile pénétration des méthodes quantitatives de la nouvelle géographie anglo-saxonne dans les enseignements; elles ont été le plus souvent isolées dans des unités de valeur spécialisées, optionnelles et n'étaient pas réellement intégrées dans les contenus des enseignements habituels.

- l'échec dans les années 1975 de la diffusion des traductions des ouvrages de P. Haggett: "*L'analyse spatiale en géographie humaine*" et de Brian Berry "*Géographie des marchés et du commerce de détail*". Ces deux éditions n'ont pas été "reçues" par les géographes français. Leurs contenus, théoriques, modélisateurs, étaient aux antipodes de la tradition géographique française. Par contre, cette tradition et cette formation littéraire des géographes expliquent en partie que les nouvelles géographies autres que la géographie théorique et quantitative aient eu la préférence de la géographie française: géographie de la perception et de la représentation, rapports de la géographie et de la littéraire.

La géographie classique française fondée par Paul Vidal de la Blache à la charnière des XIX^e et XX^e siècles était résolument francophone et ne se reconnaissait pas dans les géographies étrangères. Avantagée par l'effacement de l'Allemagne à partir de 1914-1918, c'est elle qui s'est proposée comme modèle universel de la géographie. Emmanuel de Martonne, Albert Demangeon, héritiers directs de Vidal de la Blache imposèrent une structure ternaire de la géographie: géographie physique, géographie humaine, géographie régionale, cette dernière étant; le couronnement de la démarche géographique.

Entre les deux guerres mondiales, cette géographie française "triompha" avec la *Géographie Universelle*, l'*Atlas de France*, le Con-

grès international de géographie de Paris, les publications d'Emmanuel de Martonne et de Brunhes, les enquêtes d'Albert Demangeon sur l'habitat rural et l'habitation rurale. La géographie mondiale lisant et parlant français, les géographes français pratiquaient peu ou mal les langues étrangères.

La géographie française a donc été prise à contre-pied par les transformations intervenues, hors de l'hexagone, dans la période 1940-1970. Alors qu'elle était isolée, occupée puis absorbée dans sa reconstruction, une nouvelle géographie se mettait en place dans le monde anglo-saxon. Confrontée à cette géographie théorique, quantitative, modélisante, la géographie française l'accepta difficilement, tant elle semblait différente de la géographie classique. Pendant les années 1950-1970, la géographie française se reconstruisit et se développa suivant ses propres voies en maintenant un intérêt égal pour ses trois familles physique, humaine et régionale. Mais celles-ci eurent tendance à se spécialiser de plus en plus, à diverger. Pierre Birot pour la géographie physique, Pierre George pour la géographie humaine, Jaqueline Beaujeu-Garnier pour la géographie régionale, avec les *Atlas régionaux*, symbolisent bien cette géographie. Les influences de l'étranger étaient faibles. L'isolement a sans doute été renforcé par l'importance de l'idéologie communiste qui n'incitait pas à être à l'écoute du monde anglophone, pour ne rien dire de la faiblesse linguistique bien connue des français.

Il est significatif d'une part que les écoles géographiques voisines telles que l'Italie, l'Espagne, le Portugal, traditionnellement tournées vers la France se soient rapidement orientées vers la nouvelle géographie européenne; d'autre part que les relations avec cette nouvelle géographie aient été assurées par des géographes européens francophones, belges, suisses... et par de rares géographes français.

La géographie classique française se caractérisait également par ses liens étroits avec le fait colonial. Ces relations étaient même institutionnalisées avec des chaires spécialisées (géographie coloniale, géographie de l'Afrique du Nord). Les colonies françaises, les territoires sous influence française (Proche-Orient) étaient le terrain privilégié d'études, offrant même une quasi exclusivité à la recherche française.

La géographie française a été profondé-

ment marquée par les spécificités de ce domaine colonial et para-colonial: une géographie des zones arides et intertropicale, donc des "pays tropicaux", une géographie du naturel et du culturel, une géographie reposant sur l'observation directe, l'enquête, faute de statistiques et de cartes à grande échelle, une géographie coloniale qui était bien placée pour se transformer en géographie tropicale, en géographie du tiers-monde et devenir la base de la géographie du développement (ou du sous-développement). Ce vaste domaine géographique détournait d'autant la géographie française du monde des pays développés, pays non francophones. C'est seulement par la présence de quelques fortes personnalités que des antennes ont été implantées au Brésil, au Québec (Pierre Defontaine, Raoul Blanchard...).

Tout au long de son existence, la géographie s'est toujours trouvée confrontée aux autres sciences naturelles et humaines. Dans le même temps où la géographie ne cesse de s'interroger sur sa nature propre, sur son identité, les autres sciences n'ont cessé de l'interpeller, voire de contester sa spécificité. Et les critiques venaient aussi bien du secteur des sciences de la Terre et de la Nature que de la sociologie, de la démographie.

Les relations entre l'histoire et la géographie constituent un chapitre à part. On sait qu'en France elles sont très étroitement associées dans tous les ordres d'enseignement, de l'école primaire à l'Université. On sait aussi l'influence que la géographie classique française a exercé sur l'histoire et sur plusieurs générations d'historiens, de Marc Bloch à Fernand Braudel. Ce dernier avait forgé le terme de géohistoire. Mais étroite union ne signifiait pas l'absence de toute discussion, voire de conflits d'attribution. L'évolution même des deux disciplines a contribué à brouiller les pistes: l'histoire en empruntant à la géographie la longue durée, le temps long et en s'intéressant au présent, la géographie en se préoccupant de l'événementiel et en abandonnant la relation Nature-Société.

Les transformations de la géographie

C'est en une trentaine d'années que la géographie vidalienne s'est constituée. Durant trente autres années l'école française de géographie a renforcé ses caractéristiques, rayonné sur la

communauté géographique internationale. Ces deux périodes couvrent largement la première moitié du siècle. En dépit des perturbations historiques, politiques, militaires, il est paradoxal de constater que la géographie française était marquée par un contexte de stabilité, d'immobilisme: stabilité et immobilisme de la population et de l'économie française, stabilité de l'empire colonial, permanence d'une civilisation encore largement rurale, la région parisienne assurant seule l'urbanisation française.

Tout change au lendemain de la seconde guerre mondiale et la France, avec le reste du monde, entre dans une période de transformations, de bouleversements: croissance démographique, "trente glorieuses" du développement économique, décolonisation, guerre froide, influence du communisme, planification, libéralisme, contestations entre les générations.

La géographie a évidemment accompagné ces transformations.

La première transformation de la géographie a été de nature statistique, démographique. A l'époque de la géographie classique, entre les deux guerres, il y avait au total une vingtaine de géographes dans les universités, généralement un seul professeur. La Sorbonne était l'exception confirmant la règle avec trois professeurs.

Dans les années 1950, le dispositif le plus fréquent était le professeur et un assistant (plus rarement deux professeurs).

Actuellement on dénombre autour de 1.300 géographes dans les universités sans compter de très nombreux chargés de cours et allocataires divers. Il faut y ajouter 300 chercheurs (CNRS - ORSTOM...). De nos jours un département de géographie regroupe facilement une quarantaine de personnes.

Cette "explosion" démographique a accompagné celle de la demande: à partir des années 1965-1966 sont arrivés à l'université les enfants du *baby boom* de l'après-guerre. Est-il besoin de souligner qu'en changeant de taille la géographie universitaire a changé de nature? Nouveaux rapports entre les effectifs des catégories d'enseignants, nouvelles hiérarchies, nouvelles charges de gestion et d'administration, donc multiplication des comportements, des courants de pensée, des "écoles", des conflits et rivalités.

Ces changements de dimensions et de nature ont entraîné des bouleversements institutionnels, structuraux profonds. Le système

institutionnel de la géographie classique, exclusivement tourné vers la formation d'enseignants, reposait sur la thèse de doctorat d'Etat qui ouvrait la carrière de professeur d'université; le professeur assurait le cours (l'enseignement magistral) tandis que les travaux pratiques étaient faits par des assistants. Les enseignements les plus importants étaient les cours de préparation à l'agrégation (concours de recrutement des professeurs de lycées). Ce système a volé en éclats sous la pression du nombre, des nouveaux besoins et des nouvelles orientations de la recherche.

Les universitaires ont été reconnus comme des "enseignants-chercheurs"; les départements de géographie sont devenus des unités d'enseignement (plus récemment: de formation) et de recherche. Les universitaires, plus nombreux et suivant le mouvement général des sciences, se sont spécialisés, ont donné par le fait même des enseignements plus morcelés et "pointus"; les plus jeunes ont été moins attirés par les enseignements d'agrégation. Parallèlement, les postes de professeurs augmentaient proportionnellement moins que ceux de maîtres de conférences, d'assistants, inversant les positions relatives des uns et des autres.

Le système des doctorats était lui aussi profondément remanié. La thèse de doctorat d'Etat, le doctorat d'université, le doctorat de troisième cycle ont été supprimés, remplacés par un doctorat unique depuis 1984. Ce doctorat donne accès aux postes de maître de conférences; on devient professeur par "habilitation" (sur travaux). Des Diplômes d'Etudes Approfondies, regroupés dans des Ecoles Doctorales, assurent la formation des futurs docteurs.

Les équipes de recherches, les laboratoires, les formations de recherches, encouragés par le Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique et en association avec les Universités ont achevé de transformer le paysage de la recherche géographique, modelé sur celui des sciences exactes.

Les conséquences de ces changements ont été considérables. La sociologie de la communauté géographique en a été profondément transformée: des rapports de forces nouveaux se sont instaurés déterminés par les âges, les catégories professionnelles, entre les jeunes et les anciens, entre les maîtres de conférences et les professeurs "mandarins", entre les chercheurs et les enseignants...

Par réaction contre les structures existantes, considérées comme entre les mains de "l'Establishement", de nouvelles structures associatives ont été fondées: le Groupe Dupont (d'Avignon), l'Association française pour le Développement de la Géographie, la Maison de la Géographie et le groupe RECLUS à Montpellier.

De nouvelles revues et publications ont vu le jour: *L'Espace géographique*, *Hérodote* et de nombreuses publications de groupes de recherches.

La provincialisation de la géographie qui était déjà un caractère spécifique s'est renforcée. Les soutenance de thèses ont eu de plus en plus lieu dans les Universités de province, un géographe parisien étant à l'occasion invité à faire partie du jury.

Ces mutations démographiques, sociologiques, institutionnelles du monde des géographes se sont accompagnées d'une révolution épistémologique: la géographie classique a été critiquée, rejetée. Les jeunes générations de géographes ont opéré en quelque sorte un "meurtre du père" en reniant tous les concepts de la géographie traditionnelle, en faisant le procès des caractères spécifiques de cette géographie. Ainsi ont été rejetés les concepts de milieu, qui traînait avec lui le boulet du déterminisme, de paysage, associé à la seule réalité formelle et visible, de région, "fruit de l'imagination". Il fallait dans la géographie renouvelée dépasser le visible, dépasser le morphologique pour s'intéresser au fonctionnel, considérer la dynamique et non plus le statique, rechercher la régularité, les lois et non plus les singularités, l'exceptionnel. Bref à la géographie classique, descriptive, il fallait substituer une géographie explicative qui serait opératoire, appliquée, véritablement scientifique.

Refusant l'héritage de la géographie vidalienne, une large fraction des géographes français s'est donc tournée vers les nouvelles géographies développées hors de France et particulièrement en Angleterre, aux Etats-Unis, en Suède: géographie théorique et quantitative, géographie de la perception et de la représentation, géographie humaniste, géographie marxiste...

Ces nouvelles géographies adoptées par les uns, ignorées par les autres, coexistent dans une même université avec les partisans de la

géographie classique, fournissent une image très composite, très hétéroclite de la géographie française, une géographie dont l'image apparaît brouillée aux yeux du grand public mais aussi des enseignants, des élèves et des étudiants.

La Géographie éclatée ou recentrée ?

Depuis les années 1970, la géographie apparaît effectivement éclatée, sans faire montre d'une réelle identité. Surtout, elle se décompose en courants, en "modes", en querelles de personnes...

Ce sentiment de dispersion, d'éclatement, est perceptible à la lecture des programmes des enseignements universitaires, des sommaires des revues, des rapports des concours de Capes et d'agrégation.

La géographie est de plus en plus éclatée entre géographie physique et géographie humaine; on a le sentiment que ces deux branches complémentaires, inséparables, de la géographie n'ont plus rien à se dire, n'ont plus besoin l'une de l'autre. C'est toute la géographie qu'on proclame science humaine, science sociale, reniant une géographie physique authentique. Situation étonnante et qui est une des caractéristiques de la géographie: en un siècle la discipline, jadis science naturelle, science des relations nature-société, est devenue une science sociale. Au début de ce siècle un fait "géographique," une influence "géographique" signifiaient naturels !

La géographie est devenue à ce point une science sociale qu'elle est passée de l'étude des lieux, de l'explication de la Face de la Terre à l'étude des sociétés humaines en elles-mêmes. Or, au début du siècle, Vidal de la Blache avait affirmé: "la géographie est la science des lieux, non celle des hommes", phrase "terrible" que les géographes n'ont cessé de citer, de critiquer, de "renier".

Le recours au concept d'espace a beaucoup contribué à la dispersion de la géographie, au brouillage de son image. L'espace a remplacé tous les autres concepts de la géographie classique; on a voulu en faire un concept moderne en l'introduisant dans des expressions telles qu'organisation de l'espace, différenciation de l'espace. Tout est devenu espace, spatial au point d'ôter aux termes toute valeur scientifique, tout réel contenu. Depuis les années 1990, espace tend à s'effacer devant territoire et

territorialité avec les mêmes défauts laxistes dans l'emploi.

Les conséquences sont graves; il devient de plus en plus difficile aux géographes de se comprendre, faute de disposer d'un langage scientifique commun, faute d'un consensus minimal sur les finalités, les contenus de la géographie. La compréhension est encore rendue plus ardue par le développement de jargons qui ne sont intelligibles que par le cercle des initiés !

Il importe de recentrer la géographie non pas en se retournant vers le passé pour retrouver l'image idéalisée ou dépassée de la géographie classique mais en retrouvant les finalités de la géographie, en redéfinissant sa place, son rôle aux côtés des autres sciences naturelles et sociales.

La géographie est la description et la représentation de la Terre. Non pas de la Terre mais de la Face de la Terre. Cette face de la terre est de plus en plus analysée comme une interface, plan de rencontres et d'interactions entre des éléments, des agents et processus multiples.

Les éléments naturels sont à l'évidence des composants essentiels de cette interface; c'est pourquoi la géographie physique s'impose comme une des clés majeures de l'analyse géographique, la connaissance des milieux naturels est donc fondamentale. Mais cette interface terrestre n'existe, ne prend sens et valeur que par le regard des hommes, par la perception qu'ils en ont, les représentations qu'ils en font et les actions qu'ils mènent.

La géographie est aussi l'étude de l'écriture des hommes sur l'interface terrestre c'est à dire de toutes les expressions de son humanisation, donc de son artificialisation.

La géographie de ce point de vue, est bien une science sociale mais elle s'intéresse moins aux sociétés en elles-mêmes qu'à leurs actions géographiques, à leurs "traces" sur la Terre.

Cette refondation, ce recentrage de la géographie, se retrouvent en phase avec les besoins, les préoccupations les plus contemporains des hommes, avec les nouvelles demandes sociales, qu'il s'agisse de l'environnement, de l'aménagement du territoire...

Ce recentrage de la géographie qui fait de l'interface terrestre l'objet majeur de l'analyse géographique redonne toute son importance aux représentations cartographiques, à ce que nous appelons le "regard vertical".

Or les images satellitales renouvellent profondément ce regard vertical et offrent à l'analyse géographique une information originale et considérable. Et les géographes commencent seulement à exploiter ces images.

Ces dernières réflexions nous ont sans doute éloigné *strito sensu* de la géographie française. Mais les problèmes évoqués, les solutions suggérées la concernent tout autant que les autres géographies.

Industrialization in a Peripheral Region at Modern Japan: A Case of Tea Industry in Yame Region, Fukuoka Prefecture

TSUTSUMI Kenji

Industrialization, Agents, and Space : A Case in Yame Tea Industry Region

In this paper, the author tries to give light upon certain process of industrialization in Japan with relation to activities by some agents (e.g. bureaucrats, tea producers etc.). And especially here it is very important to take notice of bureaucrats in the centralized national government at the Meiji era(1868-1912).

Yame region (Fukuoka Pref., Figure 1) is known as one of the tea-growing districts.

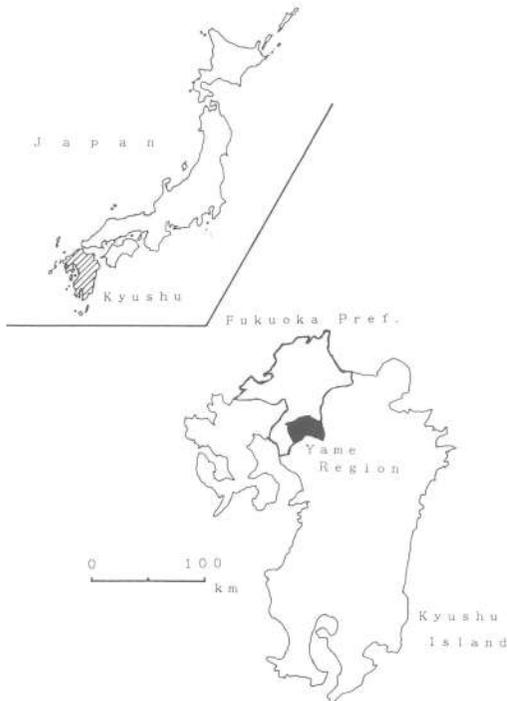


Figure 1 Yame Region

Although its market share in general tea production in Japan is not so great, now tea of higher quality is being produced there.

Within this paper, the author adapts and modifies a new method of historical geography by Derek Gregory (Gregory 1982), who had influenced from the framework of "Structuration Theory" of Anthony Giddens (Giddens 1993). On a level of positive regional research, however, it is very difficult to trace individual agency in detail and to integrate ones for explanation of a regional social change. So, here, not agency but agents as subjective actors for industrial modernization are focussed on at the national, regional and local levels (Cloe 1991). Concretely, they were consisted of some persons mentioned above.

Focussing geographical attention upon agents within space and time, should contribute to the more dynamic regional or historical geography, binding human agents into a framework of national, regional and local levels ahead.

At the Meiji era, the national government propelled policy of centralization of power strongly. In order to attain it, the government had intention to grasp all the space of Japan with statistical data and detailed maps. So it researched all over Japan and published statistical books about regions. Then through this process, spaces in Japan were researched, grasped and took into, or, changed as, a space of the nation state of Japan.

Two Bureaucrats : Maeda Masana and Tanaka Keisuke

At the beginning and middle times of the Meiji

era, the national government intended to promote production of agricultural goods in each region. Especially the government researched some agriculturally important regions and made plans to produce high valued products and to trade them (e.g. tea, raw silk etc.). By trading them globally and domestically, the government designed to add economic power to the nation and to abolish the unequal trade treaties which had been concluded with five countries (United States, the Netherlands, Russia, Britain, and France) in 1858, before the Meiji Restoration (1868).

One of the bureaucrats of the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce strongly promoted this policy. His name is Maeda Masana (1850-1921). Maeda insisted the importance of local products and its global trade. He had made efforts to establish a financial bank for trade (The Yokohama Shokin Bank which later became to be The Bank of Tokyo.)

Also he and his subordinates edited or planned to publish many statistical or planning books as below:

- 1) "*Kogyo Iken*" (*The opinions for promotion of industry*)(1884). They are very detailed research and planning volumes about regional industry all over Japan.
- 2) "*Noji Chosa*" (*The research of agriculture*) (1890 c.a.). They are researched statistical and planning books on agriculture published by every prefectures.
- 3) "*Gunze*" "*Cho son ze*" (*The directions of counties, or, towns and villages*) (1890's-1900's c.a.). They are research, statistical and planning books on industry published by some of each county, town or village.

These research and statistical actual works made prices of many products be more stable and integrated many calling names of a product into one. By this process, the former segmented spaces of subsistence, which were almost founded before or in the Yedo era(1603-1868), were also integrated into modern space of industry under the nation state of the Meiji government.

Maeda collected talented men as his subordinates. Tanaka Keisuke (1851-1922) was one of them. Tanaka had been an officer at Fukuoka prefectural government. He brought out a statistical book on the fishery in Fukuoka ("*Fukuoka-ken gyogyo-shi*" (*The report on fishery in Fukuoka Prefecture*), and he submitted it to the 1st Exhibition for Fishery (Tokyo,

1883). Then there he got a prize for the book. Just within the year, he was ordered to go to Tokyo and to work at Maeda's office. Tanaka became one of Maeda's subordinates and engaged in editorial works of "*Kogyo Iken*", etc.

In 1890, Maeda had retired but his opinion for promotion of industry, especially that of agriculture, was succeeded to his subordinates although the basic policy of the national government had changed to be considered manufacturing industry more important than agriculture.

Two years after, Tanaka returned to Fukuoka Prefecture as a county headman at Yame region, chosen by the national government.

In fact Yame region has been famous for its great agricultural productivity. Then Maeda had considered the region one of the most important agricultural regions for his planning of promotion of agriculture in Japan.

Two bureaucrats mentioned here, were agents who engaged in a work to diffuse ideology of industrial modernization from national level through regional level, mostly to agricultural or peripheral regions in Japan. They also promoted to create industrial guilds on some scale levels, which played a role as media to diffuse and penetrate the ideology of modernization.

Tea Industry in Yame Region

We can trace the history of Yame tea industry at latest to the Yedo era. But through modern age, especially in the Meiji era, the tea produced there was of worse quality because of its method in roasting tea leaves on a big pan directly, crumpling by hands ("*Kamairi*" tea). The method was very convenient one, so people there widely adopted it. In addition, at the mountain area in Yame region, we have seen many tea trees growing naturally under a warm and rainy climate. Such natural environment helped people in Yame region to take use of tea of natural growth.

As the Meiji government had considered tea as one of the most important trade items, they suggested the producers in tea industry to make their products be of higher quality. For this sake, the government had planned to promote its industrial modernization, and tea industry was to organize guilds for preventing

the production and distribution of the tea of poor quality.

It was the innovation of tea processing that Yame tea industry had been called for. But in Yame region, there were many kinds of agricultural products, and in addition, the new method of tea processing took costs while the traditional one, "Kamairi" tea, was convenient to process for many people there. So the innovation had not proceeded ahead, then the Yame region had lost their economic competitiveness with the other tea-producing regions in Japan.

Almost all the term in the Meiji era, the guild of tea industry in Yame region was in the condition as same as be dissolved. That is to say, it couldn't work as innovative institution. But some individual producers there had attained the innovation for themselves at the end of the Meiji era through the Taisho era (1912-26). This innovation was to change the producing method into processing tea leaves by steam with instrument. The innovation was followed by the other innovation; processing tea leaves by machine which made mass production possible. At last, in Yame region, they could make production of tea on a larger scale.

In Yame region, we could see contradictory relationships between abundant tea as resource and intention to modernize tea industry. It was some agents who could attain the sublation (Aufheben), beyond the activities by the guild of tea industry there. So it is important to think that the guild here could not work well but had performed its duty as a medium to diffuse and penetrate the ideology of modernization to some individual agents who attained the innovation later.

Spaces on Yame Region : Global, National, Regional and Local Levels

On several scales of space, some factors worked to Yame tea industry at modern times. In this chapter, the author summarizes the movement in Yame region on four scale levels of space;

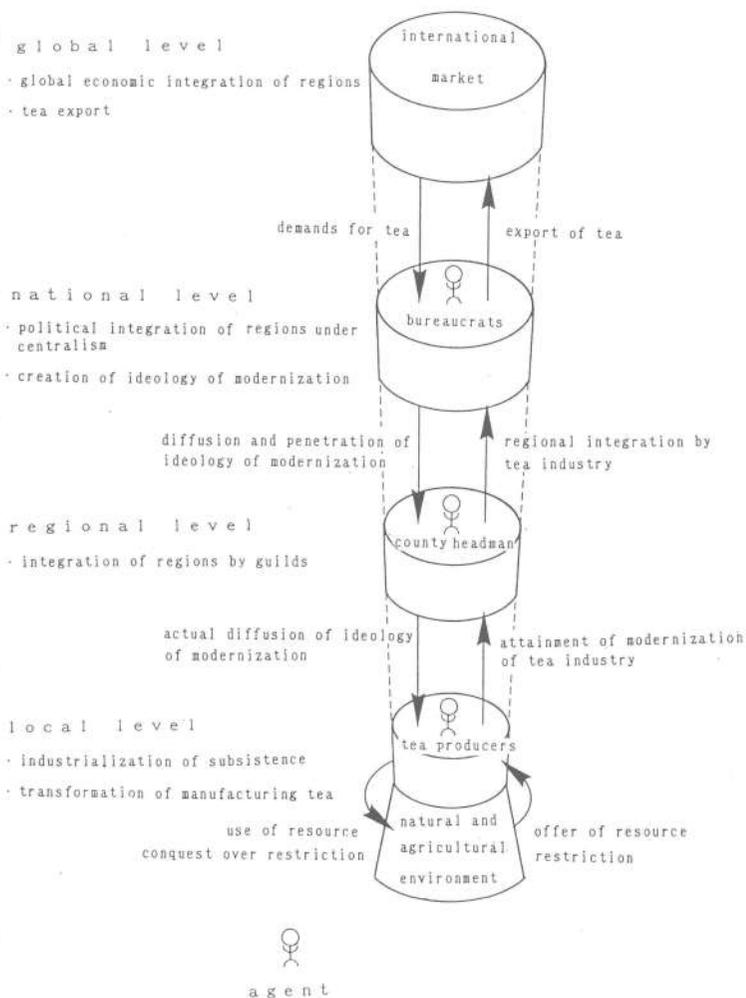


Figure 2 Industrial Modernization of Yame Tea Industry

global, national regional and local (Figure 2).

On local level, strongly effected from natural or agricultural environment, people in Yame region had depended upon abundant resource of tea of natural growth. In addition the very simple method of "Kamairi" tea had sustained production of tea of worse quality. Yame region had been rich in the other agricultural products, too. So, most of the people there thought little of the industrial modernization of tea production prominently.

On national level, however, the Meiji government strongly intended to promote the modernization of tea industry, and they planned tea as an important commodity push up to global market level. Then the national

government positively researched all over the country and promoted regional industry in Japan through diffusion of the ideology of industrial modernization, which was also planned to integrate local people into a nation of Japan as a modern state, and the process was as same as process of integration of spaces through local and regional levels onto national one. Within the process, bureaucrats of the national government took very great roles to penetrate the ideology into regional and local spaces. Especially in cases of important industrial (agricultural) regions such as Yame etc., the Meiji government sent county headmen officially and specially, and such officers worked as agents of modernization on regional level. On this level through local level, industrial guilds had been created and operated as media of penetrating the ideology, too.

Again on local level, some persons undertook roles as agents. In the Yame case, they were tea manufacturers who were ones of the members of the guild and were relatively rich. They could accomplish the industrial modernization, although the guild in Yame region couldn't attain it.

From a spatial standpoint, economic or political movement works within a wider space (or more changeable space) tending to be borderless, and such movement occurs to let regional differentiation be even. On the contrary, local movement (within less changeable space) often resists against such a movement which is to average regional features into one.

Especially in the case of peripheral regions in Japan at modern times, locality and subsistence were strongly connected to their natural environment. So, industrial modernization must face to resistance and reluctance by from traditional locality in such regions against regional changes.

At any rate, the case of the modernization of Yame tea industry shows us complicated several movements within several scales of space through time.

Conclusion

In this paper, the author tried to relate some factors each other within different scale levels of space. Namely, it focussed on the relationships and changes among natural or agricultural environment, resource (tea), social group

(guild), agents (bureaucrats, tea manufacturers) and ideology of modernization (innovation etc.), upon local, regional, national and global levels of space.

For the purpose of lighting up regional situation in history, how agents worked out within spaces and times is critical problem for geography. When we discuss about on this standpoint, man, space, locality, environment and time may be integrated by one harmonizing way of geographical thought.

As some disciplines of history have not ignored human agency (Thompson, 1982), we geographers also can do it both upon theoretical and positive levels.

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Power, Social Discipline and the Control of Urban Space: A Case Study in Moji, Western Japan, 1890-1930

ONJO Akio

Introduction

Over the last decade, some social or cultural geographers have paid attention to the relationships between space, power and social reproduction. Though these studies have revealed that the manipulation of "space" is not derivative to the operation of "power", rather it is a key means or "moment" of the workings of it, it is evident that the work of M.Foucault have an impact on these studies: for example, the relational problematic of power (Raffestin 1980), "discipline" and space, or "Moral geography" (Driver 1988, 1992, 1993), "the Eye of Power" (Gregory 1994).

We could identify some aspects of systems of social reproduction and among them the reproduction of labor power is a critical element. The problem of social policy or "social discipline" is also closely connected with the debate about the reproduction of labor power from a historically-specific perspective. As Althusser (1970) pointed out, the state intervenes in the sphere of the reproduction of labor power by means of "*appareils idéologique d'état*" and "ideology" plays a critical role in the formation of labor power with a certain quality and quantity. But the concept of "ideology" is very ambiguous and numerous social scientists have debated about this concept. Here we could define this term tentatively: ideology is a specific type of knowledge and is incarnated in everyday social practices within a social formation, and it is not an abstract object but a material ground for the reproduction of everyday life (see Althusser 1970; Berdoulay 1985). Therefore, it makes no difference whether people believe a certain ideology seriously or not.

Rather, it is important that people pretend to believe a certain ideology and, in any case, practice it in everyday life as a matter of habit. And ideology is "naturalized" in social practices, operates as an "objective force" on social life and makes the existing social order or norm taken-for-granted. In this context "social agents" are constituted as historical-social products by the effects of the ideology. However, their informed or practical actions explicitly or implicitly reconstituted, or transformed material processes and social agents are not always predetermined by the effects of the ideology, and it could be said that they themselves are "contingent" processes. So we reject reductionist and "essentialist" tendencies with regard to the constitution of "collective consciousness" or "subjectivity" of classes, races and social groups (Thrift and Williams 1987) and have to consider the "contingent" social processes of different "subject positions" in the systems of social reproduction. Complex relations of power operate just as in the sphere of these social processes.

Here socially-produced space and time ("spatiality"¹) and "historicity") constitute one of the material grounds of ideology and is a specific "modality" in the constitution and reproduction of social formation in general and of labor power in particular (Soja 1985). It is said that modern urban space represents a distinctive spatiality that is maintained, intervened and controlled by a set of the institutions (mainly "the state apparatus") in more depth. These institutions have an effect on the production of social agents as members of classes, gender and so on. Therefore, we could say that the institutions for "social discipline" are omni-

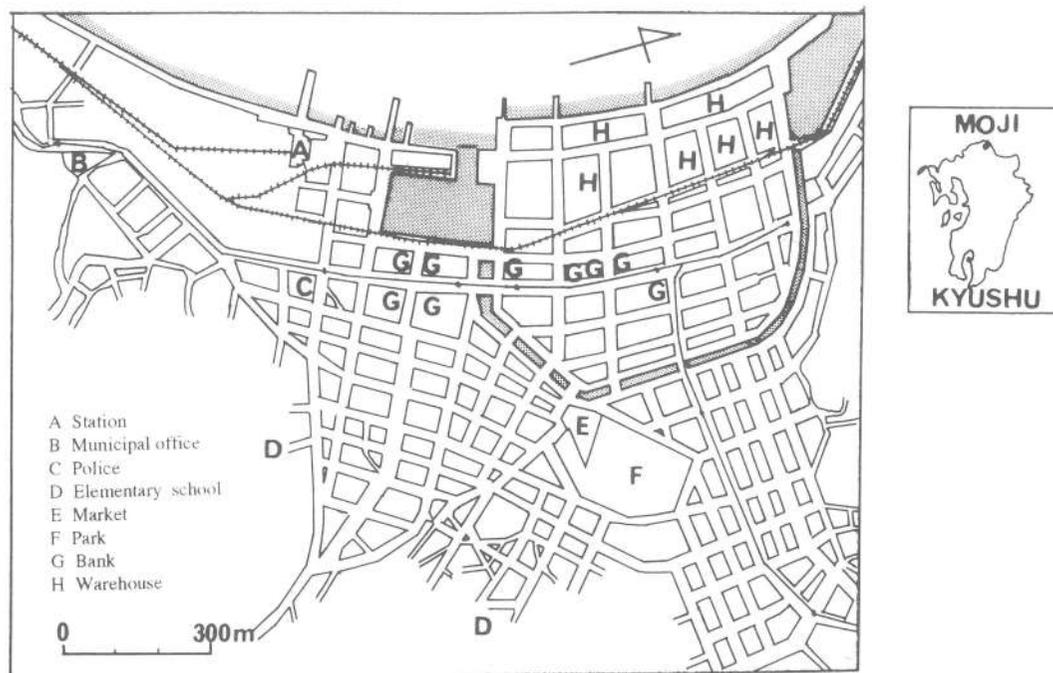


Figure 1. Central area of Moji 1924.

present in urban space, and at the same time there's a possibility that these places will become "space for resistance" as well, because class struggles or conflicts are not restricted to the workplace, rather are spread throughout the social life at different spatial scales—from the internal space of households to streets or quarters—.

Many historians and social scientists have explored the issues concerning social reproduction, in particular the relationship between the social conflicts between ruling class and working class, and the formation of social policy and social work in modern Japan. Recently in connection with urban reform, social policy (including urban planning) and urban politics, geographers and historians have paid much attention to the issues surrounding spatial inequality in the broader sense in modern Japanese cities (Mizuuchi 1986). Although these works are concerned with the connections between the operation of power, reproduction of labor power and spatiality at an urban scale, they have been restricted to some large cities.

In this case study of Moji, western Japan (Figure 1) with which I deal in this article, I consider several aspects of reproduction of labor power in a modern Japanese city from a

local perspective. First of all, we will briefly consider a social and geographical position of Moji in the context of Japanese modernization. I shall describe the constitution of urban space and then the laborer's living conditions—coal stevedores' in particular. I consider the representation of "stereotypes" given to them by outsiders. Secondly I shall discuss the effects of the representation upon the relationship between urban policy and the restructuring of laborers' living conditions. And then I would like to focus attention on some components of urban policy: food supply, education, welfare, and surveillance. I shall point out two issues: firstly the intervention of the state in the reproduction of labor power raises or intensifies discrimination and this discrimination is a necessary condition in reproducing a social formation; secondly that the populace claim realization of individual desires from the state produces a strong national system and the intervention of the state into the realm of everyday life in more depth, and leads to a nationalistic consciousness or movements from "underclass". Although the connection between a nationalistic consciousness and the individual claims depends upon the situation, it is important to note that discourse which produces and legiti-

mates discrimination is an important factor in this connection.

Urbanization Process in Moji, 1890-1930

Urban setting

Moji experienced a drastic transformation of external spatial relations and interior spatial structures between 1890 and 1930. We may also be able to say that this transformation considerably symbolized some aspects or stages of modernization of urban society in Japan as a whole.

Originally Moji was only a small fishing and farming village, before a port area was constructed by the Moji Reclamation Company. The first reclamation was launched in 1889 and then Moji was endorsed as an ordinance-designated port by the central government in 1901.

As the "Industrial Revolution" rapidly developed in the 1890s, the Japanese economy became increasingly concerned with the production of exports. And in order to seek out foreign markets and resources, Japan took an active role in imperialistic struggles over territory. After the Sino-Japanese War (1894-5) and the Russo-Japanese War (1904-5), Japan invaded Taiwan, Southern Sakhalin, the Korean Peninsular, Northeast China and the like, and these imperialistic expansions were steadily increased until the end of the Second World War. In this expansion, Moji became one of the most important export ports in western Japan because of its strategic importance. Although at the beginning the main exports were cotton yarn and coal which was mined in the Chikuhō region, from 1900 the amount of coal as a percentage of total

exports sharply declined²⁾, as the focus of coal exporting became concentrated on Wakamatsu port. However, regional competitiveness of Moji as an export port was enhanced by the development of the Kitakyūshū industrial zone³⁾ and its favorable position in both of domestic and Asian markets. Branch offices of many major trading companies (including foreign ones), banks and transport and communication industry companies were established and formed a business district (Akigusa 1952). Furthermore, as the army used this port as a point of departure for the Asian mainland, Moji increased its importance militarily as well.

Table 1. Population growth of Moji, 1884-1926

	households	Population
1884	515	2,660
1890	750	6,917
1894	2,315	10,078
1900	6,400	34,070
1907	11,980	52,725
1912	12,381	68,528
1926	19,720	96,358

Source : "Moji City History" (1933)

But the rapid increase of the population, as shown in Table 1, brought about many urban problems in this newly-developed space. Urban infrastructures, for example, the road system, water networks and sewage systems had not been constructed or improved for a long time. Although municipal officials regarded an insalubrious urban environment as a critical problem socially and economically, they were unable to make policies to overcome these issues fundamentally. The main reason was an unstable fiscal condition. The proportion of tax

Table 2. Number and average wages of laborers, 1905

Occupation	No.		No. Total(%)	Average wages (per day)	
	Male(%)	Female(%)		Male	Female(SEN)
Coal Stevedore	9,375(67.5)	4,511(32.5)	13,886(74.7)	75 ¹⁾	40 ¹⁾
Factory worker	796(84.1)	150(15.9)	946(5.1)	60	24
Warehouse labourer	500(55.2)	406(44.8)	906(4.9)	57.7	21.2
Day laborer	413(66.2)	211(33.8)	624(3.4)	58	21
Rickshaw man	250(83.9)	48(16.1)	298(1.6)	56	13
Sailor	208(100.0)	- (-)	208(1.1)	69	-
Temporary employee of the army	100(48.3)	107(51.7)	207(1.1)	59	21
Other laborer	829(55.0)	678(45.0)	1,507(8.1)	40	16
Total	12,471(67.1)	6,111(32.9)	18,582(100.0)		

1) real income is 56.1 (male) and 38.7 (female)

Source : *Fukuoka Nichinichi Shinbun* 28 June 1905

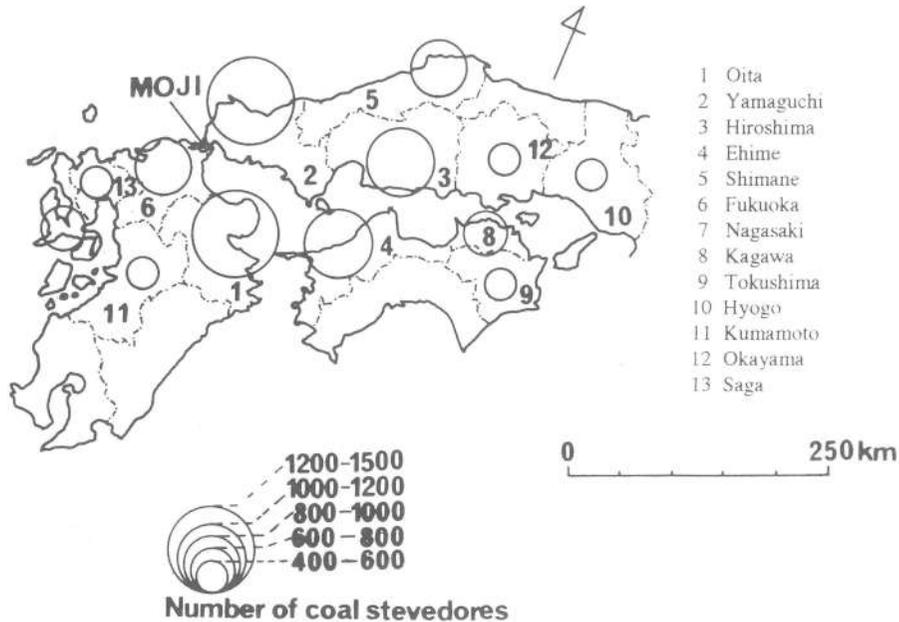


Figure 2. Main birthplace of stevedores of Moji 1905, aggregated by prefecture.

Note: There were 3121 coal stevedores who were born in other places.
Source: *Fukuoka Nichinichi Shinbun* 28 June 1905.

arrears was very high level, because most of the inhabitants were composed of temporary or short-term lower-class laborers. Although many factories such as an arsenal and a cement plant were in operation, loading and unloading projects requiring general cargo and coal stevedores, other land transportation jobs (stable hands) and the construction industry were principal parts of employment in Moji. It was not only goods that were transferred, but also many immigrants who had different social backgrounds and geographic origins inundated Moji port seeking job opportunity (see Table 2; Figure 2). At first a lot of immigrants were single male laborers and were usually employed as coal stevedores.

It would be unrealistic to assume that this huge influx of the population had no serious effects on urban milieu. Above all it was those who were indigenous to Moji who experienced rapid social transformation and were suddenly faced with various urban questions. These events markedly changed the context of their everyday life. Although they intended to cope with these difficulties, they did not have any effective means or methods to solve them. For employers or municipal officials it was impor-

tant, but difficult to unify the heterogeneity of people and it was only in the 1920s that urban bureaucrats or planners began to approach these problems practically.

In the following section we shall discuss laborers' living conditions or ways of life in general and the lot of coal stevedores in particular and pay attention to the imagery surrounding them: what kind of imagery was given to them by other social groups or the mass media?

Living conditions and ways of life of stevedores

We could classify laborers' groups into some strata: stevedores, factory workers, stable hands, miscellaneous urban services, day laborers and so on. In these strata the coal stevedores who loaded vessels with coal were the largest group. It is said that there were approximately 3,000 ~6,000 coal stevedores on average between 1890 and 1930, though seasonal or periodical changes were marked. For instance, during the Russo-Japanese War the number of coal stevedores was about 14,000 (see Table 2) and the proportion of stevedores to the population amounted to 31.5 percent. They were divided into two sub-groups by form of employment⁴⁾.

One sub-group belonged to “*kumi*” institutions which the original contractors organized in order to employ stevedores and it was engaged in subcontracting work from the large coal corporation. There were about twelve “*kumis*” in the late 1900s and “*kumi*” institutions had a rigid job hierarchy from a “*kumigashira*” and “*kogashira*” at the top, down to coal stevedores. Bosses or foremen, who were called *kogashira*, employed and controlled about 40 stevedores directly. Not only did they oversee stevedores in the labor process of coal loading projects, but also supplied the daily necessities of stevedores and looked after their livelihood. Though stevedores were paid wages by the *kogashira* according to their labor ability and positions, their living expenses were deducted from their wages by the *kumigashira* and *kogashira*. And stevedores were exploited twice by a *kumigashira* and *kogashira*. Hence coal stevedores depended upon a *kogashira* and were forced to pledge strong allegiance to him. Consequently in many cases the relationship between *kogashira* and stevedores was that of a surrogate parent and their children and not of a modern employer-employee relationship.

While married stevedores lived in a rented house with their family, unmarried ones who were employed by a single *kogashira* lived in the same row house together and had close-knit relationships in the sphere of workplace and everyday life. So it seemed that they held a shared sense of belonging or loyalty to their own *kumi* and some sort of group homogeneity developed each other. In other words, they built their own peculiar “life-world” under the *kumi* institution. On the contrary the relationship between several *kumis* was always contestable, except that they required the holding company to raise wages of stevedores and made an employment agreements with each other.

The other sub-group comprised coal stevedores who didn't belong to the *kumi* institution and worked by the day. A *kogashira* usually considered them as “reserve army” and hired them as a “regulated valve of employment”, because a day's or week's work load varied extremely. When stormy weather was prolonged and loading conducts had been suspended, they immediately faced great hardship and their livelihoods were always unstable. However, at least they were released from some constraints within the *kumi* institution.

And a lot of women worked at loading and unloading projects as well (Hayashi 1983). Though they worked with male laborers under the same conditions, their wages levels were lower than those of male laborers and employers relied heavily on this cheap or “docile” women's labor power.

Therefore, many stevedores lived and worked within a rigid hierarchy, and lacked mutual relationships. From this point it would be difficult to imagine that all stevedores had a sense of “class consciousness” or “collective identity” with each other. In 1901 some socialists wrote that “As a lot of laborers are concentrated in Moji, this city will become a central site for labor movements in the future” (*Hikari* 1 January 1906), but this prospect did not prove right for the reasons mentioned above. Moreover, mobility of laborers was very high and they moved from company to company, from one occupation to another. It seems that this was a main reason for the lack of collective identity among laborers too. And employers were always troubled by this high mobility as well, because the conducts of coal loading were very hard work and a skilled labor force was necessary for each work process. So they were forced to grapple with difficult problems of labor “discipline”⁵⁾ and in particular the attitude of stevedores to their jobs which was entirely different to the ideal view of their foremen. This was a critical issue:

“Stevedores take rests frequently besides regulated breaks. Moji port spends much more time on coal loading than other ports (for example, Nagasaki) and we have to improve labor productivity or efficiency so as to increase our competitiveness.” (*Moji Shinpo*, 31 August 1895).

Foremen, in particular, tried to intensify the discipline of time in the workplace and with the introduction of machines the tempo of coal loading projects was stepped up remarkably well during the 1910s. In this process employers or foremen became aware of the importance of “education” which might be able to inculcate future laborers with a sense of punctuality. I shall return to this point later.

Here we consider how other people perceived stevedores' living conditions or ways of life. Though stevedores were concentrated in

some areas and these areas were very close to the center spatially, they were segregated socially and this led other people to have a peculiar image or "stereotype" of the stevedores' way of life. Newspapers played a central role in producing these kinds of images and some newspapers reporters explored and "discovered" these areas and reported their living conditions.

"They spend a lot of money drinking or gambling, and are always fighting in the street, whereas their residential area is overcrowded and very insanitary, and their houses remain very small and in a six-mat room all members of a family (from four to six persons) live together. Their clothes are shabby or some people are naked. They live from hand to mouth and have little interest in their houses and clothes and have no idea of sanitation. And many children don't enter school. It is extremely difficult for us to understand their way of life or mentality." (*Moji Shinpo*, 11-13 October 1911)

Needless to say, they alone were not responsible for their poor living environments, rather house owners, mostly *kogashiras*, were more responsible for this situation. Because they hardly invested anything in their properties or repaired their poor houses out of the rent regardless of police directives and they made high profits. But in many cases newspapers selected and coded the information which emphasized only the "different" aspects of their way of life. And this difference was usually explained from an "essentialist" viewpoint: their attitudes or mentality were explained in connection with the "innate characters" or "blood" and they were considered to be "natural states".

The formation and proliferation of these kinds of "stereotypes", mostly negative ones, increased the discrimination against coal stevedores. In 1901 a journalist made the following proposal in a newspaper:

"We had better build a new clean "village" for lower-class laborers in a suburb and let them go to work from this "village". This "village" should be enclosed by a wall and have only one entrance and the entrance

Table 3. Number of cases and deaths of contagious diseases: Moji, 1900-1924

	Cases	Deaths
1900	653	174
1902	676	443
1905	216	75
1907	627	360
1908	495	207
1912	272	149
1916	301	136
1924	475	111

Source : 1900-1905 ; "*Moji Water Supply*" (1963)
1907-1924 ; "*Moji City History*" (1933)

should always be watched by the police. If laborers move to this village, other harmful facilities such as brothels would move near the village as well. If this plan is carried out, we will be able to solve two major problems in Moji preserving public health and social order, simultaneously." (*Moji Shinpo*, 27,29 June 1901)

Later this sort of proposal became more real and was imprinted on people's minds powerfully, when issues of public health became a concern. As contagious diseases, cholera, typhoid abdominalis and so forth, were prevalent (Table 3), and disrupted urban economic or social activities, fiscal conditions and everyday life, disease-control measures became an urgent problem for central and local government. For example, when cholera was epidemic in 1902, the director of a hospital said:

"Moji is divided into two parts. One part is a city of gentlemen and the other is a city of stevedores. Certainly the latter brings much wealth to Moji, but it causes a great deal of damage to the urban economy and the inhabitants." (*Moji Shinpo*, 31 August 1902)

From the point of view of sanitation, the police and the municipal government regarded stevedores as "dangerous people". In order to prevent urban crisis from the real or imagined dangers of stevedores, administrators or social workers were going to intervene the stevedores' way of life and "enlighten" their way of thinking. And they set themselves to visit lower class neighbourhoods and observe the living conditions more in detail.

In August 1911, Dr. Ogawa Shigejiro, who was well-known as one of pioneers studying the

prison system in Japan and later organized new government-private partnerships of social work ("District Welfare Committee") in Osaka City, visited a stevedores' residential area.

"Their living conditions are very miserable. Their houses are very small and bad, the alleyways are in an insanitary condition as well. But it is surprising for me that the wages of these people are relatively higher than those of other cities. They are able to earn rather high incomes (about 1 *yen* per day), even though they can't work everyday. They, however, don't have any idea about economizing on food expenses or saving money. So we may be able to improve their attitudes and ideas by restructuring the interior space of their households." (*Fukuoka Nichinichi Shinbun*, 6,7 August 1911)

As a "professional" he pointed out another aspect of problems concerning the lower-classes in Moji: what matters about their way of life is not only an "economic" or indigent problem, but rather a "moral" one. He insisted on the importance of housing design as "moral power" and the "home" has both physical and social dimensions. Here, what is important is that moral improvement is associated with the restructuring of "living space" and a poor environment is perceived as a breeding ground for crime and disorder.

In the 1910s the increasing significance of women within this interior space was recognized by some social workers. This interior space came to be coded as "feminine" and then as home-maker women were expected to control this space and be responsible for the role of nutrition or education within this space. The significance of women in the household as well as the labor market drastically changed the position of women in society and the reproduction of gender relations. This means that in order to grasp urban social structures as correctly as possible a household becomes the most basic unit and central or local governments begin to constructively intervene this space by means of various kinds of social surveys.

Moreover, it is assumed that in this context the lower-classes themselves, too, would seek establishment of a household to obtain better living conditions. So I could suppose that both

movements from above and below directly transformed various aspects of the reproduction of labor power. In other words, if firstly administration improves or changes the customs of the lower-classes and then those people demand administration guarantee certain living conditions based on these newly established customs, and the government should intervene in the realm of daily life more extensively. Therefore, we could say that the problems concerning the reproduction of labor power intensively represent conflicts and/or an "affinity" between class, gender and other social groups, and the state.

The Problems around Reproduction of Labor Power

Recently a considerable number of geographical studies have been made on the reproduction of labor power and have revealed that the reproduction of labor power is not a simple or automatic process, but is involved in economic, political, social and cultural spheres and includes many conflicts or struggles, because labor power is basically a special commodity and is reproduced outside the sphere of the immediate relations of production (Harvey 1982). The term of "reproduction" means not only physical or biological reproduction, but also social or cultural one. The former is a short-term problem, food, shelter, leisure and so on, which enables laborers to work the next day. The latter is a long-term problem which is to bring up the next generation of laborers.

I shall pay attention to only three problems in this chapter. To begin with, I deal with the issues of food supply which is a fundamental component in maintaining and reproducing urban social life. Secondly I shall consider the issues concerning the discipline of people. I will refer to the education of pauper children, and the control of urban space and spatial practices for the Emperor's visit. Finally I will briefly consider the meaning of social surveys and its impact on the everyday life of the people. The debates over social surveys represent the transformation of perspectives: the way the classification of people is framed as a social issue⁹⁾.

Feeding people

It is obvious that food problems are closely related to the maintenance of social order on

the one hand, and to the debates over the making of "healthy body" on the other hand. The constitution of a "healthy body" was a basic necessity for being able to reproduce the population with a certain quality and that was also regarded as a necessary condition for increasing the national wealth as a whole. In regard to the "healthy body", much attention has been given to the knowledge of medical science or training in the army. The knowledge of medical science played a central role in producing standard awareness about "healthy body" and military training in the army was one of normative models for transforming different practices into "ideal" or standard form. But a detailed examination of these issues is beyond the scope of this paper.

As the available land in Moji was always extremely limited, and moreover, most of the peasants had gradually abandoned farming and moved to urban areas as manual laborers under urbanization, supply of farm products had not been steady or adequate for a long time. According to research by the Moji Chamber of Commerce (1927), about 90 percent of vegetables consumed in Moji depended upon crops produced in other regions (*Moji Shinpo* 3,5-7 November 1927). With the increased consumption of vegetables, average prices became higher than those in other cities and prices fluctuated extremely. Furthermore the quality of perishables was not good in general.

These conditions were very disadvantageous to the inhabitants, vendors and wholesalers of Moji. Most of vendors went to Simonoseki City, Yamaguchi Prefecture, to stock farm products or fresh fish. On the other hand many hawkers came to Moji almost everyday. This situation was an obstacle to the development of retail functions in Moji.

And from the viewpoint of sanitation too, the police viewed non-fresh products as unsanitary and dangerous seeds of contagious diseases. The municipal government, however, confronted with other urban problems such as water and gas supply, and the building of a public hospital and library, and could not afford to improve the system of food supply.

In considering issues of food supply, it would be impossible to ignore the activities of hawkers and street stall keepers. They were imperative to the survival of laborers and supplied various basic foodstuffs, (vegetables,

fruits, fresh and dry fish, bean or chicken soup, alcohol, milk etc.), and daily snacks. On the other hand for almost all hawkers, hawking was the only source or strategy of possible employment and income, and some hawkers vendiced ices during the summer and miscellaneous goods during the winter. Concerning the relationships of hawkers and laborers, it seemed that hawkers and lower-class laborers lived under the same circumstances and usually traded in cash and then shared in their own rules of trade which were based on local social bonds. It was also a precious occasion to communicate the information which was indispensable to their living. It was usual for "upper-middle class", on the contrary, to do trading in credit and each class had its own ways of trade.

The municipal government and the police tried to prohibit and control the activities of hawkers and stall keepers, citing health problems, unsightly landscape and illegal occupancy of the streets. Municipal officials regarded the food supplied by hawkers and street stall keepers as dangerous to public health, and also street stalls on the main thoroughfare of Moji station were perceived as noxious and dishonorable, and the antithesis of a "modern" urban landscape. The municipal government, therefore, intended to clear this health hazard from urban space and multiplied street control rules (including location of stalls on the street, removal of animal excrement and garbage, location of advertisements and posters, and so on). The police too intensified pressure on waitress services at the "Cafe", prostitutes and beggings, because they were considered to be a great menace to the preservation of public morals and spoil the beauty of Moji as the "gateway of Japanese Empire". The inhabitants were assigned to the responsibility for keeping their streets and drains clean on a daily bases. The struggles between municipal officials and street traders had continued until the early 1920s, for even municipal officials were forced to recognize that hawking was essential to urban social life.

At the national level, some social workers and scholars had already perceived the increased significance of the stabilization of the food supply and had claimed since the early 1900s that the central or local government was responsible for food supply of the population. As a solution they laid much insistence on

the necessity of a "regulated" market, both retail and wholesale, and some central bureaucrats certainly recongnized its significance as well (Harada, 1991). But various kinds of food policies were almost not developed, until a great historical event in modern Japanese society occurred. It was "*Komesodo*" (the riot against soaring of rice price) which was explosive in August 1917 that had great impacts on economic, political and social structures. Immediately after the First World War the prices of

Table 4. Price index of staple foods 1915-1919

Year	Rice	Beef	Suger	Carrot	Japanese white radish
1915	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
1919	357.6	218.2	181.1	454.5	272.2

Source : *Moji Shinpo* 2 August 1919

foodstuffs skyrocketed (see Table 4) and the riot was explosive in small villages in Toyama Prefecture, central Japan, and spread to other regions at once. Not only the police, but also the army was dispatched to suppress this riot. In Fukuoka Prefecture, the riot broke out in some cities: Moji, Tobata, Yahata, Omuta and the Chikuho mining region. In Moji, during two days people attacked some rice shops and demanded retailers cut their price and about two hundred people were arrested by the police.

In many studies so far, it has been assumed that most of participants of this riot belonged to the lower classes, while some recent studies reinvestigated this view and tried to shed light on the another side of this riot. Here I argue for focusing on two points. At first, during the First World War the wages of lower-class laborers had risen remarkably, and they came to enjoy relatively high living conditions (Onjo 1994). For example, they selected domestic rice and were not prepared to eat imported rice. Once they got better living conditions, it was very difficult to reduce these conditions and they demanded the government sustain their standard of living. Secondly, it has to be noticed that not only the lower classes but also the "middle class" was damaged by the skyrocketing of foodstuff prices. Except those who belonged to the upper social strata, many people, including the middle class⁷⁾, felt hardship. So the central or local government was required to deal with projects to avoid social crisis and resolve the wide range of demands from the

people.

Paradoxically, it could be supposed that this riot was the critical moment that the power of central or local government was intensified and began to intervene in the realm of everyday life. The demands for a certain standard of living from the people brought about the opportunity for the state to directly intervene in the life of common people. That is to say, the state enlarged the operation of power through "infrastructural power" (Driver 1993), being supported by the "desires" of the nation. As Kojita(1991) pointed out, the expansion of the state is not separable from national desires for better living conditions from "below". It means that "power" is exercised from above not only to prohibit certain sorts of social and spatial practices, but also to invent new ways of acting and thinking. The ideology of dominant classes not only controls the ideas of the oppressed, but also produces certain desires. Therefore, "the state apparatus is both a medium and outcome of social relations" (Driver 1985) and it is not an instrument of the ruling class or is not determined by the imperative of the capitalist mode of production, but an aggregated sphere of struggles and "affinity" between the oppressor and the oppressed. Those who accept these "generalized" desires are likely to be antagonistic to the state, when they persist in looking after "egocentric" interests alone. On the other hand they probably become enthusiastic nationalists, when their desires are absorbed into the state apparatus. While in the external context the menace of the Western powers and two wars inspired the common people with nationalist sentiment, in the internal context the demands to be better-off increased the adherence of them to the state and in this case, subject positions were constituted around the interests of the state apparatus.

When riots were explosive, men of influence living in particular areas started to give aid to the poor and contributed money or rice to the municipal government. They led the van of relief work and as a temporary measure municipal officials organized a relief work committee which mainly consisted of those people. With this money, the municipal government and relief work committee rationed out or organized bargain sales of imported rice and vegetables. This committee continued many temporary activites, until some standing measures

were instituted by the municipal government. Among them, the municipally-run market which was controlled by a local agency, was regarded as one of the most significant facilities for introducing efficient price control. These municipally-run markets were launched in six major cities (Osaka, Tokyo, Kyoto, Nagoya, Kobe, Yokohama) and spread to local cities rapidly. In Moji the first municipally-run market was set up in downtown area of Oimatu in September 1919 and the second one in Shirakizaki, in the western part of Moji, in December 1919 by the relief work committee, and then three markets were established (see Table 5).

Table 5. Municipally-run markets in Moji

Site	Average sales per month (yen)	Number of stores	Year of establishment
Oimatu	14,054	75	1919
Shirakizaka	1,074	14	1919
Daili	2,461	12	1923
Old-Moji	460	4	1925
Tanoura	624	4	1925

Source : "Moji City History" (1933)

After this committee dissolved, both markets were transferred to the management of the municipal government. At this market basic foodstuffs, rice, charcoal, beef, pork, soy sauce, sugar and vegetables and so forth, were sold at a official price which was cheaper than the retail price by 10-30 percent. The facilities were composed of two parts: a building with a roof and open-air market place. In case of the former retailers, they were designated as such by municipal officials and as compensation for selling at official prices, they were given some advantages, for example, exemption from charges during a few months. The latter was mainly used by hawkers who were excluded from streets and they were required to pay the charge for renting a lot everyday. On the opening day about twenty thousand people inundated this market for cheaper foods (*Moji Shinpo*, 26 September 1919). So it could be inferred that this market was welcomed and used by not only the lower classes, but also the "middle class". Though some people came to criticize this market for the bad quality of food ("cheap and nasty") and worse service, it had a great impact on the traditional way of trading. So there were a lot of conflicts between municipal officials and ordinary retailers about the way of appointing market retailers, setting prices and

so on.

It seemed that there were two main aims of the foundation of this market. The first was to stabilize the fresh food supply and manage or standardize food prices within the city. The next most important point was to intervene in the traditional conduct of commerce or stipulated price setting that had been directed by trade associations and to frame new patterns of consumption. The existing distribution system which centered on vending and buying on credit was so complex and irrational that it became an obstacle to the quick circulation of capital or goods and money. In other words, the municipal government intended to construct new norms of commerce.

Against the increasing influence of municipally-run market and the emergence of department store, guildes of wholesalers and retailers struggled so as to protect the pre-existing trading system. This movement also changed the power relations of urban politics, for these transformations weakened economic bases of groups who had dominated urban politics and had represented the restricted interests to date. As retailers and wholesalers resisted this new policy vigorously and these problems were discussed at the city council again and again, construction of a new regulated market did not develop as scheduled.

Furthermore, this resistance were not restricted to making political protests against the municipal government. Retailers tried to develop various survival strategies. For instance, their organ-izations began to reconstruct their streets and make a more attractive space by the use of a new type of arch, street lamps, advertisements, shop layout and the like. It is said that this "aestheticisation" of urban space contributed to producing new ways of seeing and acting. As many journalists called attention to the emergence of new styles of spatial practices—browsing and strolling around the shopping district—, people enjoyed an experience of "consumption in space" and "consumption of space" and in some sense were confined in this space.

Disciplining people

I shall restrict our attention to only two aspects of disciplinary strategies. At a glance, it seems that these two aspects don't have any relationship to each other, but they have a certain purpose that produces the "obedient nation". In

the first, I deal with the education of pauper children with parents and single-parents or without parents; in the second, the event of "the Emperor's visit". In recent studies of historical sociology, history and so on, it has been revealed that the Emperor's visit had an impact on the realm of everyday life in general and the spatial practices and representations of people in particular. After the Meiji Restoration in 1868, magnificent national ceremonies were invented and held by the central government frequently, and had an effect on "mentality" and attitudes of common people (Fujitani 1994). The pageantry surrounding the Emperor's visit made it an important event in local cities in particular. In the process of the formation of the nation-state, these pageantries functioned as an opportunity for the social and cultural integration of people with various differences into the myth of a single "Japanese nation".

Educating and training pauper children In 1911 the municipal government established a special institution for educating pauper children within two elementary schools. According to the municipal statistics for 1909, elementary school attendance was 95 percent and it was a very high percentage considering the high mobility of the population. But there existed a great number of people who didn't register themselves at the municipal office. In fact many children didn't enter an elementary school and were fully unable to be grasped by municipal statistics.

At the time children were considered to be a valuable labor power and their parents also had little interest in the educational system. Some laborers even looked down on school-teachers because of their low wage level. After the First World War the increase in the real wages of teachers was relatively lower than those of manual laborers and some laborers valued only their work skills and still did not accept the "modern" ideology that educational background was an important component for living and elevating their status in society. So it was rather difficult to force pauper children into going to school and taking classes. At first teachers had to make an effort to look for these children in the streets, find out their houses and persuade their parents to let them enter the institution. As shown in Table 6, most of their parents were engaged in coal loading and

Table 6. Occupation of parents whose children attended at special education 1917

Occupation	No.	Percent(%)
Loading-unloading coal	118	73.3
Daily Labour	23	14.3
Hawking	16	9.9
Urban miscellaneous	4	2.5
Total	161	100.0

Source : "Report of Moji municipal office" (1918)

teachers were frequently bewildered by the different attitudes of the children:

"Their attitude is very rowdy, and they don't acquire a sense of discipline and have a very suspicious nature, because of a lack of affection from their parents and effective family discipline." (*Moji Shinpo*, 13 June 1915)

Municipal officials considered juvenile delinquency, for example, deviant or criminal behavior and fighting, to be one of the most serious problems and they were afraid that these activities would cause social disorder and give a bad impression to outsiders. They also thought that in the future these children's activities had a possibility of disturbing social norms and the sense of "national identity" which the government had tried to inculcate in people. As many influential persons also contributed money or goods to the institutions, in both public and private spheres they came to be gradually interested in changing the behaviors of these children as well as their families and instilling them with a deep attachment to the place of Moji. These children were separated from both their own life-world and other children and this separation was thought a useful strategy for stopping the "contagion" in two ways.

Therefore, this institution represented official efforts to grasp people who had existed outside the social structures so far. And, as mentioned above, the ultimate aim of this educational institution was to improve the attitudes of pauper children and made them "good citizens" or "self-regulated" individuals. Teachers imposed some special subjects on the children in order to cultivate aesthetic or moral sentiments and customs different to the class and group to which they belonged. "Moral" education was regarded as an attempt at impressing

children with the virtues of saving, manners, obedience, labor and punctuality. For instance, in order to form a sensitive mind, teachers made pauper children produce dolls or gave them an opportunity to take a bath one or two times per week so as to make them get into the habit of bathing and inspire the idea of a “clean or health body” in them.

And, as a result of the activities of elementary schoolteachers, the municipal government was able to grasp the living conditions of lower class laborers or paupers correctly. In fact, these activities were at the forefront of social survey in Moji. They inquired into place of origin, occupation and income and in some cases, teachers became advisers in order to improve their living conditions.

In the process of this discipline, the increasing importance of education was gradually perceived by those who accepted the dominant ideology. In the second half of 1910s, the desire for an educational background rose rapidly and penetrated into people from all levels of society. For example, the stevedores’ cooperative began to aid higher-educational expenses for their children (also see pp. 23-24.). From this situation, we could understand the changes of stevedore’s attitudes towards educational background and the self-esteem of individuals. That occupying high status within the social structure became a central purpose in social life means that the difference among various groups with their own norms had vanished and integrated into a single-value system. The difference between people was replaced by the social standings within which the various capacity of people is calculable and judged by a single standard: efficiency. And at the same time, we should notice that in compulsory education the discourse concerning the Emperor played a essential role in making “national identity”⁸⁾. This operation of power were not restricted within a narrow school building, but restructured urban space immediately.

The impact of the Emperor’s visit on spatial practices In November 1911 the Emperor of Meiji visited Moji on the way to Kumamoto Prefecture (reviewing large-scale manoeuvres carried out by the army). In order to welcome the Emperor safely, the municipal government set out detailed projects and restructured a part of the urban space. For instance, buildings were

decorated with beautiful ornaments, streets were paved with white gravel and the “*Ryōkumon*” (Green Arch), which was very popular in Japanese modern urban landscape for welcoming a member of the Imperial family or the army, was constructed in the main street. The unsightly areas of the urban landscape—dirty streets, unsightly buildings, insanitary drains and street stalls— were renovated or removed entirely or concealed temporarily. And officials or policemen inspected the sanitary conditions of the row houses of stevedores over and over again. Furthermore, the municipal government prepared detailed rules to monitor the conduct of people and the police intensified their surveillance network: controlling streets or buildings and the social practices of people on the streets. And these diverse activities led to discrimination against particular groups such as paupers, insane patients, the handicapped, drunkards, beggars and the like. On the one hand the police and the municipal government selected only elementary school children and those who were certainly regarded as “desirables” or “proper citizens” and in order to welcome the Emperor they were mobilized on the main street. At this scene all of them were prohibited from conducting themselves their own way and were strictly forced to act in the same manner. On the other hand the discriminated people were excluded from this scene, locked up in their houses and put under rigid surveillance, so the municipal government could carefully conceal their existence from the Emperor’s eyes.

In addition to these short-term policies, a new landscape was developed in order to keep this visit in memory of the people for a long term. After this visit the Emperor rewarded the municipal government with five hundred yen. The municipal government made use of this money and created a project to construct a memorial park to the Meiji Emperor, and it completed in 1916. This Japanese style park became a “place of collective memory” where the virtues of the Meiji Emperor were represented for the next generations. Of course, this collective memory was not always shared among all those who lived in Moji. People didn’t always remember this memory faithfully and sometimes re-interpreted it in another social context.

The state acted upon the “mythical”

power of the Emperor to make some people participate in a series of national ceremonies voluntarily and to integrate them into the faithful "Träger" of nationality, while other people were discriminated or suppressed more severely and became more marginalized groups even in everyday life. As they were considered to be unable to work and do their own part in society, they were confined to a specific space, the hospital or other public institutions, and entirely separated from society. Many good "citizens" took it for granted that these groups were very dangerous to society and should be excluded, confined and rehabilitated completely. I would argue that in the formation of "clean urban space" not only physical coercion but also discursive power, which legitimates and "naturalizes" a historically-specific object of exclusion, operated at various levels effectively. And the power of discourse which classifies people in various ways, operates on the issues concerning urban social policy most remarkably.

Classifying people

After "*Komesodo*" the Ministry of Interior demanded local governments establish a special department or division that dealt with social work for "institutionalization" of social policy. In Fukuoka Prefecture, the department of social work was established in some cities immediately, but the real activities did not proceed until the second half of 1920s. A central bureaucrat made an inspection of social work programs in Fukuoka Prefecture and said as followed:

"The Kitakyushu industrial area is as prominent as the Hanshin area in Japan. But the institutions of social work remain incomplete in comparison to Osaka or Kobe. Not only the central government but also local public organizations have to complete these institutions as soon as possible." (*Fukuoka Nichinichi Shinbun*, 13 June 1927)

The local government, however, did not have any special knowledge or the budget for social work. In this situation the Moji municipal government was quick to invite a specialist in social work who had graduated from Doshisha University and already handled social work at Yokohama City and started social surveys for social work in April 1921. He established

some projects, a public employment agency, day-care center and public pawnshop, and they were embodied gradually. And the municipal government, the police, and the public employment agency had actively conducted numerous social surveys concerning the living conditions of lower class laborers, the unemployed, paupers, those who lived on the water and foreign laborers from Korean or China and so forth.

The increasing importance of social surveys reflected some issues over the classification of people: how the poor was classified or what kind of criteria was more effective to draw the line among different strata of the poor. With the development of social work, central or local governments aimed to classify into more detailed categories people who had been mixed up so far and carry out a "suitable" policy for each category more economically. And in the context of intensification and diversification of social policy or work, the special knowledge system of social science operated upon the realm of everyday life as a "power".

Among some social works, "*Homen iinkai*" (District Welfare Committee) was one of the most important institutions. In 1924 it was launched in Moji and Omuta by the Fukuoka prefectural government and the member of this committee were chosen and appointed from local philanthropists or influential persons by the prefectural governor. In Moji at first eight persons were appointed and in 1929 three persons were added to this committee, because the prefectural government approved of the results of their activities. Each member covered 100~200 households within their neighborhood and their fundamental tasks were as follows:

- (1) routine survey of living conditions of inhabitants and paupers in particular.
- (2) taking care of the welfare of pauper households and guiding them to stand on their own feet.
- (3) close-knit communicating with official social work: public-private partnership.

This policy intended to reorganize neighborhoods and transform them into units for surveillance. A series of tasks meant the routinization and intensification of social surveillance and that it was important that these tasks were not carried out in an authoritative or compelling way by the police but in more flexible or "sophisticated" one by private individuals.

That is to say, the government intended to use the social bonds of the neighborhood as an ideological apparatus and emphasized the idea of mutual-aid. Since "*Komesodo*", local governments had strived to chose collaborators among ordinary citizens and they were involved as "assistants" of the administrative system in order to prevent a riot from breaking out. Furthermore, their activities or memoranda were reported in the newspapers and the miserable living conditions of pauper attracted further attention from the public.

Added to this official system, new institution was established in early 1920s. In January 1921 some *kumigashira* and *kogashira* established a stevedores' cooperative. This cooperative was composed of stevedores and employers who donated funds to this organization, and it mainly provided financial aid for stevedores who were incapable of working because of old age, injury, illness and so on, and for the educational expenses of their children. In October 1921 another cooperative was established which consisted of loading-unloading contractors and in January 1922 its related institutions were built: a shop, an eating house, a rest station, an employment agency mainly for stevedores without belonging to *kumi*. The ultimate aim of these cooperatives was to stabilize and control working and living conditions of stevedores in a non-compulsory manner. This project was originally drawn up and promoted by the head of the local police force who was troubled by the deviant behaviors of stevedores not belonging to the *kumi* institutions. These "vagrant" stevedores were especially regarded as dishonorable or dangerous elements in urban society and it was expected that by these facilities they would come to live well-regulated lives and be subsumed under the disciplined work.

Here a new criterion of classification was emphasized by social workers: the idea of "idleness". In social surveys, it was important to draw the distinct line between those who rejected or didn't intend

to work and those who were not able to work or to be self-sufficient. Social policy divided the object of relief into segments and emphasized "self-help" or "self-regulation", because this way was very economical and defused demands of people to the state. "Idleness" therefore became the important criterion that reorganized mixed groups in some categories. But the production of this idea in some cases aggravated "prejudice" against some groups under the neutral disguise of a "scientific" survey.

Koreans, for example, were one of the worst victims of this ethnic prejudice. There were approximately one thousand Koreans living in Moji who were mostly brought to Japan by the policy of the colonial administration (about 21,000 in Fukuoka Prefecture as a whole). Most of Koreans were engaged in manual labour, for example, dockers, mining workers, engineering workers as shown in Table 7. They were subordinate to Japanese lower class laborers and in some cases the two groups competed for job opportunity. As Koreans were concentrated in some districts, Koreans and Japanese were separated spatially and socially, and this segregation created two worlds which scarcely interacted with each other. In this context the negative stereotype which was constructed by the newspapers or social surveys were only but selected information on Koreans' way of life. The imagery of Koreans as "idleness" or "rudeness" which was reproduced by newspaper reporters or social inspectors repeatedly, played a pivotal role in naturalizing and legitimating the bad treatment and discrimination over employment to Koreans. D. Harvey (1982) pointed out the relationship between

Table 7. Occupation of Koreans : Moji 1929

Construction and other heavy labor		Retailing services Transportation		Miscellaneous		Unemployment	
Stevedore	401	Shop assistants	41	Day laborers	200	Unemployment	386
Construction laborers	256	Stable hands	10	Lodging	26		
		Delivery	8	Night soil laborers	21		
		Retailer	6	Barmaid	12		
		Cook	4	Newspaper men	8		
		Drivers	3	Apprentice	7		
		Sailor	1	Hawker	6		
				Servant	5		
				Agriculture laborers	2		
				Other	73		
Subtotal	657		73		360		386

Source : Park (1975)

the circulation of capital and existing social customs precisely: "capitalists can and do seize upon such differentiations and actively use them to divide and rule the working class-hence the importance of racism, sexism, nationalism, religious and ethnic prejudice to the circulation of capital."

Although some people tried to "assimilate" or integrate the Koreans into Japanese society, they remained marginalized economically and socially, because they too could not avoid the power of these representations.

Hence we should pay attention to the articulation of capitalistic social rules or "imperative" and other social norms, for example, gender, race, ethnicity and so on, in the disciplinalization of labor power in a specific time and space. In modernization existing social norms don't diminish its importance within the capitalistic mode of production, but are replaced in new societal contexts and given different meanings.

Concluding Remarks

In this article I have discussed the relationships between the reproduction of labor power and the control of urban space in the context of complex power relations and practices. Here we could identify two kinds of the operation of power: "confinement" and "self-regulation". As Foucault (1976) (also see Fujitani 1994) already pointed out the relationship between "*l'espace de l'enfermement*" and "*l'homme des nationalités*", the power of "confinement" expanded all sphere of social life beyond the walls of individual institutions. By the operation of power "invisible space" was transformed into "transparent or homogenous space", social life was made "visible" and some people was confined in this newly-invented space at various scales or other people became a subject of self-regulation. However, the relationship between the ruling and the ruled is not always oppressed one, but is "dialectical". Therefore we have to pay attention to overemphasize and idealize people's power of the resistance. Because in some cases this resistance is able to undermine the ruling social order and in other cases this leads to exclude particular groups and consequently to strengthen and reproduce the ruling one.

And in considering this "homogenous"

national space, we should also investigate the power of sanitary discourse about the epidemic which had a great impact upon urban structures and spatial practices in the early Meiji era (Onjo 1995). Discourse on sanitation or public health and "the healthy body" became new a criterion to restructuring urban space and made a distinction among various social groups. However, these problems are never past questions and this power still operates in contemporary Japanese society more powerfully. For example, the prejudice against "AIDS" gives rise to a fear of "contagion" among the people.

Moreover the increasing number of foreign workers brings about another problem of "social discipline" or social integration. The intensifying struggles of the international economy has raised nationalistic consciousness among the nation in both developing and developed countries. Therefore, in the post-colonialism or re-colonialism era we have to reconsider the material socio-spatial practices and representations which were naturalized so far, and to investigate the material processes operating in a world-wide: the homogenization of internal space, the invasion and internalization of external space, and the re-homogenization of internal space.

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Notes

- 1) I argue that the opposition C.Raffestin identifies between "espace" and "territoire" is similar in problematic to Soja's "space" and "spatiality". Therefore, the term of "spatiality" doesn't mean the "material reality" ("space") per se, rather a string of practices and discourse concerning this material reality.
- 2) The ratios of coal export to the total export changed as follows: 100 percent (1890), 87.9 percent (1900), 34.5 percent (1905), 7.6 percent (1920). (Okakura 1954: 11).
- 3) In 1901 the first modern steel plant was built in Yahata area by the central government. After

- that, this area had grown as a core of heavy industries in western Japan. This area consisted of five cities: Moji, Kokura, Yahata, Wakamatsu, Tobata.
- 4) For a further details of labor process, division of labor system and employment relationship of coal stevedores, see Fuwa (1975) and Kijima (1988).
 - 5) Pred(1990) explores the transformation of everyday life of the dock workers—discipline and resistance—in late nineteenth-century Stockholm from the perspective of time geography.
 - 6) Tamai(1986) pointed out the importance of development of “urban” social policy and social work in the second half of 1920s in Japan, because it showed the awareness of the central and local governments to “underclass” and that became a clue to mark a stage of capitalist development in modern Japan.
 - 7) The category of “middle class” includes elementary school teacher, policeman, low-ranking government officer and office worker and so on.
 - 8) For a discussion of the relationship between nationalism and geographical knowledge in Japan in the period from the 1890s to the 1930s, see Takeuchi (1994) and Mizuuchi (1994).
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Political Geography and Materialism: Towards an Articulation of Politics and Spatiality

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Introduction

With increasing interest in social theory in human geography, recent political geography has adopted a more "political-economy" perspective. However, as Driver (1991) notes, such a recent trend involves a methodological difficulty because it ends up with nothing but a displacement of geographical tradition by an aspatial vocabulary. Neither an elucidation of spatial forms of political affairs nor an analogical adoption of spatial terms into political theory would be enough to overcome such a difficulty.

On the other hand, as Massey (1992) points out, spatiality has been read in theoretically biased ways by social and political theorists. For example Laclau (1990) defines space as stasis, closed and determinant. He negates the possibility of politics or freedom as to spatiality. Massey (1992) criticizes such an understanding of spatiality as the view of "a dimension" in which society is regarded as a kind of 2-D or 3-D slice which moves through time. Instead she attempts to reconstruct an alternative view of spatiality which is more dynamic and interactive with time, and therefore open to politics.

In this paper I basically share a similar problematic with Driver (1991) and Massey (1992). This paper attempts to examine the concept of spatiality in political geography and political theories, and to demonstrate the theoretical and practical significance of spatiality in social and political theories. These are attempts not only to describe the spatiality of politics as theory, but also to construct politics of

spatiality as practice. First, Peter Taylor's political geography, especially "the politics of geographical scale", is examined. Taylor is one of the leading political geographers in recent decades. However his concept of spatiality represented as "geographical scale" has not been fully examined. Secondly, recent new political geography called "critical geopolitics", and recent theoretical intercourse between geography and "radical democracy" are examined. Both trends have something in common with critics on modernist theories of power and sympathy for postmodernist ones. Therefore examining both trends is an attempt to elucidate potentials and limits of postmodernist approaches in political geography. Thirdly, Poulantzas's conceptions of spatiality and politics are examined. Though his concept of spatiality has been scarcely examined in geography and politics, it constitutes a theoretical core of his last work. This paper considers the theoretical relationships between spatiality and politics in Poulantzas's political theory, and investigate the possibility for alternative way of materialist framework. Lastly this paper attempts to investigate the potentials for a politics of spatiality.

A Materialist Framework for Political Geography?: A Critical Reading of Peter Taylor's "Geographical Perspective"

The systematic framework of Taylor's political geography has been illustrated in one of his main achievements *Political geography: world-economy, nation-state and locality* (Taylor 1985a). In its most recent edition (Taylor 1993a), he states clearly that it is unnecessary

to change the basic theoretical structure of his last text, "The politics of geographical scale remains at the heart of my political geography" (Taylor 1993a: ix). This section, therefore, deals with "the politics of geographical scale" as one of his main theoretical concerns.

The concept of "geographical scale" was originally reported in 1981 in *Review* (Taylor 1981a). In that paper Taylor presented three dimensions of geographical scales (global, national and urban) corresponding to three scales of actual constitution of world-economy (reality, ideology and experience). In the same year, he discussed the problem of areally defined objects of social sciences including geography, and described the world-economy as a "solution" to that problem. He propounded the application of Wallerstein's world-economy approach to political geography (Taylor 1981b).

These concepts of "geographical scale" and world-economy approach were theoretically synthesized as "a materialist framework for political geography" in the following year (Taylor 1982). I think this article is quite an important one. Because the contents of this article seem to constitute the theoretical core of *Political geography*. So I will begin my discussion about "the politics of geographical scale" by examining this article.

State and ideology: beyond "false consciousness"

Taylor (1982) begins his discussion about a political economy of scale by referring to the state, a middle category in three scales. He says that the state is the scale of ideology which separates our daily experience in urban life from the reality of accumulation at the global scale (Taylor 1982: 24). In other words, the effects of ideology such as statism or nationalism is understood to divert political protest away from the key processes at the scale of reality by ensuring that they stop short at the scale of ideology: the nation-state (Taylor 1993: 45). Thus Taylor treats the state as ideology, particularly as "false consciousness" in the Marxist sense.

On the other hand, Taylor refers to effects of the built environment of urbanism. Depending on Harvey (1977, 1978), he regards the construction of the built environment through fixed capital investment as an outlet of overac-

cumulation generated from capital accumulation at the global scale, and insists that such a process of capital circulation defines the scale of urban experience (Taylor 1982: 30). Though he defines the creation of the built environment in secondary circuit of capital as a channel connecting world-economy at the global scale with urbanism at the local scale, he pays no attention to the role of the state in that process. As Harvey (1985) notes, one of general conditions for the flow of capital into secondary circuit is the existence of a state willing to finance and guarantee long-term, large-scale projects with respect to the creation of the built environment. In the process of capital circulation through the creation of the built environment, the role of the capitalist state is not limited to a mere "false consciousness". The capitalist state functions as an actual force to construct urban material environment.

Of course Taylor is aware of an importance of capitalist state as an active agent in the process of capital accumulation. He refers to a role of modern state in the provision of collective consumption. Depending on Castells's (1977, 1978) work, he specifies modern states by massive provision of several services to reproduce labor power, and insists that the process of providing collective consumption is mediated by "local state" to divert the blame for reductions in collective consumption from the central state to the local arena (Taylor 1982: 30-31). However, in his interpretation, the ideology of "nation-state" is replaced by "local state", and the material aspect of providing collective consumption remains not to be considered.

There seem to be two theoretical problems in his argument. First, the problem of relations between provision of collective consumption and construction of the built environment. As Harvey (1985) argues, the built environment consists of both fixed capital and consumption fund; the former includes materials for production, and the latter includes materials for collective consumption. They function as material apparatus for social reproduction and capital accumulation, and thus consist urban material environment specific to capitalist mode of production. However Taylor (1982) treats each element separately; the former as the issue of capital accumulation, the latter as the issue of class struggle. Then both issues are

regarded as different aspects of local scale manifestation of capital accumulation at the global scale. As a result, role of capitalist state as an actual force to construct urban material environment is not considered.

Second, the problem of "materiality" of ideology. Though Taylor (1982) quotes Althusser's (1970) "ideology and ideological state apparatus", he fails to grasp an important aspect of ideology suggested by Althusser. Though Althusser refers to the ideological role of the state in assuring the reproduction of relations of production, he doesn't regard the ideology as just ideal. On second thesis about ideology, Althusser (1970: 26) says that "the ideology has a material existence". It means that an ideology always exist in an apparatus ; school, church, courthouse, city hall and house, and in its practices ; class, mass, trial, meeting and living. In other words, the ideology of the nation-state, for example, exists in the local material environment and ordinary practices of people therein. Thus following Althusser, we can consider the ideology of the nation-state as not mere "false consciousness", but an issue of the material environment and practices therein.

Because of the methodological problems mentioned above, Taylor's "the politics of geographical scale" fail to grasp the materiality of geographical scale, and treat it as a mere dimension of spatiality. However, As Jonas (1994) notes, the language of scale is too powerful to be treated simply as a dimension of spatiality. We must incorporate the politics of spatiality into the theory of geographical scale¹⁾. This methodological problem demands a further discussion about an epistemological examination of spatiality.

Geographical scale: between spatial fetishism and spatial instrumentalism

Taylor (1982) terms his three-tire structure of geographical scale "a relative spatial structure" as compared with "an absolute spatial structure" of Wallerstein's threefold division of world-economy. Taylor stresses that his spatial structure is not any specifically geographical framework emphasizing spatial processes but rather a critical point of view ; a critical spatial perspective within materialist framework (Taylor 1982: 21-23). His argument about spatial structure has been proposed on the

ground of reflection and criticism that an emphasis on locational or spatial attributes in geography has lapsed into spatial fetishism. He says that an attempt to generate an independent geography as spatial discipline had made "space" a fetish obscuring the true processes (Taylor 1982: 21). In his political geography, therefore, the spatial perspective is merely a way of organizing materialist ideas.

Distinguishing himself from both the "status quo" group which accepts the existing spatial order imposed by the current state system and the "reformers" who are concerned with distributional issues within a welfare state context, Taylor (1983) identifies himself with the "radicals" who reject the existing state and social order, and would replace it by a Marxian theory and practice. He declares that the value of the geographical perspective is determined by its contribution to the transformation of capitalist society into socialism and to the prevention of a regression to barbarism (Taylor 1985b). For him geography is not an independent discipline which has its proper object, but just a perspective within a radical political economy, or mere intellectual tool for the tasks of revolution.

Though Taylor's definition of the geographical perspective is aimed at avoiding spatial fetishism (Taylor 1982) and developmentalism of modern social sciences (Taylor 1989a), it takes a risk of becoming a double-edged sword. An overemphasis on the forces of capital accumulation in the world-economy as determinant cause reduces the issue of the construction of the built environment in each place to a mere spatial reflection of global accumulation processes. Of course, as Taylor (1981, 1982, 1989b) himself notices repeatedly, it doesn't mean that his political geography regards local forces as less important, rather he advocates a revitalization of regional geography (1989a). Therefore the problem to be examined here is not whether global or local, but how spatiality should be understood.

Within Taylor's perspective of political geography, the issue of spatiality is reduced to that of scale, and there is no reference to a theoretical relationship between the accumulation regime and concrete spatial forms of the world-economy, nation-state, and locality. In other words the mechanism of reproduction of the accumulation structure, as Harvey (1985)

argued, through the "production of space" is reduced to the territorial structure of the world system.

As mentioned above, Taylor recognizes geographical scale as just a perspective within the materialist framework. Following Wallerstein (1979), he says that "since the "totality" cannot be empirically handled in every enquiry we must devise "perspectives" on the system as a whole which will guide the selection of material" (Taylor 1989b: 350). According to this explanation of the geographical perspective, the totality of capital accumulation at the global scale is regarded as a definitive reality. On the other hand geographical scale is regarded as a perspective heuristically or tactically defined. We call such an understanding of spatiality "spatial instrumentatism", that regards spatiality as a tool or instrument for analysis.

Of course this expression is derived from "instrumentalism" in state theory. However both instrumentalisms are not only analogically connected, but also theoretically interrelated. The instrumentalist approach in state theory argues that the capitalist class as a whole can employ the state as an instrument to promote its interests at the expense of other classes and social forces (Jessop 1990: 145-146). This approach is deeply combined with economic reductionism, and regards the capitalist state as an essentially neutral tool to reproduce the capitalist system (Jessop 1982: 190). Though Taylor (1982) rejects naive economic reductionism and accepts the relative autonomy of the state as one of his materialist positions for political geography, so far as he sees the totality of the capitalist system as given and geographical scale as a tool for it, both instrumentatisms are based on a common standpoint. An attempt to avoid spatial fetishism, on the contrary, seems to underestimate spatiality and bestow universal validity on the materialist framework.

As a result, the theory of geographical scale can be regarded as a mere spatial reflection of political economy within a materialist framework. He sees, without examining the theoretical implications of spatiality in materialism, materialist ideas on capital accumulation as given. The materialism which Taylor understands is that "political institutions and ideas cannot be understood as separate from the

underlying material needs of society" (Taylor 1982: 15). What are "material needs"? Does it mean just an economic needs? Is geography a mere spatial application of Marxian economic theory? Is the geographical perspective a tactical tool for Marxian analysis? That is to say, how can we revitalize the concept of spatiality in the materialist framework without falling into both spatial fetishism and (economic) materialist reductionism? To answer these questions, we need to re-examine spatiality in a materialist framework. We will grapple with this problem in the following section.

Postmodern Political Geography: Critical Geopolitics and Radical Democracy

Discourse and representation: critical geopolitics and materialism

One of the most stimulative approaches that has branched off from mainstream political geography is "critical geopolitics". As Takeuchi (1986) and Takagi (1993) suggest, recent geographical studies on geopolitics seem to objectify geopolitics itself and consider it in relation to diverse powers rather than "Geopolitik" as a pseudo-science or "Realpolitik" as a global strategy. Critical geopolitics, beyond the field of political geography in the narrow sense, attempts to construct a theoretical critique of the spatializing practices of power; undertaking critical investigations of the power of orthodox geopolitical writing; investigating how geographical reasoning foreign policy affects global politics, and examining how this reasoning can be challenged, subverted and registered (ÓTuathail and Dalby 1994). One of the methodological features of critical geopolitics is a focus on geographical discourses and ways of representation. Critical geopolitics has, as Dodds (1994) points out, focused on the way geographical discourses are constituted by a series of specialized languages, grammars and rhetorics. For example, a series of ÓTuathail's (1992a, 1992b, 1992c) work, analysing geographical discourses of foreign policy professionals and ways of their representation, reveal how they described the "Cold War", and how these representational practices generate particular "scripts" in international politics. Thus critical geopolitics concentrates on the role of geographical discourses constructing ideological hegemony within global politics.

Such an approach to critical geopolitics seems to be quite similar to Taylor's understanding of the nation-state as ideology. As mentioned above, Taylor regards the state as a scale of ideology which separates urban experience from capital accumulation at the global scale and diverts political protest away from the accumulation process. Both critical geopolitical writers and Taylor seem to have something in common with an emphasis on discursive forms (ex. ideology, map, text) of geopolitics²⁾. Of course, both are quite different in the ideas of "reality" and "ideology"; critical geopolitical writers would never see them as "definitive" reality and "false" consciousness, but see them as equally discursively constructed objects. In that sense, we may be able to call critical geopolitics "postmodern" political geography.

However, critical geopolitics has similar potential difficulties to Taylor's "the politics of geographical scale". As Dodds and Sidaway (1994: 519) suggest, purely discourse-centered critical geopolitics carries the risk of neglecting the material side of geopolitics. Discourse-analysis, without referring to the materiality of discursive formation, is apt to fall into "text-reductionism" or "discourse-centrism". The problems to be examined are, therefore, how geopolitical discourses are produced and penetrate within the material circumstances of regional politics, and how these discourses influence political power and transform regional material circumstances. Dodds and Sidaway (1994) ask for "geopolitical economy" approaches as a complement to critical geopolitics. They appraise the work of Ó Tuathail (1992b) which illustrates how forms of practical geopolitical reasoning might be related to material circumstances within the world-economy. However, what is the meaning of "material circumstances"? Does it mean economic circumstances? Does "geopolitical economy" mean just to talk of geopolitics from the political economic perspective? Here again, we face the same problematic as mentioned above: how should we understand the theoretical relationship between geographical theory and materialism?

Radical democracy and spatiality

In a review article on political geography, Driver (1991) criticizes the "state-derivationist"

approach in political geography as a kind of state-instrumentalism which reduces the relative autonomy of the state to the totality of the economic structure³⁾. He argues that the derivationist approach neglects historical and geographical variations in state forms, and alternatively focuses on *state formation* which highlights both the spatial structure of the state and the process of its continual restructuring. He calls it the "autonomist" approach, and characterizes three features of this approach (Driver, 1991 : 272-274). The first is a focus on institutional forms of state, especially forms of "infrastructural power" which operates through routine channels, co-ordinating social activity from within. The second is an emphasis on the territoriality of states which gives rise to the distinctive form of state power. The third is a focus on concrete contexts of state formation (historical and geographical variations in state forms) which constitute contingent articulation between several structures associated with the state-system, nationalism, gender and ideology, etc.

Driver's argument about state formation has been inspired by recent neo-Marxist studies on state theory which emphasize "relative autonomy" of state. These neo-Marxist studies, criticizing economic and class reductionism in existing Marxist theories on state, have methodological features generically called the "relational" approach (Jessop 1982). This "relational" approach takes notice of complex relations between instances (economic, social, cultural etc) within the social formation, and especially focuses on "place" or "region" where those instances articulate or disarticulate. Jessop (1985, 1990), for example, treats state power as power relations and its peculiar compromises between political forces or class factions institutionally embodied or materially cohered within state formations. While this perspective is basically a relational theory, as Taguchi (1993) notes, it has distinctive features in that such power relations (and its unstable balance) are mediated or conditioned by state formations, and cohered or materialized therein.

Thus the "relational" approach attempts to grasp the state power with respect to articulative practices based on specific material formations. This perspective has been developed by Laclau and Mouffe (1985) as "radical

democracy". They argue that every object is constituted as an object of discourses, and its specificity depends on the structuring of a discursive field (Laclau and Mouffe 1985: 107-108). Though their "discourse-theoretical" approach seems to carry the risk of "logocentrism" or "text-reductionism" (Jessop 1982) as critical geopolitics does, their stress on the material character of every discursive structure appropriately succeeds in avoiding such theoretical fallacies. Two conclusions are derived from their "discourse" analysis; 1. the material character of discourse cannot be unified in the experience or consciousness of a founding object, and 2. the practice of articulation cannot consist of purely linguistic phenomena (Laclau and Mouffe 1985: 109). The former means diversity of subject position, and the latter means the material formation of articulative practices. Thus their investigation leads to the same issue of "materiality of ideology" problematized by Althusser (1970). Though Laclau, Mouffe and Althusser are different from each other concerning the diversity/unity of subject position⁴, both illuminate an implication of materiality of place where articulation occurs.

Recent geographical studies have become more interested in the theoretical relations between radical democracy and spatiality. *Society and Space*, for example, took radical democracy as one of its special themes in 1995. In that volume, Massey (1995) considers some parallels between the project of radical democracy and recent debates within geography, and attempts to construct a theoretical triangle between power, identity and space/spatiality which mutually construct and are constructed by one another. Natter (1995) argues the significance of place as multiple and overdetermined sites of plural identification, and stresses the importance of time and space for a theory of radical democratic politics. Tasks derived from such an intersection are, as Jones and Moss (1995) suggest, as for theory, an interrogation of the relations between the production of space and the construction of identity, and as for politics, an activation of oppositional potential through denaturalization, exposure, and contestation so as to achieve new appropriations and articulations of space and identity. We will take the works of Nicos Poulantzas as an example tackling these tasks in another way.

Politics and Spatiality in Poulantzas

Modes of production and social formations

In his last major work, *l'Etat, le pouvoir, le socialisme*, Poulantzas (1978) thematically examines the relations between the capitalist state and spatiality under the heading of "the institutional materiality of the state". What is "the institutional materiality"? Before answering this question, let me examine his theory of the state and politics.

Poulantzas criticizes the instrumentalist view of the state and economic reductionism in the existing Marxist theory of the state. He considers that economic reductionism is theoretically connected with the concept of absolute autonomy of the political instance in a social formation. Because the conception which sees economic space intrinsically capable of reproducing itself threatens to substantiate super-structural instances and to endow them with invariable autonomy. In other words a recognition, that admits the possibility and legitimacy of a general theory of the economy taken as an epistemologically distinct object, also sees the state as an epistemological object by excluding it from the a-temporal domain of the economy and fixing immutable boundaries dividing spaces of the state and economy (Poulantzas 1978: 16-17).

Against such economist-formalist approaches, Poulantzas insists on the impossibility of a general theory of the state. So far as spaces or fields of the economy and the political present themselves in different ways according to diverse modes of production, there can be no general theory of the economy and the political having an invariable theoretical object through the diverse modes of production. It is the mutual relation and articulation between economic, political and ideological instances which fixes the boundaries of their spaces and sketches out their fields and constitutes the totality of their determinations (Poulantzas 1978: 18-19).

Thus Poulantzas focuses on articulative structure in capitalist social formation. Figure 1 illustrates conception of Poulantzas's social formation. He strictly distinguishes modes of production from social formation. By social formation he designates a complex unity in which a certain mode of production dominates the others which compose it. By mode of

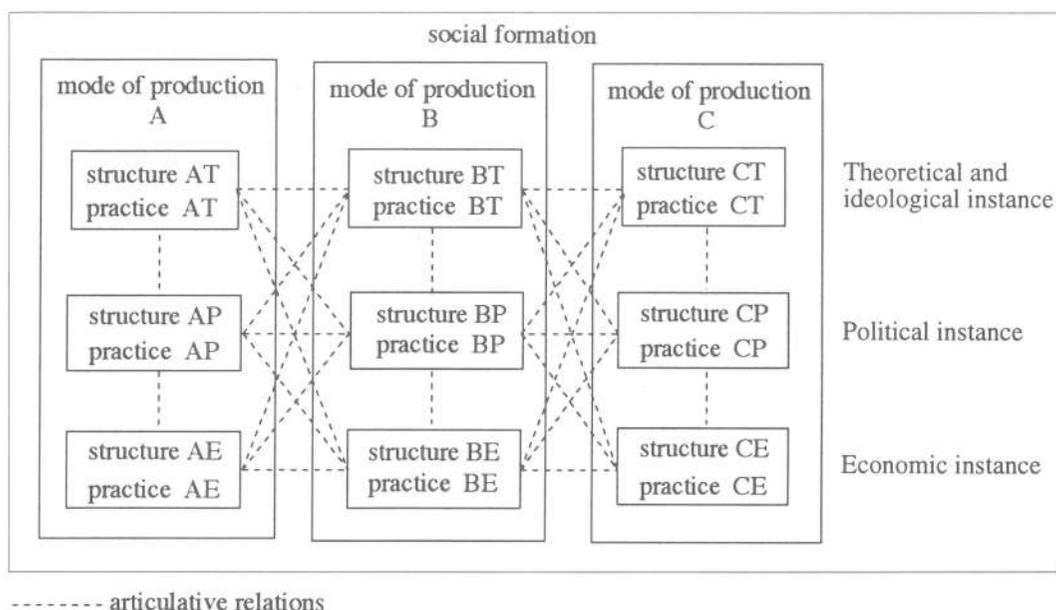


Figure 1 Poulantzas's Social Formation (modified from Ueno, 1991, p.232)

production he designates a specific combination of various structures and practices which appear as so many instances or levels (Poulantzas 1968: 10-12).

This conception of Poulantzas's social formation, as he himself notes, should not be regarded schematically as a merely spatialized heap or concretization of abstractly reproduced modes of production. It is a quite relational and dynamic concept. Because structures and practices which compose instances are dialectically interacted both within and between modes of production. In his famous formulation of the concept of politics, Poulantzas (1968) stresses a distinction between *le politique* and *la politique*; the former means juridico-political superstructure of the state, and the latter means the political practices of class. He attempts to grasp theoretical potentials for class struggle through contradictions and articulations between structures and practices. According to this distinction between *le politique* and *la politique*, one structural instance itself does not directly constitute one practice. "The object on which political practice bears is dependent on the various social levels: it bears at once on the *economic*, *ideological*, *theoretical* and in a strict sense <the>

political" (Poulantzas 1968: 40).

As Figure 1 shows, every structure and practice is potentially related in a double way of articulation. One is in the way of vertical articulation between different instances. The other is in the way of horizontal articulation between different modes of production. Specificity of social formation is overdetermined by such a double way of articulation between different instances and modes of production.

Against such a conception of Poulantzas's social formation, Ueno (1991) suggests that the conception of Poulantzas's social formation is not the conception of general society, but the conception of society in transition from a dominant mode of production to another one, therefore Poulantzas's conception is not suitable for present society in the stage of monopoly capitalism. However Ueno's critics, on the contrary, demonstrates the impossibility of a general theory of the state and historical specificity (though not historicism) of overdetermination. Furthermore, so far as present capitalism becomes the more globalizing and subsuming the third world regions under peripheral capitalism, the articulation between different modes of production forms very crucial phases in

global capitalism.

Criticism by Laclau and Mouffe (1985) is more fundamental and radical. They say that "such attempts to explain the "relative autonomy of the State" were made in a framework that accepted the assumption of a sutured society—for example, through determination in the last instance by the economy—, ...it is precisely the wish to combine this premise with a concept of autonomy inconsistent with it, that has marred most contemporary Marxist debate on the State—the work of Poulantzas in particular" (Laclau and Mouffe 1985: 139-140). Though Poulantzas admits the diversity and complexity of social formation, he certainly assumes the totality of society in which diverse articulations happen, and has never abandoned the conception of "determination in the last instance by the economy" (Jessop 1985). In that sense, criticism by Laclau and Mouffe has hit the mark. However Poulantzas himself seems to be aware of the limits of the economy. "The fact that the structure of the whole is determined in the last instance by the economic does not mean that the economic always holds the *dominant role* in the structure", that is to say "the economic is determinant in so far as it regulates the shift of dominance which results from the decentration of the instances" (Poulantzas 1968: 10-11). At this critical point, Poulantzas himself seems to be conflicting between wiping out the remnants of economic determinism and abandoning the materialist framework.

Now let me stop searching for the cause of society. There cannot be necessary causal relation on society itself. Instead, there can be contingent articulative relation on society. This is what I have learned from neo-Marxist political theorists. The conception of overdetermination does, in its strict sense, reject causal explanation on the existence of society. As Jessop (1990) suggests, we need to recognize the "contingent necessities" of social phenomena which implicates at once both *theoretical indeterminability* and *determinacy in the real world*. Therefore we should change our problematic from "which instance or level is determinant within a society?" to "how do different causal relations articulate to make actual matters necessary?"

The institutional materiality of the state

As mentioned above, the specificity of social formation and mode of production is overdetermined by a particular articulation of different instances or levels. Poulantzas (1968) calls the forms of such an articulation the "matrix" of mode of production, through which different instances or levels articulate one another. In *l'Etat, le pouvoir, le socialisme*, he attempts to elucidate the modality of the "matrix" of the capitalist mode of production. He examines the mode of articulation of labor processes through the analysis of material structures imprinted on labor processes by dispossession of the direct producer. The fact, that direct producers are totally dispossessed of their object and means of labor under capitalism, leads to the conception of material frame of capitalist mode of production, which Poulantzas (1978) calls the "spatial and temporal matrices".

Poulantzas gives two examples of these "matrices". One is the space-time materialized in the production line of factory under Taylorism (Poulantzas 1978: 70-71). This spatial and temporal matrix is not only continuous and homogeneous, but also segmented and fragmented cellular space-time in which working space is so segmented and fixed that workers are also divided into each post segmented by the working process, and in which working time is so objectified and scientifically managed that workers are tied to working process based on a standard time table. In other words under the space-time framework of Taylorism, individuals appear as "the focal point, identical with the human body itself, at which a number of practices within the social division of labor are materially crystallized" (Poulantzas 1978: 71). Furthermore such an individualization leads to the division of labor in the double sense; one is the horizontal division of labor which means a fractionalization of labor processes according to working procedure, and the other is the vertical division of labor which means a separation between intellectual labor and manual labor. The former intellectual labor is concentrated on the section of management and the technology of production. This fact enables the displacement of the intellectual initiative from workers to the managerial and technological section. In other words it leads to a rise of the strata of technocrats and engineers who monopolize "knowledge-power" in the

Foucauldian sense.

Thus the division of labor through the spatial and temporal matrices produces a particular relationship between knowledge and power in which the legitimacy of power is institutionalized by scientific knowledge. In that sense the state incarnates intellectual labor as separated from manual labor in all its apparatuses. In other words the capitalist state apparatuses involve the practical supremacy of a knowledge and discourse, which leads to a permanent monopoly of knowledge by apparatuses and agents of the capitalist state, and a permanent exclusion of the popular masses from knowledge and discourse. This leads to a radical critique of democracy in the representative system which depends on the specific separation between the state and popular masses.

The other example is the territory as the spatial matrix of the nation-state (Poulantzas 1978: 110-118). As mentioned above there exist different matrices of space according to diverse modes of production. Under the spatial matrices of capitalism, towns, frontiers and territory have different reality and meaning from those of pre-capitalist mode of production. For example, direct producers are freed from the land only to become trapped in a grid which includes not only the factory but also the modern family, the school, the army, the prison, the city and the national territory. That is to say, at the same time that the modern nation-state transforms individuals into "subjects" of the nation-state through the enclosure of the popular masses into state apparatuses, it realizes the unity of individuals as people-nation. Poulantzas (1978: 116) gives an example of concentration camps as a paradoxical case. Camps are the space for shutting up non-nationals (or anti-nationals) within the national territory, where the frontiers are internalized through the production of "the external" within "the internal". Furthermore, genocide is also a modern invention bound up with the spatialization peculiar to the nation-state that is a form of extermination specific to the establishment-cleanup of the national territory by means of homogenizing enclosure (Poulantzas 1978: 118).

Poulantzas's analysis of the national territory as the spatial matrices of nation-state leads to a quite difficult problem; the relationship between the nation and classes which has been

under-estimated by existing Marxism (Poulantzas 1978: 127-133). The political position of the Third International and "orthodox Marxism" facing the national question is that the right to national self-determination is recognized in so far as it conforms to the interests of the "international proletariat". Poulantzas criticizes such a position as an instrumental conception of the nation derived from neglecting the materiality of the nation. The modern nation is neither the creation of the bourgeoisie nor a mere appendix of working class, but the outcome of a relationship of forces between the modern social classes. Under capitalism, the existence and practices of the working class cannot help being materialized as the worker's variants of the nation, because the spatiality and historicity of each working class are caught in the spatial and temporal matrices of the modern nation-state, therefore themselves form an integral part of the nation as a result of the relationship between the working class and the bourgeoisie (Poulantzas 1978: 130)⁵¹.

From "economic materialism" to "geographical materialism"

As described above, Poulantzas attempts to grasp the organizing principles of the capitalist state as the specificity of the relations of production and the social division of labor materialized in the spatial and temporal matrices. "The capitalist State has the specificity in that it reserves social space and time for itself, that it intervenes in the erection of these matrices by tending to monopolize those procedures of space-time organization" (Poulantzas 1978: 109). His attempts are, dare to say, a theoretical attempt to introduce the conception of spatiality (and temporality) into the materialist theory of the capitalist state.

There exist only a few comments on Poulantzas's conception of spatiality. For example Jessop (1985) refers to Poulantzas's explanation about modes of space-time organization as a concrete form of the combination of the modern nation with the capitalist state. From the standpoint of geography, Cooke (1989) and Soja (1989) give some comments. Cooke (1989) suggests the importance of the spatial and temporal matrices in the relationship between the nation and the modernity. However his concern is mainly concentrated on the nation rather than the capitalist state, and

he stresses that "Poulantzas should have given us his most fully worked out theory of space in the context of a discussion of the nation, rather than class, consumption, production, or the state per se" (Cooke 1989: 271, emphasis in original).

On the other hand, Soja (1989) takes Poulantzas's conception of spatial and temporal matrices as a conception of spatiality, and suggests that "he too had discovered a socio-spatial dialectic of sorts" (p.118). Soja focuses on the dialectical relationship between space-time matrices and the capitalist mode of production. The spatial and temporal matrices are not just the outcomes of a mechanical causality in which pre-existing relations of production give rise to a concrete history and geography, but also appear as a presupposition which has a "logical priority" and establishes a primal material framework, that is to say the real substratum of social life (p.119). In short, inspired by Poulantzas, Soja attempts to give an appropriate ontological and epistemological location for spatiality.

Then what should we extract from the analysis of Poulantzas's work? One of the tasks to be developed furthermore is, I suppose, the geographical reconstruction of materialism in which the conception of spatiality would be refined as an essential theoretical moment without falling into both spatial fetishism and economic reductionism.

Now let me return to Figure 1 illustrated in the previous section. As already mentioned, within a social formation there are different modes of production of which instances are articulated with one another. Then where is the location of spatiality in this figure? Does it constitute a specific "spatial instance"? Or does it form the network which connects different instances? Or is there a geographical base on which the whole of the social formation is constructed?

The spatiality of a social formation is, in its strict sense, *materialized* as lines or characters in this Figure. It is analogically described in the way the meaning of Figure is represented as specific relationships of signs and words materialized in the forms of lines and characters, that the way the specificity of modes of production and social formations are overdetermined by forms of articulations embodied in material matrices. In other words, spatiality of

Figure is materialized in the specific forms of lines (--- or —) and characters ("AT" or "structure"). Furthermore such specific forms are drawn and written by means of diverse material apparatuses like the word processor or the personal computer. The location of spatiality in a social formation is in this same way⁶⁾. The meaning and value of capitalism within a social formation depends on the spatiality of the material framework of the capitalist state which consists of diverse state apparatuses, on which the knowledge-power of capitalist hegemony is materialized, and through which relations of production and social division of labor are reproduced. As Poulantzas notes, it is impossible to relate necessarily the materiality of state apparatuses with "the economic", so that we need to investigate a specific theory of materiality relatively distinguished from the economy. If possible, I would like to call it "geographical materialism" distinguished from "economic materialism".

In his last text (Althusser 1994) published after his death, Althusser develops the conception of "contingent materialism" (*matérialisme aléatoire*): materialism of encounter and contingency. "Contingent materialism" is opposed to the materialism of necessity and teleology, and cannot be constituted systematically nor transformed by the system itself. Furthermore this contingent materialism argues the superiority of materiality to everything, that is the materiality of experimental apparatuses, or merely of traces or gesture of leaving traces (Althusser 1994). "Geographical materialism" seems to be similar to Althusser's "contingent materialism". The superiority of the economic infrastructure does not constitute the determinant in the last instance. Everything, as Althusser (1994) notes, can constitute the determinant in the last instance, in so far as it depends on the materiality concretized in the spatial and temporal matrices. However even if the materiality of space-time matrices holds the superiority to everything, it does not mean that the materiality is the determinant within a social formation. As mentioned in the previous section, there is no necessary causal relation to society itself. The materiality of space-time matrices enables a contingent articulative relationship between instances or levels through which specific instances or modes of production can acquire dominance or hegemony over

others.

Conclusion: Towards an Articulation of Politics and Spatiality

Already I have come to the theoretical conclusion mentioned above. However, following the suggestion of Jones and Moss (1995), I have to propose one more task, that for politics.

Let me return to Poulantzas's work again. Though depending on Foucault's theory of normalization-individualization as techniques of state power, Poulantzas (1978) criticizes Foucault's conception of power. Foucauldian conceptions of power reduce it to prohibition and symbolic or internalized repression, and neglect the role of organized physical violence in exercising repression. In contrast to Foucault, Poulantzas regards power as based on organized physical violence. "*State-monopolized physical violence permanently underlies the techniques of power and mechanisms of consent ; it is inscribed in the web of disciplinary and ideological devices ; and even when not directly exercised, it shapes the materiality of the social body upon which domination is brought to bear*" (Poulantzas 1978: 88, emphasis in original). Neglecting this physical violence and the materiality of state power (those are the very *institutional materiality of the state*), Foucault cannot explain how disciplines of power could admit the existence of "struggles", and what the basis for "resistance" to power is (Poulantzas 1978: 86-87). Struggles and resistance are rooted in the very material structure of appropriation and domination in various social relations, through which power acquires its practical efficacy⁷⁾.

It is in this problematic that I can talk about the politics of spatiality. Contrary to Laclau's (1990) argument about spatiality, I see spatiality as quite dynamic, opened and therefore *contested*. As Massey (1992) attempts to demonstrate, spatiality has both an element of order and an element of chaos. Spatiality has an ambiguity for power. On one hand it constitutes both the ideological and repressive apparatuses of the state through which relations of production and social division of labor reproduce themselves. On the other hand, however, it constitutes the places for struggle and resistance. In other words, in some cases spatiality appears as material apparatuses like Bentham's

"panopticon" where the prisoners are identified as subjects who are subject to invisible power (Foucault 1977). In other cases, however, it appears as another spaces where different meaning and identity are created by spatial practices of ordinary life (de Certeau 1984). In that sense, spatiality appears as "nodal points" (Laclau and Mouffe 1985), where meaning is never totally fixed, but *partially* fixed ; the space where it cannot perfectly systematize itself, and always leaves the room for another articulation.

As mentioned above, there always exist struggles at the basis of power which has been deployed against physical violence materialized in the forms of state apparatuses. Spatiality has always been the potentials for struggle. As Soja (1989: 128) notes, "the power-filled social production of space under capitalism has not been a smooth and automatic process in which social structure is stamped out, without resistance or constraint, onto landscape".

Through the examination of conceptions of spatiality in political geography and political theories, I have attempted to demonstrate the possibilities and limits of spatiality through which state power structures our social life, while I could not fully develop the potential of spatiality for struggle and resistance in this paper. However those tasks are neither theoretically nor practically fully elucidated in geography. We need to investigate such possibility of politics of spatiality in social life.

Acknowledgements

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Notes

1) While Jonas (1994) evaluates Taylor's tripartite division of scale as a useful "ordering-framework" theory, he suggests that "it remains aloof from the messy complexities and geopolitical dynamics of locality politics and state policymaking" (Jonas 1994: 259).

2) In a recent article on geopolitics, Taylor (1993b) examines the notion of "World Order" in global politics through a chronological analysis of international politics in the twentieth century. Though his analysis doesn't adopt discourse-analysis, its basic

problematic seems to be common to critical geopolitics.

3) Though Driver carefully avoids direct criticism of Taylor's political geography, his criticism against world-system theory can be applied to Taylor's discussion about geographical scale; "at the level of high theory, states appear to become mere tools of the system as a whole" (Driver 1991: 275).

4) Though Althusser (1970) raises the problem of the constitution of subjects through discursive practices, he restricts that problem within the problematic of the reproduction of the relations of production, and never refers to the diversity of subject position. In that point, he is criticized by Laclau and Mouffe (1985: 99) that "Althusser lapses into the very defect he criticizes : there is an abstract universal object, the "economy", which produces concrete effects (determination in the last instance here and now) ; and there is another equally abstract object (conditions of existence) whose forms vary historically, but which are unified by the pre-established essential role of assuring the reproduction of the economy".

5) This problem is evidently demonstrated by Poulantzas's (1978: 132) following explanation ; "bourgeois nationalism could not have had such an enormous impact on the working class that leads the working class into the massacre of national-imperialist wars, unless it rested on the materiality of the constitution and struggle of the working class, and unless it was articulated with the genuinely working class aspect of national ideology".

6) I have to add some remarks rapidly. I do not mean that Figure represents the "reality" of a social formation. What is represented in Figure is the "conception" of a social formation. Therefore I cannot help *analogically* illustrating the location of spatiality in Figure 1.

7) Though Poulantzas (1978) regards the class struggle as the basis of resistance in social relations, I think the basis of resistance is not only limited in relations of production (that is, class relation), but also found out in gender, ethnic and other relations relatively differentiated from economic relations.

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Recent Development of Japanese Cultural Geography, 1980-1995

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Introduction

During over a decade since 1980 when the I.G. U. Congress was held, for the first time, in Japan, Japanese cultural geographers came to extend their areas of interest, corresponding to the progressing trends of cultural geography in overseas countries.

Sakai and other two Japanese cultural geographers presented to the Congress their compact review on the development of cultural geography of postwar Japan (Sakai et al.1980). They pointed out in it the lack of discussions concerning the concept of culture in dealing with cultural geography, as well as on the disciplinary boundary of the subject, since the end of World War II, in spite of their admitting the substantial accumulation of geographical data based on extensive field surveys of Japanese cultural geographers in both overseas areas and Japan herself.

As far as the culture concept in cultural geography is concerned, culture as the superorganic, on which C.O.Sauer and his colleagues at Berkeley had contributed to substantiation of the content and research topics in cultural geography, dominated the works of cultural geographers, as well as of cultural anthropologists, up until the time when it met with the criticism proposed by J.S.Duncan and other British cultural/social geographers in the 1980s (Duncan 1980; Jackson 1989).

In Japan, too, several critical essays, which discussed on the concept of culture and on the problematics in applying it to the real field data, have been produced during the time, partly influenced by heated discussions in Anglophone countries. However, such method-

ological arguments done in Japanese cultural geography could not always create the sharp break in the research orientations traditionally taken in geography in Japan, but rather gave rise to the growing interests in the studies of interdisciplinary areas between social and cultural sciences.

In this review essay, I will treat, within the limited space, only with the changing aspect of methodological orientation and with the continuity of the study on traditional subsistence activities conducted by Japanese cultural geographers, as well as with the newly emerging currents of studies on cultural ideology.

At first, I would like to examine the newly emerging methodological discussions on the concept of culture done in the circle of cultural geography in Japan since 1980, keeping pace with the advancement of controversy on the separation of cultural geography into the new and the old, chiefly among English-speaking geographers.

Next, I will treat with the aspect of continuity in selecting research topics and analytical method traditionally used in Japanese cultural geography since the time of its establishment in Japanese geography.

Thirdly, I will discuss on the new current of symbolic or ideological studies arisen in recent cultural geography in which younger generation of Japanese cultural geographers became engaged, dominantly influenced by methodological debates in the so-called new cultural geography of Anglophone countries.

Recent Methodological Discussions in Cultural Geography

For a long time, Japanese cultural geographers tended to avoid the methodological debate on the concept of culture in geography and on the substantial application of it to their own practical works. It may reflect a tendency of their immoderate reliance on positivism, or of their attaching the relative importance more to the accumulation of the first hand data obtained from the field survey than to the discussion on the frame of reference which should be necessitated for organizing such field data.

Around 1980, several provocative review essays on methodological discussions appeared. Yamano introduced to Japanese geography the recently appearing humanistic movement in geographies of Anglophone countries and suggested a possibility of its application to Japanese traditional cultural and historical geography (Yamano 1979), and followed by Takeuchi's discussion on radical movement in European and American geographies (Takeuchi 1980). Structuralism in geography and semiotic approach to geographical space were also reviewed at the same time (Senda 1980; Kushiya 1984).

In these newly emerging methodological discussions, Chiba reviewed critically the traditionally taken research orientation in Japanese cultural geography which had emphasized on material culture since the 1960s and he persuaded the necessity to extend research frontier more to the analysis of symbolic aspects of cultural phenomena and to the area of inner-work of man in geography (Chiba 1980). His criticism to the traditional Japanese cultural geography, proposed particularly from folkloristic view point, may resemble to the Brookfield's critical assessment to the works of the Berkeley school of geographers done in the early 1960s (Brookfield 1964).

Japanese traditional cultural geography has held the position of emphasizing on material cultures, ecological approach to geography, and rural peasant society, cooperating with the concept of culture as the superorganic, most of which the Berkeley school's cultural geographers have adopted in the development of cultural geography since the 1920s.

In almost parallel with Duncan's critique to the superorganic concept of culture in cultural geography, Kobayashi reviewed critically, mostly based on recent research results of ecological anthropology, on the problems concern-

ing the culture concept as the superorganic in applying it to the study of cultural-ecological geography (Kobayashi 1981). However, he highly evaluated the Berkeley tradition and its significance in the postmodern geography which emphasized cultural diversity, indigeneness, folk wisdom, locality, etc. (Kobayashi 1992).

However, Duncan's critique to the concept of culture as the superorganic influenced lately on Sugiura's essay on the culture concept in geography and followed by Nakagawa's argument on reductionistic approach in interpreting cultural landscape.

Sugiura emphasized, like Duncan, on positive role of individual as an agent of culture and as a transformer of landscape (Sugiura 1986). Nakagawa also evaluated that individual man could play a causative role in the creation of cultural landscape, but assessed critically that the reified concept of culture which traditionally held as the superorganic could hardly apply to the rigid procedures of synthesizing cultural elements into a culture area (Nakagawa 1989). He proposed an alternative reductionistic approach to cultural landscape interpretation based on his series of tenacious studies on cultural elements of cemeteries in Louisiana (Nakagawa 1990, 1992).

However, we may have to pay our attentions to the concept of individual as an unit of cultural bearer in dealing with the problem of transfer of culture. The individual as a cultural innovator in Japan may be said to emerge gradually in the process of total urbanization during the 1960s and 1970s, but not in the stage of traditional peasant society within which social norms of the community laid their burdens on the individualistic decision-making and choice of specific cultural elements. In addition to the role of individual as an unit of cultural transfer among and between the community, we have also to take a changing phase of the culture concept into considerations in the context of historical development, as well as from the comparative view point.

In Japan, the concept of culture came to be introduced from the translation of German concept of *Kultur* in the latter half of the 1910s (Yanabu 1995: 58-66; Nishikawa 1995: 54-107) as a pair with the neo-Kantian concept of *Geisteswissenschaft* (cultural science) which emphasized on the search of non-materialistic

elements of human activities such as music, religion, art, literature and so on. However, such concept of non-materialistic culture had hardly permeated into geography, except Nishiki's work, as a theme of cultural geography until recent times (Nishiki 1934).

Changing aspects of the culture concept as well as of its application to real works under the constraints of historical legacies of Japan have recently come to be examined from the context of Japanese specific development of geography, keeping pace with a growing re-assessment of the works of C.O.Sauer and the Berkeley school of cultural geographers (Hisatake 1987, 1989a, 1989b, 1994; Tanaka 1988).

In 1987, the speciality group of cultural geography was organized within the Association of Japanese Geographers, for the first time, to promote local activities among younger generation of cultural geographers and made bibliographical lists of the works of senior cultural geographers in Japan for the purpose of providing to the followers a convenience to access to the previously published important works (Hisatake ed.1991). Keeping pace with growing interests of relatively younger generations of Japanese geographers in cultural geography, as well as with increasing numbers of participants in the speciality group, Ohshima and other distinguished senior cultural geographers edited a comprehensive textbook for cultural geography (Ohshima et al. eds. 1989).

The textbook consists of four parts: history of cultural geography (part 1), cultural geography of subsistence activities (part 2), residence and cultural behavior (part 3), perspectives on cultural geography (part 4). This comprehensive anthology on cultural geography has a quite different significance from that published before the 1970s (Kiuchi ed. 1970).

Firstly, textbooks before the 1970s relied mostly on the framework of *Readings in Cultural Geography* edited by P.L. Wagner and M. W. Mikesell (Wagner and Mikesell eds. 1962).

But the textbook seems to be more sensitive to the first-hand data recently accumulated by Japanese geographers' own field surveys in their homeland and overseas areas since the 1970s, as well as to the intense relations of Japanese cultural elements to those of adjacent Asian countries on comparative basis. Yagi treated in it with the interactive relation of

Japanese folklore studies to cultural geography based on his own observations (Yagi 1989), and Kobayashi provided us with a penetrating analysis on the significance of sweet potato as staple food and on the preventive role of it against drought and famine in Okinawa Islands and it may be able to apply to similar problems taken place in the Pacific Islands and in other developing areas (Kobayashi 1989). And a humanistic analysis concerning the social space of remote Tsushima Island by Yamano emphasized on the important role of cosmological concept of folk religion to organize the collective behavior of the community as a microcosm in relation to the folk custom in adjacent areas of Asia (Yamano 1989).

Secondly, it also included some innovated aspects of the traditionally favored research topics for Japanese cultural geographers.

Hata elucidated in detail on the interactive relation of cultural geography to cultural anthropology in the development of cultural geography since the 1930s (Hata 1989) and Takayama presented a way of ecological adaptation of the Tibetan and Nepal people to vertical changes of climate and vegetation, based on his own long-term field survey (Takayama 1989, see also Takayama 1992).

Tawa renovated especially the method of analysis of fishing ground use and maritime resource management based on progressing research products of ecological anthropology (Tawa 1989). Although she based on the concept of cultural area and on the methods of Edward and Doran who were in the circle of the Berkeley school, Deguchi developed a new way of classification of indigenous canoes and watercrafts used in East and Southeast Asia, comparing with primitive ones distributed along and within Japanese archipelago (Deguchi 1989, see also 1995). Sugimoto's studies of folk houses also based on his own data obtained from long-term field surveys in Japan and in the Pacific Islands (Sugimoto 1983, 1984, 1987) and proposed that an archetype of Japanese folk houses had intense relations to those of Islands of Okinawa and the Southern Pacific (Sugimoto 1989). Ishihara pigeonholed the comprehensively collected data from his own surveys and historical documents on traditional periodic markets and asserted that the market places had had deep connections to religious, social and cultural activities, in addi-

tion to economic function, operated at marginal areas between the communities (Isihara 1987, 1989).

Thirdly, newly current but indispensable topics of cultural geography were also presented in this textbook.

Matsumoto reviewed successfully on the topics of environmental cognition in relation to both ecological and humanistic viewpoints basically relied on research results of semiotics and ethnoscience, as well as of communication theory and critical social theories (Matsumoto 1989). And Segawa and Ishizuka discussed critically on ethnic segregation and its compartmentalization at specific place in the colonized plural societies, as well as of social relevancy among the class structure of the society and its relation to the dissenting movement against the political neutrality of geographical descriptions (Segawa and Ishizuka 1989).

As mentioned above, this textbook may show a presently reaching level of Japanese cultural geography. In addition to this comprehensive textbook, whose authors belong almost to the Kansai circle of geographers, Tokyo circle of cultural geographers issued their introductory compact book on cultural geography in the 1990s.

Chiba's compact but provocative book on cultural geography focussed on the scale of space to be treated with cultural phenomena (Chiba 1990), referring to toponymy and its cultural significance in micro-scale, cultivation and its effect on the soil erosion in China as an example of the analysis of meso-scale, and comparative study of *pellagra* (a plague of corn) between Europe and the native America, for example of macro-scale's analysis, based on his field observations and literary data (Chiba 1986, 1991, 1994c).

On the other hand, Takahashi and his colleagues at Tsukuba edited an introductory textbook mainly for university students to provide a general guideline to cultural geography. Most important difference from other previous textbooks was in the point that it included the descriptions on many aspects of contemporary issues and of currently controversial topics in the new cultural geography in spite of its relying strongly on the framework of the Berkeley tradition (Takahashi et al. 1995).

New trends of cultural geography on the debate between the so-called new cultural geog-

raphers and those who based their positions mostly on the Berkeley tradition (Price and Lewis 1993) was fully introduced in this text. The authors also discussed on the important role of cognition for formation of cultural area through the propagation of information. And one chapter of it focussed on the positive role of cultural ecology to treat with the problem of environmental degradation. A chapter of discussing on cultural landscape explored the new aspect of symbolic image and of cultural representation through maps and other media.

Subsistence, Cultural History, and Developing Program

The theme of man-animal or man-plant relationship within a framework of man-environment relationships has been favored in cultural geography. Domestications of plant and animal as cultural artifacts, as well as the origin and diffusion of such cultural products were traditional concerns for cultural geographers (Sauer 1952; Nakajima 1981).

In Japan, interests of social and humanistic scientists, including cultural geographers, in the origin of agriculture and the development of rice paddy cultivation in ancient Japan emerged in the 1950s, as a means to seek the origin of Japanese cultural identity for salvaging it from under the rubble of social confusion after the defeat of World War II.

Such Japanese scientist's efforts to trace the path of diffusion of rice paddy cultivation came to be integrated into the formulation of a concept of lucidophyllous forest culture complex to explain the basic cultural elements of Japanese culture around the period from the latter part of the 1960s to the early 1970s.

Sasaki, who has been an initial promotor of the concept, has paid his special attention to the transitional phase from slash-and-burn agriculture to rice paddy cultivation, based on his extensive field surveys in East, Southeast and South Asia (Sasaki 1982, 1988). Since the 1970s, he has shifted his standpoint of ethnographic parallel to that of relying on archaeological evidences and genetic sciences to prove the hypothesis, extending of his field survey more to the northern Asia (Sasaki and Morishima eds. 1993).

For cultural geographers, the concept of ethnographic parallel since the end of the 19th

century seemed to provide an effective tool for the reconstruction of cultural history based on distributions of cultural elements which ought to be integrated into certain cultural areas like the age-area hypothesis and *Kulturkreislehre* (theory of culture circle) (Andree 1878; Kroeber 1931; Kluckhohn 1936). Generally speaking, the ethnographic parallel tends to utilize present ethnographic or folkloristic data as evidences to speculate the prehistoric condition of human life, for supplementing the lack of archaeological data. However, it bases on an presupposition that the condition of environment has been stable or constant during all through historical times.

On the other hand, recent archaeological and paleo-botanical studies tend to prove considerable changes of vegetation cover and alluvial deposition along rivers and sea coasts.

Yasuda pointed out gradual change of vegetation cover along the coast of Japan Sea and its adjacent areas of East Asia during past 10,000 years mainly through the reconstruction of vegetation by utilizing pollen analysis and archaeological artifacts (Yasuda 1987, 1988). Like Yasuda, Toyama also suggested that genetic sciences and paleo-botanical analysis for identifying the evidence to prove existence of incipient agriculture were more effective than other methods because crops and cultivated flora decayed in time (Toyama 1985).

Although the hypothesis taken by Sasaki that swidden agriculture prepared the conditions for accepting rice paddy cultivation in Japan has been partly criticized (Ishii 1984; Watanabe 1984), much efforts to gather positive ethnographical and folkloristic data to prove it still continued to be made during the period from the 1970s to the 1980s.

Many researchers became engaged in the studies of hunting and gathering, as well as primitive fishing, which were still operated among the traditional mountain village and on the sea coast of Japanese archipelago, to infer the conditions of transitional stage of the subsistence to incipient agriculture from *Jomon* to *Yayoi* culture. Matsuyama has tried to investigate the nut-utilization for food in Japan and adjacent areas of Asia and followed by his eager student, Tsuji (Matsuyama 1982, 1988; Tsuji 1987, 1993, 1994).

Ikeya also studied in detail *zenmai* gathering activities in Tohoku mountain villages,

focussing on the formation of gathering territories in the process of environmental utilization (Ikeya 1989a). Ichikawa, however, initiated his critique to the concept of lucidophyllous forest culture complex, insisting on the important role of Japanese beech forest zone (*bunarin*) and of Tsushima Sea Current for the formation of the Japanese traditional way of life (Ichikawa et al. 1984; Ichikawa and Saito 1985; Ichikawa 1987, 1988). On the other hand, Tabata and others continued their ethnographical surveys on subsistence activities operated by ethnic groups of mountain villages in China to support the hypothesis proposed by Sasaki and others (Tabata 1991-93; Tabata and Kanemaru 1989).

In these processes of analyzing behavioral aspects of subsistence activities, the important role of the perceived or subjective environment for the choice and decision-making of inhabitants to utilize resources at specific site has been gradually recognized by cultural geographers through the influence of cognitive anthropology and ethnosciences (Saito 1984). Nakashima and other young cultural geographers began to redefine the man-environment relationship from a viewpoint of subjective division of environment (Nakashima 1986, 1989; Sekido 1989; Furuta 1987; Fukuda 1989; Asano 1984; Nakamura 1995).

The concept of cognitive environment and the way of socio-spatial organization of cultural behavior, as well as the adaptive technology to the environment, came to be applied to the studies of traditional subsistence activities such as hunting, fishing and incipient cultivation, especially in the analysis of territorial formation, resource management and regulation of utilization, etc. (Ikeya 1989a, 1994a, 1994b; Matsuyama 1984; Kobayashi and Hisatake 1986; Tawa 1987; Nagasawa 1984). In such recent studies on adaptive strategy to the environment, many researchers came to recognize the usefulness of time-geographic spectrum as a tool for analyzing the constraint to articulate behaviors of the folks in subsistence activities (Kushiya 1985a, 1985b; Noma 1988; Tawa 1984, 1987).

On the other hand, the study on the man-animal relationships within the framework of man's utilization of environment has steadily progressed and extended its new aspect of research frontier. Chiba continued to publish

his series of studies on traditional hunting legends in Japan in historical context, and threw a new insight on the interpretation of Japanese idea of war and a specific way of suicide (*seppuku*) (Chiba 1991b, 1994a, 1994b). His folkloristic analysis on the Japanese way of warrior and the way of suicide (*seppuku*) was a version of his studies on hunting which dealt with the war between man and animal, but he applied his view on hunting to the war between human beings which was considered to be a kind of hunting between men.

Ikeya developed newly traditional studies on bear hunting in Japan and the San hunting method in Kalahari from his detailed observations of hunters' daily activities in both areas (Ikeya 1988, 1989b 1993, 1994a). Nonaka also presented his unique studies on the local way of traditional insect-hunting and its contribution to local dietary custom (Nonaka 1989, 1992). Konagaya reported many aspects of Mongolian nomadic pastoralism, especially focussing on the specific role of human calling to animals and the way of milking (Konagaya 1991, 1992). Saito contributed to the study of Siberian hunting and pastoral natives from the view point of subsistence activities and their relations to the specific way of recognition of geographical space (Saito 1981, 1985). Takahashi published a well-organized book on feral animals and their roles in the dietary custom, as well as on the domestication of wild animals, based on his comprehensive field surveys in Japan and in Australia for over a decade (Takahashi 1994, 1995; Takahashi and Tisdell 1989).

In progressing trends of researches on the subsistence activities, there are lots of important results of area study and its application to developing program in overseas countries, especially relating to Asian developing program. Komoguchi analyzed the structure of rural villages and its relation to land developing program in Bangladesh and Malaysia from the view point of cultural ecology (Komoguchi 1986, 1995). Noma's historical consideration on the agricultural development and also his compilation of historical materials concerning the agricultural and rural development in Bangladesh presented a new orientation to tackle on the difficult problems in developing the program, especially for transferring the modern technology to native traditional subsistence activities (Noma 1988, 1990, 1995; Noma and

Chakraborty eds. 1990). Ohji investigated in detail on the intense relation of traditional millet cultivation to specific agricultural implements in Indian subcontinent, which may contribute to the consideration on comparative studies of farm practice of millet in India, Southeast Asia and Japan, as well as on the possibility of its application to the developing program of East and Southeast Asia (Ohji 1981, 1984, 1987, 1989).

Kawakita, who initiated, for the first time, technical cooperation to the Himalayan areas in Japan since the end of World War II, continued to engage in developing programs and will publish his collected works as thirteen volumes, in which a volume on cultural geography of Nepal and Himalaya, as well as a volume on international technical cooperation and global environment, will be included (Kawakita 1983, 1985, 1995-). The concept of agro-pastoral culture complex as an adaptive strategy to high altitude of Nepal Himalaya and Tibetan Plateau, on which Kawakita investigated initially for cultural geography (Kawakita 1957), has been revisited from various aspect by his followers (Kobayashi 1987; Tsukihara 1994) and it was extended to the analysis of subsistence activities of ethnic minorities of China proper (Abe 1983; Suwa 1988, 1989).

On the other hand, Ohshima who is an energetic promotor and distinguish organizer of cultural geography in Japan, has pursued the study of native fishers' uses of marine resources in the areas of Southeast Asia and Pacific Islands in relation to the folk wisdom in resource management and to modernization processes introduced by the Europeans (Ohshima 1980, 1983, 1986). Hashimoto, who participated in the academic expedition to the Torres Islands organized by Ohshima, extended his area of interest, as well as the object of studying, to the Melanesia and to the Okinawan Island, specially focussed on taro cultivation (Hashimoto 1990, 1992, 1994). His main concern with irrigated taro cultivation seems to relate to the Sauer's provocative hypothesis that sea fisher might play as an initial promotor of root-crop cultivation prior to seed cultivation (Sauer 1952). Modernization process of subsistence activities under the legacies of colonialism was discussed in the Pacific developing countries (Kumagaya and Shiota eds. 1994) and in African areas (Mitomi 1982; Shimada 1992).

Cosmology, Ethnicity and Cultural Representation

For a long time, Okinawa has provided to Japanese cultural geographers a kind of research field station for comparative studies of folklore, subsistence activities and emigration between her land and mainland of Japan as well as between Okinawa and mainland China. However, only several cultural geographers had conducted their field surveys except American cultural geographers like C.J. Glacken and S.A. McCune and Nakamatsu, a native Okinawan geographer, who had continued detailed studies on the relation of village formation to the religious idea of *kami* (deity) (Nakamatsu 1968), as well as Ogawa who developed socio-linguistic analysis of the kinship terms (Ogawa 1965), before the cancellation of the U.S. Trusteeship over Okinawa in 1972 (Tasato et al. 1976).

Since 1972, Nakamatsu and Ogawa developed, without breaks, their own research under more comparative perspective than before (Nakamatsu 1993; Ogawa 1978, 1987) and have had dominant influences on the research orientation of following generation of cultural geographers. Inheriting his method from Ogawa's linguistic analysis based on the distribution of local terms, as well as from Nakamatsu's cosmological analysis of village structure, Nakamatsu tried to reconstruct the changing phases of folk custom in Okinawa and its adjacent Islands (Nakamatsu 1980, 1981, 1987).

Nakamatsu's cosmological analysis of village organization based on the placement of sacred sites and specific choice of place for cemeteries contributed to growing interests of following cultural geographers in the *feng shui* researches on Okinawan Island and its adjacent regions of East Asia. Watanabe initiated the *feng shui* studies of the Ryukyus, China and Korean Peninsula (Watanabe 1990, 1994). The *feng shui* cosmology is imprinted mainly on the placement of house for the living and abode for the dead, as Nemeth called it as the architecture of ideology (Nemeth 1987).

Minami traced the removal process of villages of Okinawa according to the principle of *feng shui* (Minami 1993), and Oshiro analyzed a geomantic picture-map of gravesites in Okinawa and discussed on the key role of cemeteries in the formation of sense of place for

villagers (Oshiro 1994a, 1994b). Oguchi's paper on the fortune-telling by length of measuring scale which produced a specific alignment of residence based on the "good" length of scale, also showed an intense relation of the idea of *feng shui* to the form and orientation of folk houses in Okinawa and Amami Islands (Oguchi 1994). Shibuya presented a comprehensive analysis on the Korean traditional recognition of landform according to the principle of *feng shui* (Shibuya 1991, 1995).

Feng shui, whose purpose is to pursue human felicity by the help of a composite of ground forces, may be called as a specific geographical cosmology in the East Asian tradition. For ordinary folks, ground forces have been considered to give good fortune to the people who select favorable sites for their building residences or ancestor's burial grounds.

Yoshinari's study on the relation of ancestor's worship to the cosmological notion of Okinawan Islands and adjacent areas (Yoshinari 1995) and Mitomi's analysis on the transformation of cosmology among the Yami people of Orchid Island of Taiwan (Mitomi 1993) may contribute to the study on cultural ideology which is constructed under the specific socio-historical context. The cosmological or religious ideology orients implicitly human behavior and results in a specific form of spatial configuration of land and landscape. It determines the order as well as the turn of progression of pilgrimage route (Tanaka 1983, 1984) and effects on the compartmentalization of sacred place and its boundary formation, based on the idea of purity of Buddhism and Shintoism in Japan (Iwahana 1983, 1992; Nagano 1987; Onodera 1990; Oda 1984, 1993; Tanaka 1992). Yagi continued his folkloristic research on symbolic interpretation of village boundaries and ritual roads to be taken on the funeral rites and on the specific ceremonies among villagers (Yagi 1984, 1990), as well as on the spatial arrangement of seat and position held in a folk ceremony of *miyaza* (Yagi 1986). Oguchi also pursued the folk's notion of village boundary and of abominable space, as well as of the "cleanness" and the "healthiness" in the hygienic sense. (Oguchi 1985a, 1985b, 1985c).

Among those researches on cosmological configuration of place and landscape, Chiba's provocative analysis on the formation of sacred place and its relation to animal power was one

of the most noted results for the time concerned.

Chiba examined the emergence and distribution of many shrines and temples which occupied at the top of mountain or hill in a district of Okayama Prefecture and provided us with an interesting conclusion. He says that before Buddhism and Shintoism were separated in 1868-1875 most of temples and shrines had their messenger animals as their respective gods. These animals were believed to live in subordinate shrines. People imagined these animals as living deities, for example, such as snakes, monkeys, wolves and foxes, as well as imaginary animals called "yattei", which were regarded as being dispatched from the greater gods who enshrined on Mt. Daisen and other sacred mountains. So, these messenger animals are believed to dwell in these mountains and have been worshiped by the inhabitants who live in a vast area of the Chugoku region. Chiba concluded that such cosmological notion and specific attitude toward animals gave rise to the mountaineering ascetics, as well as to the formation of the special attachment to these animals, of the villagers who live around the sacred mountains (Chiba 1985). Nagano also pursued the significance of the mountain worship of the Japanese for the preservation of nature in his series of studies on sacred places of the Japanese mountains (Nagano 1989, 1990, 1992). Sacred places have played important roles as the reserve for specific herbs and animals, as well as for the segregated human groups and refugees from political oppression.

Iwahana and Kuroda analyzed the Buddhist world images based on the pictorial Mandala which depicted cosmologically existence of the heaven and the hell (Iwahana 1985; Kuroda 1991). Mandala as a means for propagation of Buddhism to illiterate folks can visualize the existence of the world after death and regulate implicitly their practices in daily lives. Inada paid his attention to the idea of metempsychosis, or transmigration of souls in the heaven as direct results of good act in the worldly lives of the people, in relation to time concept in the cosmology of Buddhism and pointed out that such notion came to be materialized in the forms of funeral ceremonies and gravesites (Inada 1993).

On the other hand, the notion of *kegare* or impurity held especially in Shintoism played as a key factor to compartmentalize gravesite at

the marginal place in the community. Moriguri investigated the distribution of the *kawaramachi*, or special town ward on the flood plains, in relation to the position of graveyard and asserted that almost all of the Japanese towns had such blocks of ward at the marginal areas within and just outside the boundary of city areas where graveyard and slaughter house had previously located (Moriguri 1988, 1990).

In general, we know that such socially marked place connected the so-called *buraku* or segregated people and their residences particularly during Edo era. Although the *buraku* was officially cancelled at the early 1870s, we have to admit the fact that the sense of segregation to it has still remained among the Japanese commoners. And moreover, we have to note that the segregated minorities like the *buraku* and the Ainu people in Japan have been socially and cosmologically constructed as cultural products under the condition of political sovereignty and by the policy of separationism of contemporary government.

The viewpoints of studies on migration, regardless of destination areas, have to be altered to include the native inhabitant's appreciation to migrants themselves. Traditionally almost all Japanese studies on Japanese overseas migration tended to emphasize on the Japanese as a minority group, for example, on the Japanese American as ethnic minority and hardly took Amerindian's existence into their considerations. Neither did the Ainu and the Okinawan under the condition of Japan's sovereignty.

Although there have been many excellent researches on Japanese overseas migration since 1980 (Ishikawa 1982; Yagasaki 1993; Sugiura 1988, 1991), they tended to neglect the viewpoint on ethnicity as the socially constructed under the interethnic conflict and accommodation. Yamashita has extended the scope concerning segregation problems of overseas Chinese in Southeast Asian countries (Yamashita 1986, 1987). Yamamoto focussed on the segregation of *Gast-arbeiter* in German cities (Yamamoto 1980, 1983, 1993) and Naito examined the socio-cultural conflicts between Turkish migrants and European societies (Naito ed. 1995). Matsumura presented some problems in the developing phase of ethnic minority policies in China (Matsumura 1993).

The Ainu studies by anthropologists have

a long tradition (Watanabe 1973; Ohnuki-Tierney 1974). However, geographers came late to study on the Ainu people mainly from the historical viewpoint, focussing on the locational change and on the way of spatial organization of their communities. Endo's investigation on the mobility of the Ainu society and Katayama's historical study on the regional deprivation of the Ainu's habitats under the Tokugawa's political control provided us with the detailed changing phases of the Ainu who became an ethnic minority (Endo 1985, 1994; Katayama 1993). On the other hand, Momose threw a new light on the study of the Ainu policies taken by the Japanese government authority and their subsequent effects on the compartmentalization of residences and social lives of the Ainu people since the 1880s (Momose 1993, 1994).

A growing concern with the indigenous culture and its representation came to direct the younger generation of Japanese cultural geographers on to the study of nativistic movements and their ways of representation. Matsuyama reported the result of his long-term field observation of Australian aborigines specially concerning their spiritual lives and ways of thinking in relation to the myth of origin and dreaming (Matsuyama 1994). Kobayashi presented his structural analysis on indigenous pictorial maps and cultural representations of native peoples of Mexico and Andean countries (Kobayashi 1984, 1993), as well as on the *indigenismo*, or nativist counter-movement, against the contemporary political legacies of colonialism in Mesoamerican world (Kobayashi 1986; Kobayashi ed. 1995). Ishizuka edited multi-facet studies on the conflicts of the Creole societies between their own construction of identity and colonial legacies in the Caribbean world (Ishizuka ed. 1991).

Ethnicity and ethnic identity of the people, as well as their self images contrast to the "other", are gradually constructed through social and political processes, being naturalized for their own through specific media such as pictures, photographs, popular novels etc. So are specific images of place and region.

Uchida examined the process under which specific place-image of well known site was formed through market advertisement and dissemination of favorable information for it provided by mass-media (Uchida 1987, 1989). On

the important role of mass-media for image-making of certain places, Yamada discussed generally the socially or regionally specific propagation of information which gave rise to the local differences in the way of spatial organization and to regional inequalities for accessing to cultural capitals (Yamada 1987).

And, cooperating with a positive evaluation of cultural studies, on which R. Williams and the Birmingham's center for contemporary cultural studies have initiated, Naruse and Yamada reviewed on an increasing trend of the study on the ideologically constructed mass cultures and their enormous impacts on the cultures of localities and on the make-up images of place and region (Naruse 1993, 1994; Yamada 1991). On the other hand, Arayama elucidated the process of inventing the authenticity of traditional culture and the framework of viewing landscape, as a series of studies on cultural politics of landscape formation (Arayama 1989, 1994, 1995). Yagi also analyzed the inventing process of tradition of folk culture, presumably after the scheme of E. Hobsbawm (Hobsbawm and Ranger eds. 1983), focussing on the drum troupe boom spread in recent rural areas in Japan (Yagi 1994).

Although the standpoints of those who accepted the viewpoint of politics of culture tended to emphasize on the socio-political context within the contemporary constraints of the period when the cultures were produced, they may seem to neglect the detailed examination of the content as the cultures represented. Fiction or novel as a form of cultural expression also represents the time and place on which the authors ought to construct their narratives.

Sugiura explored the novelist's sense of place through which we could reconstruct the perceptual frames of the contemporaries, and he showed the usefulness of contemporary literatures as historical sources for historical geographers, as well as the important documents for cultural geographers to study on the cultural evaluation of the contemporaries toward the locality (Sugiura 1989, 1995, see also Childs, 1991). And Fukuda studied sympathetically on a woman's novels, focussing on the formation of nostalgia to her homeland through the author's own experience of roving life (Fukuda 1991). Uchida also extracted the mysterious places for the people of Edo in Tokugawa era from his comprehensive survey on contempo-

rary literatures and historical documents (Uchida 1990).

Those new researches on cultural studies and politics of local cultures, as well as humanistic geographical studies on literatures, came to attract the attentions of younger generation of Japanese cultural geographers as the requisite for the rejuvenation of Japanese cultural geography in the 1990s.

Conclusion.

Growing concerns, for over a past decade, with methodological discussions on geography in general, as well as on the culture concept, may reflect a certain stage of maturity of cultural geography in Japan.

Japanese geographer came by degree to recognize the aspect of cultural difference of material production, as well as of thought and behavior, under a progressing world-wide capitalism, through the process of accumulating their experiences in long-term field surveys, especially in the adjacent areas of East Asia. They came to know the difference in the way of articulating environment and in the distinct character of socio-political context along which the people had to construct their own principle of cultural behavior.

Such accumulated knowledge gave for Japanese cultural geographers rise to detailed discussions on the different process of forming the culture concept in different historical settings. On the discussion, we have to admit the foreign influences in accelerating debate on methodology of the subject, of which Anglophone cultural geographers took leads in the 1980s, mainly focussing on the ideological aspect of culture formation and on the politics of culture.

However, most part of Japanese cultural geographers have favored to accumulate their studies on various aspects of traditional subsistence activities, for the time concerned, in both areas of overseas countries and homeland.

During the 1950s and 1960s, Japan was basically still peasant society in spite of being launching to take off to the industrialization in economic conditions. A large part of rural communities experienced population exodus which resulted in gradual collapse of social equipments to operate social system in the 1960s and 1970s.

Japanese cultural geographers tried to seek alternative ways of resolving the interconnected regional problems of deprivation during the time. They tried to explore the folk wisdom held in traditional subsistence activities as a means to look for alternative ways toward the conservation of and adaptation to Japanese land condition in the midst of proceeding of redeveloping programs planned by the government.

The folkloristic approach to the study of traditional subsistence activity came to be reactivated from different perspectives and connected to the study of cultural history in search of the basic substrata of Japanese culture, as seen in the growing interests in the concept of lucidophyllous forest culture complex in the 1980s.

On the other hand, Japanese experiences of modernization of traditional subsistence activities in the 1960s and 1970s contributed to the developing program launched by Japanese government for the third and fourth world under the financial and technical aids by the advanced nations and the special organizations for development such as World Bank and O.D.A. Many Japanese cultural geographers came to participate in such developing programs and conducted field surveys with comparative view points. The research results of such area studies also brought to Japanese geography an alternative standpoint to reassess Japanese method of operating subsistence activities in the traditional peasant society in prewar Japan.

However, during the period from the end of 1980s to the early 1990s, geographers became concerned with cultures of urbanization and of post-industrial society under the condition of world-wide capitalism as well as of global networks of information.

In recent prevailing situation of post-modern condition, Japanese cultural geographers tend to direct their attentions more to the sub-cultures constructed by various classes of consumers of urban society than to the productive community's culture deposited in the traditional peasant society.

Such changing phases of researchers' concerns were reflected in their treatments with cultural phenomena in which they came to stress on the political roles for formation of sub-cultures and their relations to power in historical context. New fields of such studies as

the cosmological settings in ethnic and residential segregation, inventing process of new tradition of folk cultures, and certain kind of deconstructive study on the authenticity concerning traditional culture and so forth came to emerge among Japanese cultural geography. It may seem to reflect the fact that cultural geographers in Japan became more sensitive to the segregation of certain class of social groups and social or political inequalities, as well as to the forming process of cultural ideology in a specific mode of material production, in the 1990s.

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Geography of YAMAGUCHI Yaichiro, Self-Trained Folklorist Geographer*

TAKEUCHI Keiichi

The purpose of this paper is to introduce a Japanese geographer, who has made significant contributions to geography by means of his unique approach to the study of the interaction between culture and nature, society and environment or land and life in general. Yamaguchi Yaichiro¹⁾ was born in 1902 in Aizu, one of the remoter and poorer areas of the Tohoku District, and actually is still alive. With regard to his scientific activities over the past more than sixty years, it would be appropriate to examine his geographical thought in the light of the intellectual history of modern geography in Japan.

In Japan, geography was institutionalized in academies or schools for higher education at the end of the nineteenth century²⁾. Yamaguchi thus belonged to the generation emerging after the establishment of academic geography in Japan; but from the fact that his formal education ended at the present-day junior high school level, he should properly be considered a self-trained geographer or outsider in geography. After 1919, he taught at a primary school, and in 1928, passed the Examination for the Teacher's License in Geography in Secondary Schools. This examination system had been in existence for a considerable length of time, having come into being — in 1875, to be exact — during the early years of the establishment of the modern education system in Japan. It continued to be in effect until the reform of the education system immediately after World War II, its purpose being the recruiting of teachers for secondary schools in order to cope with the shortage of graduates of universities and of higher normal schools (schools for the training of teachers at the secondary education level). In

1928, those who passed the examination in geography numbered fifteen out of around 800 applicants, and the examiners were professors of imperial universities and higher normal schools. The competition was fierce, and those who passed the examination were well acquainted with the scientific works of the authorities in the academic geography of the time (Sato 1988). Most of the successful examinees went on to build brilliant careers as teachers at the secondary education level, finally ending up as headmasters of schools. In fact, Yamaguchi received several invitations from a number of distinguished secondary schools of Tokyo and other cities to serve on their faculties. But he preferred to remain in the place of his origin, the Tohoku District, conducting the research he had already begun in coal-mining settlements, and teaching at a girls' middle school in the heart of the coal-mining area.

After 1929, he began to publish numerous papers; in 1931, he was admitted to the membership of the Tokyo Geographical Society, and in 1933, was allowed to publish a paper in the organ of the Association of Japanese Geographers, the *Geographical Review of Japan*. The Association of Japanese Geographers was established in 1925 and its membership and the contributors to its organ were restricted to professors and graduates of the Imperial University of Tokyo and the Higher Normal School of Tokyo³⁾. Rare exceptions were when on the basis of his being a researcher in geography, and upon the recommendation of two members of the Association and the approval of the executive committee, a person who had not graduated from either of these establishments was nonetheless allowed to contribute a paper.

As it was, in 1933, the members of the Association numbered seventy-nine, and non-member contributors to the *Geographical Review of Japan* since its establishment numbered only six persons, who were mostly successful examinees for the Teacher's License in Geography at the Secondary School Level. From the beginning of the 1930s, Yamaguchi carried on his studies under the guidance of two professors of the Imperial University of Tohoku at Sendai, Watanabe Manjiro, geologist, and Tanakadate Shuzo, geographer.

In March, 1933, the Pacific coast of the Tohoku District was hit by an earthquake and a subsequent disastrous tsunami. This particular coast had been hit by tsunami several times in the past, the last previous time having been in 1906. Yamaguchi joined Tanakadate in his research into the tsunami disaster. It was clear that for the settlements located at the innermost points of the rias of the coast in question, the only means of avoiding the dangers incurred by tsunami was to move the village sites away from the shore to higher ground. Yamaguchi found that however often the villagers moved away, after a decade or so they returned to the coast, only to go through the same procedure with the advent of the next tsunami. In an interview with me in 1985 (Takeuchi and Masai 1986), he observed that in the course of research on the repeated movements of village sites consequent upon the tsunami disasters, he came to the conclusion that geography alone did not sufficiently account for the constant return of the villagers to the coast and the recurring danger from the sea. He noted that while it was advisable that the villagers move to a more elevated site in order to escape the consequences of tsunami, since their livelihood depended on fishery, economically it was more expedient for them to maintain residence near the fishing ports. But he also noted that there were a number of other reasons drawing the villagers back to the traditional village sites along the coast, despite the fact that they would have to evacuate them again when the next tsunami came along: for example, their moral attachment to shrines and temples, and in particular, to the graves of their ancestors.

In the 1985 interview, Yamaguchi stated that this was the reason that after 1935, he took to following the guidance of Yanagita Kunio, founder of the Japanese Folklore School; by

doing so, he hoped to gain a clearer insight into the attachment of the villagers to their native coast-lands or their geographical identity with the historical site of the village. His writings of the 1930s, did not clearly explain the shift in his interests towards folklore; but the fact is that he met Yanagita for the first time in 1935, and subsequently began to publish writings on folkways and folk culture firstly of the coal-mining area⁴⁾, and later, of the coastal villages. He was introduced to Yanagita by Sasaki Hikoichiro and Yamaguchi Sadao, two younger graduates in geography of the Imperial University of Tokyo whose acquaintance Yaichiro made through the introduction of Tanakadate Shuzo. Here the fact should be underlined that around 1930, some of the brilliant graduates in geography of the Imperial University of Tokyo tended to foster an interest in the studies made by the Japanese Folklore School, and Yamaguchi Yaichiro, despite his non-academic origin, or rather because of it, was susceptible to the influences of academic geographers.

All these younger graduates in geography of the Imperial University of Tokyo, who evinced so large a degree of interest in the folklore school, unfortunately either died early of tuberculosis or died or disappeared in the course of military service during World War II, except perhaps for one, who was in a sanatorium until 1950, and so survived. In this sense, we can consider Yamaguchi Yaichiro both witness and successor to the vanished tradition of the younger generation of geographers of the Imperial University of Tokyo of the 1930s. But in difference from the academic geographers of that time, he was never interested in insisting on a *raison d'être* for the discipline of geography. He was a school teacher of geography, but it is not clear whether he himself considered that his studies were exclusively in the sphere of geography; in any case, he was indifferent to the mystification of "region", "landscape", "man-nature relationships" or matters of this sort, for the purpose of underlining the scientific basis of geography as an institutionalized discipline.

It is quite true that Yanagita Kunio was partial to the young Yamaguchi Yaichiro; according to Yamaguchi, this was due to the fact that he (Yamaguchi) travelled to all corners of the Tohoku District and knew it thoroughly. In other words, in his capacity of head of the Japanese Folklore School, Yanagita considered

Yamaguchi a key person in the informant network, which he (Yanagita) maintained all over Japan. Moreover, Yanagita's decisive influence over Yamaguchi was borne out by the fact that in 1940, Yanagita suggested that if Yamaguchi's studies were to be aimed at discovering ways and means of avoiding disasters consequent upon tsunami in order to save as many human lives as possible, it was necessary to write in a way that the village people of the coastal areas concerned could understand. His book *Tsunami to mura (Tsunami and villages)*, published in 1943, was written with this in mind and in the preface, Yamaguchi clearly states that the book was written at the suggestion of his mentor Yanagita⁵⁾.

In parallel with the studies on villages assailed by tsunami in the 1930s and 40s, he published numerous papers on shifting cultivation and millet cultivation in the mountain areas of Tohoku⁶⁾. It is not clear whether his studies of these topics were specifically motivated by the crop failures that hit the Tohoku area in 1933 and 1934, but he explicitly acknowledged that in order to understand what remained of shifting cultivation and millet cultivation, it was necessary to understand the peasants' perception of the environmental conditions of the Tohoku District or the geographical imagination of the people with regard to the land on which they dwelt. For this purpose Yamaguchi was not satisfied with the achievements of established geographers, who observed people's lives in various places from the traveller's point of view. This led to his becoming increasingly interested in the Japanese folklore school and in fact, he proceeded to conduct or participate in the collecting of folk legends and folk materials, at the same time living in a village, which actually constituted participation observation.

In 1940, Yamaguchi transferred to a middle school in Iwate Prefecture to teach there, but as always, he remained in the Tohoku area, and for five years passed every week-end in a small mountain village to collect materials pertaining to the folkways of the villagers. He was firmly convinced that mere travellers passing through could not penetrate and understand what the villagers perceived with regard to the land on which they lived or the geographical imagination of the villagers which had grown out of their daily lives. He did not publish the

folk materials, folk legends and life histories of the villagers, which he collected in the mountain village concerned, but his published work on millet cultivation, the *nago* system (a still lingering serf system of feudal origin)⁷⁾, and crop failures in the mountainous villages of Tohoku certainly reflected his own experience, which again formed a kind of participation observation.

In 1945, he changed to another school, also in Iwate Prefecture, renting a farmhouse in a village; later on, in 1948, he received an award for his documentation of this period from the Institute of Folklore presided over by Yanagita. It was a rather critical time where village life was concerned, being immediately before and after the defeat of Japan in World War II, with a shortage of labour due to the war-time mobilization of able-bodied men, lack of materials for farming and daily life, such as fertilizers, clothing and so on, along with the governmental imposition of a strict rice delivery quota; Yamaguchi documented these affairs both meticulously and vividly. In 1945, he resigned from teaching activities and engaged for two years in agriculture in his native village. It was also a very difficult time for him where his personal life was concerned, with the occurrence of the death of his second wife, conflicts with many relatives with regard to inheritance matters and so on. As a farmer for two years in his native village, according to him, he compiled documentary records filling eight thick notebooks. Only in 1975 did he publish a part of these documents, leaving out parts concerning the private lives of people still living at that time. In the preface to this publication, he wrote, "This is the result of the experiences of a researcher who followed to the letter the teachings of the master, Yanagita. I lived as a farmer in my native village, hence the documentation of the folk materials concerning my village should be convincing and meaningful; were it otherwise I should be disqualified as a researcher"⁸⁾. By this time, however, he was already a professor of a private university, and this statement should perhaps be considered, at least partly, as *ex post facto* self-justification. I believe that he had never once thought about the paradox contained in participation observation, that is, that a researcher can never really become a true member of the observed community, and if he really became a member of the

community, he would no longer be a researcher in the true sense of the word.

In 1948, he assumed the post of vice-principal of a newly-established high school in Aizu-Wakamatsu, one of the principal cities of Fukushima Prefecture. After leaving his native village, he never again actually lived in a village to conduct participation observation or to collect folk materials. However, he did organize a research team for the documentation of the folk material of the Aizu area, especially villages along the Tadami River. These villages were destined to be engulfed by artificial lakes resulting from the construction of dams forming part of the so-called multi-purpose development plan initiated in the 1950s, in imitation of the Tennessee Valley Authority planning of the 1930s. In his interview with me (Takeuchi and Masai 1986:335-336), Yamaguchi stated that in the course of the research trips he undertook in the Tadami River basin in the late 1940s, he became acquainted with Odauchi Michitoshi, human geographer, who had also had contact with Yanagita Kunio and his folklore school⁹⁾. From the private letters of Odauchi to Igarashi Yusaku, then middle school teacher and follower of both Yamaguchi and Odauchi, we note the existence of a close contact between Yamaguchi and Odauchi at that period. From Yamaguchi's writings per se, however, it is not possible to discover proof of influence exercised by Odauchi on Yamaguchi.

His two mentors, Tanakadate and Yanagita, died in 1949 and 1962, respectively. In the 1950s, he formed an increasingly closer relationship with the circle of academic geographers. During these years, the possibility still existed of obtaining a doctorate merely upon the presentation of a thesis, and in 1959, he in fact acquired a doctor's degree from the Tokyo Bunrika University, the current University of Tsukuba, on the basis of a thesis *Tsunami joshuchi Sanriku kaigan chiiki no shuraku ido: tsunami saigai bogoyotaisaku jisshi jotai no chirigakuteki kento* (*Settlement transfer in the Pacific coastal area continually assailed by tsunami in the Tohoku District: Geographical considerations on protection from tsunami disasters*). This was naturally the topic he had been studying for almost thirty years, but in difference from his book of 1943, in which he documented many cases of villagers returning to the traditional village sites because of the

attachment to those places which only an insight into the folkways of those places could explain, the larger part of the doctoral thesis was devoted to the typology of settlement shifts, in relation with geomorphological conditions. The collective image of the land on which they lived out their lives, and other folkloristic factors to which the young Yamaguchi gave importance were now relegated to the background. By the 1950s, in geographical circles, new trends had already appeared whereby emphasis was shifted to spatial aspects of socio-economic activities, the collective perception of the environment, the interface of geography with folklore or cultural anthropology¹⁰⁾, and so on. However, in contrast to these new trends, Yamaguchi wrote his doctoral thesis, adjusting his research achievements to the framework of a very conventional and conservative geographical school. Here we can once more observe that, both despite his non-academic origin and also because of it, he was very susceptible to the guidance of academic geographers, and in this case, this framework of academic geography totally killed the true value of the geography of Yamaguchi, which he had so painstakingly cultivated during the 1930s and 40s¹¹⁾.

Thanks to his having achieved an academic degree, in 1963, at the age of sixty-one, he obtained a teaching post at a private university in Tokyo and in 1972, was appointed professor of geography at Soka University run by the militant Buddhist sect. At this university, in line with the research interests of the university, that is, tracing the route by which Buddhism reached Japan, he carried out historical and ethnological researches into the Silk Road or Central Asia, travelling extensively in these areas, until his retirement in 1991. Because of his lack of an academic basis to a topic new to him, his publications on Central Asia are rather the observations of a traveller than a researcher¹²⁾. To justify his changing interests, he produced a curious syllogism to the effect that Tohoku, which had been his lifelong study area, maintained the most traditional aspects of Japan, thus to investigate the roots of the culture and society of the Tohoku District was to investigate the roots of Japanese culture, Buddhism and many other cultural elements which arrived in Japan via the Silk Road, hence his investigation of the latter area (Yamaguchi 1993). It would have been sufficient simply to

say that he began research on the Silk Road in accordance with the demands of the university authorities. But he always wanted to relate, one way or other, his starting point as a researcher in and his studies of the Tohoku District with his subsequent studies.

I have the utmost respect for his achievements in geography, especially the aspects of his emphasis on the attachment of the common people to the land, or his remarks on the production or reproduction of the geographical imagination of the peasants and fishermen of the Tohoku District, and highly appreciate his interest in the Japanese Folklore School. Moreover, it would be difficult not to feel admiration for his energy and toughness in overcoming the many difficulties in his research career and his private life. Examining his career in geography, however, it is important to note first of all, the many difficulties he encountered due to his non-academic origins. We should also note that where the authorities of academic or institutionalized geography are concerned, there always exists the danger of their killing off the best elements of geographical enquiries carried out by non-academic or non-orthodox geographers, imposing on them a conventional and conservative discipline. We can observe these circumstances clearly in the case of Yamaguchi's writings for his doctoral thesis; but fortunately, he has published his fruitful achievements in other forms. Most of his works have been reprinted, thanks to his own efforts, in facsimile form in fourteen volumes, collected from various publications issued between 1972-80, and six books published after 1980.

* This is a paper presented at the symposium of the Commission on the History of Geographical Thought IGU/IUHPS on the theme of "Nature, Culture and History of Geography" held at Dublin on 15-19 July 1995. The contents of this paper are slightly different from those of the Japanese version already published: Yamaguchi Yaichiro no chirigaku (Geography of Yaichiro Yamaguchi), *The Hitotsubashi Review*. Vol. 114: 515-528.

Notes

1) For references pertaining to Yamaguchi's work, I relied mainly on his fourteen-volume collected works published in facsimile form between 1972-80, and six books published after 1980, as indicated in the list of Yamaguchi's works. Although the fourteen volumes were in facsimile form, he changed the titles of some of the works and made some cuts. Where these cases were concerned, I adopted the original titles and consulted the original publications. In his books published in 1991 and in 1993, he included a rather detailed autobiography. Regarding his life history, therefore, I relied on these books and the recorded interview with me (Takeuchi and Masai 1986: 330-345).

2) Here I use the term "institutionalization of geography" in the sense of H. Capel (1977).

3) The forty-nine founding members of the Association of Japanese Geographers were all teachers and graduates of the Imperial University of Tokyo and the Higher Normal School of Tokyo, and until 1935, membership was restricted to the graduates of these two institutions. Only a few of those who had passed the Examination for the Teacher's License in Geography in Secondary Schools were allowed to contribute to the *Geographical Review of Japan*. In 1935, the membership of the Association was extended to include them and graduates of other imperial universities. Following the reform of the university system after World War II, those who passed the above Examination and actively contributed to the *Geographical Review of Japan* received posts as university teachers.

4) From 1935-36, he published folklorist descriptions of coal-mining areas of Joban (reprinted in Vol. V of *Selected works*) but Yanagita severely criticized them, declaring that they did not constitute folklorist descriptions (Yamaguchi 1993: 78-79).

5) *Tsunami to mura (Tsunami and villages)* was first published in 1943 by Koshunkaku Shobo and the text is republished in Vol. VI of *Selected works*, except for Part 3.

6) After 1936, Yamaguchi published several papers on the shifting cultivation of the Tohoku District and collected all these achievements in a book, *Tohoku no yakihata kanko (Customs of shifting*

cultivation in Tohoku), Koshunkaku Shobo, 1944, which was reprinted in Vol. III of *Selected works*. Regarding millet cultivation in the Tohoku District, he published a paper "Distribution of Millet in the Tohoku District" in the *Geographical Review of Japan*, Vol. XVI, in 1940, which was reprinted in Vol. VII of *Selected works* under the title "Millet in the Tohoku District". He also discussed millet cultivation in Tohoku in his book *Tohoku no shokushu (Eating habits in the Tohoku District)*, Kahoku Shinposha, 1947, which was reprinted in Vol. VII of *Selected works*.

7) On the *nago* system, besides several papers published in the 1940s, he later on contributed a paper for the IGU Regional Conference in Japan in 1957 (Geographical Distribution of "Nago" System in Japan, *Proceedings of IGU Regional Conference in Japan 1957*, Tokyo 1959, p.536).

8) This sentence is cited from the "Reminiscences of My Participation Observation in Rural Villages and My Native Village" published in the bulletin attached to Vol. IV of *Selected works* in 1975.

9) I have discussed Odauchi Michitoshi (1875-1954) in Takeuchi 1985. Documents collected in the village of Tadami Valley, destined to be submerged with the creation of an artificial lake, are published in Yamaguchi's book *Tohoku minzokushi: Aizu-hen (Folklore of the Tohoku District: Aizu)*, Fuki Shobo, 1955, which was reprinted in Vol. II of *Selected works*.

10) A large number of geographers graduated from the Department of Geography, Kyoto University, evinced a strong interest in cultural anthropology, such as Iwata Keiji (1922-) and Suizu Ichiro (1923 -). Also among graduates of the University of Tokyo and Tokyo Bunrika University, some geographers younger than Yamaguchi, such as Ogawa Toru (1914-) or Chiba Tokuji (1916-) were under the strong influence of the Japanese Folklore School of Yanagita (Miyaguchi 1991; Oguchi 1991). Yamaguchi had no personal contact with these younger generations of geographers of new trends, neither can we find references in his works to the writings of these authors.

11) His doctoral theses were published between 1954-66 in the form of six papers in the publications of Asia University and reprinted in Vol. VI of *Selected works*.

12) Yamaguchi's works on the Silk Road area are Yamaguchi 1983 and some papers reprinted in Yamaguchi 1991a.

Chronology of Yamaguchi Yaichiro

- 1902 Born 13 May, Niizuru Village, Fukushima Prefecture
- 1922 Graduated from Aizu Middle School, Fukushima Prefecture
- 1923 Received Teaching Licence for Primary School from Teachers Training College of Fukushima and became a teacher at Sakashita Primary School, Fukushima Prefecture
- 1924 One-year military service in the Japanese Imperial Army
- 1925 Appointed a teacher of mathematics at Iwaki Girls' Junior High School
- 1928 Passed examination for the License for the Teaching of Geography in Secondary Schools, and continued teaching at Iwaki Girls' Junior High School as a teacher of geography
- 1929 Aizu Bonchi ni okeru shuraku no ichi kosatsu (A Consideration on the Settlements of Aizu Basin)', *Chiri Kyoiku* Vol.9 (First paper published in an academic journal of Tokyo)
- 1930 Asked Watanabe Manjiro, professor of geology at the Imperial University of Tohoku, for his supervision of a paper on fault morphology
- 1931 Published first papers on coal-mining settlements in the *Journal of Geography*, organ of the Tokyo Geographical Society
Began to follow the guidance of Tanakadate Shuzo, professor of geography of the Imperial University of Tohoku
- 1933 Made inquiries into the tsunami disaster of the Pacific coast of Tohoku District with Tanakadate
Made inquiries into crop failure areas of mountainous Tohoku
- 1934 Field studies in coal-mining settlements of Kyushu and Formosa
- 1935 Met Yanagita Kunio, founder of the Japanese Folklore School, for the first time, and began to work under his guidance
Published first paper on the folklore of coal-mining settlements
- 1936 Published first paper on local towns of Tohoku District and first paper on movements of settlements in areas hit by tsunami
- 1939 Published paper on shifting cultivation in

Journal of Geography

- 1940 Transferred to Kurosawajiri Middle School in Iwate Prefecture and stayed every weekend at Mizuoshi, a village in Kitakami mountains, in order to collect folk materials
- 1942 Published *Tanko shuraku (Coal-mining settlements)* from Kokon Shoin, Tokyo
- 1943 Published *Tsunami to mura (Tsunami and villages)* from Koshunkaku, Tokyo
- 1945 Transferred to Iwatanido Girls' Junior High School in Iwate Prefecture, where he was Vice-Principal
Rented farmhouse in the Esashi area. Documented village life immediately before and after the defeat of Japan in World War II
- 1946 Resigned from teaching and went back to his native village to practise agriculture
- 1947 Was appointed to post of Vice-Principal at Aizu Girls' Junior High School
- 1948 Moved to Aizu-Wakamatsu city
Aizu Girls' Junior High School became Aizu Girls' Senior High School as a result of education reform after World War II
Received award for his documentation of the village life of Esashi in 1945, from the Institute of Folklore presided over by Yanagita
- 1949 Difficulties in family life (death of second wife; sending of children to foster homes)
- 1951 Death of Tanakadate Shuzo
- 1953 Founded Institute for the Study of the Village Life of the Tohoku District
Published in co-authorship with Tanakadate *Tohoku chiho no keizai chiri kenkyu (Studies in the economic geography of the Tohoku District)* from Kokon Shoin (manuscript of this book was burnt in the air raid of 1945 in Tokyo and publication was made from the remaining galley proofs)
- 1956 Appointed headmaster of Aizu Agronomical Senior High School
- 1957 Became president of the Cultural Properties Protection Committee of Fukushima Prefecture (up to 1984)
- 1959 Received doctorate from Tokyo Bunrika University based on a thesis titled *Settlement transfer in the Pacific coastal area continually assailed by tsunami in the Tohoku District: Geographical considerations on Protection from tsunami disasters*
Received Kahoku Bunka Award for his long years of research into village life in the Tohoku District
- 1960 Retired from headmastership of Aizu Agronomical Senior High School
- 1962 Became a member of the Editorial Committee for the History of Fukushima Prefecture
Death of Yanagita Kunio
- 1963 Appointed part-time lecturer at Asia University, and transferred to Musashino-shi, Tokyo
- 1964 Received award for his cultural contributions from Fukushima Prefecture
- 1965 Appointed professor of Asia University
- 1966 First trip to Europe
- 1972 Retired from Asia University and appointed professor of Soka University
Began to publish what was to become fourteen volumes of his selected works (up till 1981) from Sekai Bunko
- 1979 First trip to China, including Inner Mongolia and Sinkiang.
- 1980 Headed Soka University research team in the Silk Road areas
- 1981 Research trips in India and Sri Lanka in order to study stupas
- 1984 Published *Taiken to minzokugaku (Folklore and my experiences)* from Bunka Shobo Hakubunsha
- 1985 Published *Taiken to chirigaku (Geography and my experiences)* from Bunka Shobo Hakubunsha
- 1989 Retired from Soka University, becoming Professor Emeritus, and moved to Aizu-Wakamatsu
- 1991-2 Published three volumes of *Tohoku chiho no saikento (Re-examination of studies on the Tohoku District)* from Bunka Shobo Hakubunsha
- 1993 Published *Kyodo kenkyu yori sekai bunka koseiron e (From homeland studies to discussion of the structure of civilization)*

List of Selected Works by Yamaguchi Yaichiro

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The Images of Tokyo Rivers in Literature: The Works of KODA Rohan and NAGAI Kafu

MINAMOTO Shokyu

Introduction

Since the mid-1970s, the city of Tokyo has been much discussed in literature, history, geography, architecture and other fields. Debate about Japan's national capital is a sort of boom, and the factor most responsible for this trend was the loss of vitality of rural areas and the growing dynamism of the cities, especially with population, information, and business concentrating in the Tokyo area (Fujimori 1990: 343-348). The publication of many studies dealing with Tokyo's urban landscape and space reflect this trend.¹⁾

This paper examines the Tokyo landscape with special attention to its rivers seen from the point of view of a geographer. There are three reasons why I take up Tokyo rivers to view the landscape. First, rivers are an essential part of the city, and this was especially true of the Sumida. Noted novelist and essayist Nagai Kafu (1879-1959) wrote in 1914-15: "If there is urban beauty in Tokyo today, I must attribute it principally to trees and rivers. The big, old trees covering the *yamanote* area and the rivers running through *shitamachi* are Tokyo's most valuable treasures" (Nagai 1981: 18).

The second reason I focus on rivers is that Japanese literature has a lyrical tradition that views rivers and the flow of water as symbolic of people's lives. The third reason is personal. I was born and brought up in a Buddhist temple founded in 1693 in Honjo (now part of Sumida ward) on the east bank of the Sumida River, and I have held communion with this river since my boyhood. I have watched closely as the river, which once stank intolerably from contamination poured into it by factories and

sewage lines in the 1960s, has little by little grown cleaner since the 1980s.

The comments of Western scholars encourage me in this artistic approach to geography. Douglas C.D. Pocock for example, writes, "We doubtless all have our favourite literary landscape depiction, where the quality of observation is more memorable and, indeed, more meaningful than the exactitude of conventional maps or tables of statistics for the same portion of the earth's surface" (Pocock 1981: 12). E. Relph says, "Artists, photographers, and novelists may even compress identity into one small feature which somehow captures the essence of a place" (Relph 1976: 48; tr.: 86).

Now, how did such literary figures in Tokyo observe and describe the local rivers and use their perceptive insights to evoke "images of places"? I believe they employed certain symbolic tools.

Most geographical studies²⁾ of literary works centre around fiction (Porteous 1985: 118), but in this paper I would like to look at the reflective essays (*zuihitsu*) of two outstanding writers, Koda Rohan (1867-1947) and Nagai Kafu. The definition of the *zuihitsu* genre is somewhat vague, and works described with this term vary widely in content, but they do share the "honest and direct reflection of the individual character of their authors, and tend to be critical and introspective" (Hisamitsu et al.: 594).

I chose Rohan and Kafu (both are commonly known by these pen names) because they excelled in the *zuihitsu* genre. Rohan is described as "rarely matched, possessed of all the qualifications of a *zuihitsu* writer" (Shinchosha Jiten Henshubu 1988: 471). Kafu, too, is a

widely admired essayist. "He [Kafu] is well versed in both Japanese and Chinese literature, and his unique talents are demonstrated more abundantly in essays than in fiction" (Noguchi 1986: 298). On these recommendations, I will discuss the image of Tokyo rivers based on two *zuihitsu* works, one by Rohan and the other by Kafu.

General Introduction to Tokyo Rivers

Let us begin with a brief outline of Tokyo rivers, especially the Sumida which is the main topic of this paper. The topography of the twenty-three wards that make up Tokyo's main metropolitan area can be roughly divided into two parts, the upland *yamanote* and the lowland *shitamachi*.³⁾ The north-south border between them is a steep incline.

There are four major drainage systems running through Tokyo (Suzuki 1989: 12-13).

1) The Tone River drainage system, flowing between the Musashino Plateau (which, adjoining the *yamanote* highlands, covers the vast expanse of the Tokyo suburbs west of a north-south line running through Kichijoji) and the Shimousa Plateau on the east, and emptying into Tokyo Bay through the *shitamachi* area in the east of the city's metropolitan area.

2) The Ara River and its branches, running through the northern part of the Musashino Plateau. Its lower reaches join the lowlands of the Tone before emptying into Tokyo Bay (this water system can therefore be considered part of the Tone River system).

3) The Tama River system, running south of the Musashino Plateau.

4) Smaller rivers and streams flowing directly into Tokyo Bay from the Musashino Plateau.

The Sumida River belongs to the Ara River system. A branch on the lower Ara, the Sumida is one of the largest waterways that pass into Tokyo Bay through Tokyo proper. In the broad sense, it represents that part (23.5 km) of the Ara stretching from the Iwabuchi water gate (Kita ward)⁴⁾ downward. In the popular sense, however, the Sumida is considered to start somewhere around Mokuboji tem-

ple at Kanegafuchi (Sumida ward) where there is a great bend in the Ara. The Sumida is also called the Ookawa ("Large River"), which specifically denotes the stretch extending from the area around Asakusa (Taito ward) down to the river's mouth, and the districts along its banks are sometimes called Bokutei (short for the "Sumida River's banks").

Let us now look at the Sumida and its banks in the Edo period (1603—1867) and the Meiji (1868—1912) era. In economic terms, the Sumida, its branches, and the canals linked to them formed a network that played a role in transportation far more important than overland roads until the early days of the Meiji era. The network had been the great artery of commerce in the shogunal capital. At key spots along the riverside or at the mouth of the bay there were "goods unloading wharfs" (called *mono-ageba* or *kashi* during the Edo period) set up for transshipping commodities brought by boat from various parts of the country. They grew into lively commercial centres clustered with warehouses.

Around the middle of the Meiji era, cotton mills and beer breweries began to appear along the Sumida's banks. As more bridges were built and railway and road networks spread across Japan during the latter half of the Meiji era, transportation in the Tokyo area began to shift away from dependence on the waterways centring on the Sumida to that by land.⁵⁾ In the early 1900s poet and critic Omachi Keigetsu (1869—1925) wrote that "it is the Sumida that provides the most convenient water transportation in Tokyo" (Omachi 1906: 17). The Sumida also played an important role in local entertainment and recreation. People revelled in the cherry blossoms that grew along its banks in spring, the fireworks held there in summer, and enjoyed its snowscapes in winter. The Sumida was a very special river for Edoites, as it was for the citizens of the Meiji era.

River Images in Rohan's "Mizu no Tokyo"⁶⁾

Life of Rohan

A brief look at Rohan's life as it pertains to the topic of this paper will provide a fuller context for this study of geography. My chief source is a biography by Seki Ryoichi (Seki 1971: 401-409).

Rohan was born Koda Shigeyuki in 1867,

the fourth son of Koda Risan (later Shigenobu) and his wife Yu in Edo (now Tokyo) at Shitaya Sanmai-yokocho (now part of Chiyoda ward). The place was locally known as Arayashiki. The Koda family were direct retainers of the shogunal clan, serving through generations as attendants to the Shogun. Rohan's deep familiarity with history, and his great knowledge of old manners and customs no doubt stems in part from this family heritage (Nihon Kindai Bungakukan 1984: 575). Even after the fall of the Tokugawa shogunate and the restoration of imperial rule in 1868, he was proud of being an Edoite descended from vassals to the shoguns.

In 1879 he graduated from elementary school and entered the Tokyo-fu Dai-ichi Chugakko (Tokyo Metropolitan First Middle School; now Hibiya Koto Gakko or Hibiya Senior High School), but ceased attending classes the next year. Instead, he spent his time at the Tokyo Library (so renamed from the Tokyo-fu Shojakukan in 1880, and later to become the National Diet Library) located within the shrine of Confucius at Yushima (now part of Bunkyo ward). His extensive reading there laid the foundation for broad and profound knowledge—for which he came to be known—drawn from Chinese classics, Buddhism-related texts, and miscellaneous Edo-period books. In 1881 he was enrolled in the Tokyo Ei Gakko (Tokyo English School; renamed as Aoyama Gakuin in 1894), but left school the following year. Around that time, he went to Kikuchi Shoken's Keigi School at night to study Chinese classics and poetry. Partly influenced by the Christian faith of his father, as well as by his reading of Samuel Smiles's (1821-1904) *Self-help*,⁷⁾ the determination to be independent and self-sufficient formed the core of his thought. The Nihon Kindai Bungakukan (Museum of Modern Japanese Literature) (1984: 577) describes Rohan as "one of [Japan's] greatest self-taught men who did not fit into the framework of modern school education."

In 1893, after having lived in Yanaka (now part of Taito ward) and then in Kyobashi (now part of Chuo ward), he moved to what is now part of Sumida ward, at Aza-banba, Terajimamura, Minami-Katsushika-gun. He again moved within the same village of Terajima, this time to Moto-terajima in 1897. In 1899 he published in the magazine *Shinshosetsu* his "Ikkoku no shuto" (The Capital of a Country),

one of the best discourses on the city in the Meiji era.⁸⁾ In 1902 his *zuihitsu* entitled "Mizu no Tokyo" (Waters of Tokyo), to be discussed in detail later, appeared in *Bungei kurabu*.

In May 1908 he began teaching at the College of Letters, Kyoto Imperial University (until October 1909). He received a doctorate in literature in 1911. In 1937 he was among the first recipients of the Order of Culture. He died at Sugano, Ichikawa, Chiba prefecture, on 30 July 1947, at the age of 80. Among his major works is the novel "Goju no to" (The Pagoda) (1891), and he also did very sophisticated work in collation and historical investigation.

Rohan's "Mizu no Tokyo"

Rohan was living in the village of Terajima, close to the banks of the Sumida when he wrote "Mizu no Tokyo" in 1902. He published another piece directly dealing with the Sumida, "Yoru no Sumidagawa" (The Sumida at Night)⁹⁾ the same year.

Rohan writes, "In any discussion of Tokyo's waterways, the Sumida is an extremely convenient and useful example" (Koda 1954a: 499). He also says, "The story of the Sumida is enough to tell the tale of all the rivers of Tokyo" (*Ibid.*). He thus uses the Sumida, specifically the stretch from where the Ara River joins the upper reaches of the Sumida down to its mouth at Tokyo Bay, for his discussion intended to portray the waterways (*mizu*) of Tokyo as a whole.

He portrays the Sumida and its vicinity through multilayered observations of the river, its branches, the canals connecting to them, its *watashi* (ferries),¹⁰⁾ *fune* (small row- or steam-powered boats), *kashi*, bridges, origins of place names, and so forth. (See Figure 1.) His accounts can be summed up as follows:

First, he records his deep appreciation for the beauty of the traditional landscape, as exemplified by such passages as: "The view of the village of Shioiri afforded from this side of the Sumida river is a pale landscape reminiscent of a painting by Goshun¹¹⁾ rich in poetry" (Koda 1954a: 503) and "The scenery to the Ochanomizu bridge downstream may not be very dramatic, but the banks are high, the water serene, and the trees quite dense, giving it a secluded and elegant charm Not a few spots remain just as depicted in Shionoya Toin's¹²⁾ "Niju shoki (Twenty scenic attractions)" (*Ibid.*: 511).

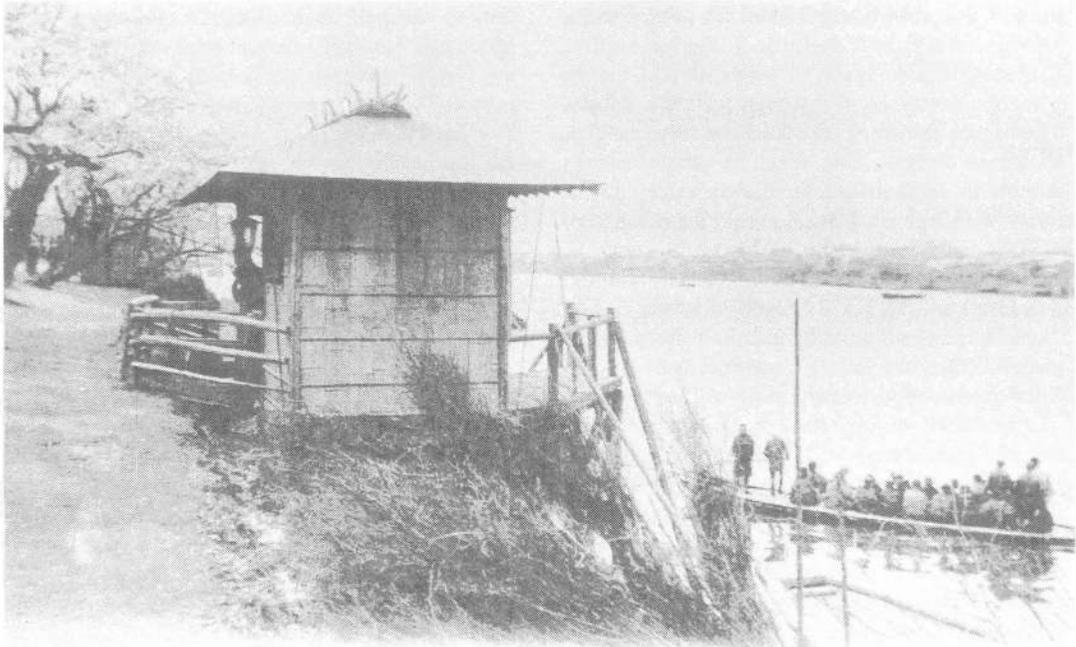


Figure 1. Sumida river bank with cherry blossoms and ferry (Takeya ferry?). Mukojima, eastern coast of the Sumida. Around the mid-Meiji era. From the collection of the Sumida Ward Midori Library.

Second, Rohan describes fourteen ferries on the Sumida. Let us take a further comparative look at them, with “Senju,” “Mukojima,” “Ueno,” “Nihonbashi,” and “Shinbashi” on a 1:10,000-scale topographical map created by the Imperial Japanese Land Survey Department in 1909, only seven years after the “Mizu no Tokyo” appeared. (The map was published in 1910.) To show the process of how ferries disappeared in the 1900s, I will name the fourteen ferries mentioned in “Mizu no Tokyo” and “yes” or “no” in parenthesis to indicate whether they are inscribed on the 1910 map:

1. Toshima ferry (no); 2. Ogu ferry (no); 3. Shioiri ferry (yes); 4. Hashiba ferry (yes); 5. Terajima ferry (yes; mentioned as Shirahige [“White Beard”] ferry); 6. Takeya ferry (yes); 7. Hanakawado-bound ferry (no); 8. Komagata ferry (no) [abolished in 1927?]; 9. Fujimi ferry (no); 10. Chitose ferry (yes); 11. Atake ferry (yes); 12. Nakasu ferry (yes); 13. Ookawaguchi ferry (no); 14. ferry connecting Funamatsu-cho and Tsukudajima (yes; mentioned as Tsukuda ferry). The 1910 map has a total of 13 ferries including five not mentioned above.

A history of Sumida ferries tells us that the Hashiba ferry (4 above) was run by the government during the Heian period (794–1192), making it the oldest (Ogi et al. 1987: 102). The Edo-period shogunate was reluctant to build bridges partly for military security reasons. (Even after the Meiji Restoration there were so few bridges that local people needing to cross the Sumida were greatly inconvenienced.) Even if bridges were constructed they were of wood and difficult to maintain. Ferry boats were in widespread use. As more and more bridges were built and wooden bridges were replaced by steel spans, gradually ferry boats fell into disuse and disappeared. The disappearance of ferries in Tokyo and its suburbs began in the late Meiji and early Taisho (1912–1926) eras as people used bridges to cross rivers (Saga 1980: 77).

Third, in addition to the traditional landscape, Rohan depicts the appearance of factories along river bank—industrialization—without any sense of their incongruity. For example, “. . . [the river] flows east past the Senju Paper Mill. A channel diverts water into the mill that soon rejoins the main stream”

(Koda 1954a: 501). He also writes, "The canal for the Sumidagawa Shipping Depot¹³⁾ enters west. . . . It plays an important role in supplying coal and other goods" (*Ibid.*: 504).

Such practical observations can be observed in earlier works by Rohan such as "Ikkoku no shuto" (The Capital of a Country) (1899) and its sequel "Ikkoku no shuto zokuko" (The Capital of a Country, Part II) (1901).

Even the most firmly established agriculture *has to change in accordance with world circumstances, and if that is the case, how much more so with the manufacturing industry.* (Koda 1954b: 58; italics mine)

Rohan's emphasis on the necessity of industrialization in order for Tokyo to become a modern international city is reflected in his favorable view of the factories along the city's riverbanks.

Fourth, Rohan refers to the boats plying the Sumida water network, as exemplified by such passages as: "From around this bridge [Senju-no-Oohashi] downstream to the Eitai Bridge, small steam boats shuttle back and forth incessantly. Spouting smoke from their smokestacks, their coal-burning engine's chug bravely and busily as they come and go carrying people of this floating world" (Koda 1954a: 501), and "The Konaki is a stream as narrow as a thread, yet it is filled with small vessels, nitari, tenma, daruma, and steamers; the sound of oars and engines and the bristling of masts is constant day and night" (*Ibid.*: 514). As these passages show, Rohan pays attention not only to traditional rowed vessels of the Edo period (such as the small cargo vessels used mainly in the Kanto region (*nitari-bune*) and barges for hauling goods (*tenma-bune* and the wider *daruma-bune*), but also steam boats.

Steam boats began to ply the Sumida in May 1877 with the commencement of regular service between Tokyo's Fukagawa (now part of Koto ward) and the village of Ikui in Shimotsuke Province (now Tochigi prefecture) by the Tsuun-maru, operated by a transport company called Naikoku Tsuun Kaisha (Kaiji Sangyo Kenkyujo 1991: 42). This marks the first appearance of river steamers in Japan. In April 1885, another transport company, Sumidagawa Kisen Kaisha, was founded by Furukawa Koshichi, to run steamers between

Azumabashi and Eitaibashi, charging one sen for each leg of the trip, so the service came to be known as Issen Joki, or the "One-sen Steamer" (Iwanami Shoten Henshubu 1984: 102). From the middle of the Meiji era it became common for steamers on the Sumida to pull with them a large cargo boat (of a type called takasebune widely used in the Kanto region).

Fifth, while observing waterways, Rohan touches upon the issue of urban sanitation (sewage), which suggests that the modernization of the cities was a subject of deep interest to him. He says, "The Shamisenbori canal draws excess water from Shinobazu Pond, but it has to be improved and expanded, . . . and it will certainly make a great contribution to better sanitation" (Koda 1954a: 509). This is the same perspective on urban policy as expressed in his reference in the essay "Ikkoku no shuto" to "the necessity to provide full equipment for sewage disposal" (Koda 1954b: 80-82).

Sixth, Rohan builds his images and observations of the aspects of rivers that are not directly visible, such as the depth of streams. His being very good at fishing may have to do with that. He says, for example, "Coming out from under the Azumabashi bridge and walking downstream with Nakanogo on the left and Zaimokucho on the right, the water grows deeper by the west bank and shallow by the east bank" (Koda 1954a: 508). He also observes, "The eastern part of the river is deeper in this area, especially around Hyappongui" (*Ibid.*: 510).

I believe that Rohan saw in the Sumida landscape the necessary coexistence of traditional beauty and the nation's modernization. It seems to me that he saw the ferries and boats as symbols of traditional scenery and the steamers as symbols of the modernization (industrialization) scene.

River Images in Kafu's "Hiyorigeta"¹⁴⁾

Life of Kafu

A brief outline of Kafu's personal history will provide the context for the following discussion of his observations on Tokyo's geography. My chief source is a biography by Takemori Ten'yu (Takemori 1974: 569-617).

Kafu was born Nagai Sokichi in 1879, the eldest son of Hisaichiro and Tsune. Hisaichiro was originally from the Owari domain (now

Aichi Prefecture). Prior to the Meiji Restoration (1868), he studied Chinese classics under Washizu Kido (1825-1882). In 1870 he entered the Daigaku Nanko (later Tokyo University), and went to study in the United States in 1871. Returning to Japan in 1873, Hisaichiro entered government employ the following year. Especially when working with the Home Ministry (1879-1886), he made an important contribution as an administrative expert in sanitation-related statistics, contributing greatly to the field at its early stages (Hosoya 1978: 289). In 1897 Hisaichiro quit government service and went to work for the maritime shipping company Nippon Yusen Kaisha (NYK). He died in 1913. He was also distinguished as a writer of Chinese poems (kanshi). Kafu's mother, Tsune, was the second daughter of Hisaichiro's Chinese classics teacher Washizu Kido.

Kafu was thus born of an upper-class family of good reputation with parents who were first-rate intellectuals. Kafu stubbornly resisted this family environment throughout his life, but it had a decisive effect on the character of his literature. (Shinchosha Jiten Henshubu 1988: 894). Both Rohan and Kafu were born in Edo/Tokyo, but Rohan was brought up in *shitamachi*, the bustling, commerce-centred part of the city, and Kafu in the quieter, more sedate *yamanote*. In 1883, when Kafu was four years old, he was left temporarily in the care of the Washizu family at Takecho, Shitaya ward (now part of Taito ward; part of the *shitamachi* area). In 1897 he graduated from a middle school attached to the Koto Shiha Gakko (Higher Normal School), and in November of the same year was enrolled temporarily at the Qing Chinese language department of the school of foreign language studies attached to the Koto Shogyo Gakkyo (Higher Commercial School; he left in December 1889). Around that time, he became absorbed in reading literary works, and at the same time began frequenting traditional theaters, *yose* (storytellers' halls), and the pleasure quarters.

In 1903, at his father Hisaichiro's recommendation, Kafu went to the United States to study and work, and in 1907 he traveled to France where he stayed briefly before returning to Japan in 1908 via London. While Kafu was overseas, Japan fought a war with Russia and emerged victorious (1904-1905), but he did not show as much interest in how the war unfolded

as his fellow countrymen (Nihon Kindai Bungakukan 1984: 1025). In 1910 he became professor (Anglo-French literature, and rhetoric) at the Faculty of Literature, Keio University, where he founded and edited the Faculty's bulletin, *Mita bungaku*. He was a central figure in the *tanbi-ha*, or "aesthetic school" of literature. In 1913 his writings on *ukiyoe* appeared, including "Ukiyoe no sansuiga to Edo meisho" (Landscape paintings in the ukiyoe and the noted sights of Edo) (*Mita bungaku*, 4-7), by which he introduced to Japan studies about *ukiyoe* done in the United States and Europe. In the same year, he published *Sangoshu* (*Coral Collection*), a translation of French poems. His house, called "Henkikan," in Azabu (Minato ward) was burned to ashes in the Tokyo airraids on 10 March 1945. During the last stages of World War II, he left Tokyo and moved to Okayama Prefecture, and while he was there the Pacific War ended. Returning to the Tokyo area, he lived in Sugano in the city of Ichikawa, Chiba Prefecture. On 2 August 1947, there was a funeral for Rohan, whose house was also located in Sugano, but lacking the proper formal black suit, Kafu refrained from attending the funeral and paid his respects to the departing coffin from outside the gate. He received the Order of Culture in 1952, and became a member of the Japan Art Academy on 1 January 1954. He died in Sugano, Ichikawa, in 1959, at the age of 80.

Kafu wrote works in different genres: novels, essays (*zuihitsu*), as well as diaries (his *Danchotei nichijo* written in diary style covering the period from 1917 to 1959). His literary world is described as a combination of lyrical nostalgia for the past and skeptical critique of modern civilization (Nihon Kindai Bungakukan 1984: 1026).

Kafu's "Hiyorigeta"

Kafu wrote "Hiyorigeta," a serial story written for *Mita bungaku* in 1914-1915, twelve years after Rohan's "Mizu no Tokyo" was published. During this interval the era name had changed from Meiji to Taisho (1912-1926). On the transition, Edward Seidensticker (1921-) writes, "The end of a reign is conventionally taken as the end of a cultural phase, but the division between Meiji and Taisho would have been clearer if the Meiji emperor had died just after the Russo-Japanese War, in perhaps the fortieth

year of his reign" (Seidensticker 1983: 143; tr.: 198).

With around the time of the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-1905 as a major turning point, Japan changed dramatically. Rapid advances were made in heavy industry and railway networks expanded. This brought changes to the nation's natural landscape, too, and these changes were captured through the lens of the contemporary writer (i.e., through Kafu's personal experience). At the same time, some parts of landscape did not change, or were not much influenced by modernization. In looking at these accounts, we can see what shaped Kafu's images of Tokyo's rivers.

At the beginning of the preface to *Hiyorigeta*, published in book form in 1915, Kafu says, "I have collected under one cover my articles about strolls in the city of Tokyo and entitled the book *Hiyorigeta*..." (Nagai 1981: 3). The *hiyorigeta* were high wooden clogs originally worn by fashionable Edoites. The book is not a mere guide to notable sights and scenic spots, but an actual portrayal of Tokyo landscapes that were familiar during Edo and early-Meiji times but were gradually disappearing. Literary critic Kida Jun'ichiro goes so far as to call *Hiyorigeta* a geographical study of Tokyo (Kida 1990: 81-93).

The book consists of ten chapters plus a preface: 1. *Hiyorigeta*; 2. *Inshi* [little shrines dedicated to malicious gods in folk belief]; 3. Trees; 4. Maps; 5. Buddhist temples; 6. Waterways and Ferry Boats; 7. Alleys; 8. Vacant Land; 9. Cliffs; and 10. The Setting Sun, and Views of Mt. Fuji. These chapter titles name features that were key elements in observing Tokyo's city space around 1914-1915. To shed more light on Tokyo rivers and other waterways, I will focus on the sixth chapter here.

Before examining Kafu's river images, let us take a brief look at the erudition that forms the background for his writing of *Hiyorigeta*. First of all Kafu had a strong affinity for and a profound knowledge of Edo-period art and culture. In the text, he often talks of *kirizu* maps (a kind of folded sheet map; Kaei-era edition), Edo "light" [entertainment] literature, and *ukiyo*. The influence of French literature was also decisive. Akase Masako, literary critic, says, "No writer has ever linked his or her life so closely to French literature as Nagai Kafu" (Akase 1976: 1).

Kafu is said to have been under the strong influence of French naturalism, especially Emile Zola (1840-1902), before going overseas. During his stay in the United States the subject of his interest shifted from Zola to Maupassant (1850-1893). After returning to Japan, he grew attracted by such French writers as Pierre Loti (1850-1923) and Henri François Joseph de Régnier (1864-1936).

What motivated Kafu to write *Hiyorigeta* was the influence of Edo entertainment literature. As he wrote, "My taste is also influenced by early-modern dilettantism" (Nagai 1981: 9). Kafu himself wrote that he got a hint from *En Flanant* [as he spelled it in French] written in 1905 by a journalist in Paris by a name spelled in Japanese pronunciation as Andoree Aree. Concerning the sixth chapter on rivers, Kafu hints that the chapter on waterways is related to "the book *Toshibi ron* (Discourse on Urban Beauty) by French writer "Emiru Manyu" [Japanese pronunciation]" (*Ibid.*: 39). According to my research, Manyu here is probably Émile Magne (1877-?)¹⁵⁾ and the book mentioned is . . . *L'esthétique des villes* ... (1908).¹⁶⁾

Hiyorigeta can be summed up as follows:

First, in discussing Tokyo waterways,¹⁷⁾ Kafu divides them into seven categories (Nagai 1981: 40): 1. Tokyo Bay at Shinagawa; 2. natural rivers like the Sumida, Naka, and Rokugo; 3. narrow rivers such as Koishikawa's Edo River, Kanda's Kanda River, and Oji's Otonashi River; 4. canals in the strict sense running through busy districts of Tokyo such as Honjo, Fukagawa, Nihonbashi, Kyobashi, Shitaya, and Asakusa; 5. ditches with poetic names, including Shiba's Sakura (cherry) River, Nezu's Aizome (indigo-dyeing) River, Azabu's Furu (antique) River, and Shitaya's Shinobu (secret love) River; 6. the moats surrounding Edo Castle [now the imperial palace]; and 7. ponds such as Shinobazu and Tsunohazu-junisha. In the sixth chapter on waterways Kafu presents his views about these seven categories, and finally about the ferries.

Second, Kafu stresses the importance of *mizu* (lit., "waters"; waterways including rivers and canals) for Tokyo towns, saying, "When we think about the aesthetic relationship between towns and waterways in Tokyo, we realize that water has been the prominent factor in maintaining the beauty of the city since the

Edo period (Nagai 1981: 39)."

Third, Kafu saw the mingling of Edo-period landmarks with the products of industrialization (modernization) negatively. He says, for example, "...the sight of modern industrial edifices next to lonely Edo-period historic sites, be they the electric company building at Kuramae, Asakusa and the Komagata-do [a small temple standing by the Komagata Bridge on the Sumida], or the Kokugikan [sumo wrestling stadium built in Ryogoku in 1909 by the Japan Sumo Association] adjacent to the Ekoin Temple, or the Hashiba gas tank against the ancient trees of Matsuzaki Inari shrine, each fills me with dismay" (*Ibid.*: 44). Kafu thus considers what he observes along the Sumida to be a landscape mingling past and present, or decadence and progress.

Fourth, Kafu prefers completely new sites to mixtures of old and new, as demonstrated by his remarks such as: "The Eitai Bridge, made of steel, is not as ugly as the old Azuma and Ryogoku Bridges. The new steel bridge matches the new landscape at the river mouth very well" (*Ibid.*: 42), and "... I prefer places, like the area around Fukagawa, Onagigawa and inner parts of Sarue, which have been turned into factory sites so completely that it is no longer easy to find traces of well-known Edo-period landmarks" (*Ibid.*: 44).

Fifth, his discussion of waterways ends with ferry boats. He mentions the ferries at Fujimi, Atake, Takeya, and Hashiba, and "a new ferry for towing boats¹⁸⁾ from the seacoast at Tsukiji." He also refers to small ferries on branches and canals connecting to the Sumida river. "I pray that ferries will survive as they always have been," writes Kafu (*Ibid.*: 51). And he says "They give us leisurely strollers a sense of comfort that we cannot find in modern life" (*Ibid.*: 52).

From this outline of Hiyorigeta, we can see that Kafu longed for Edo culture through the medium of urban rivers and waterways. This suggests he may have interpreted in a negative light the landscape he saw at the time of writing in 1914-15. He seems to have wanted to indulge in the nostalgia that the past was better than the present. But, we must also bear in mind that he accepted the present, too, as I said as the fourth point above.

Kafu emphasized the importance of waterways to Tokyo's communities as outlined as the

second point above, but toward the end of the Meiji era, with the expansion of railway networks and the building of more and better bridges and roads, land transportation of goods using freight trains and horse-drawn carts became more efficient and more widely spread. Having lived in the West for five years, Kafu was well aware of how times change, but aesthetically, he preferred water transportation and the rivers that provide people with recreation and attractive local scenery in all seasons of the year. He saw Tokyo rivers not so much from the perspective of modernization as in terms of images of the atmosphere of old Edo.

I believe that what symbolized the waterways of Tokyo in Kafu's eyes were the ferries and boats against the afterglow of the Edo culture which seemed certain to disappear from the Tokyo landscape in the near future.

Epilogue

In this paper I have examined how literary figures saw Tokyo's rivers, mainly the Sumida, and extracted symbols that represent images of Tokyo rivers. In conclusion, I would like to discuss the implications of these symbols.

For Rohan, the symbols of rivers were the ferries and boats and the steamers, and for Kafu, the ferries and boats. Rohan's "Mizu no Tokyo" came out in 1902, and Kafu's *Hiyorigeta* in 1915 (after a complete revision of his original journal essays written in 1914-1915). To acquire background information surrounding these works, I examined documentary records (including geographical topographies) describing the city of Tokyo in those days, in other words, around the time of 1902-1914. As a result I found Omachi Keigetsu's *Tokyo yugyoki (A Record of Travel in Tokyo)*, and Tokyo City ed., *Tokyo annai (A Guide to Tokyo)* (2 vols., 1907), among other publications. Edward Seidensticker (1983: ix; tr.: 8) writes, "Guidebooks, four of them acknowledged in the notes, were very useful, the two-volume guide published by the city [of Tokyo] in 1907 especially so." I too found the same guide very useful, giving an important clue to better knowledge of the city of Tokyo in the Meiji and Taisho eras.

In line with the theme of this paper, let me introduce a passage from the guide, that is contained in "(3) Rivers" (pp. 42-46) under "3.

Tokyo Today” in “General Remarks” (Vol. 1).

... It seems as if the rivers are more or less the very life of the city. Especially, the city's three commercial centres in Nihonbashi, Kyobashi, and Fukagawa wards are focused on waterways, and the four wards of Asakusa, Kanda, Honjo, and Shiba, which are centres of commerce and industry are riverside districts next in importance and prosperity only to the three wards mentioned above (Tokyo-shi 1907: 42).

I would like to draw attention to the fact that the seven wards that formed the centre of the city of Tokyo were regarded as flourishing riverside districts. Six of them faced the Sumida (one exception is Kanda ward). In a section in the guide, *Tokyo annai*, that tells about five of these six wards (Shiba excluded) there is a subsection on transportation that talks about the operation of single-oar ferry boats (*tosen*) and steamers (*jokisen*), ferries, fees, and so forth, which indicates that these vessels were still an important means of transportation for citizens' lives at that time. They served as a link closely connecting the local people to the rivers.

The Atake ferry closed after the construction of a new steel bridge, Shin-ohashi, was completed in 1912. In May 1914, with the completion of the Shirahige [White Beard] bridge (made of wood) the Shirahige ferry business declined and it closed. In this manner ferries on the Sumida disappeared one by one, and by the early part of the Showa era (1926-1989) almost all of them had vanished.

The Asahi newspaper dated 26 May 1995 (evening edition) carried an article reporting that the Taito ward was planning to revive a ferry in an attempt to restore the original landscape of the Edo culture. According to the plan, the ferry would be built on the Sumida River at a point 200 meters wide connecting Asakusa in the Taito ward to Mukojima in the Sumida ward across the river. The area is identical roughly with the Takeya ferry. The Parks bureau of the Taito ward stated in the article that, “We are thinking of traditional boats rowed by ferrymen.”

The realization of the plan is unlikely to lead to the rebirth of the atmosphere of Edo and Meiji. As pointed out earlier, ferry boats

and ferries did symbolize the images of Tokyo rivers, especially the Sumida, but this can apply only in the context of the landscape of the late Meiji and Taisho periods, and the city has completely changed since. Within 300 or 400 meters both upstream and downstream from the planned ferry are big bridges spanning the river, the Sakura Bridge (built in 1985 for pedestrians) and the Kototoi Bridge (built in 1928). So, the planned ferry would be totally useless in terms of facilitating transport. A broad expressway built in reinforced concrete runs parallel to the Sumida. On the river itself, boats used by local factories ply ceaselessly, and on holidays the waters are filled with the buzz of pleasure motorboats. The restoration of an old ferry in such a place seems anachronistic. The Taito ward ferry plan is far from reflecting the realities of people's lives. Such symbols are meaningful only in certain contexts.

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Notes

- 1) Among them are Shimizu (1983), Jinnai (1985), Masai (1987), and Yoshimi (1987).
- 2) Various geographical approaches have been made to literary works. Uchida (1989) and Fukuda (1991) succinctly outline them, so I will not go into this further.
- 3) “*Yamanote no saka, shitamachi no hashi*” (“*yamanote* slopes and *shitamachi* bridges”) is a phrase eloquently describing Tokyo's topographical features. Kafu writes: “Born and brought up in *yamanote*, I envy the *shitamachi* for always monopolizing those buoyant scenes

of elegant boats, bridges, and ferries so much that it injures my pride in *yamanote* with its rugged scenery of cliffs and slopes” (Nagai 1981: 83–84).

- 4) In August 1910, a heavy rain brought about the most disastrous flood the Sumida ever suffered in the Meiji era. This provided an opportunity to restudy flood control programs, resulting in a water diversion project by which a canal was constructed from where the present Iwabuchi water gate is located all the way down to the area near Tokyo Bay. Construction began in 1913 and was completed in 1930. The most difficult part of the construction was building the water gate. The gate controls the flow of water with a ratio of 2 for the canal and 8 for Sumida River. When there is a flood, the steel gate is lowered to save Tokyo from flood disasters.
- 5) With regard to the shift from water to land transportation, Suzuki Masao observes, “As far as freight transportation was concerned, even railroads, the major actor in modernization, could not completely negate the role of Tokyo’s rivers and canal networks, a fact I want to reconfirm. In other words, each and every major freight train station in Tokyo was set up where it connected to a major local ferry.” (Suzuki 1989: 215)
- 6) This work first appeared in the journal *Bungei kurabu* 8 (2): 23–40. Featuring “Tokyo,” this article contained many articles about Edo or Tokyo.
- 7) *Self-help* (1859) was translated into Japanese by scholar of Western studies and educator Nakamura Masanao (1832–1891) in 1971, under the title *Saigoku risshi-hen* (lit., A note of aspirations in Western countries). The translation conveys not only pragmatic ethics but also the philosophy of cultivating personal character or self-help. Along with works by Fukuzawa Yukichi (1834–1901), it was widely read, contributing to cultivation of modern views of humanity among Japanese intellectuals in the early Meiji era.
- 8) Among studies treating “Ikkoku no shuto” as a discourse on the city are Ooka (1976) and Sugiura (1992: 54–73).
- 9) “Yoru no Sumidagawa” first appeared in the journal *Bungeikai* 1 (7): 7–10. This issue featured “Night in Tokyo,” carrying many articles, illustrations, and photographs.
- 10) The term *watashi* (lit., “carring across”) means carrying passengers or goods across a river by boat. It also means places where this was handled. These ferries were also called *watashi-ba*, *watashi-bune-ba*, or *tosen-ba*. One theory goes that the word *tosen-ba* was used to indicate ferries where steamers would embark and disembark on the Sumida.
Boats to carry people, horses, or goods from one ferry wharf to another were called *watashi-bune*. In the Meiji and Taisho eras they were mainly built of wood and propelled by rowing with one rear oar as in the preceding period. They were wider in shape than other vessels. (See Note 18.)
- 11) Matsumura Goshun (1752–1811), founder of the Shijo school of Japanese-style painting.
- 12) Shionoya Toin (1809–1867) was a Confucian scholar at the end of the Edo period. Attaching importance to practical studies, he gathered information on the Opium War of 1840–1842 and wrote books about the war, stressing that Japan strengthen its coastal defenses. When an American squadron of warships led by Commodore Perry appeared off Edo Bay in 1853, he deeply worried about what was happening to the country and offered proposals to the shogunate.
- 13) The station (now Sumidagawa Station) is located near the bank of the Ara River in what was formerly Kita-toshima-gun (now part of Arakawa ward). That area was once a prosperous post town (Senju Post Town), as well as a transshipping point for goods brought by fast boats that travelled overnight from Shinkashi at Kawagoe to Hanakawado and Senju. Since the beginning of the Meiji era, however, the town declined gradually, and in 1895 the Sumidagawa Shipping Depot was set up, which facilitated the shift from water to railroad transportation. The coal relied on for fuel for the steamers, as mentioned by Rohan, was transported by railroad from the Joban coalfield (now part of both Fukushima and Ibaraki prefectures) to the Sumidagawa station, and carried from there by boat down the Sumida to various parts of Tokyo and its vicinity.
- 14) Bibliographical data about the first appearance of “Hiyorigeta” is as follows:
 - (1) “Hiyorigeta, ichimei, Tokyo sansaku-ki” (“Hiyorigeta” clogs, alone: an account of walks in Tokyo), *Mita bungaku* 5 (8), 1914: 123–137.
 - (2) “Hiyorigeta” (Tokyo sansaku-ki, sono 2),

- Mita bungaku* 5 (9), 1914: 139-152;
- (3) "Hiyorigeta" (Tokyo sansaku-ki, sono 3), *Mita bungaku* 5 (10), 1914: 296-304;
- (4) "Hiyorigeta" (Tokyo sansaku-ki, sono 4), *Mita bungaku* 5 (11), 1914: 166-177;
- (5) "Hiyorigeta" (Tokyo sansaku-ki, sono 5), *Mita bungaku* 5 (12), 1914: 166-176;
- (6) "Hiyorigeta" (Tokyo sansaku-ki, sono 6), *Mita bungaku* 6 (1), 1915: 214-220;
- (7) "Hiyorigeta" (Tokyo sansaku-ki, sono 7), *Mita bungaku* 6 (2), 1915: 1-13;
- (8) "Hiyorigeta" (Tokyo sansaku-ki, sono 9 [sic]), *Mita bungaku* 6 (5), 1915: 140-145;
- (9) "Hiyorigeta" (Tokyo sansaku-ki, sono 10), *Mita bungaku* 6 (6), 1915: 132-137.
- After appearing in *Mita bungaku*, the work was completely revised, and published in book form by the Momiyama Shoten publishing company in November 1915, under the title *Hiyorigeta, ichimei, Tokyo sansaku-ki*.
- 15) Magne was the author of many books of history or literary criticism. Among his major works are *Talleyrand des Ré aux* (2 vols.) and *Mme de Lafayette* (2 vols.). Since his name is mentioned on page 425 of the *Dictionnaire biographique français contemporain* 2. ed., 1954-1955 (1954), we can assume that Magne was alive until 1954 at the earliest.
- 16) This book is said to have a total of 350 pages according to the National Union Catalog Pre-1956 Imprints, Vol. 355 (1974): 257, with: Contents.—Le décor de la rue.—Le mouvement de la rue.—Les cortèges.—Marché, bazars, foires. Les cimetières.—Esthétique de l'eau.—Esthétique du feu.—L'architecture de la cité future.
- 17) Kafu also writes about Sumida River and its ferry boats in his essay "Mizu no nagare" (The flow of water), first printed in the November 1955 issue of the *Chuo koron* 70 (11): 296-298.
- 18) This ferry for towed boats is apparently identical with the Tsukishima ferry (connecting Akashi-cho with Nichi-kashi 4-chome). According to Toshima (1961: 17), the Tsukijima ferry, opened by Suzuki Yoshizo, a resident of Tsukijima, originally used fee-charging boats propelled by rowing with one rear oar, and in 1902 its management was transferred to the Tokyo City government and the river crossing made free of charge. At that time, towing steamers were introduced.

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L'école vidalienne et l'excursion géographique

- Une note préliminaire -

NOZAWA Hideki

Avant-propos

Paul Vidal de la Blache a défini la géographie comme une science du rapport entre l'homme et la nature, et il s'efforçait d'en faire une science positive. C'est pour cela qu'il a introduit une méthode d'enquête sur le terrain pour comprendre et analyser concrètement ce rapport. C'est aussi de ce point que la géographie vidalienne se distingue de la géographie classique qui travaille sur des documents historiques. C'est ainsi qu'il a importé la méthode d'enquête sur le terrain de la géologie, une science aînée de la géographie. En effet, il lui-même participait souvent aux excursions des géologues. Même les excursions géographiques étaient au début organisées par ceux-ci.

Les premières excursions "géographiques" parues dans les *Annales de Géographie*, sont "une excursion de géographie physique dans le Morvan et l'Auxois" (Martonne 1899) et "une excursion géographique dans l'Ardenne" (Léon 1901). C'était Charles Velan, professeur de géographie physique de la Faculté des Sciences et formé en géologie qui les a dirigées. Cependant, l'excursion de géographie devait être différente de la celle de géologie, en particulier dans le cas de la géographie humaine. Il fallait donc faire une excursion originelle de géographie et former un procédé géographique d'enquête sur le terrain.

L'excursion est un lieu de formation de la géographie, sur lequel on apprend ce qu'est la géographie et comment procéder à une enquête sur le terrain. Pour la géographie vidalienne, elle était une partie essentielle de la formation du géographe (Martonne 1927). Avec la vulgarisation de la géographie vidalienne, les excursions

géographiques ont été organisées par divers laboratoires et instituts de géographie à Paris et en province. A Paris, dans les années 1920, elles étaient organisées à peu près chaque dimanche, au moins une fois par mois (Martonne 1924), et dans l'année scolaire 1927-28, il y avait six excursions d'un jour et une de trois jours.

L'excursion géographique interuniversitaire

Ainsi, des excursions géographiques étaient organisées dans diverses universités. L'idée de les coordonner est provoquée par Emmanuel de Martonne. Cette entreprise, appelée l'excursion géographique interuniversitaire, a pris corps pour la première fois à Rennes en 1905 (Martonne 1906).

Depuis lors, une excursion géographique interuniversitaire a été organisée chaque année dans chaque centre universitaire de géographie à son tour. Chaque université pouvait y envoyer ses deux ou trois meilleurs étudiants-géographes en dispense de frais de voyage. On désirait que leurs professeurs aient les accompagnés (*Ibid.*). Les excursions géographiques interuniversitaires étaient plus longues et plus lointaines que les excursions ordinaires. Elles duraient à peu près une semaine, et permettaient des "contacts fructueux entre géographes de diverses provinces, entre anciens et jeunes, tous enthousiastes, tous se sachant porteurs d'un message" (Meynier 1969: 35). Elles continuaient jusqu'aux années 1970, en dépit d'interruption de quelques années à cause des deux guerres mondiales. En effet, on compte plus d'une cinquantaine d'excursions géographiques interuniversitaires au total. "L'institution des excursions

sions géographiques interuniversitaires peut être considérée comme fondée (Martonne 1906: 71). Elles ont, semble-t-il, joué un rôle très important pour former et établir l'école géographique française.

Jetons un coup d'œil sur les premières excursions géographiques interuniversitaires, pour chercher le rapport entre celles-ci et la formation de l'école vidalienne.

La première excursion géographique interuniversitaire a eu lieu en Bretagne, sur l'invitation du Martonne, qui l'a dirigée du 1^{er} au 6 juin 1905 (Martonne 1906). Les participants à la première excursion se réunissaient le 31 mai au Laboratoire de géographie de l'Université de Rennes établi par Martonne. Ils étaient au nombre de 28: 10 étudiants de l'Université de Paris, 3 élèves de Lille et de Rennes, 2 de Dijon, 1 de Nancy, de Lyon, de Montpellier, et 1 de Bordeaux, et en plus 6 professeurs comme Lucien Gallois, professeur de l'Université de Paris, Auerbach de Nancy, Albert Deamgeon de Lille.

Cette excursion était consacrée aux divers phénomènes géographiques physiques en Bretagne: la structure appalachienne au Sud de Rennes, la côte à rias du Trégoris, l'étude du Finistère, etc. La seconde excursion géographique interuniversitaire a eu lieu en juin 1907, de la Méditerranée aux Cévennes et aux Causses sous la direction de Charles Flahault, professeur de botanique à l'Université de Montpellier. Elle comptait 8 étudiants de Paris, 5 de Montpellier, 3 de Lyon et de Lille, 2 de Rennes, 1 de Caen et 1 de Bordeaux. Comme enseignants Gallois, et Henri Schirmer, professeurs de l'Université de Paris, Demangeon, de Lille, Vacher, de Rennes accompagnaient leurs élèves auxquels s'étaient joints Raoul Blanchard et Jules Sion agrégés d'histoire et de géographie (Sion 1906).

Cette excursion partait de la côte de la Méditerranée en passant par la plaine consacrée aux vignes et les collines à l'olivier du Bas-Languedoc, et arrivait aux Cévennes et aux Causses. Ces régions sont pleines de phénomènes intéressants quand à la géomorphologie, à l'hydrologie, à la végétation et à la vie humaine, et les visites étaient guidées par des experts dans chaque domaine.

La troisième excursion géographique interuniversitaire a conduit des étudiants-géographes dans le bassin de Paris. Elle fut

organisée par Gallois, qui le connaissait dans ses moindres coins et recoins. Il a publié un article très long et détaillé sur cette excursion dans les *Annales de Géographie* (Gallois 1907). En huit journées, les excursionnistes ont visité d'abord les environs de Paris, puis, par Montereau et la vallée du Loing, ils se sont acheminés vers la Loire et le Morvan par la Puisaye; ensuite la traversée du haut Morvan de Château-Chinon à Autun, et enfin l'étude de l'enveloppe jurassique du Morvan et la visite du plateau d'Asile (*Ibid.*). D'après Gallois, cet itinéraire les mettait en présence de nombreux sujets d'études. Cependant, dans ses articles, il n'a noté, concernant la géographie humaine, que des sites historiques, des paysages ruraux et la localisation des villages et villes, et les activités industrielles liées aux conditions naturelles.

Ces trois premières excursions géographiques interuniversitaires relevaient de la géographie physique, et n'étaient pas encore sorties du giron de celles de la géologie.

La quatrième excursion géographique interuniversitaire a eu lieu du 5 au 10 juin 1908 en Flandre et au Boulonnais, sous la direction de Demangeon, professeur à l'Université de Lille. L'article du rapport de cette excursion n'a pas été publié dans les *Annales*, mais on y a trouvé le programme assez détaillé. On se prendra ici son itinéraire (Tableau 1).

Trente-cinq étudiants et professeurs y ont participé, venus de Bordeaux, Caen, Lyon, Nancy, Paris, Rennes où les disciples de Vidal occupaient les chaires de géographie. Le programme mentionné ci-dessus comprenait autant de sujets de géographie humaine que de géographie physique. Cette excursion est un modèle de la géographie vidalienne dont le caractère est une étude régionale synthétique. La cinquième excursion géographique interuniversitaire a eu lieu en Auvergne, du 29 mai au 3 juin, sous la direction de Ph. Glangeaud, professeur de Géologie à l'Université de Clermont-Ferrand, où il manquait ce temps-là de géographe vidalien qui l'aurait dirigé. Le géologue fait découvrir les excursionnistes les différents aspects d'une région volcanique.

La sixième excursion géographique interuniversitaire s'est déroulée du 1^{er} au 7 juin 1910 dans les Alpes Occidentales, sous la direction de Blanchard, fondateur de l'Institut de Géographie alpine à Grenoble. Les Alpes continuaient à

Vendredi, 5 Juin. Matinée. *La Flandre. Les monts de Flandre. La culture flamande.*
Après-Midi. *Autour de Saint-Omer. Les hauteurs de l'Artois. La vallée de l'AA.*
Terrasses et captures. La grande culture de l'Artois.

Samedi, 6 Juin. *Etude de la "Cuesta" septentrionale du Boulonnais; Bas Boulonnais,*
dépression de Licques; affleurements primaires des environs de Ferques et de
Rinzent.

Dimanche, 7 Juin. *Dunkerque. La flore littorale; La culture des polders; le port.—Matinée.*
En chemin de fer de Calais à Dunkerque.
Après-Midi. *Le port de Dunkerque.*

Lundi, 8 Juin. *La côte de la Mer du Nord et de la Manche, de Calais à Ambleteuse.*
—Matinée.
Après-Midi. *Achèvement de l'étude de la plaine côtière de Wissant.*

Mardi, 9 Juin. *Boulogne: le port et la côte.—Matinée. Etude du port de Boulogne.*
Après-Midi. *Etude de la côte de Wimereux à Boulogne.*

Mercredi, 10 Juin. *La baie de Somme, les Bas Champs, les falaises de Craie.—Matinée.*
La baie de Somme et les Bas Champs.
Après-Midi. *Etude des falaises de Craie.*

Tableau 1 Le programme de la 4^e excursion géographique interuniversitaire: <Flandre et Boulonnais> sous la direction d'Albert Demangeon (1908)

donner de nombreux sujets de débats aux géographes français. Pour ce premier contact avec les Alpes, Blanchard a voulu donner aux étudiants une impression d'ensemble de la chaîne (Blanchard 1910).

Les premières excursions géographiques interuniversitaires portaient le plus souvent sur des sujets de géographie physique sauf la quatrième. La huitième excursion géographique interuniversitaire de l'année 1912 a été tout particulièrement remarquée car c'était W.M. Davis, professeur de l'Université Harvard qui l'a conduite avec Gallois. Du 10 au 16 mars, il a guidé les excursionnistes en Champagne, dans le Châtillonnais et dans son cher Morvan. A cette époque-là, il est venu donner ses cours à la Sorbonne comme professeur invité. Il passait souvent en France et faisait ses excursions. Il publiait plusieurs articles importants dans les *Annales de Géographie* (Davis 1895-96, 1899a, 1899b, 1912, 1918) (Broc 1974). Il a exercé une grande influence sur les géographes français.

Après Lyon et Bordeaux, l'excursion interuniversitaire, qui avait eu régulièrement chaque année, a été interrompu de l'année 1915 à 1919 à cause de la première guerre mondiale. Elle a été reprise en 1920 et a eu lieu dans le pays du Maine et du Perche sous la direction de René Musset, professeur à l'Université de Rennes.

L'excursion géographique interuniversitaire a eu lieu du 18 octobre au 2 novembre 1920 pour la première fois à l'extérieur de la France métropolitaine, en Algérie. Elle était une colonie française et l'Institut de Géographie était établi à Alger. L'excursion géographique interuniversitaire a été préparée par Augustin Bernard, professeur à l'Université d'Alger, mais il est tombé malade juste avant le départ, le guide a été remplacé par Marcel Larnaud, collègue de l'Institut. Les excursionnistes ont visité à fond différents paysages et divers aspects de la colonisation. Larnaud publiait un rapport très détaillé de cette excursion dans les *Annales*, et Martonne et Maximilien Sorre, participants à cette excursion, y écrivaient aussi des articles concernant ces régions (Martonne 1921; Sorre 1921).

Les excursions géographiques interuniversitaires ont eu lieu régulièrement chaque année dans les années 1920 (Tableau 2): la XIII^e excursion en Alsace en 1921, avec Henri Baulig, la XIV^e dans les Pyrénées orientales en 1922, avec Sorre, la XV^e en Basse-Bretagne en 1923, avec Musset. La XVI^e excursion géographique interuniversitaire a eu lieu en Auvergne en 1924, guidée par de Philippe Arbos qui était un disciple de Blanchard. Lors de la cinquième excursion interuniversitaire, un géologue avait

	Dates	Régions	Guides	Participants	Références*
1 ^{er}	1-6/6,1905	Basse-Bretagne	Martonne	22 étudiants, Gallois, Auerbach, Demangeon	15, 70-71
2 ^e	31/5-6/6, 1906	Méditerranée, Bas- Languedoc, Cévennes Causse	Flahault, Martonne, Malavialle	20 étudiants Gallois, Schirmer, Demangeon, Vacher, Blanchard, Sion	15, 376-379
3 ^e	11 - 21 / 5 , 1907	Paris, Morvan	Gallois		16, 295-308 399-413
4 ^e	5-10/6,1908	Flandre, Boulonnais	Demangeon		17, 351-354
5 ^e	29/5-5/6, 1909	Auvergne	Glangeaud		18, 364
6 ^e	1-7/6, 1910	Alpes Occidentales	Blanchard		19, 412-439
7 ^e	3-8/6, 1911	Bretagne	Vacher	32-35 participants Camena d'Almeida, Gallois, Baulig	21,80-83
8 ^e	10-16/5, 1912	Le bassin de Paris Morvan	Davis, Gallois		21, 312-322 372-376
9 ^e	1-7/6, 1913	Lyon et ses environs	Zimmermann	30-48 participants Gallois, Blanchard Girardin, Baulig	22, 451-460
10 ^e	17-22/5, 1914	Bordeaux, Landes Bayonne	Camena d' Almeida		25, 66
11 ^e	21-26/5, 1920	Main, Perche	Musset		29, 461
12 ^e	18/10-1/11, 1920	Algérie	Larnaude		30, 161-194 195-240
13 ^e	21-26/5, 1921	Alsace	Baulig	32 étudiants, 25 enseignants	31, 59-64
14 ^e	2-7/6, 1922	Pyrénées orientales	Sorre, Flahault	42-48 participants	32, 58-59
15 ^e	24-29/5, 1923	Basse-Normandie	Musset, Levainville	35-62 participants	32, 542-549
16 ^e	2-6/6, 1924	Auvergne	Arbos	42 participants	33, 479-480
17 ^e	3-8/6, 1925	Belgique		44 participants	34, 360-361
18 ^e	28/5-2/6, 1926	Paris et son Bassin	Martonne	40 participants	35, 193-205 206-223
19 ^e	30/4- , 1927	Alpes-Sud	Faucher	70 participants	37, 74-76
20 ^e	5-9/6, 1928	Jura central	Chabot		38, 169-171
21 ^e	18/9-3/10, 1929	Yougoslavie	Martonne Milojevic	Trentaine étudiants	39, 249-269
22 ^e	26 - 29 / 5 , 1930	Bastide, Causse, Cé- vennes,Bas-Languedoc	Baulig	34 étudiants 15 enseignants	39, 511-515

* *Annales de Géographie***Tableau 2 Les excursions géographiques interuniversitaires (1905-1930)**

servi de guide, à la place d'un géographe vidalien à l'Université de Clermont-Ferrand qui était absent.

Des géographes étrangers, surtout belges francophones, ont souvent participé aux excursions géographiques interuniversitaires précédentes. Ils ont servi de guide à leur tour pour la XVII^e excursion géographique interuniversitaire qui a eu lieu en Belgique en 1925. Pour cette excursion, Sorre et Baulig publiaient leurs articles sur la géomorphologie de la région d'Anvers et de la Haute Belgique (Baulig 1926; Sorre 1926). Une excursion interuniversitaire à l'étranger a eu aussi en Yougoslavie en 1929, sous la direction de Martonne.

La XVIII^e excursion géographique interuniversitaire a eu lieu de nouveau à Paris en 1926. Les participants au nombre d'une quarantaine ont visité le nouvel Institut de Géographie de l'Université de Paris. La XIX^e excursion géographique interuniversitaire a été organisée dans les Alpes du Sud, de la vallée du Rhône au Mont Genève en 1927, sous la direction de Daniel Faucher, qui venait de finir sa thèse sur cette région. Soixante-dix étudiants et professeurs ont y participé. Le nombre de participants a doublé par rapport à celui du début. La XX^e excursion géographique interuniversitaire a eu lieu dans le Jura central en 1928, guidée par Georges Chabot, qui était aussi un jeune géographe en train de faire une thèse sur cette région. La XXII^e excursion géographique interuniversitaire s'est faite sur le même itinéraire, mais en sens inverse de la deuxième excursion interuniversitaire en 1906, sous la direction de Henri Baulig, professeur à l'Université de Strasbourg. Parmi la cinquantaine d'excursionnistes, on a trouvé quatre participants de 1906: Gallois, Martonne, Sion et Arbos (Baulig 1930).

Ainsi, vingt-deux excursions interuniversitaires, y compris trois excursions à l'étranger, ont eu lieu à peu près pour une semaine pour tous les programmes pendant vingt-six ans de l'année 1905 à 1930, sauf une interruption pendant la première guerre mondiale. Les régions visitées se sont étendues à toutes les régions du pays, et chaque centre universitaire régional de géographie s'occupait d'organiser un programme d'excursion. Au début, les guides ont été des non-géographes, géologues ou botaniste par exemple, et plus tard, ils ont été tous les géographes vidaliens qui se

développaient et occupaient des chaires de géographie dans les universités provinciales. L'excursion géographique était propre à la géographie vidalienne en France et elle devenait active plus en plus avec son développement.

Depuis le milieu des années 1920, les disciples indirects de Vidal, comme Arbos, Chabot et Faucher, organisaient des excursions interuniversitaires et servaient de guide. Les disciples directs de Vidal ont disparu comme guides des excursions interuniversitaires avec Baulig lors de l'excursion de 1930. Depuis 1931, les toutes les excursions géographiques interuniversitaires furent organisées par la troisième génération de Vidal. Ainsi, L'école vidalienne formait constamment ses successeurs.

L'excursion géographique interuniversitaire portait sur les étudiants de DES et avait pour but de leur faire apprendre à la fois divers aspects régionaux des phénomènes géographiques et les techniques de l'enquête sur le terrain. Le nombre d'étudiants augmentait de vingt-deux étudiants lors de la première excursion à une trentaine lors des excursions des années 1920.

Cependant, on ne pense pas qu'elle avait seulement pour but de former des étudiants géographes. On suppose qu'elle était une occasion de rencontres et un lieu de discussions entre les géographes professionnels qui les accompagnaient. Car c'étaient des experts de chaque région, qui avaient fait ou étaient en train de faire des études régionales pour leurs thèses, qui ont conduit les excursions géographiques interuniversitaires. Ainsi donc, on croit que l'excursion géographique interuniversitaire a rempli un rôle très important pour la formation des géographes de l'école vidalienne.

L'excursion géographique de L'AGF

L'excursion géographique interuniversitaire faisait l'objet de la formation géographique pour des étudiants supérieurs comme mentionné ci-dessus, tandis que l'excursion géographique organisée par l'Association de Géographes Français était destinée aux géographes professionnels. L'AGF a été fondée en 1920 par le dévouement de Martonne. Deux ans après, l'excursion géographique a commencé et dix-sept excursions géographiques ont eu lieu juste avant l'ouverture de la deuxième guerre mon-

Dates	Régions	Guides	Références *
2/7, 1922	Breuillet—Chamarande	Martonne	No 8, 12-16
13/5, 1923	Villiers-Neauphle et Grignon	Martonne	No 10, 13-16
24-27/4, 1924	Morvan et Côte d'Or	Martonne	No 2, 5-16
6/7, 1924	Gatinais		No 3, 3-6
7, 1925	Esbly	Martonne	No 6, 4-8
23-27/7, 1926	Préalpes de Savoie	Cholley	No 11, 6-13
12, 1926	Fontainebleau-Arbonne		No 11, 13-16
11, 1927	Picardie—de la Somme à Dunkerque	Briquet	No 18, 62-
29/4, 1928	Vallées de la Seine et de la Marne	Martonne	No 23/24, 33-37
21-26/7, 1929	Alsace	Baulig	No 36, 73-78
7, 1930	Bourgogne	Chabot	No 44, 80-
18-22/7, 1932	Ségalas et Causses du Quercy	Clozier Durand Meynier	No 61/62, 122-140
14/5, 1933	Méandres de la Seine et Bray-de-Longuesse	Martonne	No 70, 86-91
24-27/9, 1933	Charolais	Cholley	No 71/72, 119-
7, 1935	Oisans	Allix	No 91, 133-
14-18/4, 1936	Alpes niçoises	Perriaux	No 98, 19-
23-27/9, 1937	Val-de-Loire	Dion	No 104, 106-115

* *Bulletin de l'Association de Géographes Français*

Tableau 3 Les excursions de L'AGF (1922-1937)

diale, d'après leurs rapports et articles publiés dans les bulletins de l'AGF (voir Tableau 3). Pendant quelques années depuis la fondation de l'Association, les excursions géographiques étaient organisées et conduites par Martonne, secrétaire général de l'Association. On comprend bien comment il appliquait toute son énergie à l'administration et à l'organisation des excursions de l'Association de Géographes Français.

En comparaison de l'excursion interuniversitaire, les excursions géographiques de l'Association étaient moins longues et moins étendues. Puisque celles-ci ont été plus spécialisées et plus limitées pour les géographes professionnels. Comme dans l'excursion interuniversitaire, depuis le milieu des années 1920, surtout dans les années 1930, c'étaient de jeunes géographes qui s'occupaient d'organiser et conduire ces excursions: l'excursion d'André Cholley dans les Préalpes de Savoie (1926), celle de André Meynier et de Roger Clozier dans les Ségalas et le Causses de Quercy (1928), celle d'André Allix dans l'Oisan et celle de Roger Dion dans le Val de Loire, etc. On croit qu'il y ait eu

autant de grands débats à l'occasion des excursions géographiques de l'AGF que dans les excursions interuniversitaires.

En guise de conclusion

On dit que ce ne sera pas dans les textes scientifiques, ni dans les communications du colloque, mais dans les salons et les couloirs du congrès que la science progressera (Buttimer 1981: 88). Il faut ajouter aux salons et aux couloirs le terrain de l'excursion. Pour la géographie comme science d'enquête sur le terrain, l'excursion est un lieu de discussion et un lieu de découverte.

L'école géographique française, autrement appelée l'école de l'étude régionale, avait accordé particulièrement de l'importance à l'excursion géographique. L'excursion géographique interuniversitaire et celle de l'AGF qui ont eu lieu régulièrement chaque année et dans toutes les régions, sont des matériaux très précieux pour étudier le progrès de la géographie vidalienne. Ce petit article n'est qu'une note préliminaire. On devra lire et analyser chaque

rapport d'excursion, en prêtant attention aux points de discussion.

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