THE JAPAN FOUNDATION

Daito Building
7-1, Kasumigaseki 3-chome, Chiyoda-ku,
Tokyo 100, Japan

Cable: KORYUKITOKYO
Telephone: Tokyo 580-9561-2

GRANT LETTER

50 PE 878
19 March 1976

Mr. William W. Kelly
C/o Nakamura Tsuneo
53, Arisugawa-cho, Kawashima
Ukyo-ku, Kyoto 615
Japan

Dear Mr. Kelly:

It is my pleasure to inform you that the Board of Directors of the Japan Foundation has decided to offer you, under the Japan Foundation Fellowship Program for 1976-1977, a fellowship for a period of 15 months beginning 1 June 1976 and terminating 30 June 1977.

The financial coverage of the Fellowship is as follows:

1. One round-trip air transportation (economy class) to Tokyo,
2. Maintenance allowance at the monthly rate of ¥ 180,000,- for the period mentioned above,
3. Other allowances described in the Terms and Conditions of Fellowship, and
4. Purchase of insurance as described in the Terms and Conditions of Fellowship.

Please find enclosed the Terms and Conditions of Fellowship, Acceptance/Declination Form and Travel Schedule Form. You are requested to complete the Acceptance/Declination Form, clearly indicating whether or not you accept the award, and return it to the Exchange of Persons Department of the Japan Foundation at your earliest convenience. If the completed Form should not reach us within 60 days from the date of this letter, the Foundation may consider this Fellowship not accepted.

If you accept the Fellowship, you are also requested to complete and return the Travel Schedule Form to the same Department, so that it will reach us at least 30 days before your departure for Japan.

Your earliest response will be highly appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

[Signature]
Takashi Oyamada
Managing Director
52 PE 201
7 June 1977

To Whom It May Concern:

This is to certify that The Japan Foundation has provided Mr. William W. Kelly with the following sums during the tenure of his Japan Foundation Fellowship; from June 1, 1976 through June 30, 1977:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Allowance</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Maintenance Allowance:</td>
<td>¥2,340,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housing Allowance:</td>
<td>810,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dependent Allowance:</td>
<td>519,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>Document Allowance:</td>
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<td>Research Travel Allowance:</td>
<td>30,000</td>
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<td>Luggage Allowance:</td>
<td>64,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tuition and Fees:</td>
<td>24,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health Insurance:</td>
<td>39,910</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ ¥3,733,000 \]

Sincerely yours,

[Signature]

Hiroyasu Uchida
Head, Exchange of Persons
Department
Introduction.

This is a report to the Japan Foundation detailing activities and preliminary results of the period, June 1, 1976 to July 1, 1977, during which I was the recipient of a dissertation fellowship of the Foundation.

I am a Ph.D. candidate in social anthropology, and my general field of interest is the social organization of traditional and modern irrigation systems. The particular objective of my dissertation research has been the case study of a multi-level canal irrigation system in rural Japan. It is an ethnography which attempts to answer the question, who runs the irrigation-drainage system and how do they run it? It is an historical study which traces the system from its initial construction in the early 1600's through its contemporary operation.

There are a number of reasons why the social organization of irrigation is of interest to anthropologists in particular, and social scientists in general. Water is the most critical input in wet-rice cultivation, the basis of Japanese agriculture. Thus, social relations surrounding the development and use of water resources are important indicators of regional social structure and of the articulation of the rural region to the larger Japanese society. In a phrase, the theme of the dissertation is irrigation and regional social structure. It is hoped that it will be a contribution to the English-language literature on rural Japan, which is rich in studies of the village community and relations of land, but poor in studies detailing the social relations of water. It is also intended to make available in English an irrigation case study from Japan to social scientists concerned with theoretical issues of world irrigation.

The unit selected for study was the watershed and drainage basin of the Aka River, which irrigates approximately 13,000 hectare of paddy in the southern half of Shonai Plain, the coastal plain of Yamagata Prefecture.
From the 1600's to 1972, there were nine separate intakes along the Aka River, each with its own channel network and organization. In 1972, a headworks project replaced the intakes and unified the channel networks. The Aka River basin is both an ecological unit and a unit of irrigation-drainage organization.

**Research Activities.**

Research for this dissertation was conducted in Japan from October, 1975 to August, 1977. Throughout this period, I was attached to the Institute of Humanistic Studies of Kyoto University; my advisor was Professor Jiro Iinuma. Within those 22 months, tenure of my Japan Foundation fellowship was from June 1, 1976 to July 1, 1977.

From October, 1975 through February, 1976, I was resident in Kyoto, doing preliminary reading in Japanese agricultural history and irrigation studies. At the same time, through interviews and visits to various sites, I was selecting the area which was to become the subject of my case study.

At the end of February, 1976, I moved to Tsuruoka, one of the two large towns on Shonai Plain, to begin my field work. Through the kind assistance of Professor Isamu Higashiyama of the Faculty of Agriculture of Yamagata University, who was to help me in many ways throughout my stay in Shonai, I was introduced that month to officers and staff of various agricultural and irrigation organizations, officials of town and city offices, etc., for initial orientation and to locate a family in a farming village within the irrigation area with whom my wife and I might board.

In early April, my wife came up from Kyoto to join me, and we moved in with a family in the village of Nishi-Watame, where we remained until the beginning of November, 1976. During those seven months, my activities were divided among three areas:
participant-observation of contemporary farm village life and agricultural work group organization, including daily observation of the paddy activities, attendance at village gatherings, and a one-month period of work (without pay) as a farm hand during the fall rice harvest.

ii. document study of the general history of the Aka River area.

iii. interviews with officers and staff of and attendance at meetings of agricultural organizations, irrigation district groups, civic groups, etc.

Although my research interest was specifically irrigation, it was first necessary to gain at least a general understanding of historical and developments and contemporary agrarian social relations in the area, and thus the first seven-month period was devoted to such broad goals. It was important, too, to follow in detail a complete cycle of rice cultivation in order to appreciate the context of water demand and water use practices.

In November and December of 1976, I returned to Kyoto with my wife. I used this two-month period for reading materials previously collected, meetings with my advisor, and trips to irrigation systems in Nara and Okayama Prefectures, which provided useful comparisons to the Aka River case.

At the beginning of January, 1977, I returned to Shonai for a final, seven-month stay, through July, 1977. During this time, I boarded with a second farming family in the adjacent village of Higashi Watamae. My studies in this period were more focused on the specific problem of irrigation organization and practices and included:

i. daily observation of irrigation system maintenance, water allocation, and water use. I travelled around the irrigation district on foot and by bicycle, observing contemporary practices, mapping the network, etc. I also had the opportunity to study on-going paddy reconstruction projects.

ii. study of written materials and documents. In addition to a number of excellent local histories, primary sources from the han period (e.g., hikae of 3joys and water guards, annotated maps), from the pre-war period (minutes of Irrigation Cooperative meetings, land records), and from the post-war period (Land Improvement District records, etc.) have been most useful.

iii. interviews with government officials, irrigation maintenance men, Land Improvement District staff, etc.

iv. attendance at meetings of irrigation and paddy reconstruction project matters.
Following this, I returned to the United States in August, 1977, to begin the writing of the dissertation itself. I anticipate it to be completed by April, 1978.

Research results.

As I am just beginning the analysis of my field notes and the write-up of the dissertation, my comments here are tentative and subject to change.; Nevertheless, the following points will be incorporated into the dissertation.

1. The complexity of the irrigation-drainage system.

Essentially, there are four tasks in exploiting water for wet-rice cultivation. Water must first be collected; this involves the control of the Aka River as a water source through watershed protection, river course stabilization, flood embankments, etc. and, on an advanced level, facilities such as dams and ponds to store water for later use. Next, water is distributed, led from the river source to the paddy; this is a problem of conveyance and allocation through a multi-level channel network of main, subsidiary, branch, and field channels. Water is then used in the paddy for plant requirements before, finally, being disposed of through a drainage channel network.

'Running' the irrigation-drainage system is thus the accomplishment of these four tasks. So conceived, it is apparent that each task requires considerable organization of labor, material resources, and technical expertise. The result, at any point in time, is a variegated social organization of groups and roles from local cultivators and communities through regional elite and national ministries. The descriptive purpose of the dissertation is to depict this social organization.

2. Irrigation-drainage and regional social structure.

The complexity of irrigation-drainage and the crucial role of water in
growing rice, the primary economic activity of the Aka River basin, has insured the attention of most social groups and categories in the region to the problem of water supply and use. To the extent that the region is articulated to the larger society, outside officials and agencies have also been drawn into water matters. Aka River irrigation reflects a shift from the strong regional centralization of the han period through the decentralized period of control by a local landlord elite to the present-day subordination of the region to the national center.

3. Irrigation-drainage and conflict management.

This reflection of regional social structure in irrigation matters can be seen in the example of management of conflict over water distribution. As with most systems, in the Aka River basin there has always been a measure of dissatisfaction, localized shortages, and at least sporadic fighting on the most local level. What is more significant is that through time the locus of conflict over water distribution at the broader levels has shifted upward. The han officials of the daimyo maintained tight control over the river and the intakes to the nine main channels, and most conflict occurred between subsidiary channels within a single main channel network; settlement was generally through appeal by one or both parties to han officials, though the re-occurrence of the same problems suggests difficulty of settlement enforcement. In the Meiji era, each of the main channel networks organized into an Irrigation Cooperative, landlord organizations in a region of high tenancy. Administratively, the region was only loosely articulated to the new national state, and local town offices, etc., were held by the same landlords. Internal conflict continued to an extent, but the major disputes were among the cooperatives over distribution of river water. Technical improvements in river control and water storage rather
than higher authorities contained these conflicts. Finally, in the post-war period, the growing power of the basin-wide cooperative and new headworks, main channel, and dam construction (all nationally directed projects) have eliminated most conflict among agriculturalists over water distribution (through equalization of allocation, increase in total water supply, and usurpation of facilities control and legal rights). Now, conflict occurs most seriously outside the system, between the basin agriculturalists and the non-agriculturalists (e.g., Ministry of Construction, regional electric company).

4. The role of traditional roles and groups in modern irrigation systems.

A very important question in developing countries where large-scale dam and irrigation projects are undertaken to boost agricultural output is to what extent should traditional irrigation roles and groups be used and incorporated into the new system? The post-war experience in Japan has much that is relevant to this issue.

The answer, at least in the Aka River basin, has been that the national ministries have found it useful to incorporate local people into the planning, construction, and operation of the irrigation and paddy reconstruction projects it has been initiating and promoting over the last twenty years. This is done chiefly through the framework of the existing Land Improvement District organization. It is successful because they can draw on the long tradition of local irrigation management, experience in water control improvement, and a relatively homogeneous, independent cultivator population (conditions are not always duplicated in developing countries). No doubt the success of the post-war projects is due in part to the ability of national and prefectural ministries to solicit local participation. (The nature of such local participation is, of course, a separate issue. It is frequently sub-ordinate to and well-bounded by the dictates of national
policy and ministry objectives, a situation which reflects the way the region is currently articulated to the national center.)

Presentation of research results.

The principal report of the research accomplished under the Japan Foundation fellowship will be the doctoral dissertation submitted to the Department of Anthropology at my university, Brandeis University. In addition, the following have been or will be forums for presenting aspects of the research:


September 28, 1976: "庄内平野の農業用水について," a paper presented to the annual Seminar on Regional Economy of the Dept. of Agricultural Economics, Yamagata University in Tsuruoka, Yamagata.


The presentation to the Tokyo conference was subsequently published in the Transactions of the Tōyō Gakkai (1976: no. XXI, pp. 61-78), and it is possible that the paper to the American Anthropological Association will be included in a volume resulting from that symposium.

Suggestions and comments.

My experiences during the tenure of my fellowship were entirely favorable, and I am deeply grateful to the Japan Foundation for making possible my continued study in Japan. I found the staff at the Foundation to be, on all accounts, pleasant and helpful. I can only offer the following modest comments.

a. The monthly stipend is perhaps unnecessarily high. The various allowances for research, travel, spouse, etc. are appropriate and adequate, but the monthly stipend itself could be lowered to about 150,000 yen without adverse effects—especially if this would permit an increase in the number of dissertation fellowships that could be awarded.

b. Tokyo and Kyoto-Osaka, to be sure, have the resources to attract the research interest of the vast majority of visiting students
and scholars, but for a more balanced view of Japanese society, I would suggest that the Foundation give special encouragement to those whose research takes them out of these cities to less well-known regions of the country.

c. Perhaps it is a function of the applicants for awards, but it appears to an anthropologist that those in the fields of literature and history are over-represented among Fellows and that more encouragement should go to those in the social sciences.

d. Research in Japan requires considerable time; dissertations in most fields seem to require a minimum of eighteen months in Japan, above and beyond preliminary language study. Perhaps the Foundation could respond by making itself open to legitimate requests for fellowship extension—-even at a reduced stipend rate.

In closing, I wish to express again my deep appreciation to the Foundation. The Japan Foundation is rare in its generosity and assistance to foreign students and scholars, and it can only be hoped that such outstanding work will continue.

Respectfully submitted,

William W. Kelly

September 15, 1977

current mailing address: 2249 Cram Place #2
Ann Arbor, Michigan 48105
United States of America