

地域に根ざした小規模経済活動と長期的持続可能性

小規模経済プロジェクト

— 歴史生態学からのアプローチ —

NEWSLETTER No.3

SMALL-SCALE ECONOMIES PROJECT

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国内研究者による全体会議開催・ プロジェクト中間報告

Report of a General Meeting
and the Mid-term Progress Report

羽生淳子 Junko Habu (総合地球環境学研究所 /RIHN)



November 2015 was a busy month for the Small-Scale Economies Project. On November 5 and 6, a general meeting by project members who live in Japan was held at RIHN. On November 25-27, the project mid-term report was presented at the RIHN Project Presentation Meeting.

2015年11月は、小規模経済プロジェクトにとって忙しい月でした。まず、11月5～6日には、地球研セミナー室で、プロジェクトの国内メンバーによる全体会議が開催されました。計30名弱の参加を得て行ったこの会議では、各サブ・プロジェクトの進行状況と来年度の研究計画についての報告が行われた後、今後のプロジェクトのまとめ方について討論を行いました。特に、プロジェクトの出発点である長期的変化に関する原因・条件・結果に関する仮説と、プロジェクトの三つのキーワードである多様性・ネットワーク、スケールとの対応関係について、活発な議論が交わされました。また、11月25～27日に開催された地球研プロジェクト発表会では、これまでのプロジェクト成果の中間報告を行いました。発表内容の概要は以下の通りです。

(1) 長期変化班

A. 日本チーム：縄文時代前期～中期の東北・北海道を研究対象とするグループは、動植物遺体と道具の多様性の定量分析、圧痕分析、古人骨の安定同位体分析と人骨の形質人類学的分析、年代測定、花粉分析、アルケノン古水温解析、遺跡分布データのGIS分析等を進めています。中部・関東地方でのサブ・プロジェクトも、当初の計画通り順調に進行しています。

B. 比較研究チーム：北米北西海岸、カリフォルニア、カナダ北極圏、ロシアのサブ・プロジェクトが資料の分析を進めています。北西海岸のサブ・プロジェクトのうち、カナダ・トリケット島の調査では、考古学的な発掘だけでなく、民族学的な調査も並行して進めており、民族・社会調査班との連携となります。

(2) 民族・社会調査班

A. 日本チーム：岩手県閉伊川流域・三陸沿岸・浄法寺、福島県二本松地区・南相馬地区・いわき地区等で聞き取り調査を行いました。これまでの調査の結果から、1930年代頃から現代にいたる東北山間部と沿岸部の漁業・農業と資源利用の特徴とその歴史的变化、伝統知とコミュニティ・ネットワークの重要性がわかってきました。また、有機農業や産地直売所など、地域ごとの新しい試みについても調査しました。福島原発事故後の小規模農家の被害状況と対応、新たな試み等については、昨年度からの調査を継続しています。

B. 比較研究チーム：カリフォルニアをはじめとする海外調査地域において、伝統知については先住民族コミュニティを中心に、オルタナティブな生産活動については比較的小規模な有機農業・都市農業を中心にフィールド調査を行いました。また、都市農業による食料生産のポテンシャル評価と制限要因（病虫害・土壌理化学性等）についての実験研究を継続しました。

(3) 実践・普及・政策提言班

A. 日本チーム：岩手県閉伊川流域における水圏環境教育、京都精華大学における有機農業実習を継続するとともに、宮古市沿岸部では民族・社会調査班と連携

して市民参加型のワークショップを実施しました。

B. 比較研究チーム：カリフォルニアにおける都市農業実習、シダ植物を用いたファイトレメディエーションによる土壌汚染の有機質浄化技術開発についてのサブ・プロジェクトを継続するとともに、先住民族の在来知の継承と再評価に関わる複数のサブ・プロジェクトを立ち上げました。

プロジェクトの終了まであと1年と3か月弱。長期変化班については、ほとんどのサブ・プロジェクトが、すでにフィールド調査と資料分析を終え、成果を学会発表や論文・単行本の形で発表する準備を進めています。民族・社会調査班については、フィールド調査とデータ解析が今年の夏ごろまで続きます。実践・普及・政策提言班については、今後、他の二班との連携を強めながら社会への発信を目指します。最終的には、近年盛んになってきている縮小社会、成熟社会、田園回帰などの議論に、プロジェクトの看板である数百年～数千年にわたる長期的持続性の研究成果がどのように役立つのかを、具体的な実践・普及プログラムを含めて示したいと思っています。

研究室だより 11月～12月の活動

11月14日-15日・◆盛岡少年自然の家所長インタビュー、「木挽き」技術の講習会

@盛岡少年自然の家、宮古市北上民俗資料館
(実践普及政策提言班/佐々木剛)

11月14日-15日・◆「第36回東北自然保護の集いー福島集会：放射能汚染と再生可能エネルギー開発を考える」参加

@福島県郡山市(民族社会調査班/後藤康夫、後藤宣代)

11月21日・◆フォーラム「さらにわかった！縄文人の植物利用」参加

@国立歴史民俗博物館(民族社会調査班/真貝理香)

11月26日・◆プロジェクト研究発表会@RIHN

11月28日-12月1日・◆北海道でのアイヌ民族の森林利用に関する聞き取り調査

@北海道札幌市、平取町(民族社会調査班/内藤大輔)

12月4日-7日・◆水圏環境教育プログラム「ヤマメと学ぼう！」実施

@盛岡少年自然の家、宮古市北上民俗資料館(実践普及政策提言班/佐々木剛)

12月23日-25日・◆浄法寺調査 @岩手県宮古市(民族社会調査班/羽生淳子、伊藤由美子)

12月3日「つる」を採りにいく。

アメリカの遺跡出土のかご、およびその復元研究を行なっている Dale Croes氏が、5月に来研することになり、それに先駆けて研究室メンバーで日本のかごの材料となる、つるを採りに行きました。1時間あまりで、ダンボール箱がいっぱいに！



なかなか取れないつる



アケビ、フジなどのつるが採れました。

【お詫びと訂正】

NEWS LETTER No.2にて、p.8掲載の飯塚宣子さんの原稿タイトルが間違っていました。深くお詫びし訂正いたします。

誤 「iPhone が神話を超える時」 → 正 「神話が iPhone を超える土地」

A Look at California Organic Farms

カリフォルニアにおける有機農業の普及

Contemporary Society Group

Tomiko Yamaguchi / *International Christian University*

民族・社会調査班 山口 富子(国際基督教大学)

Introduction

To develop a vision of a society that is ecologically sound and socially just – one of the objectives of the Contemporary Society Group of the Long-Term Sustainability through Place-Based, Small-scale Economies project – it is essential that we look at the systems that produce our food. There are many important questions to ask about how agrifood systems are constituted and contested, by whom, using whose knowledge, and to what consequence. In my fieldwork in Japan, I focus on socio-technical conflicts about food safety surrounding radioactive nuclides in food and farmland, and the question of whose knowledge prevails in dealing with food safety crises. In my project in California, I am looking at how the expansion of organic food production and markets is interpreted and experienced by organic farmers who support the values of ecological and social integrity, and how they respond to the competition that is part of the growing market. This short article describes insights from an early phase of fieldwork in the Central Coast area of California.

A Glance at the Industrialization of Organic Farms

The first few times I went grocery shopping in Berkeley, I was surprised by the widespread availability of organic products – not only at the farmers market, where I would normally expect to find them, but at chain stores like Safeway, Wal-Mart, Target, and Costco. Indeed, government statistics suggest that organic products are sold in three out of four supermarkets in the US⁽¹⁾. This is very different from Japan, where I would generally go to a natural store or a co-op store to “seek out” organic vegetables. I immediately got the sense that organic products are booming in

California. Though other shoppers told me that Berkeley is very different from other places in California or the rest of the US, still I was amazed and overwhelmed by the accessibility and the availability of organic products. I do not feel that I have to seek out organic products, because they are literally everywhere.



Farmer's Market



Supermarket

Once the initial feeling of surprise faded, I began to notice the distinct “identities” of the organic vegetables – some sold without any packaging, others packed neatly in plastic packages; some from local farms, and others from other countries such as Mexico. Just looking at a photo taken at a farmers market and a photo from a supermarket, readers can tell that the vegetables probably

came to these places through different supply chains and from different points of origin. So now the questions naturally arise: Who is producing this bounty of organic produce? How have the products gotten to where they are?

We can find partial answers in the literature that describes the industrialization of agriculture. This phenomenon has been documented extensively, and is demonstrated by analyses of the evolution of farm structure and of the economic performance of the farming and food processing, distribution, and retail sectors. The literature suggests that through the industrialization of agriculture, the balance of power has shifted from farmers to food processors, and from food processors to the retail sectors⁽ⁱⁱ⁾. Corporate capital is now flowing into the organic sector, furthering the industrialization of American food systems (Howard 2009). These processes, known as “the conventionalization of organic farming,” are having significant consequences for the local food systems which were built by the organic movement: replacing small farms with large farms, family farms with corporate farms, and direct relations between farmers and consumers with anonymous market relations within the organic sector (Buck et al. 1997; Guthman 2014). These macro structural changes are taking place beyond question, but what has not been much discussed is how the increasing spread of organic products is experienced by organic family farmers, and the ways in which they respond to these developments in light of their core values.

California Organic Farms

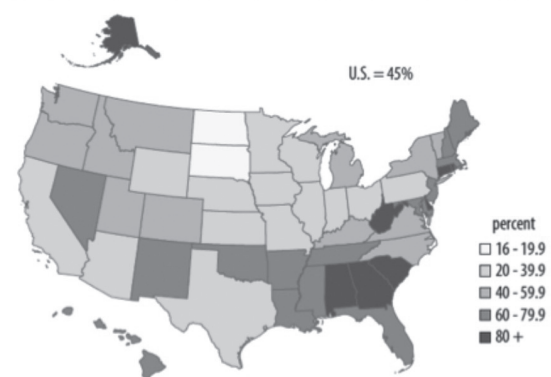
When I began to look into information about American organic farming, I came across the 2014 Organic Survey by the National Agricultural Statistics Service of the United States Department of Agriculture, the most recent survey of organic production. Efforts to collect and compile numeric data on the state of organic farms appear to be relatively recent phenomena compared to the data on conventional farms, and there are methodological issues with the ways in which the data is compiled. For instance, even though some

other data and information are found in the 2007 and 2012 Census of Agriculture, because of the ways in which the definition of “organic” varied in the past, reliable data comparisons cannot be made⁽ⁱⁱⁱ⁾. But I must say that even so, the data available in the US is much more extensive and accessible than what I find in Japan.

Somewhat unsurprisingly, the various facts and figures given in the 2014 survey indicate in several different ways that the highest concentration of organic farms in the United States is in California. These statistics confirmed for me that California is indeed the leading organic state both in terms of the number of organic farms and in terms of sales of organic products. However, when you look at the share of organic farms with “direct sales to consumers,” a category which includes sales at farm stands, farmers’ markets, and

Figure 1.

Share of Organic Farms with Direct Sales to Consumers, by State, 2014



Source: USDA NASS, 2014 Organic Survey.

community supported agricultural arrangements, etc., the data show that the share of farms selling directly to consumers was highest in southeastern and northeastern states, not in California (See Figure 1). This is evidence that a relatively smaller proportion of organic farmers sell directly to consumers, and that a higher proportion of organic farmers sell their products to other entities such as buyers for supermarkets and natural food stores or wholesalers and other farm operations, not directly to consumers. I need to dig into the data further, but the comment I heard from one organic farmer, “I sold more than half of my vegetables to coolers,” attests that farmers

do see wholesalers as an important channel for selling their products, which are most likely packed and shipped outside California or even abroad via a cooler chain. This piece of information was an indication that the familiar scene of farmers or vendors selling at farmers markets in Berkeley represents only a fraction of the organic farmers in California; nevertheless, as I felt the energy and saw the vibrant activities taking place at the farmers market, I wanted to think that something is happening on the ground, a force that can resist the shift from small to large farms and from family to corporate farms – a force which may not be entirely visible.

Finding “Small Farmers”

With these thoughts and questions in mind, my research assistant Alisha Eastep and I have tried to find “small farmers” in the Central Coast of California. A challenge I initially faced was to figure out who the small farmers are, and whether the farmers I have met fit into this analytical unit of “small farmers.” The USDA suggests that a “small family farm” is a farm whose sales are less than \$350,000 a year. Even though this is a great analytical category to fit into the project theme of “small economies,” in reality sales quotas are not an appropriate topic to raise in interviews, and variations in land area and types of farms made the question analytically problematic. Instead of using the government categories, we looked for organic farmers whose core values are in line with the principles of health, ecology, fairness and care – organic agriculture principles stated in the International Foundation for Organic Agriculture (IFOAM) preamble. As a way of identifying small farms, I looked for family-owned farms or family-oriented farms who use farmers markets and/or CSAs as primary marketing channels. Once we found one farmer, we relied on a method called the snow ball sampling method – asking each person I interviewed to introduce me to other people they knew who would be appropriate subjects for interviews.

As I made progress with the project, it struck me that the organic farmers I was introduced to

seemed to be relatively young and also diverse – sometimes women, sometimes Asian Americans, and sometimes immigrants from Mexico. Indeed, the 2014 survey indicates that organic farms have more gender and age diversity than do non-organic farms; women make up about 18 percent of the farm operators for organic farms, compared to 16 percent for conventional farms, and the average age for organic farmers is 53 years old, compared to 58 years of age for conventional farmers. These statistics lead me to believe that my experiences probably reflect the demographics of the world of organic farming fairly well.

Visits to Organic Farms

I can hardly believe how much I've driven since I came to California: numerous visits to organic farms and open farm events organized by organic farmers during the past four months. Alisha and I have been in and around towns in the Bay Delta and Central Coast regions. Sometimes a farm is tucked in in the midst of beautiful rolling hills, surrounded by trees and water, and located relatively close to residential areas. Other times an organic farm is in the middle of a huge section of land which appears to consist of large scale conventional farms, far away from residential areas and commercial districts. The striking contrast between these two types of locations made me realize that the geographic location of one's farm – a matter over which farmers may not always have a choice – has significant consequences when it comes to making organic farming an economically viable enterprise.

Amongst the numerous visits we have made, which I will be reporting on at other occasions, my latest visit was to Salinas to meet organic farmers who are participating in the incubator farm programs of the Agriculture, & Land-Based Training Association (ALBA). Founded in 2001 ALBA stands out with its unique activities designed with the goal of providing a range of support to help minority and low-income farmworkers to become farm owners. Prior to my visits to ALBA, I had heard the name of the organization on

various occasions such as the open farm events and also academic seminars. The fact that this organization's name is on so many people's lips is a sign that people do recognize its great work (<http://www.albafarmers.org/index.html>). We met with Christopher Brown, Executive Director, and Nathan Harklerroad, Agricultural Education Program Manager, who explained to me their



A Farm in Watsonville



Drive to Salinas

incubator program, their vision of an ideal food system, and the role of ALBA within that model. One of the important missions is to help support farmers who used to be laborers to become farm owners. Thus far, approximately 400 people have graduated from its Farmer Education Course and 40-50% of the incubator program graduates are farming independently. I was later introduced to three farmers who currently rent land from ALBA.

The farmers I met all used to be laborers picking strawberries on other people's farms. They currently are growing organic vegetables such as kale, romaine lettuce, chard, zucchini, etc., and also trying out the farming of organic strawberries. Some want to buy land in the US and have their own ranches, and others want to return to Mexico. Through hearing their experience and stories, I

learned that their days are filled with continuous work on the farm – activities such as watering their parcels and checking their crops. Organic farming is demanding work, requiring that one combat weeds and pests, harvest produce at the right time, make contacts so as to sell the produce, and also learn new techniques and farming methods, etc. The hard work does not necessarily pay off, as the outcome is affected by unpredictable factors such as droughts and flooding, and other times affected by market competition, but still, "It is worth it" was a common refrain. I wondered why the farmers were so enthusiastic about pursuing organic farming. The farmers said that when they worked for somebody else whose farms used pesticides and insecticides, they saw either their coworkers or themselves affected. They felt that their immunity was compromised, resulting in skin rashes and other symptoms. They have no proof of the cause of such problems, but they felt that the problems were most likely triggered by the chemicals they used on the farms. The comment that "I want my family to be well" indicates their genuine concern about the use of chemicals.



Since the farmers I met are in an incubation program, they are entitled to sell their produce to ALBA. In fact, around 50-60% of their produce is sold to ALBA, and ALBA is responsible for marketing their produce, so they are not directly

faced with market competition. Nevertheless, I asked a set of questions revolving around their responses to the consequences of the increasing conventionalization of organic farming. Among various responses, one thing that stood out to me was that they use the network of family and also the network they built when they were in ALBA's education program when they are challenged with contingencies and competitions. For instance, Rufino Ventura mentioned to me that when he first began farming by renting ALBA land, his brother came from Mexico to help him out. He reflected upon the experience of the first few months when he started to farm independently and said that without his brother's help, he would have been unable to make it. Now that he is used to his surroundings and he spends less time on the farm, he no longer needs his brother's help, so his brother went back to Mexico. "I am so grateful to my brother," Rufino said repeatedly. Similar comments were made by Sophia Colin, who also farms with her husband and sometimes gets help from her son.

Harvesting time for strawberries is the most challenging time of the year for strawberry farmers, requiring strategic management of farms. In this regard, it seems as if the consequences of the conventionalization of organic farms have less to do with competition to sell produce than with competition to hire laborers. When these small organic farms need help, so do others such as corporate farms. When the labor supply is short and when the farmers are faced with problems, their colleagues from the ALBA program are the ones that they can rely on. These stories indicate that for these farmers, running a farm requires resources from outside the institutionalized system – resources such as family ties and self-help among colleagues. A comment made by Misael Morales puts a finger on this element: "Competition is difficult... but it boils down to building connections with clients. Big companies have relations with other big companies. I believe that building connections with people is important, not a product connection." His comment lingered

in my mind, and I came to realize that this model – mobilizing family and relying on interpersonal ties and community resources to weather difficulties – reflects very closely the principles on which the organic farming movement was originally built. These farms embody the reality of small-scale, place-based, sustainable farming that strengthens the fabric of community at the same time that it provides nourishing organic food.

We will be conducting interviews with local organic farmers until the end of January 2016.

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Acknowledgments

We would like to thank ALBA and the farmers in the incubation program for sharing their experience and stories. Photos and names of interviewees are included in the article with their permission. Reprinting or other use of photos or of the text of this article requires the author's permission.

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- (i) Organic Market Review downloaded from <http://www.ers.usda.gov/topics/natural-resources-environment/organic-agriculture/organic-market-overview.aspx> on December 14, 2015.
- (ii) Some examples are found at the website of Economic Research Service of USDA; <http://www.ers.usda.gov/topics/natural-resources-environment/organic-agriculture/readings.aspx#distribution>.
- (iii) See "2012 Census Drilldown: Organic and Local Food", a blog by National Sustainable Agriculture Coalition, available at <http://sustainableagriculture.net/blog/2012census-bfr-drilldown>.

東日本大震災以降の三陸漁村でのアワビ採取

Abalone Collecting in Small Fishing Communities
after the Great East Japan Earthquake

民族社会調査班

池谷 和信 (国立民族学博物館)

Contemporary Society Group

Kazunobu IKEYA / National Museum of Ethnology



写真1 三陸海岸のエゾアワビ



写真2 アワビの採取風景

アワビは、縄文時代から現在まで私たちが食用してきた貝である（写真1）。わが国では、北海道から九州にいたる海岸部の多くの場所で採取されてきた。例えば、三重県の志摩半島のように海女がもぐってアワビ採取をするところもあれば、今回、紹介する岩手県の三陸海岸のように船の上から男性が3メートル近い棒の先につけたフックを使用して採取することもある。現在、このような採取法の地域性は、アワビの種類による採取の季節性や海底地形の差に加えて、採取法の伝播の歴史を考える必要がある。

私は、2014年12月に、三陸海岸の山田町のある集落でアワビの採取をみる機会があった。その日は、天気はよかったが寒かった。人々は、午前7時、自分の船に道具を持ち運び、船外つきの船で採取に出発する。大部分は1人であるが、まれに夫婦で乗り込んでいる人もいた。私は、船がでる桟橋でようすをうかがっていたが、個々の船は海上で分散していった。

Abalone called ezo-awabi is distributed along the Sanriku coast in northeastern Japan. Fishing cooperative regulations determine the season and the time when the collection period starts (opens called kuchiake). Abalone are collected between November and December. The communities have always relied on fishing as one of their core economic activities—from ancient times up to the present day. However, with the onslaught of the tsunami during the Great East Japan Earthquake of March 2011, many homes and fishing vessels were washed away, ripping the foundations for people's livelihoods away. Today, three years and nine months after the disaster, we take a look at how the region's abalone collecting has recovered.

人々は、右手で舵取りの部分を持って、顔には木製のガラス箱（箱メガネ）をかぶせて、海底のなかのアワビを探している（写真2）。日本の海岸には、海岸から数メートル離れた「イソネ」と呼ばれる場所は広く知られている。ここには、アワビのほかにはウニ、ナマコ、コンブなど、人々が利用できる動物や植物が豊かである。複数の船は、急峻な岩場の近くに集まっていた。おそらく、そこはアワビが多くある場所であると認知されているのであろう。

午前10時には、すべての採取は終了した。漁協の規則によって採取時間が決まっている。また、採取できるアワビは直径が8cm以上のもの、1日での最大量は100個という決まりがみられる。2011年3月の大震災のあと、津波による船の流出のみならず採取者の死亡など、この地域では多くの苦難があった。しかしながら、それから3年半以上が経過して、かつてのようなアワビの採取がみられるようになっている。

ネイティブ・アメリカンの視点からみた カリフォルニアの環境問題

Native American Lifeways and
Environmental Issues in the Central Valley, California

プロジェクトリーダー

羽生 淳子 (総合地球環境学研究所)

Project Leader

Junko Habu / RIHN

カリフォルニア州中部に、ヴィセイリア (Visalia) という名の都市がある。パークレーから車で行くと、州間高速道路 580 号線 (I-580) を東に約 1 時間、それから州間道 5 号線 (I-5) を 2 時間ほどひたすら南に走った後で、州道 198 号線を西に約 1 時間、全部で 4 時間余りのドライブである。途中からは、スタインベックの「怒りの葡萄」で知られるサン・ホアキン・バレーの中央を走り続ける形になる。まわりの風景は、一面に起伏のない農園が続く。

小規模経済プロジェクトでは、このヴィセイリアに住む、ワクチャムニ・ヨクーツ族 (Wukchumni Yokuts) の方々と一緒に、この部族 (Tribe) に伝えられてきたドングリ食の作り方を次世代に伝える実践教育の準備を進めている。12 月には、ヴィセイリア近隣のレムーア (Lemoore) を訪問し、ワクチャムニ・ヨクーツ族の部族会議長ダーリーン・フランコさんと、タチ・ヨクーツ族文化部門長ラーロ・フランコさん夫妻に、地球研など環境問題を扱う研究所にどのような活動を期待するかについて質問する機会があった。ラーロさんは、この問いに対して直接答える代りに、ご自身のおばあさまから教わった人生の 3 つの原則を引用した。一番目は、地球上で自分の人生を生きることの重要性。人間はいろいろな経験をして、自分の人生を精いっぱい生きることによって生を全うする。二番目は、命を次の世代に伝えていくことの重要性。これは子どもを育てることだけでなく、自分の子どもがいなければ養子を取ってもよいし、甥や姪の教育を分担しても構わない。三番目は、大地を守ることの重要性。ヨクーツ族の言い伝えでは、この世の始まりに、人々は部族の主神 (The Great Spirit) から大地を守るように言い渡された。だから、人が死ぬと大地の浅いところに埋め、その身体は土の養分となり、鹿や他の動物たちを生かす。

さらに、ラーロさんとダーリーンさんは、サン・ホアキン・バレーにおける、過去 100 年あまりにわたる農薬の多用と、灌漑とダム建設による土地の劣化、とく

にヒ素による深刻な飲料水汚染の問題について、おじいさまとおばあさまの代からの経験を交えて語ってくれた。これらの問題の原因を、ラーロさんは、強欲症候群 (syndrome of greed) という簡潔なことばで要約した。そして、土地は本来皆のものであるのに、所有権を主張する農民が欲と権力に翻弄されて狂気じみた行いをする愚かさを語った。近年ではこの近辺でシェール・オイルのフラッキング (水圧破碎法) が盛んになってきており、これによる水質汚染も心配される。



Photo1: Agricultural Fields in the San Joaquin Valley.

ヴィセイリアが所在するトゥーレアリ郡では、所得平均の低さと犯罪率の高さも大きな問題になっている。ラーロさんは、ヨーロッパ人たちは、アメリカに來た当時、先住民族を見下していたが、それ以前にはこの地にはひとつもなかった刑務所が、今ではたくさん存在することの意味を考えてほしいという。

土地にはそれぞれのリズムがあり、部族の人々は、長い間そのリズムに沿って生きていた。今では、ほとんどの人はリズムをはずれて慌ただしく毎日を送っているが、年に 2 回、春と秋の儀式の時だけでも、数日間にはわたって携帯電話を切り、伝承を子どもたちに伝え、スウェッティングの儀式を行い、その場所のリズムに同化する経験は、子どもたちにとって特に大事である。そして、「私の」ではなく「私たちの」という形容詞に立ち返り、自分のものは人に分け与え、歴史と伝統の

重要性を確認する。毎年続けている部族の秋祭りと春祭りはそうした場である、と語るラーロさんの言葉は、たいへん説得力があった。

ダーリーンさんは、大規模な環境破壊型の農業に代り、小さなコミュニティ菜園がいかに大切かを語った。彼女は、祭りを行う場の近くに畑を借りて、部族の子どもたちと有機野菜を栽培している。「祖父の時代までは狩猟採集が重要だったから農業は元来自分たちの文化ではない」と語りながらも、環境に負担の少ない小規模な農業と健康的な食べもの通じた次世代の子どもたちの教育を考えている。

土壌汚染と水質汚染を含む環境問題、農業、エネルギー開発、貧困と格差、先住民族のアイデンティティとその背後にある価値観、そしてそれを次世代に伝えていく教育・普及活動の展望など、ラーロさんとダーリーンさんのお話には、地球研で扱う主要テーマの連関が明快に示されていた。お二人の話は、研究者に対する直接の提言という形はとらなかったが、その内容は、環境問題の解決を考える際に一番大切なのは何なのか、私たち研究者に鋭く問いかけるものである。



Photo 2: Windmills along Interstate 580.

謝辞

インタビューに快く応じてくださった、ダーリーン・フランコ氏とラーロ・フランコ氏に心から感謝いたします。

The city of Visalia is located in Tulare County, central California. Driving from Berkeley, we first take Interstate 580 to the east for about an hour, then Interstate 5 down south for 2 hours through the middle of the San Joaquin Valley, then State Route 198 to the east for an hour. Driving through this area, you realize that the scenery is dominated by farms, and the landscape is almost completely flat.

The Small-Scale Economy Project is working with the Visalia Wukchumni Yokuts Tribe to help them organize an acorn-processing workshop as part of their cultural revitalization program. In December 2015, I had a chance to visit with Mrs. Darlene Franco, the chair of the Wukchumni Yokuts Tribal Council, and her husband, Mr. Lalo Franco, who also works for the Tachi Yokuts Tribe as the Director of the Cultural Department. At one point during our meeting, I asked them what they would expect large research institutions such as RIHN to do in terms of solving global environmental problems.

Lalo answered by telling us a story about his grandmother. When he asked his grandmother, “What are the laws of the principles that we live by?” she said, “Only 3 rules.” First, people were put on earth to live, to experience life. The diversity of experiences in life is important, even craziness and other difficult experiences such as a divorce. Second, people need to continue life, taking care of children, of young people, the next generation. Third, people have to take care of their earth. In the beginning of the world, people were instructed by the Great Spirit to take care of the earth. This has been done through ceremonies, by burning the land, tilling the soil, and making the food. When people passed away, they were buried in very shallow graves so that bodies would nourish the earth.

Darlene and Lalo also talked about serious environmental problems in the San Joaquin Valley over the past 100 years. Pesticide, soil degradation, and water contamination, including arsenic contamination, as a result of irrigation and dam construction have caused serious health problems since the time of their grandparents. Cancer clusters were noted in this area during the 1970s, most probably related to agricultural contaminations. The “syndrome of greed” has been the cause of these problems. Farmers think that the land is “theirs” to do what they please, including destroying the last Native American

burial mound in this region. Recently, fracking by large oil companies has become a serious issue, leading to more water contamination.

Low average income and high crime rate are serious problems in Tulare County. Lalo said that when the first wave of Europeans came to the West for gold, they criticized the native people for being poor, naked and not industrious: i.e., not doing anything with the land. However, people were socially rich, with no prisons. They did not have the social problems that they have today.

Lalo emphasized that each place had its own rhythm, and tribal people had been living in accordance with the rhythm. Today, most people are out of the rhythm and their everyday life is so hectic. It is very important for all of them, especially for young people, to take several days off a year to get back into the rhythm. During the Fall and Spring Ceremonies, children are told to turn off their cell phones. At the Ceremonies, story-telling and sweating rituals are held, and participants can experience how it is like to be in the rhythm of the place. Instead of using the word "mine", it is important to use the word "ours." Giving away excess is important, so is valuing shared history and traditions.

Darlene talked about the importance of promoting sustainable, small-scale community gardens instead of large-scale agriculture, which often damages the environment. She started an organic vegetable garden near the tribal ceremonial place in Visalia. Because agriculture is very different from the traditional hunting-gathering way of life, she is still in the process of learning how to grow vegetables, but nevertheless she believes that it is crucial to teach the next generation how to do sustainable agriculture in order to take care of their own health.

Our discussions led to a wide range of topics, including soil and water contamination, agriculture, energy developments, social inequity, identity and traditional values of indigenous people, education and outreach. While their comments did not take the form of direct suggestions to academic scholars, they make us reconsider what the most important elements are in finding solutions to global environmental problems.

Acknowledgments

Many thanks to Darlene and Lalo Franco who were willing to share their thoughts with us. Their knowledge and wisdom, as well as their tireless efforts for tribal sovereignty, always inspire me to try to be a better person and a researcher, and to remind me of the importance of a few key principles of life.

研究室だより 今後の予定

- ◆ 民族社会調査班会議(1月9日)・・・今後の進行についての打合せを行います。
- ◆ ドングリ食のワークショップ(1月下旬)・・・カリフォルニアにてワクチャムニ・ヨクーツ族とワークショップを行います。
- ◆ 講演(2月初旬)・・・プロジェクトリーダーの羽生淳子がアリゾナ州立大学にて講演を行います。
- ◆ アグロエコロジー研究会(2月8日)・・・山口富子(民族社会調査班)がコーディネーター役となり研究会を開きます。
- ◆ 合子沢松森遺跡調査報告書(3月)・・・2008-2010年に発掘した青森市での遺跡報告書を刊行する予定です。
- ◆ ESSAS Yokohama2016参加(3月7日)・・・ESSASの総会にて Ben Fitzhugh、John Krigbaum、濱田信吾、真貝理香、羽生淳子が成果発表を行います。



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福井発!



冬の伝統食「つるし柿」

—旧宿場町のナリワイづくり

Smoked KAKI for Making local Job in Imajyo, Fukui Pref.



文・小鹿由加里 (研究推進支援員)

宿場町であった福井県南越前町今庄地区に伝わる、干し柿「つるし柿」は、全国的にも珍しい燻す干し柿です。昔から「ひとつ食べれば一里、みつっ食べれば三里歩ける」と言われ、北国街道を行き交う旅人や参観交代の行列に重宝されていました。スモーキーな香りやさしい甘みが混じり合う美味しさで、お酒にも合う、ちょっと大人な干し柿です。この地域は、日本海側気候のため冬場の湿度が高く、柿を外に干しておくとかびてしまうため、囲炉裏でいぶして柿を熟成する方法が確立されたようです。

主に使われる「^{ながらがき}長良柿」は小ぶりの渋柿で、地域の至るところに木があります。それぞれの木に所有者がありますが、ほとんどが管理されていない状態で育っています。8月に柿縄(柿を吊るすための縄)にする草「ミチシタ」の刈り取りからはじまり、11月頃、柿が成ると専用の竹竿で採ります。皮やヘタを剥くと、すぐに柿縄にかけて囲炉裏の上につるし、3-4日ほど昼夜燻し続けます。手間暇をかける作業の連続ですが、採集から加工までどれもこの地域に身近な材料と道具で作られています。

このつるし柿を若い世代へ引き継ぎ、生業としての復活を試みているのが、地元出身の赤星弘毅さん。赤星さんは町から借りた板取宿のかやぶき民家(※)の囲炉裏で柿を燻します。囲炉裏を焚くことで屋根の茅が維持されるとともに、ここを拠点にできるナリワイの可能性や、昔の暮らしの知恵の掘り起こしや伝承を行い、移り住みたいと思える場所にしようとしています。また、このつるし柿を知るきっかけとなったのが、3年前に東京から今庄へ1ターンをした、地域おこし協力隊の荒木幸子さん。荒木さんは、地域の産品や様々なバックグラウンドを持った人々を車に乗せて、今庄から各地を巡る「キャラバンプロジェクト」などを手がけ、さまざまな往来を受け入れながら繁栄してきた宿場町の文化特性を踏まえた、ナリワイや生き方の可能性を探っています。



(※) 板取宿・・・北国街道の北の玄関口にあたり、近江と越前を結ぶ要の宿場として賑わった。江戸時代末期から明治中期に建てられた茅葺民家が4戸ほど残っている。

- ◆ ブログ「日本でいちばん幸せな県を紹介します」(赤星さん) <http://hukui-blog.com/fukui/>
- ◆ Caravan Project (荒木さん) <http://caravanpj.tumblr.com>

小規模経済プロジェクト

NEWSLETTER No.3

SMALL-SCALE ECONOMIES PROJECT

発行日 二版 2016年1月20日

発行 小規模経済プロジェクト事務局

(総合地球環境学研究所 研究部 研究室8)

〒603-8047 京都市北区上賀茂本山457番地4

Tel.075-707-2240 Fax.075-707-2508

<http://www.chikyuu.ac.jp/fooddiversity/>



編集後記

京都は美しいまちですが、夏は暑くて冬は寒いのが難点。とくに寒いのがきらいな私には、これからがづらい季節。残業で夜遅くなって外に出ると、マフラーをぐるぐる巻きにしてもまだ寒いです。(はぶ)

あけましておめでとうございます。今年は春の七草を探そうと思っています。暖かい冬なので、意外な種類の草も採れるかもしれません。(おじか)