The Folk Craft (Mingei) Movement and Tōhoku Rural Community during the Syōwa Depression Period: A Sketch of an Intellectual Intersection

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1. Introduction

1.1 Background of questions

The Isigami (石神) hamlet in Hatimantai city, Iwate prefecture, is the well-known research site of sociologist Aruga Kizakemon*1 (有賀喜左衛門, 1897-1979), who is one of the founders of Japanese rural sociology. His Decadence (同族集, cognate groups) theory originated from research in the Isigami hamlet, mainly focusing on the most established household there, the Ōya Saitō household (大矢劔家), which he began researching in, in 1935. Thanks to this theory, he succeeded in grasping the fundamental structure of pre-WWII Japanese society.

Peasants in the Tōhoku district were impoverished because of the Syōwa Depression, which began in 1930. At that time, the folk crafts activists such as Yanagi Sōetsu (柳宗悦, 1889-1961) were cooperating with rural economic reconstruction efforts conducted by the national institute for economic research in snowy rural regions (積雪地帯農村経済研究所) in Sin'yō town, Yamagata prefecture, focusing on the rural folk crafts in the Tōhoku district. Coincidentally, Yanagi also visited the Isigami hamlet at nearly the same time when Aruga was conducting research. In our search for documents of the Ōya Saitō household, we found a souvenir card from Saitō's documents written by Yanagi and other related parties. From this card, it appeared that Yanagi and other folk crafts activists had visited the Isigami hamlet in 1938 (Fig. 1).

Fig. 1. A souvenir card by Yanagi et al., Oct. 1, 1938.

More interesting is the fact that the French architect and interior designer Charlotte Perriand (1903-99), who worked for the famous Le Corbusier's studio, was invited to Japan as an official industrial design advisor and traveled to the Tōhoku district with folk crafts activists. It is interesting that so many people have been involved in Isigami research.

Formerly, Isigami research was discussed mostly in the context of 1) Aruga and the Japanese Rural Sociology, 2) Sibusawa Keizō (1896-1963), who was a famous business leader and a patron of this research, and the Attic Museum which was a private ethnology research institute founded by Sibusawa. As we began to focus on the Isigami hamlet, we were able to encounter others also involved in Isigami research, such as sociologists, folk craft activists, industrial designers, economists, agricultural government officers, and so on. Curiously there has not been a lot of research about relationships among these people. However, upon our re-examination in the light of rural economic rehabilitation movement and the folk crafts movements, we may be able to gain a new insight in this aspect.

1.2 Research questions

In this study, firstly, we attempt to get an overview of some facts of these peoples’ activities and their relationships after the Syōwa Depression period. Secondly, we try to discover more details of these people and the problems of their academic disciplines and movements. This would allow us to understand the complicated circumstances of their standpoints and the implications of their activities.

1.3 Social contexts from the Syōwa Depression to the wartime regime

Some major social events from the Syōwa Depression to the wartime regime are as follows.

1929  The Great Depression. The Syōwa Depression.
1931  Manchurian Incident.
1932  5.15 Incident. The rural economic rehabilitation movement (農山漁村経済再生運動) is started.
1937  Sino-Japanese war.
1941  Pacific war.

In a rough sketch, we understood that the Great Depression and the Syōwa Depression caused rural families heavy damages, and with that, the fascism movement began to accelerate. Then the Japanese
government started the rural economic rehabilitation movement to
reorganize rural community as suitable for farming.
Under these circumstances, the Nagas (E.P. surf, i.e., someone who lived and worked on land that they did not own and had to work for the owner) system in Noto was noticed and became one of the focuses to think about poverty and feudalism in Japanese society. The reason why the Naga system was noticed was that the fact the Nago system was still practiced at that time.

1.4 Overview of the Isigami hamlet
We would like to give an overview of the research field of the Isigami hamlet. The Isigami hamlet is located in Noto county, Ishikawa prefecture, in the north of Japan. It is a mountainous hamlet. There were 37 households in 1936. The reason why the Isigami hamlet was selected as a research field was that Sibasara Kazuo, who was a patron of this research and the leader of the Artic Museum, was traveling in the Tōhoku district and stopped by Isigami in 1934. He found a huge curiosity for large families of the Naga Sato household. Therefore, he planned the multi-disciplinary research.

In the Isigami hamlet, the Oya Sato household descends from the warrior class after the beginning of the early modern period, when soldiers stopped fighting and had to return to the land to make a living. Oya (which means a main household) played a key role and developed the hamlet forming the Osokudon (cognate groups) with subordinate families such as a Bono (branch family) and Nago. In 1955 the Oya Sato household contained 21 members (12 relatives, 9 servants (non-relatives), and there were 12 Nago families to Oya Sato’s Osokudon. The Oya Sato household possessed 171 ha of field and 120 ha of mountainous forest. This household managed a lacquerware business and needed a certain number of labor forces (Araga 1939).

Large families and the Osokudon like Oya Sato could be found throughout Japan, and quite frequently in the northeast, up to the early 20th century. However, the Osokudon began to disappear in the early Showa era, especially around 1930. After 1930 the number of the Oya Sato household members began to decrease.

2. Some academic disciplines and people involved in Isigami research
2.1 Relationship between Isigami research and the Japanese rural sociology

Isigami research

As mentioned above, the Isigami hamlet has an important meaning for considering the foundation of Japanese rural sociology. According to the orthodox theory, the Japanese rural sociology has founded its base on two important books written by Anagy (Araga 1943) and Nakai Eizaburō (Nakai 1940). Their theory was called the Muru theory, which treats the (E.P. household) and Muru (E.P. hamlet) as core factors to understand the village structure, and which has an important place until now. One of the important fields where Anagy depends on is his theory making the Isigami hamlet.

The Artic Museum whose research activities were led by Sibasara planned the multi-disciplinary research from 1935 for the Isigami hamlet with people such as Anagy (sociologist), Tuitiya Takao (economic historian), Kon weren (architect), and Hayakawa Kōsetsu (folklorist). Unfortunately, the research was not conducted smoothly, and Anagy became the only person who wrote a thick and distinguished monograph (Araga 1939-35).

The reason why Isigami research attracted attention was the area that retained the large families and the Nago system, which was scarce in those days. In particular, this Nago system was noticed in being the foundation of the feudal system of Japanese society at that time, especially by Muru economists, because the labor provided by the Nago families is regarded as rent for the land that the Nago families were living on.

Anagy Kōzō

We would like to give a brief introduction of Anagy (Fig.2). He was born in a landowner’s house in Naga prefecture. He committed himself to the Showa era (1926-1945), while morbido in the Showa era, which is an idealistic, humanistic, and literary movement. Anagy was a Social High School in Sendai, he became classmates with Sibasara and Tuitiya. Then he studied art history at Toyo University. He majored in Korean folk art, so he visited Korea with Yamagiri, his advisor, who had a detailed knowledge for Korean folk art. Throughout the trip to Korea with Yamagiri, Anagy realized that without grasping a deep understanding of the craft workers’ daily lives, it was impossible to truly understand the aesthetic beauty of their art (Araga and Nakai 1940:12-23).

So, he kept a distance from the folk crafts movement, and started to focus on Yamaga Kunio’s Japanese folklore. However, he gradually became suspicious of Yamaga’s Zokuwoi Tezutsu (folk art making) identical comparative method, which compared folk phenomena in various parts of Japan but the context of the community where the events are located is omitted (Araga 1909: 75). Therefore he began to adopt the monographic method (like Bronislaw Malinowski and Alfred Radcliffe-Brown), and he used Marcel Mauss’s concept of using particular phenomena as representations of the whole society (precautions taken). Like this,

Anagy finally transformed his position to sociology. It was during these times that he began investigating the Isigami hamlet.

Controversies concerning Japanese capitalism

In Japanese academia, there were harsh controversies concerning Japanese capitalism from 1933 to 1937. These controversies were called Nikū showgai bunsetsu (日本生活立論場). In these controversies, Japanese Marxists which were divided into two major schools called Kikuzō (横溝宗) and Rihaku (リハク) tried to grasp the essence of Japanese capitalism in the same style, and the feudal nature of Japanese rural villages was discussed. Marxism economists thought that the Nago system like Isigami is an important factor that shaped the feudal characteristics in Japanese society. Tuitiya was also heavily involved in these controversies.

However, Anagy objected to the ordinary understanding like this. He insisted that we should understand the Nago system from Living Organization as the Osokudon had to realize that there was mutualness of the relationship in total (precautions taken), which made the Osokudon one of the basic structures of Japanese society.

This idea by Anagy led to a new understanding of the landlordship and peasant relationship at that time, and was called as the “third position,” a view different from both major Marxist schools, Kikuzo and Rihaku.

In this way, Anagy made the cornerstone of the Japanese rural sociology based on the Osokudon, with Isigami research as one of the important grounds, against the background of the controversy concerning Japanese capitalism.

2.2 The folk crafts movements and Isigami

Isigami and Zokuwoi lacquerware

As mentioned above, Isigami research was discussed mostly in the context of controversy concerning capitalism or rural sociology. But we can find that there was a relationship between Yamagiri and Isigami. In other words, there is a possibility that the folk crafts movement also has a connection with Isigami. Coincidentally, Isigami is one of the people who influenced Anagy in his youth. In the Aranawa area, where the Isigami hamlet belongs, there were many Isigami lacquerware businesses. The Oya Sato household also managed a big lacquerware business called Zokuwoi (Ria) (横溝里 roc) and needed a considerable labor force. Zokuwoi lacquerware was produced as peasants’ side jobs during winter, and a lot of precaution items were created for Hohako (Arai Period, Around 1950 when Anagy and Yamagiri visited, this Zokuwoi lacquerware had been recognized as being of poor quality and made using cheap production. The folk craft (Ming) What is the folk craft (product, movement)? The word Ming (民具) is a made-up word by Yamagiri, and it is said to be an abbreviation of

Mingol-ko Kögi (明文化具) Yamagiri was influenced by the arts and crafts movement by William Morris and developed his original movement in Japan.

Yamagiri is a pioneer of the folk crafts activists and a religious thinker. He started his activity from the Nokonoh movement and gradually shifted to the folk crafts movement. Comrades are people such as Kawai Kansetsu (川井兼重), Yamagishi (Yamagishi) (1895-1976), and Bernard Latch (poe). (1887-1975) among others.

Yamagiri pointed out MIngol’s characteristics as follows; (1) utility, (2) repetition, (3) inexpensiveness, (4) communality, (5) regularity, (6) nature of pattern, (7) impermanence, (8) indeterminacy, and (9) commonness (Yamagiri 1942-1972). Although a detailed explanation is omitted, Yamagiri insisted that the folk craft is not a workpiece made for appreciation, but a craft product that has a beauty of necessity (必要性) which provides some practicality. Also, the personality of the craft worker is denied.

There is one episode that can tell us the extent to which folk crafts activists pay attention to peasant life. Yamagiri and other comrades went to a peasant house in Yamagita prefecture for the folk crafts research. At that time, Kawai saw a harvested bunch of rice in a collar of a farmhouse, which looked like a wisteria, and said untypically, “What richness it is!” Yamagiri Hironori, who was a president of the Shōkyū, reflectively recalled that he had only been looking at emotionally and usefully aspects of the rural life in my county, sympathizing with the misfortune of peasants, and somehow thought that he must save these peasants from this misfortune. But for that reason, he could not see the pleasures which existed in the self-sufficient lives of peasants, who made many crafts for their own lives with their own hands (Yamagiri 1955: 75-6).

This episode shows that the attention of the folk crafts activists was not focused on the appearance of an impoverished rural life but rather on the inner beauty of folk goods and folk crafts.

We would like to point out another characteristic of the folk crafts activists. Yamagiri’s activities also extended to Korea and Okinawa. As an intellectual at that time, he stressed the protection and support of the own culture of Korea and Okinawa exceptionally, and he ran into conflicts with the government policy.

In order to investigate the national folk crafts, Yamagiri traveled nationwide with other comrades. That is why they came to Isigami. A research at that time was introduced, for example, in Handbook of Japan (Yamagiri 1948-1972). Regarding Isigami, Yamagiri introduced Misinga lacquerware (民具) and homegrown clothes in Wagan county in addition to Zokuwoi lacquerware. They were highly evaluated. However, it was not just for the folk crafts research that they came to Tōhoku. In the background there was some relationship to the Shōkyū mentioned above.
2.3 The Settō and the folk crafts movement

The Settō

Concerning Yanagis’ Tōbōku research, it is necessary to consider the Settō and its first president Yamaguti Hironori (1878-1950). In this regard, there is detailed research by Ōmoto Gisuke (Ōmoto 1999, 2001, 2013; Okiwaka Kiyohide and Okiwaka 2003) and Kazuo Masuhashi (Kazuo 2003).

As mentioned earlier, the Settō was set up in Settō, Yamagata prefecture in 1933. It was a research agency of the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry. Its primary objective was to revitalise the rural village suffering from the Shōwa agricultural depression, especially the Tōbōku rural areas hit by heavy snowfall. Here, in order to overcome the damage caused by the snow, an experimental farm house was built by Kon, and development of preserved foods during the winter was also conducted (Ōmoto 1999: 40-2). Under these circumstances, in 1937, the Settō attempted to improve the side jobs of peasants to secure cash income in winter. President Yamaguti thought that the work of straw can be linked to cash income with the aid of folk crafts movement. Incidentally, in junior high school Yamaguti was a chestnut with Hamada, who would become a famous folk craft potter (Ōmoto 2013: 4).

Cooperation between the Settō and Minagawasta

Yamaguti visited Yanagi in March 1937 and Yanagi agreed to cooperate with Yamaguti to improve the side jobs of peasants through folk crafts activities. During this period, research on folk crafts by Yanagi and his fellows in Okinawa got into full swing, and it was a period when they were about to exert their emphasis also on the Tōbōku district. Therefore, he also took Yamaguti’s request with great expectations (Ōmoto 2013: 2). The intentions of both may have been met. Thus, from 1937-1942, the Settō and Yamaguti and other folk artisans, conducted not only research and collection of the folk crafts, but also held exhibitions, lectures, and training sessions for new crafts production, at the Tōbōku district, Tōkyō, and other metropolitan areas (Fig. 3). In the first exhibition of folk crafts in Mogami area in 1938, there were about 1000 visitors in two days. In the exhibition in Ōtsu area in 1939, there were close to 6000 visitors in two days. Many of the excellent items in these exhibitions were purchased by the Japan Folk Crafts Museum and the Settō. Also, part of the exhibits in Ōtsu area was purchased by Ministry of Education (Ōmoto 2013: 7).

Yamaguti and his fellows did the following activities.

- 1st research in Mogami area, meeting with related people.
- 2nd research in Mogami area.
- 3rd research in Mogami area.
- 1st Folk craft exhibition at the Settō district (In Tōkyō). The exhibition was held at the Hitotsubashi department store, Tōkyō.
- 2nd Folk craft exhibition at the Settō district (In Tōkyō). The exhibition was held at the Hitotsubashi department store, Tōkyō.
- 1st Folk craft exhibition at the Settō district (In Tōkyō). The exhibition was held at the Hitotsubashi department store, Tōkyō.
- 2nd Folk craft exhibition at the Settō district (In Tōkyō). The exhibition was held at the Hitotsubashi department store, Tōkyō.

1939: 2nd exhibition in the Tōbōku district (In Ōtsu area). Folk craft exhibition at the Settō district (In Tōkyō).

1940: 2nd exhibition in the Tōbōku district (In Ōtsu area). Folk craft exhibition at the Settō district (In Tōkyō).

1941-1946: Folk craft exhibitions in the Settō district (in Tōkyō, Hitotsubashi department store, Tōkyō).

In addition, Yamaguti also organized not only exhibitions but also public folk craft lectures in each prefecture in the Tōbōku district. These lectures were held in various places from February to March 1940 (but there are some doubts as to whether some were actually held). For example, the first folk craft exhibition was held from February 25th to 28th, 1940, and a lecture was held on 27th (Ōmoto 2013: 11). Moreover, aiming at renewing folk crafts, Yamaguti gathered people such as the chief of side jobs, rural rehabilitation instructors, and folk crafts makers in every Tōbōku prefecture, and held an open folk craft production training course at the Settō for one week. From April to May 1941, the lectures were Yanagi, Kawai, Hamada, and Seiwa Masako (the chairman). The Settō was also scheduled to be a lecturer, but she apparently did not participate (Ōmoto 2013: 11).

Yamaguti Hironori

What kind of person is Yamaguti who planned such things? He was an elite officer who graduated from the Tōkyō Imperial University, from both the faculty of law and the faculty of agriculture (agricultural economics major) and later on entered the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry. He could be said to have had an understanding of cultural and artistic activities. He had an interest in the folk crafts movement even before becoming the president of the Settō.

He thought not only to revive and sell handmade crafts made by peasants as side jobs, not only to make traditional folk crafts, but also to go further and put emphasis on creating daily goods according to the new era on its spiritual foundation (Yamaguti 1938: 77). Also, Yamaguti seems to have given a strong positive impression to Perriand (Perriand 1996a: 1). It can be said that both had such good character and plenty of room for discretion as the first president of the Settō greatly influenced the direction of the laboratory and the research contents of the staff. The existence of such a distinctive officer enabled good collaboration with Yamaguti’s folk crafts movement (Fig. 4).

Consequences of cooperation

As an influencer of such collaborative activities, Ōmoto pointed out that local people realized beauty is hidden among the local folk crafts. This brought great confidence and pride to the local people, and sales of the folk crafts gave an economic income to the local people suffering from recession (Ōmoto 2013: 8).

However, such cooperation between the folk crafts movement and the government would end with the outbreak of the Pacific War because it became difficult to secure materials through goods control. Yamaguti also moved to the headquarters of the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry in 1943. After the war, he resigned from the Ministry, and founded a company specializing in cultural films. But it is not clear whether he had interfered with folk crafts artists after that.

2.4 Relationship with Perriand

Perriand and the folk crafts movement

In describing the Settō and the folk crafts movement, we have to mention another key person, Charlotte Perriand. She was a French architect and interior designer, who had worked for the famous J.E. Corbusier’s office. She had been invited to Japan as an official industrial design adviser from 1940 to 1941 by the Trade Bureau, Ministry of Commerce and Industry. Before her, other well-known foreigners such as architect Bruno Taut had also visited Japan on invitation. The person who invited Perriand to Japan was the architect Sekukura Yuzan, who had also worked under the same Corbusier studio. Furthermore, Yamaguti Shōta, a son of Yamaguti Shōta, was also involved in this invitation, so as soon as he came to Japan, he had deep exchanges with members of the folk crafts movements. In addition, another purpose of her visit to Japan was to collect Japanese photographic materials for the establishment of the Anthropology Museum in Paris, which were requested by Géza Henri Rivière (‘Charlot Perriand et le Japon’, Study Group ed. 2010: 88, 255). Regarding this point, French ethnologist and archaeologist André Leoni-Gourhan has also visited Japan in one of Perriand’s predecessors (Leoni-Gourhan and Yamatani 2000: 2).

Like Yanagi, Perriand has also traveled to study the folk crafts in various places in Japan. In November 1940, Yamaguti invited her to visit the Tōbōku district. She visited the Settō on November 6th with Yamaguti Shōta (Fig. 5). There she institutes the creation of a chair using bamboo, and it came to be highly praised by the folk crafts activists.

Her production philosophy was to exclude sophisticated things and to respect the autonomy of the creator. Therefore, she usually gave only approximate dimensions and functional requirements to craftsmen instead of detailed guidance. Perriand has said in her own words, that crafts living in up the display hall were generally not good. She said that there were few representative good items in local areas, but there were good items in the peasants’ products. What she felt in Settō, in particular, was to let people simply give the requirements of the product they wanted and leave the creation to the creators, rather than showing various manufacturing conditions or providing the mold. Such a method would make better things, according to Perriand. She also added that the goodness of folk craft appeared in the way it was made while feeling like the maker was using it in his own home. It will fail if the craft is made to display in an exhibition, to aim at a price, or to sell (Perriand et al. 1941: 17).

In this way, there is something in common with the philosophy of Yamaguti and Perriand also found a congenial spirit in Yamaguti and others. Especially, she became acquainted with Kawai Kanjiro and stayed nearby for nearly a month in Kyoto. Yamaguti also evaluated Perriand considerably well (Yamaguti and Hamada 1941).

Perriand walked around Japan and instructed people for about a year, and then held an exhibition Selection, Tradition and Creation in Takaseyama, Tōkyō in April 1941 (Perriand 1941). Because the Pacific War broke out, she was dismissed from her position, and had to go to France. After the war, she returned to France, resumed her activities, and visited Japan several times after that.

Influence by Perriand

What was the effect of Perriand’s visit to Japan? On the one hand, maybe we have to scrutinize much more on whether her instruction increased the peasants’ incomes rather than that we would like to pay attention to the fact that intellectual exchanges between intellectuals and artisans, even though it was under the wartime regime, were carried out over the Tōbōku district. That means the folk crafts movements at that time had an international universe. Moreover, the fact that the people involved were not only architects and designers, but also ethnologists, will be an important factor and will throw in a new

Fig. 3. Workshops for the folk crafts making in Settō around 1939 (Courtesy of Yuki no Sato Zōshōkan)[6]

Fig. 4. Yamaguti and Yanagi at the Settō around 1939 (Courtesy of Yuki no Sato Zōshōkan)[7]

Fig. 5. Perriand at the Settō in 1940 (Courtesy of Yuki no Sato Zōshōkan)[8]
perspective when considering Japanese related research history?"

**Perriand and Isata**

Regarding the relationship between Perriand and Isata, we still could not find clear material. Indeed, in the pictures collected by Perriand, and the pictures displayed at the exhibition in 1941, these are pictures of Zyōbyō la квареe (Chang Perriand et le Japon) Study Group ed. 2011: 233, Parish ed. 2015: 45). In addition, there is a description that she visited Akioka and found a folk craft in November 1940 (Perriand 1998: 165). But there was no related article in the newspaper in Isata at that time. We also speculated that she had visited Kōgōhāno (famous folk craft shop) or the Isata Prefectural Industrial Experimental Center (currently the Isata Prefectural Industrial Technology Center), but we could not find any visitation record. We believe that the la квареe in Isata gave a strong impression because there were several items of Zyōbyō la квареe at the exhibition in 1941 (Selection, Traditions and Creativity). However, these la квареe may have been borrowed from Isata who gathered Zyōbyō la квареe in advance, therefore it is hard to say clearly about the influence of Perriand’s visit, if any, to Isata 32.

2.5 Criticism about political awareness

As described above, we have reviewed the various studies and people involved in the Isata research. As seen in the cooperation between the Senjō and Miyagi, the relationship between Yangi and political power has become an issue. This is largely manifested in the evaluation of the attitude of Yangi towards Korea and Okinawa. At that time, Yangi was a war Japanese intellectual who praised the folk art of Korea and Okinawa and severely protested to the Japanese government's cultural policy towards Korea and Okinawa. About these points, studies by Takamaki (1999) is suggestive. Takamaki pointed out the lack of political awareness in folk crafts movement by quoting an argument from the viewpoint of Orientalism (Edward Said), using Kamitani Kōzi and Oguma Etsō.

For example, the criticism by Oguma was like this. At that time people in Okinawa hoped to civilize themselves to eliminate poverty and discrimination. However, here the civilization is identified as 'Japanization'. There Yangi wanted to protect the language and culture of Okinawa because he believed that pure Japan remained in Okinawa. However, Oguma criticized what he did carried the part of nationalism (Takamaki 1999: 23).

Kamitani criticized as follows. Yangi celebrated the Korean people because the Korean had beauty. That kind of thought stands on the criterion that ethnic groups that produce great beauty deserve independence (Takamaki 1999: 27). That means, if they do not produce great beauty, they have to accept subordination. Takamaki pointed out that Yangi is not accepting Korean people as merely another different type of people (Takamaki 1999: 27).

The criticism concerning lack of awareness of politics at the level pointed out by Kamitani and Oguma, which is in the context of Orientalism, seems reasonable also to Yangi's awareness of the Senjō and the rural economic rehabilitation movement 4. Considering these points, and Anga's criticism that the folk craft movement does not try to have a good understanding of the craftspeople's lives, it is impossible to understand the aesthetic beauty of their craft, we can conclude with two points.

Firstly, it seems there is a great difference in the approaches of Anga and Yangi to grasping the beauty of folk craft. Anga believed that to understand the beauty of folk craft, it was necessary to understand the lives of the peasantry. If that, Yangi thought was difficult to grasp, was not only an external or tangible concept such as poverty. For understanding daily lives, it is essential to grasp 'material relationships' (Anga 1999: 15) which Anga frequently referred to, such as the relationship among peasants and their structural meanings. It may be impossible to grasp such lives in the folk craft movement. However, for Yangi and other folk crafts artists, because it would be impossible to grasp the lives of the peasants fully, it seems that to them, such an idea of beauty was not correct. For Yangi and other folk crafts artists, it appeared that finding beauty in the craft produced was more important, and they may have believed that the sociological analysis of the peasant life that Anga did was not able to do that.

Secondly, the various people involved have different standpoints because of their circumstances at that time. Yangi and Anga, who had once connected through Korean art, coincidentally nearly interested at the la квареe in Isata. However, at this time, Yangi was involved in the investigation of the folk crafts with assistance from the government. It can be said to be the kind of political and practical involvement. On the other hand, Anga was apart from political or governmental affairs, but sunk in the pure academic direction, trying to build an academic discipline to understand Japanese society and grasp people's lives. The folk crafts movement, which was criticized by Anga as it did not try to understand people's lives, was considerably related to politics. On the other hand, sociology, which focuses on the peasant's life like Anga's method, distanced itself from politics. It may be necessary to know this complexity of the different standpoints of the people involved when we consider the research history.

3 Conclusion

3.1 Standpoints of people involved

In this section, we summarize what we found and other implications. Isata's research was conducted under the circumstances described above, and promotion of the folk crafts movement was attempted based on the Senjō. The following is a summary of the standpoints of the people involved.

**Anga (sociology researcher)**

While approaching the folk crafts movement, he took a distance from Yangi with a viewpoint to understand life. In order to grasp the common people's lives more deeply, he changed his discipline to sociology. His position was not Marxian, and was more purely academic than about practicability. He did not think that Isata's Nago system was faulty. He understood it as an overall benefit relationship.

**Yangi (folk crafts activist and thinker)**

The folk crafts movement was centered on artistic areas, and inner beauty was more important than the outside of living (eg. poverty). He accepted cooperation with the government from the standpoint of improving people's living conditions. On the other hand, he had a keen criticism towards government regime on Okinawa's language problem, etc. In that sense, we should agree with the criticism of his awareness of his own political nature.

**Yamaguchi (high-ranking officer)**

Since he was a graduate of the agricultural department, he kept in mind a main goal of the improvement of peasants' lives. Besides, he was influenced by the folk crafts. He was an unusual officer and organiser.

**Perriand (interior designer)**

The attitude towards the folk crafts items was almost the same as the above. It could be said that he was an indispensable person when considering the contemporary nature and universality of the thought of the folk crafts movement. Also, in intellectual exchanges, he had existence to have a great influence in the long term.

3.2 Implications

In this way, after the Syōka Depression period, it could be said that each of these influential people came into the Tōhoku district, influenced by common tasks of the same era, although there were some differences in each field and area of attention of the individuals.

What we would like to think about is the political nature and practicality of the folk crafts movement and rural sociology at this time. On this point, it is very difficult to compare. We can say the following. Anga's sociology, which came in the course of pursuing the peasant's life and which he is trying to refine as an academic discipline, placed itself at a distance from direct politics. Yangi's folk crafts movement, as it was a 'movement', could be said to capture this atmosphere emphasized on the aesthetic impact. Therefore, there is a strong relationship between political nature and practicability.

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Notes

1) In this paper, we write Japanese names following the Japanese name order, where the family name comes before the given name. Also, the Cabinet-ordered Romanization system (Komondō Rōmaji) is used for all Japanese words.

2) We abbreviate this institute as the Senjō (Tōhoku).

3) However, Tatsuya and Hayakawa also wrote short reports (Tatsuya 1935–1937, Hayakawa 2009).


5) In connection with ethnology, it is also interesting that Perriand was deepening his friendship with ethnologist Munatani Naruhito who had been studying in Paris and had learned from Marcel Mauss, in the Hakusan Mona ship that Perriand and Munatani used when traveling to Japan, Munatsui is a good friend of Sibawa Keisuke since elementary school, and by being acquainted with Munatani, Perriand has also visited Hachimantai festival, which is subject of Munatani’s investigation and is famous due to a research morphograph by Hayakawa Kozō with the assistance of Sibawa’s Art Museum (‘Charlot Perriand et le Japon’ Study Group ed. 2011: 59). On this point we got the suggestion from Ms. Hitu Yūko.

6) This fact was rediscovered by Mr. Mizukuri Kei and others in recent years (Charlie Perriand et Sinjo exhibition planning committee ed. 2012).

7) Perriand had a relationship with the Tannom Tejite Art Institute in Kyoto (‘Charlot Perriand et le Japon’ Study Group ed. 2011: 10), and Mr. Tamamori Hei (who majored in the history of aesthetics and art history at theTokyo Imperial University). Coincidentally he is from the same laboratory as Anga, though the periods are different. We would like to consider these relationships in the future. On this point we got the suggestion from Ms. Hitu Yūko.

8) On this point we got the suggestion from Mr. Takahasi Yūsuke and related organizations.

9) However, Takamaki insisted that rather than criticizing Yangi in such a way, we should understand his theory as the theory that could exceptionally show political nature in those times (Takamaki 1999: 31). This is because Yangi did not aggressively support and cooperate with the wartime regime, like other Soviet intellectuals and literary scholars such as Mayakovsky Stanislaw or Takamura Kozō did.
References


和文要旨

岩手県八幡平市石神は、日本農村社会学の基礎をつくった有賀喜左衛門の代表的な調査地である。彼は1935年（昭和10年）から石神を調査し、それにより同族団理論を構築して日本農村社会の基礎を実際に理解することになった。この当時、1930年（昭和5年）からの昭和恐慌の影響で、東北農山村の困難を問題とした。そのとき、柳宗悦、民业主義が相模地方農村経済調査所（旧山形県新庄町）の依頼のもと、東北地方の工芸品に着目して農村経済史学に協力している。柳さん、有賀が調査を起こしていたのとはほぼ同時期に石神を訪問している。それというものの、この石神のある浅沢地区は江戸時代の Sleevs District で著名な場所であったからである。さらに興味深いことは、その指導者として、ル・コルビュジエとの共同作業者のデザイナーのシャルロット・ベルニュがフランスから来日し、数年間にわたり東北地方を指導されたことである。こうした当時の研究機関と民业主義、デザイナーとの連携活動については、近年日本でも建築家、民俗学者や市民団体によって再発見され、地域おこしへの活用が模索されている。本研究は、石神を契機としての民业主義、デザイナー、農村社会学に関わる研究の交流を紹介し、それらの特徴を試みた。
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