



The Tidy Environment in Hirogawara



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Dedication

To my family and friends

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Introduction

Hirogawara is a village with a long lasting tradition of forestry located in a mountain area of Kyoto prefecture, Japan. It takes about two hours by bus which goes to and from the center of Kyoto City four times a day. The way between Hirogawara and the urban side of Kyoto City is paved but still steep. According to the research of the administration conducted in 2009 (illustrated in Table 1.1) it has a population of about 120 and half of them are concentrated in the Syakushiya-chou area which is one of the five areas Hirogawara consists of. The population for this research includes the population of people who have a house in the urban side of Kyoto and also have a house in Hirogawara and live in their urban house most of the year. Thus, Hirogawara, especially the areas other than Syakushiya-chou area, has less population than calculated by the administration, that is, the density of Hirogawara is quite low actually. In other words, Hirogawara is one of the typical under populated villages in the Japanese rural region.

	The number of house holds	population	Population of male	Population of female
Hirogawara	45	119	60	59
Shyakushiya-chou	16	72	38	34
Noumi-chou	5	7	4	3
Shimono-chou	7	15	7	8
Sugahara-chou	9	15	7	8
Obana-chou	8	10	4	6

Table1.1 Population and ratio of population of Hirogawara

Source: Statistics Kyoto City (<http://www.city.kyoto.jp/sogo/toukei/Population/Resident/index.html>)

I had been interested in the life of the local area because of the tradition and the intimacy of the community, which I had never had, and it attracted me. I recognize myself as a person who had grown up on the urban side. Strictly speaking, my country town is not a big city. However, the town was reclaimed in recent years and is for people who commute from there to a big city. There was neither a long-lasting tradition nor intimate community like in local villages. Thus, at first I was surprised by the beautiful scenery of the traditional village and the intimacy in the community that I observed in their interaction. I was especially interested in the villagers' voluntarily behavior for maintaining the scenery of the village.

For instance, there were some statues of guardian deity of children in the village. These statues are put beside the road on the borders of each area. Some offerings, such as flowers and a cup of water, are offered to the statues all the time. These are offered by villagers who live near the deities. Water is changed almost every morning. Flowers are replaced after they die. Historically, the deity of children is mixed up with the God of the shoulder of the road, which protects borders between the inside and outside and is one of thousands of native gods in Japan. "Native Japanese religious beliefs became known as Shinto, or Way of the Gods, to distinguish them from Butsu-do, or the way of the Buddha. Contrary to the practice with religions in the West, this new religion neither superseded nor was expected to supersede traditional ritual and religious practices. Instead, the two religions were gradually blended, place being found for both" (Ashkenazi 2003 15). Additionally, as Michael Ashkenazi explains about Shinto, "The local religion was based largely on the veneration of, and appeal to, local spirit that resided in material objects, usually natural or pre-natural. Mountains, unusual trees, waterfalls, water, peculiarly shaped rocks, and other objects were considered to have power-*kami*- of willfully influencing people's lives" (Ashkenazi 2003 27). Religious beliefs connected to the surroundings seem to explain the villagers' behavior towards the environment. However, most of the Japanese share in this belief, the careful treatment for an object beside the road is seldom seen in my town, which would indicate that the behavior would not only come from the religious belief but also from some other elements which urban people do not have.

Another example is about a space called *Jisaki* (literally ahead of the land). *Jisaki* is a space in front of private land but is a public space officially. Though it is public space, an owner of the house cuts the grass in the space voluntarily. His neighbors and the other villagers also mow the grass of *Jisaki* themselves as well. In this way, the environment of the village is kept up by respective individual villagers.



Figure1.1 The statues of guardian deity of children and offerings

It looks like there is no actual duty on their part to act on behalf of the whole, such as a punishment or reward from the community. It seems like their activity is done on their own will. When I asked them the reason for cutting grass in *Jisaki*, and maintaining the land, most villagers answered, “just because feel uncomfortable if we don’t do this.” (All translations of the villagers’

words in the text by the author) Many times, the Japanese will not express the subject of the response. Some villagers definitely answered, “Leaving the land overgrown with weeds is uncomfortable for me as well as neighbors and passengers. And I also feel sorry for ancestors who struggled to reclaim the land.” According to his words, individuals in the village act for the whole and for themselves at the same time. Similarly, their activities from keeping the traditional building to holding ceremonies are done by one’s own will as well as the other villagers’ will. In these ways, the behavior of the villagers and that of my town seems different.

Although there are various elements which distinguish the village and my town, one of the main elements which contribute to differentiate the behavior of each would be the environment surrounding the respective dwellers. I will use the term ‘environment’ as the unfolding surroundings, which include not only nature and artifacts, but also the other surroundings, such as other human beings and ancestral spirits which would be felt by a subject. “Perhaps because it is so obvious, it is easy to forget that people not only inhabit social spaces but also create them. Our sensory worlds are to a large extent defined by the presence of others.” (MacDougall 2006 127). Generally, behavior is generated through the individual’s negotiation with each situation. According to James Spradley, the situation is formed by three main elements: actor, activity and place (Spradley 1980). As Reider Grønhaug mentions about the dominance of one ‘social field,’ that is, a unit of social interconnection: “Considering dominance, I assume that all fields are interrelated and causative of each other, but also that some fields and relationships are more determinative and causative than others” (Grønhaug 1978 119). Though I will touch upon the other social fields, like general history and the economy, I will mainly focus on the environment of the village as ‘determinative and causative’ social fields.

The environment of the village has two main features in its structure. One of these is how well ventilated environment is among neighbors in the village. For instance, traditional architecture does have thick walls or rigid hedges. This feature enables a villager to know the state of the other neighbors. The other feature is a traditional feature itself. The traditional environment is directly

connected to the past and their ancestors, that is, it can be a medium for reminding the dweller of their ancestors. Because of the well ventilated feature of the environment, the eyes of neighbors as well as the ancestors, in a villager's mind, were focused on his life. In other words, it forms aggregation and the aggregation affects the action of a villager. The more the eyes are congested among him, the more the border between the villager and the whole becomes ambiguous. Then a villager acts for the whole according to his aesthetic value which is closely related to his neighbors' as well as the ancestors'. As David MacDougall mentions, "aesthetics feature may simply be seen as the symbolic expression of more profound forces (such as history and ideology) rather than influential in their own right. Although aesthetics may not be independent of other social forces, neither is it merely the residue of them...The social aesthetic field, composed of objects and actions, is in some respects the physical manifestation of the largely internalized and invisible 'embodied history' that Bourdieu calls *habitus*" (MacDougall 2006 98). While persons take part in knowledge reproduction by maintaining the environment of the village actively, according to their internalized aesthetic value, the environment maintains their aesthetic sense as well as traditional community with strong social control.

Hirogawara is also undergoing social change which is cultivated by current globalized mobility. There are outsiders such as visitors or researchers, like me, coming and going frequently. Most of them come to the village because they are attracted to the disappearing traditions due to globalization. The traditional scenery of the village has precious value for outsiders in this situation. In this sense, the meaning of the village and the villager's activity to maintain the surroundings is changing slightly from the past due to the progressing globalization. "Concrete events display themselves as part of social life at the local level and at the same time as elements of identifiable structures of larger dimensions" (Grønhaug 1975 4). Partly shared notions about the preciousness of traditional scenery are circulated by mass media as well as through the physical flowing of people with materials. Hirogawara turns out to be an object of traditional scenery, which should be maintained not only for outsiders of the village but also for the villagers themselves. Thus,

Hirogawara is persistently transformed and reproduced through negotiation between the villagers and the outside world in the globalized local situation.

2. General Information on Hirogawara

Firstly, I will explain the general history of Hirogawara in this chapter. I will tell the history of Hirogawara briefly by referring to a book compiled by the people of Hirogawara. The book was published in 1990 to commemorate an elementary school which was closed down in Hirogawara due to the situation of under population. The history of Hirogawara is a chapter in the book. The history also concerns the transition in the economy. Although I will not look into these elements deeply in this chapter, the current situation of Hirogawara would be clearer by surveying general information.

Although the place had been used for supplying wood for the Emperor in Kyoto for a long time, there were no permanent settlers in Hirogawara until some people started to live in Hirogawara as woodcutters around 1640. These people were from the Yamaguni region in Ukyou-ku which is a ward next to Sakyou-ku including Hirogawara in Kyoto City. Their community had had no name until they got independence from Yamaguni and then named it Hirogawara in 1676. Precisely speaking, however, Hirogawara had been poor because the village had been oppressed by Yamaguni until they won complete independence by formally buying the land from Yamaguni. After winning independence, they officially acquired mountain was distributed to the villagers equally. Accordingly, Hirogawara does not have paramount chief in the village after getting independence up until now. This would be a unique feature of Hirogawara because unlike Hanase, which is the village next to Hirogawara, it has been ruled by some chiefs.

Though there was also a temporary economic slowdown around the Second World War, the main industries had been timbering and charcoal production for a long time until the economy of wood products cooled down around 1960 because of the inflowing of cheap wood from foreign

countries. Some of the villagers started to leave the village to get jobs on the urban side of Kyoto City after the 1960s. The loss of the industry has made Hirogawara into a seriously aging and under populated area. On its website, The Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries of Japan illustrates the transition of the rate of wood self-sufficiency of Japan in diagram Figure 2.1 (from the website of The Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries of Japan). Additionally, the transition in the population of Hirogawara is illustrated in Figure 2.2, which is made by referring to data from the national census. As I mentioned in the introduction, however, the actual amount of permanent dwellers in Hirogawara is less than the national census because most people who use houses in the village do so temporarily and live on the urban side of Kyoto City most of the year. The relationship between industries and population in Hirogawara, as well as its transition, is revealed by comparing these two figures.

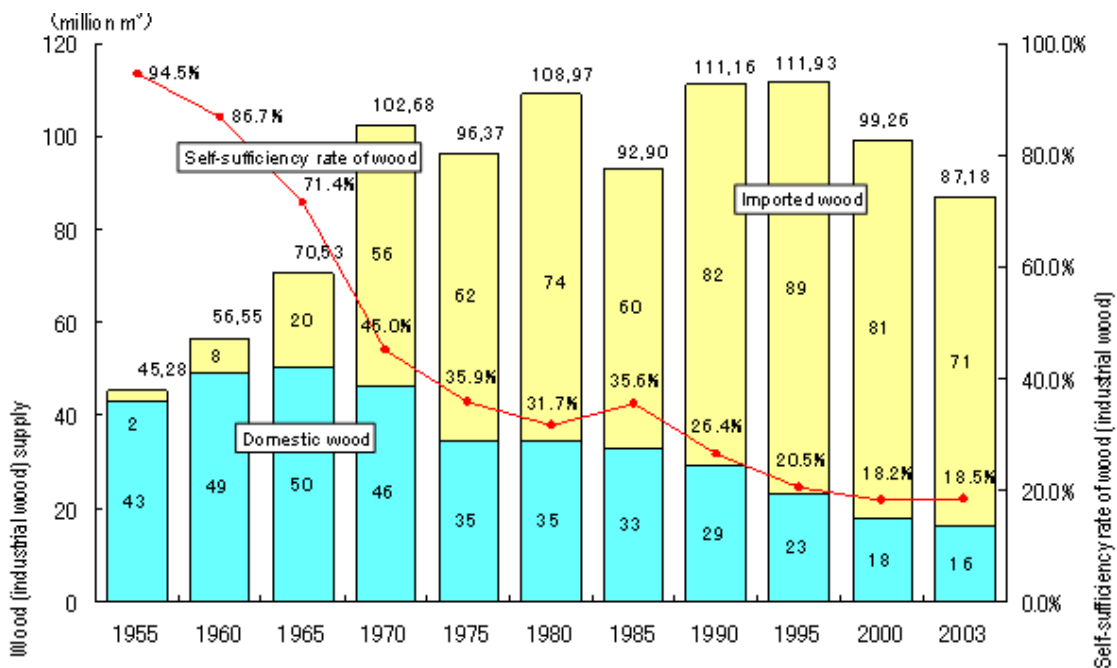


Figure 2.1 Trend of Supply/Demand and Self-Sufficiency Rate of Wood in Japan Source: Lumber

Supply and Demand Chart (<http://www.rinya.maff.go.jp/new/hakusyoeigo/english16/textp8.htm>)

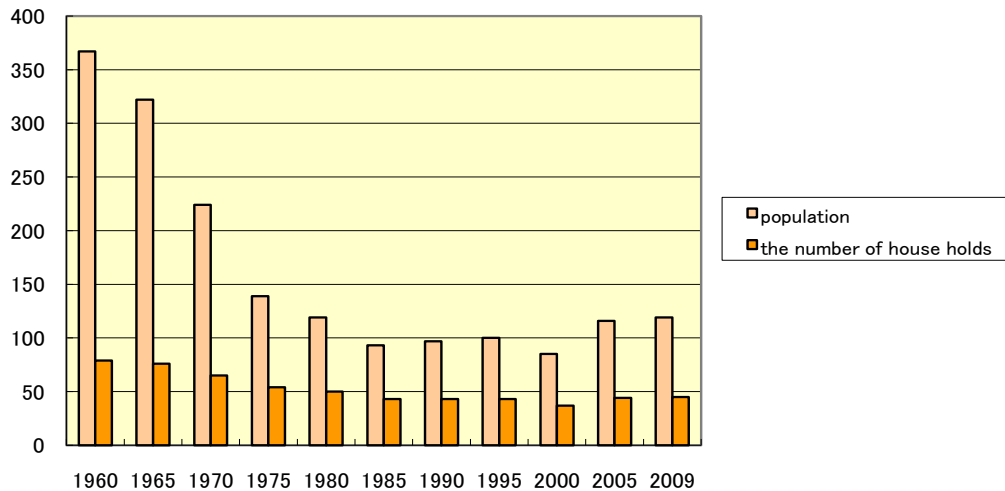


Figure 2.2 Transition of population and the number of households in Hirogawara

Source: National Census, The Ministry of Public Management (<http://www.stat.go.jp/data/kokusei/2005/index.htm>)

3. Theory & Methodology

3.1 Theory

Tim Ingold, who is well-known for ecological anthropological research, proposes that perception is impossible to be divided into action because of its closely related function between mind and body as well as culture. A researcher can approach perceived reality between subjects and the environment by looking into subjects' actions towards the environment that surrounds them (Ingold 1992). While the perception generates acting, patterns of acting create a part of the perception as tacit knowledge of the world. "Knowledge of the world is gained by moving about in it, exploring it, attending it, ever alert to the signs by which it is revealed" (Ingold 2000 55). On the other hand, behavior does not always precisely correspond to what he thinks or believes, because it

is restricted by power relations in the macro structure, in some cases (Kalland 2000). However, it does not mean that a co-influential connection between behavior and perception turns out to be invalid. Even if behavior is imposed by the macro structure originally, it would have an effect on the perception of people who behave and become hybridized as a part of the perception, little by little. Thus, perception and behavior is always an ongoing process of change.

According to Anthony Giddens, while one behavior is constrained by society's central values and norms, it effects the forming of such a society's values and norms as 'structural properties.' "The structural properties of social systems are both the medium and the outcome of the practices that constitutes those systems" (Giddens 1979 69). Social structures are co-influentially related with respective habitual action. It would be helpful here to refer to William Outhwaite's explanation about Giddens's conception. "Social structures are activity-dependent: they 'exist only in virtue of the activities they govern, enable and constrain.' They are concept-dependent, since 'activity is intentional only in so far as it is informed (co-caused) by an agent's beliefs.' They are time-space dependent, since 'social activity occurs at a place and takes time, the place and time of the agent', and they are social-relation-dependent"(Outhwaite 1990 69). Thus, social structures are co-influentially related with the agent. Behavior is persistently generated through a complicated relation between social structure and human agency.

Although comprehensive approaches would be needed to approach human perception according to these perspectives, I will mainly focus on co-influential relationships between persons and their environment. The relationship between persons and their environment is anything but static, like the dynamic interrelation between social structure and human agency. "Through both, the environment enters actively into the constitution of persons; i.e. in the mutually constitutive interrelation between persons and environment, production is a becoming of the environment, consumption is a becoming of persons." (Ingold 1992 51). Additionally, the interaction occurred in a local context which is related to globalization, that is, "activity in microcontext has strongly defined structural properties" (Giddens 1984 141). Thus, behavior is formed through complicated

negotiations, not only between persons and their environment, but also between human agency and social structure.

Moreover, the environments with which persons interact with have multiple meanings by being related with several actors. As Margaret C. Rodman notes, “places, like voices, are local and multiple. For each inhabitant, a place has a unique reality, one in which meaning is shared with other people and places. The links in these chains of experienced places are forged of culture and history” (Rodman 1992 643). Thus, places are formed as an aggregation of multiple voices and such places with *multivocality* are the environment which the villagers interact with. In other words, the environment includes not only nature and artifacts, but also other people affording the inhabitant ‘action possibilities’ (Gibson 1979). His perception is the organism as a whole in its environment. According to Tim Ingold, while the activity of human beings produces the environment, the environment also produces the perception of human beings. (Ingold 1992). Thus, both Hirogawara and the perception of the villagers can be seen as an ongoing process of production through negotiation within the environment in the local village under globalization. My analysis in this thesis is based upon the above perspectives.

3.2 Methodology

I used several methodologies for collecting data in the field. The analysis in this thesis is made by combining several data which are assembled by the methodologies that follow.

3.2.1 Participant observation with video camera

Even if it is unconscious, behavior is generated through negotiation with a confronting situation which is related to the environment and to the subject’s reference to past experience, and it

is constantly renewed (Rudie 1994). Thus, human beings cannot be separated from time and space where they have been located within. For coming close to human perception then, I had to capture the context of the villager and his surroundings, as well as the past and present. It is difficult to write down the whole complexity without losing its context of the contrast located in time and space. While writing is useful for detailed analysis, it would not be appropriate to describe nuanced differences and the distance located in time and space, the so-called whole complexity of the environment.

By contrast, audio visual equipment is useful for approaching this whole complexity. However, it would be necessary for researchers who hope to gain a full understanding of the relation of subjects to their environments to approach “the societies themselves as complex sensory and aesthetic environments” (MacDougall 2006 95). In other words, it would be difficult to grasp the whole complexity as far as analyzing fragments of its complexity. In the contrary, it would be a necessary process to feel the whole complexity through a ‘synesthetic association’ before starting an analysis. As MacDougall argued, the visual as “a ‘language’ closer to the multidimensionality” should be used for approaching the wider complexity of human beings with time and space. (MacDougall 2006 116). Thus, a video camera was used as a tool for capturing the complexity of the environment. On the other hand, using a video camera was a good way to create distance from the subjects for observation. As we get used to a situation, it would be difficult to find something new from it. In this I mean that the video camera sometimes functioned as a kind of buffer for me to keep a distance from the situation. The record written on the tape also became a clue for new findings through the process of editing after leaving the field.

3.2.2 Participant observation without a video camera

In spite of the above advantage of audio visual equipment, strictly speaking, it is anything but a perfect tool for capturing the situation because video cameras do not record anything other

than optical aural elements. Even though it is not easy to render, writing was more suitable for grasping other cognized elements than using a video camera, and for providing much more detailed analyzing. Additionally, it was impossible to bring a video camera wherever informants happen to be. Moreover, the responses of informants would fluctuate depending on whether the researcher had a video camera or not. Then, we can compare this difference as a part of the data. Thus writing and filming must compensate each other for approaching the whole complexity of the subject.

3.2.3 Interview

In addition to participant observation, I used formal and informal interviews for approaching informants. As I mentioned above, for the purpose of revealing the motivation of individuals' behavior, I had to approach the individually experienced situation. I approached past experiences by drawing on personal memory as narratives from informants. This revealed memory about the place and would also show us the socialized, as well as personalized, landscape as a history of the activity (Rodman 1992). This kind of information is more explicit knowledge than tacit knowledge. On the other hand, it might also be true that this knowledge became explicit through the researcher asking the questions, that is, the explicit knowledge can be a result of interaction between the researchers and informants.

3.2.4 Reflexivity

For describing the situation without losing its context, I included the existence and perception of the researcher, which would contribute to the formation of the situation. The way I think about myself is that I am on the border between insider and outsider. I would be sharing a lot with informants as an insider because we speak not only same language, but also the same dialect. On the other hand, I was brought up in an urban area and this urban background would make me an

outsider. “Doing ethnographic fieldwork involves alternating between the insider and outsider experience, and having both simultaneously” (Spradley 1980 57). I had to recognize myself as an element of the field by using several methods.

Using video camera is a way to explicate the existence of not only the researcher but also the subject’s imagined audience because the images taken by the researcher reflect the researcher’s existence as well as the subject’s imagined audience (Arntsen and Holtedahl 2005). In addition to this, it also reflects the researcher’s perception as well as his assumed audience, which can be confirmed through his action, such as framing and zooming.

A field work diary is also useful for recording the researcher’s bias, which contributes to forming the situation. While trying to be objective in my field notes, the fieldwork diary would be a log of my subjectivity which is one of the important elements for forming the situation. It would also reveal the transitions in my subjectivity, which was constantly formed through negotiation in the field. “If the self is continually under construction, then ethnographers’ experiences when they participate in social interaction in another society clearly alter their own selves in accordance with cultural expectation of others. Attention to this process of transforming the ethnographer’s ‘me’ can provide genuine knowledge of nature of others’ selves and societies” (Davis 2008 26).

3.2.5 Ethical implications

For the purpose of protecting individuals, I will keep them anonymous in the thesis. I will write pseudonyms when referring to some particular individuals in my examples. On the contrary, it is difficult to remain anonymous in the film. However, it is not problematic to use filmed material without hiding faces of the characters because every time I was given permission before filming. Additionally, feedback is also a way to keep the research ethical. The informant can confirm the research process by the researcher’s exposed intentions, and then have an opportunity to reject the research. By constantly giving feedback, informants can participate in the research process in the

way they want. The completed film would provide the possibility to make the under populated village vigorous by using it for promoting village life. Hopefully, the film can be a tool for communicating to a wider audience and the screenings would contribute to reproducing the local knowledge in the different way from ever before.

4. Multiple Environments in Hirogawara

The respective villagers in Hirogawara form a perception related to a community through the everyday practice of behavior. This behavior is affected by the environment and the environment is also maintained by the villagers. The environment of Hirogawara has multiplex features. For instance, the structure of the traditional house represents a multiple and complex feature of the environment of Hirogawara. The traditional house in the village has various meanings from being a place for individuals to spend their daily lives to a place for holding ceremonies for the ancestors as well as the community. In other words, the house in the village can have several meanings by being shared by various actors, that is, the house closely connects the individual owner with their neighbors and ancestors. Accordingly, the house as artifact enables the villagers to form an aggregation which includes not only human beings but also spirits and wildlife as well. As Tim Ingold notes, “the history of an environment is a history of the activities of all those organisms, human and non-human, contemporary and ancestral, that have contributed to its formation.”(Ingold 1992 50). In this chapter, I consider the reasons why various actors can form an aggregation by minutely looking into the environment of the village. Additionally, I will try to reveal how the environment maintains the villagers’ perception.

4.1 Nature as an element of environment

Firstly, nature is one of fundamental elements which affect the formation of the environment of the village. Landscape and climate are related to the housing style in the village. I will especially focus on moisture in the region which leads the villagers to make the houses with breathability. On the other hand, wildlife would affect the villagers' perception in several ways. The boundary between the villagers' realm and nature are always blurred because the wildlife continuously makes its presence known in the villagers' private realm.

4.1.1 River, climate, moisture

The source River of the Katsura River which flows into Kyoto City is the axis of the village. The village is formed by the river for the sake of using the water from the river through the watercourse. Water in the village is shared by the villagers equally. Such a water-based community had not been rare in Japanese local villages. For the purpose of maintaining a good supply of water without relying on the central government, individuals had been closely related with community of the village in the Japanese countryside (Berque 1982). Additionally, the River had an important role for conveying cut wood when the transportation was not advanced. Before the end of the Second World War, wood cutters in Hirogawara transported the timber for city side of Kyoto on floats.

Hirogawara is located in a mountain area. The average height of the village is 450 meters above sea level. Because of the height, the weather in the village is unstable compared to the flat land area. This means that the probability of rainfall in the village is higher than the flat land area. In fact, frequently I experienced rainfall in Hirogawara while the weather in the next village which was close to the flat land was sunny. One villager said: "The forestry of the area had developed because of the weather. The more frequently rain falls, the more rapidly mountain trees grow."

Hirogawara is a small village located on a ravine. Because of the location, the village has

fewer hours of daylight compared to the flat land area. The place is not a very good environment for farming because crops and farm products need sunlight for their growth. The area near the mountain is wet most of the time because the place cannot be dried fully by sunlight.

Moss which grows in high wet areas can be seen here and there in the village. The degree of moisture depends on the season in the village, the river and the weather as well as the location of the village; the moisture influences the well ventilated structure of the traditional house in the village.



Figure 4.1 Green moss covering the railing, and the roof of the house

4.1.2 Wildlife

There was never a day when I did not hear the sounds of wildlife during my stay in the village. While some birds were singing on the wire, frogs were also croaking the in rice fields; whereas cicadas were shrilling in the daytime, the deer were neighing in the night. As Yi-Fu Tuan, who is well known scholar in phenomenological geography, mentions: “The organization of human space is uniquely dependent on sight. Other senses expand and enrich visual space. Thus sound enlarges one’s spatial awareness to include areas behind the head that cannot be seen. More

important, sound dramatizes spatial experience. Soundless space feels calm and lifeless despite the visible flow in it” (Tuan 1977 16).

In Hirogawara, though there are few dangerous animals for human beings other than the bear which seldom comes down to the village, it is difficult to farm without being interrupted by the wildlife, such as by crows, wild boar, monkeys, and deer. The deer especially damage the villagers’ crops frequently. To avoid the damage, the villagers came up with various ideas. They put a net around a farm and sometimes built a fire in the night to scare animals. However, it is frequent that crops get eaten by animals. They go through or break the net so they can eat the villagers’ crop. One villager said: “We are like living in the land of deer. The amount of deer is much more than that of the villagers.”

Traditional villagers’ houses are made to avoid moisture. Accordingly, draft which carries wetness away from the house is an important factor for keeping the house dry. Tiny insects, such like bees and flies, came into the house with the wind frequently. The invasion happens so often, but the insects go out of the house quickly because of the well ventilated structure of the house. Therefore, the villagers usually ignore such insects. Especially during the Bon period, the villagers have to leave insects which are in the house alive because traditionally it was said that the spirits of ancestors inhabit the insects in this particular summer period. Some villagers’ houses have swallow’s nests under the roof or sometimes on the ceiling of the shed. When the swallows made their nest inside the shed, a villager used to leave a slide door open for the bird. The villager also put a kind of scarecrow on the top of the gate of the shed for making the crows which attack swallows go away.

The wildlife continuously makes its presence known in the villagers’ private realm. There are two kinds of wildlife which come into the lives of the villagers. One, such as deer, wild boar, monkey, and crow, are harmful animals which interrupt the villagers’ cropping. The other kind, such as swallows and some small insects are more of harmless, but they just come into the realm of the villagers lives. While harmful animals drag the villagers’ farm into the natural world, the villagers

receive harmless wildlife into their home before they know it. Accordingly, the border between inside and outside becomes ambiguous because of the incessant invasion of wildlife.

4.1.3 Nature as an element of the environment

It is impossible to think about the multiplex features which the environment of the village has without considering their connection to nature. Landscape and climate as well as wildlife would affect not only the structure of the houses but also human perception. Though it is difficult to explain logically the co-influential relation between the natural environment and the villagers' perception in this thesis, the natural environment is surely one of the fundamental elements that form the villagers' perceptions as well as the environment of the village. As Tim Ingold notes, "humans not only construct their environments but are also the authors of their own projection of construction" (Ingold 1992 43). Nature is formed by the villagers' perception and is an element of the environment which the villagers interact with.

4.2 Neighbors as elements of the environment

The traditional house is a well ventilated structure and this structure along with the formation of the houses enables the villagers to see the state of the neighbors. On the other hand, the neighbors can see the state of the villagers. The villagers can also see a person who passes the road in front of the house and vice versa. Additionally, the villager knows the state of remote villagers by chatting with neighbors who can see the state of their neighbors or from another villager who has been a passenger on the road. In this way, the well ventilated structure of the houses connects respective villagers organically. This organic aggregation seems to affect individual villager's behavior and vice versa. The other villagers become like elements of the environment for a villager

through the well ventilated environment.

4.2.1 Structure of the village

All the old houses in the village have a similar structure. Traditional houses in the village are mainly made of wood, paper and straw. One of the reasons for using these materials would be their ability to absorb moisture from the place. Architectural spaces designed to be used for a variety of ceremonies, such as a weddings and funerals, can be a room in time of need. Basically, the houses have sliding doors for walls and the door is opened for connecting each small room into a big room when a larger space is needed. Half of the whole wall between the outside and inside is also a sliding door. The sliding door is opened frequently during daylight hours for keeping breathability, if it is not the cold season. As I mentioned above, the place cannot be free from wetness. According to the perspective of Gibsonian's ecological psychology, well ventilated structures of the traditional house affords inhabitant 'action possibilities' to live in comfort by getting rid of wetness in the natural environment (Gibson 1979).

Hirogawara is formed by five areas called Syakusiya-chou, Noumi-chou, Simono-chou, Sugahara-chou, and Obana-chou. About ten houses aggregate into each area. Each area is a bit away from the next area. However, a house is not far away from another house ordinarily in an area. The state of affairs of the neighbors can be easily seen by each other because there is little fencing in front of the houses. Additionally, the sliding door on the border of the structure is opened during warm climate, that is, it is easy to check the existence of each others' neighbors through the state of the sliding door.

Hirogawara is not a large village, but it is a long and narrow village formed by the source River of Katsura River. Though there are a few branch roads, there is only one regular road which goes through the village. For a passenger, the state of most of the houses as well as the farms can be seen from the road easily because there is little hedge which divides private land and public land.

Oppositely, it is impossible to visit the innermost area of the village for a passenger without being noticed by the villagers.

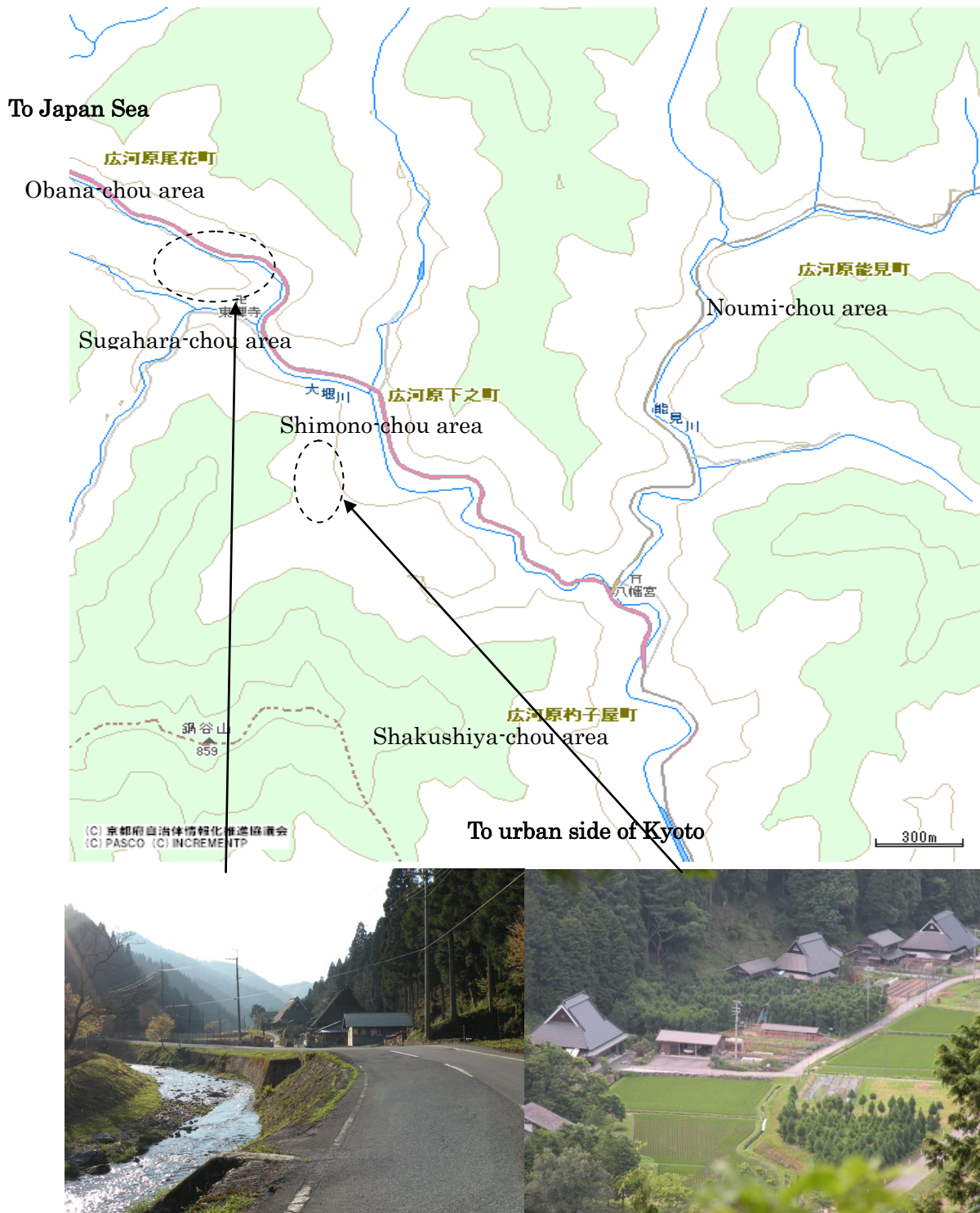


Figure 4.2 Map of Hirogawara & Picture of the position of houses and road, river

Source of map: Kyoto Prefecture municipality informationization promotion conference

(<http://g-kyoto.pref.kyoto.lg.jp/gis/top.asp?MODE=1&CITYID=0&SUBJID=-1&ORGCCD=>)

There are two kinds of villagers. One who has originally been in the village is called a *Jinomon*, and the other who moved there from the outside is called a *Iribito*. *Jinomon* and *Iribito* can be directly translated into English as ‘Native’ and ‘Newcomer’ respectively. There are few *Iribito* outside of the Shyakusiya-chou area. The most villagers who are called *Jinomon* have inherited the land at least 100-300 years ago and most of the land has not been taken by others. Therefore, rice fields, farms and mountains, as well as traditional houses, are kind of traits of their ancestors. On the other hand, *Iribito* borrowed land from *Jinomon* and built houses on the land. Most of them are in the Shakushiya-chou area and gathering in the reclaimed place where it was forest before they came, and on the other side of the river of the village.

The area where *Iribito* live is not isolated but moderately close to the area where *Jinomon* live in the Syakusiya-chou area. Although the style of houses of the *Iribito* is not exactly like traditional houses of the *Jinomon*, one can easily see the state of the others because there is no rigid fence surrounding houses which separate each other. Both of them come and go over the main road when one needs to visit one another. While the different names which are given to the two different groups indicate a strict boundary between these groups, they seem to be moderately connected with each other.

4.2.2 Structure of the traditional house

The typical traditional house in the village is mainly made of wood and paper for absorbing the moisture inside the house. And the sliding doors of the house walls are opened for keeping breathability of the house when it is warm climate. While most of the traditional houses in the village next to Hirogawara have a hedge, there are quite few houses with rigid hedge in Hirogawara. The structure of the traditional house in Hirogawara contributes to mutual ‘watchability’ among the villagers. I will use the term ‘watchability’ as the possibility for inhabitants to watch the other

inhabitants' activity from outside the private land. Because of this mutual 'watchability,' a villager can know the state of the other villagers easily.



Figure 4.3 House without rigid hedge in Hirogawara on the left & house with hedge in the village next to Hirogawara on the right

Houses also have a front and a back like human beings (Tuan 1977). Referring to Japanese traditional houses, it is usual that the entrance is located on the south side and the south side has the character of the front (Berque 1982). The structure of the traditional house in Hirogawara also has a similar structure as the usual Japanese traditional houses and is illustrated in Figure 4.4. The entrance was originally located on the south of 'Doma.' Though there still remain houses which do not have new entrances, some houses have newly built entrances on the road side because of the convenience for entering. Rooms near the entrance, such as *Nakanoma* and especially *Didokoro*, are used as for various means from eating meals while watching TV to formal meetings like in the case where I visited them for the formal interview. In *Zashiki*, their ancestors and Shinto Gods are set up in the altar where family members will show it reverence. Additionally, there is the space called *Nando* which is worth bed room in western country. *Nando* is located on the north and mountain side of the house, that is, the room has the character of the back. During my

fieldwork period, while the other slide door was frequently open, I seldom saw the door of *Nando* left open. The space might indicate the unknown rigid privacy of the villagers.

Every traditional house in the village has an almost similar structure. Every house is located on the foot of a mountain. The north and the mountain side are always on the back of the house. Oppositely, the south and the river side are on the front of the house. Thus, if the mountain is on the west side, *Nando* would be located on the North West part of the house, which would be different from Figure 4.4. While *Nando* is always located on the back of the house, *Nakanoma* and the cowshed is on the front of the house.

According to Tetsuro Watsuji, who is a well known Japanese philosopher, comparing the openness mediated by the slide door inside traditional Japanese houses, the house is closed for the outside by planting a hedge surrounding a house. On the contrary, it is popularly understood by several scholars that Japanese traditional houses are spaciouly built for the outside (Berque 1982). In fact, I have seen traditional houses which have rigid hedges like Watsuji mentioning when I visited the village next to Hirogawara. Talking about Hirogawara, however, most of the traditional houses do not have rigid hedges. On the other hand, the existence of the back of the house which is seldom opened for outsiders implies a closeness in the traditional houses. The traditional house in Hirogawara seems to have openness and closeness for the outside some of the time.

Chatting among the villagers usually happens in the space between the public road and entrance of the house. Many villagers put a folding chair and table in the space in front of the shed or entrance and chat with neighbors. *Tsumado* is a deck on the border between the inside and outside of the house, and is also used for chatting with neighbors. In Japanese custom, the space is normally called *Engawa* and the slide door in *Engawa* is called *Tsumado*. However, the villagers briefly called the space *Tsumado*. Even though slide door on *Tsumado* on the front of house is physically opened, the villagers there hardly use it for entering the house because using *Tsumado* as an entrance has been prohibited in the village traditionally. In Hirogawara, it is said that only dead men can use *Tsumado* for entering the house. The ambiguous border between the inside and outside

can also be understood as an invisible boundary.

These spaces are a kind of buffer zone. As Augustin Berque mentions, buffer zones surround Japanese traditional houses create the distance between inside and outside. The reason that the ordinary chatting, as well as house owner's treatment of their neighbors, happens in these spaces could be assumed to be because the villagers want to keep a distance from each other. As Marcel Mauss notes: "The unreciprocated gift still makes the person who has accepted it inferior, particularly when it has been accepted with no thought of returning it... Charity is still wounding for him who has accepted it, and the whole tendency of our morality is to strive to do away with the unconscious and injurious patronage of the rich almsgiver" (Mauss 1950 65). Similar to an unreciprocated gift, hospitality 'makes the person who has accepted it inferior.' For the purpose of diminishing injurious hospitality, the treatment among the villagers occurs in these buffer zones between inside and outside. The treatment of a house owner in these spaces is considered neither a formal treatment with injurious hospitality nor disrespectful behavior for both owner and visiting villagers because of the location of the boundary.

It is easy to know the state of what is outside other than through chatting in these spaces. Meanwhile, the state of the villagers' chatting can be easily seen from the public road. In fact, these spaces are often used when I chatted with the house owner. It was seldom that we chatted in a face to face style in these spaces. Instead of face to face style, I often chatted by the owner's side without seeing outside. A chair is normally put next to a chair behind the wall of *Naya*. Similarly, the floor of *Tsumad* was used for settling down side by side. Then, we would sit on them while chatting and watching the scenery of the outside. The house owner and I used to greet other villagers every time they would be passing in front of the house. Thus, the state of other villagers is confirmed by respective villagers through greetings happening in these spaces.

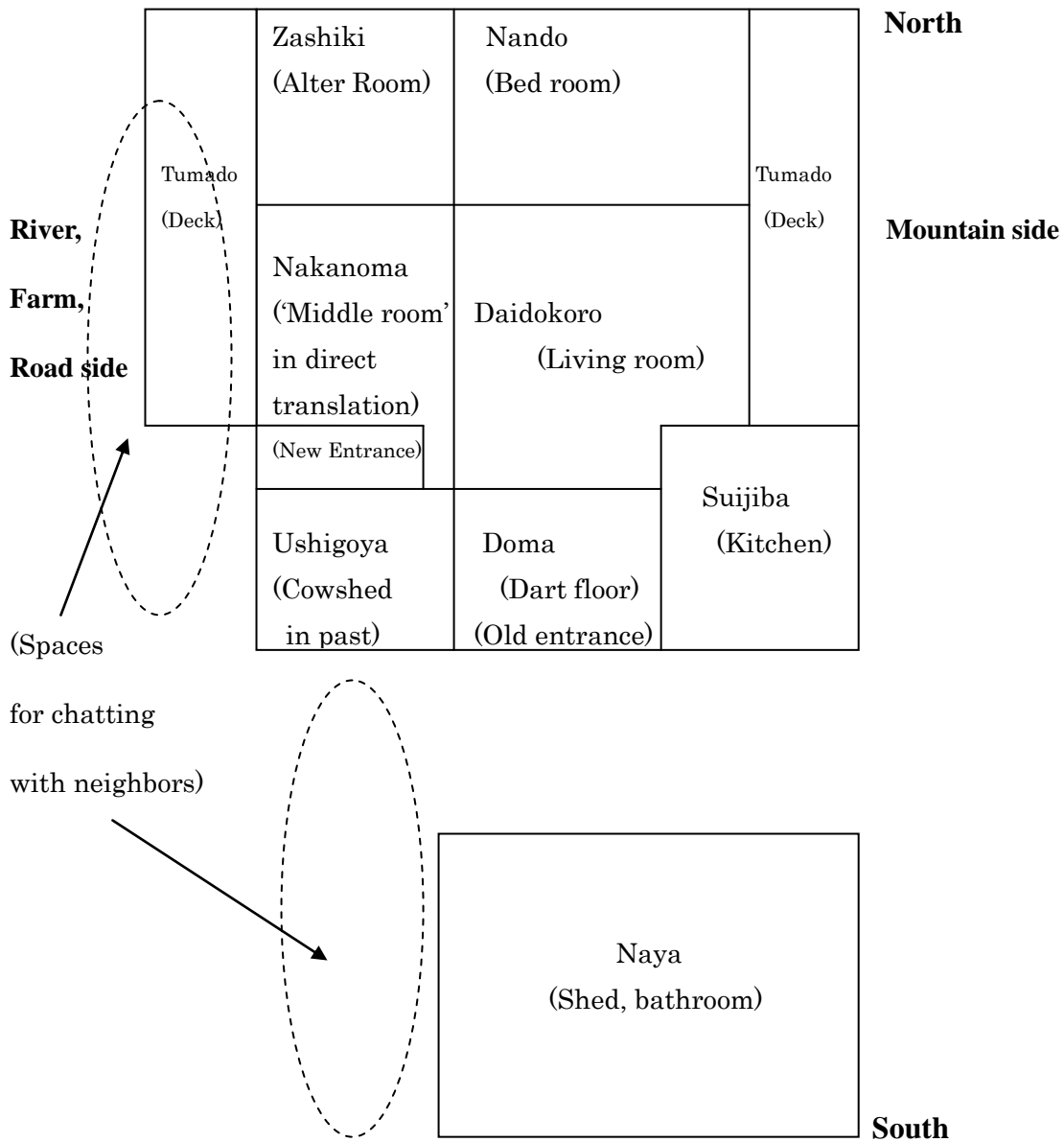


Figure 4.4 Structure of traditional house in the village & scenery from spaces where villagers chat with neighbors ordinarily

4.2.3 The process of sharing information with the villagers

A villager can see the state of the neighbors easily because of ‘watchability’ which the traditional house has. On the other hand, the state of the whole village is known through chatting with neighbors and other villagers in the spaces in front of the houses. I will explain the way information is shared among villagers by looking into the issue of a sneaky theft that happened in the village in the end of April.

The sneaky thief was captured about two weeks after the affair. The criminal was a middle aged man who lived on the urban side of Kyoto City and does not have any particular connection to the village. The man first stole something in the city and then came to the village mainly to hide from the police. He had been a construction worker originally, and knew of unoccupied houses in the village when he came there. The affair was first revealed by a villager who had seen a suspicious outsider in the village and called the police. While it indicates mutual ‘watchability’ among neighbors, it also shows social change because of the serious under populated situation on the countryside of Japan. If the village had been vigorous enough, the sneaky theft itself might not have happened because safety has been preserved by the ‘watchability’ among enough of the villagers.

Immediately after the sneaky theft occurred in the Sugahara-chou area in Hirogawara, the topic soon buzzed throughout the village. I would be one of the first people who knew of the theft because I came across the policemen in the village when the theft was first revealed. I met them and knew about the theft in the late afternoon on 29 April and the affair was known by a villager who lives in the other area than the area where the theft occurred the next morning. He told me about the theft when I met him on the road in front of his house, but I said that I already knew about this because I had coincidentally seen the policemen the day before. Then, the rumor reached the southern end of the village at least two days after the theft was revealed. When I was filming Mr. Suzuki, his wife got the information about the sneaky theft from her neighbor exactly on 1 May. She was not in

the village on 30 April, that is, she might have known about this before the day that she actually knew it. In the sequence, Ms. Suzuki gains information about the sneaky theft from her neighbor in front of her house. After hearing about the event, Ms. Suzuki immediately talked about it with her husband who is plowing the field.

In the sequence, the information is mediated by wives. Though I cannot generalize that women are the medium of rumors because the male and female villagers have also various respective personalities, women in the village are apt to attend social meetings and exchange information among themselves more as compared to men. These women or men who like to chat with neighbors, as well as passengers in front of their house, would mediate information smoothly.

4.2.4 Neighbors as elements of the environment

The information about the theft from the second northern area of the village circulated to the southernmost area at least within 48 hours. In this way, respective neighbors meet and exchange information through chatting around the spaces in the front of the houses. Rumors, as complicated information, are shared among most of villagers by word of mouth as swiftly as possible. Thus, respective villagers are connected like an aggregation through chatting among the villagers. The base of the aggregation would be mutual 'watchability' between the houses. The aggregation is reproduced through the villagers' physical maintenance of the ambiguous boundaries which are between the inside and outside of the houses. This ambiguous boundary makes neighbors into expanded elements of the environment with which a villager interacts with.

4.3 Ancestors as elements of the environment

Similar to the case of the neighbors, the environmental feature which connects farms,

mountains as well as houses with the villagers are ancestors. The bond between the villagers and ancestors is kept through the villagers' constant maintenance of these environments. However,, the environment of the village contributes to reproducing an aggregation of not only neighbors but also ancestors. As Tim Ingold mentions, "life and growth are conceived as the enactment of identities, or the realization of potentials, that are already in place. It is decent, the passing down of the components of being underwriting one life cycle to the site of inauguration of another, that generates persons" (Ingold 2000 136). The villagers also connect themselves to the ancestor through constantly holding ceremonies. The ceremony for ancestors is held by the villagers at least once a month. They recite a sutra for holding a service for a departed soul of an ancestor. Each family has their own family Buddhist alter and family mortuary tablet in the house. These ceremonies and artifacts seem to persistently maintain the bond between the villagers and ancestors. Ancestors in a villager's heart become like elements of the environment which they interact with through maintaining the bond mediated by land and ceremony.

4.3.1 Land of ancestors

Almost all of the older villagers who live in the Hirogawara village farm their own land which has been inherited from their ancestors 100-300 years ago. Their work on the farm is not for earning money because most of them are covered by the national pension plan. Some of them said that they work for the enjoyment and others said that it's to give their children organic vegetables. However, it seemed that the work is too rough for some villagers because of their old age and is far from enjoyable for them. Some villagers said that they feel sorry for the ancestors if the land is left as it is, overgrown with weeds, or they just expressed that it is an 'unpleasant sight.' The word 'unpleasant' might be interpreted as the sight is unpleasant not only for the interviewee but also for neighbors and their ancestors. Although there is various reasons to keep utilizing the land, affection for ancestors would be one of the reasons to continue farming.

As Tim Ingold notes, “genealogical thinking in agricultural and pastoral societies is carried on within the context of a relational approach to the generation of knowledge and substance. That is to say, it is embedded in life-historical narratives of the deeds of predecessors, of their movements and emplacements, and of their interventions – oftentimes from beyond the grave – in the lives of successors”(Ingold 2000 133). In relation to the forest, the bodies of ancestors have been buried in the forests of their clan from the past. There are still trees which were planted by the villagers’ grandfather. Thus, the forest is a trait of the villagers’ ancestors itself. It is true that most of the forest is not maintained because of a serious aging situation in the village. Even if they can work on the farm, it would be too hard to maintain the forest for the elder villagers. Nevertheless, almost all villagers still own their forest and do not sell it. Moreover, some of the villagers still maintain forests in spite of demanding work. “Cumulative quality of *yamazukuri* (forestry in Japanese) makes trees an important medium of social relations between different generations of villagers, primarily through the family” (Knight 1996 228).

Traditional houses have also traits of the ancestors in its traditional structure. Though parts of the house are changed into new materials, the whole structure of the house remains in the traditional style. While the new materials change the villagers’ way of interacting with the environment, the well ventilated structure of traditional houses strongly affects the villagers’ behavior formation. Additionally, the traditional houses have a *Zashiki* where the villagers put a family Buddhist altar referring to their ancestors. The villagers offer rice to the Buddhist altars for their ancestors almost every day. In the Bon period, they make various offerings, from dumplings to vegetables, for the Buddhist altar as well as for their family grave. The traditional structure of the houses which is for the ancestors would affect the villagers’ behavior.

4.3.2 Ceremonies for ancestors

There are regularly held ceremonies which console ancestors’ souls. The Kannon sutra is

recited once a month in the Touzen temple in the village. It is a ceremony for the consolation of the villagers who died in the Second World War as well as their ancestors. In addition to the regular ceremony, some ceremonies for ancestors are held in August. Villagers visit their ancestors' grave on 7 August every year. Before the visit, villagers have to clean up their ancestors' grave around 1 August. Then normally the Bonze will visit villagers' houses to recite the sutra in front of the family Buddhist altar between 12 and 14 August. The ceremony is called *Tanagyou*. Additionally, villagers gather in Touzen temple to be given a sutra for their ancestors by the Bonze on 16 August. The ceremony is called *Osegaki*. All of the ceremonies which I mentioned in this paragraph are Buddhist ceremonies for ancestors.

On the other hand, Shinto ceremonies for appreciating Gods around villagers are held constantly and also concern their ancestors. One of the ceremonies which I attended is called *Nouagari no sekku*. This ceremony is for appreciating *Ta no Kami* (God of the rice field). As I mentioned above, the land as well as the rice field is closely related with villagers' ancestors' endeavor to reclaim the land. Accordingly, the appreciation for *Ta no Kami* can also be understood as an occasion to remind the villagers of their ancestors.

As Paul Connerton notes about the ceremony as activity for commemorating continuity with the past, "Commemorative ceremonies prove to be commemorative (only) in so far as they are performative. But performative memory is in fact much more widespread than commemorative which are – through performance is necessary to them – highly representational. Performative memory is bodily"(Connerton 1989 71). The villagers regenerate continuity with ancestors through holding a ceremony as a bodily experience.

4.3.3 Ancestors as elements of environment

In this way, the villagers' way of living is strongly affected by ancestors. They work on the land which they inevitably inherited from their ancestors and they hold ceremonies for consoling

their ancestors' souls constantly. A villager said that even if the villagers do not want to work on the farm, or hold the ceremonies, they cannot stop these activities because they feel 'uncomfortable' without doing them. In this way, the current villagers are related with ancestors in their heart because boundaries between the present and past are always being blurred and muddled through constant maintenance of the traditional environment and ceremonies both as the history of activities from the past until now. During this time, ancestors become like elements of the environment which a villager interacts with.

Activities relating to ancestors are also related with aggregation of neighbors. For example, the ceremony of *Kannon sutra*, which is held for ancestors, can be understood as a social meeting for exchanging information among remote villagers. Maintaining the bond with ancestors by plowing the ancestral land can also be understood as an activity to maintain the place in order to take good care of the neighbors' feelings by keeping the scenery beautiful in the village. In this way, activities concerning ancestors are related with each other's neighbors and they form a kind of aggregation.

4.4 Multiple environments in Hirogawara

Fredrick Barth discusses identity in elementary society by referring to Shoshonean or Bushman bands. "There is thus no clear separation between a man's capacity as dominant adult male/husband and father/hunter/etc., and in all these respects he contrasts with a child or a married woman. Though such specially codified capacities change in a regular career pattern through a life cycle, they are at any one time unambiguously distributed on the local population, and interaction is predominantly organized by *one* dominant status set"(Barth 1981 126). Barth defined this overlap of roles in a social relationship as *multiplexity*.

The environment in Hirogawara has multiple features in its structure. The features are kept

ambiguous by boundaries among neighbors. Additionally, the features are also maintained through activities for preserving the traditional environment. The traditional environment connects the villagers with their ancestors, that is, the boundary between present and past is persistently blurred by their affection for the traditional environment. Thus ambiguous boundaries between individuals and the whole enables the environment to have multiple features by being shared by individuals and neighbors as well as ancestors in place and in time. Because of the ambiguous boundary, neighbors and ancestors in a villager's perception might become a kind of elements of the environment which affects the villager's behavior. Yi-Fu Tuan notes, "To be in the company of human beings – even with one other person – has the effect of curtailing space and its threat of openness. On the other hand, as people appear in space, for everyone a point is reached when the feeling of spaciousness yields to its opposite – crowding ... people rather than things are likely to restrict our freedom and deprive us of space" (Tuan 1977 59). Additionally, as Tuan mentions, things can have power for human beings when people endow them with human characteristics, which would be a kind of ancestral object, "...a man may feel ill at ease in a room full of ancestral portrait. Even a piece of furniture can seem to possess an obtrusive presence." (Tuan 1977 59).

As F.G. Bailey notes: "The community is defined by a common set of values and categories. Communities and societies are made up of people but we only recognize them as a community or as a society, because the people who belong share some ideas about how things are and how things should be...they share a definition of the good things and the bad things in life" (Bailey 1971 8). Though the work for maintaining the environment of the village is not individual's duty, a villager in Hirogawara tries to work for the village as possible as he can. In spite of demanding work for many villagers, the villagers feel uncomfortable without maintaining the 'Jisaki' space as well as traditional environment of the village because individual have 'common set of values' which is shared by community's as well as ancestors' of his perception. Although there might be conflict between values of fully individual and that of one as a member of the community, it is difficult to distinguish intentionality of human agents with functions of social structure because of "the

complex element of knowledgeability implied in intentional action.” (Giddens 1990 312).

“The physical properties have an effect on the senses, but it is the process of aesthetic transformation that gives a value to a property, a value which often becomes associated with an emotional response” (Morphy 1996 258). Thus, it is emotional as well as aesthetics impulses that motivate the villagers to work. “The aesthetics impulse, understood as the ‘sense come to life,’ directs attention to its roots in nature. But through rooted in nature (biology), it is directed and colored by culture. Indeed, the ability to appreciate beauty is commonly understood as a specialized cultural competence, which varies from individual to individual and group to group” (Tuan 1992 8). Accordingly, the socially constructed environment is co-influentially related with an individual’s aesthetic impulse. The more individuals maintain the environment of the village, the more the boundary between individual and whole becomes ambiguous. Meanwhile, multiplex features of the place mediated by the environment let a villager reproduce this environment. The environment as structural properties of society is both the medium and outcome of the practices of the agents (Giddens 1984).

Although there exist multiple environments as well as multiple identities of the villagers, there are still differences among each other. Respective places as well as individuals have still different characters, histories and so on. According to Margaret C. Rodman, the polyphonic features of a place is called *multivocality*. Places “should be seen as, to varying degrees, socially constructed products of *others*’ interests (material as well as ideational) and as mnemonics of *other*’s experiences. The contests and tensions between different actors and interests in the construction of space should be explored” (Rodman 1992 644). For understanding the environment of the village as well as the villagers’ perception more precisely, I will focus on negotiation between the villagers and outsiders as a typical polyphonic element of the environment in the next chapter.

5. Open and Closed Environments under Globalization

Although the village is still a remote and inconvenient place, the development of technology enabled people to form new ways of forming relationships between the villagers and people from other parts of the world, especially the urban side of Kyoto City. Owing to mobility of goods and people as well as information, a mosaic of separate cultural units “have been opened up and culture is today flowing throughout the world creating a process of mixture referred to as hybridity or creolity” (Friedman 2007 125). In this chapter, I will look into the environmental factors which enable a villager to connect to outside worlds. Focusing on this element that is caused by globalization would reveal the ways they relate to each other and how Hirogawara is transformed and reproduced through persistent negotiations in the situation.

The village is not isolated but related to the outside of the village. If comparing the relationship between a villager and neighbors as well as to ancestors, however, the relationship between a villager and the outsiders is not very tight. So to speak, the villagers and outsiders form a loose aggregation. The environment of the village has a different meaning to the villagers than for most of the outsiders who live on urban side. “The country side is a cultural landscape in which ideas of rurality are socially constructed” (Hall 2005 228). Rural life, which is enjoyed by the urban people in the village, can be seen as resource which the urban environment does not have, which are nature and tradition. Especially the traditional architecture is a particularity of the environment of the Hirogawara. It would be appropriate to understand the values of the scenery of Hirogawara by quoting from my fieldwork diary because I am one of the outsiders from the urban region. “April 9, 2009, Hirogawara was a small village. There were traditional houses with straw and tin roofs. These were like houses which are in picture books about tales of old Japan. I felt calm when I came across this scenery.” In this way, the traditional scenery of the village is an object to be enjoyed by urban people. The village starts to have a new role to be enjoyed by both the villagers and outsiders due to the current globalized situation.

It is the well ventilated environment that connects the villagers with outside worlds and the environment affords them possibilities for forming a partly shared notion of the boundary between the village and outside worlds. Then the villagers form the environment according to negotiation among various elements, including the notion formed through globalization. While traditional scenery is preserved by the villagers, part of it, such as the roof architecture is reformed through the negotiation of the situation. However, the fundamentally well ventilated structure of the environment is seldom changed. Though the traditional well ventilated structure of the environment works for reproducing solidarity of the village, the same structure also let the village connect to the outside world. In other words, the traditional environment is open and closed for outsiders at the same time. As Thomas Hylland Eriksen notes, “it becomes absolutely necessary to admit that societies or cultures are neither tightly integrated, unchanging nor closed systems. They change and interact with outside worlds” (Eriksen 1995 245). While the closed features of the village enabled the villagers to reproduce traditional culture, the open features of the village would invite young generations who could contribute to making the under populated village vigorous. Open and closed environments in Hirogawara are persistently reproducing themselves through negotiation in the globalized local village.

5.1 Outsiders as elements of environment

I would like to focus on the environmental elements of the village which connects a villager with outside worlds. At first, I will look into several things which enable the villagers to interact with outside worlds. Secondly, I will enumerate examples of outsiders as elements of the environment which are co-influentially related to the villagers. “Human beings are not merely a physical ballast (although this is important) but a social and psychological presence, the sum of their different backgrounds and personalities” (MacDougall 2006 127). Outsiders as a ‘social and

psychological presence' are also important elements of the environment of the village.

5.1.1 Road, Bus

The road is a fundamental and important factor connecting the village and outside worlds. Although there had been an unpaved road in the past, the bus started to come and go between urban side of Kyoto and Hirogawara in 1959. Since then, the bus has passed up and down four times a day. Unpaved roads became roads with asphalt around 1975. Albeit mountain passes between the urban side of Kyoto City and Hirogawara is still steep, but the development of traffic enables outsiders to visit the village easier than ever before. On the other hand, snow in the winter season still makes the mountain pass a dangerous way and interrupts outsiders from visiting the village. Accordingly, most of the outsiders for the village are seasonal visitors.

There is a main road in Hirogawara and the situation of passengers is easily confirmed from respective houses because of the 'watchability' of the traditional house in the village. Additionally, it is easy to see far ahead along the road from most of the dwellings. Thus, even if passengers are in a car or bus, it would give enough time to confirm their appearance and behavior of the villagers and vice versa. A man using the bus to visit Hirogawara would have to spend at least around two hours in the village to catch the next bus which takes him home. These settings serve as occasions to know the ideas of outsiders for a villager through not only conversing with them but also seeing their way of enjoying the traditional scenery of the village.

5.1.2 TV, Internet

Most of villagers have their own TV and they often get information from outside worlds through TV. I used to hear about recent news from the villagers when I visited them because the place I stayed which was in the school did not have a TV. Once I had visited a villager's house, a

villager willingly said to me that she had appeared on television and shown the way to make traditional straw sandals. Though there are various programs on TV, I have often seen programs introducing the Japanese rural side and their traditions like the program which she appeared in. Tradition is depicted like a curious and precious thing on these programs. This kind of notion about tradition is affecting not only the outside worlds, but also the traditional village itself.

Compared to TV, there are few internet connections in the village. However, the internet has the possibility to influence the village. Information on the internet influences a few villagers as well as outsiders and they can also influence the village. If so, what kind of information about Hirogawara can people get through the internet? I tried to type 'Hirogawara' in Japanese letters and searched it in Google.co.jp. Then, there were six web links concerning Hirogawara in Kyoto in the first ten results. The other four links were other places which have same name as 'Hirogawara.' One of the links concerning Hirogawara in Kyoto was about route 38 called 'Kyoto-Hirogawara-Miyama line' which connects the urban side of Kyoto City with Miyama City mediated by Hirgawara. Two of these were about skiing grounds on the edge of Hirogawara. Three of the rest were about web pages that introduce the traditions of Hirogawara from their ceremony called 'Matsuage' to the traditional scenery where houses with straw roofs are dotted. These web pages also included the information on how to access the village for outsiders who were interested in traditional things. The result indicates that information about Hirogawara in Kyoto which people tend to get through the internet concerns sightseeing. Additionally, it is revealed that the traditional ceremonies as well as scenery in Hirogawara tend to be depicted as the main highlights on internet.

Typical web pages introducing traditional ceremony called *Matsuage* is illustrated in Figure5.1. The page is from 1 of 10 web links in the first search results by using Google.com. This time I typed 'Hirogawara' which is not in Japanese letters to search it. The page is decorated by words such as 'traditional' with a mystical picture of the ceremony. Additionally, pictures of the old styled fan also reminded me of images of tradition. The context of the ceremony is defined through the information concerning tradition. Furthermore, Hirogawara becomes known through this

‘traditional’ ceremony because this kind of web page occupies the first 1 of 10 search results by just typing ‘Hirogawara’ without any other words like ‘tradition’ or ‘ceremony’ in Google.com. In this I mean that Hirogawara would be contextualized as a ‘traditional’ village through the information regarding the ‘traditional’ ceremony.

Moreover, the interactive features of the internet have the greatest difference from TV. It enables outsiders to relate themselves with the village through the villager and vice versa. The relation would be deeper than the relation between usual visitors and the village. In fact, I am a person who contacted the village through internet. It worked as an occasion to form a kind of shared notion about the village through negotiation and agreement. Additionally, the interactive features of the internet enable insiders as well as outsiders to post the image of the village on the internet. They are both consumer and producer in the process of forming notions of Hirogawara.

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Traditional events (Kyoto city)

▶ Hirogawara Torch-throwing Festival

At this fire festival, which originated at a mountain village in Rakuho (northern Kyoto), people pray for the spirits of the dead, fire prevention and a plentiful harvest. About 1,000 torches stuck into the riverbed or small paths are lighted together. In this valiant ceremony people throw the torches at a large umbrella 20 meters high, setting the umbrella ablaze. The flames rising in all directions come together to form an arc, scorching the night sky.

Date : August 24
Place : Hirogawara, Sakyo-ku
Access : Near the Shitanomachi stop on the Kyoto Bus line (You can't return in the same day.)
Information : Hanase Office of Sakyo-ku Office 075-746-0215

page top

KYOTO Prefectural Government Tourism Division
 Kamigyo Ward, Kyoto City, 602-8570

Figure 5.1 Context of web page and that of 'traditional' Hirogawara

Source: (http://www.pref.kyoto.jp/visitkyoto/en/info_required/traditional/kyoto_city/11/)

5.1.3 Ceremony with outsiders

'Matsuage' is most popular ceremony in Hirogawara, which is held in every 24 August.

While villagers have held the ceremony for the mountain God and ancestors for their own customs, the ceremony has now been opened for outsiders for the sightseeing business.. The details about the ceremony are explained in Figure 5.1 from the web site for foreign tourists. The fact that there are English web introductions for tourists is depicting the current globalized situation. The ceremony affords the villagers the occasion to interact with outsiders.

The various elements concerning *Matsuage* form an aggregate through this ceremony. For instance, while the villagers dedicate their performance to the God of the holy mountain of Shinto, they recite the Buddhist Kannon sutra for their ancestors in the ceremony as well. Whereas every villager, including *Iribito* and blood relatives who are currently out of the village, plays a remarkable role in the performance, even visitors have an important role when they take part in the dancing circle in the later half part of the ceremony. One villager said: “The important function of *Matsuage* is to make respective villagers feel as one through working together.” Actually, the ceremony seems to function as forming a temporary aggregation made of the villagers as well as other elements like ancestors, and visitors. In other words, outsiders become like co-affective elements of the environment for the villagers during this opportunity.

5.1.4 Outsiders as elements of the environment

The connection between the village and outside worlds is mediated through the above various elements of the environment. Elements such as roads and the internet afford outsiders possible choices to visit Hirogawara. Though outsiders come and go to the village for various reasons, most of them simply visit Hirogawara to enjoy the natural surroundings of the village or to take photographs. There are especially lots of outsiders 24 August when the most famous ceremony in the village called *Matsuage* is held. I examine some concrete examples of a rider who visits the village and also myself as an outsider in the village in order to consider the relationship between the village and outside worlds. These outsiders in the village can be seen as elements of the

environment which are related to the villagers.

The village is on the way between the urban side of Kyoto City and the town of Wakasa which is located on the Japan Sea. Therefore, cars and bikes pass through the village frequently due to the asphalt road. Some of them drop by the village to look around at the scenery or to take photos of traditional houses. Though they sometimes talk with the villagers, most of them just look around and sometimes they take photographs of the village without conversing with the villagers. Speaking of a rider whom I came across on the way to the village, he was also a typical visitor who does not converse with the villagers. He said he was a student at the University of Kyoto City and came to the village to take photographs. In spite of his frequent visits from what he said, I had neither seen him talking with the villagers nor greeting the villagers. He was absorbed with taking photographs of the scenery of the village. The houses that people live in is a part of traditional scenery to be taken by photograph for visitors.

For indicating outsiders' interests in tradition, I will look into my film material and fieldwork diary. As Peter Crawford notes, "The perspicuous and experiential mode (fly-on –the wall and fly-in-the-soup respectively) of ethnographic film both subscribe to a notion of mimetic representation in which concepts such as authenticity, truth, contextualization, and meaning are still regarded as pertinent and desirable....The evocative alternative to filmic representation may be described as the-fly-in-the-I, in which the camera is used to comment on and "deconstruct" western conventions of representing other cultures" (Crawford 1992 79). Although Peter mentions deconstructing western conventions of representing others, the concept of 'the-fly-in-the-I' can also be applied to the deconstructing conducted by an urbanized filmmaker's interest, like mine. In the beginning of my fieldwork, what I mainly cared about in filming was the beauty of each shot. Thus, I sometimes excluded things which seemed not to be appropriate for expressing the beauty. These were things which reminded me of the modernistic outside world of the village. Accordingly, I was trying to mystify the village with solidarity and tradition by excluding modernistic elements before I knew. Additionally, what I wrote down in my fieldwork diary to my surprise is mainly about the

beauty of tradition, such as the appearance of the houses and rituals as well as ceremonies. The examples show that tradition itself is an attractive resource for outsiders nowadays.

The organic connection between villagers which is mediated by the well ventilated environment would allow them to receive outsiders easily. Similar to the permanent inhabitants, the state of the visitors is watched by a villager and then the state is known by most of the villagers through a rumor in no time at all. In fact, it was frequent that villagers asked me the state of the other villagers where I had visited a day before, that is, my action in the day before went straight to the other villagers. Additionally, I myself had a similar role as the villagers as a rumor before I even knew it. In this way, the security of the village is kept through an organic aggregation of the villagers. While the aggregation keeps the security of the village, it would work to form a shared notion among the villagers under the influence of visitors. Even though there is no conversation between the villagers and visitors, visitors' behavior of taking photographs of traditional scenery is seen by the villager from his well ventilated dwelling and affects the villager's notion about his country. Then, the villager's notion is shared with other community members immediately through the aggregation.

5.2 The villagers' perception related to the outside world

Although Hirogawara had forest for timbering which made certain profits some decades ago, it is no longer a profitable resource because of cheap wood from global markets. Then, the mountain area is too inconvenient to commute for the urban side of Kyoto. Thus, it is difficult to live in Hirogawara without any income like annuity. Accordingly, many people whose origins are in Hirogawara had chosen to live on the urban side while holding their traditional house in the village. These houses are used like second houses and the houses are empty most of the year except for during the Bon period around *Matsuage*. On the other hand, there are some people who are attracted

by nature and tradition, who want to move to Hirogawara in spite of the inconveniences. However, they cannot move to the village easily. There are no more reclaimed places for *Iribito*. The other old part of the village also has no room for them owing to many empty traditional houses of villagers who currently live on the city side. They seldom sell or rent out these houses because they are still connected to the neighbors as well as to the ancestors through these properties. The difficulties of Hirogawara drove the village into a seriously aging and under-populated situation. The villagers' identity related to the traditional environments is in danger under the situation. As Thomas Hylland Eriksen notes, "social identity become important only from the moment they feel threatened, and that tendencies towards the globalization of culture, threatening to eradicate important cultural differences, more or less automatically trigger counter-reactions in the shape of ethnic or traditionalist movements" (Eriksen 1995 293). The difficulty confronting the disappearance of the long lasting culture of Hirogawara makes the value of the village soar for the general public. Notions about the village are shaped alongside social change under globalization. The place is formed through negotiation among multiple voices. Globalized local villages can be seen as an aggregation of various actors which include outside worlds as well. Outside worlds are mediated by a villager's interactive environment which includes not only artifacts, like TV, which affords them the cultural values of the globalized world but also of tourists whom he sees from his well ventilated dwelling. Hirogawara is to be reconsidered as combined with various agencies in a globalized local reality, which is the *multivocality* within the village.

The villagers' perceptions about the environment of Hirogawara are affected by the outsiders' perceptions through interaction between the villagers and outside worlds. As I mentioned in chapter 4, individual villagers' aesthetic impulse is deeply affected by his neighbors and ancestors who are mediated by the well ventilated environment. Thus, while he has multiple perceptions as a member of the village, outsiders would have respectively different perceptions from the villagers. However, shared perceptions among outsiders concerning the village seem to affect the villagers' perceptions. Most of the outsiders who visit Hirogawara perceive the village as

precious traditional scenery to be enjoyed. Although it is difficult to say that the inhabitants themselves are enjoying their traditional scenery like the museum, they are at least proud of the beauty of the scenery. In a word, the villagers are grasping traditional scenery as an aesthetic environment owing to the affection from the outside worlds. For instance, typical houses of the *Iribito*, which is the common name for newcomers, are designed by a *Jinomon* which is the common name for a native villager. This villager first introduced these *Iribito* and prepared the land for lease. Although the log houses do not look like traditional houses themselves, the houses are made of wood from the mountains of Hirogawara and are designed by the traditional villager. Additionally, the houses were built on reclaimed land which is moderately separate from the old part of the village. Thus, it does not break with the harmony of the traditional scenery of the village. Although it once became a problem when the log house was about to be built in the vacant land in the middle of the old part of the village, strong opposition from *Jinomon* made the *Iribito* change the design of the house to a more old fashioned style. This example shows the villagers' perception of the environment as harmonized traditional scenery which has aesthetic value. The outsiders' notions of the environment seem to be partly internalized into the villagers' perception.

Another example about their traditional houses with thatched roofs would imply that the villagers' had perceptions about the environment which are not fully shared with outsiders. Most of the houses with thatched roofs are covered by tin nowadays because re-thatching a straw roof is too hard for old villagers. A tin roof relieves the villagers from the demanding work of re-thatching a roof. Though a tin roof is more practical than a thatched roof, some villagers complain about the appearance of the tin roof as being ugly. A straw roof is made much to be a symbol of traditional Japanese architecture among the general public. For instance, Miyama-cho, located next to Hirogawara, is a famous sightseeing place because there are many houses with traditional thatched roofs. Thatched roofs which represent traditional Japanese architecture have certain value in Japanese society, which can be confirmed by looking into Figure 5.2 which is from the same website as Figure 5.1 for tourists. The outsiders' view of the traditional scenery would naturally be

known by the villagers in Hirogawara through these media. The aesthetic value for traditional scenery is also shared through direct interaction between the villagers and outsiders. One villager proudly said to me that the thatched roof of his traditional house had been researched and photographed by one university student from Kyoto City. In this way, outsiders' view of traditional scenery would be shared by the villagers through interaction with the outside worlds. On the other hand, villagers have different views of their environment from the general public, which is affected by the neighbors and ancestors. It is also strongly affected by the serious aging situation of the village. As I described in chapter 4, the environment of the village for the inhabitants is a place for developing a multiplexed identity as a member of the village through the well ventilated environment. Additionally, the environment should be formed by offering the villagers a sustainable life. While they try to keep the traditional aesthetic scenery, they prefer to live in the comfort of a well ventilated environment. According to negotiation in the complex situation, many villagers choose to cover the roof with tin. However, color and design of the tin roof imitates a smart traditional tiled roof and it seems not to spoil the harmonious traditional scenery as well as the fundamental well ventilated structure of the traditional house. This form of the tin roof seems to show the result of negotiation in the complex situation under globalization.



Home > Choose by theme > Seeing > Traditional buildings > Details

Choose by theme

► Kayabuki no Sato (Thatched Roof Village)

Miyama-cho, dotted with 250 thatched-roof houses (as of 2005) near the pure waters of the Yura River flowing through the green mountains, is famous throughout Japan as the quintessential ancestral hometown. In the northern part of the town are some fifty houses lining an area which measures 600 meters east and west by 300 meters north and south. About half of these house have thatched roofs. There is a higher residual ratio of these houses here than anywhere else in Japan. In December 1993, this area was designated by the national government as an Important Traditional Building Preservation District.

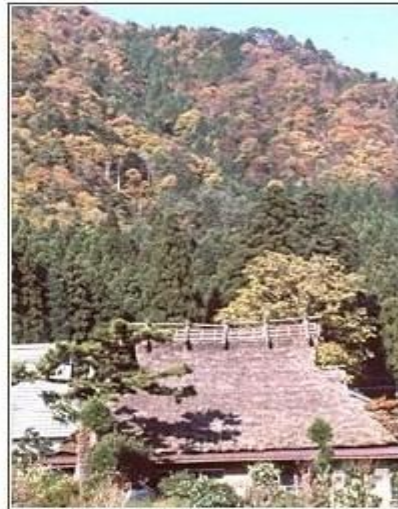


Figure 5.2 Website introducing thatched roof village for tourist

Source: (http://www.pref.kyoto.jp/visitkyoto/en/theme/sites/traditional_buil/kayabuki/)



Figure 5.3 thatched roof covered by tin which imitates traditional tiled roof

Thus environment of the village is formed through an ongoing process of collaboration amongst the villagers and outside worlds. Skimming through pictures of traditional scenery of Hirogawara on the internet allows us to notice that images of traditional scenery are consumed and produced by the villagers as well as by outsiders. Adding to the image reproduction on the web, the environment concerning the traditional scenery is also reproduced by a villager's physical maintenance of his environment through a process of negotiation in the complex situation. On the other hand, the environment reproduces inhabitants' perceptions through mediating neighbors and ancestors as well as outside worlds. "One of the most salient aspects of what is often called globalization is, in fact, the intensification of localization that results from time-space compression. The world is localized to living rooms, to television sets, to computer screens" (Friedman 2006 119). Time-space compression allows the villagers to locate the village in the global world and to notice the scarce value of the traditional scenery.

Similarly, their perception of time would be affected by the compressed environment. In general, time-space compression makes us feel stuffy all the time. For instance, we are always driven by many things, such as checking e-mails or world news which is renewed constantly because of the time-space compressed environment. It is also difficult to get away from these things for the villagers because the world is localized even in the mountain village. As John Knight notes about Japanese forestry, "forest management is where such care or *te'ire* (literally, 'putting a hand in') has been continuously applied over a fifty- to sixty-year cycle, resulting in the high quality, large diameter, knotless timber suitable for use in building construction" (Knight 1996 227). Though the villagers' perception of time would have been affected by the fifty to sixty year cycle of forestry, it would be more affected by the annual cycle according to the growth of rice and vegetables due to declining forestry. Then, the villagers may be effected by more rapid and different processes happening in the world because of the localized world. On the other hand, reproduced ancestral heritage as well as rituals keeps affecting the villagers' perception of time. According to Alfred Gell, these various processes should be distinguished from time itself. "Time – which is

intrinsically unitary and unifying – allows for co-ordination of diverse processes; biological processes with social ones, psychological or subjective processes with objective, clock-timed ones, and so forth.” (Gell 1992 315). Thus, similar to the case of their perception about space, the villagers’ perception of time is also complicatedly multiplexed by confronting the compressed environment located in time. The villagers’ perception of space and time are related to their perception of self as well.

I will show examples of the villagers’ perception of self through analyzing the situation where outsiders with a video camera as an element of the environment effect the villagers. As Inger Altern & Lisbet Høltedahl notes, “our point is...that, by looking more closely at how informants, researchers and recipients relate with each other, at different levels of knowledge management, they can reach a better understanding of the dynamics of the relationship between this management and other ways of pursuing values and interests” (Altern & Høltedahl 2000 45). Additionally, I will refer to cinema vérité filmmaking which was proposed by Jean Rouch, the “camera becomes a catalyst, a stimulus to action (and acting), the problems are only compounded” (Barbash and Taylor, 1997 57). Albeit ordinary participant observation can be useful in several occasions, participant observation with video camera is suitable for provoking the potentiality of subjects. Thus, using a video camera makes the dynamic relationship among informants, researchers and recipients visibly compounded.

Though it was frequent that the villagers tried to explain to me their traditional way of life because of my role as a researcher, they also willingly showed me their traditional life even more while I was using a video camera. For example, a villager willingly showed me, as well as their imagined audience, a way to make straw sandals which have not been used and made in the village for a long time. They also let me film traditional rituals whenever it was held in the village. Furthermore, they took care of my position for shooting when I filmed these rituals. However, it does not indicate that I was completely accepted by the villagers. On the one hand, I could not even take part in some meetings of the villagers after I had succeeded in filming important rituals in the

village. On the other hand, no matter how rituals are for the villagers' private feelings, filming was permitted due to the traditional features which rituals have. After all, I just filmed a part of the whole which the villagers allowed me to film, that is, what they wanted to share with me, and my interests were about traditional issues. Thus, the villagers had actively represented, as well as reproduced, their tradition through negotiating with me as a filmmaker and the assumed audiences behind my camera. So to speak, I myself as an outsider with a video camera affected the formation of the villagers' potential desire to make an appeal for the precious resource of Hirogawara for outside worlds. If so, the traditional self was an important part of the perception of self for the villagers and was formed through negotiation with the situation under globalization.

These persistently reproduced traditional features of the village seemed to help the village to be vigorous. A traditional feature is a particularity which makes the village different from the city as well as other modernized local villages. The village is attractive for outsiders because of this particularity which is disappearing in the current globalization. Then outsiders would be a way for the under populated village to be vigorous. While inviting outsiders may give the villagers a means of livelihood through tourism instead of forestry,, people coming from the outside can be a new villager who will maintain the village. In fact, many of the younger generations in Hirogawara are originally from outside of the village and they are active people who try to make the village vigorous. For example, a villager who coordinated my research is also one of the people who came from outside around fifteen years ago. Her hope is to make the village vigorous by appealing on the village's behalf to the general public through the films which I made for the village in exchange for her cooperation. The films can work by attracting outsiders who will maintain the village as new villagers. Additionally, although it is difficult to move to the village for outsiders due to the shortage of space in the village, moving has occurred little by little guided by the relatively new villagers who are originally from the outside. Then, these selected outsiders would have the potential to be new villagers who try to make the village vigorous without making light of the importance of traditional features of the village.

5.3 Open and closed environments under globalization

Although the village and outside worlds are related to each other, they do not form a co-influential tight aggregation like that of neighbors as well as ancestors. The aggregation is certainly co-influential but more loosely tied. For instance, it can be seen when the ceremony *Matsuage* is held. In the beginning part of the ceremony, visitors can not join in. The place where the ceremony is held is loosely divided by a rope to shut visitors out and the visitors can only see the state of the villagers from outside of the place where the ceremony is held. However, an important role is opened up for every visitor in the latter half of the ceremony. In this part, the villagers and visitors dance in the circle and they are mixed together. The example shows the loosely tied relation between the villagers and outsiders. The aggregation seems to be a similar structure as the structure that the traditional house of the village has, that is, a boundary which divides room and room, inside and outside, which seems to be ambiguous except the strict boundary surrounding the bed room called *Nando*. In terms of new materials by means of globalization, the house is also reconstructed with various new materials, such as a tin roof which covers the traditional thatched roof. However, these new materials are constructed according to a definite conventional well ventilated structure. Similarly, while outsiders are also smoothly accepted in the village, the villagers keep a safe distance from outsiders by drawing an invisible boundary around a tight aggregation among neighbors with their ancestors.

Outsiders can be collaborators of the villagers who admire and reproduce the traditional scenery of the village because they are excluded from the aggregation of neighbors with ancestors. “Both the internal and external are products of the bounding process itself which is a global phenomenon, not in the sense of a process that lies outside of the local, but in the sense of a process that simultaneously constitutes both the inside and outside” (Friedman 06 119). As Edward Relph mentions, “In both our communal and our personal experience of places there is often a close attachment, a familiarity that is a part of knowing and being known here, in this particular place. It

is this attachment that constitutes our roots in places; and the familiarity that this involves is not just a detailed knowledge, but a sense of deep care and concern for that place ”(Relf 1976 37). As I mentioned in chapter 4, the traditional environment with well ventilated features is a factor for forming ‘a familiarity that is a part of knowing and being known here.’ Thus, if Relf is right, it is the aggregation of neighbors and ancestors that outsiders from the urban side have lost, their ‘roots in places’ long ago. It would have them visit Hirogawara and reproduce traditional scenery of the village with the villagers.

I became aware of my own longing for ‘a familiarity that is a part of knowing and being known here’ through watching recorded tapes for editing. My way of filming, which is recorded on tapes, showed me my attachment to the traditional scenery. Then it seemed like that the cinematographer was trying to be an intimate friend of the villagers through filming. An audience of the finished film said to me that the film seemed to show the filmmaker’s sorrow who lost ‘roots in place.’ In other words, I was trying to be an intimate friend due to the sorrow, which was imprinted on my way of filming.

On the other hand, one audience member of the film said to me that the relation between the cinematographer and the subjects looked like the intimate relationship between a grandson and grandparents. I myself was also astonished by the villagers’ warm welcome which was recorded on tapes during the process of editing. I guess that most of the villagers met with my expectation to be like intimate friends due to my identity as an outsider. I would like to explain why we could form the intimate relationship from the villagers’ point of view. I will quote a villager’s interview from my finished film:

“I’ve been studying the Bible for decades. But, I can’t be a Christian. We have the temple and the villagers have to look after it. Funerals are also held according to Buddhist rites at the temple. So, I can’t convert to Christianity. But I’ve attended many sermons. They still send me a magazine and sometimes they visit from the city...It’d be a lonely life here if you had no links outside the village. And anyway making one’s own choices makes life worth living.”

The villager's words tell us about the role of outsiders as links to outside the village. Then existence of outsiders offers the villager the possibility to choose something without the villager being affected by the traditional community. According to the interview, making one's own choices by being apart from the traditional community makes the villager's life worth living. Additionally, the fact that I could film the villager's unpretentious interview tells us about the meaning of outsiders for the villagers. I could film the villagers' frank words because I was an outsider who is apart from the community as well. Familiarity formed through the well ventilated environment of the village may make the villager feel stuffy, which would be a factor in connecting the villager with outsiders. In other words, the factor which makes the villagers connect with outsiders might be already implanted in the multiple environments in Hirogawara.

As Cristina Grasseni notes, "participating in a richly textured environment, full of objects, images and body patterns, structures and guides our perception tacitly and implicitly. In the naturally and culturally constructed environments we thus inhabit, identity and cultures are rooted and reproduce themselves"(Grasseni 2007 11). As I described in Chapter 4, the multiple environments of Hirogawara makes the villagers form solidarity as well as familiarity with the village. As a result, however, the seemingly closed environment of the village also contributes to allowing the village to connect itself to the outside worlds in the above various ways. The environment of the village tries to reproduce itself through forming the villagers' openness as well as closeness for outside worlds. Thus maintaining the fundamental feature of the environment of the village would be an important factor for regenerating Hirogawara, which might be a reason why the villagers do keep their worthless mountain and useless vacant houses. The current environment of the village is formed through the villagers' process of negotiation in the complex situation under globalization. Then both closeness and openness of the villagers' attitude for outside worlds would be a result of the maintenance of environmental affection. So to speak, open and closed environments persistently transform and reproduce themselves.

6. Conclusion

The tidy environment and the perception of a villager as being a part of a traditional community are formed through constant negotiation between the individual and his environment. His environment in the village can be understood as a kind of aggregation of neighbors and ancestors because boundaries surrounding the villager amongst neighbors and ancestors are constantly blurred by respective inhabitants including by him. Thus, the environment starts to have multiple meanings by being shared by various actors. It also loosely connects outsiders as well. Then, tradition related with the environment of the village starts to have certain value through negotiation between the villagers and outside worlds. Sometimes, the villagers confine themselves from being influenced by cultural values and norms in the globalized situation. So to speak, another status as valuable as the traditional scenery appears in the multiple roles of Hirogawara through negotiation.

The environment of the village and most of the villagers' activities, including holding ceremonies, are closely connected to the traditional form. Even though the meaning of the activities as well as the environment is different from the past, there still remains either the form of the tradition or the traditional structure of the environment. It reproduces knowledge of the world through bodily experience. Thus, the form of the surroundings as social memory generates actors' perception and vice versa. However, keeping the form of the surroundings has become too difficult due to the situation of under population in the village. For instance, the traditionally maintained forest as social memory has been falling into ruin because the villagers are too old to maintain the environment. The village needs young people who can maintain the form of the environment.

While the younger generation is needed for reproducing the traditional scenery of the village as a form of the environment, the amount of inflowing outsiders would break the aggregation with solidarity of the villagers. Solidarity is also an essence for regenerating Hirogawara. Accordingly, the same aim for the sake of Hirogawara works out two different attitudes

for outsiders. Perhaps the current balanced attitude between openness and closeness for outsiders might be an answer to avoiding the disappearance of the culture of Hirogawara. Moreover, the open and closed features of the traditional environment of the village seem to imply that this ambivalent attitude for outside worlds might be the inherited traditional knowledge of the village for reproducing itself. Accordingly, for the purpose of regenerating the culture of Hirogawara, it would be important to reproduce the balance inscribed in the environment through negotiation in the global world.

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