

IDE Spot Survey

*Globalization Carried on Human Feet*

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IDE-JETRO



# PREFACE

The fourth conference on Global Development Network (GDN) was held in Cairo on January 19-22, 2003. GDN was organized by the World Bank in 1999 in order to strengthen the cooperation among researchers in developing economies and to promote studies in development and poverty reduction. It has got independent from the World Bank and its main office will move to New Delhi this year. Of course, development study institutes and researchers in developed economies participate as well as World Bank, IMF, and regional development banks.

Institute of Developing Economies/, JETRO in Japan is one of the biggest research institutions specializing in development studies. It started in 1960 and has now 160 research staffs covering all developing economies in Asia, Latin America, Africa and Middle East. At this forth GDN conference, for the first time, the IDE sponsored one of the parallel sessions.

Its title, Globalization Carried on Human Feet, conveys our message. The benefits of globalization, such as superior technology and better life style, can be delivered only by means of deliberate efforts, in our case studies by human feet of extension service workers. Two concrete examples were picked up; new agricultural technology and rural life improvement, in the diffusion of which, extension services workers provided by central and local governments played indispensable roles. Studies of the past Japanese experiences were compared with contemporary application in West Africa and Yemen. Japanese experiences were introduced by IDE researchers and the current application in West Africa and Yemen was reported by local development practitioners.

We often say globalization must have a human face. We would like to add that globalization need human feet as well in order to

deliver its benefits to as many people as possible. This is the message we wished to convey to the GDN participants. It is based on a socio-economic area studies, different from econometric analyses in Global Research Project, but, we believe, nevertheless contributes to the GDN's common theme, Growth and Equity.

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# Appendix

## The Global Development Network (GDN) and Japan

The main text of this book is a set of papers presented at a session entitled "Globalization Carried on Human Feet," at the 4th GDN Annual Meeting in Cairo, January 19-21, 2003. For readers who are not familiar with GDN, this note briefly provides what it is, what it is for, how it is related to the Government of Japan, and how the IDE has been involved in its activities so far.

### ***What is GDN?***

GDN is a network of people and research institutes working to facilitate development in developing countries. Since its inception in 1999, it has attempted to promote research on development undertaken by researchers from developing countries.<sup>1</sup>

It carries out its mission through five activities.

#### (1) Funding for Local Development Research

There are seven regional networks under GDN that link research institutes throughout the developing world in Sub-Saharan Africa, the Middle East and North Africa, South Asia, East Asia, Latin America and the Caribbean, Central and Eastern Europe, and the Former Soviet Union, respectively. GDN raises funds from donor governments and public and private institutions, and provides grants to research institutes in developing countries through its regional network.

#### (2) Global Awards

GDN grants awards to researchers and development practitioners in developing countries.

#### (3) Global Research Project

GDN organizes collective research projects with research institutes around the world. The title of the first global research project is

"Explaining Growth." More than a hundred research institutes are involved in this project through the regional research network. The project was initiated in 2000, and results of the research have started being published, region by region. There are two other ongoing global research projects, entitled "Bridging Research and Policy" and "Understanding Reform."

#### (4) Data Initiative

In cooperation with the World Bank, GDN attempts to make useful data available, through the Internet, to anyone working for development. In addition, capacity building for people using the data is considered.

#### (5) Electric Tools

News on events and resources concerning development is provided through GDNNet (<http://www.gdnet.org/>).

### ***What has the Government of Japan done for GDN?***

The second GDN Annual Conference took place in Tokyo in December 2000. On this opportunity, the Government of Japan sponsored the Global Awards in cooperation with the World Bank. Since then, the Government of Japan has been one of the most generous sponsors of the awards.

As for institutional commitments, the Japan Bank for International Cooperation (JBIC) serves as the hub of GDN-Japan (Hayashi [2002]). GDN-Japan is regarded as a developed-country-version of a regional network. A network with the same function was recently established for North America in Washington, D.C., and is called the North American Network. The Center for Global Development is the hub of the network.

GDN-Japan is a network of development-oriented institutions in Japan. JBIC organizes meetings from time to time with the following institutions in order to share knowledge and information:

Asian Development Bank Institute  
 Development Bank of Japan  
 Economic and Social Research Institute, Cabinet Office, Government of Japan  
 Foundation for Advanced Studies on International Development  
 Institute for Monetary and Economic Studies, Bank of Japan  
 Institute of Development Economies, JETRO  
 Japan Bank for International Cooperation  
 Japan External Trade Organization  
 Japan Institute For Overseas Investment  
 Japan International Cooperation Agency  
 The Japan Society for International Development  
 National Institute for Research Advance  
 Norinchukin Research Institute Co., Ltd  
 Policy Research Institute, Ministry of Finance, Japan  
 Research Institute of Economy, Trade and Industry  
 United Nations University

In addition, JBIC maintains the web site of GDN-Japan (<http://www.gdn-japan.jbic.go.jp/index.html>).

### ***How has the IDE been involved?***

The IDE attended the second GDN Annual Conference in Tokyo for the first time. Publications and on-going research projects of the IDE were introduced at the conference.

Since 2001, the IDE has been involved in the activities of the East Asian Development Network (EADN), which is the East Asian regional network of GDN. Since EADN consists of research institutes in social science in developing countries throughout the region, the IDE has played the role of a third

party in the region. IDE researchers served as external resource persons, chairpersons, discussants and referees for conferences, presentations and awards organized by the EADN.

For the third annual conference in Rio de Janeiro entitled "Blending Local and Global Knowledge" in December 2001, IDE researchers worked as chairpersons and discussants.

At the fourth annual conference held in Cairo, the IDE sponsored a session for the first time. This report was compiled from papers presented at the session. More intimate and mutually beneficial cooperation between the GDN and IDE is expected in the near future.

(Tatsufumi YAMAGATA)

#### **Note:**

1. For more information, please see GDN's web site (<http://www.gdnet.org/>).

#### **Reference:**

Hayashi, Kaoru [2002], "GDN-Japan no yakuwari to kadai (in Japanese: Roles and Prospects of GDN-Japan)," *Ajiken World Trend*, No. 81, June, pp. 16-19.



# Chapter 1

## Growth with Equity through Livelihood Improvement Program

### 1.1 *Extension in the Context of Social Development*

In this chapter, I will shed some lights on forgotten experience of social development. So let's turn our focus on social development and equity. In the field of social development, we seldom use the word "extension worker", rather we use the word "development worker" or "development volunteer". But I think people working in the field of social development have the same function as extension workers in the agricultural field; which is conveying the message, defusing new ideas to the target group, and encouraging people to try new way of living or new way of thinking for the betterment of their lives.

So we could use the word "extension" in its broader meaning for development workers in the field of social development. In this chapter and next chapter we discuss the function of the extension worker in social development. In this chapter I will deal with Japanese rural development experience during the post Second World War period. And in next chapter we will deal with current Yemen urban poor project. Both chapter focus on development worker's function of extend new idea; an idea of "development".

### 1.2 *Japan's Success in the Field of Economy*

Now, Japan is very famous for its rapid economic growth and also famous in accomplishing rather equal distribution of its fruits of economic growth. So what was the reason why Japan could achieve growth with equity? That is also the topic of 4<sup>th</sup> GDN conference in Cairo Jan.2003. About Japanese success, we may say that the concerted efforts by the entire population; from the central government to local governments (prefectural adminis-

trations) and rural communities, came to fruition in the form of rapid economic growth.

Of course, we should admit the process was accompanied by side effects such as the swelling of urban population, environmental destruction and rural depopulation. However, it is an obvious fact that the common people of Japan succeeded in escaping from poverty and gained access to a life in which they can live without worrying about food, clothing and shelter.

Look at Picture 1. This was the starting point. Japan in summer 1945. Everything was destroyed by the air strikes and atomic bombs in many urban areas including Tokyo. And in the rural area, agricultural production was reduced because of lack of manpower and investment. In winter 1945, 5-10 people starved to die everyday even in the center of Tokyo.

Japan would not have been able to survive had it not been emergency food imports and commodity assistance such as clothing and milk from overseas, especially during the first several years after the war. At the time, Japan was receiving aid from foreign NGOs, UN organizations such as UNICEF and the World Bank.\*<sup>1</sup>

Japan in those days faced with almost

### Burned Ruins

Picture 1



(APDA, "Agricultural & Rural Development and Population in Japan")

the entire array of problems faced by many of the developing countries today such as food shortage; malnutrition, health deterioration and poor sanitary conditions in addition to the sense of humiliation from being defeated in war and the occupation.

One after another, demobilized soldiers and repatriates were returning from the battlefronts and former colonies to this shattered country. The population increased rapidly and the post-war marriage boom was added on top of all this.

Meanwhile, the increase in agricultural production was slow owing to the lack of agricultural implements, agricultural machinery and fertilizers. Aggravated by unseasonable weather, a serious food shortage hit the whole country in 1945 and 1946. The infant mortality rate at the time was very high in both urban and rural areas. Making matters worse, many people victimized by the typhoons that came every summer for the first ten years or so after the war owing to neglect of investment in flood control and disaster prevention during the war time. In addition, epidemic of infectious diseases brought over from tropical regions by repatriates claimed many lives.

At these circumstances, urgent issues were food security, securing houses for accommodation for repatriates and returned soldiers. On the top of that, maintenance of social order under the chaotic change in value system, broken identity and national pride was crucial. National reconstruction was the top concern. This was a very similar situation to today's developing countries facing "post-conflict" situation.

Amid these circumstances, Japan came under the occupation of the Allied Forces led by the U.S. and started off the seven-years of General Headquarters of the Allied Forces' (GHQ) reigning as the authority above the Japanese government. Therefore, in reconstruction of their own country, Japanese people were not free from outside intervention. Since Japan was occupied by the Allied Forces, in fact United States, development goal

was set by the U.S.. And U. S. wanted "democratization".

Here we can see another similarity with today's development countries being ordered to be democratized by IMF-World Bank. The purpose of the American occupation policy was to convert Japan in such a way that she would not become a threat to the U.S. in the future again, and the means for attaining this goal was to democratize the Japanese society by modeling it after the U.S.. Toward this objective, a series of policies for the democratization of entire Japanese society were set out one after another including constitutional amendment, disbanding of the military, disarmament, enfranchisement of women, dissolution of financial combine (Zaibatsu), and education reform. However, GHQ thought that this wave of democratization had to reach the rural areas where 70% of the population lived at that time for Japan to become a truly democratic society.

Therefore, in the rural area, three major agricultural reforms were introduced. These three major reforms were implemented in rapid succession in post-war rural areas consisting of "agricultural land reform," "establishment of agricultural cooperatives," and "commencement of agricultural improvement and extension programs".\*<sup>2</sup>

### **1.3 Imported Extension System**

In 1946 the first land reform was carried out, in 1947 Agricultural cooperatives law laid the foundation for the Japanese style cooperatives. And thirdly, in 1948 Agricultural Improvement Promotion law was introduced. That was a direct copy of US extension system. According to this law, agricultural extension offices were established in every rural area (Picture 2).

Agricultural extension office was under the prefecture government, but salary for the extension workers were paid jointly by Central government (Ministry of Agriculture) and each prefecture government. There were two

## Agricultural Extension System

Picture 2 Agricultural Extension Office



(APDA, "Agricultural & Rural Development and Population in Japan")

Picture 3 Livelihood Extension Workers (Home Advisors)



## Agricultural Extension Workers (Farm Advisors)

kinds of extension workers; one is agricultural extension worker who was men and his task was to extend agricultural knowledge and technique to the farmers. Another is Livelihood improvement extension worker who was women and her task is to encourage rural women to tackle with livelihood improvements in participatory way (Picture 3).

General McArthur of the GHQ who ruled occupied Japan gave top priority to democratization as the means of reconstructing Japan and considered it was necessary to permeate democratization to every nook and corner of rural Japan where 70% of the population lived. Thinking that conventional methods would not work in rural areas where tradition and old social structures were retained, GHQ narrowed the target to women who had been severely oppressed and tried to redirect their emancipative energy towards social reform.

The system of livelihood extension for rural women was introduced as the most well defined means for attaining this goal.

In those days, democratization was the

voice of Heaven and no one was able to refute this slogan squarely. For this reason, the slogan was granted a no-questions-asked legitimacy when reaching out to women.

### (1) Livelihood Extension Workers

The most important factor behind the success of the rural life improvement programme was the dedicated activities of the women who served as livelihood extension workers. Rural life improvement would not have been achieved had it not been for these women who visited one isolated village after another and tried to encourage rural women by sometimes staying overnight at these remote villages.

While women who studied home economics were able to work as the livelihood extension workers under the original U.S. system, early Japanese livelihood extension workers that were recruited Just after the extension program started in 1949 were mostly qualified teachers and nutritionists, because institutions of higher education for home economics were almost non-existent in Japan

at the time.

The livelihood extension workers (also called "Home Advisors"), who were women, worked in extension programs together with agricultural extension workers (also called "Farm Advisors"), who were men. Compared to the agricultural extension workers who had concrete skills and knowledge about agriculture, livelihood extension workers had no specific skills, so they were seriously lost as to about how they should carry out the extension program. It was also difficult to obtain the understanding of their mission even from the colleague agricultural extension workers.

It was the combination of lack of concrete skills among the livelihood extension workers and the goal of "creating farmers who can judge independently" that led to the quite intentional adoption of the bottom-up method. Democracy meant everyone can express their opinions and certain actions being taken according to the consensus of many people.

The livelihood extension workers were relatively highly educated compared to the village women and were often called "sensei" (teacher). However, they were strictly instructed to refrain from taking high-handed and instructor-like attitudes and made efforts to build relationships of trust with the villagers by staying over at farmhouses when visiting remote villages. They were concentrating activities which they went around the village on foot, talked to the women and gained an understanding of real life in the village. (Village development extension workers of today's Japan Overseas Cooperation Volunteers may be going through the same experience.)

The role of livelihood extension workers was by no means to become women's leaders. Extension workers were expected to play the role of facilitators who enabled women to become aware of numerous problems that existed in their daily life and recognize them as problems.

They did introduce new contrivances such as improved cooking stoves, improved

work clothes and nutritious foods. However, it was not until village women became aware of the problems of the cooking stoves they were using, inconveniences of their traditional work clothes and problems of their daily diet that the livelihood extension worker started exploring the direction of improvement. In other words, the extension workers did not impose the improved cooking stoves from the outset.

In addition, since extension workers did not necessarily know everything about life, they also played a role of an intermediary who introduced required knowledge and skills from agricultural extension workers and concerned administrative agencies to the villageeers, and introduced rural life improvement practice made in one village to other villages.

Although in the field of agricultural knowledge, officers performing extension functions and possessing agricultural skills did exist<sup>3</sup>, information on livelihood skills was not easily conveyed when the free movement of women was limited in rural communities. Livelihood extension workers, who were provided with the modern tool of bicycle, may have been seen as butterflies that flew freely from one village to another.

## (2) Administrative Support

The Extension programs were carried out by the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry and the expenses were split with the respective prefectural governments. For this reason, unified instructions were issued from the central government, but programs unique to each prefecture were also carried out to the extent permitted by the prefectural budget. Extension workers (both agricultural extension workers and livelihood extension workers) were affiliated with the agriculture and forestry section of the prefectural governments and were transferred every few years from one extension office to another within the prefecture. There were far more agricultural extension workers in number at first,

with one being posted at every natural village (traditional villages prior to the administrative consolidation 1953). They stayed at facilities called Resident Centers or they simply rented private houses in villages where there was no extension office. On the other hand, there were only several livelihood extension workers in each prefecture and one or two in each extension office at the beginning. It was therefore difficult for the livelihood extension workers just to visit every village regularly.

For this reason, they started by meeting the main figures in the village through connections and information from the agricultural extension workers stationed in the village and participated in male-dominated agricultural discussion meetings to familiarize the men in the village with livelihood extension workers. Village and town offices were generally cooperative and offered many kinds of support for them.

Green bicycles (the same kind as provided to agricultural extension workers) were initially provided as their means of transportation. Since it was rare for women to ride bicycles in rural areas those days, they spearheaded the introduction of modernization to rural areas along with public health nurses who rode on white bicycles. Bicycles were later replaced by motor scooters and the liveli-

hood extension workers became the object of admiration for women in the village. (Gasoline was paid for out of public funds and it is said that extension workers rarely used these scooters for private purposes.)

### 1.4 LIP Way of Extension

There are many unique way in Livelihood Improvement Program (LIP) even in the today's social development context. Let's review how the livelihood improvement (LIP) extension workers approach to the rural women and how they mobilize them using every available local resource.

First of all, LIP workers went deep into the village, listening to the untellable women in the veranda of farmhouse, or in the narrow path between the rice field (Picture 4 and 5). Taking every chance to understand rural women's living situation, gave every hints for solving their problems, and finally encourage them to start improvement for their own initiative.

For example, LIP worker used participatory rural appraisal (PRA) like method, although at 1940's there was not such a terminology in the field of rural development. One example is a time and motion survey (Picture 6). LIP worker talked to the rural women in the night meeting of the village women's as-

## Listening to rural women's voices

Picture 4



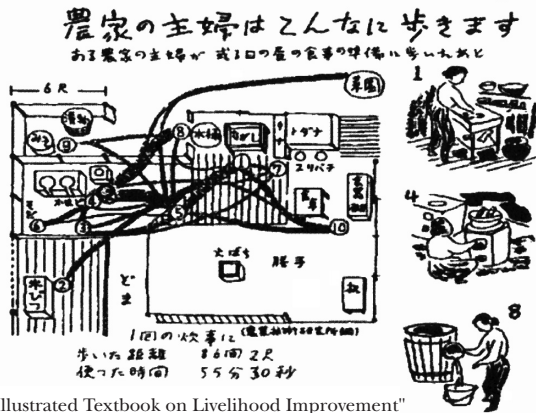
Picture 5



("A Day in the Life of a Livelihood Extension Worker")



**Picture 6**  
**Time and Motion Survey**



sociation, and questioned why they have difficulties to find time to attend regular women's meetings. Rural women may answer 'because of preparation for cooking'. Then LIP worker asked to the women 'is there any inefficient movement during your cooking work?' Rural women may reply, "We are doing just the same way our mother's having done."

Then LIP worker recommended rural

women to having mini-research of their own life. What they should do is just record their own movement during preparation of breakfast or lunch or dinner. For example, she may start from backyard well to fetch some buckets of water, then wash rice and put it on the fire, then go to cutting board to prepare vegetables for miso soup and so on. She recorded her motion and time precisely, then afterwards together with LIP worker, she calculated how many meters she walked and found out most of the movement could be shorten if they relocate some of cooking instruments such as oven, sink, water jar, vegetable stock, rice stock etc. It was the starting point for livelihood improvement.

And also, to save their firewood collecting work and improve smoky kitchen environment, LIP worker recommended them to introduce Improved cooking stove. There were many varieties of improved cooking stoves but most common features were; made by brick rather than just mud, with chimney rath-

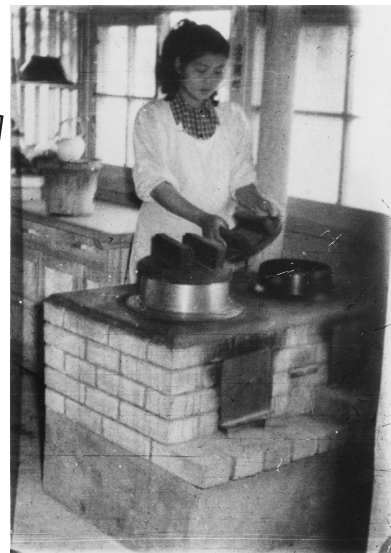
## Improved Cooking Stove

**Picture 7**



(APDA, "Agricultural & Rural Development and Population in Japan")

**Picture 9**



(From Ms. Takaoka, Ehime)

**Picture 8**



("A Day in the Life of a Livelihood Extension Worker")

er than open fire and waist height oven rather than ground oven. By these improvement, rural housewives became able to enjoy more healthy kitchen environment, could save firewood and more comfortable working posture that resulted in reducing backache (Picture 7, 9).

"Stove improvement" was selected as an entry point for rural life improvement programmes in many regions because it was an energy-conserving improvement that could be built with clay and a few bricks. Livelihood extension workers were also taught the skill of daubing oven walls by studying under professional plasterers to save farmers' costs. They also underwent practical training in planning and drafting so that they could install cooking stoves and kitchen sinks on their own. These hand-made cooking stoves also had a benefit of being tailored to the physique of each housewife at farm households (Picture 8).

It offers a sharp contrast to rural devel-

opment projects implemented in developing countries today in the sense that improved cooking stoves have been standardized and automatically distributed as part of the package brought in by the donors.

In 1940s and 1950s, disparity in livelihood between urban and rural areas was apparent from the viewpoint of social welfare. People in rural areas in those days may have had some access to electricity, but hardly had any running water or gas distribution. This meant that women were placed in a poor environment for doing housework, as they had to go to rivers and springs to draw water and cook on stoves that required the collection of firewood. Seeking to improve the lives of these women was therefore justifiable from the viewpoint of social equity. However, there were insufficient economic resources for this purpose.

Then one may wonder 'how they got the money necessary for the improvement?'

## Fund Raising

- ◆ "Egg Saving"
- ◆ Rotating credit system
- ◆ "Imaginative Saving"
- ◆ Firewood collection
- ◆ Mushroom cultivation during off-farm season



Picture 10



Picture 11



(APDA, "Agricultural & Rural Development and Population in Japan")

("A Day in the Life of a Livelihood Extension Worker")



"Was there any government subsidy or development NGO's help?"

No, fortunately or unfortunately, in 1940s and 1950s, Japanese government was poor and there was no international NGO who put its peck into rural development in Japan. So people should mobilize their own money for their livelihood improvement. Since people were poor, resource mobilization was not easy. LIP workers never gave money to the people but they advised several way of resource mobilization. Such as Egg saving, rotating credit (tanomoshi-kou), and imaginative saving were popular ways of saving for group fund (Picture 10). According to the locality, firewood collection, mushroom cultivation etc. were also effective ways of group work for group fund (Picture 11), which was utilized for livelihood improvement activities like improvement of cooking stove, improvement of toilet, renovation of kitchen and so on.

Economic self-sustenance of the rural economy was one of the goals of rural life improvement. "Awakening self-reliance" in the moral realm and "economic self-sustenance" in the economic realm were slogans that were on the same track as "democratization" in the political realm.

This "Awakening self-reliance" in the moral realm was expressed by the phrase that was set as the target for the entire agricultural improvement extension program,; that is "cre-

ating farmers who can judge independently." This was based on the same concept as "creating students who think by their own head" in the educational reforms that were also put forward by GHQ. In this sense, rural life improvement programmes had the same positioning as adult education and social education.\*4

### 1.5 Group Approach

Another feature of LIP approach is a group activity. For the sake of extension efficiency, LIP workers shifted from individual approach to group approach gradually. Many Livelihood Improvement Practicing groups (LIP groups) were established. Their practices varied from cooking classes (Picture 12), activities for nutrition, sanitation and health care, communal cleaning, working clothes reform competition, improvement of bedding (Futon) (Picture 13). Book keeping for household account was one of the popular activities guided by LIP workers. Sometimes, reading club, chorus club, or flower arrangement club was born from this LIP groups.

From the point of view of extension strategy, these group activities went along with intensive guidance of model village/group strategy. Since the rural area is wide and many people lived in the rural area, extension workers couldn't reach all of them. And also not all of the community were ready to accept

**Picture 12**  
Cooking Class



(From Ms. Homma, Yamaguchi, 1950s)

**Picture 13**  
Futon Making



(From Ms. Matsuda, Kagoshima, 1950s)

LIP workers guidance and facilitation. So LIP workers tried to find out the most promising community and helped their LIP groups grow and empowered. LIP workers concentrated their extension effort to these model villages/groups and later on, surrounding villages and groups paid attention to this example and tried to imitate their success. This intensive guidance for the pilot area and its application to other area become a prototype of Japanese aid project later.

In another word, this was a prototype of Farmer-to-farmer approach in 1940s.

### 1.6 Utilizing Existing Resources

One more feature of Japanese livelihood improvement experience is maximum utilization of existing resources available locally. This local resource includes money, material, labour (including mutual labour exchange), technology, and administrative institutions and manpower. For example, LIP worker sometimes jointly visited farm household with public health nurse who also contributed greatly for health improvement during post war period (Picture 14). By jointing, LIP worker could access farmers' health data from public health nurse, on the other hand public health nurse could get precise information of farmers living situation from LIP worker.

On another occasion, LIP worker and public nutritionists jointly ride on the Kitchen bus, which was cooking demonstration vehicle carried all the kitchen facility on the board (Picture 15 and 16).

Public health nurse and public nutritionist are both under the Ministry of Health and Welfare, and LIP workers are under the Ministry of Agriculture. In the central government level, as is common with all the bureaucratic system, there was no coordination and collaboration between two ministries (sometimes a rivalry may exist), but in the field level, people didn't care from which ministry the service comes. They just appreciated admin-

**Picture 14**  
Collaboration with Public Health Nurses



(APDA, "Agricultural & Rural Development and Population in Japan")

istrative services only if it was useful and relevant to their living situation, and it was convenient for them that LIP worker and public health nurse come together because it save people's time.

On the same token, ministry of Education had activities of adult education. And LIP workers frequently invited as a lecturer for "Livelihood Class" or "Housewife's school" in the community halls, municipality offices and primary schools organized by social education officers. This multi sectored approach was also salient feature of Livelihood improvement movement.

### 1.7 Utilization of Outside Resources

Another point worthy of note in the livelihood improvement movement in post-war Rual Japan was the effective utilization of external resources such as foreign aid. The first ship carrying LARA (Licensed Agency for Relief of Asia: consisted of 13 US.NGOs) emergency relief arrived Yokohama in November 1946. At Christmas of the same year, this food was utilized effectively for supplying nutrition to children. It was used for the school lunch pilot program at Nagata National Elementary School in Tokyo.\*5

In addition, relief goods from UNICEF were supplied for a period of 15 years from September 1949 until 1964. In particular, the distribution of skimmed milk powder in vari-

ous parts of the country as UNICEF Milk for furnishing nutrition has been recorded in many film archives. The distribution rationing was conducted through Community based organizations (CBOs) such as Mother and Child Parenting Team. Since there was not enough milk to go around, the method of distribution was entrusted to CBOs through discussions and a mechanism of distribution that gave priority to those in need appears to have been quite prevalent.

In addition, the capital for purchasing the "kitchen buses" that proved effective in nutritional improvement originally came from the funds created by U.S. foodaid. This fund was reserved by the Japanese government in Japanese yen in respect of purchased wheat from the U.S. that was offered to Japan in the form of food aid (Farm Produce Trading Promotion Assistance Law of 1954). This law is referred to as PL480 and was the prototype of the "domestic currency reserve" required of the aid-receiving country in the aid for increased food production (2KR) which Japan is currently offering to developing countries.

At that time, the Ministry of Health and Welfare was feeling the necessity for nutritional improvement campaign on a national scale and already had the ideas for the nutrition

improvement vehicle for that purpose. However, the Ministry of Finance would not appropriate any budget for this on the grounds of fiscal difficulties. For this reason, the Ministry of Health and Welfare accepted the offer from the wheat growers association of Oregon, U.S. that made the approach in search of an outlet for their surplus wheat. Under PL480, it was not possible to spend the domestic currency reserve without the involvement of an American organization. In this manner, the Japanese government did its best to utilize to the fullest extent the foreign aid that was being offered to the country.

However, there was no intervention of any kind from the U.S. regarding the operation of the kitchen buses, and an organization consigned by the Ministry of Health and Welfare called the Japan Nutrition Association managed the renting of the 12 kitchen buses to the prefectures throughout the country in order.

### **1.8 Spirit of KAIZEN**

Now, there remains the final and most important feature of Livelihood improvement activities. That is a spirit of Kaizen.

There were various contrivances for improvement of livelihoods. It may be an attri-

## Utilizing a Kitchen Bus

**Picture 15**



**Picture 16**



(Japan Nutrition Association)

bute of the light-handed Japanese, but the concept of "Kaizen", or improving life by utilizing things that are available at hand is an interesting idea. And that concept led to the improvement of the Japanese-style factory management system thereafter (TQC etc.).\*<sup>6</sup> Improvement of work clothes was based on unseaming old clothes and rural women sewed them back together again. Meanwhile, the new menus introduced for nutritional improvement were contrived to make use of the most of the vegetables that were locally available

KAIZEN in Japanese means improvement, but this connotes utilizing existing resources such as locally mobilized money, local material and existing technology, local labour (including community mutual help practice), and existing administrative apparatus. In a word, KAIZEN is an improvement with minimum input from outside. KAIZEN is different from development in usual usage because it doesn't require totally new input from outside. KAIZEN is the strategy achieving the betterment of life by adding only few resources but adding some renovative way of thinking. With such a philosophy, LIP workers were moving around rural area during 1940s and 1950s.

## **1.9 Rapid Economic Growth**

Then it came "Japanese miracle" of 1960s. During the course of rapid economic growth, small evidences of improvement such as improved cooking stoves, improved toilets, improved working clothes, hand made Miso paste and so on were replaced by newly purchased gas oven, water flush toilet in the renovated new house, ready made clothes and manufactured processed food etc.. People acquired purchasing power thanks to the income increase. And whole Japanese population succeeded in escaping from the poverty.

There were several ways the rapid economic growth reached to the rural areas. First, massive construction boom (huge build-

ings, high ways, the bullet train, and huge hydropower stations etc) attracted many seasonal (off farming season) migrant workers from rural areas and they could get cash income, brought it back to their home village. Secondly, tremendous demand of factory workers made younger generation just graduated from junior high school called "Golden Eggs". They started working as salaried workers not as farmers, and it added up their parents' income from farming activities. And thirdly, since government income was also increasing along with GDP growth, government subsidies for rural area were introduced and increased year by year. All those factors contributed rural income increase in 1960s and 1970s.

Now Japan is enjoying affluent society and younger generation never know how hard their grandparents struggled to escape from the absolute poverty and hunger.

Some think the secret of Japanese miracle may be attribute to the rapid economic growth or its macro economic policy. According to this interpretation, livelihood improvement and rural development activities during 1940s and 1950s were just a prelude for economic miracle 1960s. And the lesson for today's developing countries may be simply 'concentrate on economic growth'. If this was the case, was LIP in vain?

### **1.10 Improvement Prior to Development**

The author doesn't think so. The reality is just at contrast. Livelihood Improvement Programme and Extension Workers paved the way for economic growth prior to the rapid economic growth period. LIP prepared rural peoples attitudinal change from traditional to modern, women's thinking from that of acceptance to activity. By penetrating KAIZEN spirit and improved way of living and thinking, people became ready to accept rapid economic change later. Therefore, the fruits of economic growth could infiltrate into every

rural villages so rapidly and with equity. If this was the case, the lessons for today's rural development are as follows.

Social development prior to rapid economic growth is essential for rapid penetration of economic growth to the rural area. And for the social development, spirit of KAI-ZEN is important; minimum outside input and respect people's own initiatives. That could be the lesson from the post WW2 period's Japanese experience. This must be in some way inconsistent with today's development theory or donors' aid strategy.

### **1.11 Japan's Experience and Developing Countries**

Among major donor countries, Japan is the only country from outside Christian society and also Japan is the only major donor country that has an experience of being aided. So it is not surprising that Japan has different aid policy from other donors based on its own culture, philosophy and experience. Followings are some examples.

Western donors emphasize "Rules and Regulation" whereas Japanese experience shows importance of personal diligence such as LIP workers who overstayed remote villages without extra payment.

Orthodox poverty reduction strategy focuses on financial capital but post war Japanese experience shows importance of Social capital such as communal cooking and communal nursery during harvest season to overcome poverty and lack of resources.

International organizations emphasize policy oriented good governance, but Japanese experience shows the importance of field oriented flexible policy.

And Western donors prefer manual approach that is easy to copy to other area but LIP strategy was Case-by-Case approach that requires devoted field workers (extension workers in the broad meaning).

And also current development theories esteem knowledge of intellectual universi-

ty graduates, but Japanese extension workers mostly place a good value on ones own experiences.

And finally, Western dominant development studies produce many development specialists who are heavily equipped with plentiful development theories, but they could hardly reach the people. LIP workers experience shows, to reach the people, extension workers need to move around.

Social development with human feet; that is one of Japanese lessons to today's rural development.

It is, of course, far-fetched to think that the experience in Japan with a different historical background and culture can be applied to the rural development in present developing countries. However, between Japan at that time and present day developing countries there are many points in common. In particular, the sudden assignment of "democratization of rural areas and farmers" under the instruction of GHQ, having no relevance to Japan's social situation, and the introduction of a system called "Rural Life Improvement Extension Service," also under the instruction of GHQ, which had no relevance to Japan's agricultural administration as well. Those events were extremely similar to "rural development through outsider's intervention" that is common with the present day international cooperation (some call this "Induced Development").<sup>7</sup> Recognizing the importance of learning from other countries' success and failure, Japanese experience of rural development "as a once aid-receiving country," and the experience of "rural life improvement" should offer many hints for "rural development" which is being attempted in various ways in the developing countries of today.

(Hiroshi K. SATO)

#### **Notes:**

1. Aside from this, there was the GARIOA (Government Appropriation for Relief in Occupied Areas) Fund which was mainly used for food import and the EROA Fund (Economic Rehabilitation in Occupied

Area) which was mainly used for industrial machinery. However, these aids were not donated but had to be repaid afterwards. (Kishi, Yasuhiko; 1996 "Postwar History of Food and Agriculture," p.26)

2. The Second Land Reform (Special Measures Law for Independent Farming, revision of the Farmland Adjustment Law) and the Agricultural Cooperative Law were enacted in 1946 and 1947, respectively. Based on the understanding that existence of independent farmers is essential for democratization of rural areas, the three major reforms shared the common goal of carrying out emancipation of farmlands in order to create independent farmers, creating agricultural cooperative so that these independent farmers could support each other and thus prevent them from failing in independent management and having to sell their farm, and setting up an extension program to teach the required knowledge and skills to individual farmers.
3. Miyamoto Tsuneichi, a folklorist from a farm household in Yamaguchi prefecture, spent some time during and after the war teaching agricultural skills to farmers in various places. Miyamoto has remarked about his experience as follows: "It was fun to learn new skills and I learned so much. And I would convey those skills to people who did not practice such skills. They really appreciated it. My role was like that of carrier pigeon." (Miyamoto, Tsuneichi; 1993 "Folklore Travels," p.128.
4. Yamamoto, Matsuyo; the first manager of the Rural Life Improvement Section said, "After the American ideology came in, GHQ's idea in a broad sense was to incorporate agriculture and livelihood into the adult education program." (Nishi Kiyoko, 1985 "Lives of Japanese Women Under Occupation," p.187)
5. History of Food and Agriculture, pp.27-29
6. See the paper by Watanabe Masao 2002, "The Kaizen Thought", JICA.
7. Micael Cernea, 1985, "Putting People First"



