

The Development of Alternative Production and Consumption Activities Related to Food Safety and Security and Associated Gender Issues

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Introduction: Increasing interest in food and the development of consumer action

In recent years, consumer interest in new lifestyles such as Slow Food and LOHAS has been growing. In Japan, starting in the year 2000 with an outbreak of mass food poisoning from dairy products, followed by the discovery of BSE in 2001 and then in 2002 of falsification and cover-ups by a leading food company, consumer consciousness in regard to “food safety and security” soared. In 2003, with the goals of ensuring the supply of safe food and of gaining the trust of the Japanese people in regard to food, the Food Safety and Consumer Affairs Bureau was established in the Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries. Subsequently, however, as further deception and cover-ups related to food products were discovered and reported, consumer interest in food safety and security increased, focusing in particular on activities such as Local Production, Local Consumption (LPLC), Slow Food, and LOHAS.

Of the activities related to food safety and security that have gained attention in recent years, this paper considers LOHAS and Slow Food, which have come to Japan from abroad, and the organic produce and LPLC movements that were born in Japan. These activities have spread in response to various problems caused by industrialism within the move during recent years to post-productivism ⁽¹⁾. In modern society, food production and supply is globalizing as food products and flavors are being standardized in accordance with mass production and mass consumption. In response, the above-mentioned activities act in concert with the anti-globalization movement, which places great emphasis on regionality as opposed to the standardization of foods and flavors, and with alternative ideas of development ⁽²⁾. However, as these immature niche activities go on to receive increasing social recognition and develop as industries, they will gradually be entrusted to men rather than women. In a gendered society, women, who have borne responsibility for “food” in private life, have carried out the activities related to food safety and security. The industrialization of such activities will drive women to the periphery, with the latent possibility that daily life and “food” will be separated ⁽³⁾.

In this paper, activities such as LOHAS, Slow Food, organic food production, and LPLC are shown to be in pursuit of alternative consumption and development in the face of modernization. In Japan, the activities that bring about this sort of social change have been carried out by women, but in a gendered society, as the activities are socialized and industrialized, their appropriation by men has quickened, particularly through the policies of recent years. I will clarify this point through a

detailed examination of Local Production, Local Consumption activities, of which women form the core.

1. The goals and current state of LOHAS and Slow Food activities

LOHAS is an acronym for Lifestyles of Health and Sustainability and is applied in general to activities that aspire to “a healthy, environmentally-concerned life.” It is said that in the United States, 26% of adults (50 million people) have a deep interest in ecology and the global environment, human relations, peace, social justice, self-realization, and self-expression. Gaiam, Inc., which has developed a market strategy targeting these people, has its origin in the sale of LOHAS goods such as household items, clothing, and clean energy products.

LOHAS has given birth to an area in which investors and entrepreneurs can gather, as, for example, Gaiam, Inc. has joined other businesses and financial concerns with an interest in people holding such new values to form an organization of “natural businesses.” In Japan, the group company Todo Press and Mitsui Bussan (Mitsui & Co., Ltd) hold most of the LOHAS trademarks. *Sotokoto*, the magazine instrumental in spreading LOHAS in Japan, is published by Kirakusha, an affiliate of Todo Press, while Mitsui Bussan apparently oversees the trademarks ⁽⁴⁾. LOHAS appears to have become an industrialized activity in Japan, as well as in the U.S.

LOHAS can be divided into five specific categories: 1. Sustainable economy 2. Healthy lifestyle 3. Alternative healthcare 4. Personal development 5. Ecological lifestyle. From these categories it can be seen that LOHAS aspires to a lifestyle of concern for environment and resources and for self-control, and, as it takes the pre-industrial life of harmony with nature to be the goal of “industry,” it is an activity in pursuit of alternative consumption and development.

The Slow Food movement began in the small Italian town of Bra in 1986 and is said to be, as the name suggests, opposed to ways of thinking and actions represented by Fast Food ⁽⁵⁾. The “Slow Food Manifesto” makes the following statements: “May suitable doses of guaranteed sensual pleasure and slow, long-lasting enjoyment preserve us from the contagion of the multitude who mistake frenzy for efficiency.” “Let us discover the flavors and savors of regional cooking and banish the degrading effects of Fast Food.” “In the name of productivity, Fast Life has changed our way of being and threatens our environment and our landscapes. So Slow Food is now the only truly progressive answer.” As this manifesto suggests, the Slow Food movement is an anti-globalization movement whose concern extends to lifestyle ⁽⁶⁾ and that, given the latitude of its activities, aims to restructure the food industry, with agriculture at the center, and thus is another activity in pursuit of alternative consumption and development.

The three aims of the Slow Food organization are: 1. to save the countless traditional grains, vegetables, fruits, animal breeds and food products that are disappearing due to the prevalence of convenience food and industrial agribusiness; 2. to organize fairs, markets and events locally and

internationally to showcase products of excellent gastronomic quality and to offer discerning consumers the opportunity to meet producers; and 3. to help people rediscover the joys of eating and understand the importance of caring where their food comes from, who makes it and how it's made. When we superimpose these aims on those activities in Japanese rural areas, we find that there is a commonality, with numbers 1 and 2 being similar to LCLP and the local brand movement ⁽⁷⁾, while number 3 is similar to activities related to food education and school lunches.

2. The production/consumption partnership in the Japanese organic farming movement and policy development

These movements from abroad act in the same way as do activities such as buying local produce and purchasing cooperatively that are the foundation of the Japanese organic agriculture movement, which has developed in a grass-roots fashion for over thirty years in response to concerns about food safety. Through the 1970-80s, producers and consumers built up relationships of trust and formed “producer/consumer partnerships” in which consumers received organic produce from producers on a regular basis (Honjō, 2002, p. 47). “Almost all of the people on the consumer side of these partnerships were in accord in re-evaluating a way of eating that gave priority to the likes of the consumers. They felt that, rather than having the soil (agriculture) adjust to the consumers’ mouths (diet), . . . they should eat in a way that conformed to the natural conditions of the agricultural land. They learned that if they did not support agriculture, the way of doing agriculture would not change” (Honjō, 2002, p. 48).

A key term used by the Japan Organic Agriculture Association is *shindo fuji* (the notion that the human body cannot be separated from the soil, climate, and geographical conditions and that people should eat seasonal foods harvested within a 12 kilometer radius from the place they were born and raised), in other words, local self-sufficiency and consumption of local produce (Adachi, 2003, p. 55).

The Japan Organic Agriculture Association was established in 1971, and the first “organic boom” began with the publishing in 1974 of Ariyoshi Sawako’s novel, *Fukugō osen* (Complex Contamination). The main supporters of this boom were the consumers and producers of the Japan Organic Agriculture Association, which had formed against the backdrop of the anti-pollution movement (Adachi, 2003, p. 195). A second “organic boom” occurred following the Chernobyl nuclear accident in 1986. As the demand for organic agricultural products increased, groups advocating “compatibility of the movement and business” and “an economically-based movement,” such as specialized distributors and the Seikyō (Japan Consumer Cooperatives), which was enthusiastic about local direct purchase groups, expanded their activities. In 1993, the “Guidelines for Labeling of Organic Agricultural Products” of the Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries were put into effect, the JAS (Japan Agricultural Standard) specification was created, and the third

“organic boom” began (Adachi, 2003, p. 203). In 1999, the introduction of an organic certification system was determined, the JAS law was revised in accordance with Codex Alimentarius, and in 2001 the system for inspection and certification of organic foods went into effect. The increasing sense of panic among consumers in regard to food caused agricultural policy to shift from a focus on production to consumption and food safety. The issue in 2002 of the “Plan for the Recovery of ‘Food’ and ‘Agriculture’” was followed by the revision of the Agricultural Chemicals Regulation Law, enactment of the Food Safety Basic Law, revision of the Food Sanitation Law, etc.⁽⁸⁾. With the switch to “food safety” policies, LCLP has been promoted as a way of raising the food self-sufficiency rate.

The organic agriculture movement in Japan is advanced even in world terms and has something in common with the ideas of Slow Food and LOHAS, but it lacks the publicity strength of those two. It is a movement of producers, who say “Dealing with the soil is our way of living,” and consumers, who say “Our way of eating is our way of living” (Adachi, 2003, p. 56). It rejects the industrialization of lifestyle, food culture, and food production represented by mass production and mass consumption, and seeks alternative forms of consumption and development. However, along with the industrialization of organic food production, the responsibility has shifted from single individuals to distributors and the government.

3. The current state of the agricultural product self-sufficiency movement and Local Production, Local Consumption

(1) The agricultural product self-sufficiency movement

The starting point for Local Production, Local Consumption can be seen in the Life Improvement movement in agricultural communities following World War II and in the agricultural product self-sufficiency movement that began around 1965⁽⁹⁾. Under the Basic Agricultural Law of 1961, which aimed to “improve the welfare of farmers through improvements in the quality of daily life and rationalization of the labor of women,” and under the guidance of extension workers dealing with household matters, groups of women throughout Japan independently formed groups to improve the quality of daily life. At first the main target was improvement of food and diet.

The members of the Life Improvement groups were also members of the women’s club of the Nōkyō (Japan Agricultural Cooperatives; also referred to as JA), and in many instances the Nōkyō and the extension services worked together. In Akita Prefecture, the Women’s Club of the Nikaho Nōkyō (then referred to as the Wives’ Club) began a well-known agricultural product self-sufficiency movement in 1970, and thus that year is referred to as “Year 1 of self-sufficiency” (Hasumi, 1986, p. 45). In 1985 the Nōrinchūkin Bank Research Institute conducted a survey of 42 Nōkyō prefectural cooperatives and 978 local cooperatives and found that, whereas until 1970 only 4.8% had been involved in the self-sufficiency movement, there had been a gradual increase after

that, with 49.1% taking part in 1984.

The primary reason for taking part in the movement was said to be “to achieve self-sufficient production of fresh, safe food,” while the second was “to improve health through a balanced diet.” The products focused on in the self-sufficiency movement were vegetables (96%), grains (36%), animal products (22%), and fruit (19%). Self-sufficiency was also being sought in areas other than food, such as fuel, fertilizer, clothing, wood products, and so on.

In regard to these sorts of self-sufficiency activities, according to Suzuki Hiroshi and Negishi Hisako, “It was the first step in breaking away from a large-scale, specialized agriculture polluted by agricultural chemicals and steeped in chemical fertilizers.” “It was a movement not just to become self-sufficient in food, but also to reconsider the resources of the community as a whole, including energy from water, fire, wind, etc., and to make use of them in daily life” (Hasumi, 1986, pp. 194, 198).

The agricultural product self-sufficiency movement was the starting point of LPLC and other activities being carried out in rural communities today. While it appeared and spread well before Slow Food and LOHAS, it was limited to farming communities. Moreover, because the agricultural product self-sufficiency movement was connected with the spread of nutritional education following World War II, which denied the value of the traditional diet, people were not aiming for self-sufficiency in the traditional foods of the farming community. Particularly in the five years from 1956, mobile kitchens visited farming communities throughout the country, ostensibly to provide nutritional guidance and to improve people’s diets, but also rejecting traditional foods and encouraging the change to a Western diet (as had been sought by the postwar occupation army headquarters)⁽¹⁰⁾. In reality, for familiar vegetables and processed foods, for which production methods (procuring of seeds, planting, etc.) were common knowledge, self-sufficiency rates had been high previously, but overall the vegetable self-sufficiency rate tended to decrease. In particular, traditional vegetables decreased with the change in diet, while self-sufficiency in vegetables considered necessary to a Western diet increased (Nakamichi, 1990, 1991).

(2) The current state of Local Production, Local Consumption

According to a 2004 survey of local production and consumption of agricultural products conducted by the Statistics and Information Department of the Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries, there were 2,982 permanent direct-sales outlets established by municipalities (including the third sector) and Nōkyō. The average total annual sales were 74,620,000 yen, of which local agricultural products made up 63.8%, or 47,590,000 yen. Excluding local products, items produced in other parts of the prefecture accounted for 6.5%, or 4,830,000 yen, thereby bringing the total of products from within the prefecture to approximately 70%. In addition, the annual purchasing costs for farm households (incorporated), agricultural businesses other than families, and processing plants

established by Nōkyō (numbering 1,686 in the survey) totaled 130,910,000 yen, and of this, the purchasing cost for local agricultural products was 104,090,000 yen, or 79.5%. Also, 76.6% of school lunch program in public elementary and junior high schools, as well as in other jointly-used kitchens, (1,636 sites) responded that they used local agricultural products regularly.

In 2001, and again in 2002, the Rural Life Research Center surveyed the agricultural policy and production divisions of municipalities regarding the self-sufficiency within each municipal district. The results showed that in LPLC activities, women from farm households made up 67% of participants in “processing and development,” 62% in “direct-sales outlets,” and 57% in “farming community restaurants,” resulting in an overall participation rate of 55%. Clearly, the farm women were the leaders in LPLC.

4. Case studies of women’s LPLC activities

(1) LPLC in a direct-sales market

In recent years, direct-sales venues with women playing a central role, such as Ehime Prefecture’s Tokimeki Suito Market, have achieved sales of over 500,000,000 yen per year. In 1990, as the interest of consumers in agricultural products was increasing, the leaders of the women’s club of the Saijō City JA led members in a lengthy study of direct sales activities, and in 1991 sixty members started a Sunday open-air “100-yen” market. In 1995 the Tokimeki Suito Market was opened in front of the main Nōkyō building. A steering committee was formed, comprising the eleven branch leaders of the Saijō JA’s women’s club. By 2003 there were 765 members, and two women had been named to the JA board of directors. For the benefit of consumers concerned with food safety and security in recent years, several farm households had gained certification of their organic produce and begun selling them under organic JAS. In addition, as this is one of the major rice-growing areas in the prefecture, sale of bread made with rice flour was begun in 2004, with as much as one ton of local rice used in a month.

As far as we can see, in looking at the Suito Market, LPLC is being carried out by women, at present it is managed by women, and they have gained enough power that two of them have been chosen as members of the Nōkyō board of directors. Also, in terms of consumption of local products, it is clear from the group’s production of rice-flour bread that they are not bound to traditional foods but are pursuing alternative forms of distribution and consumption and working toward regional development.

(2) Processing of agricultural products, school lunch programs/food education, Green Tourism, and LPLC

In the town of Shiga in Shiga Prefecture, the Kitahira Group, a Life Improvement group, was founded by 25 interested women in 1967. In 1979, with the support of the Nōkyō, they set up a plant

for making homemade miso and, after receiving a business license in 1981, began selling miso. They contracted with local growers for the rice used in making *kōji* (malted rice) for the miso and received many orders for *kōji* for home use. In addition, in 1979 the group began raising vegetables for use in school lunches and also supplied processed items such as miso and pickled vegetables. In 2003, at the instigation of some of the younger members, they developed a kind of marmalade from the *natsumikan* citrus growing in many of their gardens. At present they are making a number of products, such as sweet potato chips, soy flour cookies, and marmalade bread. A reed flute and guitar concert was held in the field where younger members were growing sweet potatoes. After that, they came upon the idea of serving tea in the field. In 2005 a “Let’s look, let’s listen, let’s walk, Kitahira” event was held in both spring and fall.

In this way the activities of the Kitahira Group have spanned a generation, as the women have continued to work closely with the local area for a number of years in response to its needs. However, here as well, LPLC has not always been tied to traditional diet and food culture. The agricultural products and processed foods contributed by the younger members have not been traditional Japanese foods, and the field concert could not be called traditional culture, but again we can see, in the idea of *shindo fuji* and anti-globalization, the pursuit of alternative forms of consumption and development.

(3) Preservation of breeds in environmentally-conscious animal husbandry and LPLC

Ms. Shiraishi in Saitama Prefecture began raising pigs in her garden in 1978. The pigs she was raising at the time were a quick-growing breed ready for market in six months. In 1981 she switched to a breed no longer seen in the area, the Middle Yorkshire, which grows more slowly (9-10 months to market size) but has a better flavor. Ms. Shiraishi has continued raising this pure breed, which was imported from England in the Meiji period (1868-1912). In 1998 she registered the trademark “Legendary meat, pigs of the past” and increased her herd to 400 head. Sales reached over 30 million yen. In 2003 her husband retired and also took up farming, and in 2005 her son left his job with a company and established a processing branch.

In order to protect the environment, which is especially a problem when raising a large number of pigs, they obtain discarded *shimeji* mushroom bedding and rice husks from nearby farms, spread this mixture of microorganisms on the floor, and produce fermented compost. This is then sold to neighboring rice and vegetable farms. In other words, agricultural plant and animal waste are turned to fertilizer and recycled within the community. For feed, they mix brewer’s yeast, lactic acid bacteria, and *nattō* bacteria and add them to steamed barley and non-GM corn. No hormones are added. The pigs are allowed to range freely in order to keep them as close as possible to a natural state.

Ms. Shiraishi is preserving a breed and caring for the environment while at the same time

practicing LPLC, but even if the pigs are called “legendary”, they are still from England and are not traditional Japanese food. Nevertheless, we can see here business expansion through alternative forms of production and consumption. Moreover, as the business has grown, husband and son have been employed and an even greater expansion is planned.

(4) LPLC in a fishing community

In traditional fishing, it is the men who catch the fish and the women who process and sell it. Even if fish are caught, there will be no money if they are not sold. Until the fishing cooperatives began selling fish, it was women’s work. Peddling fish became impossible because of health and sanitation problems, and as the fishing cooperatives took over the selling of fish, women gradually disappeared from fishing. In Okinawa, however, peddling was transformed into *sashimi* (raw fish) shops ⁽¹¹⁾. We can see many such shops run by women there. Among them, there are women who have continued making time-consuming squid dumplings in order to provide local seafood for school lunches. Catching small amounts of fish that the cooperatives will not accept or fish unwanted in the market will bring no money, but the women’s *sashimi* shops accept these and thereby play a part in LPLC. Members of a Life Improvement group on Irabu Island, famed for its bonito, process this fish and sell it at the harbor. Processing and selling bonito was women’s work on Irabu Island. Now, at the harbors and markets of Miyako Island, as well, we can see women selling dried bonito.

The women of Okinawa’s fishing industry have always supported LPLC, even as they have changed its form. Supporting small scale fishermen by accepting small amounts of fish and types unwanted by the market, they too are involved in alternative forms of production and consumption activities.

5. Gender issues in activities in pursuit of alternative forms of consumption and development

(1) Characteristics of safety and security activities in Japan

We can consider the LOHAS, Slow Food, organic agriculture, and LPLC activities all in terms of the key words “ecology, environment, health.” They are united in valuing things that have not been valued in the modern age and in reconsidering the modern systems of production and consumption, and moreover, they are activities in pursuit of alternative forms of consumption and development. They differ, however, in their locality, industrialization, and tradition. While LOHAS has spread throughout the country in part via businesses and magazines, these activities are centered mainly in metropolitan areas. Slow Food also is found mainly in urban areas, and if we go to outlying areas, the main activities are LPLC. Organic agriculture has begun to spread throughout the country along with the JAS certification system. LOHAS is already giving rise to a “LOHAS industry.” Within it can be seen an industrial strategy aimed at a newly-emerging stratum of

consumers, and previously existing large corporations are taking part. Slow Food and organic agriculture are solidifying their positions as industries as well. We can also see signs of the industrialization of LPLC in the large-scale facilities for direct sale being built in various parts of the country by Nōkyō. Slow Food aims to preserve traditional diets, but the other three are not necessarily concerned about preserving traditional ways of eating. The consciousness of “nutrition” in Japan that, since the postwar period, has rejected the traditional diet is strongly rooted.

In this way, the activities related to food safety and security in Japan have a strong local nature, are moving toward industrialization, are not bound by tradition, and can be said to be activities in pursuit of alternative forms of consumption and development.

(2) Gender as seen in the change of support of safety and security activities

In Japan most of the supporters of Slow Food, LOHAS, and LPLC have been women. Ōwada Junko is well-known in connection with LOHAS and Shimamura Natsu with Slow Food. Shirane Setsuko is prominent as a leader on the consumer side of the producer/consumer partnerships of the Japan Organic Agriculture Association. The women of rural communities are supporting the actual functioning of LPLC. In societies where production is important, consumption has been entrusted to women and children. When women have been involved in production, it has only been to assist men or to cover the niches men ignore. In modern society, women have been driven to the periphery, but in post-modern society, the women’s niche of LPLC activities is being acknowledged and is attracting attention. In recent years, along with changes in policy ⁽¹²⁾, the men of farm households are looking to LPLC as a source of farm income, and direct-purchasing markets in which men play a central role or that have become industrialized also have appeared. In the birthplaces of Slow Food and LOHAS, men are central, and these movements are becoming industrialized. In Japan, Slow Food and LOHAS are working together with the foreign movements and aiming toward industrialization. They are coming to be considered as labor and as men’s activities. As women’s activities move from the periphery to the center in a male-centered society, they are converted into men’s activities. Will women continue to be central in the areas at which new agricultural policies are aiming, such as LPLC, local brands, food education, and school lunch programs? Let us look at examples from LPLC.

In the case of the Suito Market, the steering committee is controlled by the leaders of the Nōkyō women’s club, and two women have been chosen to the board of directors of the cooperative. The direct sales market is growing, but women still retain control of the actual right of management. The Kitahira Group is based in the Life Improvement movement, but because of a revision in policy in recent years, the post assigned to train supporters of the LPLC activities has disappeared and the development of LPLC by women from now on is in danger. Regarding LPLC in the Okinawa fishing industry, the appearance of a new women’s network gives hope for future growth, but along with the deterioration of the fishing cooperatives, the number of women members is decreasing, and

strengthening the women's club will be an important point.

It will be difficult for women to remain as the central figures in LPLC activities. One of the best known examples of direct-sales markets in the country is Karari (a joint-stock company) in the town of Uchiko in Ehime Prefecture. Karari has 410 farm households involved in sales, with total sales in 2005 amounting 244,000,000 yen. It is the subject of many observation tours and has become one of the town's important industries. In the beginning, women were the nucleus of the activities, and the chairperson of the management council is a woman, but most of the council members are men. The president of the company is a man formerly employed by the town office, the managers are all men, and there is only one woman employee. The IT system, LPLC, eco-certification, etc. were all ideas of the male employees, and the decisions about the company's future course are made by men. Even in the case of Ms. Shiraishi in Saitama, as the pig-raising business has grown, her husband and son have left other jobs to join the concern, further evidence that when there is the possibility of a business chance, which is likely to lead to industrialization, men will become involved.

(3) Gender as seen in safety and security activities and questions for the future

Activities related to food safety and security in Japan are tied to social reform and are in pursuit of alternative forms of consumption and development, with women in central roles. As the immature niche activities that carry forward social reform gain social recognition and move toward industrialization as they are viewed as business chances, the activities themselves are globalized and, in a gendered society centered on men, become activities with men in central positions. This tendency can be seen not only in Slow Food and LOHAS but also in LPLC. Where food is concerned, production, distribution, and consumption have become separated according to gender. Gender in the area of food does not allow women to take part in production and distribution and, as before, is moving in the direction of excluding women. A hint for overcoming this and securing women's position in food issues can surely be found in women's activities. Women need to secure a core position in the process of industrialization and, while post-modernizing "industry" and maintaining the point of view of everyday life, to aim for industrialization that makes the most of the special nature of women's groups, which is mutual support, collective leadership, and networking.

Notes:

- (1) For industrialism and post-industrialism, see Tachikawa (2005).
- (2) For alternatives to "modernization," see Nakamichi (1998).
- (3) For example, regarding the gourmet trends referred to as "recreational eating," see Ishid□ (1968).
- (4) The main sources consulted regarding LOHAS were: the LOHAS Club Homepage (<http://www.lohasclub.org>) and the homepage of Ōwada Junko, one of the movement's promoters

<http://www.owadajunko.com>).

(5) Slow Food was given its name in protest of the opening of a McDonald's fast food shop in Rome.

(6) Regarding the anti-globalization movement and Slow Food, a good explanation is given in Furusawa (2003). In Europe, particularly in the U.K., in addition to quantity, price, and quality, a fourth standard taken into consideration is "food miles." Local food, which is low in food miles, is (1) good for the producer, (2) good for the consumer, (3) good for the local economy, and (4) good for the global environment (Adachi, 2003, p. 51).

(7) The term "Local Production, Local Consumption" includes direct-sales markets, direct-sales corners in larger stores, school lunches, facilities providing local foods (restaurants, inns, etc.), and community gardens (Nōringyogyōkin'yūkōkō, 2006), and thus LPLC is used as a general, inclusive term.

(8) Events during this period of time are explained in detail in Taniguchi (2005).

(9) For a detailed example of the Rural Life Improvement Movement, Ichida (2001) describes the movement in Yamaguchi Prefecture. Hasumi, et al (1986) gives details of the agricultural products self-sufficiency movement. For the relationship of the self-sufficiency rate and traditional diet in rural communities, see Nakamichi (1990, 1991).

(10) Suzuki (2003) gives a detailed description of the connection between mobile kitchens and the occupation army headquarters.

(11) The activities of women in the Okinawa fishing industry are described in detail in Nakamichi (2005).

(12) In *21seiki shinnōsei 2006* (New Agricultural Policies in the 21st Century 2006), LPLC, local brands, and food education (including school lunches) are mentioned specifically.

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