

Contemporary Discourses on Agriculture in Japan: From Futureless 3K to Sophisticated Future Lifestyle in LOHAS, Living in Rural Areas, and *Hannō Han-x*

Makoto Osawa

As the Japanese economy shifted from primary sector industries to secondary and tertiary sector industries during the high-growth period and the bubble economy, agriculture came to be described as 3K (or 3D in English). In contrast to more “modern” and “white-collar” work and the movement toward “efficiency” in economic activities, agricultural work became seen as *kitanai* (dirty), *kiken* (dangerous), and *kitsui* (demeaning/difficult), and as a futureless industry in Japan. Moreover, popular discourse projected the image that it is difficult for young farmers to marry because it is almost impossible to find a bride who wants to marry into a farming family whose job is 3K and futureless. Alongside of this image of agriculture in Japan, rural communities have also become colored by a negative image of backwardness, and rural areas have suffered from intensified out-migration and an aging population as younger generations increasingly moved to urban areas during the bubble era. Together with this trend of rural depopulation and urban expansion, urban cultures that emerged from the growing cities gained an image of sophistication and were admired especially by the youth in the bubble period.

In recent years, however, there has been a growing movement to recast agriculture in more positive ways. For example, the founding mission of the non-profit organization *Nōka no Kosegare Nettowāku* (Network for Farmers’ Sons, my translation) declares: “Aiming for agriculture to become a 3K industry—*kakkoyoku* (cool), *kandō ga atte* (impressive), *kasegeru* (lucrative)—and to become the Number One choice among elementary students’ dream job ranking in the near future” (*Nōka no Kosegare Nettowāku* N.d.)⁽¹⁾. Other groups have made efforts to represent agriculture as a competitive industry that has a chance to grow through Japan’s admission into Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP), rather than casting it as an industry that only stands to lose by loosening trade regulations. According to pro-TPP agriculturalists, there are huge markets outside of Japan that are waiting to be tapped into and which Japanese agriculture can thrive in because of the high quality of Japanese rice and vegetables. These arguments claim

(1) All direct and indirect quotations in this article are translated by the author.

that by exporting such high-quality produce to China and other countries with rapidly growing markets, labor-intensive Japanese agriculture can survive—and even thrive—by taking advantage of TPP (Yamashita 2013a; Yamashita 2013b; Yamashita 2013c). In short, these various characterizations of Japan's agricultural industry highlight that despite how agriculture used to be dominantly characterized as 3K and futureless, there are growing discourses arguing precisely the opposite today.

Among the current positive representations of agriculture circulating in Japanese society today, this article examines the sophisticated images of agriculture that are especially apparent in the following three agricultural-centered discourses: 1) LOHAS, 2) “countryside living,” and 3) “half-agriculture half-x (‘something else’)” (*hannō han-x*). Within these three discourses, agriculture is not 3K or futureless, but rather fashionable and full of future potential. In this article, I analyze the different characterizations of agriculture that are woven through these three discourses by examining two monthly magazines, *Sotokoto* (which is derived from the Bantu word “Under the Tree”) and *Inaka gurashi no hon* [Book for living in rural areas], and a 2008 book, *Hannō han-x toiu ikikata* [Living in a half-agriculture half-x lifestyle] written by an online retail salesman-turned-environmental activist, Naoki Shiomi. These publications are representative of the three agricultural-centered discourses in Japan mentioned above, and the analysis of these current “sophisticated” discourses of agriculture enables us to shed light on the transformation of discourses of agriculture from the once 3K image to a more sophisticated one.

In examining the two monthly magazines, I focus on only the articles written by the staff writers from 2009 onwards, and thus I omit the contributing articles and readers' columns that compose each issue. I have chosen this sample for the following three reasons. First, I aim to describe the contemporary contexts and contemporary modes of description of agriculture over the past five years. Second, focusing exclusively on articles by the staff writers enables me to keep the scope of the study within a manageable range for this article. Third, the articles written by the staff writers can be assumed to be the most widely read by readers, and are thus the most influential in contributing to the three discourses of agricultural-centered lifestyle trends mentioned above. The articles analyzed here are, I believe, sufficiently representative of the editorial policy of each magazine. Thus, these articles help us to grasp the contents of each discourse by examining the materials that are representative of each discourse.

Agriculture in LOHAS

In the popular magazine *Sotokoto* which targets environmentally and ecologically conscious individuals, agriculture is touted as the perfect pursuit for the contemporary age. The magazine describes agriculture as: 1) an “appropriately human job” that is essential to a “human-like lifestyle,” 2) a *tanoshii* (enjoyable) job, 3) a means of earning one’s livelihood through a self-sufficient lifestyle, and 4) a job which, through the transformation of contemporary agricultural practices, can contribute to transforming Japanese society. As the magazine’s description explains, *Sotokoto* is “a monthly magazine for the LOHAS people looking for a comfortable life,” and both *sōsharu* (social) and *eko* (eco) are keywords often used in the magazine’s articles (Sotokoto. N.d.). LOHAS stands for Lifestyle of Health and Sustainability, and it is “a market segment focused on health and fitness, the environment, personal development, sustainable living, and social justice” (LOHAS Online. N.d.). The LOHAS movement aims for building a market targeting eco-friendly and health-conscious people and for promoting both sustainable business models and environmental protection. Thus, the main audiences of *Sotokoto* are individuals who are interested in environmental protection and seeking an alternative lifestyle that can transform contemporary society into a more ecologically minded society. Because LOHAS is a business strategy, it does not promote a lifestyle that denies capitalistic logic or modern material comforts. Rather, it appeals to people who want to be *ishiki no takai* (conscientious and aware) from ecological and sociological perspectives.

The first discourse in the magazine, which advocates that “engaging in agriculture is human nature, and agriculture is essential to being human,” is narrated as a discourse that emphasizes agriculture as an occupation pursued within a natural environment. In the July 2013 issue, the magazine presents a special focus on various kinds of tourism in rural areas including a section on participating in an internship in a rural community. Among the internship opportunities covered in the special column is engaging in agriculture. In the article, one farmer who offers an internship opportunity at his organic farm declares, “We have *ningen rashii ikikata* (a “fully human” lifestyle) because we put our sweat and toil (*ase o kaku*) into producing food for tomorrow” (79). For him, agriculture is a job that enables one to earn a living by using one’s body, and using one’s body to produce food is the mark of a “genuinely human” life.

In the December 2012 edition, the magazine features an article that describes agriculture as an opportunity to feel both *shintai kankaku* (a sense of one’s body) and “non-temporary hap-

piness.” *Shintai kankaku* is, according to the article, an attempt to connect body and spirit. To build this connection, Hima Furuta, an organizer of community events who is interviewed in the article, mentions that through agriculture youth discover that they can find “small, ubiquitous happiness” in everyday life rather than happiness that comes only from “big success” (52). In other words, feeling *shintai kankaku* implies not being greedy, but rather pursuing success steadily through small steps in everyday life instead of focusing only on large-scale goals. Furuta mentions that because engaging in agriculture enables one to feel *shintai kankaku*, and because he feels that most youth yearn to feel *shintai kankaku*, agriculture can actually be seen as a “leading industry” that facilitates connections between rural and urban areas (53). He also emphasizes that agriculture can offer an enjoyment that is not based on temporary happiness, but rather an enjoyment based on a “human happiness” that emerges from making endeavors step by step, one day at a time.

The second discourse promoted in the magazine is “agriculture is an enjoyable job.” This discourse describes agriculture as a job that is *tanoshii* (enjoyable) and useful for making connections with other people. The special column in the June 2013 edition, titled “Changing the future by producing vegetables!,” quotes the remarks of a new participant in agriculture who proclaims, “I spend busy days engaging with agriculture through trial and error, but every day is enjoyable and satisfying (48).” In addition, in the same special column, a farmer who entered the agriculture business 22 years ago and who works on his parents’ farmland mentions that “agriculture is often described as a hard job, but it is a nice job if we can earn our livelihood. I have never heard of a farmer dying from overwork. It is easier than being a *sarariman* (salaried worker). But we need to deal with the [uncontrollable] forces of nature, and sometimes we need to give up the year’s crops [by following the providence of nature]” (48).

The third discourse in *Sotokoto* is represented by the special column in the February 2012 edition, where agriculture is described as a means of achieving a self-sufficient lifestyle. The special column in this edition introduces a number of individuals pursuing self-sufficient lifestyles, and describes how they spend their daily life and earn their living. For these individuals, agriculture is characterized as a *means* for earning their living in pursuit of a self-sufficient lifestyle, and it forms one part of their broader lifestyle. Thus, because agriculture is part of their lifestyle choice, their choice of pursuing agriculturally centered living is influenced by their lifestyle choice.

The fourth discourse presented in *Sotokoto* connects the future of agriculture with the future of Japanese society. As advocated in articles such as the special column in the Decem-

ber 2012 edition titled “Young farmers will change Japan,” this discourse proclaims that “agriculture itself is transforming, and the transformation of agriculture can play a vital role in transforming Japanese society.” The article argues that contemporary young Japanese farmers are changing from traditional, clunky farmers to fashionable, cool agriculturalists. In addition, these new farmers are no longer isolated in small local villages, but are connected with consumers and other farmers through ICTs (e.g., Facebook and Twitter) (June 2013) and NPOs (e.g., *Nōka no Kosegare Nettowāku* (Network for Farmers’ Sons)).

The new significance of agriculture is also connected with broader processes that are transforming Japanese society. Interestingly, the transformation of agriculture and society as advocated in this discourse does not focus exclusively on new technologies and practices, but it also draws from discourses of traditional agriculture in Japan. In the May 2011 edition, for example, agriculture is described as a means of achieving a sustainable lifestyle and as a pivot of local industry which requires more development. In the article, agriculture, especially traditional forms, is introduced as a means to achieving a sustainable life (31). Specifically, the traditional slash-and-burning style of agriculture practiced in Kyūshū is introduced as the most suitable farming method for the local community and for environmental protection, arguing that it supports sustainable development in the area because it is the most efficient style of agriculture for the community (31). Furthermore, it argues that agriculture should be given more attention both within local communities and nationwide. In other words, in contrast to the shift toward secondary and tertiary industries, the article argues that agriculture should be the center of local industry and be given more emphasis and support on a national scale (31, 36-7).

In short, the articles published in *Sotokoto* from 2009 onwards depict agriculture as a job that enables individuals to live a “genuinely human” lifestyle and as an aspect of life that is essential for human beings. In addition, agriculture is described as a job that enables one to enjoy not only the outcome (i.e., harvesting), but also the process (i.e., producing), as well as offering the potential for becoming a cornerstone of the transformation of Japanese society into a sustainable model of living. In the end, these discourses present agriculture as a means to earn one’s livelihood through a self-sufficient lifestyle by characterizing agriculture as essential for pursuing a “fully human lifestyle.”

Agriculture in *Inaka gurashi no hon* [Book for living in rural areas]

Inaka gurashi no hon [Book for living in rural areas], published since 1992, is a monthly

magazine for those who wish to move to rural areas. The magazine provides information on real estate and employment opportunities in rural areas in order to support rural living, and within this context agriculture is introduced as one of the primary jobs available in rural areas. In this monthly magazine for so-called “back-to-the-countrysiders,” agriculture is described in four primary, overlapping ways. First, it is a job that is enjoyable and enables one to relax. Second, it is a job that is available for long-term engagement and which has ample opportunities for new entrants. Moreover, because of the character of the magazine, it is introduced as a job available in rural areas that offers a means of achieving food security and enabling individuals to live a healthy life.

First, agriculture in this magazine is described as enjoyable and as enabling one to relax, even though it is a demanding job. The September 2013 edition, which has a special column on new participants in agriculture, features an interview with one new participant who entered the agriculture industry after retiring from his long-term job. The interviewee remarks that, “agriculture is not stressful, and I am not tired of being unable to take a rest.” He adds, “I have dreams of being called a ‘full-fledged farmer.’ I want to realize this dream by engaging in agriculture” (56-7). For him, agriculture is described as a job that produces a sense of fulfillment, and a job that is possible to engage in for one’s entire lifetime in contrast to a job that ends in retirement. The interviewee explains that before he began studying agriculture he planned to start only after mandatory retirement at age 60. However, he decided to retire and pursue agriculture earlier than he originally planned. The key factor that led him to take early retirement and begin engaging in agriculture earlier was that he learned that agriculture was a job that he could engage in—and that is worthy of engaging in—for the rest of his life.

The January 2013 edition describes agriculture as a job opportunity from a different perspective, specifically as an occupation that enables one to live in rural areas. This has been a main topic for the magazine since its inaugural issue, as its target audiences include those who want to move to rural areas before the standard retirement age of 60, and who thus need to continue to earn an income in their new home. However, more than just an economic necessity for rural living, agriculture is also described as a job that enables an individual to engage in work together with his or her spouse, and that offers the opportunity for individuals to manage their work autonomously according to their own desires. These articles thus promote agriculture as a desirable job that is available around one’s own home and that enables one to work in one’s own way.

In the July 2013 edition, agriculture is also described as a means for relaxing. This issue

introduces the concept of *kuraingaruten*, which comes from the German word *kleingarten* (literally meaning “small garden”) and which could be translated as “allotment garden with accommodations” in English. *Kuraingaruten* is described as an opportunity to experience life in a rural area easily during the weekend. The practice allows individuals who live in urban areas to live and work in allotment gardens on weekends on a contract basis, engaging in agriculture while living in the attached accommodations. The accommodations provided are designed like small country cottages or log cabins and are built inside of the gardens. The magazine advertises that even individuals who live in urban areas during weekdays can enjoy *nōteki seikatsu* (agricultural life) by living and working in the *kuraingaruten* on weekends.

The special column in the December 2011 edition is titled “The countryside where there are houses and jobs,” and agriculture is introduced here as one of the occupations available in rural areas. In the introduction to the column, agriculture is described as a job that is “tough, but interesting because one receives as much reward [in terms of produce and a sense of satisfaction] as one puts effort into producing” (28). In this issue, agriculture is characterized as an admirable job that offers individuals the opportunity to work in nature and to feel a sense of pride by engaging in it. A new participant in agriculture who is interviewed in the article explains, “*oishii* (fine) water and air—both are the attractions to live here” (28), and he further adds that “by being a farmer I will have a sense of pride and self-respect when I become a father” (29).

The October 2009 edition also argues that agriculture enables individuals to live a healthy life. The edition specializes in new organic farmers, citing the case of one new farmer who gained ten kilograms of muscle through his engagement in agricultural work (108). The edition also illustrates agriculture as a job that one does not have to retire from and through which one can earn enough money to have a satisfying life (110). These discourses emphasize that agriculture is not inferior to secondary or tertiary industries, and that farmers’ incomes will increase if they can properly manage their farming business. In emphasizing efficiency and utility, it is also different from the discourse of the Green Revolution that mainly focuses on mechanization and intensive agriculture, especially in its discussion of the growth of profit from agriculture (May 2009).

Another prominent characterization of agriculture in the magazine is as a key business chance. One of the special columns in the August 2013 edition focuses on the influences of Abenomics⁽²⁾ on decisions to move to rural areas. The article explains that agriculture is an industry that will be supported by Abenomics, and claims that new participants in agriculture

will receive more benefits than ever if they enter into agriculture now. In the development strategy of Abenomics, agriculture is one of the targets of the economic revitalization policy (*Nihon Keizai Saisei Honbu* 2013). Specifically, this policy aims at increasing the number of new farmers and concentrating farmland in the hands of a few farmers or farming corporations. The article describes that support for agriculture is to be concentrated on those who are willing to actively engage in farming, and that one of the goals of Abenomics is to combine agriculture (primary industry) with secondary and tertiary industries and to create a new, hybrid “sixth industry” (79). Because of the increasing attention to agriculture, the magazine asserts, now is a great opportunity for entry into agriculture.

In the March 2013 edition and the February 2013 edition, engaging in agriculture in rural areas is promoted as a way of addressing issues of food security and as a means of actualizing self-sufficient living. Furthermore, the September 2012 edition concentrates on self-sufficient lifestyles with a special column which asserts that, “securing safe food and a stable supply of energy has been exposed as a myth, and now a self-sufficient lifestyle is gaining attention. Such a self-sufficient lifestyle, where individuals produce food by themselves, use firewood for their fuel, and get water from wells or mountain streams, is no longer limited to being a pleasure of rural living, but it has become a viable option as a new lifestyle” (22). According to the article, self-sufficient living offers the “pleasure to be able to produce all we need” (22), and the article introduces a farmer who practices permaculture and declares that “permaculture is the way to promote *junkan* (circulation and recycling in the local area) through agriculture” (41). According to one of its leading advocates, permaculture is “a philosophy of working with, rather than against nature; of protracted and thoughtful observation rather than protracted and thoughtless labour; and of looking at plants and animals in all their functions, rather than treating any area as a single-product system.” (Permaculture Net. N.d.). The concept advocates a comprehensive ecological system, and promotes agriculture as part of such a sustainable ecosystem.

In short, agriculture in *Inaka gurashi no hon* is discussed through several overlapping discourses as a means of better, sustainable living available in rural areas, and as an attractive job

(2) Abenomics is a portmanteau word of Abe and economics, and is the economic policy proposed by Japanese Prime Minister Shinzo Abe and led by *Nihon Keizai Saisei Honbu* (Japan Economic Revitalization Headquarters, my translation). The word Abenomics refers to Abe’s economic strategy for revitalizing the Japanese economy, and agriculture is one of the targets for reform. Abenomics includes *sanbon no ya* (three arrows), which means three aspects of reform: 1) aggressive monetary policy, 2) flexible fiscal policy, and 3) a new growth strategy (*Nihon Keizai Saisei Honbu* 2013). Agriculture is part of this new growth strategy, and the policy anticipates doubling the income of farmers over the next ten years.

worthy of entering into now and engaging in for a lifetime.

Agriculture in *hannō han-x* (Half-agriculture half-“something else” lifestyle)

Hannō han-x (half-agriculture half-“something else” lifestyle) is a concept promoted by Naoki Shioya⁽³⁾ which refers to the practice of engaging in agriculture to produce as much food as each household consumes, and spending the rest of one’s time “contributing to society” by engaging in a vocation of one’s choice (Shiomi 2008, 4). In his important work, *Hannō han-x toiu ikikata* [A way of life called *hannō han-x*], agriculture is described both as a means of livelihood and as a skill for living during difficult times. Shiomi argues that it is essential for individuals to engage in small-scale agriculture that fulfills the limited needs of one’s individual livelihood, and to spend the rest of one’s life pursuing jobs that fulfill one’s personal “mission” or passion (Shiomi 2008, 5). This concept is supported by Shiomi’s ideal that everyone should be able to do whatever he or she wants, as long as they can produce enough food to support themselves and be self-sufficient. In addition, Shiomi asserts that agriculture should be the “*bēsu* (base)” of life, and what he labels “*x*”—one’s individual mission or passion—should be built on top of this base (Shiomi 2008, 18). Shiomi insists that one does not have to “*tamashii o uru* (sell oneself or one’s soul)” by doing something that one does not wish to do in order to earn a livelihood; rather, one should be able to engage in one’s personal passion while simultaneously contributing to society (Shiomi 2008, 20). Within this discourse, agriculture is a way to satisfy one’s appetite (i.e., physical needs), and pursuing a vocation is a means of earning money and acquiring *kokoro no kate* (i.e., mental food) or fulfilling one’s *ikigai* (“definite purpose in life”) (Shiomi 2008, 21). For Shiomi, both agriculture and “*x*” are important as a means of achieving a sustainable “twenty-first century lifestyle” (Shiomi 2008, 38). Moreover, rather than being mutually exclusive, agriculture and “*x*” are mutually bound together in a reciprocal relationship.

(3) Naoki Shiomi was born in 1965 in Ayabe, Kyoto. After graduating from college, he worked at the mail-order shopping company, *Ferishimo*, for 10 years. In 1999, he returned to Ayabe and founded *Hannō Han-x Kenkyūjo* (Institute for *Hannō Han-x*) in 2000. His book, “*Hannō han-x toiu ikikata*,” was also translated into Chinese and published in Taiwan (*Inaka gurashi no hon*, March 2013 edition, 7). For him, “*x*” is “*misshon sapōto*” (“mission support,” or “supporting events”) (Shiomi 2008, 20). If “*x*” is a mission for each of us, Shiomi wishes to support individuals in finding their own mission (see Shiomi Naoki Hōmupēji (Naoki Shiomi’s Homepage), <http://www.towanoe.jp/xseed/> (accessed on August 7, 2013); see also *Hanno han-x toiu ikikata: Surō reborūshon de ikō* (Lifestyle as half-agriculture half-x: Let’s go with a slow revolution), <http://plaza.rakuten.co.jp/simpleandmission/> (accessed on August 7, 2013)).

Concluding Remarks

In the three discourses of LOHAS, living in rural areas, and *hannō han-x*, agriculture is described as a “genuinely human” job that is essential for a “human-like lifestyle,” as an enjoyable occupation, and as both an industry that is transforming and as a means of transforming Japanese society. Interwoven in these discourses are characterizations of agriculture as a means of actualizing a self-sufficient lifestyle, as a way for creating a secure food supply, and as an attractive business opportunity. In contrast to previously pervasive characterizations of agriculture as a 3K job (*kitanai* (dirty), *kiken* (dangerous), *kitsui* (demeaning/difficult)), the positive, “sophisticated” discourses promoted in publications like the ones analyzed here recast agriculture as a fashionable job, a respectable and conscientious lifestyle choice, and a practice that is essential for pursuing “a fully human life.” In this article, my analysis has been limited to specialized publications which emphasize these three primary discourses by promoting agriculture as fashionable and as an industry with strong future business potential. In addition, this article focuses on the primary themes in each discourse and does not analyze the contradictions within each discourse. In future research, it is necessary to conduct comparative analysis with discourses about agriculture among the general public in order to examine the similarities and differences with the discourses analyzed here.

References

- Inaka gurashi no hon* [Book for living in rural areas]. May 2009. “Nōgyō de nenshū hyaku man en: Kyūryō moratte nōgyō shiyō” [Earn one million yen by engaging in agriculture: Engaging in agriculture and receiving a salary]. Tokyo: Takarajima-sha.
- . December 2009. “Yūki de kasegeru nōka ninaru!” [Become an organic farmer who can earn enough money!]. Tokyo: Takarajima-sha.
- . January 2010. “Nen 40 man en de saien to ie o kariru” [Renting a garden and house for four hundred thousand yen]. Tokyo: Takarajima-sha.
- . December 2011. “Ie mo shigoto mo aru inaka” [The countryside where there are houses and jobs]. Tokyo: Takarajima-sha.
- . September 2012. “Ima koso jikyū jisoku” [Now is the time for self-sufficient living]. Tokyo: Takarajima-sha.
- . January 2013. “Inaka de mitsukaru watashi no tenshoku” [Job changes that I can find in the countryside]. Tokyo: Takarajima-sha.
- . February 2013. “Nihon sumitai inaka besuto ranking happyō” [Announcing the ranking on the most desirable areas for rural living]. Tokyo: Takarajima-sha.
- . March 2013. “Tanoshii, anshin, oishii kurashi o jitsugen: Jikyū jizoku no hajimekata” [Realizing the enjoyable, secure, and delicious life! How to start a sustainable lifestyle]. Tokyo: Takarajima-sha.

- . July 2013. “Nana dai toshi kara ichi, ni san jikan! Hyaku hachijū man en kara! Shūmatsu no inakaya” [One, two, or three hours away from seven metropolitan areas! From eighteen hundred thousand yen! A rural house for the weekends]. Tokyo: Takarajima-sha.
- . August 2013. “Abenomikusu no eikyō mo? Inaka gurashi no mirai yosō” [What is the influence of Abenomics on agriculture? Predicting the future of living in rural areas]. Tokyo: Takarajima-sha.
- . September 2013. “Shunō shien mo masumasu jūjitsu! Ima koso nōka ni narō” [The subsidy for new farmers are abundant now! Let’s become a farmer]. Tokyo: Takarajima-sha.
- LOHAS Online. N.d. *LOHAS: What Is It?* (<http://www.lohas.com/> (accessed on August 2, 2013))
- Nihon Keizai Saisei Honbu* (Japan Economic Revitalization Headquarters). 2013. *Japan Revitalization Strategy — JAPAN is BACK*— (http://www.kantei.go.jp/jp/singi/keizaisaisei/pdf/en_new_senryaku.pdf accessed on August 15, 2013).
- Nōka no Kosegare Nettowāku* (Network for Farmers’ Sons). N.d. “Nōka no kosegare nettowāku towa” [About nōka no kosegare network] (<http://kosegare.net/network/index.php> (accessed on July 27, 2013))
- Permaculture Net. N.d. *About Permaculture*. (<http://www.permaculture.net/about/definitions.html> (accessed on August 18, 2013))
- Shiomi, Naoki. 2008. *Hannō han-x toiu ikikata* [A way of life called half-agriculture half-x]. Tokyo: Sony Magazines.
- Sotokoto. May 2011. “Nihon o genki ni suru Kyūshū no hyakunin” [One-hundred Kyūshū people who can revitalize Japan]. Tokyo: Kirakusha.
- . February 2012. “Atarashii jikyū jisoku” [New self-sufficient lifestyle]. Tokyo: Kirakusha.
- . December 2012. “Wakai nōka ga nihon o kaeru” [Young farmers will change Japan]. Tokyo: Kirakusha.
- . June 2013. “Yasai o tsukutte mirai o kaeru” [Changing the future by producing vegetables]. Tokyo: Kirakusha.
- . March 2013. “Hannō han-x de ikō!” [Let’s pursue a half-agriculture half-“something else” lifestyle!]. P.7 in *Inaka gurashi no hon* [Book for living in rural areas]. Tokyo: Takarajima Sha.
- . N.d. What’s Sotokoto. (<http://www.sotokoto.net/books/culture.html> (accessed on August 2, 2013))
- Yamashita, Kazuhito. 2013a. “TPP de nōgyō kaimetsu’ ron no ōkina ayamari, jō” [The huge mistake in the argument claiming the “utter destruction of agriculture by Japan’s admission into TPP” Vol. 1]. *Webronza*, February 16 (retrieved from <http://astand.asahi.com/magazine/wrbusiness/2013021600001.html?iref=webronza> on August 21, 2013)
- . 2013b. “TPP de nōgyō kaimetsu’ ron no ōkina ayamari, chū” [The huge mistake in the argument claiming the “utter destruction of agriculture by Japan’s admission into TPP” Vol. 2]. *Webronza*, February 18 (retrieved from <http://astand.asahi.com/magazine/wrbusiness/2013021800001.html> on August 21, 2013)
- . 2013c. “TPP de nōgyō kaimetsu’ ron no ōkina ayamari, ge” [The huge mistake in the argument claiming the “utter destruction of agriculture by Japan’s admission into TPP” Vol. 3]. *Webronza*, February 19 (retrieved from <http://astand.asahi.com/magazine/wrbusiness/2013021800005.html?...Fastand.asahi.com%2Fmagazine%2Fwrbusiness%2F2013021800005.html> on August 21, 2013)

