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Characteristics of Residential Locations and Demographic Structural Trends of the Shiraho Rural Settlement on Ishigaki Island

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Abstract

This study clarifies three things about the housing environment that should be considered when planning future community vitalizations through collaborations among people on remote island regions with different origins and immigration motives. First, it identifies the factors that influenced the residential composition of Shiraho. Second, it classifies residents by origin. Third, it identifies the characteristics of residential locations according to the residents' origins and immigration timing. The results show that the residential composition of Shiraho changed in four stages. Regarding the spatial distribution of households in the residential areas of Shiraho, similar Shuriners and similar Taramanians resided in respective clusters, which were spatially separate from Shirahonians. Recent immigration of outsiders changed the distribution of the old residential area, but in some cases they came to reside in newly opened areas that other residents avoided for various reasons.

Keywords: resident type; residential location; history of immigration; Okinawa

1. Introduction

Shiraho, a rural settlement on Ishigaki Island in Okinawa Prefecture, is the focus of this study. It is located on the east coast of Ishigaki Island, 400 km southwest of Okinawa Island. Currently, Shiraho is an administrative section of Ishigaki City. Its population is approximately 1,500 people in about 700 households. Shiraho has a long history, and it has been referred to as the independent village of Shiraho since the Ryukyu Kingdom era. A Keicho land survey from 1610 and the Miyako Yaeyama Islands pictorial book from 1647 also mention Shiraho village.

Shiraho has accepted immigrants during various historical periods, such as the Ryukyu Kingdom era, after Ryukyu, during the Pacific War, and after the Pacific War; it has continued to overcome various conflicts as a united community.

Recently, many immigrants from the Japanese mainland have moved to Ishigaki Island, causing friction in the community (Yaeyama Mainichi Editorial, 2007). We can learn many things from the immigration experiences of Shiraho.

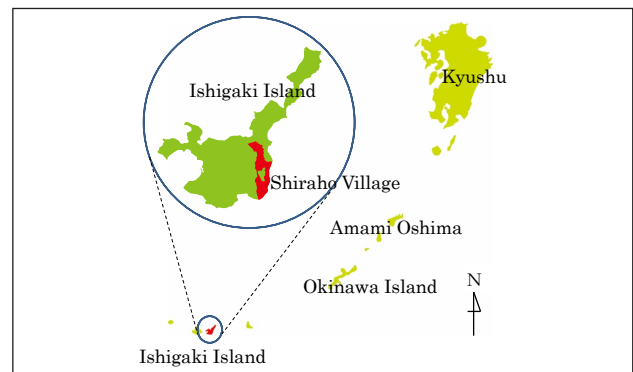


Fig.1. Location of Shiraho

This study specifically focuses on the origins of the residents of Shiraho. We defined the origin as ancestral place of birth in this study. It sets the following three goals, with the ultimate aim of considering the housing environment and future community vitalization through collaboration with people who have moved from mainland Japan to remote islands:

- 1) Identify the factors that influenced Shiraho's population composition.
- 2) Classify residents according to their origins and historical backgrounds.
- 3) Identify characteristics of household locations by classifying them according to residents' origins.

Previous studies on the relationship between rural villages and their residents are outlined below. One group of studies focused on the Ryukyu Kingdom era (Nakachi, 2005; Kamata *et al.*, 2012; Watanabe *et al.*, 2012; Kitamura and Nishimura, 2009). Another study

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clarified the relationship between new and existing residents (Matayoshi, 2014). However, there are not enough studies on whether the system works with a variety of residents.

The purpose of this study is to obtain basic knowledge that can be used to formulate a policy to promote community vitalization and collaboration with immigrants of various origins. This study is intended to be the basis for a series of studies aiming to establish new community vitalization structures that include collaborations between new and existing residents and to construct a practical theory of natural resource management in the Okinawa Islands.

In addition, the first author resided in Shiraho from January 2004 to March 2016 and was involved in its community vitalization. This study's methodological approach was participant observation in the community.

2. Methods

We classified the residents based on an analysis of existing documents on Shiraho, Ishigaki, and Okinawa, and on interviews with groups of Shiraho residents. In addition, we created a residential distribution map for each type of origin based on a cadastre from the Meiji era (Book of Ishigaki's history: collected historical materials of Yaeyama 3, 1997) and a household map that identified households' locations in 1986, 2000, and 2016, as well as changes to the number of dwellings by origin, which we considered as characteristics. On 13–14 May 2016, we conducted a confirmatory local resident investigation and corrected the classifications on the household map. Specifically, participant observation was conducted from 2004 to 2016 as a preliminary investigation. Much information was gained from the Shiraho Yurateiku Charter Promotion Committee and Shiraho Conservation Council for Bountiful Seas, two organizations which have been approved by the self-government organization of Shiraho community. In addition, we conducted interviews with the villagers to confirm and revise the household map. The main investigation was conducted through four fieldwork sessions in the following periods: (1) 12–15 May, (2) 6–10 June, (3) 27 July–1 August, (4) 7–16 September, 2016; and (5) 1–4 January and (6) 17–22 March, 2018, in Shiraho village.

The analytical methods used were as follows:

1) The historical factors that influenced the composition of Shiraho's households were analysed using the collected historical materials (Ishigaki City, 1997; Makino, 1972; Kinjyo, 1988), the Book of Shiraho's History (Editorial Committee of the Book of Shiraho's History, 2009), previous studies in the cultural anthropology field (Society for the Study of Social Anthropology of Ryukyu University, 1977), and the results of interviews with the villagers.

2) The classification of the origins of Shiraho's residents was accomplished using the information



Fig.2. Residential Area in 1903
Source: Wang (2017)

gained from the interviews with the villagers, a content analysis of the Book of Ishigaki City's History, and the folk documentation in the Book of Shiraho's History.

3) The residential distribution of the village by household origin was based on the Shiraho cadastre from April 1903 (Tokuno, 2009). We plotted this ownership information on a map and compared changes in the residents' makeup from 1986 to 2000 and from 2000 to 2016. Residents who came after 1986 were classified by the family name of the resident recorded on the housing map of Zenrin.

We classified the residents using the family names that were derived from their birth islands in Okinawa. When a married household had different origins, we classified the household as the ancestor's place of origin. When a family name was classified as belonging to more than one island, we investigated and identified one origin.

We defined the residential area of the Meiji era as the 'old residential area' (ORA) and analysed the change in residences inside and outside of the ORA for each of the study years. In 1903, there were 163 dwelling sites, including 123 dwelling units and 40 empty plots, in Shiraho.

3. Results: Changes to Historical Immigration and Resident Type by Origin in Shiraho

3.1 Factors Influencing Residential Composition

We identified four stages of change in the residential composition of Shiraho due to immigration (Table 1.). The first stage concerned immigration from Hateruma Island in the Yaeyama Islands; this immigration was forced by the royal government of the Ryukyu Kingdom. There is no clear record of the formation of Shiraho; however, the name was recorded as myth in 1705 through personal reports and oral traditions. In

the Book of Shiraho's History, its formation is reported as occurring in about the fourteenth century. In 1609, the Yaeyama Islands, under the control of the Ryukyu Kingdom, were incorporated into a land tax system based on rice following the invasion by the Satsuma Domain (Anzai, 2007). It is reported that the expansion of farmland and the population movement to places suited to rice cultivation happened because of those actions.

Regarding the population size, there were 248 people in 1651, and 300 farmers immigrated from Hateruma Island in 1713, at which point it became the independent village named Shiraho (Makino, 1972). The Shiraho settlement experienced devastating losses from the Meiwa tsunami of 1771, which wiped out 98% of the population. Only 28 people survived. Four hundred and eighteen peasants were forced to emigrate from Hateruma Island, again by the royal government of the Ryukyu Kingdom, and the village was rebuilt by the survivors (Editorial Committee of the Book of Shiraho's History, 2009).

The second stage involved the immigration of Shuri warriors from the latter part of the Meiji era until the early Taisho era. Ryukyu royal families organized Yaeyama reclamation work in 1892 to provide relief for Shuri warriors who had lost jobs after the forced assimilation of Okinawa into Japan in 1879. However, this effort failed, and the Shuri warriors moved to and settled down in Hirae, Ohama, Miyara, Shiraho, and other parts of the Ishigaki City area (Kinjyo, 1988).

Then, the Japanese army constructed an airport in Shiraho in 1944 and soldiers were quartered in private houses in the village. However, this was a temporary situation, and almost all of them left Shiraho when the war ended.

The third stage involved immigration by voluntary immigrants from the Miyako Islands during and after the Pacific War. Japan's territorial expansion before and during the war made it possible for many people to move to the colony from Okinawa, which was overpopulated. The population of Okinawa had increased rapidly because of the withdrawal of troops from foreign countries after Japan's defeat. There were food shortages, so many people moved to Yaeyama from various places in Okinawa (Kinjyo, 1988). Shiraho accepted many voluntary immigrants from Tarama Island, which is close to Shiraho. According to the interviews with Tau, M. (additional investigations in 2018), the voluntary immigrants from Tarama Island depended on their relatives who had moved there before the war for support. Voluntary immigrants came from Tarama Island, Minna Island, Ikema Island, Irabu Island, Miyako Island, and so on and settled there.

The fourth stage involved the immigration of persons from the mainland of Japan after 2000. The Vision of the Population of Ishigaki City (Ishigaki City, 2016) found that immigration from outside of Okinawa Prefecture increased from 2003 to 2009 across all

Table 1. Chronological Immigration to and Settlement in Shiraho

| Historical Period | Social Background | Major Events in Shiraho | Stage |
|--|---|--|--------------------------|
| Ryukyu Dynasty | After invasion by the Satsuma Domain in 1609, the islands came under a tax system using rice. | 300 people were forced out of Hateruma Island to Shiraho in 1713; Deathblow by the tsunami in 1771; 418 people were forced out of Hateruma Island to Shiraho, again. | First stage |
| Meiji Era | The Ryukyu Annexation of 1879 | Samurai descendants settled a colony. | Second stage |
| Before the War | Planned immigration conducted by the Okinawa government. | Descendants of a colony from the mainland of Japan moved to Shiraho for education; people from Tarama Island worked in fisheries. | |
| War-time | Military airports constructed in Okinawa. | Military airport constructed in 1944; soldiers were quartered in private houses. | Withdrawal after the war |
| Under the US forces | Many Okinawans withdrew from the colony and returned home; life was difficult because of land shortage | Many voluntary immigrants from the Miyako Islands settled there. | Third stage |
| Immediately after Okinawa reverted to Japan | International Ocean Exposition, Okinawa, Japan, occurred in 1975; Okinawans could travel to the mainland without passports. | Population of Ishigaki decreased because people temporarily left as migrant workers. | |
| 1980s–1990s | Ishigaki Airport constructed by landfilling the coral reef; became a social problem. | Young adults moved to the city because of a lack of housing, and population decreased. | Population decreasing |
| After 2000 | Okinawa boom occurred and immigrants rapidly increased; New Ishigaki Airport opened in 2013. | Many apartments were constructed around 2013, and people moved from mainland Japan. | Fourth stage |

Source: Previous research and data from this study's interviews in Shiraho.

of Ishigaki Island. The population inflow from the Japanese mainland has been estimated at about 2,000 people per year during the peak period from 2006 to 2007. About 1,800 to 1,900 persons from the mainland cannot settle down and thus move away from Ishigaki each year.

However, the local municipality of Ishigaki believes that in this period immigrants did not settle on Ishigaki Island (Ishigaki City, 2016).

Few people immigrated from mainland Japan in the 1980s before the boom. However, most of those immigrants settled down. We clarified this via interviews with the Shiraho Yurateiku Charter Committee. On the other hand, immigration from the mainland after 2000 was high, although many people left within 10 years. We discovered that 11 families left Shiraho during this period.

New Ishigaki Airport opened in Shiraho in March 2013. In the following three years, four rental car offices were built nearby, and five restaurants, and seven guesthouses, four apartments were built in Shiraho, which increased the convenience and proximity of the village's job opportunities. As a result, there was an increase in immigrants.

3.2 Classification According to Residents' Origins

The residents of Shiraho can be classified into five categories based on their immigration timing and place of origin (Table 2.) (Kamimura and Yamazaki, 2017). We identified 57 family names that appeared on the cadastre from 1903 as Shirahonian. Based on the results of the interview survey, we excluded Yamazato because it was associated with Shuri warriors. Before the Meiji era, almost all residents were farmers. At that time, farmers' voluntary immigration was restricted by the royal government of the Ryukyu Kingdom. Therefore, the survivors of the tsunami and the immigrants from Hateruma Island lived together for more than 100 years. They gradually became kin. Thus, these groups were strongly connected to each other by territorial and blood ties. They passed down pride in the local culture.

Shuriners were defined as Yamazato, Miyazato, Toyozato, Ameku, and Hoshi. These five family names were those of Shuri warriors. Shuriners had very limited representation in Shiraho. However, they brought Shuri culture through their artistic abilities, and they had a large influence on Shiraho's folk entertainment and festivals, as we learned through the interviews with Toji, H.

Taramanians were defined by 38 family names based on residence in 2016. Some typical names are Taira, Yamashiro, Sunagawa, Hamagawa, Arashiro, Yonaha, Yoshimoto, and Maesato. This group includes people who originated on all of the Miyako Islands. 'Taramanian' refers to people who came from Tarama Island, but, in this case, it includes not only Tarama Islanders, but also people from other parts of the Miyako Islands. Therefore, we must carefully interpret

Table 2. Classification of the Origins of Shiraho Residents

| No. | Group name | Timing and Origin |
|-----|--------------------------|---|
| 1 | Shirahonian (Sabupitwo) | Survivors of the tsunami and immigrants from Hateruma Island. |
| 2 | Shuriner (Shurinohito) | Descendants of samurai from the Ryukyu Dynasty era settled a colony from the Meiji era to the Taishou era after the Ryukyu Annexation in 1879. |
| 3 | Taramanian (Taramapitwo) | People who came from the Miyako Islands as voluntary immigrants after the Pacific War and settled down, including some people before the war from the Miyako Islands. |
| 4 | Outsider (Naicha) | People who immigrated from Okinawa Prefecture, who mainly caused the rapid increase after 2000, including a few people before the war from the mainland. |
| 5 | Other Okinawans | People who immigrated from Okinawa Prefecture without relatives belonging to other groups. |

Source: Kamimura and Yamazaki, 2017

this origin. Taramanian was mentioned in interviews with some elderly people (Akamine H. and Fukai F.) in Shiraho. We identified the same family names, such as Yamashiro, Arashiro, and Nakasone, in Shiraho and the Miyako Islands through the interviews with Tau, H.

These two origins were sometimes at odds with each other when it came to the processes of acceptance and assimilation. People with origins 2 and 3 are now the third and fifth generations, respectively. Working-age people with origins 1 through 3 were born in Shiraho and grew up together. They lived their lives without considering their differences in origin. There were some marriages across origins and they have gradually intermingled through territorial and blood ties. However, there are differences regarding their involvement in rituals and festivals at sacred sites.

An 'outsider' was defined as an immigrant from outside of Okinawa Prefecture. This category includes immigrants from the mainland of Japan before the Pacific War and those from foreign countries. Almost all of the people of this origin had immigrated around or after 2000. Currently, this group is rapidly growing.

Other Okinawans were immigrants from other parts of Ishigaki Island or from the Okinawa main island. Their immigrations occurred at different times and as families. Even in cases where a spouse was classified as 1 through 4, we classified the immigrant as group 5.

4. Results: Characteristics of Household Locations According to Residential Origin

4.1 Changes in the Number of Households by Origin

We analysed the changes in the number of households by origin from 1903 to 2016. It became clear that the number of outsider households had recently increased rapidly (Table 3.). Other Okinawans also slightly increased. The number of households remained constant for three origins: Shirahonian, Shuriner, and Taramanian. We identified the number

Table 3. Number of Households by Origin in Shiraho

| Origin | 1903 | | 1986 | | 2000 | | 2016 | |
|----------------|------------|----------------|------------|----------------|------------|----------------|------------|----------------|
| | Num ber | Perce ntage | Num ber | Perce ntage | Num ber | Perce ntage | Num ber | Perce ntage |
| Shirahonian | 120 | 97.6 | 270 | 66.3 | 286 | 63.1 | 281 | 54.2 |
| Shuriner | 3 | 2.4 | 25 | 6.1 | 25 | 5.5 | 27 | 5.2 |
| Taramanian | 0 | 0.0 | 73 | 17.9 | 81 | 18.0 | 76 | 14.7 |
| Outsider | 0 | 0.0 | 10 | 2.5 | 30 | 6.6 | 97 | 18.7 |
| Other Okinawan | 0 | 0.0 | 29 | 7.1 | 31 | 6.8 | 37 | 7.2 |
| Total | 123 | 100.0 | 407 | 100.0 | 453 | 100.0 | 518 | 100.0 |

Source: Household distribution maps for each year.

of households in the ORA and adjacent areas from the housing map of the residential classification units. There were no data on the Taisho era, the early Showa era, or before the return of Okinawa to the mainland in 1972. However, the immigration trend for the 30 years after 1986 was identified using documents and the interview data described in section 3.2.

The first stage was the forced emigration that occurred during the Ryukyu Kingdom era; at this time, the village was mainly Shirahonian. As of 1903, it still mostly consisted of Shirahonians.

The number of Shirahonian households was 270 in 1986 after the second stage (immigration of Shuri warriors) and third stage (immigration of voluntary immigrants from the Miyako Islands). This was 2.2 times the number of households in 1903. The number of Taramanian households was 73. These households comprised 17.9% of all houses in Shiraho. The voluntary immigrants from the Miyako Islands who came after the Pacific War had a significant influence on the Shiraho community.

The number of Shuriner households was 25, which was 6.1% of all households in 1968. The number of Shuriners was small and seldom fluctuated after 1968. The immigration of outsiders increased during the 1990s, with a sudden increase after 2000.

4.2 Household Distribution in 1986

We plotted the locations of the households in the five categories of resident origin along with apartments and the ORA on the 1986 housing map (Fig.3.). There were 189 households located along National Route No. 390 on the east side of the ORA. The residential area was larger in 1986 than in 1903. A remarkable trend could be seen regarding subdivisions of housing sites in the ORA. Subdividing occurred on 73 (44.8%) of the 163 sites. We defined housing sites as divisions where one household lives, and subdivisions of housing sites as sites which were divided for plural households of different origin than on the past map.

The number of Shirahonian households increased from 120 to 270 between 1903 and 1986. Subdividing in the ORA added 46 households. There were 23

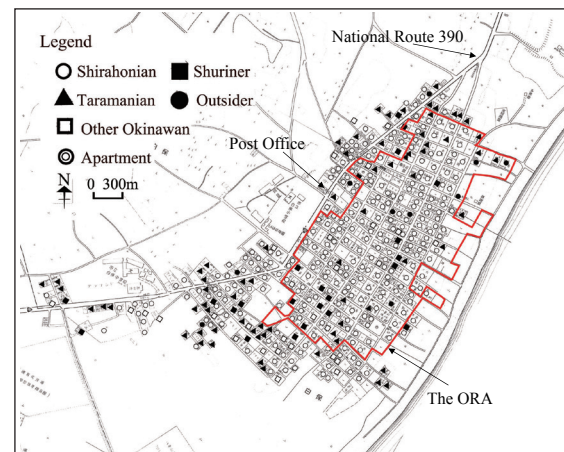


Fig.3. Map of Household Distribution in 1986 in Shiraho

households to be constructed on vacant land in the ORA. One Shuriner household changed hands and became Shirahonian. There were 105 new households outside the ORA, and 95 households continued on with the same family from the Meiji era, which represents 79.2% of all Shirahonian households (120 households) in 1903. New housing spread in the southern and south-western directions outward from the ORA. This happened because of a traditional custom in which extended families avoid building houses on the north or east sides of the main house (Society for the Study of Social Anthropology of Ryukyu University, 1977).

According to the distribution of households by origin, Shuriners tended to live together in the southern part of the ORA. Three Shuriner households were already there in 1903. Taramanian households were widely spread out in the northern part of the ORA as well as outside of the northern and southern parts of the ORA.

4.3 Household Distribution in 2000

We plotted the locations of the five categories of household on the housing map for 2000, and the changes to the areas and households were compared to the ORA (Fig.4.). In 2000, seven households could be found in a new housing development north of the post office on land that was previously a forest reserve.

The restrictions on housing provision were lifted for Shiraho residents. Then, the wasteland in the south was developed, and three houses were built there. A comparison of the numbers and origins of households from 1986 to 2000 showed that residents in 249 of the 286 Shirahonian households kept the same origin type. Twenty-four of the 25 Shuriner households still lived in the same place as in 1986. Seventy of the 81 Taramanian households were unchanged. Subdividing in the ORA had occurred on only seven housing sites. Regarding the household distribution of outsiders, there were 15 households in the ORA and 15 outside it. In addition, 11 households of other origins had changed hands and become outsider households. Two outsiders moved on to vacant land in the ORA, nine outsider households started to live on new housing sites, and

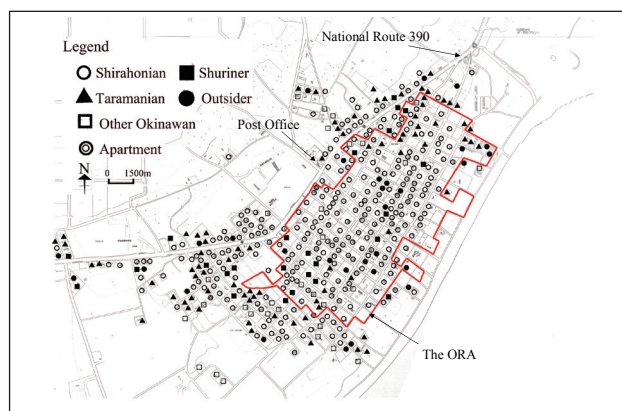


Fig.4. Map of Household Distribution in 2000 in Shiraho

eight households continued living in same place as 1986. Compared to the other origin types, outsiders were characterized by much heavier immigration to the ORA.

4.4 Household Distribution in 2016

We plotted the locations of households of five origin types on the housing map for 2015 and then analysed the results of the field survey conducted in 2016. We found changes to areas and households compared to the ORA (Fig.5.). In 2016, 11 households and 6 apartment buildings could be found in the new housing development area north of the post office. The wasteland in the south had expanded and 10 households had moved in there.

Comparing the numbers and origins of households in 2016 to those of 2000, we found that almost all of the Shirahonian, Shuriner, and Taramanian households went unchanged during this period, but outsider households significantly increased in number, which clearly shows that there was a boom in immigration to Shiraho, similar to that of Ishigaki Island. Fourteen outsider households stayed in the ORA from 2000.

The total number of households that changed hands was 21, 15 of which were in the ORA and 6 of which were outside the area.

Comparing Shuriner and Taramanian households to outsider ones, the former had immigrated mostly to subdivided housing sites or vacant sites, whereas the latter had mainly immigrated to residences originally of other origins. There were no residences along the coast after the flood of 1984, but many outsider households could be found there by 2016.

5. Immigration and Domiciliation Processes by Origin

5.1 Characteristics of Immigration Based on Social Background

Based on the household distribution and the change in the number of households described in section 4, we interviewed the current residents about the processes of immigration and domiciliation. The main interviewees are listed in Table 4.

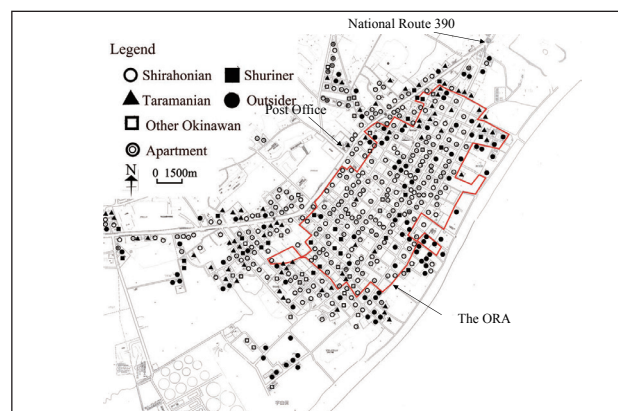


Fig.5. Map of Household Distribution in 2016 in Shiraho

Specifically, regarding relations between immigrants and the existing community, they mentioned two periods. One is before Okinawa was returned to the mainland in 1972. The other is the period that followed, particularly during the facilitation of urban infrastructure and lifestyle-related services on Ishigaki Island. Also, during this period real estate agencies promoted immigration.

Table 4. Details of Field Survey

| Fieldwork periods | Names of interviewees | Origin |
|-------------------|--------------------------|----------|
| 3 June 2016 | Shinzato, M. | Miyako |
| 29–30 July 2016 | Akamine, H., Fukai, F. | Shiraho |
| 11 Sep. 2016 | Toji, H. | Shiraho |
| 13–15 Sep. 2016 | 9 persons who immigrated | Outsider |
| 16 Sep. 2016 | Miyara, M. | Shiraho |
| 1 Jan. 2018 | Tau, M. | Tarama |
| 18 March. 2018 | Tau, H. | Shiraho |

The former concerns immigrants who were forced to immigrate, persons who cultivated new land after the abolition of the Ryukyu Domain and establishment of Okinawa Prefecture, and voluntary immigrants from after the Pacific War. In any case, they came to Shiraho because life in their place of origin was hard.

The immigrants from this period engaged in primary industries, such as agriculture and fishing. The persons who accepted them were also primary industry workers. They lived together during the pre- and post-war periods, sharing the local history with each other (interview with Tau, H.).

On the other hand, the latter were persons from the mainland of Japan. The point here is that there were many motives for immigrating based on personal values, such as raising children in a natural environment and retirement, which makes them quite different from the former type.

This does not mean that these immigrants were accepted by the community from the beginning. More than 60 years has passed since the immigration of Shuriners and Taramanians. These families have

already entered their second or third generation—generations that were born and raised after the immigration to Shiraho. However, they do not belong to the Shirahonian community of traditional ethnic and natural beliefs, which makes up the mainstream Shiraho community. Also, the residents' relationships with the sacred rites are different because of their ancestral origins. Differences in origin are still considered when it comes to community activities.

Even Shuriners and Taramanians are in this situation, so it is obviously difficult for outsiders to be allowed to join community activities. They have only lived there for the relatively brief period of under 20 years.

For example, outsiders living in the ORA often cause problems by interfering with local traditions, such as sacred rites or lifestyle activities, because of cultural differences. In addition, ordinary residents feel unhappy with outsiders who buy land from their relatives.

Shiraho Kindergarten, Shiraho Elementary School, and Shiraho Junior High School are school areas about equal in size to the Shiraho community. Therefore, interchanges through school events are carried out consciously by families with children in school. It is necessary to extend these interactions to the Shiraho community council.

5.2 The Reason for Differences in Household Distribution by Origin

We assumed that Taramanian households were located in the northern part of the ORA and tended to spread to the south, because that land was relatively easy to obtain. This was supported by the interviews with Tau, H. Shuriners tended to live together in the southern part of the ORA near the three Shuriner households that existed in 1903. Coastal houses along the ORA were swept away by a flood caused by a typhoon in 1948 (interview with Fukai, F.).

Therefore, the people who lived on the coast moved to alongside the prefectural road (today's National Route). Taramanians who immigrated to Shiraho before and after this disaster did not live on the coast, but set up their residences on the north side of the prefectural road or inland in the southern or northern parts of the ORA.

During the interviews, outsiders reported selecting housing sites by considering the ocean view and access to the beach. Almost all residents living on the 'land for sale' lots in the southern part of Shiraho were outsiders. Some of them stated that the reason they lived there was its reasonable distance from the ORA.

The price of land has been increasing in response to the immigration boom and the opening of the new airport on Ishigaki Island. The local people stated that they believed it is impossible for them to buy that land because their household incomes are too low. We can conclude as much from the residential locations based on the classification.

6. Conclusions

6.1 Findings

Three key points were obtained from the results of this study:

1) We can divide the resident population in half based on the characteristics of their social condition at the time of immigration. One period is immigration that occurred before modernization and the urban lifestyle became common on Ishigaki Island. The second immigration period came after the urbanization of Ishigaki Island.

2) The current residents of Shiraho can be grouped into five origin types. In addition, the classification can be divided into two types based on the socio-economic situation in that period: Type A) immigration for survival and by people with a similar culture and values in the Ryukyu cultural region and Type B) immigration as a lifestyle choice for a fully modernized and urbanized society.

3) Households' distribution had the following four features:

a) Shirahonian households increased first through subdividing housing sites in the ORA. Then, houses were built along the National Route. After that, these houses spread out across the ORA and adjacent area.

b) In 1903, Shuriner households were distributed in neighbourhoods on the south side of the ORA. The number of subdivided housing sites and new houses built in open spaces was larger than the number of those that changed hands in the ORA.

c) Taramanian households were grouped together on the north side and outside of the southern part of the ORA. The number of subdivided housing sites and new houses built in open spaces was larger than the number of those that changed hands in the ORA.

d) Outsider households were mainly located on subdivided housing sites in the ORA. This was a new tendency, unlike past immigration. The existing community was hollowed out and transformed by immigration through the intermediation of real estate agencies.

6.2 Consideration

Based on the above findings, we suggest utilising the following methods to accept and assimilate immigrants and thus improve the stability for outsiders in the community.

a) To avoid conflicts between outsiders and existing community members, people who want to immigrate should use every opportunity to understand the community before moving into it. The Shiraho community established the Shiraho Yurateiku Charter for this purpose. The charter needs to incorporate a provision for an immigration system that builds confidential relationships between immigrants and people in the community before immigration occurs.

b) Most of the residents on the coast were outsiders who did not understand the experience of flood damage, so safety information should be thoroughly

publicized during real estate transactions, and the system should also refer to traditional wisdom and experience regarding the placement of houses.

c) Residents far from the ORA, such as those using building 'lots for sale', find it difficult to develop a sense of belonging to the traditional village. It is necessary to create opportunities for interaction between existing and new residents. A system should be developed for collaboration with every resident regarding local events and maintaining the living environment. The Shiraho Yurateiku Festival, which is held once every two years, was started in 2004 by the community council of Shiraho. This festival may provide such an opportunity for outsiders.

6.3 Future Research

This study clarified the types of resident of Shiraho, Ishigaki Island, based on their origin and the characteristics of household distribution in the village. The residents of Shiraho had five attributes based on their origin. In addition, regarding the spatial distribution of the households in the residential areas of Shiraho, Shurinians and Taramanians lived in clusters based on their similar attributes, which allowed us to observe their spatial separation from Shirahonians. The immigration of outsiders in recent years has changed the distribution in the ORA one person at a time, and sometimes they live in places separate from the ORA.

However, the extent of the influence of residents' origins on community vitalization activities is uncertain. The community vitalization methods in the area where a variety of people were living together were not clear. In the next step, we will analyse practical activities in Shiraho since 2004 based on this classification system. Then, we will construct a theory for a self-governance system for the community based on collaboration and cooperation among residents of various origins.

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