



Social Capital Development in a Rural Community based on Exchange Management with Outsiders: the Case of Akimoto, a Small Mountainous Settlement in Japan

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This paper investigates the potential of exchange management toward social capital development in a rural Japanese community. In Japan many rural communities are suffering from depopulation. To revitalise such communities, the alternative concept of social capital has recently gained traction alongside conventional infrastructure-oriented development.

This paper analyses the process and results of social capital development through a case study of the small settlement of Akimoto in Takachiho Town. The residents have been seeking revitalisation through exchange with outsiders.

The major results are: 1) Exchange strengthened the residents' community attachment. 2) The main features of social capital, i.e., norms, trust, and networks, were strengthened. 3) Exchange management functioned well in terms of human encounters, mutual understanding, and maintaining exchange. 4) Discreet leadership, and the existence of professionals and specialists were found to contribute to social capital building. Finally, this paper discusses the applicability of this approach to other communities.

Social Capital Development in a Rural Community based on Exchange Management with Outsiders - The Case of Akimoto, a Small Mountainous Settlement in Japan –

Introduction

Rapid economic growth during the 1960s-1980s in Japan caused a problem of depopulation in numerous rural regions, resulting in tremendous population concentrations in metropolitan areas. In spite of many policies put in place by the national and local governments against these population problems, depopulation became more serious, encompassing wide-ranging issues such as aging, public finances, welfare, and, above all, the social sustainability of rural regions. Policies against depopulation mainly sought to revitalise agriculture, forestry and local industry, and to increase employment in those industries through investment in such infrastructures as roads and industrial parks (so-called 'exogenous development'). These investments actually improved the transportation and industrial conditions of rural areas. However, in closed rural communities, it has gradually become clear that few people or groups have the capability to create value-added industries and re-discover local resources by taking advantage of newly developed facilities. With this understanding, we know that community revitalisation (development of the abilities/human capital of residents) has significant importance in the revitalisation of rural areas (so-called 'endogenous development'). Furthermore, considering the fact that decreasing public finances makes investment in such policies difficult, the role of community revitalisation is even more significant. Specifically, the importance of community revitalisation becomes larger because many rural residents choose to always live in the same locality so that they can take care of their parents while also maintaining their ancestors' properties, culture, and history, etc. Additionally, community revitalisation has a strong relationship among residents with the recognition of identity for one's region/community/family, and in turn, also with pride and significance in living in their community.

Taking this background into consideration, recently in Japan there has been growing interest in rural community revitalisation to develop resident as well as group capabilities and activities. Community revitalisation has, naturally, the potential to lead economic revitalisation in rural communities. Okada *et al.* (1989; 1990) have proven, through a detailed investigation of a rural village in Japan, that 'outsiders' were able to actually lead the development of resident capability and finally create a new value-added industry. Likewise, the concept of 'social capital' is also attracting attention in the field of community revitalisation because the concept puts significant importance on social networks. Innovation and the development of human resources and abilities are introduced by taking advantage of social networks (e.g. Putnam, 2000). Taken as a whole, these studies highlight the significance of human relationships and networks both inside and outside communities.

Returning to the role of 'outsiders' when considering community revitalisation, it is well known that outsiders play an important role (Okada *et al.* 1990; O'Brien *et al.* 1991; Sugiman, 1995). Because community residents often have a different sense of values and lifestyle from outsiders, residents are able to become aware of things that they had never before recognised or valued about their region, community, and themselves, through interaction with outsiders. Furthermore, through the potential offered by interaction, residents can take advantage of both the knowledge that outsiders have of human networks as well as their own knowledge of the inside of their communities.

It is noteworthy that the number of outsiders has been increasing in Japanese communities. This means that there are more chances to enhance community revitalisation independently from investment policies related to infrastructure. Recently many local authorities have begun focusing on the importance of outsiders. However, what exactly can be expected in such revitalisation efforts, and what is actually manageable, have yet to be clarified.

Based on the above context, the authors previously examined the role of 'local artists' (new-inhabitant-artists) in community revitalisation (Kurakazu *et al.* 1996; Kohmura *et al.* 1998; Yoshitake *et al.* 1998). This series of studies showed that certain lifetime residents in the study communities had actually changed their values and ways of community attachment through their interaction with local artists, and moreover, they eventually participated in community activities. The authors also investigated the role of local authorities in enhancing such revitalisation (Yoshitake *et al.* 2000), considering the possibility and efficiency of 'communication management' to support artist

migration, initiating communication, and maintaining communication. However, these research studies dealt with only the interaction between original residents and new-inhabitant-artists. Thus, there is still a need to discuss revitalisation through interaction with other types of outsiders. The concept of communication management, for example, is applicable to other types of outsiders and interactions. Thus, to disambiguate the meaning of 'management', the term 'exchange management' is used hereafter in place of 'communication management'.

The main purpose of this paper is to discuss both the features and results of social capital development based on a case study of the small mountainous settlement of Akimoto in Takachiho Town, Miyazaki Prefecture, Japan. Akimoto is a typical community experiencing all of the severe problems stated above. The residents have been seeking revitalisation for the past decade through exchange experiences with outsiders in various forms, such as traditional festivals, urban and rural tourism, and study meetings and workshops. The authors have been involved in and even managed some of the exchange experiences from the initial stages.

This paper first introduces the theoretical basis of the research, that is, the concept of social capital for community revitalisation and the concept of exchange management, both of which can strategically promote exchange experiences. Second, we describe the features of Akimoto, including its geography and demography, traditions, and the development of its exchange activities. Third, this paper analyses community revitalisation using indices related to social capital and economy based on interview surveys administered to local residents. Finally, this paper evaluates revitalisation from the viewpoints of social capital and exchange management, and presents some generalised knowledge to promote such revitalisation.

Theoretical Basis of Research

Before introducing the case community, the reason why social capital is important for community revitalisation should first be clarified in relation to other important concepts such as endogenous/exogenous development and social-oriented development. Then, the concept of 'exchange management', which is expected to fill an important role in effective exchange in the revitalisation process, is introduced in this section. Finally, because one of the authors is considerably involved in the community revitalisation activities of the current case study, the author's research stance is explained.

Social-oriented Development and the Concept of Social Capital

As described above, there is growing interest in community revitalisation for rural regions in Japan. Okada (1989) presented a planning perspective for community revitalisation, employing the AGIL scheme proposed by Parsons (1956).

Figure-1 shows the AGIL diagram. Parsons proposed that every social system has to have four basic functions if it is to persist: Adaption (A), Goal-attainment (G), Integration (I), and Latency (L). Okada interpreted the same four phases as 'Economy', 'Policy', 'Bonds', and 'Trust System', respectively, to consider the problem of community depopulation. He explained the declining process of rural communities as consisting of two processes: a macro, or wide, area process and a micro, or narrow, area process. That is, on the macro level, rural communities decline through the AGIL process: 'degradation of economy (A)' – 'loss of goals/steerage (G)' – 'weakening of bonds (I)' – 'collapse of the trust system (L)'. On the other hand, on the micro level, communities decline through the LIGA process: 'de-motivation (L)' – 'loosening of bonds (I)' – 'lack of leadership/loosening of goals (G)' – 'weakening economy (A)'. Thus, it can be said that depopulation proceeds as a combination of these two processes. 'INSERT FIG-1 AROUND HERE'

The current conventional development approach is based on the AGIL process. It firstly aims to stimulate the local economy by infrastructure provisions, and then works toward community revitalisation through the abovementioned AGIL processes. The concept of 'exogenous development' also runs along similar lines. However, considering the fact that the conventional approach does not function well in rural regions, an alternative approach is required (Okada *et al.* 1989; Sugiman, 1995). Such an approach should first stimulate the society of a community and then work toward economic revitalisation. This kind of approach is based on the LIGA approach. Hereafter, this LIGA approach is referred to as the social-oriented development approach.

The concept of social-oriented development is related to the concepts of 'endogenous development', 'neo-endogenous development', and 'social capital'. Endogenous development is associated with 'capacity-building' and 'local initiative', which are the initial aims of social-oriented development. Neo-endogenous development also focuses on 'capacity-building'. The difference between endogenous development and neo-endogenous development is that the former seeks to create a driving force within the community/area, while the latter actively focuses on interactions with the outside (e.g. Neil Ward *et al.* 2005). In this context, the case study presented in this paper is considered to be a type of groundwork of, or practice for, neo-endogenous development. Neil Ward *et al.* (2005) also describes 'social capital' as being a key by which neo-endogenous development might be encouraged.

Social capital, first defined by Putnam (2000), is now generally referred to as the set of trust, institutions, social norms, social networks, and organisations that shape the interactions of actors within a society and are an asset for the individual and collective production of well-being. Additionally, Cohen and Prusak (2001) have noted that 'social capital consists of the stock of active connections among people; the trust, mutual understanding and shared values and behaviours that bind the members of human networks and communities and make cooperative action possible'.

Thus, the social-oriented development approach is strongly connected with the concept of 'social capital' because each of the phases (and mainly L, I, and G) is an element of social capital, and above all, the driving force between phases is also thought to be the potential of social capital. In other words, the social-oriented development approach firstly aims to strengthen social capital. Because this paper also examines the LIGA approach in community revitalisation, social capital can be used as an index to evaluate revitalisation and community potential.

Currently there are no concrete indices for measuring social capital. However, the features of social capital, namely 'trust', 'social norms', and 'social networks', as stated above, should be keys in the consideration of community potential. Additionally, the various types of social capital, such as bonding/bridging, formal/informal, and internal/external, are also keys to its measurement.

This paper examines the features of revitalisation in the target community according to these key elements of social capital.

Exchange Management

'Exchange management' was previously proposed by the authors as 'communication management' (Yoshitake *et al.* 2000; 2001). Here, to disambiguate its meaning, we replace 'communication' with 'exchange'.

The purpose of using this concept is to efficiently obtain the fruits of exchange toward revitalisation, and therefore to analyse and evaluate practical exchange activities from the viewpoint of total management. In the process of exchange activities toward revitalisation, there are various types of actors (individuals/groups/organisations) regardless of whether they have the same role. Under such circumstances, activities sometimes become contradictory, or overlap meaninglessly with each other, resulting in something being overlooked in the context of revitalisation, which can then in turn degrade the community's motivation for revitalisation. Thus, to achieve revitalisation more efficiently, it is necessary to 1) identify the actors' roles according to their characteristics (government-/non-government-based, inside-/outside-based, public-/private-purposed), 2) integrate their activities into the whole revitalisation program, 3) evaluate those activities, and then 4) reflect on and reconsider the actors' roles and the program itself.

Based on this concept, each exchange activity is categorised according to the 1) progress, 2) actors, and 3) targets (individuals) of the exchange. This means that exchange management can enable the evaluation and checking of the entire exchange program based on the distribution of activities among the identified categories. Of course each individual exchange program for revitalisation may in theory apply similar concepts, but nonetheless 'exchange management' is introduced to provide a simple framework for practical exchange.

In our previous papers on community revitalisation through interaction between local artists and residents, local government policies and the activities of local associations were evaluated from the viewpoint of management (Yoshitake *et al.* 2000; 2001). Specifically, in the case of municipalities, for example, various policies and activities were first categorised according to the types of management (supporting artist migration, initiating communication, and maintaining communication) and the

targets of the policies and activities (residents and artists), and then an evaluation of the policies and activities was conducted. The results showed that the policies and activities were well distributed along the framework of management and that the management was successful on the whole. It should be noted, however, that management should always be carefully considered because interpersonal communication and exchange is an individual and private matter.

Here, the concept of exchange management provides a framework for evaluation of the exchange activities discussed in this paper. The difference is that because of the context of the current case study, the targets of the management are original residents, while the local government is not involved in management. A detailed scheme of the analysis used in this study is introduced later.

Anecdotally, considering the fact that this case proactively employs outside people and knowledge, it is considered to be more related to neo-endogenous development, as previously noted.

Research Stance

Here, the role of one of the authors should be explained. As shown later, the author was a member of the outsiders' group and took on an important role in facilitating exchange. Since this research focuses on neo-endogenous development, the fact of such exchange with outsiders is not problematic. However, one might argue that such participation by a research author is not acceptable in terms of research ethics; however, such participation is considered both ethical and academically sound in some fields of research such as action research.

Strictly speaking, however, the current research is different from typical action research because every exchange activity was proposed to community members by the community leaders, and then agreed upon by themselves alone. The role of the outsiders, including that of the participating author, was to propose or suggest ideas for exchange activities during discussions with community leaders, and then to support the activities through their individual roles. Thus, the participating author did not, and actually could not, impose anything on the community members, and therefore the exchange activities can be considered to have been performed in a bottom-up manner.

Although the participating author did influence the community and exchange activities, this was done collaboratively, not manipulatively.

Overview of Case Community – Akimoto Settlement

Geography

The case study area is, as stated above, the Akimoto settlement. Figure-2 shows the location of Akimoto, along with maps of Japan (Figure-2(a)), Miyazaki Prefecture (Figure-2(b)), and Takachiho Town (Figure -2(c)). Akimoto is located in the southern part of Takachiho Town in northern Miyazaki Prefecture. 'INSERT FIG-2 AROUND HERE'

The distance between Akimoto and the Takachiho town centre is 12km (20 minutes by car). It takes about 3 hours by car to travel from the Takachiho town centre to Miyazaki City, the capital of Miyazaki Prefecture. It also takes 2.5 hours to reach Kumamoto City, the capital of neighbouring Kumamoto Prefecture. Although there used to be a railway between Takachiho and Nobeoka City (on the east coast of Miyazaki Prefecture), it was destroyed by a typhoon in 2005. Thus, Akimoto and Takachiho are relatively inconvenient areas in Miyazaki Prefecture, and also in the greater Kyushu region.

Geographically, Takachiho Town is in the middle of the mountain terrain of the Kyushu region. Forest land occupies 83.2% of the town area. Akimoto is also in a mountainous area, with an altitude ranging from 380 - 550m.

Demography and Economy of Takachiho Town

To better grasp the distinguishing features of Akimoto, here we first describe the features of Takachiho Town. Figure 3 shows the population change of Takachiho Town from 1985-2005. The population decreased 20% during this time, whereas that of all of Japan increased 3.7%. This decrease in population was accompanied by aging of the population. The ratio of residents aged 65 and over was 32.2% in 2005, whereas the national average was 20.0%. These depopulation and aging phenomena have had a strong influence on the economy, welfare, and culture of the town. 'INSERT FIG-3 AROUND HERE'

Regarding industry and economy, as of 2005 the employment population ratios of Takachiho Town's primary, secondary and tertiary industries were 29.4%, 20.0% and 50.4%, respectively. Regarding product base, in 2003 the ratios of the gross products of these industries were 6.4%, 26.9%, 68.6%, respectively. Although the tertiary industries have large shares of both the employment population and income, the primary industries, specifically agriculture, forestry, and stock raising, are important to the town economy. The main primary industry products are beef cattle (31%), chickens (22%), rice (14%), and tobacco (9%).

Features of the Akimoto Community

As shown above, Akimoto is located in the southern edge of Takachiho Town. Figure 4 is a picture of the settlement centre. Dwellings in the settlement are scattered along steep slopes.

'INSERT FIG-4 AROUND HERE'

Population change in Akimoto from 1991-2006 is shown in Figure 5 (population statistics for 1995 and 1997 were not available). The population decreased 27.7% overall during this period. The population in 2006 was 138. 'INSERT FIG-5 AROUND HERE'

The age structure in Akimoto in 2006 is shown in Figure 6. It is clear that the settlement has a super-aged society. Although there are many residents (25) less than 25 years old, the ratio of residents aged 65 and over is quite large (42.9%) compared to the Takachiho Town average (32.2%). Most adult residents experience anxiety over the sustainability of their community because their children are likely to leave the town for education or employment reasons, and then might not return to Akimoto. 'INSERT FIG-6 AROUND HERE'

Figure 7 shows the occupation composition of the residents under 64 years old. About one quarter of the residents work in agriculture, while the others have their own occupations in the town centre. The agricultural union, public sector (town government, welfare, and hospital), and construction industry provide major job opportunities. Moreover, many residents also engage in agriculture and forestry with their families in addition to having their own business, and most residents over 65 (not shown in the figure) engage in agriculture and forestry. Thus, most families have plural income resources, and therefore they are not poor to the extent that they can not survive. However, the average income is less than that of big cities, and as a result young people may desire to move to big cities to get advanced education and higher-paying jobs. These are factors that cause residents to feel anxiety about the future. 'INSERT FIG-7 AROUND HERE'

Regarding its historical and cultural aspects, Akimoto has traditionally been an agriculture and forestry village. As stated above, most residents engage in agriculture or forestry even while maintaining their main occupations. As a consequence, the residents' lifestyles and culture are still strongly based on a life of agriculture and forestry.

The residents of Akimoto maintain a mutual cooperation system regarding their agriculture and forestry work within their respective neighbourhood groups (there are three neighbourhood groups in the settlement). Moreover, they hold annual festivals and events together as one community.

'INSERT FIG-8 AROUND HERE'

The most significant tradition in Akimoto is the '*Yokagura*' (mask dance), performed during harvest festivals (see Figure 8). Most male residents dance for the gods and nature, dancing all through the night, while female residents welcome visitors to the festival place (a private house) as well as to their own houses. On the day of the '*Yokagura*' festival, the settlement has many visitors (kinsfolk, friends of residents, and tourists), and the residents extend their hospitality even to unacquainted tourists. This hospitality, open mind and friendship toward outsiders are not only noteworthy characteristics of the Akimoto residents, but they also provide the basis for the exchange experiences introduced below.

Exchange Experiences with Outsiders

Since Akimoto is located in a mountainous area and the community size is very small, the community is apt to be conventional, conservative and closed unless special opportunities to communicate with the outside are secured. *Yokagura* has been one important such opportunity for exchange with outsiders. It is also important to note that Akimoto also has characteristics of a community in which many of the middle-aged residents previously lived in cities for purposes of education or to further their careers, and therefore their values have been partly formed under the influence of city life. More

importantly, many of the wives of the male residents came to Akimoto from outside for marriage.

Nevertheless, the most proactive residents, the majority of which are middle-aged residents, have long been seeking ways and opportunities to brighten up their daily lives, to activate the community, and to revitalise the community economy over the long term. To these ends, they established the '*Green Team*' for men's activities and the '*Rouge Team*' for women's activities. Table-1 summarises the activities of both teams and the community as a whole. Although the activities of these groups had been able to provide a certain rhythm in the residents' lives, something was still lacking with respect to brightening and revitalising the community. In other words, they still could not find clear, concrete solutions to their problems. 'INSERT TABLE-1 AROUND HERE'

In the autumn of 1995, an opportunity came to the community. Several women from Fukuoka City, the Kyushu regional hub city, visited the *Yokagura* festival in response to an invitation by the author (the author is friends with one of the Akimoto resident leaders). The women were members of the '*Goryon-san*', a women's volunteer group for town community revitalisation in Hakata (a core district of Fukuoka City). During the *Yokagura* festival, the women from Fukuoka met with the women of Akimoto. They found similarities in their community situations, such as depopulation and traditional culture, as well as in their daily life issues, e.g., children's education and house management. Because Hakata is the core office district in Fukuoka City, the resident population has been steadily decreasing. Further, Hakata has a very famous traditional festival called '*Yamakasa*', and the residents have been struggling to maintain the annual festival. Figure 9 is a picture of the *Yamakasa* festival. Both women's groups received sympathy for their respective situations. *Goryon-san* invited the *Rouge Team* to the following year's *Yamakasa* festival. This was the start of exchange between Fukuoka and Akimoto. Thus, since 1995 the Akimoto and Fukuoka residents have accumulated numerous exchange experiences. Moreover, since that time both the author and the leaders of Akimoto have been playing management roles in these exchange activities. 'INSERT FIG-9 AROUND HERE'

Table 2 summarises the major exchange activities. Since 1997, the *Green Team*, inspired by the possibilities of women's exchange, has participated in *Yamakasa*. Further, in 1999 students of Miyazaki University started holding seminar camps in Akimoto. Some adult residents also joined the seminar and enjoyed the exchange programs. Over the course of exchange development, trials of green tourism were also executed, such as rice cropping, edible wild plant collecting, and daily work experiences. 'INSERT TABLE-2 AROUND HERE'

By 1999, the main actors of these activities had emerged and become confident in their roles. The '*Shinseki Club*' (kinsfolk club) actors group in Fukuoka, for example, consists of some members of *Goryon-san* and their families and friends, including professionals such as an architect, a civil engineer and musicians. One of the authors is also a member of the *Shinseki Club*. Then, in 2003 the *Rouge Team* and the *Green Team* held a classical music concert at one of the resident's houses, to which over 100 people attended from both inside and outside Akimoto (Figure-10). Both of the invited musicians were members of the *Shinseki Club*. 'INSERT FIG-10 AROUND HERE'

Since 2003, the *Shinseki Club* (including the author) and the leaders of Akimoto have tried to develop the exchange programs to better reflect more effective revitalisation. They have proactively tried to involve more Akimoto residents, including children and the elderly, in the seminars, and have held a '*Workshop*' to consider the future of Akimoto. In addition to the students, professional designers, planners, and architects have also been invited to join the workshops, all of whom come voluntarily from Tokyo, Fukuoka, and Miyazaki, and they have naturally become supporters of Akimoto (see Figure 11). 'INSERT FIG-11 AROUND HERE'

In this way, exchange experiences have been gradually developed and enlarged in Akimoto. It should be noted that there are many individual exchange opportunities besides the activities listed in Table 2. Individual exchange opportunities are still gradually increasing. Indeed, an examination of the contents of the exchange activities reveals that the exchange history can be divided into three stages. Stage-1 is the 'encountering stage', in which exchange is mainly done during festivals and on a group-to-group basis. Stage-2 is the 'trust-building stage', in which individual-based exchange begins, such as rice cropping tours. This stage also involves children and the elderly in a seminar camp. Stage-3 is the 'envisioning stage', in which workshops are organised for residents and outsiders to consider the future of Akimoto.

Although the detailed characteristics of the actual exchange experiences will be discussed in the

next section, it is noteworthy to mention them briefly here: professional networks, voluntary networks, the involvement of all generations, discreet leadership, and a healthy time to mature, etc. Most of these characteristics are also features of 'social capital'. These features fit well within the framework of 'exchange management'.

Community Revitalisation through Exchange Experiences

Analysis Scheme

This section investigates the results of the exchange experiences from the viewpoint of social capital. First, the evaluations of the exchange activities by the Akimoto residents are interpreted according to the AGIL phases and the properties of social capital, i.e., norms, trust, and the bonding/bridging of social networks. Then, based on the changes observed in these properties, the transformation of social capital is examined. Here, the social capital characteristic of internal/external is not considered because it is related to bonding/bridging. Further, the characteristic of 'formal/informal' is ignored because all of the exchange activities are informal.

Second, the social networks formed by the exchange activities are examined, namely, the expansion of the activities and the member composition of the networks. These are analysed by the participant compositions of the exchange activities. Third, the economic outcomes, which are introduced by social capital, are analysed through the evaluation statements of the residents.

Data for Analysis

The investigation data is mainly based on interview surveys conducted during the several events that were held in 2002 and before, two workshops held in 2003, and an interview survey in 2007. The respective numbers of participants are listed in Table 3. As for the participants for '2002 and before', the data is not exact because the evaluations were recorded over several events and activities. However, this uncertainty is not a crucial matter for the investigation because the interview survey data will be analysed for content and meaning of the evaluations; that is, the analysis is qualitative. Although quantitative statistical analysis is also important and can be useful in this type of research, considering the fact that in this study the community is small and the number of participants is also small, quantitative statistical analyses would not be valid in this case. Further, because the purpose of this paper is to analyse the kinds of changes that occurred, and then show the possibility of social-oriented development, even if small, the abovementioned uncertainty in the data does not pose a serious problem. 'INSERT TABLE-3 AROUND HERE'

The data for the analysis of human networks is based on the exchange activity participants. The number of participants and their attributes (regions, occupations) are examined.

Regarding the economic outcomes derived from the exchange activities, they are evaluated by the residents' evaluation statements instead of economical indices because Akimoto does not yet have resultant economic incomes.

Evaluation of Resident Exchange Activities

Table-4 summarises the residents' statements about the exchange opportunities listed in Table-3. Many statements in the table are related to discovering something in the community and gaining self-confidence, such as '*I found values in Akimoto life*' and '*I gained pride for living in Akimoto*' from Stage-1 to Stage-3. Further, the statement '*The exchange experiences gave the elderly power over their daily lives*' (Stage-3) indicated that the exchange activities involved the elderly and thus provided certain benefits for those community members. 'INSERT TABLE-4 AROUND HERE'

Furthermore, there are more than a few statements that showed how the participants recognised their responsibilities and roles in the community, such as '*We have to improve our skills for performing Yokagura*' (Stage-1), and '*I realised the importance of living in Akimoto*' (Stage-2). These statements are distributed throughout the stages.

It is very interesting that in the last stage (Stage-3), there are several statements that reveal how residents realised that exchange with outsiders is actually a way to get to know them, or that they found that to participate in exchange with others is to learn something. In over 11 years of exchange activity, the residents came to understand one of the essential purposes of the activity of exchange.

On the other hand, several negative statements expressing limitations of the capability to

exchange emerged in Stage-2. *'Exchange experiences resulted only in enjoyment'*, and *'Exchange experiences did not affect the economy'* are such evaluations. It is very interesting that these negative evaluations are accompanied by statements concerning future visions of the village. In Stage-2, for example, the residents came to reconsider the purposes and meanings of the exchange activities with outsiders, and therefore they came to feel that something was missing. Such statements regarding future visions and the economy came up in Stage-2 and Stage-3, the last two stages.

Next we examine the evaluation statements from the viewpoint of social capital. In Table-4, the statements are characterised by the AGIL classifications as well as 'norm', 'trust', and the bonding/bridging of networks. Although it is partly ambiguous that each statement is categorised by both the phase and term names, the terms are included when a statement implies a relationship to a particular term.

Regarding the AGIL phases, most statements in Stage-1 can be characterised as phases of L and/or I. The residents thought about their community through reflecting on their exchange experiences with outsiders. In the progress of exchange, phase G and A statements increased, even though such statements in Stage-2 and Stage-3 were not directly connected to the successful outcomes of the activities, such as 'acquiring goals' and 'economic achievement'. Nonetheless, it can be concluded that the community was transformed according to the LIGA process during the 11 years of exchange.

Regarding 'norms' and 'trust', these characteristics are associated with many statements throughout all three stages. It is clear that community residents re-evaluated and strengthened their 'community norms' through the exchange activities. Further, there is a little more 'trust' in Stage-3 than in Stage-1 or Stage-2. The statements related to 'trust' in Stage-3, and in particular those from the members of the *Shinseki Club*, indicate trust toward the outsiders. This can be interpreted to mean that the community residents increased their trust of the members of the *Shinseki Club* as a result of their companionship.

The distribution of 'bonding' and 'bridging' is similar to that of 'norms' and 'trust'. 'Bridging' is mainly found in Stage-2 and Stage-3, whereas 'bonding' is found throughout all three stages. This indicates that the Akimoto community, with its traditional unique characteristic of having strong bonding networks inside the community, has not only maintained this bonding characteristic, but also reinforced it through the exchange experiences. Furthermore, the community residents have become more able to reach out to outsiders and learn the importance of networks.

Expanding Social Networks

As shown in Table 2, there have been many exchange opportunities. However, most opportunities, especially those in Stage-1 and Stage-2, were based on small groups, and therefore they are not suitable to measure the expansion of networks. *'INSERT TABLE-5 AROUND HERE'*

Table 5 summarises the numbers of participants in the three workshops that aimed to bring together as many residents and outsiders as possible. Workshop (hereafter 'WS') (1) in 2003 was called a 'Resource Hunting Tour'. In the workshop, the participants walked around the settlement and interviewed other residents about their knowledge and certain skills for living in the settlement. Although the main participants from outside were university students and children residing in Akimoto, adults from both Akimoto and the outside (mainly Fukuoka) also appeared as audience members at the workshop's presentation session. WS (3) in 2004 was organised as 'Visions for Akimoto', in which the participants divided into small groups, walked along with and interviewed elderly residents, and presented their visions for sustaining the community by alternative methods, such as green tourism, log house accommodations, and the mapping of notable spots. This workshop also brought together children residing in Akimoto and adults from both Akimoto and from outside (Fukuoka, Miyazaki, and Tokyo). WS (4) was held in 2005, and the participants were mainly from Tokyo and Miyazaki. The workshop was organised as a 'Daily Work Experience Tour', in which the participants were divided into two groups. One group helped build a car shed, and the other helped build an outdoor bath. After finishing each workshop, a party was held by the Akimoto residents to further enjoy exchange and discussion.

Regarding the numbers of participants, over time the numbers of adults from outside areas increased. Additionally, the fact that 20 to 25 Akimoto residents participated is noteworthy considering the size of the community population.

Features of Outsider and Key-Person Networks

One of the particularities of the outsiders is that many of them are professionals. This is because the core members of the *Shinseki Club* include an academic (the author), a civil engineer, and an architect. Table 6 shows the attributes of the outsiders who participated in the workshops, although it only summarises the participants in the workshops to allow for simple illustration of the networks. In actuality, there are many other outsiders who participated in small exchange activities but are not listed in the table. 'INSERT TABLE-6 AROUND HERE'

There is wide variation in attributes among the outsiders. Akimoto residents were able to hold a 'Classical Music Concert' in 2002 by taking advantage of the outsider human resources (M1*(F, S) and M2*(F, S) in Table 6). Further, the residents were also able to start the project 'Yokagura Clothes Reproduction' in 2002 because one female member of the *Shinseki Club* was a weaver (C1*(F, G, S)) in Table 6.

However, despite the facts above, it is still difficult to conclude that the residents were able to take advantage of all of the human resources shown in Table 6. This is partially evidenced by the abovementioned evaluation statements such as 'Exchange experiences resulted only in enjoyment', 'Exchange experiences did not affect the economy', shown in Table 4. It should also be noted that residents still expected to take advantage of the available human resources, as illustrated by responses such as 'The human networks built through exchange are advantageous for us' and 'The landscape of Akimoto should be maintained even with the help of outsiders', shown in Table 4. This is an issue to be considered for future exchange activities.

To better grasp the development of the network of outsiders, therefore, the relationships among key persons who have direct relationships with the other members in their group are illustrated in Figure 12. The lines indicate that the connected persons often communicate through meetings, telephone, and e-mail, etc. 'INSERT FIG-12 AROUND HERE'

It is clear that the *Shinseki Club* has more key persons than the other outsider groups, and they also have direct connections with each other. They also have direct connections with the key persons in Akimoto.

The author, denoted as P11 (M, S), has the function of linking Akimoto with people from Miyazaki and Tokyo. Although it might seem that the author is the leader of a network, this is not the case because the planning of all exchange activities is first discussed within Akimoto and among the *Shinseki Club* members. In this sense, the *Shinseki Club* plays a brain-like role in exchange management, which is described in the next section.

Another notable point here is the existence of female key persons in both the *Shinseki Club* and Akimoto. As shown later in the next section, exchange opportunities were obtained mainly on a family basis. The female leaders infused their own ideas for exchange into the exchange plans and communicated with the other residents and members during the planning, which made the exchange activities more fruitful. In a similar sense, the existence of married couples is also important.

Economy

As mentioned above, Akimoto can not yet realise real economic benefits derived from the exchange experiences. However, it should be noted that one family was able to make some income by selling wood for use in an oven to a restaurant in Fukuoka. This was made possible through an introduction by the *Shinseki Club*. Some of the Akimoto residents are now trying to create new income resources, such as wild honey production and silk weaving, and in some endeavours the *Shinseki Club* is providing advice regarding technical skills and marketing.

Incidentally, the 'rice cropping tour' activity had indirect economical effects. That is, through the efforts of the participants, the required time for rice cropping was shortened from four or five days to only one. Considering the fact that the residents could do other work with the time they saved, the tour can be interpreted as having had an indirect economic outcome.

Additionally, the residents are now planning to restore a water mill to produce rice powder, buckwheat and wheat flour. The Akimoto residents and the *Shinseki Club* are now in discussions to take advantage of additional outside human resources for projects of building design, construction, and the marketing of new products.

Exchange Management

Interpretation of Exchange Activities According to the Management Framework

The management framework proposed in the authors' previous studies (Yoshitake *et al.* 2000; 2001) sets forth three areas of management: 'artist migration support', 'initiating exchange', and 'maintaining exchange'. Namely, the authors noted that in exchange management the existence of outsiders, the initiation of meeting opportunities, and the maintenance of motivation for exchange, including solving troubles among individuals, should be considered.

Applied to the context of exchange that occurred in Akimoto, the above management types therefore became 'visiting/inviting', 'mutual understanding', and 'maintaining exchange'. Table 7 depicts the interpretations of the exchange activities according to the above management framework. The activities are categorised according to their respective exchange stage: 'encountering stage' (Stage-1), 'trust-building stage' (Stage-2), and 'envisioning stage' (Stage-3) (See Table 2). The exchange activities are divided among the management types and also among the exchange stages. Most of the activities have been maintained since their inception. 'INSERT TABLE-7 AROUND HERE'

In Stage-1, *Yokagura* and *Yamakasa* provided the meeting opportunities for Akimoto residents and Fukuoka residents (*Goryon-san* and later the *Shinseki Club*). On festival days, the guests were divided into small groups and stayed at the private houses of the host residents. This allowed all of the participants to get to know each other better. Then, right before the start of the festivals, the key persons from Akimoto would hold several meetings to realise more exchange among the participants. In late Stage-1, for example, the university student seminar camp began. The camp was planned by the author along with the key persons in Akimoto. The purpose of the camp was to provide extraordinary experiences to the residents in addition to education and training to the students. A party was also held for each workshop, involving many residents.

During Stage-2, some green tourism experiments such as rice cropping were initiated. Most of the outsiders who participated were members of the *Shinseki Club*. These members stayed in the private homes and helped foster trusting relationships. Further, since the end of this period, individual-based exchange has become more common. The seminar camp was transformed into a workshop-style meeting that aimed at involving the children and elderly residents of Akimoto. After the workshop meetings concluded, the students published summary reports and circulated them among the Akimoto residents. These reports made strong impressions on the Akimoto residents, including those who did not participate in the workshop. Both the green tourism experiments and the workshops had participants join in group work to increase the familiarity among participants. City tourism (not shown in Table 2), in which some of the Akimoto residents visited Fukuoka to enjoy the city attractions while staying at the private residences of the members of the *Goryon-san* and *Shinseki Club*, also increased the familiarity among participants. During this period, two Akimoto residents also became key persons.

In the last stage, Stage-3, workshops were planned even more aggressively than in the previous stage. The key persons realised it was time to think about future visions of the community together along with outsiders. To this end, a fourth workshop was held in December 2004 to discuss such future visions, and there the residents shared their minds and opinions, as shown in Table 4. Subsequently, the fifth workshop, held in 2005, included a number of participants from Tokyo. They were members of a volunteer group seeking greater utilisation of Japanese cedar, and included industrial designers, urban designers, and town planners. Two of these participants had participated in the former activities described above.

Incidentally, it should be noted that in Stage-3, the activities in Stage-1 and Stage-2 were continued, and therefore the functions of both stages as well as the management types were maintained for the sake of newly arriving outsiders.

Strategies of Exchange Management

Based on the discussion above, it can be concluded that the various activities were well distributed among the stages and management types. On the one hand, this is a key indicator of successful social capital building. On the other hand, it does not clarify why the Akimoto residents evaluated the exchange activities the way they did (see Table 4). It is thus necessary to consider how these activities

functioned in social capital building.

Observing the activities from the viewpoint of exchange management, some important key concepts can be found that helped to secure the processes of visiting/inviting, mutual understanding, and the maintenance of exchange activities. These key concepts are summarised below:

- ‘Trust building and the involvement of more residents’: contributing to visiting/inviting, mutual understanding, and the maintenance of exchange activities.
- ‘Tourism similar to green tourism’ and ‘Mutual learning’: mainly provide the basis for mutual understanding.
- ‘Enjoyment’ and ‘Maturation time’ and ‘Discreet leadership’: mainly contribute to the maintenance of exchange activities.
- ‘Strength of the original bonds among Akimoto residents’: represents the potential of exchange activities.

Regarding the contributions to ‘trust building and the involvement of more residents’, first the members of the *Shinseki Club* visited Akimoto and invited the Akimoto residents to visit Fukuoka along with their families. Family-based exchange helped to create trust and a sense of ease among those involved. As shown previously, female key persons played an important role in both initiating and maintaining exchange activities.

Second, small individual-based exchange activities, such as rice cropping tours, were planned in the periods between workshops that allowed for larger numbers of participants. During such small, individual-based activities, the several new outsiders that the *Shinseki Club* had introduced became more involved. For both these newcomers and the Akimoto residents, these small activities were good opportunities to understand each other. Thus, the newcomers were able to comfortably join the succeeding activities, including the workshops.

Third, the main individuals who introduced outsiders to the Akimoto community were the authors and the other members of the *Shinseki Club*. This means that only a very limited number of outsiders were introduced, that is, only those who could be found trustworthy and also have something to offer the residents. Further, because the *Shinseki Club* had close connections with the key persons in Akimoto, as shown in Figure 12, the residents did not feel anxiety toward having outsiders visit them. Moreover, the number of outsiders in each activity, even those who participated in the festivals, were kept at a number less than that of the local residents in order to keep resident anxiety to a minimum. In addition, the opportunity for outsiders to stay at private residences contributed to fostering closer relationships with the local residents.

Since newly arrived outsiders had been informed about the exchange history and exchange concepts before coming to Akimoto, they understood their roles and thought about what they could contribute to Akimoto. Thus, the key persons in Tokyo and Miyazaki respected these concepts and invited only those whom they knew would be cooperative and beneficial to the cause.

As for mutual understanding, for all of the abovementioned exchange activities, it is important that residents have a common understanding that the purpose of exchange is not direct income. Indeed, they often noted, *‘If we wanted direct income from exchange with others, the exchange itself would degrade both the exchange process and ourselves. What we need are relationships from which we can support each other and learn from each other.’* The outsiders also understood this, and therefore they visited Akimoto voluntarily.

In this light, can such exchange activities be simply called green tourism? Although we know that the wider concept of green tourism has such a meaning, it still should be distinguished from the usual term ‘green tourism’ because outsiders are more catalysts than customers. Enjoyment, as described below, can be secured by equality among residents and outsiders based on ‘sympathy’, not the economy.

An additional key to mutual understanding was that outside networks had many professionals and specialists. Since such outsiders have new and different skills and ways of thinking compared to local residents, the residents found exchange with the outsiders to be very stimulating. The residents also knew that the outsiders wanted to support the Akimoto community in various capacities.

On the other hand, the professionals and specialists were also interested in Akimoto because of its tradition, culture, values, and lifestyle close to nature. Because these kinds of properties are missing in urban life, outsiders could learn something important for themselves. That is the main reason why most newcomer professionals and specialists subsequently became ‘repeater’ participants.

Incidentally, to continue such exchange activities, enjoyment seems integral. Considering the future in light of reality is not easy or comfortable work. That is why enjoyment should be distributed throughout activities. For example, enjoyable parties with outsiders and students, and workshops in which young and old residents can participate together, can offer such necessary entertainment to participants.

Further, supplementary activities, such as rice cropping tours, can offer enjoyment even to local residents. By observing outsiders enjoying their work and activities, residents can find enjoyment even when doing hard and stressful tasks. In other words, exchange activities have the capability to change heavy duty work into something enjoyable for residents.

Another key to the continuation of exchange activities is 'maturation time and discreet leadership'. Although it is easy to conclude that only the key persons in Akimoto managed the exchange activities, this is not accurate. The management of activities was always based on discussions within the *Shinseki Club* and within the Akimoto community. Namely, most activities were first agreed to by the Akimoto residents and then conducted. What should be noted here is that the role of the key persons both inside and outside Akimoto was to propose only those activities on which the residents could agree.

However, in reality the proposals were based on discreet insight into the daily lives of the residents. The authors, along with one of the key persons in Akimoto, examined what things were necessary according to the exchange development stages and the family conditions in the community. That is, the management style respected a healthy time frame required for the maturing of the activities as well as the circumstances at the moment. Needless to say, discreet leadership on behalf of the key persons was essential for this kind of management.

Finally, the most fundamental key should be noted. The above keys are, of course, important for exchange. Nevertheless, it might be difficult to explain the most fundamental reason for the success of the exchange activities in Akimoto: the Akimoto community originally had sufficient potential to extend and strengthen social capital. Akimoto community historically has strong bonds among its residents, formed by tradition and agricultural life. It was very fortuitous, therefore, that they had some leaders who had ties to outsiders and knowledge of how to cooperate with them. Of course the argument can be made that these strong bonds and the existence of leaders also contributed to the revitalisation of the community. However, it is also a fact that the revitalisation could not have been successful by such factors alone.

Remaining Issues

As discussed above, the network and trust building achieved in this study can be concluded to have been a success. However, economic revitalisation, on the other hand, has yet to be realised.

Considering the future of the Akimoto community, aging and depopulation will become more severe, and as a result the living circumstances will become even worse than they are at present. To sustain the community, therefore, residents and outsiders need to continue their cooperative efforts. However, job opportunities and income resources are not only two of the main issues facing the Akimoto community, but they also are problems in Takachiho Town. In this sense, the revitalisation of Akimoto should be considered in conjunction with the policies of Takachiho Town.

Implications for the Practice of Revitalisation in Other Communities

What can be learnt through this case study for the practice of revitalisation in other communities? Here we discuss this question from three viewpoints: applicability to other communities, the role of professionals/specialists, and the role of regional universities.

Regarding the applicability of this research to other communities, many rural regions in developed and developing countries suffer from problems similar to those of the current case community of Akimoto, including depopulation and economic depression. Furthermore, lack of knowledge and lack of motivation among residents are also factors thought to be crucial in these regions. Even in urban areas, many communities also have similar problems.

This study illustrates the possibilities of social capital development. Specifically, it shows that although funding is not absolutely essential, some conditions are required. First, the concept of exchange management can help clarify the roles and purposes of the actors. Second, outsiders,

specialists and professionals, among others, are important for this kind of development. Third, the original bonds within communities are important for initiating and maintaining exchange activities.

The results of the current research imply that communities that can satisfy these conditions have the potential to pursue revitalisation using methods similar to those used in this study.

Next, this case study shows the importance of professionals and specialists among outsider network members. The participation of professionals and specialists provided the basis for ‘trust building’ and ‘mutual learning’. The next question is how they can ensure this basis.

In the encountering stage of our study, the professionals and specialists discovered the traditional values held by the community members, often expressing how those values are important and how they were pleased to experience them. Further, the professionals and specialists maintained their attitude of wanting to learn from the community. Discovering such values, expressing their understanding, and learning about the community, therefore, are important guidelines for professionals and specialists who participate in such revitalisation activities.

Of course the professional knowledge of professionals and specialists, regardless of whether it belongs to their own field of expertise, is important, especially during the envisioning stage. In our study, some of the professionals and specialists helped to manage the workshops, and in response to the residents’ questions, they explained the circumstances of the community in the context of modernisation and globalisation, described the revitalisation attempts of other communities and offered their own suggestions to the community using their knowledge and networks. Community members could listen and accept what these professionals and specialists told them because they had developed the necessary trust and respect.

The critical issue, then, is how the community can acquire such professionals and specialists from the outside. Key persons who have access to networks of professionals and specialists, regardless of whether they are located inside or outside the community, are necessary. University faculties, it turns out, are in a very suitable position to become such key persons.

Although the role of university faculty in this context is similar to those of professionals and specialists, the characteristics stated above are considered to be even more extensive for university faculty because university faculty have both theoretical and practical knowledge in addition to nationwide and international networks.

In our case study, because the academic professional (one of the authors) lived near the target community, he was able to keep in contact with the community as an individual. Similarly, academics in general, when compared to other professionals and specialists, might be able to afford more spare time for interaction with communities, which is especially important in the very early stages of revitalisation programs.

Another possibility, which is not yet available for the community in the current case study, would be for universities or specific faculty members to provide research, or “action”, teams, including those with possibilities for funding. In Japan, many universities now systematically cooperate with individual communities and municipalities in their revitalisation efforts. The ‘Center for Policy Studies’ of Kumamoto University and the ‘Center for Community Revitalization’ of Tokushima University are representative examples. However, volunteer-based activities, such as those described in this study, would still be necessary to initiate exchange activities and to prepare to receive funding and systematic project activity plans.

Concluding Remarks

This paper discussed social capital development in a rural community based on a case study of a small mountainous settlement community, Akimoto, in Takachiho Town, Japan. In Akimoto, depopulation, aging, and weak primary industries are the main problems facing the community, problems which are also prevalent in other rural regions in Japan. However, the traditional dance festival ‘*Yokagura*’, which symbolises the values, lifestyle, and identity of the residents, is still held annually. Further, Akimoto has been actively engaged with outsiders in exchange activities to revitalise the community. The significant characteristics of the current case study are that 1) it comprised long-term exchange activity with volunteer outsiders including professionals and specialists, and 2) the purpose was not direct economic revitalisation but rather the improvement of capacity and motivation among community residents and their network-building abilities with outsiders.

This paper first presented an overview of the progress of exchange activities. The history of the

activities was summarised, and the purpose, contents and participants of each activity were analysed. This exchange history was found to consist of three stages: 'encountering', 'trust-building', and 'envisioning'. That is, the purpose of the exchange activities evolved over the course of the exchange experiences.

Second, the residents' evaluations of the activities were analysed based on their statements obtained mainly during the workshops. In the encountering stage, the residents gained stronger senses of pride, community attachment, and their roles in the community. They also discovered the importance of exchange activities in getting to know their fellow community members as well as themselves better. These evaluations were further examined according to the AGIL diagram and keywords of social capital, i.e., norms/trust and bonding/bridging. Over the course of the exchange activities, the community changed from the L and I phases to the G and A phases; from inside norms/trust to outside norms/trust; and from bonding to bridging.

Third, as an index of social capital, the social networks fostered by the exchange activities were analysed. Scale-wise, the number of participants in the exchange activities increased, while, qualitatively speaking, it was found that one key characteristic of the network was its inclusion of many professionals and specialists living in large cities. Among these professionals and specialists in the network, a group in Fukuoka called the *Shinseki Club* (kinsfolk club) was found to have some of the core functions necessary for exchange activities.

Fourth, to better understand the keys for successful revitalisation and to evaluate the exchange activities as one complete program, the concept of 'exchange management' was introduced. The roles and relations of the activities were interpreted based on the purposes of the activities (called management types): 'visiting/inviting', 'mutual understanding', and 'maintenance of exchange'. The analysis clarified the fact that the activities were well distributed among these three management types over the course of time. It can be concluded, therefore, that, in terms of the results of the program, the activities were well planned from the viewpoint of the purposes of the activities. This study also investigated management strategies that would produce better social capital through exchange activities. To this end, strategies which promote trust-building, the increased involvement of residents, and mutual learning were discussed. Enjoyment, non-green tourism, maturation time and discreet leadership were also found to be important factors in trust-building and the maintenance of exchange. Strong initial bonding was thought to be one of the basic requirements for the revitalisation process.

As summarised above, it can be said that social capital development was successful in this study even though economic outcomes have yet to be achieved. Nonetheless the residents' motivation for future economic revitalisation was enhanced. In fact, some residents even realised a small income from their newly introduced businesses. This fact encouraged the residents to continue such activities. The community residents also discovered that outsiders are willing to support them. Thus, we can conclude that the seeking of economic revitalisation among community members can be expected.

Finally, it was suggested that the current revitalisation method is applicable to other communities assuming certain conditions are met. Further, the method is applicable to the initiation of social-oriented development before the introduction of economic funding. For this to happen, the prerequisite conditions of trust building, mutual learning, enjoyment, non-green tourism, maturation time, discreet leadership and strong initial bonding must be met.

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Adaptation (Economy)	Goal-attainment (Steerage)
Latent pattern-maintain (Trust System)	Integration (Bonds)

Figure-1 AGIL Diagram by Parsons (1956)

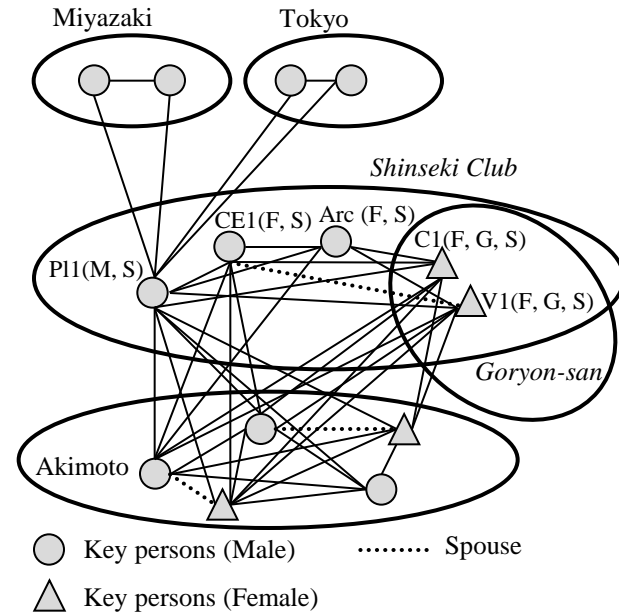


Figure-12 Network among Key Persons

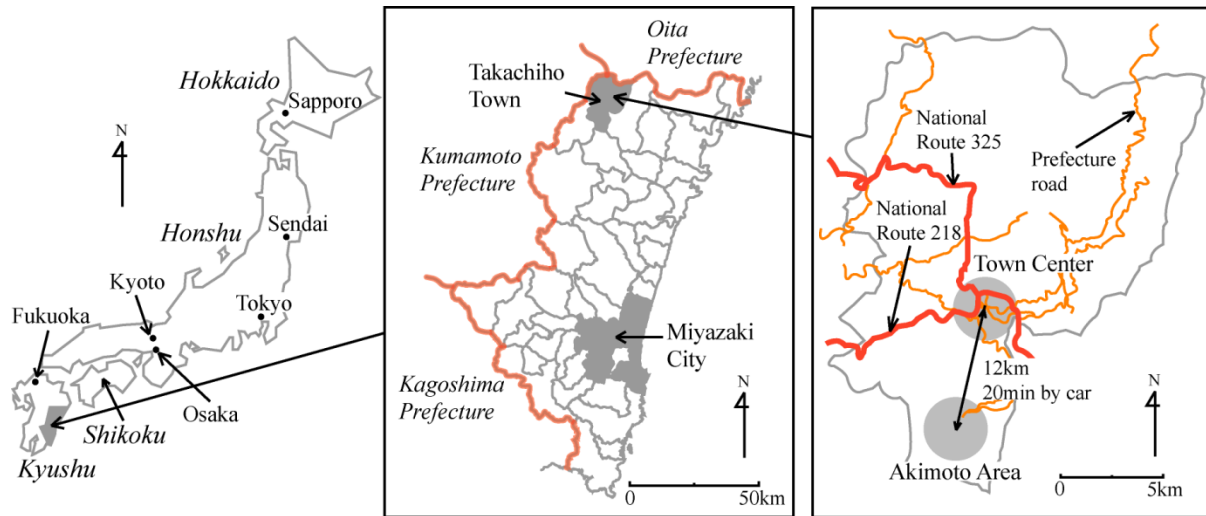


Figure-2(a) Japan

Figure-2(b) Miyazaki Prefecture

Figure-2(c) Takachiho Town

Figure-2 Map of Akimoto Settlement

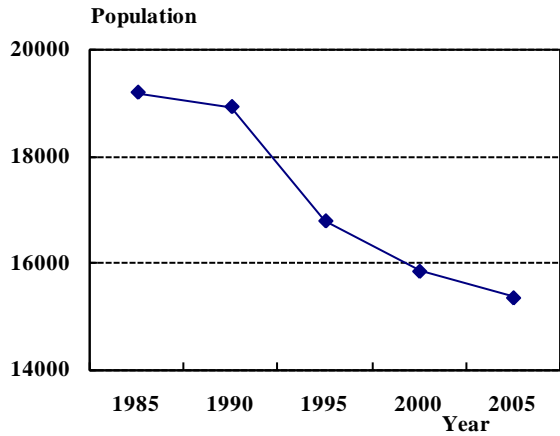


Figure-3 Population Change in Takachiho Town

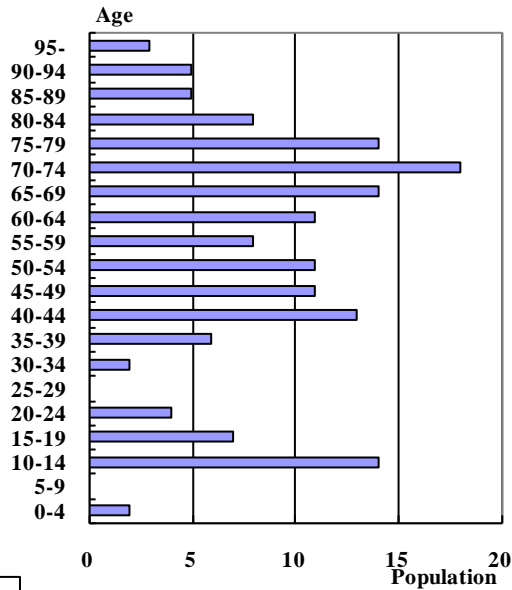


Figure-6 Age Structure in Akimoto

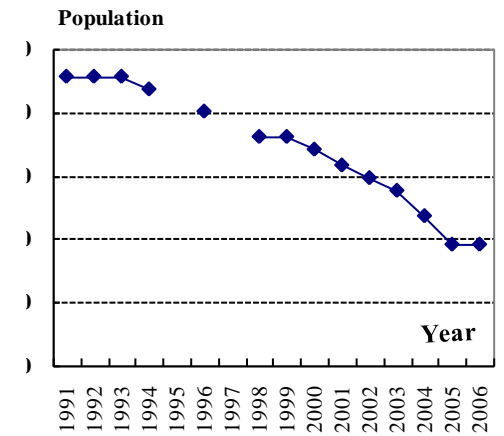


Figure-5 Population Change in Akimoto

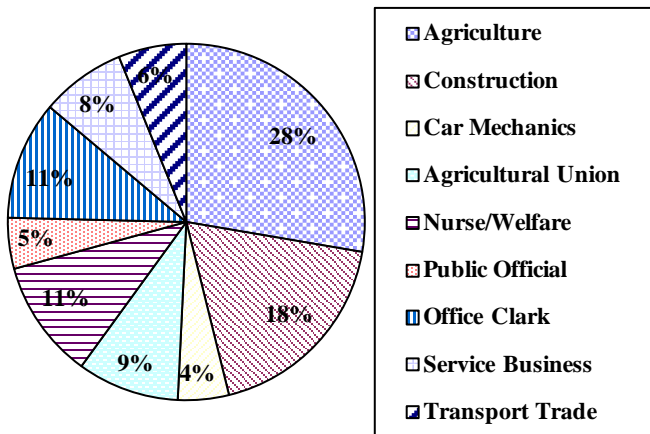


Figure-7 Occupation Composition of Akimoto



Figure-4 Akimoto Settlement



Figure-8 Yokagura



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Table-1 Community Organisation Activities

<i>Green team</i>	Afforestation
	Road maintenance
	<i>Bon</i> festival management
	Mutual learning of living skills
	Leisure tours
<i>Rouge team</i>	Rice straw work
	Cooking school
	Publication of information circular ' <i>Rural Times</i> '
Community	<i>Yokagura</i>
	Coorporative agriculture/forestry work

Table-2

Major Exchange Activities

Year	Month	Opportunity	Place	Main Actors	Remarks	Stage
1995	Nov.	<i>Yokagura</i>	A *1)	<i>Goryon-san/Rouge team</i>		1
1996	July	<i>Yamakasa</i> sightseeing tour Exchange meeting	F *1)	<i>Rouge Team</i> <i>Goryon-san</i>		
	Aug.	Seminar camp	A	Univ. students/Akimoto residents		
	Nov.	<i>Yokagura</i>	A			
1997	May	Preparing workshop for <i>Yamakasa</i>	A	Leaders of <i>Yamakasa</i> / <i>Green Team</i>		
	July	<i>Yamakasa</i> Exchange meeting	F	<i>Green Team</i> <i>Rouge Team</i> / <i>Goryon-san</i>		
	Nov.	<i>Yokagura</i>	A			
1998	July	<i>Yamakasa</i>	F	<i>Green Team</i>		
	Nov.	<i>Yokagura</i>	A			
1999	July	Seminar camp	A	Univ. students/Akimoto residents		
	July	<i>Yamakasa</i>	F			
	Oct.	Rice cropping tour	A	<i>Shinseki Club</i> /Akimoto residents	First trial of green tourism	
	Nov.	Receiving TV coverage	A	Akimoto residents	Nation widely broadcasted	
	Nov.	<i>Yokagura</i>	A			
2000	July	<i>Yamakasa</i>	F	<i>Green Team</i>		
	Aug.	Seminar camp	A	Univ. students/Akimoto residents		
	Aug.	Symposium of community activities	M	<i>Green Team</i> / <i>Rouge Team</i>		
	Sep.	Symposium in Fukuoka Pref.	F	<i>Green Team</i> / <i>Rouge Team</i>	Invited presentation	
	Oct.	Rice cropping tour	A	<i>Shinseki Club</i> /Akimoto residents		
	Nov.	<i>Yokagura</i>	A			
2001	July	<i>Yamakasa</i>	F	<i>Green Team</i>		
	Nov.	<i>Yokagura</i>	A			
2002	May	Tour for edible wild plants	A	<i>Shinseki Club</i> /Akimoto residents		
	May	<i>Yokagura</i> clothes reproduction	F	One of <i>Goryon-san</i> & <i>Shinseki Club</i>	Continuing	
	July	<i>Yamakasa</i>	F	<i>Green Team</i>		
	Nov.	<i>Yokagura</i>	A			
	Dec.	Classical music concert	A	Musicians(<i>Shinseki Club</i>) Akimoto residents	Townwide audience	
2003	July	<i>Yamakasa</i>	F	<i>Green Team</i>		
	Aug.	Seminar camp / WS(1)	A	Univ. students/Akimoto residents <i>Shinseki Club</i>	Workshop (Resource hunting) Architect	
	Nov.	<i>Yokagura</i>	A			
	Dec.	Seminar camp / WS(2)	A	Univ. students/Akimoto residents	Discussion (Visions of Akimoto)	
2004	July	<i>Yamakasa</i>	F	<i>Green Team</i>		
	July	Seminar camp / WS(3)	A	Univ. students/Akimoto residents <i>Shinseki Club</i> /Residents in Tokyo	Workshop (Future of Akimoto) Architect, Designers, Planners	
	Nov.	<i>Yokagura</i>	A			
2005	May	Seminar camp / WS (4)	A	Univ. students/Akimoto residents Residents in Tokyo	Workshop (Daily work experience tour) Architect, Designers, Planners	3
	July	<i>Yamakasa</i>	F	<i>Green Team</i>		
	Aug.	Research starting for bus service	A	Univ. students		
	Nov.	<i>Yokagura</i>	A			
2006	Mar.	Cottage maintenance	F	<i>Green Team</i> / <i>Shinseki Club</i>		
	July	<i>Yamakasa</i>	F	<i>Green Team</i>		
	Oct.	Rice cropping tour	A	Miyazaki residents/Akimoto residents	Civil Engineers, Pref. Official	
	Nov.	<i>Yokagura</i>	A			

Note: 1) A: Akimoto, F: Fukuoka, M: Miyazaki

Table-3 Interview Participants

	Akimoto		Outside	
	Adults	Children	Students	Adults
2002 and Before				
WS (1) Aug. 2003	20	7	10	13
WS (2) Dec. 2003	15	0	10	4
Interview Mar. 2007	8	3	0	0

Table-5 Workshop Participants

	Akimoto		Outside	
	Adults	Children	Students	Adults
WS (1) Aug. 2003	20	7	10	13
WS (3) Jul. 2004	25	7	13	10
WS (4) May 2005	20	-	10	20

Table-4 Resident Evaluation Statements

Year	Evaluations by residents	LIGA	Social capital	
			Norm/Trust	Network
Before	Sympathy			
2002	I felt sympathy with Hakata residents because we share similar issues such as depopulation, aging, and tradition.	L	Norm	Br./Bo.
(Stage-1)	Strengthened responsibility in Akimoto			
	We have to improve our skills for <i>Yokagura</i> .	L, I	Norm	Bo.
	We have to maintain our traditions by any means.	L, I	Norm	Bo.
	I want to tell Akimoto residents about our exchange activities.	I	Norm	Bo.
	I want to share our experiences with Akimoto residents.	I	Norm	Bo.
	Discovering/Self-confidence			
	I found many values in our lives, although before I had felt we had nothing.	L	Norm	Bo.
	I found real value in things I had previously thought of as usual/featureless.	L	Norm	Bo.
	Successfully planning a concert gave us self-confidence.	I, G	Norm, Trust	Bo.
	I gained pride for living in Akimoto.	L, I	Norm	Bo.
WS(1)	Children's opinion			
2003	I found Akimoto to be a very happy village.	L, I		Bo.
Aug.	I was surprised to find many things I had never known.	L		Bo.
	I want the future of Akimoto to be just as good as it now.	L		Bo.
(Stage-1)	Adults' opinion.			
	I was deeply impressed by the works of the children.	I, G	Norm	Bo.
	Through the children's works, I rediscovered the values of Akimoto.	L	Norm	Bo.
	I found the children had great power.	L, I	Norm	Bo.
WS(2)	Discovering/Self-confidence			
2003	I was made to think much of human relations.	L, I	Norm/Trust	Bo./Br.
Dec.	I gained pride for living in Akimoto.	L, I	Norm	Bo.
	I gained pride for being an Akimoto resident.	L, I	Norm/Trust	Bo.
	These activities were a fresh reminder of why I decided to live here.	L, I, G	Norm/Trust	Bo.
	I found Akimoto to be a splendid place.	L	Norm	Bo.
	I found the cooperation with Akimoto residents to be very good.	L, I	Norm/Trust	Bo.
(Stage-2)	Strengthened responsibility in Akimoto			
	I decided to devote myself to <i>Yokagura</i> .	L, I	Norm	Bo.
	I realized the importance of living in the countryside.	L	Norm	Bo.
	Sustainability of Akimoto			
	We do not have much industry, which results in a lack of successors.	A		Bo.
	We can not provide job opportunities through exchange only.	A		
	We need sources of income after retirement.	A		
	The population of Akimoto will be halved in 10 years.	I, L		
	I can not tell my children to return because of low income opportunities.	I, A		
	We have to think about our income after retirement from now.	A		
	Reconsideration of exchange activities			
	We have to think about our future through exchange experiences.	A, G		Bo./Br.
	We made wide-ranging human networks through exchange.	A, G		Br.
	Exchange experiences resulted only in enjoyment.	G		
	Exchange experiences did not affect the economy.	A		
	Future visions/Economy			
	The landscape of Akimoto should be maintained even with the help of outsiders.	L	Norm/Trust	Bo./Br.
	We need to brand our products.	A		
	We have some resources that could be sold.	A		
	Network built through exchange are advantageous for us.	A		Bo./Br.
Interview	Changing in Akimoto			
2007	Children became involved in community events after being inspired by <i>Yamakasa</i> .	L, I	Norm	Bo.
March	Participating in <i>Yamakasa</i> provided us with vigor in our daily lives.	L, I		Bo.
	The elderly's views toward outsiders has changed positively.		Trust	Br.
	The exchange experiences gave the elderly power over their daily lives.	L, I		Bo.
(Stage-3)	Discovering/learning			
	We can learn about ourselves through exchange experiences.	L, I	Norm	Bo.
	Exchanging is learning.	L, I	Norm	Bo./Br.
	I found I could contribute to Akimoto.	I	Norm	Bo.
	Some people developed an interest in learning about the residents of other	G, A	Norm	Bo./Br.
	The purpose of our lives is to maintain our village.	G, A	Norm	Bo.
	I want to continue exchanging experiences with the people of Hakata.	I, G	Trust	Br.
	Economy			
	Rice cropping support by outsiders is very beneficial.	A		Br.
	Some residents have started new ways to develop some income.	G, A		Bo.
Notes: 1) A, G, I, L: denotes AGIL phases 2) Bo: Bonding, Br.: Bridging				

Table-6

Outsider Attributes

Designer	Ds1* (T)	Ds2(T)	Ds3(T)	Ds4(T)
Architect	Arc* (F, S)			
Civil Engineer	CE1*(F, S)	CE2(M)		
Planner	Pl1*(M, S)	Pl2*(T)	Pl3(T)	
Pref. Official	PO1*(M)	PO2*(M)	PO3(M)	
Municipal Official	MO1(M)			
Construction Engineer	CE1(M)			
Color coordinator	CC1(F)			
Musician	M1*(F, S)	M2*(F, S)		
Craft	C1*(F,G,S)	C2(O)		
Volunteer group	V1(F,G,S)	V2(F,G)		

Note 1): * Repeaters (participation more than three times)

Note 2): T: Tokyo, F: Fukuoka, M: Miyazaki, O: Oita

Note 3): S: *Shinseki Club*, G: *Goryon-san*

Management types	Stage-1	Stage-2	Stage-3
	Encountering stage	Trust-building stage	Envisioning stage
<i>Visiting/Inviting</i>	<i>Yokagura</i> -----> <i>Yamakasa</i> -----> Seminar camp ----->	-----> -----> Green tourism -----> City tourism -----> -----> Workshop ----->	-----> -----> -----> -----> Workshop
<i>Mutual understanding</i>	Staying in private houses Party	-----> -----> Group work ----->	-----> -----> ----->
<i>Maintaining exchange</i>	<i>Rural times</i> -----> Key persons' planning meeting	-----> Circular distribution ----->	-----> ----->
Features	Festivals -----> Enjoyment ----->	Individual-based -----> Increase of Akimoto key persons -----> Discovery ----->	Group-based -----> -----> Diversifying