

# Structure of Village and Logic of Islander (*Shimanchu*) in Yonaguni Island of Okinawa

— Through an Acceptance of Outsider in Island —

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## Introduction

A huge amount of study about the agricultural and fishing villages on Okinawa islands has been done in the areas of Japanese cultural anthropology and folklore. However the main subjects of these studies were the religious festivals and the family relationships in relation to this topic. Therefore these were not studies which had the structure of the villages as their subject (Fukuta 1982:289). "In the village community<sup>1)</sup> we are able to find one answer to the question," What the societies of Okinawa and Amami islands are. "Without knowing that this village community is the smallest unit, it is impossible to elucidate the actual situation of the southern islands. Those southern islands exist and move in combination with the world circumstances in which Okinawa finds itself and the viewpoint of this smallest unit" (Tanigawa 1977:431). Despite this, the village as the smallest unit of society has not been elucidated in earnest. One of the reasons for this is that there are very few studies about agricultural village communities. Addressing these circumstances, I will take Kubura village on Yonaguni island of the Yaeyama Archipelago region in Okinawa Prefecture as a case study, and aim to elucidate a structure of village through an acceptance of outsider of Kubura into Yonaguni and a practical logic of islanders (*shimanchu*).

In 1914 Yonaguni became independent of Yaeyama Village and became a village in its own right. In 1947 Yonaguni Village changed to Yonaguni Town. The reason for this is as follows: there were first the villages of Sonai and Higawa on the island, and then at the end of the Taisho period, the Itoman type (*itomankei*) fishermen began to come over to the island from all over Okinawa Prefecture to seek new fishing banks (Ueda 1991:45). They had subsequently built a new village called Kubura. After World War II the village prospered thanks to “the smuggling business” with Taiwan and had more than 10,000 inhabitants. There are now three hamlets in Yonaguni, two of them, Sonai and Higawa, are old and the third, Kubura, is a rather new hamlet. First some fishermen from Sonai and Higawa moved and founded Kubura hamlet at the end of the Meiji period and then in the second decade of the Taisho period the Itoman type fishermen also moved in. Thus Yonaguni Village grew to be a town. In this study we will analyze the structure and the logic of villages and *shima* of Yonaguni through investigating how this newly established Kubura hamlet was integrated into the society of Yonaguni.

As for definitions of the concepts, I will explain these in advance. In this study “Okinawa” means the whole society of Okinawa Prefecture. When the administrative village was first introduced by Meiji Government in the Meiji period, the word of *buraku* had been introduced as the administrative unit. Even today, people used to the word of *buraku* in the same meaning. In this paper I will use the concept of village in a case of that people construct the common relationship among themselves in the area of *buraku*. I will not use the word of *buraku* because it had been confusedly used to study Japanese villages. At the same time I will use a proper noun, for instance Kubura, Sonai, and Higawa, instead of the *buraku*. And although people use the word of *kominkan* (public hall) today, I will use this word as an administrative word. I will, moreover, use the

concept of *shima* in a case that people have a common relationship in a level of island since people use the word of *shima* to express the island against *buraku*. And I will use *shimanchu* to indicate an insider of island according to ingenious people. The word of hamlet is used in the meaning of a flock of houses, and the word of village means an administrative smallest unit having an autonomy while the word of "Village" means an administrative large unit in the same level of Town.

## 1 The Structure of Kubura

### 1.1 The Cooperative Organization

How to consider a structure of village are two ways. One is to consider an inside structure of village, and another is to consider it from the viewpoint of outside structure of village. I will, first, consider an inside structure of village.

A village has its social and economical basis in itself in the organization of offering labor free of charge. Therefore I will analyze first the village from the viewpoint of the village as this organization for offering labor free of charge.

The cooperative work has two aspects; the productive aspect and the aspect of living. However, materials concerning the productive aspect of the cooperative work is very scarce. The reasons for this is, that firstly Kubura is a rather new village and secondly the village consisted of occupational fishermen. Lots of fishermen, not only from Sonai and Higawa, but also from all over the Okinawa Archipelago region came to Kubura, so people said of Kubura: "here is Kubura Coal Pit". The fishermen came because there were good fishing banks nearby, and particularly because the majority of the residential land and the cemetery belonged to the town.

The exchange of labor (*dui*) between families occurred very

often. For example for the harvesting of sugarcane. But the exchange of labor in the village as one unit never occurred. As for the fishermen's cooperatives there were the *Hikiami* Cooperative (which was founded in 1958, but has already dissolved) and the *Parao* Study Group<sup>2)</sup> (which still exists). However, these cooperatives were principally only for some of the fishermen, not for all of the fishermen.

On the other hand, the aspect of living of the cooperative work is confirmed. There was the *mutinin* institution on Yonaguni in the time of the poll tax. According to reports of the people of Kubura, the institution consisted of all the men between 15 and 50 years of age.<sup>3)</sup> The characteristic of this institution is that the institution consisted not of families, but of adult men — including the second and third sons of the families. The age restrictions were from 15 to 50 and men over 50 became “village elders in retirement” without the obligation to work (Torigoe 1982:342).

*Mutinin* institution was, as I will mention later, an organization which covered the whole island (*shima*) and controlled the villages and groups in the villages. In the *mutinin* institution, cooperative work was accomplished as a village or a group. When the members could not offer labor, they instead had to send someone or pay money. And when the member sent a woman instead of a man for the cooperative work of village or *shima*, the member had to add something extra.<sup>4)</sup> This indicates that *yui* (the Japanese Name for labor exchange) originally meant the equal exchange of labor, as Prof. Moriaki Araki pointed out (Araki 1980:88). In our investigation the people told us that a woman who was able to work as good as a man could be substituted for a man.<sup>5)</sup> This shows that the quality of the labor was not necessarily evaluated differently according to sex.

The *mutinin* institution was in the time of the poll tax. At that time the head of the village was called *dunmuti*. The word means “the parent who brings *yugau* (the fertile world)”. In the Meiji period the

*mutinin* institution was abolished and in its place came *doshikai* (fellow group). Also at that time *dunmuti* was replaced by *sodai* (representative), but the organization of *doshikai* was not very different from that of the *mutinin* institution. After that, the public hall system was introduced and the name of *doshikai* was changed to *kominkan* (public hall). After the 1960s Kubura branch of Yonaguni public hall became independent and was changed to Kubura public hall. The meetings of the village were originally held in a school, under a big tree, or in places of worship because there was no actual public hall. After the public hall was built, the meetings were held there. In 1996 a multipurpose village facility was built, and since then the meetings have been held there. In the old days the officials collected 360 cc rice from each family when they had a festival. This rice was called *machiriribi*. The officials used not to be salaried, but then it became difficult to find people for the positions, so after 1965 the officials became salaried. Incidentally, in 1964 the name of the head of the village in Higawa was changed to the president of the public hall.<sup>6)</sup>

Recently, the repairing of roads has belonged to public enterprise, so the village's inhabitants no longer have to work together to repair the roads. However, in place of this cooperative work, the inhabitants have had to pay a tax for village. This tax is not on individual tax, but a family tax. Also in the Najiro district of Itoman City, not individuals, but families are the tax payers. We found this be the tendency throughout Okinawa society.<sup>7)</sup> The reason for this change is as follows: more inhabitants go out of the villages to find jobs, so that the obligation of the tax will be more equally shared if not the individual inhabitant but the family is a unit to pay the tax. As we can see, there were some historical changes in the membership of the institution.

## 1.2 The Self-governing Organization

Today there are three officials in a village, namely the president of the public hall, the vice-president and the accountant. Their terms are two years, and the incumbent officials have to choose the succeeding officials. The ex-presidents become advisors, and there are five group heads under the officials. The three officials and the five group heads attend the official meetings. Kubura has two sections, the northern and the southern. In the northern section there are two groups and in the southern section there are three groups. The group heads change every year. As for the village tax, the group heads go to each member and collect the tax under the name of "the fee for the public hall". The tax consists of two parts, the expenses for the officials, and for the festivals. Today the amount of the former is ¥4,000 and that of the later is ¥3,000, altogether being ¥7,000.

The public hall system runs under the name of social education. Yonaguni gives a subsidy to each public hall. This subsidy is the village's income. Sonai public hall gets ¥400,000, Kubura public hall ¥200,000 and Higawa public hall ¥100,000. The officials of the public hall are salaried but the group heads are not salaried.

On the mainland, the information from the administration is brought to the inhabitant families by the presidents of the inhabitant councils (it is called *chonaikai* in Japanese society) and the heads of the neighborhood associations (*jichikai* in Japanese town). This shows that the neighborhood associations form the lowest level of the administration. That's why the heads of the neighborhood are salaried by the public offices. The public hall system in Okinawa would appear equivalent to the neighborhood association on the mainland, but the presidents of the public halls normally don't give any information to the inhabitants. In Yonaguni the information from the public office is broadcast through the emergency radio all over the island and

reaches directly to the inhabitants. For example, information about tax or medical care is broadcast in this way. And "Public Information of Yonaguni" reports on the discussions in the assembly, the festival, and a lot of other things. But as for the events which are sponsored by the public hall — for example the festival and the municipal athletics meet — the information is made public by the public hall and the information from the president is given to the families by the heads of the groups. Kubura public hall is one of the executive members of the festival, that is the reason why the information about the festival is published in this way.

As we have seen, the public hall system is not a subordinate organization to the public office, and the presidents of the public halls are then not salaried by the public office. When the inhabitants have demands on the administration, they speak personally with the presidents of the public halls, or speak of their demands at the general meetings, and then the presidents take these demands as the requests of the inhabitants to the administration. There is another way for the inhabitants to express their demands; the inhabitant speak about their demands with the members of the council. Thus, it is evident that the public hall system in Yonaguni is not a part of the lowest level of the administration, unlike the Japanese mainland.

### 1.3 Festival Organization

Kubura is divided administratively into two groups. There are five subordinate organizations for the primary school catchment areas, as there are for the administration. However, for the *hari* (the festival of the ocean god) only three teams are formed; the first and the second groups form to the northern team, the third group and a part of the fourth group form the middle team and a part of the fourth group and the fifth group form the southern team. Because Kubura is

a branch village of "Itoman fishermen", on Yonaguni only Kubura has this *hari* competition (Sonai and Higawa have no such competition). *Hari* is a competition between three boats and was introduced once from China. Today *hari* is very often celebrated on Okinawa, but mainly by "Itoman fishermen". People call it the festival of the ocean god *hari*.

In Kubura, the village work, i.e. the cooperative work, was done in groups, and these groups were in reality the teams of *hari*. As for the teams, each team has its own properties; each team has two boats which are used for the *hari* and a store house for the boats. This common property is a very important point for the investigation of the characteristics of the teams.

The *hari* had been sponsored by Kubura Fishermen Cooperative, but a few years ago the sponsorship was taken over by the *Kubura* public hall. Accompanied with this change of sponsor, the place of the *hari* was changed from the building of the fishermen cooperative to the multipurpose village facility which was built in 1996. Also sponsored by the public hall is the fall athletics meet which has been taking place since 1991. This is independent from the athletics meet which is sponsored by the Town. Also in this athletics meet (like the *hari*), the inhabitants form the three teams (the northern, the middle and the southern) and compete against each other. In the *hari* there is a match in which Sonai and Higawa public hall also participate. Here we can see that the competition functions as a mechanism for the integration of Kubura village into the society of *shima*.<sup>8)</sup>

We saw above that the public hall system is the organization which executes the village events, like the festival or the athletics meet, and that the structure of the three teams for the *hari* is the ground structure.

Each of the northern, middle and southern teams of the *hari* has a leader, a vice-leader and an accountant, and the officials



change every year. The wife of the team leader keeps the flag, and there are two officials under each accountant who do shopping for the parties. The accountant collects the receipts and does the bookkeeping. This accountant is called *yamakatazanmin*. The names of the donors used to be published, but now they are not.

In Higawa, when a person is absent from the general meeting (taking place at night) without notice, he has to pay a fine of ¥500.<sup>9)</sup> A person who arrives 15 minutes late will be regarded as being late. A fine of ¥100 must be paid for each delay of 30 minutes. As for a general meeting taking place in the day time, or the cooperative work, the fine for each delay of 30 minutes is ¥600 and the fine for absence without notice is ¥5,000. In Kubura the attendance at the meeting is not compulsory, so there is no fine for delay or absence. In Higawa, as well as in Kubura, the donation of money to the public hall is half-compulsory, but the amount is not decided. In this point both villages are similar. Half-compulsory means that the person who doesn't want to give a donation will be forced to by the others or he will be spoken of badly later.

## 2 The Structure of *Shima*

### 2.1 The Organization for Work

People also used to do cooperative work beyond the border of the villages as the whole island. Today they don't do any more such cooperative work. But the rules still stay valid, hence the cooperative work hasn't formally disappeared yet. So, we will look at the cooperative work closer.

According to the rules of Yonaguni-machi Buraku Rengokai (Villages Association in Yonaguni Town)<sup>10)</sup>, the purpose of the association is as follows: to carry out the events following tradition, to repair the roads and the bridges, to protect and control the forest

and to execute other public enterprises. This work was done by the cooperative workers (the men and women between 15 and 50 years of age) (Watanabe & Uematsu 1980:18). If needed, men up to 60 also had to help.<sup>11)</sup> It was further decided: public employees also have a duty to the cooperative work, the members of the young men's association joined under the direction of the chair person of the association, the person who has rendered distinguished service gets recognition, each village has a village president, group leaders, managers, secretaries, persons in charge of worker, and all the officials are not salaried.

The *doshikai* is the former organization of the Villages Association. The *doshikai* (Fellow Group) was established by the people who were from Kagoshima Prefecture and were sent as policemen to Yonaguni at the end of the Meiji period<sup>12)</sup>, and it was they who organized the *mutinin* institution on the island (Niimura 1994:60). Historically, the name of *doshikai* was changed to the *kucho*-system for 2 years from 1937, and between 1949 and 1952. But otherwise the *doshikai* has existed under the same name and was finally dissolved in 1961, 4 years after the Social Education Law was enforced in 1957 (ibid.).

*Doshikai* has the following posts: a general president, two managers (called as *atama*), a person in charge of tax (called *bukamui*), a secretary (called as *tabusa*). Their terms were one year. A village was divided into groups and each group had a head. *Tabusa* acted as the attendant of the general president, and the group heads acted as the assistants of the general president. The officials in each village were elected at the general meetings on the first of May. Then there was a meeting of the volunteers in the house of the general president in order to count the number of families, to make a list of the men and women, and others. The work to make these lists was called *igumikui*.

The cooperative work was originally called *uyadai* and the

people did the cooperative work from the day after the 15th of August for 3 days long under the name of *hatigati uyadai*. Sonai and the eastern group formed a team and the western group and Shimanaka district, which had been incorporated into an area of Sonai village, formed a team together. They shared the work. The people who collected the donations from the families who benefited from the cooperative work were called *nagakiri*. *Nagakiri* of two people from each team prepared a party for the members with the money donated. The teams competed with each other in terms of the achievements of their work. The general president and the team heads graded the results of the work and gave *sake* as prizes. At that time this mechanism of the competition thus had the function of integrating Kubura into *shima*.

## 2.2 The Structure of the Festival

I can say that the village of Okinawa are, to put it concisely, a festival collective. And in most of the cases this collective consists of same blood relationships. This also applies to the villages on Yonaguni. Because the villages moved repeatedly, a village consisted of same blood relationships. On Yonaguni people call *tuni* for the house of family routes and *ugan* corresponds to *utaki* of Okinawa. *Tuni* is the house of the origin of the blood relationship. The house has *ugan* (*utaki*) as the place of worship for their ancestors. *Damashinka*, a collective who worshiped the same guardian deity, managed 12 *ugans* (ibid.), but they have now been dissolved. There are 13 *ugans* and 12 *tunis*. Three of these houses have moved of the island. In the case of *tuni* which moved of, the relatives come back for the *machiri* and takes care of *ugan*. On Okinawa, this festival of the house of family routes, on which people invite and worship the spirits of ancestors, is the most important ceremony.

In Yonaguni the festival which takes place in *shima* is called *machiri* and includes the festivals of each *tuni*. Mr. Yasuo Higa has investigated this and made a report regarding this custom. I will present here his report together with mine. In 1979, at the time of Mr. Higa's investigation there were 6 *tsukasas* (priests), but today there are only 3. *Tsukasa* is not *noro* but *nigami* in Okinawa islands (Nakamatsu 1990:216,240). The *machiri* is a ceremony which lasts for 25 days on and after *koshin*<sup>13)</sup> in October according to the old calendar. In the *machiri tsukasa* wear yellow costumes and go to every *ugan* and *tuni* of all the villages to worship.

The ceremony begins on *koshin* in December according to the old calendar from *ugan* in Kubura and is called *Kubura-machiri*. *Tsukasas* pilgrimage, begins from *Kubura-machiri*, to worship *ugans* and *tunis* in Higawa and Sonai villages and the holy places. During the 25 days of *machiri* the priests may not eat any meat of four-footed animals, like cows or pigs. They used to eat chicken, but now they don't even eat even chicken any more. The *machiri* of each *ugan* has a meaning: It is said that *Kubura-machiri* is for driving away the enemies, *ura-machiri* of Sonai is for the breeding of cows and horses, *ude-machiri* of Higawa is for the prosperity of the descendants, *nmanaka-machiri* of the former Shimanaka village (which was assimilated into Sonai village) is for rich crops and *udan-machiri* of Sonai is for safe navigation. The ceremony begins with the celebratory words of *tsukasa*. A man called *tidibi* takes care of *tsukasa* and helps with the management of the whole festival, such as the schedule and the administration of the ceremonies. When the *machiri* is over, the president of the public hall recognizes the efforts of everyone and all the participants join the banquet together. They all dance the *donta* together joined in hand. The *machiri* is celebrated in the same way in each place. The whole *machiri* finishes with the *antadomi* (the closing ceremony) on the 25th day.

Kubura-*machiri* had been sponsored originally by the people of Higawa. In the 10th year of the Showa period, *tsukasa* of Higawa, said that they should leave the affairs of Kubura in the hands of Kubura, and since then the festival is sponsored by the people of Kubura village. Kubura-*ugan* got a share of the meaning of the festival. All the villages are integrated into *shima* through this mechanism of sharing the meaning of the festival. Kubura village got integrated through sharing the festival.

*Tsukasa* worship the houses of the ancestors (*tuni*) besides *ugan*. On that day the wife of the house presents the holy instruments such as jewellery, weapons and musical instruments in a dance carrying them. People call it *tamahati* which means wearing jewelry. There are nine houses which possess such holy instruments (Ikema 1957: 143-4). *Tamahati* takes place in the house of the family whose ancestors, it is said, reclaimed the land first. The jewelry which the wife of the house in *tamahati* wears embodies the spirits of the ancestors over many generations. Besides *ugan* and *tuni*, the holy places for the Yonaguni's old heroine god *San'aissoba* and for the myth of the creation of the island are also the aims of the pilgrimage.

Thus, when we look at the process closer, we realize that each village is not independent, but they all are integrated into the whole *shima* and construct together a universe. The mechanism of the integration of Kubura Village into the whole society of Yonaguni is in the sharing of the meaning of the view of the world in each process of the *machiri* ceremony. The ceremonies of *ugans* of the villages possess different parts of the whole meaning, they supplement each other to the whole meaning. It is very important to point out here the view of the world in the people's mind that *shima* constructs a universe. And the pilgrimage of *tsukasa* to the houses of *tuni*, the ancestors, expresses the praise to the ancestors who reclaimed the land first and tells the meaning of their effort to the people of today.

The head (*dunmuti*) of the village used to be responsible for paying all the costs of *machiri* and his relatives would assist without sparing any effort in terms of money or work (Watanabe & Uematsu 1980:57). This signified that the *dunmuti* was *oya* (father) brought *yugau* (world of fertility) into the *buraku*. However, in the last half of the 1960s the cost of the ceremony was paid for by all of the village through collection of rice, but it is still the case that the relatives of the president of the public hall assist in preparing the meal for the festival. On that occasion the relatives on the wife's side are expected to assist more than the relatives on the husband's side, and when the assistance is not enough, they will usually be criticized. This affair is caused by the fact that wife's relatives is changeable against husband's one is hard to change.

After the *machiri* the people dance the *donta* joining hands. In the houses of *ugan*, *tuni* and the other places the people dance the *donta* after each *machiri*. Besides the *machiri*, in the events which are celebrated as a village the people generally dance the *donta*. In the athletics meet which Kubura public hall has recently been sponsoring the people dance the *donta* at the end. Everyone, even a stranger, may join the circle of the dance. The people joins the *donta* regardless of age or sex into a circle, so the *donta* culturally symbolizes the integration of *shima* or the village. Through joining hands, the *donta* stabilizes and embodies the logic of *shima* in the bodies of the people.

### 3. The Logic of *Shima*

After all, for *shimanchu* (islanders) *shima* embodies the logic of *shima*. For example, the Yonaguni Community in Okinawa (Yonaguni *kyoyukai* in Okinawa) supports the candidates who are from Yonaguni for the election of the prefectural governor or the members of the national parliaments, because the people think of the logic of *shima*.

We will see now in more detail this logic in the movement against CTS (crude oil terminal station).<sup>14)</sup>

In 1979 the plan to build CTS was brought to Yonaguni. Then the Mayor wanted to promote the plan, but the people who supported him for his election were against the plan. We will see that an old man who was *tidibi* and assisted *tsukasa* in the *machiri* chose to act for the movement against CTS on the base of the logic of *shima*.

To support the movement against CTS, lots of people came from outside of the island and the most of them argued mere general theories. The old man sympathized with one of those supporters very much. He was from Heanza. His speech touched the old man and the other islanders who worried about the island. "On the basis of exact knowledge of the sea, the rivers and other thing, and a good understanding of the history of the island, the characters and the lifestyles of the people, the politician argued what was and why it was important for us. His speech impressed us very much." *Shimanchu* love and worry about *shima*, not through lofty ideals, but through the natural sympathy for *shima* where they live.

By the way, in *shima* the people say, "When a boy is born, we pray and speak to him, 'When you are born as a boy here in Yonaguni, you have to take care of the village and the island' in the same way as the people on the mainland used to say, 'make a career as a doctor or a minister.' We pray for this in every phase of the life, like the birthdays." This prayer indicates that the island and the village are very important for *shimanchu*. We have to take account of the fact that the person who took action against CTS was at that time *tidibi*. The position of *tidibi* is inherited by the head of the *tuni* family whose ancestors are the founder of the village. *Tidibi* decides the schedule of *machiri* of *shima* and assists *tsukasa*. He took the protection of *shima* as his vocation and acted as if possessed in the movement against CTS. *Tsukasa* used to possess political influences

(Yoshikawa 1984:229). This attitude of *tidibi* reminds us of the old political form of *shima*, the unity of the festival and the politics.

The old man of *tidibi* acted against CTS based on the love of *shima*, and not on logical consideration. "When the people talk about CTS very logically, it is too difficult to understand for the old man. He couldn't understand very well, so he asked. Of his question, people had to answer appealing to his feeling. But it didn't occur. In this case the people argued like this; 'I have explained enough. If you can not understand, we will leave it.' The old man got angry and said, 'this guy said that he would help us with the movement against CTS. But in fact he came to swindle us, talking of good-sounding ideas and arguing in a very difficult manner.' He took off one of his slippers and hit the man. Lots of things happened. He thought that people had to take the problem as their own and to take account of his feelings too."

When the mayor declared the promotion to build CTS, the old man *tidibi* and others began to criticize the mayor they had supported for election, and carried out movements against CTS. Why did they carry out movements against the will of the mayor they supported? We might say that the affection towards *shima* and belief drove them to movement, i.e. the old men gave the opposition movement a structure or reconstructed the movement through the logic of *shima*. Such structuring of the situation occurs, according to Bourdieu, through their "habitus"<sup>15)</sup>. And why did the people who joined the opposition movement formed a communist party? We could explain it with "the structuring of the situation by the actors" (Yamamoto 1995: 321). The reason why the old people carried out the opposition movement against CTS and formed a communist party together was not that they accepted the theory of communism, but that they sympathized very much with the people who came to support them. "The people wondered about the communist party, and why there



was a political party which did so seriously and so much for something which was nothing to do with it directly. At that time they sympathized with it very much.” They formed a communist party because, and only because, they gave a structure to the situation and reconstructed it through the logic of *shima*.

Then, why didn't they de-select the mayor after the movement against CTS and why did they supported the mayor again in the next election? The reason for this is that the mayor's election was a different situation and context.<sup>16)</sup> In the mayor's election people have to compare the candidates and judge what each candidate will bring when he would be elected as the next mayor. Here again, the situation was reconstructed according to the circumstances. Their behavior seems to be inconsistent because they didn't carry out the de-selection of the mayor after the movement against CTS and more over, they supported the mayor in question in the next election. But this inconsistent behavior is understandable only by the theory of “the structuring of the situation by the actor”. Besides the movement against CTS, we can explain with the theory of the reconstruction through the logic of *shima* their behavior like that of the Yonaguni Community in Okinawa: it supports the candidates who are from Yonaguni for the election of the members of the national parliament or the prefectural governor.

#### 4. Conclusions

In the investigation of the way Kubura village was integrated into the society of Yonaguni, we found that it occurred through the integration of Kubura village, the stranger, into the system of the cooperative work. The system of the cooperative work brought the mutinin institution, the way to work together in a group and so on, to Kubura village. At the same time Kubura village shares *machiri*

and is integrated into the society of Yonaguni. The *machiri* gives each of the festivals a different meaning and give them together a structure to let them express a whole universe. *Shima* weaves through the *machiri*<sup>17)</sup> the outlook on the universe that *shima* is unified. And in the logic of *shima*, this outlook on the universe woven through the *machiri* gives a structure to the behavior of the people.

We analyzed the structures of Kubura village and *shima* of Yonaguni in the perspectives of the systems of cooperative work and the festival and found out that the village structure consists of three strata, namely the groups, villages and *shima*. The groups are usually the subordinate organs under a village in the administration. In Kubura village the teams which are different from the administrative groups have been formed for the *hari*, because Kubura village is a branch village for the Itoman fishermen. These teams of the *hari* function actually also in daily life. This point is very different from the cases of Sonai and Higawa villages. For example, the people, as teams, used to compete with each other in carrying out the cooperative work. And the land on which the boathouses stand belongs to the town, but the boats for the *hari* and the boathouses are the common properties of the teams. In each team there is a head and an accountant, the donation are collected and the activities are financed. The teams compete not only in the cooperative work or in the *hari*, but also in the athletics meet which Kubura public hall has been sponsoring since 1990. The *hari* is an important festival for the village, and the teams of the *hari* also have an important social meaning. The *hari* gives a chance to the people of Sonai and Higawa villages to join the competition and functions thus as a mechanism of the integration of Kubura into the society of *shima*.

A village is organized by the public hall system, there is the president of the public hall, the vice-president and the accountant. They generally take care of the lives of the inhabitants. They take

the requests from the inhabitants to the public office, but they don't take the information from the administration to the inhabitants. The system is not a subordinate organ of the administration. That is to say, the villages don't function as subordinate organizations against in the Japanese mainland. They only function as autonomous organizations. As can be seen from the above facts, the public halls organize the cooperative work and the festival or the ritual events.

*Shima* used to express its own meaning in the cooperative work and the *machiri*. However, today *shima* finds the meaning only in the *machiri*. Further the very existence of *machiri* is now in danger due to the circumstance that the number of *tsukasa* has reduced from eleven to four.

As we have seen above, the village structure of Yonaguni has three strata : those of groups, villages, and *shima*. Corresponding to those, the logic of *shimanchu* also has a three-strata-structure.<sup>18)</sup> *Shimanchu* use three kinds of the logic, i.e. the logic of the group, that of the village, and that of *shima*, depending on the situation. For example, the islander's logic of the group is applied for a new athletics meet, or mobilizing relatives for vote of a Mayor or members of town assembly. And that of the village is for the subordinate organ of *kyoyukai* and that of *shima* for the movement against CTS or for the election of the national parliament members or the prefectural governor. The logic of *shima* is the most powerful of all the three. At the end of the festival the people dance the *donta* joining hands. In this way, the logic of the group, that of the village, and that of *shima* settle down into the bodies of *shimanchu* and change into the "habitus".

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**Notes**

- 1) The concept "village community" has different meanings dependent on the researchers, and thus there were many misunderstandings. In this report we avoid using this concept.
- 2) *Parao* is a bunch of bamboo which floats on the sea surface and collects shoals of fish. The group of the fishermen who fish with *parao* is named as the study group of *parao*.
- 3) There is a material which says that *mutinin* consisted of the people between 15 and 50 years of age (Watanabe & Uematsu 1979:18), but according to Mr. Eiko Matsukawa, who is living in Kubura and was born in 1899, the members of *mutinin* were between 15 and 55 years of age. But I set the limit at 50 according to the data of Watanabe and Niimura.
- 4) 5) I heard this from Mr. Eiko Matsukawa.
- 6) We refer to "Higawakominkan'no Shakaitekiseikaku" of Ms. Chiyori Minatogawa which is the graduation thesis in 1995, Social-Anthropology Course in the Department of Laws and Letters in University of the Ryukyus).
- 7) We got this information when we investigated *hari*-festival in Najiro in Itoman City in June 1995.
- 8) The American soldiers from the local camp joined the *hari* in Nago City in Okinawa Prefecture (May 19th, the Mainichi Newspaper). It is a good example of an acceptance of the "strangers".
- 9) 10) 11) We refer to "Higawakominkan'no Shyakaitekiseikaku" (ibid.). We are grateful to Prof. Takashi Tsuha of the Faculty of Laws and Letters of University of the Ryukyus for his kind permission to copy her thesis and for his kind assistance in collecting the materials.

- 12) For the colonization of Taiwan, it was shown clearly that the policemen who were sent from the Japanese mainland “loved and educated” the local people as teachers and had been loved by them (Yamaji 1991:58, 1994:70) They had an important role in the assimilation. I assume that in Okinawa the assimilation went in the same way.
- 13) The Japanese had been believing that in *koshin* day the insect of *sansi* which lived in a body goes to deliver to the heaven that the person considered did a good deed or not. This belief had transmitted from China in old time.
- 14) For the details, please look at my report (1997). The quotations are the discourse of the active members of the council.
- 15) “Habitus” indicates the whole of individual dispositions, Pierre Bourdieu used this concept in the meaning that it regulates a group of people (Bourdieu 1979).
- 16) Two factors decide the election of the members of the council, i.e. whether the candidate is conservative or progressive, and how many relatives (*utodamari*) have supporting the candidates. The most influential person in the family decides how many of the relatives will support the candidates. “Independently from the generations of the parents and the daughters-in-law, the most influential person has the focus of the clan (*ichizou*) on himself and decides the sphere of the relationship. A small family joins a large family and a relationship or a faction will be divided. The relatives from the same ancestors might be divided. Some of the brothers, sisters, or cousins become influential and they might divide the family.” Since the election of the mayor has an influence on the interests of the relatives or the clans in terms of public enterprises and employment, the relatives and the clans conduct a very keen campaign to collect votes. The people of *shima* behave according to the logic of the relatives and the clan because in the election campaign the people reconstruct the situation through the logic.
- 17) Mr.Higa reported that the period of *machiri* was called *kanbunaga* (Higa 1992:94).
- 18) Although I have already depicted the structure of village (1999), it is different from that paper in which this paper treats a logic of *shimanchu* as well as it.

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