

**The London School of Economics**

*After empire comes home: Economic experiences of Japanese civilian repatriates, 1945-1956*

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A part of this title is taken from Dr Lori Watt's ground-breaking work, *When Empire Comes Home*. I am grateful to Dr Watt for allowing to use a phrase from her book title.

## **Declaration**

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I can confirm that my thesis was copy edited for conventions of language, spelling and grammar by Jonathan Bull, Edward Hickey, Aoi Nishizaki and Jesus Solis.

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<sup>1</sup> Isamu Miyazaki, *Gunshuku No Keizaigaku*, Iwanami Shinsho (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1964).

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## **Abstract**

The economic impact of large influxes of population is a complex topic. This research contributes to this field by examining one of the most significant, but least researched, examples of postwar migration – the repatriation of more than six million (including three million civilians and demobilised soldiers each) to Japan after the Second World War. One pervasive image of Japanese civilian repatriates is that of the immigrant farmer of Manchuria who settled as a part of Japan's Manchurian policies and had difficult repatriation experiences under the hostility of local people. However, many returned from other regions as well, including Korea and Sakhalin, and repatriates consisted of not only farmers but also colonial government officials, employees of public and private corporations, and small business owners, amongst others. This paper specifically focuses on civilian repatriates in selected prefectures (Ibaraki, Hiroshima, Kanagawa and Osaka) in 1956 and their occupational changes during the time of economic transition.

Whilst it is evident that for many repatriates the postwar transition was not entirely smooth, the data presented in this research suggests that in contrast to prevailing notions, repatriates' postwar resettlement was facilitated by a) employment in family farming and the tertiary sector, b) employment at government agencies or c) the transferability of repatriates' skills in industry and retail and services. The information from the 1956 government survey into repatriates' postwar lives shows that approximately 60 per cent of repatriates fell in these categories, while the other 40 per cent found employment in new areas or became unemployed. As a result, despite the scale of the repatriation, the settlement was broadly successful. It can be argued that this type of transition helped to bring political and economic stability, which became a foundation of Japan's postwar growth.

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## **Note on translation**

Japanese words and names are romanised in accordance with the modified Hepburn system. Long vowels are indicated by the use of macrons which are omitted in the case of names of well-known places, such as Tokyo. Romanised Japanese names are written in line with the English practice of given name preceding surname.

## **Abbreviation and English names of Japanese words and Japanese organisations**

English names and titles are followed by the Japanese original. English translations have been taken from government documents, corporate records, newspapers and academic papers. Where there are no existing translations, the author has translated them into English.

### **Abbreviation**

BCOF: The British Commonwealth Occupation Force

BCFK: The British Commonwealth Forces Korea

JNR: The Japan National Railways

MHW: The Ministry of Health and Welfare

NTT: The Nippon Telegraph and Telephone Public Corporation

PRC: People's Republic of China

SMR: The South Manchuria Railway Company (Minami Manshū Tetsudō)

SCAP: The Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers

## English names of government agencies, companies and other organisations

Agricultural cooperatives: Nōgyōkyōdō Kumiai

The Central China Railway: Kachū Kōtsū

The Chinese Eastern Railway: Tōshin Tetsudō

The Korean Railway: Chōsen Tetsudō

National Cooperative of Reclamation Farmers: Kaitaku Jikōkai

The North China Railway: Kahoku Kōtsū

The Repatriation Relief Bureau: Hikiage Engokyoku

The Research Department of the South Manchuria Railway Company: Chōsabū

Manchuria Electric Company: Manshū Dengyō

A Support Association for Repatriate Railway Workers: Tairiku Tetsudō Jūjiin  
Engokai

## Chapter 1

### Occupational transitions of Japanese civilian repatriates

In this thesis, I have researched how three million Japanese civilian repatriates re-entered the ravaged postwar Japanese economy. Observing diplomatic instability in Northeast Asia, in which Japan is one of the central actors, I started searching for the origin of the problems, including the region's 'history problem'. I also became interested in the question as to how Japan made the transition from the wartime to postwar economy. As the research focus for my PhD programme, I chose the topic of the resettlement of three million civilian repatriates who had returned from Japan's overseas territories and their postwar job experiences in order to examine how these people made a transition during this time of changes.

In Japan's modern history after the Meiji Restoration, the country saw itself as a vulnerable new country being surrounded by threats from major global powers in Europe, as well as from China and Russia. The government's leaders believed that overseas expansion was necessary for national security and sustainable development, as well as to achieve a respectable status in the international community. Japan colonised Taiwan in 1895 and annexed Korea in 1910. In the 1930s, Japan's aggression further accelerated, and the country established Manchukuo in 1932. By the time the Second World War ended, there were more than 3 million Japanese civilians living in these territories, not to mention the 3 million soldiers.

The Second World War in Asia ended in August 1945 with Japan's defeat. By this time, approximately 2.5 million Japanese people had died.<sup>1</sup> Tens of millions of

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<sup>1</sup> John Dower, *Cultures of War: Pearl Harbor: Hiroshima: 9-11: Iraq* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2011), 404, 90-91. Andrew Gordon, *A Modern History of Japan: From Tokugawa*

people lost their lives in other countries in Asia. In Japan's mainland, one quarter of non-military assets of the country were lost in the war. Industrial production had declined to approximately 10 per cent compared of the beginning of the war. Material shortages were rampant, and the Japanese people were facing starvation.<sup>2</sup>

With its defeat, Japan's overseas territories were lost, investment and assets were lost, and millions of individuals had to return to Japan. Japan was occupied by the Allied Powers and was forced to define itself in terms of national borders and foreign relations, in addition to domestic political, economic and social systems. Although the changes were not always as dramatic as had been feared, these were the challenges the Japanese government and its leaders perceived in the immediate postwar period.

Among more than 6.29 million Japanese soldiers and overseas residents,<sup>3</sup> the Japanese government initially planned to permanently settle the country's overseas residents in their wartime regions of residence, not only because of material, food and housing shortages but also to the fact that Japan had lost many ships and the remaining ones were under the control of the Occupation Authorities. However, from the end of August 1945, diplomatic reports on attacks on Japanese civilians by the Soviet military forces and local residents started to arrive to Japan, and the government gradually

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*Times to the Present*, 2nd ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 225. It should be noted that the Japanese government often states that approximately 3.1 million Japanese people died in the war. For example, see a statement published by the Ministry of Health Labour and Welfare, "Zenkoku Senbotsusha Tsuitōshiki Ni Tsuite," (Tokyo2002).

[http://www.kantei.go.jp/jp/singi/tuitou/dai2/siryo2\\_2.html](http://www.kantei.go.jp/jp/singi/tuitou/dai2/siryo2_2.html). Accessed on 10 January 2017.

<sup>2</sup> Economic Stabilisation Board, "Annual Economic Report," (Tokyo: The Economic Stabilisation Board, 2000). <http://www5.cao.go.jp/j-j/wp/wp-je00/wp-je00-0020j.html>. Accessed on 25 March 2016.

<sup>3</sup> Ministry of Health and Welfare, *Engo 50 Nenshi*, ed. Shakai Engo Kyoku (Tokyo: Gyōsei, 1997), 730. The figure of 6.29 million repatriates (including both civilians and demobilised soldiers) only includes those who were repatriated and reported to the regional repatriation centres, usually at ports where they had arrived via official repatriation ships. However, some people returned by privately hired fishing boats, and repatriates who did not report to the Repatriation Relief Agency are not included in this figure.



switched the policy from the permanent settlement of Japanese residents in foreign territories to their early repatriation.<sup>4</sup> The result was one of the largest postwar migrations of the 20th century (second only to Germany's 12 million returning expellees and refugees, also following the Second World War). The scale of the economic challenge these repatriates represent – to absorb three million civilians into a ravaged economy within just a few years of defeat – was enormous, and given the rapid growth which was to follow, the transition merits deeper analysis.

This is easier said than done, however. Despite great shortages and unemployment, over time, the repatriation was broadly successful. And yet the factors underpinning this important achievement remain relatively unexamined by historians. This was perhaps part of the fact that research on the economic transition of the end of the Japanese empire has been overshadowed by other salient events: Japan's defeat, the devastated domestic economic situation, the Allies' occupation and social reforms, the outbreak of civil wars in China and Korea and the subsequent Cold War in Northeast Asia.<sup>5</sup> In the field of Japanese economic history scholars have tried to pinpoint the factors behind the country's rapid postwar economic growth after the 1950s, but analysis of its postwar economic settlement, including the repatriation problem, has been less well explored. Moreover, the repatriation does not figure large in Japan's collective consciousness. Awareness among the general public is limited to personal stories of their family members, relatives or neighbours, or a handful of other people's life stories learned through television programmes or popular literature. These personal, individual stories make for a piecemeal account of the whole, and do

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<sup>4</sup> Kiyofumi Katō, "Dainihon Teikoku No Hōkai to Zanryū Nihonjin Mondai," in *Dainihon Teikoku No Hōkai to Hikiage Fukuin* (Tokyo: Keiō University Press, 2012), 14-25.

<sup>5</sup> Lori Watt, *When Empire Comes Home: Repatriation and Reintegration in Postwar Japan*, Harvard East Asian Monographs (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2009), 12.

not lend themselves easily to thinking about the repatriates collectively, or their wider impact. The result is that the majority of these three million civilians had vanished somewhere from the memories of the Japanese people.

Beyond the personalised nature of people's accounts, the wider repatriate story has also likely been overlooked for a number of other reasons: firstly, returnees comprised only one part of all displaced war victims in Japan — the many millions who found themselves without homes or employment in the years following 1945 included not just the repatriates, but also former military industry workers and all those who lost their houses in air raids. In this sense, it has perhaps been difficult to separate the problem of the repatriates from that of other war victims. Secondly, many repatriates had to build new lives in Japan having reached what may well have been the lowest point of their lives. In some cases, their desperate activities involved deceptions and betrayal in commercial trade or unlawful occupation of land, which some repatriates justified as a means to survive.<sup>6</sup> Some people also experienced family problems such as divorce caused by unexpected personal conflicts during the repatriation. It would therefore have been natural for many of them to decide not to openly speak about their experiences during this period. Thirdly, the rapid economic growth after the mid-1950s made it relatively easy for the Japanese economy to absorb returnees, which to some extent might have mitigated the repatriation problem.

In postwar Japan, interpretation of the repatriation also became a politically sensitive issue; in the immediate postwar period both civilian repatriates and former soldiers were viewed sceptically by the Japanese general public, who saw them as

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<sup>6</sup> Yoshiaki Ogikubo and Hideyuki Negishi, *Gifu Apareru Sanchi No Keisei* (Tokyo: Seibundō, 2003), 41 and 59. Asobu Yanagisawa, *Nihonjin No Shokuminchi Taiken, Dairen Nihonjin Shōkō Gyōsha No Rekishi* (Tokyo: Aoki Shoten, 1999), 320-21.

agents of the country's military expansion.<sup>7</sup> For the majority of the Japanese people, these returnees were associated with the disgrace of the nation, an unwanted reminder of Japan's status as an imperial aggressor.<sup>8</sup> Some returnees challenged this view by publishing their personal memoirs about their difficult journey home as early in the late 1940s, and as war memories faded, especially after the 1980s, the rest of the Japanese population seems to have started to recognise returnees' difficult experiences. The generalised 'civilian repatriate' came to symbolise victims of the war, a trope which has sometimes been used by the Japanese who have tended to see their country as a victim in the Second World War, specifically in debates regarding Japan's war responsibility. Recent images of the civilian returnees have tended to give particular, and perhaps excessive, prominence to the former migrant farmers returned from Manchuria, who were victims of violent attacks by Russian soldiers and of revenge attacks by Chinese and Korean civilians during the repatriation. This modern political skew on what few texts exist on the subject further removes us from the reality of the repatriate experience. For all these reasons, despite its immense scale, the analysis of repatriation has been insufficient, especially these individuals' wartime and postwar economic activities.

In addition to seeking to fill this gap, this research on the returnees could also reveal a forgotten aspect of the postwar Japanese economy. Laura Hein states in her chapter 'Growth Versus Success' in the volume *Postwar Japan as History*:

Japan appears to offer a model for economic success without suffering, contention or even much effort... It [the focus on economic growth] has obscured all those aspects of Japanese economic history that have not directly contributed to Japanese success... It has imparted false prescience to the Japanese, persistently giving the impression that successes were

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<sup>7</sup> John W. Dower, *Embracing Defeat: Japan in the Wake of World War II* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1999), 58-61.

<sup>8</sup> Watt, *When Empire Comes Home: Repatriation and Reintegration in Postwar Japan*, 86-87.

anticipated and planned.<sup>9</sup>

In contrast to such general views on Japan's growth, the reality is that many Japanese people including repatriates struggled to re-establish themselves through an endless process of trial-and-error.

There is certainly a wealth of stories detailing the returnees' desperate but creative (as well as failed) attempts to survive. For example, a record published by the Ministry of Health and Welfare (MHW) of Japan in 1950 includes a story of repatriate railroad engineers in Hokkaido, who had worked for the North China Railway (Kahoku Kōtsū). They first worked together as day labourers but failed to make a living. They then formed a group to receive orders for emergency repair works from the Japan National Railways (JNR), where they had worked before leaving for China. Because they no longer had equipment of their own, the repatriate engineers had no choice but to wait until JNR factory employees went home at 5pm, whereupon they would borrow the necessary tools and work all night through to 8am. They eventually established a successful small business to become a sub-contractor of JNR and other railway companies.<sup>10</sup>

According to various memoirs and the secondary literature, including John Dower's *Embracing Defeat*,<sup>11</sup> many Japanese people were engaged in black market trades by obtaining food items from farming villages or securing daily commodities through personal connections. Many desperate repatriates (as well as other war-affected people) utilised all sorts of contacts and possessions, surviving through illegal

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<sup>9</sup> Laura E. Hein, "Growth Versus Success," in *Postwar Japan as History*, ed. Andrew Gordon (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 99-100.

<sup>10</sup> Repatriation Relief Bureau, *Hikiage Engo No Kiroku* (Tokyo: Repatriation Relief Bureau, 1950), 90-92.

<sup>11</sup> Dower, *Embracing Defeat: Japan in the Wake of World War II*, 140.

trade, theft and deceit. They moved around on crowded trains, filthy and noisy, often getting on and off through windows. All this offers quite a different picture from an orderly and prosperous 21st century Japan.

This thesis focuses on the integration of only the three million civilian repatriates into the postwar economy, and no other groups – the transition of demobilised soldiers is a subject which merits greater academic analysis, but such are the differences between their experiences and those of the repatriated civilians that I have chosen not to tackle that issue within this project.<sup>12</sup>

In the research process, a range of questions need to be addressed, but the core ones that I seek to answer are the following two main questions:

1. What was the profile and what were the economic experiences of the repatriates?
  - What sort of jobs did the three million civilian repatriates have in Japan's overseas territories up until August 1945?
  - Where and in which sectors did the repatriates settle in postwar Japan?
2. What are the implications of the answers to the above questions for our understanding of the process of the settlement of repatriates?

In Chapter 1, this thesis reviews the overall trends of the Japanese repatriation and examines existing literature and its limitations. Chapter 2 surveys this thesis's primary source materials, including the Japanese government's survey into repatriates' postwar lives conducted in 1956, and methodology which involves an analysis of statistical data. Chapter 3 examines Japanese repatriates' postwar lives at the national level. Chapter 4 presents the main analysis of this thesis at prefectural levels by using

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<sup>12</sup> It must be acknowledged that it is sometimes difficult to clearly distinguish between civilian repatriates and demobilised soldiers, given the fact that some people were drafted in July 1945 or even in August 1945.

a Japanese government's survey into repatriates' postwar lives. In order to take a closer look at repatriates' postwar transitions, Chapter 5 discusses one of the major groups of civilian repatriates – former employees of the South Manchuria Railway Company (SMR), the largest wartime public corporation in the Japanese empire. This thesis concludes in Chapter 6 by discussing implications obtained from the previous analyses.

August 2015 saw the 70<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the end of the Second World War, an occasion marked by Japanese Prime Minister Shinzō Abe with a commemorative statement. With an eye on the perpetuated problem of history in Northeast Asia, Abe spoke widely on the legacy of war and Japan's imperialist past. The repatriation also figured, with Abe stating that 'more than six million Japanese repatriates managed to come home safely after the war from various parts of the Asia-Pacific and became the driving force behind Japan's postwar reconstruction'.<sup>13</sup> The statement was notable for recognising the support of other countries in the repatriation process.<sup>14</sup> It is also noteworthy in that rather than casting the repatriates as embodying the country's victimisation, an image so prevalent in popular literature, it presents them as individuals who contributed to the country's rapid economic growth. However, Abe's interpretation was a simplified version of the repatriation problem and the reality was more complicated.

The post Second World War repatriation took place more than sixty years ago, but many areas are still open for further research. This economic focus on repatriation, I would argue, is especially relevant because it was this immediate postwar period, which shaped Japan's overall postwar economic, political, social and diplomatic

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<sup>13</sup> Prime Minister of Japan and His Cabinet, "Statement by Prime Minister Shinzō Abe," (Tokyo: Prime Minister of Japan and His Cabinet, 2015). [http://japan.kantei.go.jp/97\\_abe/statement/201508/0814statement.html](http://japan.kantei.go.jp/97_abe/statement/201508/0814statement.html). Accessed on 28 February 2016.

<sup>14</sup> Abe's acknowledgement of the support for repatriates from people of other nationalities was clearer in the original Japanese text than in the English translation.

trajectory. By looking at the returnees, this research aims to broaden and enhance our understanding of Japanese postwar history.

## **Overview of the repatriation**

The Japanese people started migrating only after the 1880s, first to Hawaii. However, it was after Japan colonised Taiwan in 1895 and annexed Korea in 1910 the number of emigrants started to increase.<sup>15</sup> It is difficult to know the number of Japanese people living outside of Japan between the 1880s and 1945 and their whereabouts because reliable and consistent statistics are not available.<sup>16</sup> The Japanese government estimated that at the end of the war, more than six million Japanese citizens were residing overseas; this number consisted of approximately 3.1 million military personnel and 3.2 million civilians. Figure 1-1 shows the number of Japanese civilian repatriates by place of origin of repatriation, drawn from the information published by the Ministry of Health and Welfare.

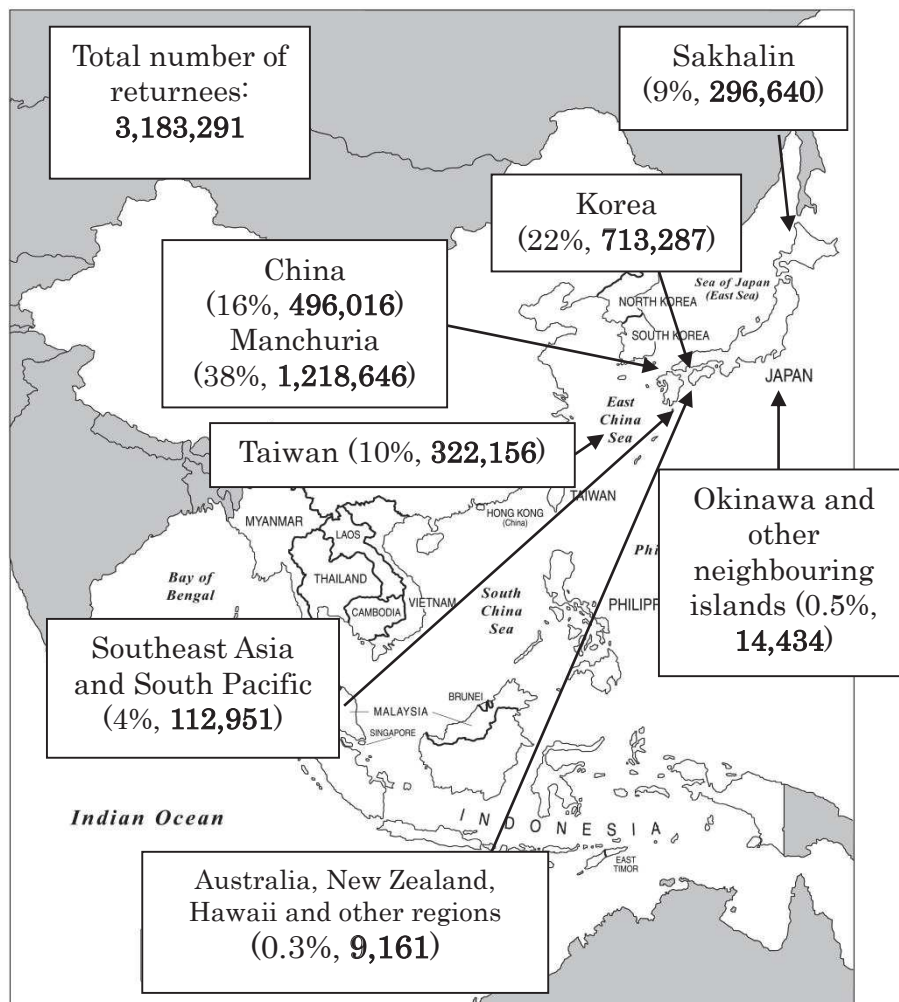
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<sup>15</sup> Yasuo Wakatsuki, *Sengo Hikiage No Kiroku* (Tokyo: Jiji Tsūshinsha, 1995), 16-17.

<sup>16</sup> Wakatsuki estimated the number of Japanese who lived outside of Japan between 1881 and 1942. (Wakatsuki, *Sengo Hikiagesha no Kiroku*, 16-17). The table is reproduced in Appendix.

Figure 1-1: Returnees by place of origin of repatriation<sup>17</sup>

The figures in parentheses are the percentage of total civilian repatriates, and the actual number of returnees from each region.



The ministry defines ‘a repatriate’ as a person who was living outside of Japan on 9th August 1945 and then returned to Japan.<sup>18</sup> The postwar repatriation process took many years, as shown in Figure 1-2. Between the end of the war in August 1945

<sup>17</sup> Ministry of Health and Welfare, "Hikiage to Engo Sanjūnen No Ayumi " (Tokyo: Ministry of Health and Welfare, 1977), 690.

<sup>18</sup> The definition of a repatriate can be found in the instruction printed on the back of each survey form of the 1956 national survey (Zaigai Jijitsu Chōsa) conducted by the Ministry of Health and Welfare, which this thesis also uses as a key information source.



and the end of 1946, approximately 5.1 million people (81 per cent of the total figure of 6.29 million including both civilians and demobilised soldiers) arrived in Japan. By the end of 1950, approximately 99 per cent had returned. If we look at the regional origins of the repatriation, those areas controlled by Chiang Kai-shek's Guomintang government (Taiwan and China excluding Manchuria and Dalian) deported Japanese nationals relatively smoothly, sending back 97.6 per cent of the Japanese population by the end of 1946. In contrast, the repatriation from the regions controlled by the Soviet Army (Manchuria, Dalian, North Korea and the Soviet Union including the Kuril Islands) took much longer. By the end of 1946, only 56.4 per cent of the Japanese in these regions had been repatriated, and the figure was still only 83.0 per cent by the end of 1947. In these regions, approximately 600,000 soldiers and civilians were sent to Siberia, Central Asia and Mongolia to be used as physical labourers in coal mines, agriculture and road and railway construction up until 1956.<sup>19</sup> China and Taiwan also detained Japanese soldiers and civilians, mostly for their technical skills.<sup>20</sup> After their repatriation, some of these detainees who had returned from Communist-controlled regions had to face discrimination in Japan because the rest of the Japanese population were sceptical about the detainees' possible communist influence. Because it is highly likely that the timing as well as the repatriates' wartime experiences were to have affected the patterns of reintegration of particular returnee groups, the profile of the

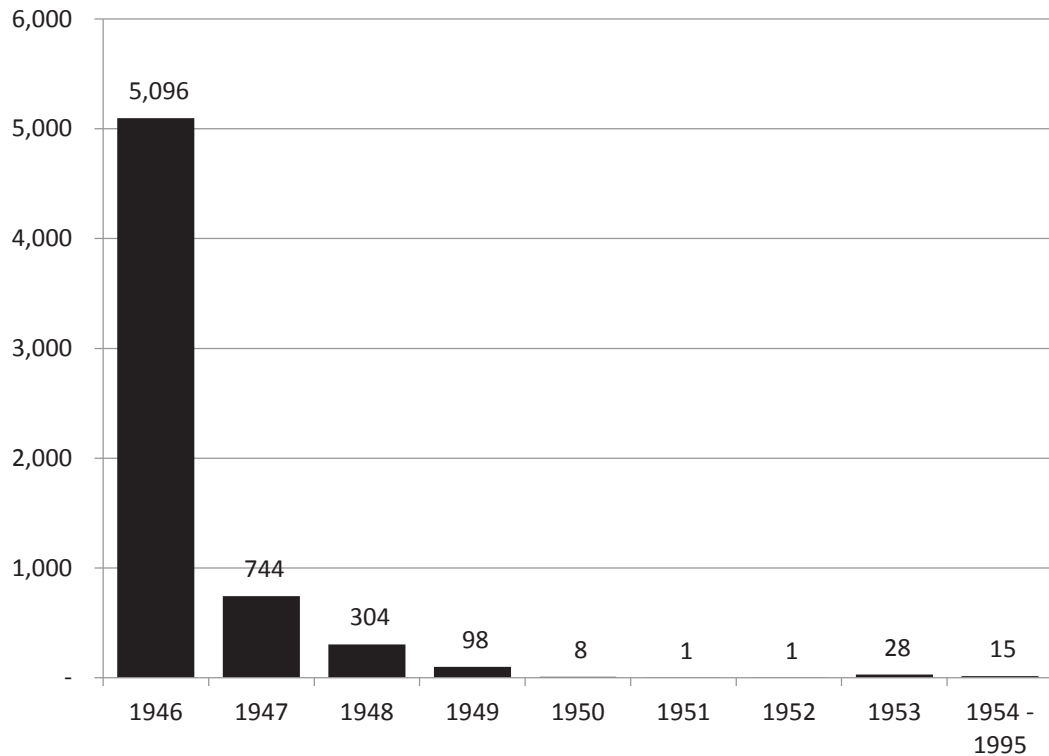
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<sup>19</sup> Wakatsuki, *Sengo Hikiage No Kiroku* 128-28, 252-53. Hiroshima Prefectural Government, *Hiroshimaken Sensaishi* (Hiroshima: Hiroshima Prefectural Government, 1988), 502.

<sup>20</sup> Kiyofumi Katō, *Mantetsu Zenshi 'Kokusaku Gaisha No Zenbō'*, Kōdansha Métier (Tokyo: Kōdansha 2006), 192. Daqing Yang, "Resurrecting the Empire? Japanese Technicians in Postwar China, 1945-1949," in *The Japanese Empire in East Asia and Its Postwar Legacy*, ed. Harald Fuess (München: Iudicium, 1998), 205. According to Katō, 11,400 Japanese people were employed by the Chinese government (Republic of China) and approximately 80,000 were employed by the Communist Government in late 1946. (Katō: 192). Yang estimated that 14,032 Japanese were working for the Republic of China as of 14 December 1946. (Young: 205). According to Hiroyuki Amano of Mantetsukai (the postwar organisation of the South Manchuria Railway), the number of Japanese detainees (ryūyōsha) in Manchuria working for the Guomintang in December 1946 was reported to be 9,654, with 21,428 family members. (Amano: 155)

repatriates needs to be studied in detail.

Figure 1-2: Number of repatriates returned by year (in thousands)<sup>21</sup>



## Existing literature and its limitations

### Comparative Perspectives: Literature on European War Refugees

Although Japanese repatriation was a major challenge for a defeated country, Japan was not the only country that faced the sudden influx of people after the Second World War. For example, Germany absorbed more than 12 million expellees and war refugees. Some discussion of the literature on European war refugees, therefore, may be helpful in allowing us better to understand the range of approaches to analysing the

<sup>21</sup> Ministry of Health and Welfare, "Hikiage to Engo Sanjūnen No Ayumi " 689.

postwar repatriation and refugee problem, with a view to putting the literature on repatriation in Japan into a broader context. The literature on expellees and war refugee problems confirms that sudden influxes of population into a number of countries, such as West Germany, Finland, Turkey and Italy, led to serious problems in terms of housing, employment, and tensions caused by differences in culture or religions. Government responded by the provisions of houses and job training, as well as often by population transfer within the country, reclamation projects or emigration programmes.

*International Migration, 1945-1957* published by the International Labour Organization (ILO)<sup>22</sup> in 1959 is one of the most comprehensive analyses of World War II refugees in Europe. This 60-page report includes detailed information on expellees and refugees<sup>23</sup> in postwar Europe and the process of their settlement and integration, and is based on various unpublished ILO materials and the annual questionnaires sent to governments in preparation for the publication of the Year Book of Labour Statistics.<sup>24</sup> This report includes limited descriptions of East Germany, Italy and several other countries, but the major focus is on West Germany, which absorbed more than 12 million expellees and refugees after the Second World War. A chapter on West Germany includes refugee-related statistics, a discussion of the nature of refugee problems and the government's policies, and an analysis of the progress of integration using employment data.

Among the various topics included, the one most relevant to an economic analysis of the expellee/refugee problems concerns the controversy on whether the

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<sup>22</sup> International Labour Office, *International Migration 1945-1957* (Geneva 1959).

<sup>23</sup> In this ILO report, the words "refugees" and "expellees" are used interchangeably. Other variations are newcomers, resettlers and returnees.

<sup>24</sup> International Labour Office, *International Migration 1945-1957*, 3.

integration policies helped or hindered the country's economic recovery. The report states that initial extra expenditures for expellees and refugees might have been a burden for West Germany, but also that these people helped to expand the size of the domestic market and became a better supply of skilled labourers who were willing to move to where jobs were available. The report also asks the question 'whether the present productivity (1959) could not have been achieved, or whether the country would have made a less spectacular economic recovery, had the influx not taken place.'<sup>25</sup> The report concludes that the refugees had a beneficial effect on the German economy by keeping strong pressure on the job market and by lowering wages, which allowed businesses to increase investment. Thus, the substantial initial expenses which the local population had to tolerate were gradually offset in the form of increasing economic benefits.<sup>26</sup> This author's view seems in some respects to be convincing, and could apply to Japan's case. However, the argument is not fully supported by adequate evidence, and the report does not provide any statistics on wages. Nor does it attempt to assess the degree of impact the labour situation had on wages and corporate investment. In addition, it is particularly unfortunate that the author does not fully cite information sources, making it more difficult for readers to conduct their own research and take the issue forward.

*The Refugees in the World* by Joseph Schechtman (1963)<sup>27</sup> seeks to explain refugee problems across the world, including those in Germany, Finland, Italy, France, the Netherlands and Turkey after the Second World War, in addition to the problems in Korea (associated with the Korean War) and China after the Civil War in the late 1940s. The primary focus of this book lies with the social consequences of refugee

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<sup>25</sup> Ibid., 28.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid., 34.

<sup>27</sup> J. B. Schechtman, *The Refugee in the World: Displacement and Integration* (1963).

problems, but the author also touches on economic aspects. The author uses newspaper reports, a publication by the United Nations Refugee Agency and the United States Committee of Refugees (an American NPO), reports by the Allied Occupation Authorities, as well as secondary source materials mostly published in English.

In its chapter on Germany this book supplements the information offered in the ILO report by providing more anecdotes about housing, religious conflicts between Protestants and Catholics, and the disconnect between the cultures of refugees fleeing urban areas and the cultures of local rural populations in receiving communities. The German refugee section also includes an account of East Germany, but the author seems to have been less successful in comparing and contrasting these two countries, possibly due to the limitation of information on East Germany. In West Germany, Schechtman argues, one economic sector where refugees found ways to make a living is the handicraft industry. He cites a *New York Times* news article stating that in 1947, 500 art craft shops in Bavaria established by refugees produced exportable glass products, musical instruments, leather goods, wooden buttons, handkerchiefs, and lace, all of which had been major sources of exports of Czechoslovakia since the time of the Austro-Hungarian Empire.<sup>28</sup> Schechtman also mentions the West German Government's successful population transfer programme, which sought to relocate surplus refugee labour forces from rural areas to the urban industrial regions where they were needed. The author concludes that the expellees had played an outstanding role in West Germany's economic recovery, and includes an endorsement from a scholar who argues that "if the cost of technical training possessed by the expellees and refugees from East Germany alone were to be counted, Western Germany had gained, by their influx, a capital asset of the order of some 22.5 billion Deutsche

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<sup>28</sup> Ibid., 30-31.

marks.”<sup>29</sup> However, he offers no further explanation to accompany this conclusion, aside from the above information on returnees’ businesses, the increasingly favourable GNP, and unemployment and balance of payment statistics in the late 1950s.

Schechtman thus fails to adequately explain the refugees’ contribution in postwar West Germany. However, his book offers comparative perspectives on refugees’ impact on economies in a range of countries and shows how this impact can be determined by the existing conditions of the receiving country. In Turkey, for instance, approximately 200,000 expellees arrived from Bulgaria between 1950 and 1951. With the help of foreign refugee specialists, such as those from the United States and the Red Cross, Turkey settled those expellees in less-populated areas in the eastern region. The Turkish government supported them by providing land, farming tools, seeds, livestock and houses, and while there were initially occasional conflicts between expellees and local people, the majority successfully settled down and contributed to the growth of agriculture in Turkey.<sup>30</sup> In Finland, 250,000 expellees from Karelskaya, which had become a Soviet territory, arrived in September 1944. This number accounted for approximately ten per cent of the total population of Finland and imposed significant pressure on the country. Finland’s reclamation projects were unsuccessful because arable land was limited, but the expellees were eventually absorbed into the expanding industries. As with Germany, the Finnish government introduced a new tax programme in order to help expellees resettle and compensate them for their lost assets in Karelskaya, and Schechtman claims that Finland became a more egalitarian society as a result of its experiences of accepting expellees.<sup>31</sup> Finland’s responses contrast with those of Italy, which received 500,000

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<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, 40.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, 57-67.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, 47-53.

returnees from Yugoslavia and former colonies in Africa after the Second World War. The Italian government was unable to find effective solutions, instead implementing new emigration programmes and sending 1.4 million Italians abroad.<sup>32</sup>

Alfred Grosser and Paul Stephenson's *Germany in Our Time (1971)*<sup>33</sup> offers a nine-page section on the returnees and refugees after the Second World War. Their main concern is with West Germany's achievements in integrating expellees and refugees. Grosser and Stephenson state that the public money spent on the integration came from a fund established under the Law of the Equalisation of Burdens, which was used to finance aid to those affected by the war. The authors claim that West Germany was able to become a more diverse and progressive society partly through its efforts for the integration of expellees and refugees.<sup>34</sup>

*Refugees and Expellees in Post-war Germany* by Ian Connor (2007)<sup>35</sup> provides a more comprehensive discussion of German refugee problems than the earlier research works mentioned above. One of the most significant contributions of this book is its historiography discussion, in which Connor explains that the release of archival source materials in West Germany since the mid-1970s enhanced interest in the expellee/refugee problem. The results of more recent studies indicate that the integration process was more difficult than had traditionally been acknowledged and that the economic position of the refugees in the early 1970s still lagged behind that of the local population. Connor also states that while a large number of works on the refugees and expellees have been published in German since the 1980s, only a few

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<sup>32</sup> Ibid., 68-72.

<sup>33</sup> Alfred Grosser and Paul Stephenson, *Germany in Our Time: A Political History of the Postwar Years* (London: Pall Mall Press, 1971).

<sup>34</sup> Although this point is not purely economic, it is relevant in its contrast to the experiences of Japan, which attempted to integrate and assimilate returnees by minimizing the memory of the country's imperial past and by writing off wartime losses.

<sup>35</sup> Ian Connor, *Refugees and Expellees in Post-War Germany* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007).

have been translated into English.<sup>36</sup>

In this context, Connor critically highlights the problems associated with integration. For example, he too mentions the rise of the handicraft enterprises established by refugees, but also emphasises the low wages and unfavourable working conditions in the sector. According to Connor, these small firms were also among those heavily affected by the recession after the Currency Reform in 1949, due to the lack of capital and the shortage of medium and long-term credit.<sup>37</sup> Connor, too, admits that refugees made a significant contribution to the West German economy in the 1950s not only as a source of inexpensive and mobile labour but also as consumers. Moreover, the commercial and industrial enterprises they established in the countryside played a crucial role in the modernisation of West Germany's rural economy.<sup>38</sup> However, he is more cautious about emphasising the successful integration of the refugees than Schechtman, and critically assesses the integration process.

Some scholars have attempted to measure the economic effects of German expellees by applying economics methods. In 'the Employment effects of immigration: evidence from the mass arrival on German expellees in post-war Germany',<sup>39</sup> Sebastian Braun and Toman Mahmoud examine the employment effects of the influx of expellees from Eastern Europe on native West Germans after the Second World War. Their results show that expellee inflows substantially reduced native employment.<sup>40</sup> However, they also argue that as long as the share of expellees did not exceed a level of about 15 per cent, even though expellees and natives were

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<sup>36</sup> Ibid., 2-3.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid., 46.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid.

<sup>39</sup> Sebastian Braun and Toman Mahmoud, "The Employment Effects of Immigration: Evidence from the Mass Arrival of German Expellees in Postwar Germany" *The Journal of Economic History* 74, no. 01 (2014): 69-108.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid., 69.



close substitutes on the labour market, the population influxes had no negative effects on the native population.<sup>41</sup> However, due to the shortages of the production capacity in Germany as a result of the destruction in the Allied bombing campaigns, the economy's capacity for employment was limited. This is an interesting research, and Japanese repatriates might have had similar economic effects on the domestic labour market, specifically in the immediate postwar period. However, it is unfortunate that no information on Japanese repatriates' wages and unemployment rate are available.

Looking at the existing literature on European war refugees can thus help identify several explanatory factors of importance for the postwar settlement of returnees and possible approaches for research. Regarding refugee policies, for example, many governments responded to the refugee problems through reclamation, aid and compensation policies, and domestic and international migration programmes, although the degree to which such policies were pursued varied according to the country. Although it is not possible to touch on all of these issues, the research in this thesis will make reference to them in order to compare Japan's repatriation problem with similar cases in other countries. Common characteristics of the problems in the countries mentioned above can be summarised as follows:

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<sup>41</sup> Ibid., 72.

*Table 1-1: Policies to settle expellees and war refugees in selected countries (West and East Germany, Italy, Finland and Turkey)*

<b>Problems</b>	<b>Policy responses</b>	<b>Economic effects of population influxes</b>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Housing shortages</li> <li>• Unemployment</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Reclamation</li> <li>• Domestic population transfer</li> <li>• International migration</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Low wages</li> <li>• Mobile labour forces</li> <li>• Social savings via influxes of skilled population</li> <li>• Larger consumer market</li> <li>• Modernisation of rural economy</li> <li>• Lower living standards of war expellees even in the 1970s</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Public expenditure to absorb refugees or expellees</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• New taxes, aid and compensation</li> </ul>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Religious and cultural conflicts</li> </ul>		

### **Literature on post-World War II Japanese repatriation**

Although there are a number of books and articles about Japan's postwar returnees, research on Japanese repatriation has been dominated by a micro-history approach, focusing on selected groups of repatriates and their personal experiences during the journey home following the surrender. Very little research has tried to capture the general trend of the Japanese repatriation, and only a small portion of the literature has examined the resettlement and reintegration, especially from the view point of postwar job experiences of repatriates in the context of the postwar Japanese

economy. This section first introduces three core works on Japanese post-World War II repatriation: a survey of the repatriation problem (by Yasuo Wakatsuki),<sup>42</sup> a snapshot of repatriates' occupational activities in the 1950 population census (by Kōnosuke Odaka),<sup>43</sup> and an analysis of repatriates as a neglected group in postwar Japan (by Lori Watt).<sup>44</sup>

Of these accounts, *Sengo Hikiage no Kiroku* (Records of the Postwar Repatriation) by Yasuo Wakatsuki (1995)<sup>45</sup> is probably the most comprehensive analysis of the Japanese civilian repatriation. In this volume, the author tries to fill the gap between personal memoirs and official records, using a wide range of source materials. This book contains detailed information on Japanese pre-war emigration, a profile of the repatriates including occupational data, details of the repatriation processes by region, information on returnees' destinations in Japan, and on the government's support programmes. Despite the wide scope of the topic, the author manages to integrate various sorts of information to offer a balanced overview of the repatriation by analysing a wide range of public records, Japanese military documents, scholarly essays on specific regions including Manchuria, personal memoirs, source materials on international law, as well as Japanese newspaper articles on the repatriation.

Unlike other essays emphasising the problems caused by the repatriation, Wakatsuki points out a number of factors which contributed toward a relatively smooth postwar integration in Japan compared to that in Germany:

- A large number of returnees had been sent overseas by Japanese

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<sup>42</sup> Wakatsuki, *Sengo Hikiage No Kiroku*

<sup>43</sup> Kōnosuke Odaka, "Hikiagesha to Sensō Chokugo No Rōdō Ryoku," *Tokyo Daigaku Shakai Kagaku Kenkyū* 48(1) (1996).

<sup>44</sup> Watt, *When Empire Comes Home: Repatriation and Reintegration in Postwar Japan*.

<sup>45</sup> Wakatsuki, *Sengo Hikiage No Kiroku*

companies or the government and had places to which they could return.

- The majority of the returnees were merchants, engineers and white-collar workers who had transferable skills.
- The history of Japanese colonial expansion started in the late 19th century and many returnees were first generation migrants who were familiar with Japanese culture.
- Discounting those from Manchuria, there were relatively few farmers amongst the total repatriates, so that conflicts over farmland in postwar Japan were limited.
- Postwar Japan became slightly more receptive to people who had different backgrounds as a result of the defeat and the Allied occupation.<sup>46</sup>

Like most other research works, Wakatsuki's analysis does not really include any aspect of the economic impact caused by the repatriation. However, these are important observations, despite the fact that the author often offers little evidence and gives few reasons for how he has come to these conclusions.

Among academic research papers on the returnees' postwar occupations is Kōnosuke Odaka's 1996 essay on the Japanese labour force immediately after the Second World War.<sup>47</sup> This ten-page essay has numerous statistics relating to the demography of repatriates to Japan and the distribution of their occupations after resettlement. As his main source materials, Odaka uses the 1950 National Census<sup>48</sup> and the records of repatriation programmes (*Hikiage Engo no Kiroku*) published by

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<sup>46</sup> Ibid., 278-79.

<sup>47</sup> Odaka, "Hikiagesha to Sensō Chokugo No Rōdō Ryoku," 135-44.

<sup>48</sup> General Administrative Agency of the Cabinet Statistics Bureau of Japan, *Population Census of 1950 (Final Report)*, vol. 8 (Tokyo: Statistics Bureau of Japan, General Administrative Agency of the Cabinet, 1955).

the Ministry of Health and Welfare (MHW) in 1950.<sup>49</sup> Odaka shows that 6.29 million people<sup>50</sup> were repatriated between 1945 and 1976, the largest proportion of whom (28.7 per cent) entered the primary sector, mostly agriculture. This figure may at first seem substantial, but is in fact low considering that those who were in the primary sector made up 46.8 per cent of the overall Japanese workforce in 1950.<sup>51</sup> Odaka hypothesises that those who failed to enter the agricultural sector found jobs in other sectors during the period of increasing industrialisation.

Lori Watt's *When Empire Comes Home* (2009)<sup>52</sup> is perhaps the only comprehensive research on Japanese repatriates written in English. It is a detailed analysis of Japanese postwar repatriation from the view point of the end of the Japanese empire in the global context, though the major focus of her work is on social aspects of the repatriation, and she does not include an analysis of repatriates' economic activities. In this book, Watt sheds light on the repatriation problem as a neglected dimension of Japanese society and explores the discrimination those postwar returnees faced. The author argues that peasant repatriates from Manchuria should be regarded as one of the most important groups of the returnees in Japan even though she acknowledges that they were a minority in terms of their number. Her book therefore mainly focuses on farmers. For this reason, Watt's book does not offer a completely balanced picture of the repatriation, which in fact involved various types of people other than farmers, including skilled and unskilled labourers, government officials, scholars, teachers, bankers, public corporation staff members, corporate representatives, merchants, craftsmen, other small business owners and white-collar

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<sup>49</sup> Repatriation Relief Bureau, *Hikiage Engo No Kiroku*.

<sup>50</sup> This figure is taken from *Hikiage to Engo Sanjūnen no Ayumi* published by Ministry of Welfare and Health in 1977.

<sup>51</sup> Statistics Bureau of Japan, *Population Census of 1950 (Final Report)*, 8, 137.

<sup>52</sup> Watt, *When Empire Comes Home: Repatriation and Reintegration in Postwar Japan*.

workers.

The aforementioned three analyses offer a survey of the repatriation problem (Wakatsuki), a snapshot of repatriates' occupational activities in the 1950 survey (Odaka), and an analysis of repatriates as a neglected group in the Japanese population to examine the characteristics of the Japanese society's responses to the collapse of the Japanese empire (Watt). There are, of course, other works on civilian repatriates, and they could be categorised into three groups: a) a book or an essay collection on the political and legal framework which affected the repatriation, b) on the trends of repatriates' early postwar lives and the government's support programmes, and c) essays or essay collections on specific repatriate groups, as victims or neglected people. These research works offer interesting background information that is of value to this thesis, but a literature review confirms that an analysis of repatriates' postwar job experience has not been sufficient in any sense.

#### **a) Research works on the political and legal framework which affected the repatriation**

*Dainihonteikoku no Hōkai to Hikiage Fukuin* (2012)<sup>53</sup> is an essay collection focusing on the repatriation processes, repatriation policies of the Japanese and U.S. governments, as well as activities of non-governmental organisations and individuals to support repatriates. For example, Kiyofumi Katō examines the repatriation process from the viewpoint of decision making by the Japanese government and the Occupation authorities, and the shift of the policies on the Japanese overseas residents from permanent settlement in Japan's former territories to repatriation. Other essays

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<sup>53</sup> Hiroshi Masuda, *Dainihon Teikoku No Hōkai to Hikiage Fukuin* (Tokyo: Keiō University Press, 2012).

in the volume concern various aspects of repatriation processes, mostly up until repatriates arrived in Japan: the demilitarization of the Japanese military, interrogation of repatriates in Japan by the Japanese government and the Occupation authorities as a source of information on China and the U.S.S.R, the detention of Japanese civilians and treatment of Japanese war criminals in China between 1945 and 1956, the activities of the Japanese civilian resident organisation which organised the repatriation of the Japanese in Seoul and Busan, the repatriation process of 80,000 military forces from the New Britain Island, and the repatriation of the remains of the war dead from the battlefields in the Philippines.

A book about the repatriation of veterans entitled *Fukuin Hikiage no Kenkyū* by Hiromi Tanaka (2010)<sup>54</sup> mainly examines repatriated soldiers, making use of military documents. According to Tanaka, demobilised soldiers were better placed to find ways of making a living because most of them had family members in Japan, while many civilian repatriates did not have any families or places to settle. Tanaka also explains that some veterans started making a living as radio or clock mechanics, drivers, electrical engineers and construction specialists using the skills acquired from their wartime training in the military.<sup>55</sup>

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<sup>54</sup> Hiromi Tanaka, *Fukuin Hikiage No Kenkyū* (Tokyo: Shinjinbutsu Ōraisha, 2010).

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, 225-26. The author also mentions an interesting episode regarding a postwar camp in Rabaul in Papua New Guinea, where detained Japanese ex-commanders opened a fully-fledged school to teach basic educational subjects and provide vocational training for Japanese soldiers. See Page 105.

## **b) Essays on repatriates' early postwar lives and the government's support programmes**

Research works in this category deal with civilian repatriates' adjustment efforts in the immediate postwar period, and the government's support programmes. For example, a paper on support programmes for civilian repatriates from the perspective of their position as part of 'the poor', written by Akira Miyoshi in 1959,<sup>56</sup> offers information, using both his own survey results and information from the national survey into repatriates' postwar lives conducted by the Ministry of Health and Welfare in 1956, which this thesis also uses as a key information source for other prefectures in mainland Japan. Unfortunately, however, the author only cites four tables or a figure extracted from 'the results' of the national survey, including the number of repatriate households returned from each country or region, number of years spent overseas by August 1945, and the distribution of repatriates' age upon repatriation. The whereabouts of the report of results is currently unknown.<sup>57</sup> Miyoshi also mentions that in 1952, 2.4 per cent of the Japanese population received public assistance, of whom 30-40 per cent (630,000-840,000 people) were repatriates, including civilians and demobilized soldiers. If we compare the figures above with the total number of repatriates of 6.29 million, published by the Ministry of Health and Welfare,<sup>58</sup> this number is approximately 10 per cent of the total number of repatriates, which may indicate their financial difficulties. Miyoshi also includes analyses of the results of a 1957 survey of repatriates' households in two areas in Tokyo.<sup>59</sup> This survey sheds light on returnees' lives by asking questions about their reasons for going abroad, the

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<sup>56</sup> Akira Miyoshi, "Hinkonkaisō Toshiteno Hikiagesha No Engo Ni Tsuite " *Meiji Gakuin Ronsō* 52, no. 1 (1959): 9.

<sup>57</sup> In Miyoshi's essay, he cites 'the results of the 1956 government survey into repatriates' postwar lives'. However, the whereabouts of 'the results' are currently unknown.

<sup>58</sup> Ministry of Health and Welfare, *Engo 50 Nenshi*, 730.

<sup>59</sup> Miyoshi, "Hinkonkaisō Toshiteno Hikiagesha No Engo Ni Tsuite " 11-15.



occupations they were engaged in overseas, the way they found jobs after the repatriation, their first and current occupations in Japan, the income they received overseas and in Japan, and the time it had taken to earn a sufficient living wage after the repatriation.

*Hikiagesha Engo Jigyō no Suii* (Historical Changes in Japanese Government Relief Programmes for Repatriates)<sup>60</sup> by Kenji Kimura (2005) analyses the Japanese government's relief programmes between 1945 and 1967, focusing on Yamaguchi prefecture which had sent many Japanese abroad, and received a significant number of repatriates from China, Manchuria, Taiwan and Korea. The author pays special attention to the loan programme for repatriates and other war-affected people, which was called *seigyō shikin*. Unfortunately, all the original documents, including applications, relating to this loan programme seem to have already been discarded by the People's Finance Corporation (Kokumin Kin'yū Kōko) which was responsible for the loan programme.<sup>61</sup>

### **c) Essays or essay collections which mainly focus on one repatriate group**

Other literature has mostly taken approaches of microhistory and concerns specific groups, especially those that were marginalised as minorities in postwar Japanese society. One example is the essay collection *Hikiagesha no Sengo* (2013),<sup>62</sup> which includes essays on repatriates' postwar lives from the view point of sociology. The topics of the essays are markets, public housing and reclamation farmland as places for repatriates' settlement; postwar lives of repatriates in accommodation in Ibaraki;

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<sup>60</sup> Kenji Kimura, "Hikiage Engo Jigyō No Suii " *Nenpō Nihon Gendaishi* 10 (2005 ).

<sup>61</sup> Telephone interview on 13th August 2013 with a staff member of the Japan Finance Corporation (Nihon Seisaku Kin'yū Kōko), which was established in 2008, absorbing the National Life Finance Corporation (formerly the Japan Finance Corporation).

<sup>62</sup> Takanori Shimamura, ed. *Hikiagesha No Sengo* (Tokyo: Shinyōsha, 2013).

postwar lives of repatriates from Sakhalin; and two essays on repatriates from Palau.

*Nihonjin no Shokuminchi Keiken — Dairen Nihonjin Shōkō Gyōsha no Rekishi* (1999),<sup>63</sup> authored by Asobu Yanagisawa, examines the wartime economic activities of Japanese merchants and business owners who had been in Dalian in the Kwantung Leased Territory. This book includes a chapter on the repatriation and postwar lives of Japanese civilians, wherein the author constructs a list of 76 major business people's occupations both in the wartime and postwar periods using information from a magazine published by a Dalian returnee organisation. This list indicates that many had first returned to their hometowns and then in a few months re-migrated to Tokyo. The author categorises the business people into three groups: cunning go-getters, pessimists who gave up trying to establish themselves, and other types of entrepreneurs who attempted to establish new small but decent businesses. Yanagisawa argues that the first two groups behaved in the same way as they had done in Dalian, where their business activities had been backed by the presence of the Japanese authorities and where they were not necessarily required to respect rules. The author argues that successful business people with an imperialistic mind can be categorised in the first category (go-getters) and failed ones in the second category (pessimists). He hypothesises that their material losses in China and their disadvantaged position in Japan created resentment, and that these people attempted to recover their losses even by breaking social rules or deceiving others.<sup>64</sup> They were also active in a movement to get compensation for their losses overseas, which lasted from 1946 to 1967. In contrast to the former two groups, the author describes the third group as successful small business owners. However, he also acknowledges that even

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<sup>63</sup> Yanagisawa, *Nihonjin No Shokuminchi Taiken, Dairen Nihonjin Shōkō Gyōsha No Rekishi*.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, 320.

in the third group many had to downsize their new businesses from those in Dalian due to the disadvantages that they faced, such as a limited access to funding because of their lack of connections.<sup>65</sup>

*Gifu Apareru Sanchi no Keisei: Shōgenshū* (2003)<sup>66</sup> focuses on individuals who returned from Manchuria to postwar Gifu city, including wartime migrant farmers, merchants, students and public servants. The Gifu city authorities agreed to offer a piece of land to help 14 individuals in the Gifu station neighbourhood to establish small-scale retail businesses. The group gradually absorbed tens more individuals. (It is not clear whether the new members were repatriates or not). Among the small businesses, one clothing store became quite profitable. In 1947, the merchants in the district collectively converted their businesses to second hand clothing stores to increase their profits. They soon started producing new clothes as well and expanded their sales channels to Tokyo and Osaka. The commercial district continued to develop and eventually became one of the major apparel wholesale districts in the region, continuing to flourish until the 1990s.<sup>67</sup>

However, it is clear that these people did not always respect laws in the early postwar period, and there is evidence that they occasionally broke the rules. For example, in order to obtain enough construction materials, they cut down trees in a national forest where such activities were prohibited, or illegally received aid goods from the Ministry of Health and Welfare and resold them. The logic used to justify their activities coincides with that which appears in Yanagisawa's book on the

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<sup>65</sup> Ibid., 327.

<sup>66</sup> Ogikubo and Negishi, *Gifu Apareru Sanchi No Keisei*.

<sup>67</sup> Ibid., 17-40.

Yutaka Yamada, "Gifu Tonyagai to Sono Shūhen Ni Okeru Suitai to Saikaihatsuni Kansuru Dōkō," (Tokyo: Shibaura Institute of Technology, 2012). [http://www.sawadalab.se.shibaura-it.ac.jp/kankyo\\_system/event/event2012/kougai2012/data/pdf/r09086.pdf](http://www.sawadalab.se.shibaura-it.ac.jp/kankyo_system/event/event2012/kougai2012/data/pdf/r09086.pdf). Accessed on 23 February 2016.

merchants who had returned from Dalian, who insisted that their actions should not be prosecuted because they were victims who should be protected by the government. However, in order to develop the commercial district over the longer term, this unlawful behaviour had to be checked, and one early postwar leader who had initiated the successful commercial activities was arrested and prosecuted.<sup>68</sup>

An analysis of Japanese reclamation farmers who went to Manchuria, *Manshū Bunson Imin no Shōwa Shi* by Masako Watanabe (2011)<sup>69</sup> focuses on Manchurian peasant immigrants from a village in Ōita, who had migrated as part of an attempt to reduce the population of the home village by the village itself. After the war, the group returned to their home village, which did not have the capacity to absorb their numbers. The focus of this book is the process of the group's migration and their activities in Manchuria, but the last chapter includes a list of the returnees' postwar occupations, which, despite its incompleteness, clearly shows a pattern in which many were forced to become coal miners or join postwar national reclamation projects, perhaps one typical pattern of the resettlement.

Two Okinawa-based scholars at the Ryūkyū University have published several essays on repatriates who returned to Okinawa prefecture. Their focuses have been to capture the historical trends in emigration and repatriation to and from Okinawa, and explore the repatriates' wartime employment in Japan's former overseas territories. As a main source material, these papers have used the Japanese government's survey into repatriates' postwar lives of 1956,<sup>70</sup> which this thesis also uses as a key information source for other prefectures in mainland Japan. Hisamitsu

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<sup>68</sup> Ogikubo and Negishi, *Gifu Apareru Sanchi No Keisei*, 41, 59.

<sup>69</sup> Masako Watanabe, *Manshū Bunson Imin No Shōwa Shi* (Tokyo: Sairyūsha, 2011).

<sup>70</sup> Ministry of Health and Welfare, "Zaigai Jijitsu Chōsahyō (Japanese Government Survey into Repatriates' Postwar Lives)," (1956).

Miyauchi created a database from 13,024 survey forms collected from households in Okinawa,<sup>71</sup> and has published essays on repatriates from the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands (2008) and the Philippines (2009),<sup>72</sup> while Naomi Noiri has published three essays on the repatriates from Taiwan, using Miyauchi's database.<sup>73</sup> These essays show that the majority of migrants from Okinawa prefecture had migrated to the South Pacific, Taiwan and the Philippines to be engaged in jobs in the primary sector or in industry, including sugar processing. In addition to her analysis of the 1956 survey data, Noiri added to her work several life stories of repatriates, which is helpful for readers to understand the Okinawa repatriates' wartime experiences.

The essays discussed above concern repatriates who had difficult postwar experiences, and depict them as victims of the war. However, some other essays focus on elite groups and describe them as powerful groups. This type of literature emphasises their positive and successful occupational transitions and the continuity of their careers.

In *Mantetsu ga Unda Nihongata Keizai Shisutemu*,<sup>74</sup> Hideo Kobayashi examines the activities of a group of economic bureaucrats, including Nobusuke Kishi,

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<sup>71</sup> Naomi Noiri, "Shokuminchi Taiwan Ni Okeru Okinawa Shusshinsha -- Hikiagesha Zaigai Jijitsu Chōsahyō Kara Miete Kurumono," in *Teikoku Hōkai to Hito No Idō*, ed. Shinzō Araragi (Tokyo: Bensei Shuppan, 2011), 160. Noiri states that the Okinawa prefectural government keeps the survey forms, while some other scholars say that they are currently missing.

<sup>72</sup> Hisamitsu Miyauchi, "Nanyō Guntō Ni Watatta Okinawaken Shusshin Dansei Setainushi No Idōkeitai," in *Nihon Teikoku Wo Meguru Jinkō Idō No Kokusai Shakaigaku*, ed. Shinzō Araragi (Tokyo: Fuji Shuppan, 2008). "Hikiagesha Zaigai Jijitsu Chōsahyō Ni Miru Okinawaken Honseki Setainushi No Kyōjū Chiiki (1) the Philippines," *Imin Kenkyū* 5 (2009).

<sup>73</sup> Noiri, "Shokuminchi Taiwan Ni Okeru Okinawa Shusshinsha -- Hikiagesha Zaigai Jijitsu Chōsahyō Kara Miete Kurumono." "Okinawa Hikiagesha No 'Gaichi' Keiken: Shichōsonshi No Taiken Kiroku Wo Chūshinni," *Imin Kenkyū* 9 (2013).

"Okinawa Ni Okeru Taiwan Hikiagesha No Tokuchō-Hikiagesha Zaigai Jijitsu Chōsahyō to Kenshichōsonshi No Taiken Kiroku Wo Chūshinni," in *Teikoku Igo No Hito No Idō*, ed. Shinzō Araragi (Tokyo: Bensei Shuppan, 2013).

<sup>74</sup> Hideo Kobayashi, *Mantetsu Ga Unda Nihongata Keizai Shisutemu* (Tokyo: Kyōiku Hyōronsha, 2012).

who were involved in the creation and the execution of the economic development plan of Manchukuo as well as of the core members of the Research Department (*Chōsabu*) of the South Manchuria Railway Company (SMR). Kobayashi argues that these people, both repatriates and those who had already been in Japan by 1945, maintained a network in postwar Japan and continued to occupy important positions, for example, at the central government agencies, including the Economic Stabilisation Board and the Ministry of International Trade and Industry. He specifically points out that the former members of the Research Department of the South Manchuria Railway Company played major roles in the creation and the execution of the Priority Production System. *Technology of Empire* by Daqing Yang<sup>75</sup> studies Japanese telecommunications engineers who had continued to occupy influential positions in postwar Japan. These two books authored by Yang and Kobayashi examine elite members of Japanese wartime public corporations in Manchuria. But their analyses involve only a small number of individuals within those companies, and omit the fact that a larger number of ‘ordinary’ staff members were also working at numerous wartime public corporations, including the Manchuria Telecom Company. Their postwar experiences were normally quite different from those of elite staff members, as we will closely examine in Chapter 5 of this thesis.

Another category of literature concerns Japanese people who were detained in China and Taiwan by the Guomintang and the Communists after the war to operate railways, factories and infrastructure facilities constructed by the Japanese before 1945, or disseminate their knowledge and skills to local people.<sup>76</sup> For example, a book

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<sup>75</sup> Daqing Yang, *Technology of Empire: Telecommunications and Japanese Expansion in Asia, 1883-1945*, Harvard East Asian Monographs (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Asia Center, 2010).

<sup>76</sup> Mark Caprio and Yoneyuki Sugita, *Democracy in Occupied Japan: The U.S. Occupation and Japanese Politics and Society*, Routledge Studies in Asia's Transformations (New York: Routledge, 2007), 17.

(*Ryūyō sareta Nihonjin*) published in 2003 by the Japanese national broadcasting company (Nippon Hōsō Kyōkai, usually called NHK)<sup>77</sup> is based on a television programme featured former detainees and their lives in postwar China and Taiwan. ‘Staying On: Japanese Soldiers and Civilians in China, 1945-1949’ by Donald Gillin<sup>78</sup> examines the motives and roles of these Japanese nationals on both the Nationalist and Communist sides. In addition, ‘*Democracy in Occupied Japan*’<sup>79</sup> by Mark Caprio and Yoneyuki Sugita (2007) analyses the situation of these civilian detainees as well as those of some demobilised soldiers who remained with the Taiwanese Army in order to voluntarily fight the Communist Chinese.<sup>80</sup> Caprio and Sugita argue that these people’s activities are important in considering early Japanese efforts to re-establish commercial networks with Japan’s former colonies.

The Japanese government was aware of the importance of the technical expertise of repatriated engineers, especially those who had been detained in China and Taiwan, and on 14 September 1946, the House of Representatives passed a resolution on the “Promotion of Scientific Techniques” encouraging the utilization of repatriated technicians.<sup>81</sup> Despite this recognition, however, some detainees testified that they had to face job discrimination in Japan. NHK's book explains that detained engineers who had helped to construct railroads in China or even to establish the Chinese Air Forces faced difficulties in finding occupations in postwar Japan due to

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<sup>77</sup> Nihon Hōsō Kyōkai, *Ryūyō Sareta Nihonjin* (Tokyo: Nihon Hōsō Shuppan Kyōkai, 2003).

<sup>78</sup> Donald G. Gillin, "Staying On: Japanese Soldiers and Civilians in China, 1945-1949," *Journal of Asian Studies* XLII, no. 3 (1983).

<sup>79</sup> Caprio and Sugita, *Democracy in Occupied Japan: The U.S. Occupation and Japanese Politics and Society*.

<sup>80</sup> *ibid.*, 202-04.

<sup>81</sup> Bowen C. Dees, *The Allied Occupation and Japan's Economic Miracle: Building the Foundations of Japanese Science and Technology, 1945-52* (Richmond, Surrey: Japan Library, 1997), 300.

their delayed repatriation and the general public's concerns regarding the detainees' possible Communist inclinations.<sup>82</sup>

In the literature on the repatriation, many returnees, not just well-known writers but also 'ordinary repatriates', published personal memoirs in order to relay their often bitter experiences to the rest of the Japanese population. Examples are a memoir published by actor Hisaya Morishige on his repatriation and postwar life in Japan as a black-market trader before returning to show business;<sup>83</sup> postwar politician Toshiko Yamaguchi, who had been a popular actress working for the Manchukuo Film Association;<sup>84</sup> novelist Hiroyuki Itsuki who returned from Korea at the age of fifteen;<sup>85</sup> and writer and Russian translator Ichirō Takasugi, who returned from Siberia in 1950 after a five-year detention.<sup>86</sup> In various short essays on his own repatriation in a 1996 book entitled *Manshū no Kaze*,<sup>87</sup> the economist Sakuya Fujiwara, shares his observations of other repatriates, including those working in the postwar Japanese government, and also reviews various books written by other people on life in Manchuria. Fujiwara argues that returnees generally shared the common characteristics of broad-mindedness, determination, and a lack of ostentation.<sup>88</sup> Testimonies of 'ordinary returnees' have been collected by museums, as is the case with the essay series *Heiwa no Ishizue* of a memorial museum Heiwa Kinen Tenji Shiryōkan in Tokyo.<sup>89</sup> These books and essays, written by professional writers or other

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<sup>82</sup> Nihon Hōsō Kyōkai, *Ryūyō Sareta Nihonjin*, 212-13.

<sup>83</sup> Hisaya Morishige, *Morishige Jiden* (Tokyo: Chuō Kōron Shinsha, 2003).

<sup>84</sup> Yamaguchi Toshiko and Fujiwara Sakuya, *Ri Kō Ran Watashi No Hansei* (Tokyo: Shinchōsha, 1990).

<sup>85</sup> Hiroyuki Itsuki, *Tairiku He No Roman to Dōkoku No Minato Hakata* (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 2006).

<sup>86</sup> Ichirō Takasugi, *Ikite Kaerishi Hei No Kioku* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1996).

<sup>87</sup> Fujiwara Sakuya, *Manshū No Kaze* (Tokyo: Shūeisha, 1996).

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.*, 161.

<sup>89</sup> Essay collection *Heiwa no Ishizue* is available at:  
<http://www.heiwakinen.jp/library/shiryokan/hikiage01.html>.



artists, make up a small but significant category of the postwar Japanese literature on this topic, though their focus lies on repatriation experiences rather than their postwar lives. The use of personal memoirs requires careful selection and scrutiny because information can be misremembered and memories can change as time goes on, or can be biased based on what a returnee has witnessed. This research will therefore use personal memoirs mainly as supporting evidence.

The review of major literature on the Japanese postwar repatriation shows that existing research on Japanese repatriation has mainly focused on limited aspects of the repatriation, and reveals the lack of studies on major trends of the repatriation. This section thus supports the importance of this thesis's focus.

## Chapter 2

### Primary source materials and methodology

After the war, the majority of the repatriates returned to Japan between 1945 and 1950, but the repatriation was only one of the problems that the country was facing. After their arrival at the Japanese port, the repatriates were absorbed into the confusion of the early postwar period: the food, housing and material shortages, dysfunctional transport and distribution systems, adjustment of the labour force from wartime to postwar industry often resulting in unemployment, and newly-installed political and economic systems under the Allied occupation. Accordingly, the number of useful primary source materials which have independent information on civilian repatriates is limited because they were treated along with other war-affected people who had been in Japan itself during the war.

Of the various source materials, the most useful statistical resources for research on the repatriates are the 1950 Population Census of Japan; the demographic statistics of repatriates in each prefecture between 1946 and 1949 published in the monthly bulletin of welfare statistic (*Kōsei Tōkei Geppō*)<sup>1</sup>; and a Japanese Government survey into repatriates' postwar lives (*Zaigai Jijitsu Chōsahyō*)<sup>2</sup> undertaken in 1956. Each of these main sources will be discussed further below.

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<sup>1</sup> Ministry of Health and Welfare, "Kōsei Tōkei Geppō (Monthly Bulletin of the Welfare Statistics)," (Tokyo: Ministry of Health and Welfare, April 1947 to November 1949).

<sup>2</sup> "Zaigai Jijitsu Chōsahyō (Japanese Government Survey into Repatriates' Postwar Lives)."

## **The 1950 Population Census**

Since 1920, the Japanese government has conducted some kind of population census every five years except for 1945. A formal census and a brief census alternate every five years. In the war and early postwar period the formal censuses were conducted in 1940 and 1950, and brief censuses were completed in 1935, 1947 (instead of the one scheduled for 1945, which was cancelled due to the end of the war in August 1945) and 1955. The results of each census contain demographic statistics including changes in population and age structure, employment-related statistics (labour force participation, unemployment, occupations and sector of employment) and also household surveys (for example total number of households, average number of household members, household head's sector of employment and housing area), to name just a few. This research uses the 1950 and 1955 censuses, and Table 2-1 lists the items covered in these censuses for purposes of comparison. In addition to a general report with national figures, a volume for each prefecture with the same information as above was also published.

Table 2-1: Items surveyed in the population censuses (1947-1955)

1947 Special Census <sup>3</sup> ( <i>Rinji chōsa</i> )	1950 General Census <sup>4</sup>	1955 Census <sup>5</sup> ( <i>Kan'i chōsa</i> )
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Name of each family member</li> <li>• Sex</li> <li>• Date of birth and age (in Japanese style, <i>kazoe doshi</i><sup>6</sup>)</li> <li>• Marital status</li> <li>• Nationality or birth place</li> <li>• Disability</li> <li>• Blind or deaf-mute</li> <li>• Employment status (proprietor or employee)</li> <li>• Hours worked</li> <li>• Sector</li> <li>• Occupation</li> <li>• If unemployed, previous employment history</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Name of each family member</li> <li>• Relationship with household head</li> <li>• Sex</li> <li>• Date of birth</li> <li>• Marital status</li> <li>• Nationality or birth place</li> <li>• Employment status (employer, self-employed, unpaid family worker, employee in private business, government employee)</li> <li>• Hours worked</li> <li>• Sector</li> <li>• Occupation</li> <li>• Name of employer</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Name of each family member</li> <li>• Relationship with household head</li> <li>• Sex</li> <li>• Date of birth</li> <li>• Marital status</li> <li>• Nationality</li> <li>• Employment status</li> <li>• Sector</li> <li>• Occupation</li> <li>• Name of employer</li> <li>• Location of establishment</li> </ul>

<sup>3</sup> General Administrative Agency of the Cabinet Statistics Bureau of Japan, *Population Census of 1947*, vol. 2 (Tokyo 1948).

<sup>4</sup> *Population Census of 1950 (Final Report)*, 8, Notes on related regulations 22-23.

<sup>5</sup> *Population Census of 1955* (Tokyo: Statistics Bureau of Japan, General Administrative Agency of the Cabinet, 1956), 44-72.

<sup>6</sup> In the traditional system, a person was already one year old when s/he was born and add one age on the New Year day every year.

1947 Special Census (continued)	1950 General Census (continued)	1955 Census (continued)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Whether or not repatriated from abroad after the war (This result has not been published in the final report).</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Kind of household (ordinary or quasi (<i>jun setai</i>) in which one person residing together with an ordinary household but keeping a separate budget, etc.)</li> <li>• Kind of living quarters</li> <li>• Tenure</li> <li>• Number of <i>tatami</i> in dwelling rooms</li> <li>• Whether or not repatriated from abroad after the war</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Kind of household</li> <li>• Kind of living quarters</li> <li>• Tenure</li> <li>• Number of <i>tatami</i> in dwelling rooms</li> <li>• Whether or not repatriated from abroad after the war</li> </ul>

The 1950 Census<sup>7</sup> has a separate chapter on repatriates giving the population of repatriates (civilians and demobilised soldiers), their age structure, employment situation (active labour force, unemployed and not in the labour force) in Japan and in each prefecture. Most importantly, it compares the occupational structure of repatriate and non-repatriate workers in each industrial sector, although this information does not differentiate between civilians and demobilised soldiers. The research in this thesis uses this census information to identify those sectors of occupation into which a large number of repatriates entered after the war. The population censuses are probably the most reliable statistics on demography and sector of occupation. However, because the information was always collected by civilians employed by local governments until 2010,<sup>8</sup> who were often neighbours of census participants, it would be reasonable to assume that participants might have sometimes chosen not to disclose all

<sup>7</sup> Statistics Bureau of Japan, *Population Census of 1950 (Final Report)*, 8.

<sup>8</sup> "Heisei 22 Nen Kokusei Chōsano Gaiyō," Statistics Bureau.

information, for example, whether s/he was a repatriate or demobilised soldier, in order to avoid a negative reputation associated with the images of the repatriate or demobilised soldier.

### **Demographic statistics of repatriates in each prefecture between 1946 and 1949**

Every month from December 1946 to November 1949, the Ministry of Health and Welfare (MHW) reported the number of repatriates (both civilians and former soldiers) and the number of their households in the 46 prefectures, with the exception of Okinawa prefecture, which was under direct U.S. control until 1972. The results were published in the monthly bulletin of welfare statistics entitled *Kōsei Tōkei Geppō*.<sup>9</sup> These data make it possible to trace the trends of the repatriates' domestic inter-prefectural migration, indicating, for example, any concentration that may have occurred in urban areas. These data show that a large number of repatriates returned to western parts of Japan such as the Kyūshū and Chūgoku regions, which had been major sources of migration since the Meiji Period (1868-1912), mostly due to their greater proximity to other Asian countries. We also find that repatriates had gradually moved to the east, especially to urban areas such as Osaka and Tokyo, by 1949. It is unfortunate that these statistics are not available for the months between August 1945 and November 1946, when approximately 80 per cent of all repatriates returned to Japan and seem to have changed residence frequently in search of better places and employment. However, these data still give us basic information about the mobility of repatriates in the immediate postwar period.

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<sup>9</sup> Ministry of Health and Welfare, "Kōsei Tōkei Geppō (Monthly Bulletin of the Welfare Statistics)."

## **Japanese Government survey into repatriates' postwar lives (*Zaigai Jijitsu Chōsahyō*) in 1956**

In 1956 the Ministry of Health and Welfare conducted a national survey on repatriates' households as part of the preparations for a compensation programme for civilian repatriates' lost assets in former Japanese territories. (The programme was eventually executed in 1957 and 1967). The use of this survey is one of the key original contributions of this thesis, as it is the first time that it has been possible to undertake research that makes full use of this survey in order to understand the civilian repatriates' postwar occupational transitions. It is therefore necessary to provide greater detail on the survey and its use, and this is what I will do below.

For this survey, the ministry defined a repatriate as a Japanese civilian who was abroad on 9 August 1945, the day on which the Soviet Union entered the war in Manchuria.<sup>10</sup> Military personnel were not included in this survey, but the family members of military personnel living abroad were regarded as civilian repatriates. For all those who qualified as civilian repatriates according to this definition the household head, even if he had worked in the military, was required to complete a one-page survey. The questions for each family member included name, sex, date of birth, the dates of emigration and repatriation, the name of their repatriation ship, the departure and arrival ports upon repatriation, and whether or not s/he was receiving public aid at the time of the survey. In addition, the household head was required to provide information on the length of his/her overseas residence, and four addresses (the address in Japan where the family was registered, the foreign address at the end of the

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<sup>10</sup> "Zaigai Jijitsu Chōsahyō (Japanese Government Survey into Repatriates' Postwar Lives)." The definition of the repatriates is included in the instruction, printed on the reverse side of the survey form.

war, the first address after repatriation and the one at the time of the survey in 1956). The survey also asked about the household head's wartime and postwar occupations and employers, including their longest job abroad; their occupation and employer at the end of the war; and their employment in 1956. If a family member had died during or after the repatriation, his/her name, sex, the date of death and age was also reported. The survey form is reproduced in English below, as is a picture of an original document.



Figure 2-1: The survey form of the Japanese government survey into repatriates' postwar lives (Zaigai Jijitsu Chōsahyō) in 1956 (English translation)

Name of house head:			Address in August 1945 (Overseas):				
Current Address (1956):			Region:				
Address where a family is registered:			Length of residence overseas:				
First address after repatriation:							
Occupation in 1956:							
Employer in 1956:							
House head and family members							
Name	Sex	DOB	Date of emigration	Name of repatriation ship	Departure port	Date of arrival and port	Public aid receipt (y/n) in 1956
Family members deceased during or since repatriation					House head's wartime occupation and employer (longest):		
Name	Sex	Age of death	Date of death	Place of death	House head's occupation and employer (August 1945):		
					Government pension (for wartime public servants) (y/n and amount received)		

Figure 2-2: Original survey form of the Japanese government survey into repatriates' postwar lives (Zaigai Jijitsu Chōsahyō) in 1956

行政管理庁承認 No. 1397  
昭和31年8月31日まで

引揚者在外事実調査票 厚生省

大阪 都 道 府 県

世帯代表者	ふりがな氏名	終戦時の世帯主との続柄	終戦時の住所	北滿赤十字省黒台村					
現住所	大阪府泉南郡熊取町大字新屋	所在地	在外地域区分	1. 北 鮮	6. 中 国				
本籍	新潟県	所在地	2. 南 鮮	7. 南洋委任統治領					
引揚後最初の住所	新潟県新発田市五十公野大字下町	所在地	3. 台 湾	8. 南方露地域					
現在の職業及び勤務先	織布工 中林織布株式会社	(勤務先の名称)	4. 樺太・千島	9. その他の地域					
			5. (南洋) 配属州						
			在外年数	7年7ヶ月					
世帯員の状況そのⅠ(生存)									
氏名	続柄	性別	生年月日(年齢)	外地渡航年月	引揚出港地船名	上陸地(引揚)年月日	生活保障適用の有無	現住地都道府県	
1. [Redacted]	世帯代表者	男	昭和22年9月22日(40才)	大正17年	コロ島	昭和22年8月26日	有(無)	大阪府	
2. ( )		女	大正昭和(満才)	大正昭和	不明	昭和年月日	有無		
3. ( )		男	大正昭和(満才)	大正昭和		昭和年月日	有無		
4. ( )		女	大正昭和(満才)	大正昭和		昭和年月日	有無		
5. ( )		男	大正昭和(満才)	大正昭和		昭和年月日	有無		
6. ( )		女	大正昭和(満才)	大正昭和		昭和年月日	有無		
7. ( )		男	大正昭和(満才)	大正昭和		昭和年月日	有無		
		女	大正昭和(満才)	大正昭和		昭和年月日	有無		
世帯員の状況そのⅡ(死亡)				在外中の世帯主の職業状況					
氏名	世帯主との続柄	性別	死亡時の年齢	死亡年月日	死亡場所	区分	職業	勤務先	期間
[Redacted]	長女	男	満6才	昭和22年8月11日	伊 呂 島	最長期	農業	黒台新潟開拓團	自昭和18年1月
[Redacted]	次男	女	満3才	昭和22年8月16日	伊 呂 島	終戦時			至昭和20年8月
[Redacted]	三男	女	満1才	昭和22年8月11日	伊 呂 島	原給			
		男	満1才	昭和年月日		受給者			
		女	満1才	昭和年月日		種 類			
						年 額			
						円			
						円			
備考	世帯代表者の在外事実証明先	有	1. 官公署 3. 団体	名 称	所 在 地				
		無	2. 会社 4. その他						

昭和31年6月19日  
昭和31年6月30日

世帯代表者 [Redacted]  
調査票受付団体 社会福祉法人大阪府厚生連盟  
代表者 理事長 橋爪 恭一



The survey forms were collected by prefectural governments, sometimes through local repatriate organisations. The original forms were kept at the Ministry of Health and Welfare and copies have also been held by each prefectural government. It has been reported that the Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare has digitalised survey forms for 2,260,000 individuals.<sup>11</sup> In 2012, the Ministry of Health and Welfare transferred the forms to the National Archives, which made them available for research from April 2013. The National Archives have 1,685 files in its collection.

Due to the restrictions imposed by Japan's Personal Information Protection Law of 2003, these collections of files are difficult to access. As previously mentioned, each survey form contains a personal name and wartime and postwar addresses, including the place where a family was registered (*honsekichi*). An address could, for example, indicate a region in which outcast populations have traditionally lived. In order to avoid unwanted discrimination, the National Archives has a policy of concealing the personal information on repatriates' family members such as their names and date of birth by blacking out the relevant sections on photocopied forms. The archive estimates that undertaking this preparation for viewing takes about three weeks per file. At this rate, it could take approximately 97 years before a researcher could gain access to all the documents contained in the 1,685 files.

Furthermore, the files are categorised according to the regions where repatriates were living in August 1945, and the documents submitted by repatriates from South Korea, Taiwan and possibly a portion of Southeast Asia are somehow missing from the archives.<sup>12</sup> The missing files probably amount to about 25 per cent

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<sup>11</sup> "Hikiagesha Kunan No Rekishi," *Saga Shimbun*, 14 April 2016.

<http://www.saga-s.co.jp/news/saga/10101/299798>. Accessed on 1 May 2016.

<sup>12</sup> In this collection in the National Archives, there are several files labelled 'Southeast Asia,' but

of the total number of survey forms collected in 1956 (repatriates from Taiwan comprised 10.1% of the total repatriate population and the figure for South Korea is 13.1%).<sup>13</sup> The figure for Southeast Asia was 3.6 per cent, and this research roughly estimates that half of the survey forms for Southeast Asia are missing. The long processing time and these missing files make it difficult for a researcher to use this collection to study the nation-wide trends of repatriates' postwar lives by taking random samples out of the entire population.

Apart from the National Archives, however, four prefectural archives (Ibaraki, Kanagawa, Hiroshima and Osaka) have made these survey forms available for research with some restrictions as discussed below. For other prefectures, the locations of the survey forms are currently unknown. It seems likely that many prefectures still keep them at responsible departments because they occasionally receive inquiries about repatriates from their family members, but this is difficult to establish. Thus, this research uses the survey forms obtained by the above four prefectures, while acknowledging the problems regarding their representativeness.

It is clear that Japan's 47 prefectures have quite different characteristics from each other, for example in terms of demography, history, sectoral structure and migration trends to former Japanese territories. In making use of data for these four prefectures, we must therefore acknowledge their distinct characteristics. At the time of the survey in 1956, Kanagawa was already a highly-industrialised prefecture, adjacent to Tokyo, with a developing manufacturing zone. Ibaraki was also in the Tokyo Metropolitan Area but it was still a rural area where the agricultural sector was

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the number of documents estimated in these files is much smaller than the number of repatriates reported by the Ministry of Health and Welfare. It would be reasonable to believe that part of the files for the repatriates from Southeast Asia is missing.

<sup>13</sup> Ministry of Health and Welfare, "Hikiage to Engo Sanjūnen No Ayumi " 690. Please also see the map (Figure 1).

dominant and people were less mobile. In Hiroshima, urban areas and ports had close connections with the military and major industrial corporations, for example, Mitsubishi Shipbuilding, while the prefecture also had a large agricultural sector. Hiroshima also had sent a significant number of migrants overseas, not only to former Japanese territories, but also to the Americas, including Hawaii. Osaka was the commercial centre of western Japan, though the prefecture included both agricultural and urban areas, especially in the 1950s.

Regarding the Personal Information Law, these four prefectural archives have established different policies. Kanagawa and Hiroshima fortunately do not have any restrictions. Both Ibaraki and Osaka prefectures, however, have concerns about personal information due to the presence of discriminated minorities in these prefectures. At the Ibaraki prefecture archives, when a researcher looks at documents, all names and street addresses are hidden with a paper frame. In Osaka, a researcher is not allowed to see the original documents at all and is asked to submit a request to receive photocopies with personal names and a portion of the postwar street addresses blacked out.

At the prefectural level, below is the comparison of the number of survey forms kept at the four prefectural archives and the number of repatriate households in November 1949 in the Ministry of Health and Welfare statistics in each of the four prefectures.

*Table 2-2: The 1956 repatriate household survey: Number of survey forms collected in each prefecture*

	Hiroshima	Ibaraki	Kanagawa	Osaka
Number of survey forms collected in 1956 (a)	9,429	19,333	10,432	25,810
Number of repatriate households in November 1949 (b)	14,751	39,864	21,689	46,005
Rough estimated collection rates (a) / (b)	63.9%	45.9%	48.1%	56.1%

In order to correctly estimate the collection rates, the total number of repatriate households in each prefecture in 1956 would be required; however, this figure is unfortunately not available. If the number of repatriate households in 1949 obtained from the monthly statistical report of the Ministry of Health and Welfare<sup>14</sup> is used, we find that the collection rates in the four prefectures are something between 45.9% (Hiroshima) and 63.9% (Ibaraki). At this stage, it is difficult to estimate the collection rate more precisely, but it seems appropriate to suggest that a large portion of repatriate households, perhaps approximately half of them, participated in this survey.

Despite the various drawbacks of using only the four prefectures' documents, these data contain comprehensive information especially on repatriates' occupational transitions, which makes them valuable for any research on repatriates' job experiences. So far virtually no other research works have used this information to

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<sup>14</sup> "Kōsei Tōkei Geppō (Monthly Bulletin of the Welfare Statistics)."

study repatriates' postwar job experiences; the only exception is the essays mentioned earlier that were published by the two scholars in Okinawa on migration patterns from pre-war Okinawa prefecture to the former Japanese territories and migrants' wartime economic activities as discussed in the literature review of this thesis. This thesis is therefore the first substantive research to fully utilise this information source in order to analyse Japanese civilians' occupational transitions from the wartime to the postwar economy. The relatively low interest in this survey documentation is probably due to the fact that forms have only been available in a handful of prefectural archives until recently, as well as because of the traditional scholarly focus on the political and social aspects of the repatriation problem. The survey results for Okinawa have not been used in conjunction with that from the four other prefectures. It appears that unfortunately the survey forms completed by Okinawa repatriates went missing after a Ryūkyū University researcher returned the documents to an Okinawa repatriate organisation representative, and it is unclear whether any copies were made of these data.<sup>15</sup>

For this research, which aims to analyse the overall trends in the postwar economic experiences of Japanese civilian repatriates, the exclusion of Okinawa from this research can also be justified on the grounds of Okinawa's unique political position, economic characteristics and historical migration patterns, which are quite different from those of other prefectures. However, the trends in Okinawa people's emigration and their wartime economic activities will be briefly compared with analyses of the four prefectures chosen for this research with a view to highlighting differences identified in existing research works on Okinawa repatriates, specifically in the analysis of Kanagawa prefecture where a large number of Okinawa repatriates,

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<sup>15</sup> This is information from a Japanese scholar working on the Japanese repatriation problem. The information was received on 13th July 2013 via personal conversation. Another scholar states that the Okinawa prefectural government keeps the survey forms.

who had been in the South Pacific, settled after repatriation. Okinawa has been an agricultural and fishing prefecture with a significantly low presence of industry and was controlled by the United States between 1945 and 1972. The majority of pre-war or wartime Okinawan emigrants migrated to Taiwan or to the Southern Pacific<sup>16</sup> rather than to China or Manchuria, working in the sugar industry or in other primary sectors. Okinawans, both repatriates and non-repatriates, who have lived in mainland urban areas tended to form relatively closed communities, mostly working as relatively unskilled labourers. It would therefore be difficult to include Okinawa in an analysis using a limited number of sample prefectures even if the survey forms were available.

## **Documents from wartime and postwar companies and repatriate organisations**

In addition to Japanese government records, this research uses the corporate records of wartime and postwar companies and documents published by various repatriate organisations, which helps fill in some of the details of repatriates' postwar lives. These records are discussed in the following section.

### **Documents of the South Manchuria Railway and its postwar organisations**

The South Manchuria Railway (SMR) was the largest public corporation in the Japanese Empire. The company was established in 1906 to operate a part of the Chinese Eastern Railway acquired from Russia as a result of the Portsmouth Treaty in 1905. As of September 1944, the company employed 398,301 employees including 138,804 Japanese people, and had been involved in the development of Manchukuo,

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<sup>16</sup> Noiri, "Okinawa Hikiagesha No 'Gaichi' Keiken: Shichōsonshi No Taiken Kiroku Wo Chūshinni," 125.



including city planning in Dalian, Shenyang and several other cities, water and utility infrastructure building, the construction of ports, and the operation of schools, hospitals and libraries, among other things.<sup>17</sup> The majority of the SMR employees returned to Japan after 1946. In Tokyo, a postwar organisation, Mantetsukai, was formed by the former SMR leaders to help the employees find new employment, to coordinate the payment of retirement benefits from the proceeds of the sale of an asset in Tokyo (the land on which the headquarters building had been located) and to provide former staff members with proof of employment that would enable them to receive government pensions. In order to facilitate this role, the Mantetsukai prepared individual employee information cards, each of which have the employee's name, the date of entry to the company, work section and salary (that could indicate an employees' approximate rank) at the end of the war. These cards have been kept at the Mantetsukai and are available to researchers.<sup>18</sup> A sample card is shown below in Figure 2-3. The organisation also published quarterly newsletters (from 1954 to present) and a list of members (10,945 members in 1976)<sup>19</sup> in 1948, 1956, 1961, and 1966, with names, current addresses and employment information. As explained in the following section, the 1956 repatriate survey by the Japanese government contains many former SMR employees. In the databases created from the information obtained from the national survey into repatriates' postwar lives for this research, we find that in Ibaraki Prefecture 19.0 per cent of the total repatriate population responded that they were working for the SMR in August 1945, 8.9 per cent in Hiroshima prefecture and 18.9 per cent in Kanagawa prefecture. Using the SMR documents, it has been

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<sup>17</sup> Heisa Kikan Seiri Iinkai, *Heisa Kikan to Sono Tokushu Seisan* (Tokyo: Zaigai Katsudō Kankei Heisa Kikan Tokushu Seisan Jimusho, 1954), 388-89.

<sup>18</sup> Pictures of these cards have also been digitized. Emeritus Professor Takeda of Economics Department of Tokyo University kindly shared the data with this author.

<sup>19</sup> Mantetsukai, *Zaidan Hōjin Mantetsukai 60 Nen No Ayumi* (Tokyo: Mantetsukai, 2006), 50.

possible to match the information obtained from the 1956 survey with the SMR postwar employment information, and shed light on the occupational transition of former SMR employees. The Mantetsukai newsletters and their advertisement sections also provide useful information regarding members' employment and business activities, as well as indicating their concerns relating to the compensation programme of the Japanese government.

Figure 2-3: A sample information card for an SMR employee

第82 回 執達

+7.9.26 3

整理番号	169	氏名	山本 達 (ふりかな)	籍姓		生年月日	昭和22年6月4日	備考
現住所	大阪市 浪速区 芦原町						32.11.20	
所 属	終戦時	大連鉄道工場 金工工場						
	一年前後							
採用資格年月			在 職 年 数			退 職 財 務 金		分割支拂金額
雇 員	准職員	職 員	雇 員	准職員	職 員	給 額	支給率	金 額
			4.9	5.2	7.8			2,658
10.2	15.6	18.7	5.4	7.1	2.6	92	32.75	3020.
未払給料・賞與旅費		身元保証金		共済積立金		自由貯金		受取延期金
金 額		金 額		金 額		番 號		金 額
支 拂 額								

届出カード  
 有)

### Documents of the support association for repatriate railway workers (Tairiku Tetsudō Jūjiin Engokai)

In May 1946, the leaders of four wartime foreign railway companies (the SMR, the North China Railway, the Central China Railway and the Korean Railway) established a support association for repatriate railway workers (Tairiku Tetsudō Jūjiin Engokai)

in Tokyo. The documents prepared between March 1947 and the spring of 1955 (the exact date is unknown) offer some important insights into the provision of employment opportunities in this area.<sup>20</sup>

According to a report on the activities of the railway repatriates' organisation dated November 1948, the total number of repatriates returned from the above four railway companies was estimated to be approximately 180,000.<sup>21</sup> Some of the documents prepared between 1945 and 1948 are kept at the Library of Tokyo University, and include memoranda about the lobbying activities, lists of people who were offered jobs at the JNR (this is unfortunately not a full list), and documents about new business activities coordinated by the organisation to provide repatriate railway employees with new jobs. Examples include a retail company, a ballast supply company and an electric construction company specialising in railway services. In addition to these documents, the organisation also published a list of members in 1949 and 1970, with their names, postwar addresses and employment information, in a similar format to that of the SMR organisation. Due to constraints of time and space, a detailed analysis of employees of the North China Railway, the Central China Railway and the Korean Railway have not been possible here and remains for the future, but the documentation will be used here to support the analysis of ex-SMR repatriates.

### **Other primary source materials**

In addition to the source materials discussed above, documents prepared by Japanese government agencies and the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers (SCAP)

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<sup>20</sup> Tairiku Tetsudō Jūjiin Engokai, "Jigyō Gaiyō Kessan Hōkoku Tsuzuri," (Tokyo 1946).

<sup>21</sup> Tairiku Tetsudō Jūjiin Engokai estimated the number of repatriates to be 100,000 from the SMR, 40,000 from the North China Railway (Kahoku Kōtsū), 6,000 from the Central China Railway (Kachū Kōtsū) and 35,000 from the Korean Railway (Chosen Tetsudō).

offer useful information. Among these are three volumes of repatriation programme records published by the Ministry of Health and Welfare; *Hikiage Engo no Kiroku* (the first volume of the records of the repatriation programmes) published in 1950,<sup>22</sup> *Zoku Hikiage Engo no Kiroku* (the second volume) published in 1955<sup>23</sup> and *Zoku Zoku Hikiage Engo no Kiroku* (the third volume) in 1963.<sup>24</sup> These books are the most comprehensive public records of the repatriation; they include information on places of origins of repatriates; the number of repatriates returning to Japan each year from 1945 to 1963; the administration of repatriation centres at main ports in Japan; material aid programmes for returnees (food, clothing and medical check-ups etc.); housing and employment programmes; the allocation of responsibilities and the budgets of relevant government agencies; related debates in the National Diet; information on returnee organisations, as well as essays and testimonies of repatriates and repatriation centre staff members.<sup>25</sup>

Apart from these national records, 18 regional repatriation centres at major ports (Shimonoseki, Nagoya, Kagoshima, Hakata, Hakodate, Sasebo, Maizuru, Yokohama, etc.) also published local records, which are included in the sixteen volumes of collections of Information on the Repatriation, *Kaigai Hikiage Kankei Shiryō Shūsei*,<sup>26</sup> republished in 2004. The topics included in these volumes are similar to those documented in the national records, but they also contain regional specific information. However, less attention is paid to returnees' postwar lives, which became the responsibility of the local government.

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<sup>22</sup> Repatriation Relief Bureau, *Hikiage Engo No Kiroku*.

<sup>23</sup> Ministry of Health and Welfare, *Zoku Hikiage Engo No Kiroku* (Tokyo: Ministry of Health and Welfare, 1955).

<sup>24</sup> *Zoku Zoku Hikiage Engo No Kiroku* (Tokyo: Ministry of Health and Welfare, 1963).

<sup>25</sup> These volumes have been used by other researchers, but mainly for analyses of social aspects of the repatriation problem.

<sup>26</sup> *Kaigai Hikiage Kankei Shiryō Shūsei* ed. Kiyofumi Katō (Tokyo: Yumani Shobō, 2001).

A thirty-year history of the repatriation programmes, *Hikiage to Engo Sanjūnen no Ayumi*, published by the Ministry of Health and Welfare in 1977 contains updated information on the repatriation programmes between 1945 and 1976 with confirmed profiles of the repatriates. This book also includes information on war criminals, the salaries that were paid to detained and not-yet returned soldiers in Siberia and other places, as well as government-sponsored expeditions to recover the remains of the war dead in former battlefields, indicating the changing agenda of the ministry as time went on.

A survey of postwar reclamation projects, *Sengo Kaitakushi*<sup>27</sup> published by the national cooperative of reclamation farmers (Zenkoku Kaitakusha Nōgyō Kyōdō Kumiai) in 1977 has information on postwar reclamation projects which involved numerous displaced returnees and domestic war victims. These projects were formulated on the basis of the guidelines for support programmes for repatriates (Kaigai Hikiagesha Engo Yōkō), which were decided in a meeting of top bureaucrats in April 1946 called to address food shortages and unemployment.<sup>28</sup> Although not all the projects covered in this book have separate descriptions of the returnees and the domestic war victims, this book still offers some valuable background information on returnees.

The Japanese government agencies were not the only bodies to report on the status of the country — the occupation authorities also published various reports on postwar Japan, some of which include information on the returnees. ‘The Japanese Village in Transition’ (1950),<sup>29</sup> which was prepared by the Natural Resources Section

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<sup>27</sup> Sengo Kaitakushi Hensan linkai, *Sengo Kaitakushi* (Tokyo: Zenkoku Kaitaku Nōgyō Kumiai Rengōkai, 1977).

<sup>28</sup> Ibid., 42.

<sup>29</sup> Arthur Franklin Raper, *The Japanese Village in Transition*, ed. Natural Resources Section, Report (Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers) (Tokyo, 1950).

of the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers (SCAP), is based on field research covering seven towns and villages across Japan. Although the main purpose of this report was to examine the effects of the 1947 Land Reform on local villages, and especially to assess the degree of democratisation (measured by factors such as establishments or frequency of grassroots meetings including Parent-Teacher Associations), it also contains information on new residents such as returnees and evacuees from urban areas and their positions in the community.

Other SCAP documents such as *Summation of Non-Military Activities in Japan and Korea* (Numbers 1-35)<sup>30</sup> and *Public Health and Welfare in Japan, 1945-1948, Annual Summaries*,<sup>31</sup> include sections on returnees, which contain repatriation statistics and details of various kinds of assistance offered to the returnees, including housing and loan programmes and reclamation projects. There are also accounts of debates on possible population control. The information is general and overlaps with information from the Ministry of Health and Welfare, but is still helpful to understand how the occupation army saw the repatriation problem in terms of unemployment and welfare.

## **Methodology**

The analysis of repatriates' postwar job experiences will be conducted at three levels: a) national, b) prefectural and c) corporate or organisational levels. For the first two levels, the three primary source materials discussed in the previous section will be used: the 1950 Population Census of Japan, the demographic statistics of repatriates

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<sup>30</sup> Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers, *Summation of Non-Military Activities in Japan and Korea* (Tokyo: Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers, 1945-1952), Volume 1-35.

<sup>31</sup> Public Health and Welfare Section Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers, *Public Health and Welfare in Japan, 1945-1948, Annual Summaries* (1949).

at each prefecture between 1946 and 1949, and the Japanese Government survey into repatriates' postwar lives (*Zaigai Jijitsu Chōsahyō*) of 1956. For the corporate and organisational level analysis, this research will focus on the analysis of the South Manchuria Railway Company by using documents obtained from the company's postwar organisation, the Mantetsukai.

### **Analysis at the national level**

*Demographic statistics of repatriates at each prefecture between 1946 and 1949 from the Ministry of Health and Welfare and the 1950 Population Census*

The demographic statistics of the Ministry of Health and Welfare reported the population of civilian returnees and repatriated soldiers as well as the number of households in each prefecture for every month between December 1946 and November 1949. This information tells us the general trend in repatriate mobility and identifies prefectures that had a large number of repatriates. For the national level analysis, the 1950 Population Census will also be used.

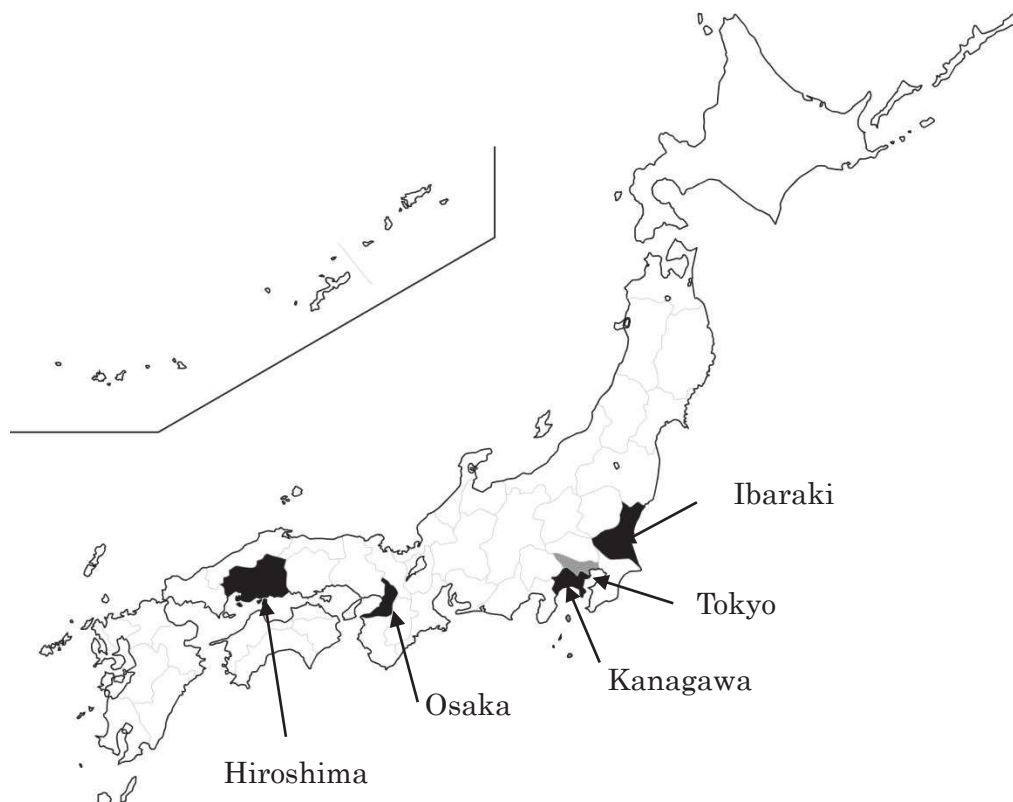
### **Analysis at the prefectural level**

*Japanese Government survey into repatriates' postwar lives (Zaigai Jijitsu Chōsahyō) in 1956*

For the 1956 national survey, due to the limitations in access to the survey forms discussed in a previous section, this research focusses on repatriates' postwar job experiences in four prefectures: Hiroshima, Ibaraki, Kanagawa and Osaka. The research uses descriptive statistics and tries to explain what factors might have

contributed to repatriates' choices of postwar employment in each prefecture, and shed light on relevant factors such as the presence or absence of family in hometowns, the possession of useful skills or qualifications, or government employment policies. Personal factors including age and the timing of repatriation are also examined to see whether they might have affected the choice of postwar employment. The following map shows the location of the four prefectures in Japan, and it can be seen that they offer some diversity, giving us prefectures in both eastern and western Japan (Ibaraki and Kanagawa in the east and Hiroshima and Osaka in the west) and both urban (Kanagawa and Osaka) and rural (Ibaraki and Hiroshima) prefectures, though it must be noted that Hiroshima had industrialised coastal regions as well.

*Figure 2-4: Map of the four prefectures*





The number of survey forms kept in each of the four prefectural archives is shown in the following table. From the total survey forms, at least 500 for each prefecture were randomly selected, making it possible to execute a reasonable percentage-based descriptive analysis. The random selection method is discussed later in this chapter.

*Table 2-3: Number of samples taken for each prefecture: A Japanese government survey into repatriate' postwar lives in 1956*

	Hiroshima prefecture	Ibaraki prefecture	Kanagawa prefecture	Osaka prefecture		
				Takatsuki city	Sennan county	Osaka prefecture total
Total number of survey forms (a)	9,429	19,333	10,432	325	283	25810
Number of random sample (b)	500	621	640	325	283	Takatsuki (325) + Sennan (283) = 608
(b) / (a)	5.3%	3.2%	6.1%	100%	100%	2.4%

Due to the limitations in access to the original documents in Osaka Prefecture, I selected two (out of 66) municipalities — one city within the Osaka metropolitan area in the northern part of the prefecture (Takatsuki City with 325 survey forms) and one county in the rural south of the prefecture (Sennan County with 283 survey forms). These two municipalities were chosen in order to capture the trends in urban and rural

areas and in the northern and southern regions in Osaka prefecture. Takatsuki is a residential and commercial city in the suburban zone of Osaka city. As many residents commute to Osaka, Takatsuki city would seem to offer a reasonable representation of the population in the Osaka metropolitan area. Sennan is a more rural area with a large number of agricultural inhabitants, but it is also a county that has traditionally specialised in the textile industry since the Muromachi Period (1336–1573). These two municipalities are reasonable examples enabling us to capture the characteristics of Osaka Prefecture. However, my research has had to treat the survey forms collected in Osaka rather differently. This is because these are the only two municipalities in Osaka prefecture for which it has been possible to access the survey forms, which creates its own representativeness problem. Moreover, the number of survey forms from these two municipalities, which are available at the Osaka Archives, was somehow smaller than the number recorded in the catalogue. The reason for this discrepancy is not known, but we obviously have to consider the possibility that the missing survey forms may have included many with important information, for example they may include the survey forms of areas which had a large number of repatriates. For this reason, the information obtained from the documents of the two municipalities will be used to highlight some of the key characteristics of the repatriates in Takatsuki city and Sennan county, but has not been subject to the same random sampling.

Before random samples were chosen for each prefecture, the following types of survey forms had to be excluded:

- Survey forms with job information for different household heads (i.e. one household head during the wartime and a new household head in 1956).

The government required a household head to fill in a form. If a

household head was dead by 1956 or unable to participate for some reason, a new head or a family member was entitled to fill in the form with his/her new postwar employment. This type of survey forms has been omitted because employment information for different people is not useful if we want to track occupational changes.

- Forms of those who had worked in the military

This national survey was conducted for civilian repatriates. If career soldiers had family members overseas, however, the family members were regarded as civilian repatriates and household heads were required to participate in the survey. Survey forms for these families were excluded because this research specifically focuses on the occupational transitions of civilian repatriates.

- Forms that do not include other necessary information (wartime and postwar employment, date of birth, addresses, dates of migration and repatriation)
- Forms of those who had already retired by August 1945
- Survey forms illegible due to bad handwriting

From the remaining, the aforementioned numbers of forms were selected by using random sampling. In order to reasonably execute the analysis, this research aimed to take 600 sample forms for each prefecture. For Hiroshima and Kanagawa prefecture, this target has been achieved and 621 and 640 survey forms have been chosen respectively. This research chose more than 600 forms anticipating unforeseeable cases, for reasons such as the selected forms include those which should have been omitted for the above mentioned reasons. The original plan was to use random sampling again to make the number exactly 600 for each prefecture. However, this research decided to include the extra number of forms in order to use a large

number of survey forms. For Ibaraki, due to time constraints, only 500 survey forms have been collected. Based on the strict interpretation of the 2003 Information Protection Law, the prefectural archives in Ibaraki has a policy not to allow a researcher to photograph the documents, and s/he has to manually input the data on a computer on site. For this reason, the number of forms collected in the Ibaraki Archives was compromised to be 500. For Osaka prefecture, due to the previously mentioned reasons, the two municipalities of Takatsuki city and Sennan county have been selected. For these two municipalities, all survey forms have been photocopied by archives staff members and 325 forms for Takatsuki and 283 forms for Sennan have been received for this research. For the selection of the sample survey forms, this research used the RANDBETWEEN function of the Microsoft Excel by inputting the number of the total survey forms available for each prefecture and the number of sample forms needed.

From the random samples of each prefecture, the following information for each prefecture was taken:

- a) Average age in August 1945
- b) Average number of years spent overseas by August 1945
- c) Average number of months spent overseas between August 1945 and the date of repatriation (in order to gauge each person's repatriation experiences before arriving to Japan, for example, detentions in Siberia by the Soviet Union, which delayed repatriation).
- d) Percentage figures of those who settled in their hometowns or adjacent areas, who lived in some other place within their home prefecture, or who had by 1956 migrated from other prefectures
- e) Sectoral breakdown of repatriates' employment

- f) Employers who hired a large number of repatriates both in the wartime and in the postwar period
- g) Percentage figures for those who managed to find employment in the same or similar sector (by using technical skills or experiences) as that of their wartime occupation

Then, as shown in the following table, this set of information in each prefecture from (a) to (e) and (g) has been compared with that of repatriates in the other prefectures. Results of (a), (d) and (e) have been compared with data for Japanese non-repatriates in each prefecture and with the entire Japanese population (which includes repatriates), using the information obtained from the Population Census. Information (f) will be used to identify factors that might have helped or slowed repatriates entering the postwar Japanese economy. Information from Osaka prefecture will be used to highlight the prefecture's characteristics in several key points.

Table 2-4: Comparative analysis of repatriates' postwar experiences

	With repatriates in other prefectures	With entire population (including repatriates) in each prefecture	With non-repatriates in Japan (1950) / Entire population including repatriates in each prefecture (1955)
Average age (a)	1956 survey	1955 census	1950 and 1955 census
Average number of years spent overseas until August 1945 (b)	1956 survey		
Average number of months between August 1945 and the time of repatriation (c)	1956 survey		
% of those settled in hometown, different place in home prefecture or in another prefecture (d)	1956 survey	1955 census	1950 and 1955 census
Industrial sectors breakdown (e)	1956 survey	1955 census	1950 and 1955 census

## **Chapter 3**

### **Japanese repatriates' postwar lives**

#### **Japan's economic situation and changes in repatriation policies**

The Japanese 'postwar' repatriation started on 9<sup>th</sup> August, 1945 in Manchuria when the Soviet Union entered the war there. The postwar repatriation took many years as indicated in Chapter 1. Between the end of the war in August 1945 and the end of 1946, as we have seen, approximately 5.1 million people (81 per cent of the total figure of 6.29 million including both civilians and demobilised soldiers) arrived into Japan. By the end of 1950, approximately 99 per cent had returned. In the early postwar period, Japan's economic situation changed and the focus of the government's policies towards repatriates also shifted from emergency support to policy responses towards repatriates' demand for compensation for their lost wartime assets. This section briefly explains these changes in the early postwar period up until 1956 when the Japanese government conducted a national survey into repatriates' postwar lives, which this thesis uses as a core source material. This section divides the period 1945-1956 into three sub-periods: 1945-1948 when the country experienced postwar confusion; 1949-1952, the period after an austerity economic policy, the Dodge Line, was introduced and the Japanese economy became more market-oriented; and 1952-1956, the period after the Allied occupation ended in April 1952, and the Japanese economy started to grow.

#### **1945-1948**

During the first few years in the early postwar period, Japan faced postwar devastation and confusion. By the end of the war, approximately 2.5 million Japanese people had died in the war. The Economic Stabilisation Board estimated that approximately 25.4 per cent

of Japan's national wealth was lost in the war, including 24.6 per cent of buildings, 34.3 per cent of production machinery, and 80.6 per cent of ships.<sup>1</sup> Japan experienced significant shortages, but the economy's supply side had lost the capacity to produce enough goods. Some companies converted their military production to commercial production, but investment levels in the private sector were significantly weak because of companies' financial problems and uncertainty about the future. In terms of food production, Japan faced severe harvest failures in 1945. This hit the country hard, as it had lost food and other imports from its former territories.

In the early postwar period, the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers introduced policy reforms to disarm and demilitarise Japan. The notable reforms were the dissolution of zaibatsu conglomerates, the land reform, the labour reform, the introduction of the Anti-Monopoly Law, and the purge of wartime leaders. In addition to these reforms, the anticipated confiscation of production facilities, as a means of war reparations to Allied countries, created additional uncertainty on the business sector. These changes created uncertainty, but also played a role in reshuffling the social order, where some Japanese people found new economic opportunities. For example, due to the delay in major businesses' full return to economic activities, SMEs (small and medium-sized enterprises) and individual traders, especially in black markets, became important players in the economy.

The Japanese government continued economic control and fiscal intervention, including the rationing system for food, clothing and other daily supplies. The government's other major policies included the introduction of postwar reclamation projects to increase food production and to settle displaced people, as well as the Priority

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<sup>1</sup> Economic Planning Agency, *Taiheiyōsensō Ni Okeru Wagakuni No Higai Sōgōhōkokusho* (Tokyo: Economic Planning Agency, 1949), 54.  
[https://www.digital.archives.go.jp/DAS/meta/listPhoto?BID=F2007021516460707126&ID=&LANG=default&GID=&NO=&TYPE=PDF&DL\\_TYPE=pdf&CN=1](https://www.digital.archives.go.jp/DAS/meta/listPhoto?BID=F2007021516460707126&ID=&LANG=default&GID=&NO=&TYPE=PDF&DL_TYPE=pdf&CN=1). Accessed on 25 November 2016.



Production System to increase coal and steel production. In the early postwar period, new government agencies, such as the Repatriation Agency, were created. As the government mostly retained existing employees, the number of public servants increased during this period. Existing public agencies, including the Japan National Railways, also absorbed a large number of demobilised soldiers as well as repatriate railway staff members. Japan also experienced a significant inflation due to material shortages, the government's continuing issuance of yen to pay off outstanding wartime debts to Japanese firms and to finance reconstruction projects. The price level increased approximately 70 times between 1945 and 1950.<sup>2</sup>

Outside of Japan's mainland, the country's territory was limited to the islands of Honshū, Hokkaido, Kyūshū, Shikoku and surrounding islands. Given the difficult economic situation in Japan, the Japanese government initially encouraged Japanese overseas residents to stay outside of Japan, fearing the influx of more than six million people to Japan could lead to shortages of food, houses and daily goods, as well as significant unemployment. However, this policy was changed by January 1946 due to massive attacks on Japanese civilians by the U.S.S.R. military and local residents, mostly in Manchuria. It is also argued that the American military forces in China hoped to remove the Japanese military forces and their influence in the region as soon as possible. Because it was not possible to separate demobilised soldiers and civilians, the U.S. assisted the repatriation of both groups.<sup>3</sup> The U.S provided approximately 200 ships (tank landing ships categorised as LST and liberty ships),<sup>4</sup> each of which transported several thousand repatriates per journey.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Masanao Ito, "Sengo Haipā Infure to Chuō Ginkō," *IMES (Institute for Monetary and Economic Studies, Bank of Japan) Discussion Paper Series* 2002-J-35 (2002): 1.

<http://www.imes.boj.or.jp/research/papers/japanese/02-J-35.pdf>. Accessed on 25 November 2016.

<sup>3</sup> Katō, "Dainihon Teikoku No Hōkai to Zanryū Nihonjin Mondai," 16-25, 37-38.

<sup>4</sup> Repatriation Relief Bureau, *Hikiage Engo No Kiroku*, 31.

<sup>5</sup> Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers, "Reports of General Macarthur Volume 1 Supplement," (Washington 1966), 155. This report explains that 'Vast numbers were moved under oriental passenger standards - the carrying capacities of the Liberties and LST's were raised to 3,500

The majority of repatriates arrived in Japan by the end of 1946. At the repatriation ports, repatriates were quarantined, and provided with clothing, food, and free train tickets to their chosen destinations, quite often their hometowns. The amount of money which they were allowed to bring with them was limited to 1,000 yen per person, and the remaining amount was deposited with local customs offices with a promise to return it to the owner later.<sup>6</sup> In April 1946, the government decided on a policy to support repatriates' lives in their places of settlement in Japan (*Teichakuchi ni okeru Kaigai Hikiagesha Engo Yokō*), which involved support for housing and job placement.<sup>7</sup> After repatriates arrived into their hometowns or other places, local governments provided them with daily goods, furniture, food, clothing and bedding. A limited number of public housing units or rooms in repatriate accommodation were also available. The total fiscal expenditure used to support repatriates was estimated to be 79.8 billion yen (222 million USD at the exchange rate of one USD = 360 yen).<sup>8</sup> Furthermore, local employment bureaus offered job training services and job placement services. However, these policies were only partly helpful. Repatriates and the popular press normally criticised the ineffectiveness and limited nature of public support to repatriates. In 1946, the government introduced the Public Assistance Act (*Seikatsu Hogo Hō*) to provide financial assistance to households in need, which also supported repatriates. It was reported that 3.3 per cent of repatriates' households which participated in the 1956 national survey into repatriates' postwar lives responded that they had received financial assistance under this act.<sup>9</sup>

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and 1,200 passengers respectively, an increase of 1,000 and 300 each over the maximum number established by the U. S. forces during the war for the same type ships'. This information was provided by Dr Jonathan Bull of Hokkaido University on 29 January 2017.

<sup>6</sup> Repatriation Relief Bureau, *Hikiage Engo No Kiroku*, 38-39. Miyoshi, "Hinkonkaisō Toshiteno Hikiagesha No Engo Ni Tsuite " 8-9.

<sup>7</sup> Ministry of Health and Welfare, *Zoku Zoku Hikiage Engo No Kiroku* 82. The customs offices returned the money after the Foreign Exchange and Foreign Trade Control Act was amended in 1953.

<sup>8</sup> Repatriation Relief Bureau, *Hikiage Engo No Kiroku*, 93-94. This amount included costs for sea transport, the provision of aid materials and other public support in repatriates' hometowns and elsewhere, and the funds for the loan programme (*seigyō shikin*).

<sup>9</sup> Miyoshi, "Hinkonkaisō Toshiteno Hikiagesha No Engo Ni Tsuite " 9-11.

The government also offered loans called *seigyō shikin* to repatriates and other war affected people. Between 1946 and 1959, a total amount of approximately 2.1 billion yen (5.8 million USD) was lent. The funds were used to start businesses or farming operations. However, the repayment rate was low, with only around 50% of these loans being repaid. It has been reported that there was rumour among repatriates that *seigyō shikin* was provided as de facto compensation for repatriates' overseas lost assets and there was no need to repay.<sup>10</sup> In this way, the effectiveness of the loan programme was questionable and limited.

Around 1948, as the Cold War intensified, occupation policy shifted from the removal of Japan's war potential to support for swift economic development. Shortages of food, daily necessities and housing had gradually been solved, but inflation was still a major problem as monetary expansion continued. By this time, more than 95 per cent of repatriates had arrived back in Japan. Many Japanese people had managed to find some place to live and some sort of job, though the economic situation was still fluid and people frequently changed jobs and address.

## **1949-1952**

In order to stabilize the Japanese economy, SCAP introduced a "Nine-Point Economic Stabilization Program" in December 1948. In March 1949, the Dodge Line, an austerity fiscal policy was introduced to check inflation. In this policy, the goals were to balance the national budget, to reduce inflation, to reduce the number of public employees, to fix

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<sup>10</sup> Ministry of Health and Welfare, *Zoku Zoku Hikiage Engo No Kiroku* 108-10; The House of Councillors, *Dai 010 Kokkai Ōkura linkai Dai 8 Gō* (Tokyo1951).  
<http://kokkai.ndl.go.jp/SENTAKU/sangiin/010/0284/01002160284008a.html>.  
Accessed on 10 December 2016.

the exchange rate to 360 yen to one U.S. dollar to keep Japanese export prices competitive and to reduce the government's intervention.<sup>11</sup>

As a result of the introduction of the Dodge Line, price levels stabilised, but increased wages and cutbacks in lending by banks forced a large number of businesses to shut down. The Korean War from June 1950 brought special procurement orders from the U.S. military to Japan, giving Japan significant dollar income – 25 per cent of its exports in 1951, and 35 per cent in 1952. Special procurement demand from the Korean War became a major stimulus for the Japanese economy and created large numbers of new jobs,<sup>12</sup> and, the Japanese economy saw an increase in trade and investment. During this period, repatriation from China, Taiwan and the U.S.S.R continued, but the number significantly decreased. By the end of 1950, approximately 99 per cent of repatriates had arrived in Japan. The government's repatriation policy continued, but its emphasis gradually shifted from emergency relief support to repatriates to appeal to the U.S. and other countries for the swift repatriation of detainees in China and the U.S.S.R.

### **1952-1956**

In April 1952, the occupation ended, with the conclusion of the San Francisco Peace Treaty. The Japanese economy's condition had significantly improved by this time. The Economic White Paper of 1953 stated that Japan recorded the fastest increases in industrial output and national income in the world. For the first time after the war, those two figures exceeded the levels recorded in the period of 1934-1936. Consumption and wage levels also recovered and exceeded the pre-war level.<sup>13</sup> The economy continued to

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<sup>11</sup> Office of Historical Studies, "Fiscal and Monetary Policies of Japan in Reconstruction and High-Growth - 1945 to 1971," (Tokyo: Institute of Fiscal and Monetary Policy in Ministry of Finance, 2010).[https://www.mof.go.jp/english/pri/publication/policy\\_1945-1971/Part1-Chapter2.pdf](https://www.mof.go.jp/english/pri/publication/policy_1945-1971/Part1-Chapter2.pdf). Accessed on 10 December 2016.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, 54.

<sup>13</sup> Economic Planning Agency, *Nenji Keizai Hōkoku* (Tokyo: Economic Planning Agency, 1954). 'Sōsetsu'.<http://www5.cao.go.jp/keizai3/keizaiwp/wp-je54/wp-je54-010101.html>

expand after the 1950s. In 1956 the Economic White Paper declared that the immediate postwar period was over (*mohaya sengo de wa nai*). The labour market became tight around the year of 1952 and companies in the urban areas started recruiting new middle school graduates in Tōhoku or Kyūshū regions in northeast and southern Japan. Those new workers were called the golden eggs (*kinno tamago*).<sup>14</sup>

By 1956, 99.9 per cent of the total repatriates (6.29 millions) including both civilians and demobilised soldiers had arrived in Japan.<sup>15</sup> Policies toward repatriates shifted to continuous provision of loans and a limited amount of housing. Repatriates' demand for compensation from the Japanese government for their lost assets in Japan's former territories continued to be a political issue. Some scholars argue that the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) saw the returnees as a potential threat to political stability. Fearing the political influence of more than three million civilian repatriates, the LDP government agreed to pay a total amount of 46,4 billion yen (129 million USD) in 1957<sup>16</sup> and 192.5 billion yen (535 million USD) in 1967.<sup>17</sup>

Consequently, as the economic situation improved between 1945 and 1956, civilian repatriates' lives and the government's responses significantly changed. Although

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and <http://www5.cao.go.jp/keizai3/keizaiwp/wp-je54/wp-je54-010301.html>. Accessed on 10 December 2016.

<sup>14</sup> Kazutoshi Kase, *Shūdan Shūshoku No Jidai* (Tokyo: Aoki Shoten, 1997), 65. Kazuo Katase, "The Employment En Masse of Junior High School Graduates in Japanese Economic Growth Period," *Ningen Jōhōgaku Kenkyū* 15 (2010): 13.

[http://www.ipc.tohoku-gakuin.ac.jp/ghi/kenkyujyo/kiyou/ronbun/no15/no15\\_katase.pdf](http://www.ipc.tohoku-gakuin.ac.jp/ghi/kenkyujyo/kiyou/ronbun/no15/no15_katase.pdf). Accessed on 10 December 2016.

<sup>15</sup> Ministry of Health and Welfare, *Engo 50 Nenshi*, 729.

<sup>16</sup> The law, Hikiagesha Kyūfukintō Shikyū Hō (17th May 1957 Hōritsu Dai 109 Gō), is available at <http://law.e-gov.go.jp/htmldata/S32/S32HO109.html>. Based on this law, a compensation payment of 7,000 yen (those who were younger than 18 years old), 15,000 yen (those who were aged between 18 and 29 years old), 20,000 yen (those who were aged between 30 and 49 years old) and 28,000 yen (those who were older than 50 years old) were provided.

<sup>17</sup> The law, Hikiagesha tō ni taisuru Tokubetsu Kōfukin no Shikyū ni Kansuru Hōritsu, is available at <http://law.e-gov.go.jp/htmldata/S42/S42HO114.html>. Based on this law, a compensation payment of 14,000 yen (those who were younger than 20 years old), 21,000 yen (those who were aged between 20 and 24 years old), 35,000 yen (those who were aged between 25 and 34 years old), 70,000 yen (those who were aged between 35 and 49 years old) and 112,000 yen (those who were older than 50 years old) were provided.

information on the civilian repatriates' struggle during the first ten years is not available, this research fully utilises the 1956 government survey to understand repatriates' lives in the early postwar period. In the next section, I try to capture the general trend of Japanese postwar repatriation at the national and prefectural levels firstly by using public records and statistics.

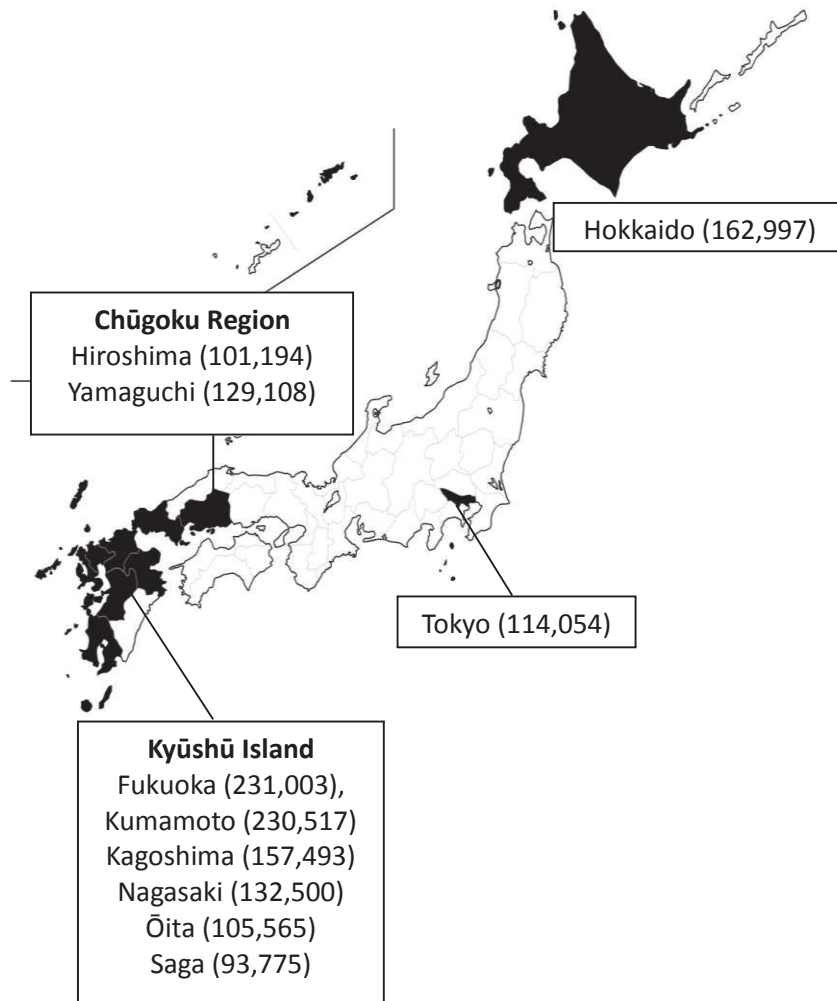
## **Analysis at the national level**

### **Searching for new places to live: Inter-prefectural migration patterns between December 1946 and November 1949**

The monthly report published by the Ministry of Health and Welfare includes the number of repatriates living in each prefecture between December 1946 and November 1949. The distribution of the repatriate population was not even across Japan: repatriates were concentrated in three types of prefectures: a) those in western Japan which had traditionally sent significant number of migrants to other parts of Asia; b) urban prefectures including the Tokyo and Osaka metropolitan regions; and c) Hokkaido and several other northern prefectures which still had unused land for newcomers and where large scale postwar reclamation projects were implemented. The next map shows the top ten prefectures in terms of the number of civilian repatriate population in December 1946 when the Ministry of Health and Welfare first published the number of repatriates in each prefecture.

Figure 3-1: Top 10 prefectures: Number of repatriates in December 1946<sup>18</sup>

(The total number of civilian repatriates in Japan: 3,007,372)

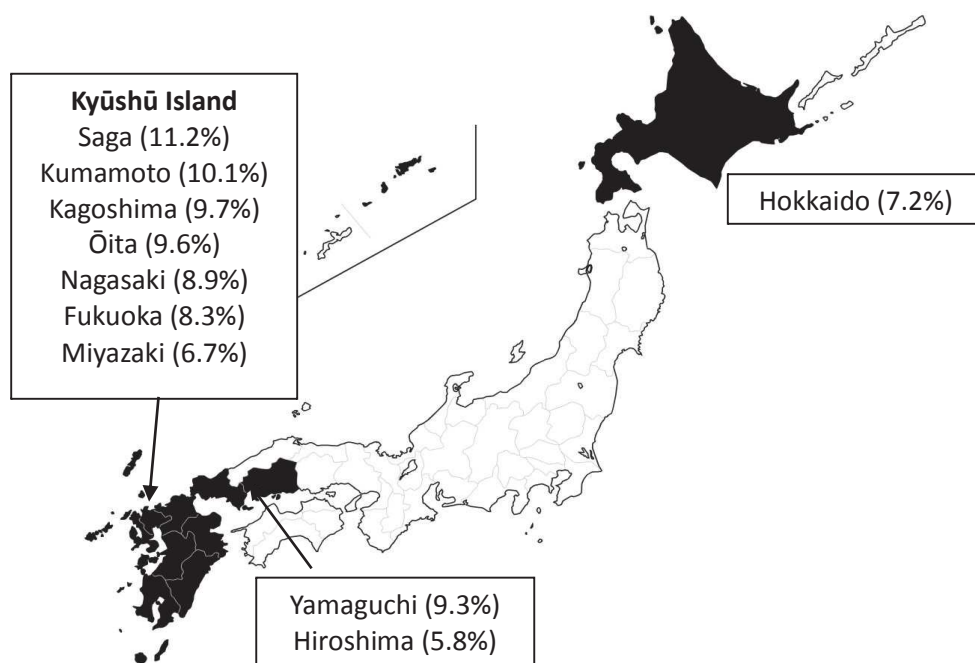


Having been traditional prefectures of origin of migrants, the western regions became major early postwar destinations for repatriates. By December 1946, Kyūshū Island with seven prefectures (out of 46 prefectures nationwide, excluding Okinawa) had absorbed approximately 33.6 per cent of all repatriates. Apart from Kyūshū, Yamaguchi and Hiroshima in the western region of mainland Japan also received significant numbers.

<sup>18</sup> Ministry of Health and Welfare, "Kōsei Tōkei Geppō (Monthly Bulletin of the Welfare Statistics)." This map is created for this research, based on the numbers obtained from Kōsei Tōkei Geppō.

Other than the western prefectures, Hokkaido had 162,997 returnees (5.4 per cent) and Tokyo, received 114,054 repatriates (3.8 per cent). The proportion of repatriates in the total prefectural population was particularly high in the west as the next map shows.

*Figure 3-2: Top 10 prefectures: Repatriates as a percentage of total prefectural population (including repatriates) in October 1947<sup>19</sup>*



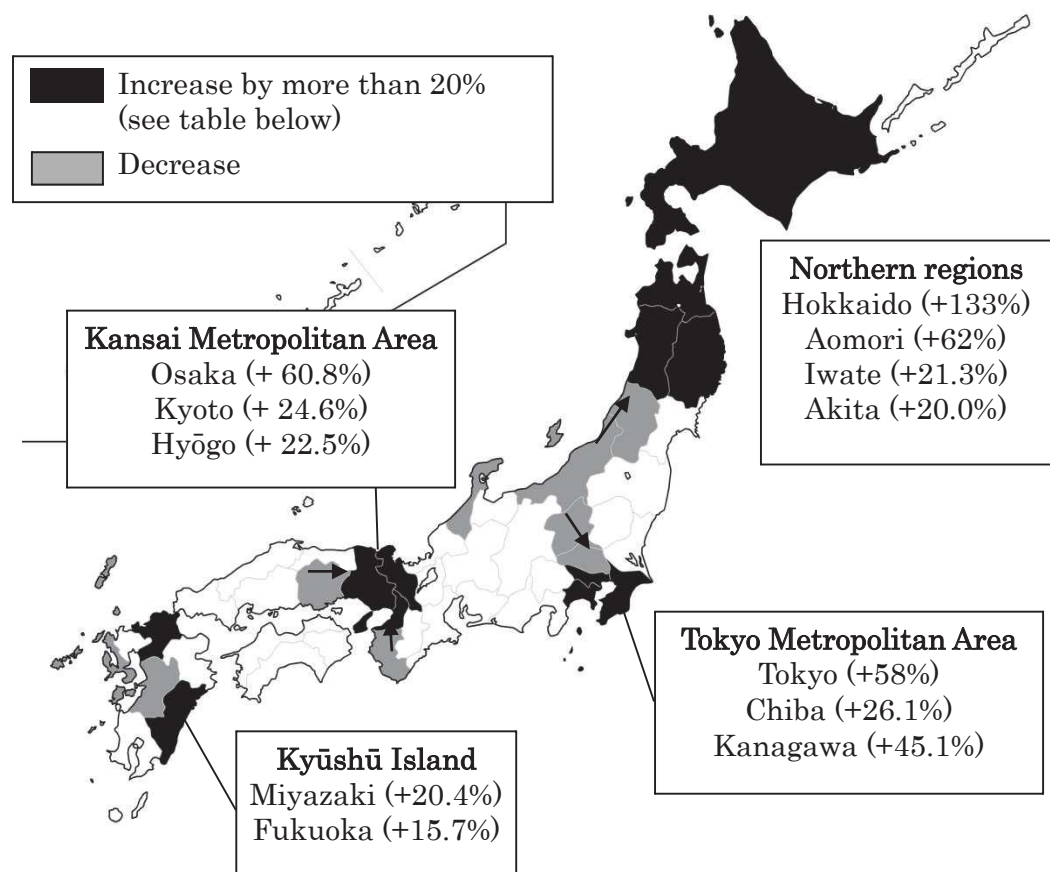
A high repatriate population density was observed in western prefectures and in Hokkaido. All prefectures in Kyūshū experienced high percentage figures. In this map, Tokyo, despite its significant number of repatriates, disappears because repatriates made up only 3.2 per cent of the prefectural population in October 1947. Due to housing and material shortages as a result of air-raids during the war, Tokyo and major urban areas (such as the Yokohama region in Kanagawa, Kyoto city, Osaka city, Kobe city in Hyōgo and Fukuoka city) restricted population influx until 1949 under the 1947 Act 221 for the control of population inflow into urban areas.<sup>20</sup> The Ministry of Health and Welfare data

<sup>19</sup> Ibid. This map is created for this research, based on the numbers obtained from Kōsei Tōkei Geppō.  
<sup>20</sup> The House of Representatives, *Hōritsu Dai 221 Gō Tokaichi Tennyū Yokusei Kinkyūsochirei Wo Kaisei Suru Hōritsu* (Tokyo1947).



suggest that the distribution of the repatriate population continued to change. Some repatriates settled in their hometowns permanently, while others migrated to other regions to find a better place. The next map and table show the prefectures with the largest changes in the number of repatriates between December 1946 and November 1949; these include urban prefectures both in eastern and western Japan (Tokyo, Kyoto, Osaka and Hyōgo) and northern prefectures, such as Hokkaido.

*Figure 3-3: Prefectures with the largest changes in the number of repatriates between December 1946 and November 1949<sup>21</sup>*



\*Prefectures with percentage figures are those which experienced the 12 largest increases in repatriate population.

<sup>21</sup> Ministry of Health and Welfare, "Kōsei Tōkei Geppō (Monthly Bulletin of the Welfare Statistics)." This map is created for this research, based on the numbers obtained from Kōsei Tōkei Geppō.

In Table 3-1, figures show the repatriate population increase rate between December 1946 and November 1949 in each prefecture. For example, in December 1946, the three prefectures with the largest repatriate populations were Fukuoka and Kumamoto in southern Japan and Hokkaido in northern Japan. By November 1949, the repatriate population had grown rapidly in northern Japan, where postwar reclamation projects were implemented and land was available for newcomers. Urban centres such as Tokyo and Osaka also attracted significant numbers. The number of the repatriate population will be compared with those of the entire population (including repatriates) in each prefecture using the 1947 and 1950 Population Censuses.

Table 3-1: Repatriate population changes between 1946 and 1949: Top 12 and the bottom 3 prefectures<sup>22</sup>

	Prefectures	Region	Repatriate population in Dec 1946	Repatriate population in Nov 1949	Increase between 1946-49	% of nationwide repatriate population (1949)
1	Hokkaido	North	162,997	380,136	133.2%	11.1%
2	Aomori	North	33,031	53,501	62.0%	1.6%
3	Osaka	Metropolitan (Western)	63,086	101,466	60.8%	2.9%
4	Tokyo	Metropolitan (Tokyo)	114,054	180,155	58.0%	5.2%
5	Kanagawa	Metropolitan (Tokyo)	40,387	58,613	45.1%	1.7%
6	Chiba	Metropolitan (Tokyo)	28,702	36,192	26.1%	1.1%
7	Kyoto	Metropolitan (Western)	50,865	63,392	24.6%	1.8%
8	Hyōgo	Metropolitan (Western)	76,586	93,784	22.5%	2.7%
9	Iwate	North	28,172	34,173	21.3%	1.0%
10	Miyazaki	West	58,708	70,700	20.4%	2.1%
11	Akita	North	40,847	48,997	20.0%	1.4%
12	Fukuoka	West	231,003	267,203	15.7%	7.8%
48	Yamagata	North	55,520	48,422	-14.3%	1.4%
45	Yamanashi	Chūbu (Central)	27,973	22,406	-19.9%	0.7%
46	Kumamoto	West	230,517	168,745	-26.8%	4.9%

\*The column showing the changes in repatriate population is shaded in grey.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid. Figures are calculated for this research, based on the numbers obtained from Kōsei Tōkei Geppō.

This table clearly shows that between 1946 and 1949, Hokkaido and several northern prefectures, urban metropolitan regions and several western prefectures absorbed growing number of repatriates from other prefectures. Further information on these regions will be given in the next section.

### **Hokkaido and northern prefectures as the largest destination of repatriates**

The largest repatriate population increase was observed in Hokkaido, where the figure grew by 133.2%, from 162,997 in December 1946 to 380,136 in November 1949. Hokkaido, located between Sakhalin and Honshū, the main island of Japan, had been developed after the Meiji Restoration in 1868 as a semi-colony where agriculture, fishing, forestry and mining were major sectors. Almost all of the Japanese population in Hokkaido were newcomers from the mainland, including farmers from the northeast region (Tōhoku), as well as agricultural labours and coal miners. Many also re-migrated to Sakhalin.<sup>23</sup>

After the Second World War, Hokkaido, together with the other six northern prefectures (Tōhoku), became focal points for the postwar Japanese economic policies to cope with food shortages (through reclamation projects) and energy shortages (through the increase in coal production) as part of the Priority Production System to increase coal production, which started in 1947. At the end of the war, Japan produced 9 million tons of rice and imported another 1.5 million tons from Korea and Taiwan. In 1945, Japan lost these imports and the rice production declined to 5.8 million tons (to a level of 56% of the previous year) partly due to a harvest failure. The government announced an emergency reclamation project plan in November 1945 and opened up military land, other state-owned land and forests, and farmland owned by the imperial family, and purchased private land across Japan to create new farmland. The initial goal was to create an

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<sup>23</sup> Wakatsuki, *Sengo Hikiage No Kiroku* 22-25.

additional 1.55 million hectares of farmland nationwide, though this was never achieved.<sup>24</sup>

From Sakhalin, approximately 310,000 civilians were repatriated and roughly 170,000 settled in Hokkaido, including primary sector workers willing to make a fresh start in the agriculture sector.<sup>25</sup> They were joined by other people affected by the war in mainland Japan, as the next table shows. The total population in Hokkaido, including repatriates and non-repatriates, increased by 780,000 between 1945 and 1950.<sup>26</sup> Some people who had first settled in some other prefecture chose to migrate to Hokkaido, often in pursuit of social freedom. One repatriate woman testified, “After returning from Manchuria, my husband and I first settled in Nagano prefecture where we had family, land and a house. As a farming family, we had enough to eat even when food shortages were a big problem. But our life in the hometown was not easy because we were always expected to follow traditional rules and social norms. We decided to move to Hokkaido where we thought we could live a new life with fewer social constraints’. By 1949, 27,000 households settled in new farmland in Hokkaido.<sup>27</sup> Table 3-2 shows the breakdown of the wartime experiences of these settlers, out of whom civilian repatriates made the second largest group, following the group of demobilised soldiers.

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<sup>24</sup> Hokkaido Sengo Kaitakushi Hensan linkai, *Hokkaido Sengo Kaitakushi* (Sapporo: Hokkaido Sengo Kaitakushi Hensan linkai, 1973), 28-29.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, 205.

<sup>26</sup> "Sengo 70 Nen Hokkaido (Dai Ichibu) (3) Hikiagesha," *Asahi Shimbun Hokkaido Edition*, 2 February 2015. <http://www.asahi.com/area/hokkaido/articles/MTW20150702011440001.html>. Accessed on 6 August 2016.

<sup>27</sup> *Hokkaido Sengo Kaitakushi* 204-05.

Table 3-2: Breakdown of 27,000 settlers participating in the postwar reclamation projects in Hokkaido<sup>28</sup>

Demobilised soldiers	39.4%
Civilian repatriates	27.0%
Unemployed people	16.1%
War victims (as a result of air bombing)	7.8%
Others	9.4%
<b>Total</b>	<b>100.0%</b>

Among these people, Sakhalin repatriates were perhaps relatively familiar with the cold climate and the methods of growing crops in northern regions. However, for some others, notably migrants from urban areas, Hokkaido was not a hospitable place. The island is in a boreal climate (subarctic) zone, and rice and other crops were difficult to grow. Among the above 27,000 households, approximately 40 per cent had abandoned reclamation farming by 1949.<sup>29</sup>

Although Hokkaido was a natural destination for many repatriates, other northern prefectures also received repatriates. Between 1947 and 1949, the repatriate populations in Aomori and Iwate increased by 62.0% (from 33,031 to 53,501) and by 21.3 % (28,172 to 34,173) respectively. Reclamation projects in northern prefectures (including Hokkaido) absorbed only a fraction of people, however, and it seems likely that returnees found new employment in various sectors.<sup>30</sup> For example, coal mines were among major employers, especially in the immediate postwar period. But many people were employed

<sup>28</sup> Ibid., 198. The total does not add up to 100.0%, but the figures are reproduced from the original.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid., 33.

<sup>30</sup> Sengo Kaitakushi Hensan linkai, *Sengo Kaitakushi* 702. Ministry of Health and Welfare, "Kōsei Tōkei Geppō (Monthly Bulletin of the Welfare Statistics)." If we compare the total number of civilian repatriate household in Hokkaido of 112,000 in November 1949 (See Monthly Bulletin of the Welfare Statistics of the Ministry of Health and Welfare) and the number of households of 36,000, which had settled in reclamation farmland by 1949 in Hokkaido (*Sengo Kaitakushi* 1977: 702), it is clear that repatriates who became postwar reclamation farmers were the minority.

in a temporary and informal manner, and reliable employment statistics for this period have yet to be found.

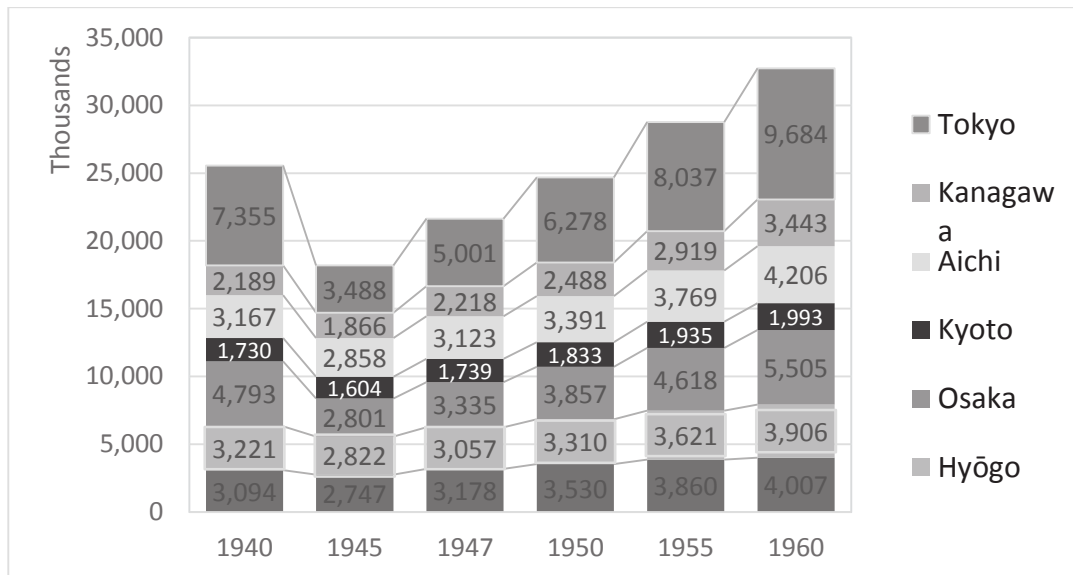
### **Repatriates in urban areas**

In addition to northern and western regions, urban city centres also became repatriates' new settlement places. As previously mentioned, this process was not rapid in the immediate postwar years due to the restrictions on migration to urban regions and the lack of housing, imposed by the aforementioned restriction on migration to urban regions (Tokaichi Tennyū Yokusei Kinkyūsochi Rei). In December 1946, Tokyo was the only urban prefecture in the top ten destinations of repatriates. (See Figure 3-1). However, people still continued to pour into urban areas. Between December 1946 and November 1949, among the top ten prefectures that experienced a large increase of repatriate population, five were urban prefectures: Osaka with a 60.8 per cent increase, Tokyo with 58.0 per cent, Chiba with 26.1 per cent, Kyoto with 24.6 per cent and Hyōgo with 22.5%.

Repatriates were not the only group of people that moved to urban areas after the war. Towards the end of the war, due to material shortages halting manufacturing production and the Allied Powers' air raids targeting Japanese industrial cities, the trend of Japan's pre-war urbanisation was interrupted and many urban residents were evacuated to the countryside. Between October 1940 and November 1945, Tokyo lost more than 50% of its population, Osaka more than 40%, and Kanagawa approximately 15%. After the end of the war, the reverse migration to urban areas slowly started as early as in the autumn of 1945 and continued for several years. The following graph shows the changes in population in the seven largest and most industrialised prefectures (Tokyo, Kanagawa which has Yokohama as the capital, Aichi with Nagoya, Kyoto, Osaka, Hyōgo with Kobe, and Fukuoka), showing the total population including civilian repatriates. The population census in 1955 states that the driving forces of domestic migration between 1945 and

1950 were evacuees returning to urban regions, while migration after 1955 was the result of renewed urbanisation and population outflow from the countryside to urban cities.<sup>31</sup>

Figure 3-4: Population changes in the seven populous prefectures, 1940-60 (in thousands)<sup>32</sup>



The 1950 census also shows that the repatriate population was more likely to live in urban areas<sup>33</sup> than the rest of the population. In 1950, 37.2% of non-repatriate Japanese lived in urban areas. The distribution of demobilised soldiers was quite similar (37.1%), which indicates that many were still young and returned to their homes. Yet, as the

<sup>31</sup> General Administrative Agency of the Cabinet Statistics Bureau of Japan, *Population Census of 1950* (Tokyo: Statistics Bureau of Japan, General Administrative Agency of the Cabinet, 1955), 40 and 79. [https://www.e-stat.go.jp/SG1/estat/GL08020103.do?\\_toGL08020103\\_&tclassID=000001026557&cycleCode=0&requestSender=search](https://www.e-stat.go.jp/SG1/estat/GL08020103.do?_toGL08020103_&tclassID=000001026557&cycleCode=0&requestSender=search). Accessed on 15 November 2016.

<sup>32</sup> *Population Census of 1960*, vol. 1 (Tokyo: Bureau of Statistics, 1960), 106-07.

<sup>33</sup> Article 8 of the Local Autonomy Law (*Chihō Jichitai Hō*) of 1947 defines a city as having to have a population larger than 50,000 people, more than 60 per cent of whom, including household members, are in the secondary and tertiary industry sectors and more than 60 per cent of whom live in central business districts (*Chūshin shigaichi*). Other municipalities (towns and villages) are included in counties.

[http://law.e-gov.go.jp/cgi-bin/idxselect.cgi?IDX\\_OPT=1&H\\_NAME=%92n%95FB%8E%A9%8E%A1%96%40&H\\_NAME\\_YOMI=%82%A0&H\\_NO\\_GENGO=H&H\\_NO\\_YEAR=&H\\_NO\\_TYPE=2&H\\_NO\\_NO=&H\\_FILE\\_NAME=S22HO067&H\\_RYAKU=1&H\\_CTG=1&H\\_YOMI\\_GUN=1&H\\_CTG\\_GUN=1](http://law.e-gov.go.jp/cgi-bin/idxselect.cgi?IDX_OPT=1&H_NAME=%92n%95FB%8E%A9%8E%A1%96%40&H_NAME_YOMI=%82%A0&H_NO_GENGO=H&H_NO_YEAR=&H_NO_TYPE=2&H_NO_NO=&H_FILE_NAME=S22HO067&H_RYAKU=1&H_CTG=1&H_YOMI_GUN=1&H_CTG_GUN=1). Accessed on 10 July 2016.



following table shows, the equivalent figure for civilian repatriates was as high as 44.5%, which indicates that many chose to move to urban areas, often within their home prefecture. Although it is difficult to clearly understand the reasons for this trend, it would be sensible to assume that for those who did not have a place to which they could return, urban areas might be easier places to move to due to the availability of job opportunities and the scale of available public or low-cost housing.

*Table 3-3: Proportion of repatriates residing in cities and counties in 1950 (per cent)<sup>34</sup>*

	<b>Civilian repatriates</b>	<b>Demobilised soldiers</b>	<b>Non-repatriates</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>Urban areas (labelled cities in the census)</b>	44.5%	37.1%	37.3%	37.5%
<b>Counties</b>	55.5%	62.9%	62.7%	62.5%
<b>Total</b>	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

### **Kyūshū and western prefectures**

Although many prefectures in western Japan were the first settlement places for repatriates, especially for those who were originally from this region, the population increase slowed or even declined in these prefectures. For example, out of the seven prefectures in Kyūshū Island, only two prefectures (Miyazaki with 20.4 per cent increase and Fukuoka with 15.7 per cent increase) experienced a larger repatriate population increase than the nation-wide average increase of 14.2 per cent between December 1946 and November 1949. Nagasaki and Kumamoto even saw the repatriate population decrease by 4.6 per cent and 26.8 per cent respectively, though the reasons for this decline is not clear.

<sup>34</sup> Statistics Bureau of Japan, *Population Census of 1950 (Final Report)*, 8, 139.

In the early postwar period, Kyūshū was still a relatively undeveloped region. Some repatriates might have chosen to search for new places to live and new jobs. In this process, Fukuoka, being the biggest industrialised city in the Kyūshū region and having major coal mines, attracted a significant number of repatriates. The pull-factors of Miyazaki are currently unknown and further research is required to explain the population influx. It is unfortunate that prefectures in Kyūshū as well as Hokkaido are slow to disclose public documents about repatriates, possibly due to the fact that a large number of people were affected by the repatriation problem and repatriates and their family members are still living in the region.<sup>35</sup> In the next section, the 1950 Population Census will be used to identify the general trends in repatriates' employment five years after the war.

## **Analysis of the population census of 1950**

The Population Census of 1950<sup>36</sup> includes statistics on repatriates: the total population, the age distribution, employment statistics (such as the percentage figures of active labour force and unemployed people), the sectoral breakdown of repatriates' occupation and the geographical distribution of their residence, in both cities and counties. This is valuable information on repatriates' postwar lives; however, the repatriate population reported in the population census is much smaller than the figures reported by the Ministry of Health and Welfare in its previously mentioned monthly statistics<sup>37</sup> and the reports on the repatriation programme (*Hikiage Engo no Kiroku*).<sup>38</sup> As shown in the following table, the

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<sup>35</sup> Although many repatriates have already passed away, some of their children and other family members are still living in the same place. It is possible that local governments are reluctant to disclose documents, including the 1956 national survey into repatriates' postwar lives, which contain all the family members' personal information.

<sup>36</sup> Statistics Bureau of Japan, *Population Census of 1950 (Final Report)*, 8, 147.

<sup>37</sup> Ministry of Health and Welfare, "Kōsei Tōkei Geppō (Monthly Bulletin of the Welfare Statistics)."

<sup>38</sup> Repatriation Relief Bureau, *Hikiage Engo No Kiroku*. Ministry of Health and Welfare, *Zoku Hikiage Engo No Kiroku* ; *Zoku Zoku Hikiage Engo No Kiroku*

1950 census reports that the number of civilian repatriates on 1 October, 1950 was 2,617,000. This is much lower than the figure of 3,432,919 reported in November 1949 in the monthly statistics.<sup>39</sup> The figures reported in the 1950 census are reproduced in the table below. It should also be noted that the figures appearing in the ‘total’ column seem to be incorrect.

*Table 3-4: Number of civilian repatriates and repatriated demobilised soldiers as of 1 October, 1950 (Population Census)<sup>40</sup>*

	<b>Civilian repatriates</b>	<b>Non-settled Japanese people (mostly demobilised soldiers)</b>	<b>Total*</b>	<b>Total Japanese population in 1950</b>
<b>Male</b>	1,362,000	1,984,000	3,419,000	40,812,000
<b>Female</b>	1,255,000	136,000	1,405,000	42,388,000
<b>Total (a)</b>	2,617,000	2,120,000	4,824,000	83,200,000
<b>Number of repatriates in November 1949<sup>41</sup> (b)</b>	3,432,919	3,561,291		
<b>(a) / (b)</b>	82.2%	68.2%		

\* Incorrect figures, copied from the original document.

In an attempt to explain this discrepancy, the census states that some repatriates, specifically a certain number of demobilised soldiers, did not identify themselves as repatriates.<sup>42</sup> This is quite likely because repatriates, specifically former soldiers, were often criticised for having been active participants in Japanese wartime aggression. War crimes and the cruelty of the Japanese military forces were widely reported in news stories.

<sup>39</sup> "Kōsei Tōkei Geppō (Monthly Bulletin of the Welfare Statistics)."

<sup>40</sup> Statistics Bureau of Japan, *Population Census of 1950 (Final Report)*, 8, 135.

<sup>41</sup> Ministry of Health and Welfare, "Kōsei Tōkei Geppō (Monthly Bulletin of the Welfare Statistics)."

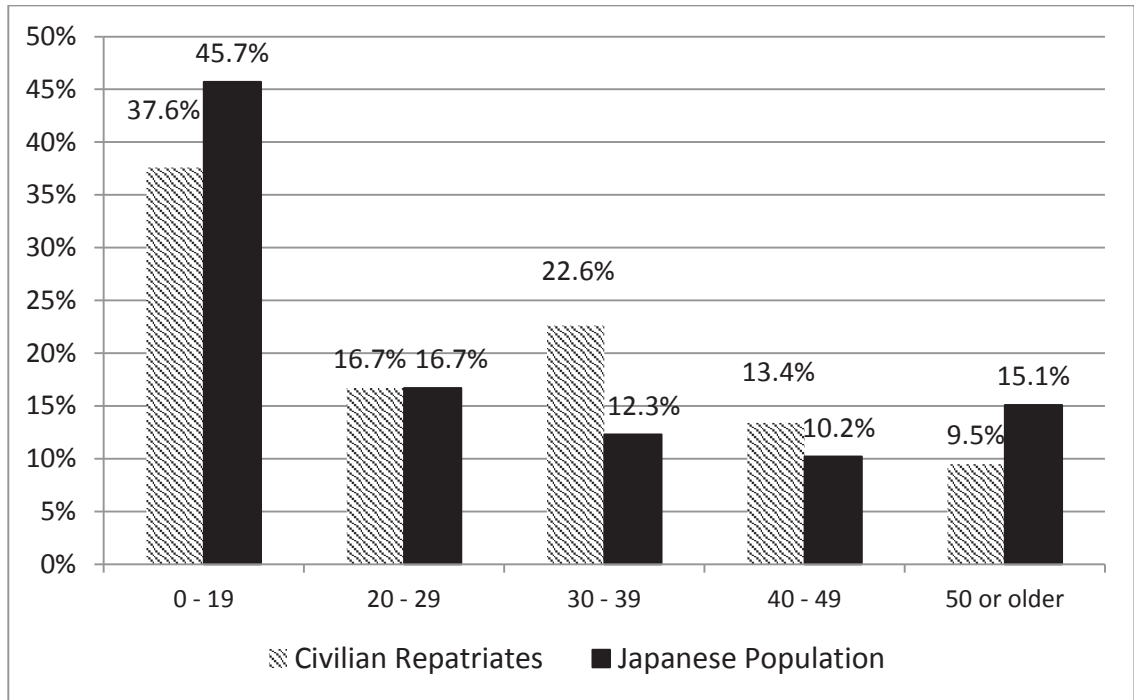
<sup>42</sup> Statistics Bureau of Japan, *Population Census of 1950 (Final Report)*, 8, 135.

As the information for the census was collected through an interview, usually by the visit of a member of a neighbourhood association, some repatriates may have found it difficult to identify themselves as ‘repatriates’ in an interview with their neighbours and may have decided not to identify themselves as ‘repatriates.’ This research therefore only uses percentage figures obtained from the numbers reported in the census to shed light on repatriates’ job experiences.

### **Ages and labour force participation**

The census reports the distribution of the age of repatriates. As Figure 3-5 shows, the proportion of repatriates in the 30s-40s age group was greater than that in the Japanese population. As will be shown later in this thesis, many of the repatriates were first generation migrants who went overseas to work in the 1930s. At the end of the war, they were still members of the active labour force.

Figure 3-5: Age structure of repatriates<sup>43</sup>



The percentage figure of employed people (*shūgyōsha*) in the population older than 14 years old, the age group that was regarded as the labour force in the census, was also higher among repatriates (77.8 per cent) than in the rest of the population (65.4 per cent). The possible reason for the higher percentage figure in the labour force and concentration in the 30-40 years age group is that the majority of civilian repatriates went to Japan’s overseas territories in the 1930s or early 1940s as adult migrants. Accordingly, the number of children and elderly were smaller in the repatriate population. The following table shows the overview of the occupational breakdown of repatriates in 1950 in comparison with the rest of the population.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid., 136.

Table 3-5: Breakdown of employment by sector (population older than 14 years old) from the 1950 census.<sup>44</sup>

	Repatriates including demobilised soldiers (%)	Non-repatriate Japanese (%)
<b>Agriculture, forestry and fishery</b>	32.8	49.8
<b>Manufacturing</b>	17.9	15.8
<b>Construction</b>	5.9	4.2
<b>Mining</b>	3.5	1.5
<b>Transport and communication</b>	8.0	4.8
<b>Retail and wholesale</b>	12.9	11.0
<b>Services</b>	9.7	8.5
<b>Finance and real estate</b>	1.3	1.0
<b>Public services</b>	7.8	3.5
<b>Others</b>	0.3	0.1
<b>Total</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>

According to this table, in the 1950s, Japan was still a predominantly agrarian country, and approximately half of the Japanese population of working age (those older than 14 years old) were in the primary sector, including in agriculture. For repatriates too, this sectors was a major destination, however, the proportion of repatriates working in the sector was much smaller, at 32.8 percent. Access to land may have caused the difference. Moreover, as this research will explore in Chapter 4, it seems likely that the majority of repatriates had worked in a non-agricultural sector abroad and may have preferred to work in sectors where their skills and experiences were useful. Repatriates who did not enter the agricultural sector found employment spread across other sectors. In fact, in all other sectors the percentage figures for repatriates were larger than those for the non-repatriate Japanese population. Specifically, their concentration is conspicuous in transport and

<sup>44</sup> Ibid., 137.

communications (8% for repatriates versus 4.8% for the rest), in the public sector (7.8% versus 3.5%) and mining (3.5% versus 1.5%).

It seems likely that the concentration in transport and communications was the result of a large number of repatriates working in overseas railway companies such as the South Manchuria Railway, and this possibility will be explored further below, making use of the database on the four prefectures. The public sector also absorbed a significant number of repatriates, perhaps as part of an attempt by the government to reduce unemployment. As mentioned in the previous section on Hokkaido prefecture, mining had been another major destination for repatriates. During the war, mining facilities did not receive sufficient maintenance and production levels declined. After the end of the war, coal mines also lost foreign labour (including the forced labourers brought from former Japanese territories). In the immediate postwar period, the energy shortage was one of the major economic problems, and the government prioritised coal production and mobilised labour for the mines. It was therefore quite natural that some repatriates should find their first employment after repatriation in coal mines, specifically in Kyūshū and in Hokkaido. Many worked in coal mines for a short period, but the census shows that in 1950, five years after the war, a significant number of repatriates were still employed in the mining sector, which was expanding production.

Retail and wholesale were another destination for many repatriates. Small retailing businesses had traditionally been a relatively easy sector to enter. The fact that many repatriates found employment in non-agricultural sectors and there were concentrations in several sectors, including transport and communications and the public sector, is consistent with the findings discussed in later chapters of this thesis. Following on from these national-level figures, in the next section, this research will use the databases created from the 1956 national survey into repatriates' postwar lives to analyse the repatriates' profiles and postwar occupational transitions in detail.

## Chapter 4

### **Analysis at the prefectural level: Economic experiences of civilian repatriates in Ibaraki, Hiroshima and Kanagawa prefectures**

This chapter analyses the experiences of Japanese civilian repatriates during the wartime and the postwar period by using the Japanese government survey into repatriates' postwar lives in 1956.<sup>1</sup> As mentioned before, databases have been created from the information obtained from the survey forms collected for four prefectures: Ibaraki, Hiroshima, Kanagawa and Osaka. As explained in Chapter 2, the number of individual samples in each database is 500 for Ibaraki, 621 for Hiroshima and 640 for Kanagawa. For Osaka prefecture, the figures are 325 for Takatsuki city and 283 for Sennan county. The individual samples for Ibaraki, Hiroshima and Kanagawa have been taken by using the random sampling method, and for Takatsuki city and Sennan county, all available survey forms have been used. As the survey forms were available only for these two municipalities out of 32 in Osaka prefecture in 1956, this research uses the analysis of Takatsuki and Sennan to only highlight key points. Most analysis of these two municipalities is included at the end of this chapter as an independent section.

The purpose of this chapter is to understand the general trends of civilian repatriates' occupational changes from the wartime to postwar period. Unless otherwise stated, all figures in this chapter have been taken from the database compiled for each prefecture. In addition, when a figure for the repatriate population is compared with the

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<sup>1</sup> Ministry of Health and Welfare, "Zaigai Jijitsu Chōsahyō (Japanese Government Survey into Repatriates' Postwar Lives)," (1956). Numbers have been calculated from each prefecture's database created for this research.



total population in each prefecture, it should be noted that the total population includes non-repatriates, demobilised soldiers and civilian repatriates.

### **The four prefectures chosen for this research: Ibaraki, Hiroshima, Kanagawa and Osaka**

The postwar resettlement patterns of civilian repatriates are different in each prefecture, as analysed in Chapter 3. Table 4-1 summarises the numbers of returnees, including civilian repatriates and demobilised soldiers, in each prefecture chosen for this research in October 1947 when official statistics of repatriates and the population census could be compared. It seems likely that patterns of resettlement were largely influenced by the characteristics of the prefecture. This section starts with a brief survey of the key characteristics of each prefecture, including its location, the size of its population, history of emigration, and economic structure.

Table 4-1: Numbers of civilian repatriates and demobilised soldiers in each prefecture and their percentage of the total prefectural population (including repatriates) in October 1947<sup>2</sup>

	<b>Civilian repatriates</b> (a)	<b>Demobilized soldiers</b> (b)	(a) + (b)	<b>Total prefectural population</b>
<b>Ibaraki</b>	43,616 (2.2 %)	95,461 (4.7 %)	139,077 (6.9 %)	2,013,735 (100%)
<b>Hiroshima</b>	117,074 (5.8%)	117,615 (5.8 %)	234,689 (11.7%)	2,011,498 (100%)
<b>Kanagawa</b>	50,646 (2.3 %)	88,717 (4.0 %)	139,363 (6.3 %)	2,218,120 (100%)
<b>Osaka</b>	88,430 (2.7 %)	107,221 (3.2%)	195,651 (5.9 %)	3,334,659 (100%)
<b>All Japan</b>	<b>3,382,879</b> (4.3%)	<b>3,440,152</b> (4.7%)	<b>6,823,031</b> (8.7%)	<b>78,101,473</b> (100%)

\*Figures in parentheses show the percentage figures of civilian repatriates (Column a) and demobilised soldiers (Column b) in the total prefectural population.

As we have seen in Chapter 2 and Chapter 3, the majority of civilian repatriates arrived in Japan by the end of 1950 (See Figure 1-2). The country was still an agrarian society in 1950 and approximately half of the population was in agriculture. Between 1950 and 1955, economic recovery continued and industrialisation and urbanisation accelerated. Table 4-2 shows the sectoral breakdown of Japan and the four chosen prefectures for this research. Table 4-2 shows that agriculture was still a major sector in Japan and approximately one-third of households were in the sector in 1955, but the

<sup>2</sup> General Administrative Agency of the Cabinet Statistics Bureau of Japan, *Population Census of 1947*, vol. 2 (Tokyo 1948), 5. Ministry of Health and Welfare, "Kōsei Tōkei Geppō (Monthly Bulletin of the Welfare Statistics)," (Tokyo: Ministry of Health and Welfare, April 1947 to November 1949). The population census of 1947 was completed in 1st October 1947. The figures from Kōsei Tōkei Geppō were counted and reported on 30th September 1947.

importance of agriculture is much lower in urban prefectures, Kanagawa and Osaka in this table.<sup>3</sup>

*Table 4-2: Share of households in each sector in the 1955 Census (as % of total prefectural population)<sup>4</sup>*

	All Japan	Ibaraki	Hiroshima	Kanagawa	Osaka
<b>Agriculture</b>	29.9	48.5	30.7	11.2	6.9
<b>Industry</b>	23.4	15.8	21.6	29.8	35.9
<b>Services</b>	35.9	27.5	36.8	45.1	43.8
<b>Unemployed</b>	1.6	0.8	1.8	2.9	2.6
<b>Not in labour force</b>	9.2	7.6	9.0	10.9	10.8
<b>Total</b>	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

### **Ibaraki prefecture**

Ibaraki prefecture is located in eastern Japan and is a part of the Kanto region which includes Tokyo and Kanagawa. In 1955, the prefecture had a population of 2,064,037 and ranked as the 14th largest prefecture in terms of total prefectural population. It was traditionally an agricultural prefecture. Although the value of Japan's national industrial production had already surpassed that of agriculture during the First World War, the value of agricultural production in Ibaraki was larger than that of the industrial production until 1935.<sup>5</sup> Because Ibaraki is close to the Tokyo metropolitan area, the prefecture had been a

<sup>3</sup> General Administrative Agency of the Cabinet Statistics Bureau of Japan, *Population Census of 1955* (Tokyo: Statistics Bureau of Japan, General Administrative Agency of the Cabinet, 1956), 42-43.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 198-214.

<sup>5</sup> Ibaraki Kenshi Hensan Kindaishi Bukai, *Ibarakiken Shiryō: Kindai Tōkei Hen* (Mito: Ibaraki Prefectural Government, 1967), 202-04.

provider of not only rice, but also wheat, soy beans, vegetables and fruits.<sup>6</sup> Table 4-2 confirms the dominance of agriculture in Ibaraki's economy in the mid-1950s.<sup>7</sup>

In Ibaraki, another dominant sector was mining. Coal had been the most important product in mining in the late 19th century, but after the turn of the 20th century, copper, particularly which was produced at the Hitachi Kōzan mine, became a major product. Hitachi, which would become a major electrical company after the Second World War, started its operations in 1910 as a maintenance factory attached to the Hitachi copper mine. In 1928, the businessman Ayukawa Gisuke took over the mining company (Kuhara Kōgyō) and renamed it Nissan (Nihon Sangyō), from which the mining department was separated as Nihon Kōgyō in 1929. When Manchukuo started the five-year industrial development plan in 1937 to increase the production of armament, aircrafts, automobiles, steel, coal, liquid fuel, electricity, as well as to expand agriculture in the region and increase in Japanese migrants to Manchuria, Ayukawa was invited to join the project. He relocated and restructured Nissan into the Manchurian Industrial Development Company. He became the first president of the new company.<sup>8</sup>

Ibaraki had another connection with Manchuria. The prefectural capital Mito city hosted a training centre for teenage farmers (mostly 16 to 19 years old) who were to be sent to Manchuria. Between 1938 and 1945 the school trained 86,530 students who were recruited from all prefectures.<sup>9</sup> In a three-month programme, the students were taught academic subjects including Japanese language, history and geography of Japan and Manchuria, the social situation in Manchuria, as well as martial arts and practical agricultural techniques. However, despite these connections and the presence of the large agriculture sector in Ibaraki, the number of Ibaraki citizens who joined the reclamation

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<sup>6</sup> Ibaraki Kenshi Kenkyūkai, *Ibaraki Kenshi* (Mito: Ibaraki Kenshi Kankō linkai, 1930), 202-07.

<sup>7</sup> Statistics Bureau of Japan, *Population Census of 1955*, 42-43.

<sup>8</sup> Makio Okabe, *Manshūkoku* (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 2007), 100-08.

<sup>9</sup> Ibaraki Prefectural Government, *Ibarakiken Shūsen Shorishi* (Mito: Ibaraki Prefectural Government, 1967), 124-28.

project in Manchuria was not significant. In fact, Ibaraki prefecture sent approximately 0.2 per cent of its total population between 1937 and 1939 to Manchuria as reclamation farmers, while the equivalent figure for Japan's population as a whole was 0.5 per cent.<sup>10</sup> A list of the number of reclamation farmers who went to Manchuria from each prefecture is included in Appendix.

For Ibaraki prefecture, it is unfortunate but further relevant information on the prefecture's economic history which could explain the migration and resettlement patterns of civilian repatriates, seems not to be available. The major focus of official records published by the Ibaraki prefectural government and other documents is on politics or activities of political leaders, including the history of Mito-Tokugawa's governance during the Edo period, activities of Mito-born terrorists who opposed the foreign policy at the end of the Edo period, and newly introduced political systems after the Meiji Restoration or the coup d'état in 1932 caused by the group of terrorists called the Blood League (Ketsumeidan) who were based in Ibaraki prefecture.

In terms of the number of civilian repatriates in the prefecture in the late 1940s, in the monthly statistics of the Ministry of Health and Welfare, the number of repatriates in Ibaraki in December 1946 was given as 37,326 (1.2 percent of the total repatriate population in Japan of 3,007,372) and the prefecture was ranked 29th out of the 46 destination prefectures. In October 1947, the only time when the number of repatriates and the total prefectural population (including repatriates) in each prefecture can be compared, the percentage accounted for by civilian repatriates was only 2.2 per cent in the prefecture's total population, as shown in Table 4-1. The prefecture also received a large number of demobilised soldiers (4.7 per cent of the prefecture's total population in 1947, including repatriates). This implies that although the presence of civilian repatriates alone was not significant in the prefecture, the total influx amounting to 6.9 per cent of

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<sup>10</sup> Shinsuke Kobayashi, "Hitobito Wa Naze Manshū He Watattanoka," *Minten*, no. 30 (2013): 31.

the prefecture's population may have caused short-term and mid-term problems. In November 1949, the number of the civilian repatriate population in Ibaraki was 42,214, and it was ranked 28th out of 46 prefectures. The rate of increase in the civilian repatriate population in Ibaraki between December 1946 and November 1949, therefore, was 13.1 per cent, which was the 13th largest figure of increase in all prefectures. The increase included repatriates who returned between January 1947 and November 1949, as well as those who had migrated from other prefectures in Japan after repatriation for various reasons, including postwar reclamation widely implemented in the prefecture.

### **Hiroshima prefecture**

Hiroshima prefecture is located in western Japan. It had a population of 2,149,044 in October 1947, which made it the 12th largest prefecture in terms of population.<sup>11</sup> The prefecture historically had a high population density in relation to the cultivated areas, partly due to the prevalence of the Buddhist faction Jōdo Shinshū which prohibited abortion, a traditional means of controlling population, in the pre-modern period. Population pressure had led to continuing emigration to neighbouring regions, for example to Okayama prefecture, mostly in the form of temporary workers. After the Meiji Restoration in 1868, the destinations of Hiroshima migrants gradually expanded to include foreign countries, first Hawaii, the Americas and Oceania, and then Taiwan and Korea after Japan colonised them in 1895 and 1910 respectively.<sup>12</sup> Hiroshima was the largest sending prefecture to the United States by 1925 (29.0 per cent of total Japanese migrants to the country), the fifth largest to Brazil (6.8 per cent of the total to Brazil) and the fourth largest to Taiwan (4.4 per cent).<sup>13</sup> Unlike the cases of Ibaraki and Kanagawa,

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<sup>11</sup> Statistics Bureau of Japan, *Population Census of 1955*, 30.

<sup>12</sup> Hiroshima Prefectural Government, *Hiroshimaken Ijūshi* (Hiroshima: Hiroshima Prefectural Government, 1993), 27, 35-41. Hiroshima Prefectural Archives, *Hiroshima Kara Sekai He: Ijūsha No Rekishi to Genzai* (Hiroshima: Hiroshima Prefectural Archives, 2015). <https://www.pref.hiroshima.lg.jp/soshiki/file/monjokan/zuroku/iju-zuroku2015.pdf>. Accessed on 11 February 2016.

<sup>13</sup> Yasuo Wakatsuki, *Sengo Hikiage No Kiroku* (Tokyo: Jiji Tsūshinsha, 1995), 23-24. According to

migrants from Hiroshima went overseas early on as settler migrants or temporary labourers. Within Hiroshima prefecture, two military bases were located in Hiroshima city (the fifth Division of the Army) and Kure city (the Kure Naval District). Military industries occupied an important place in the prefecture.

The prefecture's capital, Hiroshima city, was attacked with the atomic bomb on 6th August, 1945. The Hiroshima city government estimated that approximately 350,000 people were in Hiroshima city that day, and that the atomic attack killed approximately 140,000, roughly 40 per cent of the number of people who were in the city at the time.<sup>14</sup> If the city's population of 350,000 in August 1945 is compared with the total prefectural population of 1,962,950 as of February 1944, it can be estimated that approximately 17.8 per cent of the prefecture's population was living in Hiroshima city. The destruction together with the demilitarisation of industries in Hiroshima and Kure cities created significant problems for postwar recovery and reconstruction, which may have made the influx of repatriates particularly challenging.

Despite the fact that Hiroshima prefecture had suffered significant destruction, Hiroshima's wartime experience and subsequent postwar problems were not unique. For example, many other cities in Japan experienced tremendous damage from American air raids during the latter stage of the war, sometimes at similar scales to Hiroshima, and wartime industries had to be dissolved or converted to civilian businesses. Moreover, as with many other prefectures, Hiroshima prefecture consisted of not only cities but also much wider agricultural regions to which an excess population could retreat. Table 4-2 indicates that Hiroshima prefecture's sectoral structure was quite similar to that of Japan

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Wakatsuki, the largest group of the Japanese population in Taiwan in 1935 came from Kagoshima prefecture, followed by Kumamoto prefecture and Fukuoka prefecture and Hiroshima prefecture.

<sup>14</sup> Hiroshima City, *Genbaku to Heiwa (the Atomic Bomb and Peace)* (Hiroshima: Hiroshima City, 2014). <http://www.city.hiroshima.lg.jp/www/contents/0000000000000/1111638957650/>. Accessed on 15 December 2014. Not all people died on the day of the attack. The death toll of 140,000 was those who died between 6<sup>th</sup> August and 31<sup>st</sup> December 1945.

as a whole in 1955; approximately 30 per cent of household heads were in agriculture, 22-23 per cent in industries and 36-37 per cent in services. In this sense, Hiroshima prefecture can be regarded as fairly typical of the overall Japanese profile. This contrasts with the economic structure in the metropolitan areas, such as Kanagawa and Osaka, where agriculture was the smallest among the three sectors.

According to *Kōsei Tōkei Geppō*,<sup>15</sup> the repatriate population in the prefecture in December 1946 was estimated to be 101,943 (3.3 per cent of the total repatriate population in Japan and the 9th largest destination for repatriates). In October 1947, the civilian repatriate population in Hiroshima accounted for 5.8 per cent of the total prefectural population including repatriates, as shown in Table 4.1. A further 5.8 per cent were demobilised soldiers. This means that more than 11 per cent of the population in the Hiroshima prefecture in 1947 were ‘returnees’ from Japan’s overseas territories or battle fields. By November 1949, the civilian repatriate population had increased to 113,899, which made the prefecture still the ninth largest destination for repatriates. The rate of increase in the civilian repatriate population in Hiroshima between December 1946 and November 1949 was 11.7 per cent, which was the 15th largest increase out of all prefectures.

### **Kanagawa prefecture**

Kanagawa prefecture is located in the centre of Japan and is adjacent to Tokyo. Its capital is Yokohama city. Throughout modern Japanese history, Kanagawa has been an important region for transport and trade; the Tōkaidō Route connecting Edo (renamed Tokyo in 1868) and Kyoto (the capital of Japan until 1868) runs through Kanagawa. Yokohama Port was opened in 1859 as one of the five treaty ports named in the Treaties of Amity and Commerce with the United States, the United Kingdom, France, Russia and

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<sup>15</sup> Ministry of Health and Welfare, "Kōsei Tōkei Geppō (Monthly Bulletin of the Welfare Statistics)."



the Netherlands. One of the major goods traded at Yokohama Port in the 19th century was the key export of raw silk. In 1872, the first railway in Japan was completed between Tokyo and Yokohama.

Since around the turn of the 20th century, Yokohama has been, and is still, home to numerous other major companies, such as Nihon Kōkan (NKK, renamed JFE Steel in 2003 when it merged with Kawasaki Steel), Tokyo Gas Corporation, Toshiba and the Tokyo Electric Company. During the economic boom brought by the First World War, as well as after the Kantō Earthquake in 1923, some other factories moved from Tokyo to Yokohama and Kawasaki in Kanagawa prefecture, which became the foundation of the Keihin Industrial District spreading from Tokyo to Yokohama city. In 1926, the Tsurumi Thermal Power Plant started operations to provide electric power to this region. In the 1930s, Yokohama Port became increasingly important as a hub for the sea routes to the Americas and Hawaii. During the same period, heavy industries, notably steel, shipbuilding, and automobiles, expanded and the development further accelerated in the 1930s in the context of Japan's war effort. In 1935, Nissan began automobile manufacturing in its factory in Yokohama, and the Yokohama Shipyard of Mitsubishi Heavy Industries acquired an existing shipyard in Yokohama city.

Between 1942 and 1945, the Allied Powers bombed Yokohama city approximately 20 times, and the bombing on 29th May 1945 destroyed about 42 per cent of the city centre. Residential and commercial areas, as well as railways and government offices, were heavily attacked, but damages in the industrial district were relatively limited and most production facilities continued business operations. After the end of the war, the Allied occupation authorities entered Yokohama city on 30th August 1945. They took over a part of the city centre, in addition to approximately 90 per cent of Yokohama Port facilities. Yokohama city's economic recovery was slow during the occupation

period, but began to accelerate in the 1950s.<sup>16</sup> The foreign trade volume at Yokohama Port surpassed the pre-war peak level (recorded in 1937) by 1957.<sup>17</sup>

According to *Kōsei Tōkei Geppō*,<sup>18</sup> the repatriate population in Kanagawa prefecture in December 1946 was estimated to be 40,387 (1.3 per cent of the total repatriate population in Japan) and the prefecture was only the 27th largest destination for repatriates. In October 1947, the percentage figure of the civilian repatriate population in Kanagawa accounted for 2.3 per cent of the prefecture's population, as shown in Table 4-1. A further 4.0 per cent were demobilised soldiers. This means that the number of 'returnees,' including civilian repatriates and demobilised soldiers, was relatively small, compared to Ibaraki and Hiroshima, and only approximately 6.3 per cent of the prefecture's population were 'returnees' from Japan's overseas territories or battlefields. The civilian repatriate population increased from 40,387 in December 1946 to 58,613 by November 1949 by 45.1 per cent, but the prefecture was still only the 26th largest destination for repatriates. However, although the proportion of civilian repatriates in the total prefecture's population was not significant, the rate of increase in the civilian repatriate population in Kanagawa between December 1946 and November 1949 was 21.8 per cent, the 8th largest increase out of all prefectures. It seems likely, therefore, that many repatriates joined the wave of urbanisation and industrialisation to capture better opportunities in postwar Kanagawa when industrial production in Japan started to grow.

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<sup>16</sup> Yokohama City Government, "Kanagawa Kenkano Kūshū Higai Jōkyō," ed. Yokohamashi Shiryōshitsu (Yokohama2000).

<http://www.city.yokohama.lg.jp/somu/org/gyosei/sisi/web-air-raid/images/pdf/65-1.pdf>. Accessed on 12<sup>th</sup> February, 2016. Yokohama Customs, *Yokohama Kaiki 150 Nen No Rekishi* (Yokohama: Yokohama Customs, 2006), 46-50.

<http://www.customs.go.jp/yokohama/history/history150.html>. Accessed on 12 February 2016.

<sup>17</sup> Yokohama City Government, *Yokohamashi Hōkatsu Gaibu Kansa Hōkokusho*, ed. Yokohamashi Hōkatsu Gaibu Kansa Hōjin (Yokohama: Yokohama City Government, 2006), 9-10.

<http://www.city.yokohama.lg.jp/kansa/kekka/pdf/gai18.pdf>. Accessed on 12<sup>th</sup> February 2016.

<sup>18</sup> Ministry of Health and Welfare, "Kōsei Tōkei Geppō (Monthly Bulletin of the Welfare Statistics)."

This trend might have accelerated especially after the Korean War broke out in June 1950 and U.S. procurement orders dramatically increased.

### **Osaka prefecture**

Osaka is the financial and economic centre of Western Japan. In 1955, the prefecture had a population of 4,618,308 and ranked as the third largest prefecture in Japan in terms of total population.<sup>19</sup> During the Edo period, representatives of each feudal domain brought rice which had been collected as tax to Osaka to exchange it for cash, and this had helped Osaka to grow as a major financial and economic hub. After the Meiji Restoration, Osaka experienced stagnation because the financial system during the Edo period became obsolete, but new sectors such as railway transport, banking and cotton spinning and weaving started to develop in Osaka prefecture. The textile sector especially became a major one and flourished to the extent that Osaka was called the Manchester of the Orient.<sup>20</sup> The centre of the textile sector was Senboku and Sennan counties,<sup>21</sup> the latter of which is included in the analysis for this thesis. Takatsuki city, another municipality used in this research, had been an agricultural village which mainly produced rice, wheat and rapeseeds. As Osaka prefecture industrialised, however, several industrial firms were established in Takatsuki due to its convenient location midway between Osaka and Kyoto. In 1919, Takatsuki city became the host of two major companies, Japan Cotton Silk Spinning (Nihon Ken-men) and Yuasa Battery. Yuasa Battery was a major supplier of batteries for submarines to the Japanese Navy and expanded its business to Japan's overseas territories including Manchuria.<sup>22</sup> Around the turn of the 20th century, sea routes

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<sup>19</sup> General Administrative Agency of the Cabinet Statistics Bureau of Japan, *Population Census of 1955 (Osaka Prefecture)*, vol. 5-27 (Tokyo: Statistics Bureau of Japan, General Administrative Agency of the Cabinet, 1956), 28-31.

[http://www.e-stat.go.jp/SG1/estat/GL08020103.do?\\_toGL08020103\\_&tclassID=000001026556&cycleCode=0&requestSender=search](http://www.e-stat.go.jp/SG1/estat/GL08020103.do?_toGL08020103_&tclassID=000001026556&cycleCode=0&requestSender=search). Accessed on 1 February, 2016.

<sup>20</sup> Osaka Shishi Hensanjo, *Osaka No Rekishi* (Osaka: Sōgensha, 1999), 256-59.

<sup>21</sup> Shigeru Nakajima, *Menkōgyō Chiiki No Keisei* (Tokyo: Taimeidō, 2002), 62.

<sup>22</sup> Takatsuki City Government, *Takatsuki Shishi*, vol. 2 (Takatsuki: Takatsuki City Government, 1977),

from Osaka to other Asian countries were also opened. Osaka port was one of the major ports in Japan's trade with Asian countries before 1945. For example, 79.9 per cent of exports from Osaka in 1937 went to other Asian countries such as Manchuria. Together with light industry, heavy industry was also developed in the prefecture, specifically during the wartime years. After the war, light industrial sectors, including textiles, furniture manufacturing and food processing, as well as heavy industries such as metal, machinery and chemical engineering, recovered and thrived.<sup>23</sup>

According to *Kōsei Tōkei Geppō*,<sup>24</sup> the repatriate population in Osaka prefecture in December 1946 was estimated to be 63,086 (2.1 per cent of the total repatriate population in Japan). The prefecture was the 15th largest destinations for repatriates. In October 1947, the percentage figure of the civilian repatriate population in Osaka was 2.7 per cent of the prefecture's population (including repatriates), as shown in Table 4.1. A further 3.2 per cent of the total population were demobilised soldiers. The repatriate population rapidly increased to 101,466 by November 1949, which made the prefecture the tenth largest destination for repatriates. If the populations of civilian repatriates in Osaka prefecture between December 1946 and November 1949 are compared, we find that the prefecture experienced the third largest increase among all prefectures, of 60.8 per cent, following only Hokkaido (133.2 per cent) and Aomori (62.2 per cent). Tokyo was behind Osaka, ranking fourth with an increase of 58.0 percent.

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765-76.

<sup>23</sup> Osaka Prefectural Government, *Osakafu Tōkeisho* (Osaka: Osaka Prefectural Government, 1951).

<sup>24</sup> Ministry of Health and Welfare, "Kōsei Tōkei Geppō (Monthly Bulletin of the Welfare Statistics)."

## **Wartime experiences of civilian repatriates in the database for Ibaraki, Hiroshima, Kanagawa and Osaka prefectures**

As discussed in the overview of Hiroshima prefecture, a small group of Japanese people started to migrate to other countries only after the 1880s, first to Hawaii. However, it was after Japan colonised Taiwan in 1895 and annexed Korea in 1910 the number of emigrants started to increase.<sup>25</sup> Although it is difficult to know the number of Japanese people living outside of Japan between the 1880s and 1945 and their whereabouts because reliable and consistent statistics are not available,<sup>26</sup> this thesis attempts to show the trend of Japanese migrants' whereabouts at the end of the war. Table 4-3 shows the geographical distribution of repatriates' places of residence in August 1945. The figures contained in this table were obtained from the database created from the 1956 survey forms. From Table 4-3 we see that the number of individuals living in Manchuria at the end of the war was the largest group for each of the prefectures, followed by those who were in China, Korea and Sakhalin. The distribution varies by prefecture. In Ibaraki, for example, more than half of the 1956 repatriates had been in Manchuria in August 1945. In Hiroshima, approximately one-third had returned from Korea and Taiwan. 'Other regions' are Southeast Asia, islands in the Mandated Territories in South Pacific, the United States and Australia. If we compare Ibaraki, Hiroshima and Kanagawa prefectures on which we have the most comprehensive data, the largest number from 'other regions' in this table settled in postwar Kanagawa. In the Kanagawa database, 44 repatriates from 'other regions' included those from Southeast Asia (22 individuals), the Mandated Territories in South Pacific (17 individuals), the United States (2 individuals) and Australia (3 individuals). It is particularly noteworthy that out of 17 individuals from South Pacific, six were originally from Okinawa prefecture. Both pre-war and wartime, more than half

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<sup>25</sup> Wakatsuki, *Sengo Hikiage No Kiroku* 16-17.

<sup>26</sup> Wakatsuki estimated the number of Japanese who lived outside of Japan between 1881 and 1942, which is included in Appendix of this research.

of Japanese migrants to South Pacific were originally from Okinawa. Okinawa became a source of migrants in the economic stagnation after the First World War when the price of Okinawa's primary product sugar sharply dropped, and the prefecture's economy was not able to support the residents' lives.<sup>27</sup> In Kanagawa prefecture, there has been a large community of people from Okinawa in Tsurumi region in Yokohama city since the 1920s, many of whom worked for industrial firms as day labourers in public works projects or low skilled labourers in industry in the Keihin Industrial District. After the war, 560,000 Okinawan repatriates from the South Pacific, Taiwan and Southeast Asia arrived in Uraga Port in Kanagawa and some settled in the prefecture where there was already an Okinawa community, believing there may be limited prospects in war-devastated Okinawa.<sup>28</sup> The Kanagawa sample of individuals supports this settlement pattern.

For Osaka prefecture, the pattern of wartime region of residence of repatriates is similar to that for Kanagawa, but the number of those who returned from Korea were larger than that for Kanagawa. For Sennan county, repatriates who returned from 'other regions' were also significant. Unlike the case of Kanagawa, the largest number were repatriated from Southeast Asia, and had worked as merchants or staff members of Japanese companies, including textile and trading companies, such as Nichimen Corporation, Tōyō Cotton and Itōchū Corporation in Japan's overseas territories.

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<sup>27</sup> Isao Tanno, "Senzen Nihon Kigyō No Nanyōguntō Shinshutsu No Rekishi to Senryaku," *Kanagawa University Kokusai Keiei Ronshū* 49 (2015): 33. According to Tanno, the number of Japanese who were in South Pacific at the end of the war was approximately 50,000, of which 36,000 were from Okinawa.

<sup>28</sup> Masaaki Aniya, "Sengo Okinawa Ni Okeru Kaigai Hikiage," *Okinawa Prefectural Library Shiryō Henshūshitsu Kiyō* 21 (1996): 10. Ryōsuke Kurihara, "Little Okinawa No 100 Nen Wo Yomitoku," (Tokyo: School of Culture, Media and Society, Waseda University, 2011), 10, 15.

Table 4-3: Repatriates' wartime region of residence (August 1945) (as % share of all repatriates)<sup>29</sup>

	Manchuria	China	Korea	Taiwan	Sakhalin	Other regions	Total
Ibaraki	53.8%	19.0%	13.4%	7.6%	3.0%	3.2%	100%
Hiroshima	40.6%	18.5%	27.1%	9.8%	0.5%	3.5%	100%
Kanagawa	42.3%	27.7%	12.5%	9.1%	1.6%	6.9%	100%
Osaka (Takatsuki city)	42.8%	22.2%	20.6%	8.6%	0.6%	5.2%	100%
Osaka (Sennan county)	42.4%	21.6%	20.8%	7.1%	0.4%	8.1%	100%

\*For Manchuria, China and Korea, the figure for the prefecture which had sent the largest proportion of migrants to each of these areas is shaded in grey.

Regarding the timing of migration, Figure 4-1, 4-2 and 4-3 show the distribution of the number of migrants to each region in different periods. The overall time period has been divided into three sub-periods: a) the period between 1890 and 1931, the year before Manchukuo was established in 1932; b) the period between 1932 and 1940, the year before the Pacific War broke out in 1941; and c) the period between 1941 and 1945. Individuals who migrated up to and including 1931 can be labelled as colonial settlers.

<sup>29</sup> Ministry of Health and Welfare, "Zaigai Jijitsu Chōsahyō (Japanese Government Survey into Repatriates' Postwar Lives)." Figures have been calculated from each prefecture's database created for this research.

Figure 4-1: Period of migration to each region (share of total number of individuals in each prefectural database): Ibaraki prefecture<sup>30</sup>

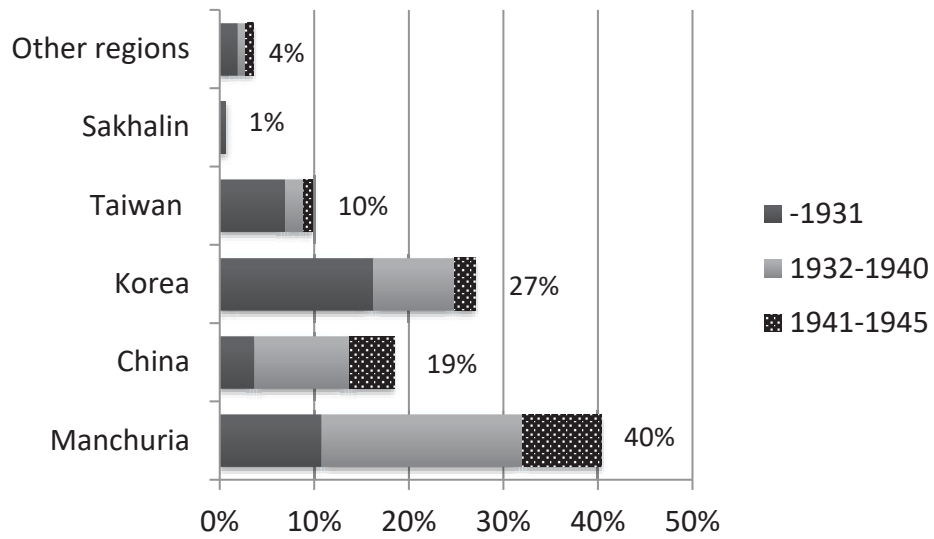
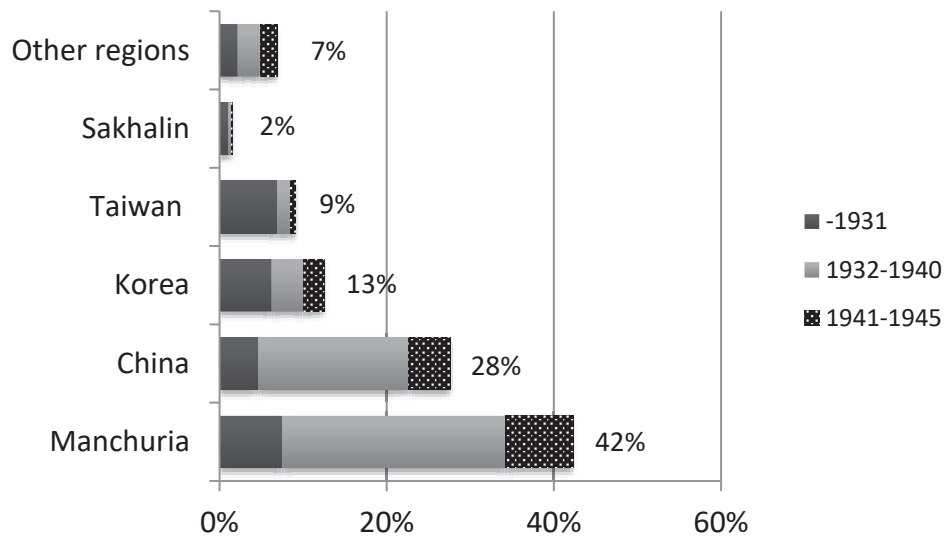


Figure 4-2: Period of migration to each region (share of total number of individuals in each prefectural database): Hiroshima prefecture<sup>31</sup>



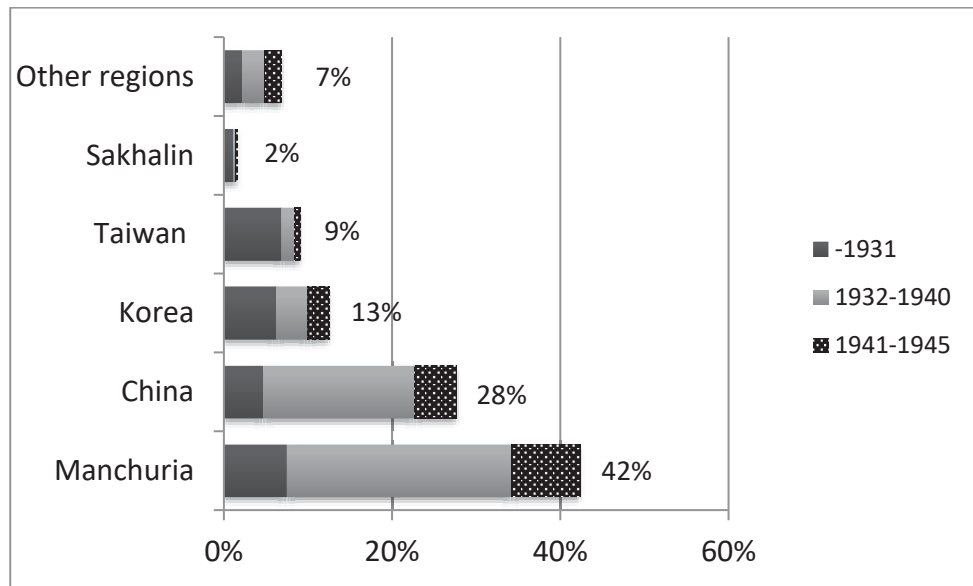
\*For actual numbers, please see Appendix (Table 4 in Page 276).

<sup>30</sup> Ibid. Numbers have been calculated from each prefecture's database created for this research.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid.



Figure 4-3: Period of migration to each region (share of total number of individuals in each prefectural database): Kanagawa prefecture<sup>32</sup>



\*For actual numbers, please see Appendix (Table 5 in Page 277).

Their major destinations were Korea, Taiwan and Sakhalin and some had lived in these regions for decades. In this group, some migrated as a child migrant (identified as those who had migrated by the age of 13 years). They tended to spend longer years than other repatriates. For example, in the databases for the three prefectures (Ibaraki, Kanagawa and Hiroshima), we find that the repatriates who had spent the most years in Japan's overseas territories were a wartime shop owner who had migrated to Korea in 1895 at the age of seven (Ibaraki), a wartime chinaware shop owner who had migrated to Korea in 1890 when he was an 11-month-old baby (Hiroshima), and a restaurant owner who had migrated to New York in 1899 at the age of three (Kanagawa). As a traditional place of origin of migrants, we find that Hiroshima had the highest number of colonial settlers in the database.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid.

However, these long-term settlers were minorities in the repatriate population in the database for all of the prefectures. In fact, the majority in each database (79.6 per cent in Ibaraki prefecture, 59.7 per cent in Hiroshima prefecture, 71.4 per cent in Kanagawa prefecture, as well as 69.4 in Takatsuki city and 72.4 per cent in Sennan county in Osaka prefecture) migrated in the period after 1932, when Japan's aggression accelerated. Some individuals migrated even a few months before the end of the war. For example, the last repatriates to migrate in each database was a farmer who migrated to Manchuria in April 1945 at the age of 17 (Ibaraki), a farmer who migrated to Manchuria in April 1945 at the age of 20 (Hiroshima), and a wartime female telephone operator who migrated to Manchuria in July 1945 at the age of 24 (Kanagawa).

We should certainly consider the possibility that the number of migrants to Korea and Taiwan up to 1931 could have been much larger than the figures shown in the table because there might have been short-term settlers, and some colonial settlers would have already returned to Japan or died by 1945. However, if we focus on 'civilian repatriates', those who were outside of Japan on 9th August 1945 as defined by the Ministry of Health and Welfare,<sup>33</sup> it is clear that the number of individuals who migrated after 1932 constituted the majority.

If we examine the wartime experiences of the civilian repatriates in the database, we see that their overall length of overseas residence was less than 15 years, Table 4-4 summarises the profile of civilian repatriates obtained from each prefecture's database. We see that the average years of overseas residence for the Ibaraki repatriates was the shortest at only 10.7 years on average, while the figure for the Hiroshima repatriates was the longest. The majority were first generation migrants. In the total civilian repatriate population in each prefectural sample, we find that only 5.2 per cent in Ibaraki, 12.9 per

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<sup>33</sup> Ibid. The definition of the repatriate can be found in the instruction printed on the back of each survey form.

cent in Hiroshima and 13.0 per cent in Kanagawa were born outside of Japan or had migrated as a child migrant. The figures for the two municipalities in Osaka prefecture show similar trends. This suggests that the majority of civilian repatriates would have been educated under the Japanese educational system, would have been familiar with Japanese culture and had been fluent in Japanese.<sup>34</sup> The fact that the majority were first generation migrants was more likely to have allowed the repatriates to have maintained their networks with people in Japan, which could conceivably have helped the repatriates' postwar resettlement after repatriation.

*Table 4-4: Profiles of civilian repatriates in each prefecture's database<sup>35</sup>*

	<b>Average length of overseas residence (years)</b>	<b>Percentage of repatriates who had emigrated as child migrants (under the age of 13) or were born outside of Japan</b>
<b>Ibaraki</b>	10.7	5.2 %
<b>Hiroshima</b>	14.2	12.9 %
<b>Kanagawa</b>	12.5	13.0 %
<b>Osaka Takatsuki city</b>	12.5	16.6 %
<b>Osaka Sennan county</b>	11.5	11.0 %

As noted earlier, the popular image of Japanese repatriates has been to some extent dominated by that of farmers who had been sent to Manchuria by the Japanese government to reduce the population in rural regions in Japan and to develop rural agricultural land in Manchuria. However, we find that the agricultural population in

<sup>34</sup> In colonies, such as Taiwan and Korea, Japanese children were educated under the direction of the Ministry of Education. Some other regions, including Manchuria, had independent school systems, but were still under the strong influence of the Japanese Ministry of Education.

<sup>35</sup> Ministry of Health and Welfare, "Zaigai Jijitsu Chōsahyō (Japanese Government Survey into Repatriates' Postwar Lives)." Figures have been calculated from each prefecture's database created for this research.

Japan's overseas territories, including the immigrant farmers in Manchuria, constituted only a minority of the total sample in the database, as shown in Table 4-5.<sup>36</sup>

*Table 4-5: Wartime sector of occupation of repatriates<sup>37</sup>*

	Agriculture		Public/semi - public sector	Major firms	SMEs and self- employed (non- agriculture)	Total
	Reclamation	Other agriculture				
<b>Ibaraki</b>	13.2 %	2.0 %	52.6 %	5.6 %	26.6 %	100%
<b>Hiroshima</b>	5.2 %	2.6 %	45.9 %	4.0 %	42.4 %	100%
<b>Kanagawa</b>	2.0 %	3.4 %	53.4 %	6.6 %	34.5 %	100%
<b>Osaka Takatsuki city</b>	2.5%	0.6%	52.3%	12.6%	32.0%	100%
<b>Osaka Sennan County</b>	3.2%	2.5%	36.4%	15.2%	42.8%	100%

Note: SMEs is an abbreviation for small and medium sized enterprises.

For Ibaraki and Hiroshima, the majority of emigrant farmers had migrated to Manchuria. The largest number in the Ibaraki and Hiroshima databases went to

<sup>36</sup> In the database for each prefecture, all those in the sample who had been in the wartime primary sectors identified themselves as agricultural farmers, and not as fishermen or other occupations.

<sup>37</sup> Ministry of Health and Welfare, "Zaigai Jijitsu Chōsahyō (Japanese Government Survey into Repatriates' Postwar Lives)." Numbers have been calculated from each prefecture's database created for this research.

Manchuria between 1937 and 1941 after a policy to send one million agricultural households to Manchuria was introduced in 1936 as explained below. Apart from the immigrant farmers in Manchuria, the other farmers had mostly been in other regions, for example, in Korea, as well as in Taiwan, the Philippines, Canada, the U.S. and Australia. They were more like colonial settlers and had spent longer years outside of Japan. Table 4-6, 4-7 and 4-8 show the different migration patterns of farmers who emigrated to Manchuria and other regions.

Table 4-6 also shows that farmers' migration to Manchuria had already started before in 1936, and 12 individuals participated in the Ibaraki database. In the total for all of Japan, the first group of 420 farmers recruited by the government went to Manchuria in 1932, and the second group of approximately 500 individuals arrived in 1933.<sup>38</sup> Behind this early migration, there was a promoter of agrarian migration, Kanji Katō. He believed that one of the fundamental problems in Japan's agriculture was a scarcity of land. In Ibaraki, he opened a private school in 1926<sup>39</sup> to train and educate young students from farming families. He first sent a group of his students to Korea as migrant farmers in 1925.<sup>40</sup> His students might have been in the group of individuals in the Ibaraki database who had migrated to Manchuria in 1936. Katō continued to promote the plan of the reclamation project in Manchuria and successfully persuaded the government to send a large number of migrants.<sup>41</sup> Partly due to Kato and his collaborator's lobbying effort, the Japanese government created a policy in 1936 of sending one million agricultural households to Manchuria. This policy was called Nijūnen Hyakumanko Keikaku (Plan to send one million households in the next twenty years). The number of one million

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<sup>38</sup> Sengo Kaitakushi Hensan linkai, *Sengo Kaitakushi* (Tokyo: Zenkoku Kaitaku Nōgyō Kumiai Rengōkai, 1977), 23.

<sup>39</sup> Nihon Nōgyō Jissen Gakuen, *Enkaku* (Mito: Nihon Nōgyō Jissen Gakuen, 2016). <http://www.nnjg04.com/gaiyo/enkaku.html>. Accessed on 20 March 2016.

<sup>40</sup> Manshū Kaitakushi Kankōkai, *Manshū Kaitakushi* (Tokyo: Manshū Kaitakushi Kankōkai, 1966), 36.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, 36-37.

households was decided on in order to make the Japanese population 20 percent of the total population of Manchuria by 1956. However, the actual number of Japanese who went to Manchuria as reclamation farmers was estimated to be only 270,000.<sup>42</sup>

There is no doubt that at the end of the war in 1945, many reclamation farmers had difficult experiences. Many had been drafted towards the end of the war and lost their lives, or were taken to Siberia to be detained for several years after the war. Survivors, females, the elderly and children were attacked by the U.S.S.R. military forces and the local population in Manchuria, who resented the Japanese for having deprived them of their farmland and for harsh treatment towards them. The government estimated that 90,000 immigrant farmers and family members died during the repatriation and 160,000 returned to Japan.<sup>43</sup> Partly due to their difficult repatriation experiences, which were frequently documented in memoirs and were reproduced in television dramas, the existence of Manchuria reclamation farmers has become well known to the Japanese general public in the post war period, and they have come to symbolize the repatriates.<sup>44</sup>

Table 4-8 for Kanagawa once again shows a different migration pattern of farmers. In the Kanagawa database, the number of farmers who went to Manchuria was smaller than that of those who migrated to other regions. This may reflect the fact that wartime Kanagawa sent only 1,588 farmers to Manchuria, the second lowest figure in the 47 prefectures. (See Appendix). The largest destination for farmers in the Kanagawa database was the Mandated Territories in South Pacific as discussed in an earlier section.

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<sup>42</sup> Sengo Kaitakushi Hensan linkai, *Sengo Kaitakushi* 31.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid.

<sup>44</sup> Since 2010, at least 10 television programmes about the repatriation have been broadcasted, of which seven focused on Japanese civilians' tragic experiences in Manchuria.

Table 4-6: Period of migration of settler and reclamation farmers (number of individuals in each prefectural database): Ibaraki prefecture<sup>45</sup>

	Up to 1936	1937-1941	1942-1945	Total
<b>Manchuria</b>	12	46	8	66
<b>Other regions</b>	7	3	0	10

Table 4-7: Period of migration of settler and reclamation farmers (number of individuals in each prefectural database): Hiroshima prefecture<sup>46</sup>

	Up to 1936	1937-1941	1942-1945	Total
<b>Manchuria</b>	2	12	18	32
<b>Other regions</b>	14	1	1	16

Table 4-8: Period of migration of settler and reclamation farmers (number of individuals in each prefectural database): Kanagawa prefecture<sup>47</sup>

	Up to 1936	1937-1941	1942-1945	Total
<b>Manchuria</b>	2	9	3	14
<b>Other regions</b>	14	5	0	19

In addition to farmers, the civilian repatriates in the 1956 databases were comprised of various other groups of people: 40 – 50 per cent were in the public sector (See Table 4-5), including public corporations specialising in transport, communication

<sup>45</sup> Ministry of Health and Welfare, "Zaigai Jijitsu Chōsahyō (Japanese Government Survey into Repatriates' Postwar Lives)." Figures have been calculated from each prefecture's database created for this research.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid.

and utilities, of which the most famous example was the South Manchuria Railway Company. In addition, approximately five per cent of individuals in each prefectural database were working for overseas branches of major Japanese companies. This fact is important because their affiliation and networks with the core part of the economy in Japan as well as their knowledge of industrial technology or management are likely to have helped them with their postwar settlement.

Other than wartime farmers and individuals affiliated with the public sector and major companies, the remainder consisted of owners or employees of small or medium-sized enterprises (SMEs) in industry or in the tertiary sector. In the SME category in all databases except Ibaraki, more than half were in the tertiary sector (66.5 per cent for Hiroshima, 58.4 per cent for Kanagawa, 67.3 per cent for Takatsuki city and 62.8 per cent for Sennan county in Osaka prefecture) and the rest were SME owners or employees in industry, which included small scale manufacturing such as food processing and construction companies. By contrast, in the Ibaraki database, more than half of individuals in the SME category were in industry (54.1 per cent in the SME group) and worked in local coal mines, construction and steel manufacturing, while the rest were in the tertiary sector. The reason for this trend for Ibaraki repatriates is not clear. However, it would be possible to hypothesise that this may be related to the fact that Ibaraki's major sector included coal and copper mining and people were likely to have accumulated related skills. Additionally, the presence of Nissan's Ayukawa might have encouraged some Ibaraki people to migrate to Manchuria and participate in the development of the region. It is possible that there was some recruitment effort in Ibaraki to send technicians or engineers who could work in Manchuria at various companies including at SMEs, but establishing whether or not this was the case will require further research.



The lengths of overseas residence of each sectoral or occupational group (farmers, people in the public sector, major firm employees and those in SMEs) certainly differed. Table 4-9 shows that among these groups, the reclamation farmers had the shortest duration of foreign residence because many migrated in the later stages of the war, including in the first half of the year of 1945.<sup>48</sup> By contrast, the length of overseas residence of non-reclamation farmers and those working in SMEs, who accounted for a large number of the colonial settlers in Korea and Taiwan, was the longest. These groups were also on average older than the other groups in August 1945. This, too, would suggest that if the postwar occupational transitions of the wartime reclamation farmers and the settler farmers are compared, their different wartime experiences and lengths of stay abroad may be expected to lead to differences in their patterns of transition after repatriation. However, as will be shown later, there is evidence to suggest that these two groups (reclamation farmers and settler farmers) actually experienced similarly difficult transitional patterns. Those in the public sector and major firm employees occupied something in the middle ground between the above two groups (reclamation farmers in Manchuria and colonial settlers), because many had migrated to work for specific corporations or for the public sector in the late 1930s.

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<sup>48</sup> The databases show that one wartime reclamation farmer out of 66 in the Ibaraki database went to Manchuria in March 1945. In the Hiroshima database, out of 36 wartime reclamation farmers, three individuals went to Manchuria in 1945. One arrived in January and two others arrived in April. In the Kanagawa database, two reclamation farmers out of 13 arrived in March 1945. It is not clear whether it was the case for these people, but some Japanese people believed that Manchuria was safer than mainland Japan which had been exposed to American air raids in the later stages of the war.

Table 4-9: Average age of repatriates as of August 1945, and length of residence in Japan's foreign territories by employment category (Length of overseas residence in parentheses)<sup>49</sup>

	Agriculture		SMEs and self-employed (non-agriculture)	Public/semi-public sector and major firms
	Reclamation	Other farmers		
<b>Ibaraki</b>	30.0 years old (6.7 years)	41.8 years old (15.8 years)	36.8 years old (11.1 years)	34.3 years old (10.5 years)
<b>Hiroshima</b>	32.7 years old (3.7 years)	42.9 years old (23.9 years)	38.9 years old (15.5 years)	35.5 years old (13.6 years)
<b>Kanagawa</b>	33.7 years old (5.4 years)	38.7 years old (15.0 years)	37.1 years old (12.8 years)	35.7 years old (11.6 years)
<b>Osaka (Takatsuki city)*</b>	31.0 years old (4.4 years)	43.5 years old (22.3 years)	36.2 years old (13.9 years)	34.2 years old (9.5 years)
<b>Osaka (Sennan county)*</b>	25.6 years old (3.7 years)	41.1 years old (20.7 years)	37.9 years old (13.4 years)	32.2 years old (12.7 years)

\*Please note that figures for Takatsuki and Osaka have been included for reference only. These figures should be treated carefully because the numbers of individuals in the primary sector in the databases is very small. For example Takatsuki city had only eight repatriate reclamation farmers and two settler farmers out of 325 individual samples. Sennan county had nine repatriate reclamation farmers and seven settler farmers in the 283 individual samples.

By the end of the war, the average civilian repatriate had spent less than 15 years outside Japan, and was in his or her mid-30s in August 1945. This means that the majority were in the midst of their working life and were ready to re-enter the Japanese postwar labour market after their repatriation. As the database findings in Table 4-10 show, by the

<sup>49</sup> Numbers have been calculated from each prefecture's database created for this research.

end of 1946 approximately 70-80 per cent of repatriates had returned to Japan and started looking for ways to re-enter the postwar Japanese labour market.

*Table 4-10: Timing of repatriation<sup>50</sup>*

	Percentage of repatriates who had been repatriated by the end of 1946
Ibaraki	73.8 %
Hiroshima	81.6 %
Kanagawa	82.7 %
Osaka (Takatsuki city)	83.1 %
Osaka (Sennan county)	79.5 %

This table indicates that the proportion of repatriates who returned after January 1947 was larger in the Ibaraki database, compared to other prefectures. The reason for this is not clear, but if we examine 54 individuals in the Ibaraki database who were able to come back only after January 1948, the majority (45 individuals) were living in Manchuria during the war, of which 17 individuals were reclamation farmers.<sup>51</sup> Many individuals in this group might have been taken to Siberia and were detained until after January 1948. Nine other repatriates who came back from other regions to postwar Ibaraki comprised of four from North Korea, four from Sakhalin and one from China, where repatriation was generally delayed under the Soviet and Chinese administrations. In the next section, the overall trend of their occupational transitions will be examined.

<sup>50</sup> Ministry of Health and Welfare, "Zaigai Jijitsu Chōsahyō (Japanese Government Survey into Repatriates' Postwar Lives)." Figures were taken from the databases created for this research.

<sup>51</sup> The other nine repatriates were living in North Korea (four individuals), Sakhalin (four individuals) and China (one individual).

## Postwar experiences of civilian repatriates

### Postwar settlement and mobility of civilian repatriates

In contrast to the prevailing images that suggest that repatriates started their postwar lives from scratch, many of them at least had a place to return to, although this does not necessarily mean that they were welcomed by their families in their hometowns or found housing without any problems. After the repatriation, approximately half or more of repatriates first settled in their hometowns where they had their family registration addresses. In the database drawn from the 1956 survey, we find that 72.8 per cent of repatriates in Ibaraki prefecture, 62.6 per cent in Hiroshima prefecture and 48.9 per cent in Kanagawa prefecture responded that they had first settled in municipalities where their families had been registered (*honsekichi*).<sup>52</sup> The highest percentage figure was in Ibaraki, an agricultural prefecture, while Kanagawa, a highly-urbanised prefecture, had the lowest figure. This may reflect a situation in which agricultural families were able to absorb returnees relatively easily. For Osaka prefecture, the information as to whether repatriates first settled in their hometowns or not is not available because the information on their registration addresses has been blacked out from the photocopied survey forms obtained from the Osaka prefectural archives due to the information protection policy. The proportion of individuals who first settled in their hometowns in Hiroshima prefecture was midway between the figures for Ibaraki and Kanagawa. The proportion for those whose family was registered in Hiroshima city, at 51.0 per cent, is lower than the equivalent figure for the total repatriate population in Hiroshima prefecture. This is not surprising, because according to the Hiroshima city government, more than 91.9 per cent

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<sup>52</sup> In Japan, each citizen is required to register with a local government office in their hometown to give personal information (such as name, names of family members including parents, spouse and children, date of birth, and an address where the family was registered). The registration address (*honsekichi*) is not necessarily the place where a family is currently living because it has usually remained the same even when the actual living address has changed. But in most cases, it is a place closely related to the family in some way. For example, it could be the one where the family is originally from. It is worth noting, however, that there is a possibility that some repatriates changed their registration address after repatriation for various reasons.

of buildings and houses in the city were destroyed or seriously damaged in the atomic attack,<sup>53</sup> which made it difficult for returnees to go back and settle in Hiroshima city. However, it is striking that even so approximately half of the repatriates whose registration addresses were in Hiroshima city returned there after the repatriation. Many who had no place to settle first lived in repatriate accommodations or barracks.<sup>54</sup> The destruction of Hiroshima city might initially have retarded the settlement of repatriates, but the significant death toll could also have meant more job opportunities in the city for survivors and repatriates. It is tempting to hypothesise that the influx of more than 110,000 repatriates may have helped to fill some of the positions previously held by the 140,000 dead<sup>55</sup> in the city, and this may be partly true. However, repatriates actually settled in various parts of the prefecture, and it is difficult to gauge the employment situation during the immediate postwar period due to the limited availability of statistics and public reports.

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<sup>53</sup> Hiroshima City Government, *Hiroshima Genbaku Sensaishi* (Hiroshima: Hiroshima city government, 1971), 241.

[http://a-bombdb.pcf.city.hiroshima.jp/pdbj/bookdownload/sensai1.pdf;jsessionid=4PODJ133DB161HPR6I46765O0BFDIVEMNF05U8E899FCTASV7S7ISKQ0UH7G2000M4000000.heiwadb\\_001](http://a-bombdb.pcf.city.hiroshima.jp/pdbj/bookdownload/sensai1.pdf;jsessionid=4PODJ133DB161HPR6I46765O0BFDIVEMNF05U8E899FCTASV7S7ISKQ0UH7G2000M4000000.heiwadb_001). Accessed on 20 September 2015.

<sup>54</sup> Hiroshima Prefectural Government, *Hiroshimaken Sensaishi* (Hiroshima: Hiroshima Prefectural Government, 1988), 522-23.

<sup>55</sup> Hiroshima City Government, "Shishasū Ni Tsuite," Hiroshima City Government. <http://www.city.hiroshima.lg.jp/www/contents/1111638957650/index.html>. Accessed on 3 March 2016.

Table 4-11: Repatriates' first addresses in postwar Japan and geographical mobility (between the time of repatriation and 1956. Figures are the number in the sample out of the total number of repatriates in the database).<sup>56</sup>

	First settlement	Mobility between the time of repatriation and 1956			
		(a) Repatriates who were still in their hometowns in 1956	(b) Repatriates who had changed addresses within their home prefectures	(c) Repatriates who had moved between prefectures	Total (a)+(b)+(c)
<b>Ibaraki</b>	364 (72.8 %)	295 (59.0 %)	86 (17.2%)	119 (23.8 %)	500
<b>Hiroshima</b>	401 (64.6 %)	282 (45.4 %)	170 (27.4 %)	169 (27.2 %)	621
<b>Kanagawa</b>	313 (48.9 %)	213 (33.3 %)	53 (8.3 %)	374 (58.4 %)	640
<b>Osaka (Takatsuki city)</b>	N/A	N/A	N/A	146 (51.6 %)	N/A
<b>Osaka (Sennan county)</b>	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A

Table 4-11 clearly shows that out of the prefectures examined in this research, the early postwar mobility was lowest in Ibaraki and highest in Kanagawa. It seems likely

<sup>56</sup> Ministry of Health and Welfare, "Zaigai Jijitsu Chōsahyō (Japanese Government Survey into Repatriates' Postwar Lives)." Figures have been calculated from each prefecture's database created for this research.

that the high proportion of repatriates staying in their hometowns in 1956 was due in part to the prominence of agriculture in Ibaraki, but it may also have been associated with other opportunities. By contrast, the majority of repatriates living in Kanagawa in 1956 had moved into the prefecture from other places, and it seems likely that this was mainly due to the availability of economic prospects in growing industries. If we analyse postwar occupations of those who had migrated from other prefectures, it would be possible to see some of pull factors in each prefecture. For example, in the Ibaraki database, 119 individuals out of 500 total individual samples had moved into Ibaraki between the time of their repatriation and 1956. The largest number (36 individuals) were in agriculture, including postwar reclamation. The second largest group (22 individuals) were in mining, of which 18 had wartime experiences in mining or other industrial sectors. Aforementioned mining company Nihon Kōgyō in Hitachi city employed seven repatriates who had worked for the SMR, the Manchuria Steel or other companies in the industrial sector. It is also interesting to note that out of 34 repatriates living in Hitachi city, who are included in the Ibaraki database, half (17 individuals) were affiliated with the Hitachi group, of which ten were migrated from other prefectures. The third largest group were in the tertiary sector (18 individuals), mostly as independent retailers.

On the other hand, in the highly-urbanised Kanagawa prefecture, possible pull-factors seem to be different. In Kanagawa, 58.4 per cent of individual samples in the database had migrated from other prefectures. Both industry and the tertiary sector (retail and services) absorbed roughly 30 per cent of new comers, and the public sector became a destination for another 23 per cent. In the tertiary sector, the majority (approximately 80 per cent) of newcomers became employed mostly by SMEs and only 20 per cent were self-employed, possibly reflecting the development of the tertiary sector.

In addition to this kind of pull factor, it seems likely that Kanagawa may have attracted individuals from other prefectures, specifically those who did not have hometowns to return to or had only weak family connections. The fact that among the prefectures chosen for this research, the proportion of repatriates who had initially settled in their hometowns (and stayed there) was the lowest in the Kanagawa database, and that the proportion of repatriates who had been born outside of Japan or emigrated as child migrants was the highest in the Kanagawa database, at 13.0 per cent, (see Table 4-4) may also support this hypothesis.

## **Occupational transitions of civilian repatriates**

The 1956 national survey also required that repatriates include information on their current employment. Table 4-12, 4-13 and 4-14 compares repatriates' postwar occupational sectors with the profile of the total population (including civilian repatriates) in each prefecture in the 1955 population census.<sup>57</sup> Again the occupational breakdown is drawn from the database for the selected prefectures. For both the repatriates and the total prefectural population the figures are for household heads. The most notable characteristic in the data presented in this table is that although Japan was still an agrarian society, the proportion of civilian repatriates who were in the primary sector in the mid-1950s was much smaller compared to that in the total population (including civilian repatriates) in the selected prefectures. Out of the three prefectures, the proportion of civilian repatriates in the primary sector in 1956 was the highest in Ibaraki, at 27.6 per cent, but this figure was much lower than the primary sector proportion for the total population of Ibaraki in 1955. In Kanagawa prefecture, only 2.5 per cent of civilian

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<sup>57</sup> Ibid.

General Administrative Agency of the Cabinet Statistics Bureau of Japan, *Population Census of 1955 (Hiroshima Prefecture)*, vol. 5-34 (Tokyo: Statistics Bureau of Japan, General Administrative Agency of the Cabinet, 1956), 22.



repatriates in the database were in the primary sector, while 11.2 per cent of the total population of Kanagawa prefecture was in the primary sector in 1955.

If the proportion of individuals in the public sector is compared, we see that a much higher proportion of civilian repatriates was in the public sector than was the case with the prefectural populations (including repatriates) as a whole in all of the prefectures. This is consistent with the data published in the 1950 census (see Table 3-5). It should be noted that medical doctors were categorised in the database as working in the public sector, because either a majority, or close to half of them, depending on the prefecture, had worked for public or semi-public hospitals including university hospitals or Red Cross hospitals during the wartime. Because in the national population census, medical doctors were categorised differently as being in the tertiary sector, this may raise some questions about the comparison. However, as the number of medical doctors in each prefecture's database is relatively small, this is unlikely to be a significant problem for this research.<sup>58</sup>

The figures for other sectors, including industry, as well as transport, communications and utilities, do not show significant differences between the civilian repatriate population and prefectural population as a whole. However, a larger proportion of repatriates in the sample tended to be unemployed than was the case for the total prefectural population. The unemployment figures for the civilian repatriates should be treated with some caution, because some of the individuals who are categorised as unemployed in this research may have been out of the labour force, for example due to retirement or due to physical disability or illness, rather than unemployed while they were still of working age (between 15 and 60 years old).

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<sup>58</sup> The number of medical professionals in the Ibaraki database is seven in the 500 individual samples, that in the Hiroshima database 14 out of 621 and that in the Kanagawa database 16 out of 640.

Table 4-12: Postwar sectors of occupation of repatriate household heads compared to total population: Ibaraki prefecture<sup>59</sup>

Sectors	Civilian repatriates (1956)	Total prefectural population including repatriates (1955)
<b>Primary sector</b>	27.6 %	48.5 %
<b>Industries</b>	17.4 %	15.8 %
<b>Transport, communications, utilities</b>	5.2 %	4.1 %
<b>Public sector</b>	20.6 %	3.5 %
<b>Tertiary sector</b>	19.4 %	19.9 %
<b>Others</b>	1.0 %	0.0 %
<b>Unemployed</b>	7.4 %	1.8 %
<b>Not in labour force</b>	1.4 %	7.6 %
<b>Total</b>	100.0%	100.0%

\* Sectors where the figures for 1955 and 1956 differ by a factor of more than 1.5 are shaded in grey.

<sup>59</sup> Ministry of Health and Welfare, "Zaigai Jijitsu Chōsahyō (Japanese Government Survey into Repatriates' Postwar Lives)." Numbers have been calculated from each prefecture's database created for this research. General Administrative Agency of the Cabinet Statistics Bureau of Japan, *Population Census of 1955 (Ibaraki Prefecture)*, vol. 5-8 (Tokyo: Statistics Bureau of Japan, General Administrative Agency of the Cabinet, 1956), 22.  
*Population Census of 1955 (Hiroshima Prefecture)*, 5-34 22.

Table 4-13: Postwar sectors of occupation of repatriate household heads compared to total population: Hiroshima prefecture<sup>60</sup>

<b>Sectors</b>	<b>Civilian repatriates (1956)</b>	<b>Total prefectural population including repatriates (1955)</b>
<b>Primary sector</b>	9.7%	30.7%
<b>Industries</b>	23.5%	21.6%
<b>Transport, communications, utilities</b>	7.6%	7.5%
<b>Public sector</b>	20.1%	5.7%
<b>Tertiary sector</b>	26.7%	23.6%
<b>Others</b>	0.8%	0.0%
<b>Unemployed</b>	3.7%	1.8%
<b>Not in labour force</b>	7.9%	9.0%
<b>Total</b>	100.0%	100.0%

\* Sectors where the figures for 1955 and 1956 differ by a factor of more than 1.5 are shaded in grey.

<sup>60</sup> Ministry of Health and Welfare, "Zaigai Jijitsu Chōsahyō (Japanese Government Survey into Repatriates' Postwar Lives)." Numbers have been calculated from each prefecture's database created for this research. Statistics Bureau of Japan, *Population Census of 1955 (Hiroshima Prefecture)*, 5-34 Ibid., 22.

Table 4-14: Postwar sectors of occupation of repatriate household heads compared to total population: Kanagawa prefecture<sup>61</sup>

<b>Sectors</b>	<b>Civilian repatriates (1956)</b>	<b>Total prefectural population including repatriates (1955)</b>
<b>Primary sector</b>	2.5 %	11.2 %
<b>Industries</b>	23.9 %	29.8 %
<b>Transport, communications, utilities</b>	11.9 %	9.5 %
<b>Public sector</b>	23.1 %	4.1 %
<b>Tertiary sector</b>	21.3 %	31.5 %
<b>Others</b>	1.9 %	0.0%
<b>Unemployed</b>	6.1 %	2.9 %
<b>Not in labour force</b>	9.4 %	10.9 %
<b>Total</b>	100.0%	100.0%

\* Sectors where the figures for 1955 and 1956 differ by a factor of more than 1.5 are shaded in grey.

Tables 4-12, 4-13 and 4-14 show several interesting patterns of the repatriates' resettlement. First of all, the size of agriculture and its importance in the resettlement of repatriates differed in each prefecture. Table 4-12 shows that in Ibaraki prefecture, agriculture was the major sector in the mid-1950s and approximately half of household heads in the prefecture's total population (including repatriates) were in agriculture. For repatriates in Ibaraki, agriculture was an important destination. In Hiroshima and

<sup>61</sup> Ministry of Health and Welfare, "Zaigai Jijitsu Chōsahyō (Japanese Government Survey into Repatriates' Postwar Lives)." Numbers have been calculated from each prefecture's database created for this research. General Administrative Agency of the Cabinet Statistics Bureau of Japan, *Population Census of 1955 (Kanagawa Prefecture)*, vol. 5-14 (Tokyo: Statistics Bureau of Japan, General Administrative Agency of the Cabinet, 1956), 22.

Kanagawa, agriculture was smaller in size compared to Ibaraki. In the database for Hiroshima, roughly 10 per cent of repatriates were in agriculture, and the figure was much lower in Kanagawa at 2.5 per cent.

In addition, these tables show that the public sector employed a much larger proportion of repatriates compared to the total prefectural population in all three prefectures. In terms of the proportion, six times more repatriate household heads in the Ibaraki database in 1956 were in the public sector, compared to the total prefectural population in 1955. In the Hiroshima and Kanagawa databases, the figures were 3.5 times and 5.6 times larger for repatriates, compared to those for the total population. In addition to the public sector, the tertiary sector was another major destination in each prefecture. In the databases of Ibaraki and Hiroshima, the proportions of repatriate household heads in the tertiary sector were approximately the same as those of the total prefectural population. For the Kanagawa database, however, the proportion of repatriate household heads in the tertiary sector was smaller than that of the total prefectural population. Instead of the tertiary sector, it seems that the public sector and the transport, communications and utilities sector were large destinations for repatriates in Kanagawa. For all three prefectures, industrial sectors also became important destinations for repatriates. In the databases for Ibaraki and Hiroshima, the proportion of repatriates is approximately the same as that of the total prefectural population in industry. In Kanagawa, by contrast, the proportion of repatriates in industry was smaller than that of the total prefectural population.

In order to understand the patterns of repatriates' occupational transitions further, Tables 4-15, 4-16 and 4-17 summarise the patterns of civilian repatriates' occupational changes in each sector in a matrix. Again, the figures were calculated from each prefecture's database. The numbers in the table show the number of individuals in the

database with the total sample size of 500 for Ibaraki prefecture, 621 for Hiroshima prefecture and 640 for Kanagawa prefecture. According to this table, 42.0 per cent of the repatriate population in Ibaraki, 43.8 per cent in Hiroshima and 37.7 per cent in Kanagawa returned to work in the same sectors as they had worked in during the war. However, this does not necessarily mean that they were able to take up the same occupations or were able to return to firms which occupied similar positions in the market in terms of size, market share and status as their wartime employers. The proportion of repatriates who were able to return to the same sector appears to have been different in each sector. For example, approximately half of government officials and half of individuals in the tertiary sector in each prefecture's sample were able to return to the same sector after the war. In addition to these individuals, 75.0 per cent of wartime farmers in Ibaraki, and approximately half of those who were in wartime industry in the Hiroshima and Kanagawa databases, returned to postwar industry, but they often moved to other sectors within industry. By contrast, only a minority of the repatriates who had worked in transport, communications and utilities in all of the prefectures, and a minority of the wartime farmers in the Hiroshima and Kanagawa databases, returned to the same sector.

As explained earlier in the methodology section, those who were unemployed during the wartime have been omitted from this analysis, because such people could not constitute necessary information for any analysis of repatriates' occupational transitions. In addition, in the sample in the database, there was no individual who responded that he had been a day labourer during the wartime. This was perhaps because Japanese people were more likely to take up skilled jobs in the country's overseas territories, while other nationals were relegated to the lower echelons of the labour market to do unskilled jobs.<sup>62</sup> This trend seems to have increased towards the end of the war because young Japanese

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<sup>62</sup> Hikiagesha Dantai Zenkoku Rengō Kai, "Minshu Kakumei to Hikiagesha: Hikiagesha Seikatsu Jittai Chōsa," (Tokyo: Hikiagesha Dantai Zenkoku Rengō Kai, 1947), 32.

men were mobilized into the armed forces, which caused a labour shortage in Japan's overseas territories, as well as in Japan.<sup>63</sup> For this reason, day labouring and unemployment have been considered only for the postwar period. It should be also noted that for the primary sector, industry and the tertiary sector, even though the figures did not change to a great degree, the nature of the participants significantly changed, as will be examined later in this section. By 1956, there were a number who were no longer in the labour force, for various reasons; some had already retired ten years after the war, while some young female repatriates, for example those who had been wartime school teachers, nurses and telephone operators, might have gotten married and stopped working. Some others experienced a difficult transition and were unemployed in 1956 even though they were still of working age or became day labourers. This indicates that repatriates are very likely to have experienced various changes in their working lives.

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<sup>63</sup> Hiroyuki Amano, *Mantetsu Wo Shirutameno 12 Shō* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2009), 178.

Table 4-15: Postwar occupational transitions of civilian repatriates: Ibaraki prefecture<sup>64</sup>

(Figures are the number in the sample out of the total number of repatriates in the database)

(Figures are the number in the sample out of the total number of repatriates in the database)

<b>Postwar</b> <b>Wartime</b>	Agriculture	Mining, construction, manufacturing	Utilities, communication, transport	Public	Tertiary	Postwar day labourers or unemployed	Out of labour force	Wartime total	Wartime total (%)
Agriculture	57	4	1	4	6	4	0	76	15.2%
Mining, construction, manufacturing	28	41	3	11	17	9	1	110	22.0%
Utilities, communication, transport	22	12	19	16	28	13	2	112	22.4%
Public sector	22	11		65	25	12	3	138	27.6%
Tertiary sector	9	10	1	7	28	8	1	64	12.8%
Postwar total	138	78	24	103	104	46	7	500	100%
Postwar total (%)	27.6%	15.6%	4.8%	20.6%	20.8%	9.2%	1.4%		

<sup>64</sup> Ministry of Health and Welfare, "Zaigai Jijitsu Chōsahyō (Japanese Government Survey into Repatriates' Postwar Lives)." Numbers have been calculated from each prefecture's database created for this research.



Table 4-16: Postwar occupational transitions of civilian repatriates: Hiroshima prefecture<sup>65</sup>

(Figures are the number in the sample out of the total number of repatriates in the database)

<b>Postwar</b>	Agriculture	Mining, construction, manufacturing	Utilities, communication, transport	Public	Tertiary	Postwar day labourers or unemployed	Out of labour force	Wartime total	Wartime total (%)
<b>Wartime</b>									
Agriculture	15	7	1	3	13	7	2	48	7.7%
Mining, construction, manufacturing	9	60	4	16	30	8	8	135	21.7%
Utilities, communication, transport	13	28	29	20	17	6	9	122	19.6%
Public sector	9	10	6	76	26	6	8	141	22.7%
Tertiary sector	14	26		10	92	11	22	175	28.2%
Postwar total	60	131	40	125	178	38	49	621	100%
Postwar total (%)	9.7%	21.1%	6.4%	20.1%	28.7%	6.1%	7.9%		

<sup>65</sup> Ibid.

Table 4-17: Postwar occupational transitions of civilian repatriates: Kanagawa prefecture<sup>66</sup>

(Figures are the number in the sample out of the total number of repatriates in the database)

<b>Postwar</b>	Agriculture	Mining, construction, manufacturing	Utilities, communication, transport	Public	Tertiary	Postwar day labourers or unemployed	Out of labour force	Wartime total	Wartime total (%)
<b>Wartime</b>									
Agriculture	7	4		3	6	7	6	33	7.7%
Mining, construction, manufacturing	1	70	5	19	32	12	9	148	21.7%
Utilities, communication, transport	4	43	34	49	44	9	9	192	19.6%
Public sector	1	11	8	67	23	8	14	132	22.7%
Tertiary sector	3	20	1	13	63	12	22	134	28.2%
Postwar total	16	148	48	151	168	48	60	640	100%
Postwar total (%)	2.5%	23.1%	7.5%	23.6%	26.3%	7.5%	9.4%		

<sup>66</sup> Ibid.

Before moving to a detailed analysis of each sector, it is worth examining repatriates' wartime (as of August 1945) and postwar sectors of occupation (as of June 1956) taken from each prefecture's survey forms so as to provide an overview of the major trends in their postwar transitions. Table 4-18, 4-19 and 4-20 summarises the changes in the proportions of repatriates' employment in each sector. It confirms that between 1945 and 1956, the largest change was a reduction in the proportion of repatriates working in transport, communications and utilities, reflecting the fact that public corporations in this sector had occupied an important position in the Japanese empire and employed a significant number of individuals until the end of the war. We also see that employment in the public sector declined in Ibaraki and Hiroshima, to a lesser degree, but slightly increased in Kanagawa. In postwar Ibaraki, both the primary sector and the tertiary sector became important destinations for repatriates. In Kanagawa, the tertiary sector, rather than agriculture, absorbed a large number of repatriates.

Table 4-18: Repatriates' wartime and postwar sectors of occupation (number of individuals in each prefectural database): Ibaraki <sup>67</sup>

Sectors	Wartime (August 1945)	Postwar (June 1956)	Changes in the sector
Primary sector	76	138	+62
Industries	110	78	-32
Transport, communications, utilities	112	24	-88
Public sector	138	103	-35
Tertiary sector	64	104	+40
Day labourers or unemployed	0	46	+46
Not in labour force	0	7	+7
<b>Total</b>	<b>500</b>	<b>500</b>	

Table 4-19: Repatriates' wartime and postwar sectors of occupation (number of individuals in each prefectural database): Hiroshima prefecture

Sectors	Wartime (August 1945)	Postwar (June 1956)	Changes in the sector
Primary sector	48	60	+12
Industries	135	131	-4
Transport, communications, utilities	122	40	-82
Public sector	141	125	-16
Tertiary sector	175	178	+3
Day labourers or unemployed	0	38	+38
Not in labour force	0	49	+49
<b>Total</b>	<b>621</b>	<b>621</b>	

<sup>67</sup> Ibid. Figures were taken from each prefecture's database, created for this research.

*Table 4-20: Repatriates' wartime and postwar sectors of occupation (number of individuals in each prefectural database): Kanagawa prefecture*

<b>Sectors</b>	<b>Wartime (August 1945)</b>	<b>Postwar (June 1956)</b>	<b>Changes in the sector</b>
<b>Primary sector</b>	33	16	-17
<b>Industries</b>	148	148	0
<b>Transport, communications, utilities</b>	192	48	-144
<b>Public sector</b>	132	151	19
<b>Tertiary sector</b>	134	168	34
<b>Day labourers or unemployed</b>	0	48	48
<b>Not in labour force</b>	0	60	60
<b>Total</b>	640	640	

When repatriates started looking for postwar employment, for the majority, returning to the same employer or finding similar jobs to their wartime ones seems to have been the favourite option. As I will show in the next section, some public corporations and government agencies did reemploy some of their repatriate staff members. In the next section, this chapter analyses the trends of repatriates' occupational transitions. I will look first at trends in the primary sector, and then discuss the reemployment policies of some public corporations and private companies. I will then consider the government's hiring policies, skilled employment in the private sector, and the experiences of repatriates who started new jobs in new sectors.

## The primary sector

As previously mentioned, there were two types of wartime farmers in Japan's overseas territories. The first group consisted of settlers who had migrated to Korea, Taiwan, China, the Philippines, the United States, Canada, and Australia, mostly before the year 1931, and who had spent decades in these regions. The other group comprised of reclamation farmers who had migrated to Manchuria. As Table 4-9 in the previous section showed, the former group had spent longer periods in the regions where they had been during the war and were much older, in comparison with the reclamation farmers who had migrated to Manchuria mostly from the 1930s. The analysis of my database indicates that despite these differences, these two groups experienced similar difficult transitional patterns.

It was perhaps a natural option for some settler farmers and reclamation farmers to return to the agriculture sector in the postwar period, especially for wartime farmers who returned to Ibaraki. If we look at Table 4-15, 4-16 and 4-17, however, it seems that Ibaraki's case was exceptional. Only a small number of wartime farmers included in the Hiroshima and Kanagawa databases were able to return to agriculture after the war. Possible reasons for the difficulties faced by repatriate farmers in Hiroshima and Kanagawa in returning to the primary sector may include the fact that many of these wartime farmers had sold their land in Japan before they emigrated, or had never owned land in the country, having been either tenants or the younger children of farmers who had not been entitled to inherit the family land.<sup>68</sup> For these

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<sup>68</sup> *Manshū Kaitakushi Kankōkai, Manshū Kaitakushi*, 36. One reason that the Japanese government and leaders in the primary sector promoted the reclamation in Manchuria was the fact that younger sons in farming families in Japan were not entitled to inherit the family land and their unemployment was perceived as a major problem in the primary sector.

people, returning to postwar agriculture would have been a difficult option even if they had been in farming during the war.

In the case of Ibaraki, only one-third of postwar farmers in 1956 were engaged in farming in their hometowns and the remaining two-thirds were engaged in farming outside of their hometowns within Ibaraki prefecture or had moved from other prefectures after the repatriation. This is true for all the prefectures in the database, and 12 out of 60 postwar farmers in Hiroshima and 6 out of 16 in Kanagawa were living outside of their hometowns. Some may have been engaged in family farming with their relatives or spouses' families.

According to one account of the history of the reclamation in Manchuria, roughly half of the survived wartime reclamation farmers were re-engaged in postwar reclamation projects in Japan,<sup>69</sup> which was introduced by the government in December 1945 to absorb displaced people and to increase food production.<sup>70</sup> When the government survey into repatriates' postwar lives was conducted in 1956, the number of households in the reclamation project had reached a peak of 141,072.<sup>71</sup> The government started to reduce the amount of reclamation farmland by closing non-profitable projects after 1957.<sup>72</sup> Given the fact that a large scale postwar reclamation project was implemented in Ibaraki prefecture,<sup>73</sup> it would be reasonable to assume that

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<sup>69</sup> Ibid., 769.

<sup>70</sup> Sengo Kaitakushi Hensan linkai, *Sengo Kaitakushi* 70-72.

<sup>71</sup> Ibid., 776.

<sup>72</sup> Hokkaido Regional Development Bureau, "Hokkaidō Kaihatsukyoku No Ayumi 60 Nen." <http://www.hkd.mlit.go.jp/topics/archives/60-3/06.pdf>. Accessed on 13 March 2016.

<sup>73</sup> Sengo Kaitakushi Hensan linkai, *Sengo Kaitakushi* 706-07, 76. In terms of the land areas used for the reclamation projects, if we exclude the northern prefectures in the Tōhoku region, Ibaraki's was the fourth largest in Japan's main island (Honshū), following Nagano, Niigata and Tochigi. In 1954, Ibaraki was home for 5,200 reclamation farm households. This was 3.7 per cent of the total reclamation household in Japan that year.

the majority of those who were farming outside of their hometowns were involved in postwar reclamation projects.

However, it seems likely that not all postwar farmers involved in reclamation indicated in the 1956 survey that they were involved in the reclamation projects, and it is not possible to know how many were actually in reclamation. For example, out of 138 individuals in agriculture in the Ibaraki database, 38 had moved into Ibaraki from other prefectures by 1956. The 38 included 14 former reclamation farmers in Manchuria. Given the fact that approximately half of wartime reclamation farmers were reengaged in postwar reclamation projects, it would seem reasonable to suggest that many had moved into Ibaraki to participate in the reclamation. However, out of 38 farmers in Ibaraki, only four individuals specified in the survey form that they were in the reclamation.

Table 4-21 shows the occupational transitions of wartime farmers into other sectors in the postwar period. The number in the individual samples is small, and needs to be treated cautiously, but it is still possible to identify some trends. Other than the agricultural sector, it appears that the tertiary sector also became a major destination for repatriate farmers, and a number became independent retailers or service providers.<sup>74</sup> Examples of these small businesses in the database are fishmongers, food shops, fashion stores, a flower shop, confectioners, cleaning shops, and house painters, to name but some.

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<sup>74</sup> Although the majority of wartime farmers who entered the tertiary sector in the post-war period found employment in SMEs, there is one exception in the Hiroshima database; an individual who was working for the Chiyoda Mutual Life Insurance Company.



Table 4-21: Postwar occupational transitions of wartime farmers<sup>75</sup>

	Ibaraki database		Hiroshima database		Kanagawa database	
	Wartime		Wartime		Wartime	
	Reclamation farmers	Settler farmers	Reclamation farmers	Settler farmers	Reclamation farmers	Settler farmers
<b>Total</b>	<b>66</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>19</b>
<b>Postwar</b>						
<b>Agriculture</b>	49	8	10	5	3	4
<b>Mining, construction, manufacturing</b>	3	1	5	2	2	2
<b>Public sector and Utilities, communications and transport</b>	5	0	3	1	2	1
<b>Tertiary sector including finance and real estate</b>	6	0	9	4	4	2
<b>Day labourers, other sectors and unemployed</b>	3	1	5	2	2	5
<b>Out of labour force</b>	0	0	0	2	1	5

<sup>75</sup> Ministry of Health and Welfare, "Zaigai Jijitsu Chōsahyō (Japanese Government Survey into Repatriates' Postwar Lives)." Figures have been calculated from each prefecture's database created for this research.

For repatriate farmers who did not enter the postwar agriculture or tertiary sector, entering other sectors seems to have posed further difficulties. When we look at the repatriate farmer population in each prefecture's database, it is apparent that the proportion who entered the public sector in the years after the war was much smaller than was the case for the civilian repatriate population in the database as a whole. Among those who entered employment in manufacturing, here too the majority found employment at SMEs, rather than with major industrial firms. The exception was six individuals out of the 48 repatriate farmers in the Hiroshima database, who obtained employment at major firms as factory workers, half of them working for textile firms such as *Teijin*. None of the wartime farmers in the Ibaraki and Kanagawa databases were working for major industrial firms in 1956. Moreover, although this should be treated carefully because the number of relevant individuals in the sample is small, the proportion of wartime farmers who ended up as postwar labourers or unemployed seems to have been particularly high for the repatriate farmers in the Hiroshima and Kanagawa databases compared to the proportion for the repatriate population in these prefectures as a whole, and this may also suggest the difficult transition that they encountered.

In the Kanagawa database, it is particularly striking that out of 33 wartime farmers, nine had been repatriated from the primary sector in the Mandated territories (under the League of Nations) in the Pacific Islands. They were not long-term settlers and the individual who had spent the longest time period outside Japan was a farmer in Tinian who had migrated from Okinawa in 1931 and lived there until 1945 when he turned 34 years old. Even though they may have settled in the highly-industrialised Kanagawa of the postwar period, finding secure employment appears to have been

challenging for the repatriate farmers who returned from the South Pacific. Out of the nine repatriate farmers from the region in the Kanagawa database, three entered the agricultural sector, two became day labourers, and two became unemployed, while the other two were already out of the labour force. These examples suggest that the postwar transition was far from smooth for these people. Moreover, for those who were originally from Okinawa, the cultural differences between mainland Japan and Okinawa may have made their transitions even more challenging.<sup>76</sup>

Table 4-15, 4-16 and 4-17 shows that in addition to wartime farmers the postwar agricultural sector also became an important destination for some repatriates who had formerly been in sectors other than agriculture. If we compare the proportion of individuals working in the agricultural sector at the end of the war outside of Japan and that in the 1956 database, it is apparent that there was a significant increase in that proportion among the civilian repatriate population in Ibaraki prefecture. Hiroshima and Kanagawa prefectures experienced a small increase and a decrease respectively. The makeup of the participants in the sector also changed between 1945 and 1956, as postwar agriculture became one of the major destinations for new entrants. Table 4-22 compares the proportion of new entrants in each postwar sector, and shows that the agricultural sector had either the highest (Hiroshima) or the second highest proportion (Ibaraki and Kanagawa) of new entrants, followed by industry or the tertiary sector. The new entrants to the postwar primary sector included repatriates from various wartime sectors, such as the tertiary sector, transport and communications, utilities, public offices and industry.

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<sup>76</sup> Kurihara, "Little Okinawa No 100 Nen Wo Yomitoku," 15.

It is not possible to know the reasons why some individuals decided postwar to enter the primary sector rather than other sectors where they might have accumulated a degree of experience during the wartime years. One possible explanation might be the presence of family in Japan, who were already engaged in agriculture in the place of their formal registration address. As previously mentioned, many repatriates first settled in their hometowns. It is not clear how many were actually engaged in family agriculture in the early postwar period; however, in the 1956 repatriate survey, we find that 18.2 per cent of repatriates (91 individuals) in the Ibaraki database, 8.2 per cent in the Hiroshima database (51 individuals), and 1.6 per cent (10 individuals) in the Kanagawa database were still in agriculture in their hometowns. These relatively large numbers, especially in the samples for Ibaraki and Hiroshima, suggest that the presence of family in agricultural regions may have been one of the reasons why so many were recorded as being in the agricultural sector in the 1956 national survey.

Table 4-22: New entrants in each postwar sector as a percentage of total repatriates in the sector (prefectural databases)<sup>77</sup>

Sector	Postwar new entrants (%) in the total population in each sector/occupational group		
	Ibaraki	Hiroshima	Kanagawa
<b>Primary sector</b>	58.7	75.0	56.3
<b>Industries</b>	48.7	54.2	52.7
<b>Transport, communications, utilities</b>	17.4	27.5	29.2
<b>Tertiary sector</b>	74.0	52.6	68.8
<b>Public sector</b>	36.9	39.2	55.6

\*Sectors where the figures are larger than 60 per cent are shaded in grey.

In summary, it is clear that only a portion of wartime farmers, both settlers and Manchuria reclamation farmers, were able to return to the agricultural sector. However, the postwar primary sector became an important destination for those who had access to family or reclamation land in postwar Japan, and this was specifically true for new entrants who had worked in non-agricultural sectors during the wartime. Although the number of repatriates engaged in farming in 1956 was not necessarily numerically significant especially in Hiroshima and Kanagawa, and many wartime farmers were not able to return to the sector, the evidence collected here suggests that the role of the postwar primary sector in absorbing a significant number of repatriates, particularly from other occupational sectors, should not be discounted.

<sup>77</sup> Ministry of Health and Welfare, "Zaigai Jijitsu Chōsahyō (Japanese Government Survey into Repatriates' Postwar Lives)." Figures were taken from the database, created for this research.

## **Reemployment by wartime companies**

Repatriates who did not enter the postwar agricultural sector spread across to other sectors. When repatriates considered new jobs, it seems likely that the most favoured option for the majority was to return to the same job, and if possible to the same employers as they had worked for during the war. Some large private companies and public corporations offered such opportunities to a small number of repatriates, and it seems this was still an important option, especially in industrialised areas such as Kanagawa. In the sample of 640 individuals in the Kanagawa database, we find that 49 individuals (7.6 per cent) were able to return to their wartime employers or related companies. The equivalent figure in the Hiroshima database is 35 individuals (5.6 per cent), while it was lower, at 17 individuals (3.4 per cent) in the Ibaraki database. The largest employers able to employ some former staff members from wartime related companies were public corporations such as Japan National Railways (JNR) and the Nippon Telegraph and Telephone Public Corporation (NTT). Postal services also reemployed repatriated postal service staff members. Although it was not precisely a public corporation, postal services is also categorised in this group because it had operated under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Communications and Transport (Un'yu Tsūshinshō), which existed between November 1943 and May 1945<sup>78</sup>. It is noteworthy that all three public corporations and services which had been related with this ministry absorbed some of the former staff members repatriated from related public corporations or foreign government agencies such as the Korean government railway in the Japanese empire.

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<sup>78</sup> The ministry was established by merging the Ministry of Communications and the Ministry of Transport in 1943 and was separated again in May 1945.

In the private sector, several major companies, such as Nihon Cement Corporation, the Tokyo Electric Company and the construction firm Ōbayashi Corporation, employed several individuals in the database. A full list of the public corporations and private companies which offered reemployment programmes in the databases is included in Table 4-23. All of these corporations had already been major companies during the wartime. Some had expanded to Manchuria after Manchukuo was established in March 1932.<sup>79</sup> When they resumed postwar business operations, some former staff members re-joined.

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<sup>79</sup> "Nichiman Renraku Kōroni Kakushaga Dai Zōsen Keikaku," *Jiji Shinpō*, 12 April 1932. [http://www.lib.kobe-u.ac.jp/das/jsp/ja/ContentViewM.jsp?METAID=00159122&TYPE=IMAGE\\_FILE&POS=1](http://www.lib.kobe-u.ac.jp/das/jsp/ja/ContentViewM.jsp?METAID=00159122&TYPE=IMAGE_FILE&POS=1). Accessed on 5 February 2015.

Table 4-23: Major companies which employed repatriates from their overseas branches or related companies (number of re-employed repatriate employees in parentheses)<sup>80</sup>

<b>Ibaraki</b>	Japan National Railways (11), Tokyo Electric Power Company (3), Postal services (2), Taiwan Sugar Corporation (1)
<b>Hiroshima</b>	Japan National Railways (15), Nippon Telegraph and Telephone Public Corporation (9), Nihon Cement Corporation (3), Taisei Corporation (1), Morimoto Corporation (1), Mitsubishi Cement (1), Mitsubishi Shipyard (1), Kure Grinding Wheel <sup>81</sup> (1), Postal services (1), Dōwa Fire & Marine Insurance (1) <sup>82</sup> , Daiichi Bank (1)
<b>Kanagawa</b>	Japan National Railways (21), Nippon Telegraph and Telephone Public Corporation (9), Japan Tobacco and Salt Public Corporation (2), Tokyo Electric Power Company (2), Ōbayashi Corporation (2), Bank of Tokyo (2), Kajima Corporation (1), Meiji Sugar Corporation (1), Kirin Brewery (1), Nihon Glass (1), Dai-Nihon Sugar Corporation (1), Shōwa Denkō (1), Nittō Chemical (1), Tōyō Wharf <sup>83</sup> (1), Gōshō Corporation (1), Mitsubishi Corporation (1), Mitsukoshi Department Store (1)

There seem, however, to have been certain conditions associated with the ability to seize this type of opportunity. For example, those who managed to become

<sup>80</sup> Ministry of Health and Welfare, "Zaigai Jijitsu Chōsahyō (Japanese Government Survey into Repatriates' Postwar Lives)." Figures have been calculated from each prefecture's database created for this research.

<sup>81</sup> This company has been in the shipbuilding sector since the wartime.

<sup>82</sup> This company was established in 1944 by merging four major fire and marine insurance companies under the government's monetary control policies.

<sup>83</sup> This company was a subsidiary of the South Manchuria Railway. It is still in business as of 2016.



re-employed by the same company mainly comprised of considerably younger people. The differences are clear in the figures: the average age of re-employed repatriates in Ibaraki was 31.2 years old, 3.7 years younger than the average age of all repatriates in the database. The equivalent figure for the Hiroshima database was 32 years old (4.8 years younger than the average for all repatriates), and that for the Kanagawa database was 32.8 years old (3.4 years younger than the average for all repatriates). It is not clear how the timing of repatriation, especially delayed repatriation as a result of detentions in Siberia and postwar employment by the Chinese and Taiwanese governments, affected repatriates' chances of capturing opportunities of being employed by the same employer. In the case of wartime rail workers, however, it seems likely that the timing mattered, because the Transport Ministry finished its re-employment programme for repatriated railway staff members in May 1947, and new positions had been filled by those who had already arrived in Japan by June 1947.<sup>84</sup> However, there are some exceptions in which repatriates who arrived in Japan later, in some cases after 1948, were re-employed by the same employers. For example, out of the individuals in each prefectural database who had been repatriated after January 1948, we find that one individual in Hiroshima was re-employed by NTT after he returned from China in 1953, and two individuals in Kanagawa were re-employed by Ōbayashi Corporation after respectively being repatriated from China in 1948 and from Siberia in 1953. It is difficult to know further details, but for these cases, it is possible that employers' business situations and job openings, as well as the presence of people who were committed to supporting repatriates, may have played important roles in creating opportunities for re-employment.

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<sup>84</sup> Tairiku Tetsudō Jūjiin Engokai, "Jigyō Gaiyō Kessan Hōkoku Tsuzuri," (Tokyo 1946).

Although some of the public corporations and major companies played key roles in absorbing repatriates by reemploying wartime staff members, these corporations were not able to hire as many repatriates as might have been expected.<sup>85</sup> For instance, if we look at the wartime railway workers in each prefectural database, we find that only 11.2 per cent in Ibaraki, 18.8 per cent in Hiroshima and 15.8 per cent in Kanagawa were working at the postwar Japan National Railways (JNR) in 1956. The figure for the Nippon Telegraph and Telephone (NTT) Public Corporation was higher at 52.9 per cent in the Hiroshima database and 60.0 per cent in the Kanagawa database, while there were no wartime telecommunications companies' staff members who were re-employed by the NTT in Ibaraki. The higher percentage figures in Hiroshima and Kanagawa can possibly be explained by the fact that communications companies in former Japanese territories maintained a close relationship with the Ministry of Communications (Teishinshō) in Japan. In the reemployment programmes in the telecommunications sector, the role of the association of the companies in the industry (Denkitsūshin Kyōkai) was significant.<sup>86</sup> After the war, this association agreed with its overseas counterpart association (Daitōa Denkitsūshin Kyōkai) to assist telecommunications repatriates from the Manchuria Telegraph and Telephone

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<sup>85</sup> Ibid. The leaders of the repatriate railway workers' organisation also wrote in the annual report for the fiscal year of 1947-1948 that the number of repatriate railway workers who were offered a job was lower than the organisation had wished.

<sup>86</sup> Denki Tsūshin Kyōkai, *Denki Tsūshin Kyōkai 20 Nenshi* (Tokyo 1958), 19-30.

This association was established in 1937 to coordinate the development of the telecommunications network in Japan's overseas territories and to reinforce its own research and development capability, specifically after Japan retreated from the international community, and technical cooperation with Europe and the United States was cut off. The members of the association were private companies such as Fujitsu, Hitachi and Nihon Denki (NEC, Nippon Electric Company), but they received support from the government and also worked with leading universities. The organisation tried to export Japanese telecommunications technologies to Thailand and Brazil, facilitated technological cooperation among Japanese companies by purchasing and pooling patents, and also attempted to increase the number of telecommunications engineers by creating recruitment programmes targeting graduates of technical schools.

Company (Manshū Denshin Denwa Kabushikigaisha), the North China Telegraph and Telephone Company (Kahoku Denshin Denwa Kabushikigaisha), the Central China Telecommunications Company (Kachū Denki Tsūshin Kabushikigaisha) with the provision of housing and a portion of living costs to repatriates. The association also coordinated the job search of telecommunications repatriates.

According to the association's record, out of 8,855 telecommunications repatriates who applied for re-employment to the Ministry of Communications, 3,184 (36.0 per cent) were offered places via this organisation. Some others were also employed by the ministry via personal connections. In addition, the records published by the organisation state that as a part of the programme to help the job search of telecommunications repatriates, the association helped with the establishment of 23 start-ups (details are unknown), coordinated radio repair services that employed some repatriate telecommunications engineers, and sent requests to private companies to hire telecommunications repatriates.<sup>87</sup>

In terms of reemployment policies in the private sector, hiring policies were different in each company. While some companies attempted to absorb as many repatriates as possible, not all companies were able to (or were willing to) introduce a programme to reemploy repatriates and demobilised soldiers. One example of a company which tried to re-employ as many repatriate staff members as possible was Ōbayashi Corporation. The number of employees of Ōbayashi in Japan at the end of the war was approximately 2,000 (excluding those who were in the military or at related companies in Japan's overseas territories, such as Manchuria Ōbayashi Corporation and Ōbayashi Farm in Korea), but the figure had increased to 3,000 by the end of 1945. Ōbayashi Corporation started its postwar operation by engaging in

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<sup>87</sup> Ibid., 52-55.

public reconstruction works and construction projects for the Allied occupation forces. All employees who had wished to stay with the company were allowed to do so. However, there was not enough business to use all existing workers. ‘Jobless people’ in Ōbayashi were engaged in various sorts of business activities. Examples were farming, the operation of a timber mill and salt works, and the manufacturing of kitchen tools such as pots and cookers which were made from the company’s wartime stockpiles.<sup>88</sup>

Reemployment options of this kind were certainly limited to individuals who had been affiliated with the public corporations or private companies that could offer these opportunities. Although work experiences and connections could have helped the repatriates’ postwar job search, only a fraction of the total were actually reemployed by the same employers as they had worked for during the war. However, the evidence suggests that this option still helped some repatriates resettle in postwar Japan.

### **The public sector**

Public corporations and major companies thus played limited but important roles in re-employing repatriates. In addition to these public corporations, various government offices also hired both wartime public servants and new employers who had previously been in wartime public corporations and other fields. The figures in my database suggest that the role of the public sector was much larger than that of private corporations which reemployed some of their repatriate staff members. We see that in each database, 20.6 per cent of civilian repatriates in Ibaraki, 20.1 per cent in

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<sup>88</sup> Ōbayashigumi Hyakunenshi Henshū linkai, *Ōbayashigumi Hyakunenshi (Online Edition)* (Tokyo: Ōbayashigumi, 1993). <http://www.obayashi.co.jp/chronicle/100yrs/t2c1.html>. Accessed on 12 September 2015.

Hiroshima and 23.6 per cent in Kanagawa entered the postwar public sector, which included various city governments, and the local offices of central government agencies including the Coast Guard, the Ministry of Agriculture, the Ministry of Justice, the Ministry of Finance, the Ministry of Labour and the Special Procurement Agency. It may be counterintuitive that postwar sectors became one of the major destinations for repatriate wartime public servants, because the postwar public sector in Japan experienced a political purge between 1946 and 1948. However, the purge mostly targeted war criminals and leaders of military and political organisations such as the Imperial Rule Assistance Association (Taisei Yokusankai), right-wing activists, influential business people and executive members of colonial governments and foreign public corporations.<sup>89</sup> The majority of ordinary public servants, including those who had been in Japan during the war and repatriate public officers were not affected by the purge. School teachers are also categorised as belonging to the public sector as will be explained later in this section. In addition, staff members of semi-public organisations such as agricultural cooperatives (*nōgyōkyōdō kumiai*) and individuals who were working in U.S. military in Kanagawa and the British Commonwealth Forces Korea (BCFK)<sup>90</sup> stationed in Hiroshima prefecture are included in the public sector as quasi-public servants.

The figures in the database show that many of the repatriates who were in the postwar public sector had also worked for the public sector during the war. In fact, the

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<sup>89</sup> Hiroshi Masuda, "Yokohamashi Zaiseikai No Kōshoku Tsuihō to Sengo Keizai Fukkō," *Chōsa Kihō*, no. 128 (1997).

<sup>90</sup> Hiroshima Prefectural Archives, "Chūryūgun to Kengyōsei," (Hiroshima: Hiroshima Prefectural Archives, 2010), 1. James Wood, "The Australian Military Contribution to the Occupation of Japan, 1945–1952," (Canberra: Australian War Memorial). Toshikuni Nakagawa, "Senryōgun Shiryō Wo Chūshin Tosuru Hiroshimashi Fukkō Komon to Fukkō Keikaku He No Ichi Kōsatsu," *Hiroshima Shi Kōbunshokan Kiyō* 28 (2015): 45. As part of the Allied Occupation Forces, British Commonwealth Occupation Force (BCOF) arrived in to Hiroshima in February 1946. In November 1950 part of the BCOF was restructured to become the British Commonwealth Forces in Korea (BCFK). The BCFK continued to stay in Hiroshima prefecture until November 1956.

're-employment rate' in the public sector was 47.1 per cent (65 individuals) in the database for Ibaraki, 53.9 per cent (76 individuals) for Hiroshima and 50.8 per cent (67 individuals) for Kanagawa. Re-employment was common not only for ordinary public servants, but also for school teachers and police officers.<sup>91</sup> Hiring policies in the public sector are not well-documented, but the following episode relating to the Hiroshima police department offers an indicator of its situation.

The Hiroshima Police Department was short of staff members at the end of the war. It was down by 50 per cent from its full capacity due to the deaths of police officers following the atomic bomb and a large number of vacancies caused by conscription. Immediately after the war ended, the police department started a large-scale recruitment programme in order to secure the required number of police officers, especially before the Occupation Authority's arrival in September 1945. The police department even arranged to bring some demobilised soldiers who had been stationed in the Kure Naval District into the training centre of the police department, without ever asking the new recruits if they were interested in becoming police officers. However, the majority of these new staff members soon ran away from the training centres and this type of emergency recruitment did not produce the hoped-for results. The emergency recruitment programme ended in February 1946 and the hiring process returned to normal.<sup>92</sup> This example of the police department in the immediate postwar period is not specifically about civilian repatriates, but it does depict one aspect of

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<sup>91</sup> Out of 65 reemployed public servants in the Ibaraki database, 13 individuals were school teachers and five were police officers. Out of 76 reemployed public servants in the Hiroshima database, 24 individuals were school teachers and nine individuals were police officers. In the Kanagawa database, out of 47 re-employed post-war public servants, eight individuals were school teachers and 12 were police officers.

<sup>92</sup> Hiroshimaken Keisatsushi Hensan linkai, *Hiroshimaken Keisatsu Hyakunenshi Gekan* (Hiroshima: Hiroshimaken Keisatsushi Hensan linkai, 1971), 461-63.

Japan's labour situation at the time, a situation in which some repatriates might have found new employment opportunities.

Job opportunities at public offices also included vacancies for a significant number of part-time or temporary employees, who were hired to reduce unemployment among white-collar workers. Relevant information for Ibaraki, Hiroshima, and Kanagawa has not been available, but in Tokyo, at least 1,237 white-collar workers, including 236 repatriates, were employed by various government agencies under the Tokyo metropolitan government. These white-collar workers were called *chishikisō*, which means educated workforce. Their previous occupations included office clerks who had worked for private companies and government agencies. It is not clear when this programme started, but it ended in Tokyo in September 1949.<sup>93</sup> Some part-time staff members became full-time staff members after several years' service. For example, the number of the full-time staff members of the Relief Bureau under the Ministry of Health and Welfare was downsized to 271 in 1954, but the agency employed an additional 1,501 part-time staff members. The number of part-time staff members was gradually reduced, and in 1961, most part-time staff members became full-time.<sup>94</sup>

The presence of part-time positions seems to have lowered the entry barrier and made it possible for the sector to absorb a large number of unemployed people including repatriates. Tables 4-15, 4-16 and 4-17 show that the largest number of new entrants came from the wartime public corporations, but wartime industrial workers, agricultural farmers and people in the tertiary sector also joined the postwar public

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<sup>93</sup> Tokyo Labour Bureau, "Tokyoto Chishikisō Shitsugyō Ōkyū Jigyōshi," ed. Tokyo Labour Bureau (Tokyo: Tokyo Labour Bureau, 1949).

<sup>94</sup> Ministry of Health and Welfare, *Zoku Zoku Hikiage Engo No Kiroku* (Tokyo: Ministry of Health and Welfare, 1963), 298.

sector. Although it is difficult to obtain sufficient evidence, it seems likely that much of this employment process took place via personal networks at local offices, an important characteristic of the Japanese job market. Analysis of the samples in the databases also suggests that repatriates found employment at various semi-public associations, such as agricultural cooperatives and organisations promoting textile exports, as well as in tax collection for local governments or traffic safety. These semi-public organizations were funded by local or central government agencies and worked as their outposts. Throughout the postwar period, these organisations have been used as new work places for retired public servants.<sup>95</sup> It is therefore reasonable to assume that these semi-public associations were sometimes asked to employ repatriates, again usually via personal networks.

As noted before, school teachers were also categorised as part of the public sector. Although there may have been some private school teachers, almost all the repatriated school teachers in the database responded that they had worked at state schools during the wartime, and were still working in state schools in 1956. There were a few exceptions: these include two wartime state school teachers who became private school teachers postwar (one each in Ibaraki and Hiroshima), as well as one new postwar private high school teacher in the Kanagawa database, who had been a staff member of Korean Railways. Since the number of such individuals is very small, and all had some involvement with the public sector, they have been included in the category of public sector teachers for consistency of analysis. Wartime state school teachers were allowed to transfer their licenses to postwar Japan.<sup>96</sup> We therefore find that 12 out of 19 repatriate teachers in Ibaraki, 18 out of 25 repatriate teachers in

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<sup>95</sup> Wataru Yokoyama, "Yokuwaku Tokubetsu Kaikei No Shikumi," *Shūkan Economist*, 11 October 2010.

<sup>96</sup> Dōhō Kyūen Giin Renmei, *Hikiagesha Mondai* (Tokyo1947), 35.



Hiroshima and eight out of 20 wartime teachers in Kanagawa continued to teach after the war.

According to a booklet published in November 1947 by a group of diet members supporting repatriates (Dohōkyūen Giin Renmei), as many as 49,389 primary and secondary school teachers had been working in Japan's overseas territories.<sup>97</sup> By the time of the publication of the booklet, 43,292 (87.7 per cent) had been repatriated, while 6,097 (12.3 per cent) were yet to be repatriated, or had not yet reported to the authorities after their repatriation. In the booklet, the group of diet members reported that 16,899 teachers had already been re-employed by schools in Japan, and estimated that a further 10,758 teachers would return to schools. Many of these teachers had been educated and obtained teaching certificates in Japan before their emigration, but some others had been educated and obtained teaching licenses in the Kwantung Leased Territory, Korea, Manchuria, Sakhalin and Taiwan. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs issued them with proof of their teaching licenses,<sup>98</sup> which seem to have been accepted by postwar Japanese state schools.

Although they are not categorised as being in the public sector, but rather in the tertiary sector, medical professionals experienced transitions similar to those of public school teachers. In the database compiled for this research, seven individuals in Ibaraki, 15 individuals in Hiroshima, and 14 individuals in Kanagawa were medical professionals who transferred their foreign licenses to postwar Japan. The booklet published by diet members mentioned above stated that there had been two types of medical doctors in overseas territories: one was those who had obtained licenses issued by the Office of the Governor-General of Korea, the Office of the Governor-General

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<sup>97</sup> Ibid.

<sup>98</sup> Ministry of Foreign Affairs, "Gaichi Seiri Jimu Annai " (Tokyo: Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2014). <http://www.mofa.go.jp/mofaj/annai/honsho/sosiki/gaichi/>. Accessed on 4 September 2015.

of Taiwan, the Office of Kwantung Territory, or the Manchukuo government; the other was those who had worked as general practitioners with permission from local consular offices in the Republic of China. The first group of medical professionals were allowed to take exams in Japan after repatriation to convert their foreign licenses to Japanese ones. The booklet stated that as of July 1947, approximately 500 medical doctors and 450 dentists had obtained Japanese licenses, and estimated that approximately 400 more medical doctors and 100 dentists would take the exams in the near future. By the time of the publication of the booklet, the government had not decided whether it would offer opportunities to the second group of medical professionals (general practitioners repatriated from China) to take exams to become officially registered medical doctors in Japan.<sup>99</sup>

No information is available to know whether the second group of medical doctors were allowed to take the exam and were continuing to practice by 1956. In my database, out of this group of medical professionals, all seven in the Ibaraki database, 13 individuals out of 14 wartime medical professionals in the Hiroshima database and 15 individuals out of 16 in the Kanagawa database continued their jobs in the medical sector.<sup>100</sup> Overall, therefore, it appears that school teachers and medical professionals who possessed government licenses, may have experienced one of the most secure transitions among civilian repatriates. However, it should be noted that the proportion of school teachers who returned to the same job was lower than was the case for

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<sup>99</sup> Dōhō Kyūen Giin Renmei, *Hikiagesha Mondai*, 38.

<sup>100</sup> In this group of medical professionals, for some reason, the number of those who were repatriated from China is small: none in the Ibaraki database; one dentist in the Hiroshima database; one medical doctor, one dentist and one nurse in the Kanagawa database. All of them, except a nurse in Kanagawa, continued to practice. The majority of repatriate medical professionals were in Korea or Manchuria during the wartime. It is not clear why the number returned from China is small.

medical professionals.<sup>101</sup> It is not possible to know why many of these repatriate teachers decided not to teach in Japan in the postwar period, but for some wartime school teachers, it might have been difficult to return to a teaching job when the whole educational philosophy emphasising the importance of democracy was quite different from the wartime one which heavily valued the imperial system.<sup>102</sup>

In postwar Japan, in addition to local public offices, American military bases in Kanagawa and the British Commonwealth Forces Korea (BCFK) stationed in Hiroshima (until November 1956 as part of United Nations Forces) employed a large number of Japanese civilians, including repatriates. According to official statistics published by the Japanese government and the Hiroshima prefectural government, the total number of Japanese workers in American bases was 58,564 in Kanagawa as of May 1952<sup>103</sup> and the BCFK in Hiroshima employed approximately 8,000 local Japanese people including repatriates as of February 1956.<sup>104</sup> They were quasi-public employees, and their wages were paid by the US and British Commonwealth military and the Japanese government.<sup>105</sup> In the Kanagawa database, in particular, we find that

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<sup>101</sup> In each prefecture's database, seven wartime school teachers in Ibaraki (out of 19), seven in Hiroshima (out of 26) and 12 in Kanagawa (out of 20) were not teaching in 1956. Their transitions were not necessarily smooth. In Ibaraki, one was in family farming, two were in the local public sector, one became a stationery shop owner, and one became a peddler, while two had already retired. In the Hiroshima database, one was in family farming, two were in the local public sector, one had already retired, one was a female who most likely got married and stopped working, but the other two were unemployed for reasons which cannot be specified. In the Kanagawa database, more than half of teachers did not go back to teach. One became a local public servant, two entered industry as a factory worker and a guard, one became a local newspaper reporter, one became a greengrocer, one became a signboard designer and one worked in an American military base although his job was not specified in the survey form.

<sup>102</sup> Ministry of Education, *Gakusei Hyakunenshi* (Tokyo: Teikoku Chihō Gyōsei Gakkai, 1972). [http://www.mext.go.jp/b\\_menu/hakusho/html/others/detail/1317696.htm](http://www.mext.go.jp/b_menu/hakusho/html/others/detail/1317696.htm). [http://www.mext.go.jp/b\\_menu/hakusho/html/others/detail/1317738.htm](http://www.mext.go.jp/b_menu/hakusho/html/others/detail/1317738.htm). Accessed on 13 March 2016.

<sup>103</sup> Senryō Chōtatsushi Hensan linkai, *Senryō Chōtatsushi - Senryōgun Chōtatsu No Kichō* (Tokyo: Special Procurement Agency, 1956), 758.

<sup>104</sup> Hiroshima Prefectural Archives, "Chūryūgun to Kengyōsei." <https://www.pref.hiroshima.lg.jp/uploaded/attachment/41192.pdf>. Accessed on 1 April 2015.

<sup>105</sup> Ministry of Defense, "Defense of Japan 2008," (Tokyo: Ministry of Defense, 2008), 261. [http://www.mod.go.jp/e/publ/w\\_paper/2008.html](http://www.mod.go.jp/e/publ/w_paper/2008.html). Accessed on 30 September 2015.

the American military was a major employer of repatriates, and 49 individuals (7.7 per cent of the total number of individuals in the database) were working in American bases, while in the Hiroshima database we find that the BCFK in Hiroshima employed only seven individuals (1.1 per cent of the total number). Many Japanese members of this group did not include information on their exact responsibilities in the foreign military bases in the 1956 survey, but examples where we do have some information were a washing and cleaning specialist (who had been in the same position at the South Manchuria Railway's Yamato Hotel), a translator, accountants, carpenters, car mechanics, a firefighter, electrical engineers, security guards and office clerks.

If we look at individuals in the American bases in Kanagawa, we find that 65.3 per cent of them (32 individuals in the database) had worked in public corporations or for overseas offices of Japanese government agencies (including those under the Manchukuo government) during the wartime. It should also be noted that 63.3 per cent of Japanese workers in American bases in the Kanagawa database had moved into the prefecture from other regions. These facts suggest that quasi-public servant positions in American bases had become accessible job opportunities for repatriates who had been in the public or semi-public sectors during the war. Working in this kind of foreign environment might well have been an attractive option for some of the repatriates who had been used to interacting with people of other nationalities.

In this way, the postwar public sector absorbed a significant number of repatriates, including both wartime public servants and new entrants. It is worth mentioning that if these people are put together with the employees of postwar public corporations in the transport, communications and utilities sector, in total more than one-fifth of the repatriates were employed postwar in the public or semi-public sectors. A summary of the employment situation of repatriates in the public sector is shown in

Table 4-24. These data offer evidence that the government played a significant role in resettling repatriates.

*Table 4-24: Number of Repatriates employed in the public sector in 1956* <sup>106</sup>

<b>Government offices (including school teachers)</b>	Ibaraki	Hiroshima	Kanagawa
Reemployment (wartime public servants)	63	78	99
New employment	19	21	31
<b>Postwar public corporations (JNR, telecommunications and utilities)</b>			
Reemployment of repatriate staff members	19	35	43
New employment	4	5	5
Semi-public organisations (including agricultural cooperatives)	14	11	6
<b>Total</b>  (Percentage figures in the total civilian repatriates in the databases is shown in parentheses)	119 (23.8 %)	150 (24.2 %)	184 (28.8 %)

### **Employment in the private sector: A new start as corporate employees or small business owners**

Table 4-25 summarises the findings discussed in this chapter up to this point: some repatriates entered the agricultural sector, mostly in family farming. Some were fortunate enough to continue their employment with their previous wartime employers,

<sup>106</sup> Ministry of Health and Welfare, "Zaigai Jijitsu Chōsahyō (Japanese Government Survey into Repatriates' Postwar Lives)." Figures were taken from the database, created for this research.

and some others were employed postwar by the public sector. By 1956, some were still not in the labour force for various reasons. Some were unemployed in 1956 even though they were still of working age (between 15 and 60 years old). The remainder entered the private sector, either self-employed or as new employees of various companies. These repatriates entering the private sector can be categorised into two groups: those who were able to use their wartime skills and those who obtained new jobs in new sectors. In Table 4-25, they are categorised as ‘skilled employment,’ as well as ‘New sector: industry,’ and ‘New sector: tertiary’.

*Table 4-25: Repatriates’ postwar patterns<sup>107</sup>*

	<b>Ibaraki</b>	<b>Hiroshima</b>	<b>Kanagawa</b>
<b>Agriculture</b>	27.6%	9.7%	2.5%
<b>Public sector</b>	21.8%	20.1%	22.5%
<b>Reemployment by wartime employers</b>	2.8%	5.5%	7.7%
<b>Skilled employment</b>	13.2%	26.9%	31.3%
<b>New sector: industry</b>	3.8%	8.1%	5.2%
<b>New sector: tertiary</b>	20.2%	15.5%	14.1%
<b>Day labourers</b>	1.8%	2.7%	1.4%
<b>Unemployed</b>	7.8%	3.7%	6.1%
<b>Out of labour force</b>	1.0%	7.9%	9.4%
<b>Total</b>	100%	100%	100%

\*Percentage figures larger than 20 per cent are shaded in grey.

<sup>107</sup> Ibid. Figures were taken from the database, created for this research.

## Repatriates who found skilled employment

In the private sector, repatriates' wartime skills and experiences were sometimes useful in their job search. Out of all civilian repatriates in the databases for each prefecture, it seems highly likely from their profiles that their previous experience or skills did play a role in their postwar employment positions; 13.2 per cent of repatriates in Ibaraki, 26.9 per cent in Hiroshima and 31.3 per cent in Kanagawa found the same or similar jobs in the private sector, thus making use of skills that they already possessed.<sup>108</sup> This is in addition to those who were rehired by their wartime companies. This group finding similar jobs in the private sector can be further divided into three sub-categories — a) white-collar workers, b) technical skill holders in industry and c) individuals in retail or services. These are shown in Table 4-26. Both during the wartime and in the postwar period, white-collar workers and the majority of technical skill holders were employed by a range of companies. Those who were self-employed were a minority in industry as a whole, and were mostly likely to be engaged in small-scale manufacturing. This group included a small number of rope manufacturers, wooden clog (*geta*) manufacturers, food processing factory owners, small-scale shipbuilders, carpenters, plasterers, and electricians. The dominance of corporate employees among those possessing technical skills contrasts with the fact that the majority of people who were in the postwar tertiary sector were self-employed.

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<sup>108</sup> Because many people in the database only provide the names of the companies for which they worked, their actual responsibilities are unknown. This author assumes that people who were in the same sectors in August 1945 and June 1956 were able to find employment that utilised their wartime skills in some way.

Table 4-26: Numbers in different types of skilled employment in each Prefecture, 1956<sup>109</sup>

	Ibaraki	Hiroshima	Kanagawa
<b>White-collar workers</b>	8	29	51
<b>Technical skill holders</b>			
Corporate employees	51	50	97
Self-employed	9	26	15
<b>Total</b>	<b>60</b>	<b>76</b>	<b>112</b>
<b>Tertiary sector participants</b>			
Corporate employees	4	12	16
Self-employed	9	50	24
<b>Total</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>62</b>	<b>40</b>

### Skilled employment in industry

For the majority of repatriates who possessed technical job skills, seeking employment at major business establishments or SMEs in postwar Japan seems to have been the most natural option, and more likely to earn them higher wages than if they started their own small businesses. This was because large-scale mechanised production or the heavy industries had become increasingly more dominant and profitable, while many SMEs worked as sub-contractors of major businesses. The productivity gap

<sup>109</sup> Ministry of Health and Welfare, "Zaigai Jijitsu Chōsahyō (Japanese Government Survey into Repatriates' Postwar Lives)." Figures have been calculated from each prefecture's database, created for this research.



between major industrial players and SMEs widened. According to the Economic White Paper in 1956, the average wage of small manufacturers employing 10-29 workers was only 53.3 per cent of that of major firms with more than 1,000 employees.<sup>110</sup> Although it is difficult to clearly identify them in the 1956 survey, the most useful and transferable skill holders included carpenters, welders, plasterers, architects, water works specialists, electrical engineers, car mechanics, and steelworkers, to name but a few. People with these kinds of skills had a better chance of finding jobs in major companies or promising SMEs, as they were able to make use of those skills after repatriation.

Even though employment at major firms or SMEs seems to have been the most preferred option, some technical skill holders still became entrepreneurs in the postwar period. The databases include one electrical engineer at a coal mine in Manchuria who became the owner of a construction company in Hitachi city in Ibaraki, a technician who started a bicycle shop in Hiroshima city, a shipbuilder who became a furniture maker in Hiroshima city, as well as a civil engineer in the colonial government in Taiwan who became a land surveyor in Yokohama city. It is almost impossible to know with any accuracy why these people chose to become self-employed after their repatriation. However, if we compare the corporate employees and the self-employed in the postwar industrial sector included in the databases, we find that in August 1945 the average age of small business owners was 40.5 years old in Ibaraki, 39.0 years old in Hiroshima and 39.6 years old in Kanagawa, while the equivalent figures for corporate employees were lower, at 34.2 years old (Ibaraki), 36.0 years old (Hiroshima) and 33.9 years old (Kanagawa). As can be observed in the previous

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<sup>110</sup> Economic Planning Agency, *Nenji Keizai Hōkoku* (Tokyo: Economic Planning Agency, 1956). <http://www5.cao.go.jp/keizai3/keizaiwp/wp-je56/wp-je56-021003.html>. Accessed on 5 September 2015. The comparison of the average wage was for male employees.

analysis of those who were able to be re-employed by their wartime companies, which were usually major industrial players, younger candidates were generally preferred. This may have been one of the factors influencing repatriates' job opportunities and forcing some repatriates to establish their own businesses where they had not been able to find promising jobs as employees.

When seeking employment at business establishments, some of those with technical skills or those who searched for white-collar positions seem to have shown flexibility in moving to other sectors, for instance, moving between the manufacturing, construction, mining, transport, and communication sectors. In the database of the Hiroshima repatriates for this research, several repatriates from the South Manchurian Railway found employment in Mitsubishi Shipbuilding, Hitachi Shipbuilding and in small manufacturers. An employee who had worked for the construction company Sakakidanigumi in Manchuria was employed by the Chugoku Electric Company in Hiroshima after the war. Due to the small numbers of individuals in this group, the figures should be treated carefully, but if we simply calculate the proportion of each group that moved to other sectors, we find that 17.6 per cent of white-collar workers and people with technical skills in Ibaraki (12 individuals out of 68), 11.4 per cent in Hiroshima (12 individuals out of 105) and 20.2 per cent in Kanagawa (33 individuals out of 163) managed to become employed by major corporations such as Hitachi, Mitsubishi, the major steel pipe manufacturer NKK (Nihon Kōkan), or Tōyō Kōgyō (later renamed Matsuda). Such companies appear to have been attractive destinations for skilled repatriates.

If the regional distribution of repatriates in the databases is compared, along with a comparison between those who found skilled employment in industry, corporate employees and the self-employed, it is apparent that each prefecture's

situation is different. For example, in Ibaraki, only about 50 percent of both groups – 50.0 per cent of corporate employees and 55.5 per cent of self-employed people – were living in the five largest cities in 1956, possibly reflecting the fact that many of the technical skills possessed by repatriates were being used in coal mines in rural areas. In Hiroshima, about 80 percent of both groups – 78.0 per cent of corporate employees and 80.8 per cent of self-employed people – lived in the five largest cities in 1956. In Kanagawa, about 74.2 per cent of corporate employees and 66.6 per cent of self-employed people lived in the five largest cities in 1956. The proportions of those who remained in their hometowns were quite different. For corporate employees, the proportion of those living in their hometowns was very small: only 28.0 per cent in Ibaraki, 31.1 per cent in Hiroshima and 25.7 per cent in Kanagawa, while the proportion of self-employed people living in their hometowns was much higher, at 44.4 per cent in Ibaraki, 70.0 per cent in Hiroshima and 60.0 per cent in Kanagawa. Therefore, it could be concluded that those who became employees were generally more willing to move to places where more job opportunities were available. For self-employed individuals, family factors may have played critical roles in limiting their mobility, but it should also be noted that the majority of small business owners in industries were nevertheless living in the five major cities in all of the three prefectures (55.5 per cent of small business owners in the Ibaraki database, 80.8 per cent in the Hiroshima database and 66.6 per cent in the Kanagawa database). This may indicate that if technical skill holders did not find favourable employment either at major companies or at SMEs, they still had the option of becoming self-employed and using their existing skills, particularly if they lived in or could move to major cities. In fact, the findings of my research indicate that several SMEs established by repatriates in urban areas worked as subcontractors of major business entities or government

agencies, such as Mitsubishi Shipbuilding and Japan's Defence Agency. One example was a manufacturer established by a South Manchuria Railway Company repatriate who specialised in electric motor drives in Kure city in Hiroshima.<sup>111</sup>

Repatriates sometimes established businesses together. For example, the electric construction company Shinsei Dengyō Corporation was one example of this, founded in Tokyo by South Manchuria Railway Company repatriate engineers, and specialising in railway electrical engineering. The company was only one of the 125 businesses started by SMR repatriates in postwar Japan.<sup>112</sup> Many companies were short-lived, but Shinsei Dengyō was one of the examples which survived to be a sustainable business into the 21st century. More details about the SMR repatriates' postwar transitions will be discussed in Chapter 5.

### **Skilled employment in the tertiary sector**

Among those who made the postwar transition by using their skills or experiences, some were involved in retail and services. From the data in Table 4-26 we can see that the number of repatriates who found skilled employment in the tertiary sector was particularly large in Hiroshima prefecture, which seems to reflect the fact that many migrants from Hiroshima had been in Japan's foreign territories for several decades running their own businesses. Some became small business owners in postwar Japan again. Unlike the industrial sector, the tertiary sector was dominated by self-employed people both during the wartime years and in the postwar period. Some former tertiary sector corporate employees also established their own businesses after the repatriation. The dominance of small businesses in the sector can be observed despite the fact that

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<sup>111</sup> This company is still in business in 2015, but details cannot be included in this paper due to the requirement of the 2003 Personal Information Protection Law.

<sup>112</sup> Mantetsukai, *Zaidan Hōjin Mantetsukai 60 Nen No Ayumi* (Tokyo: Mantetsukai, 2006).

the gap in the wage levels between small businesses and larger firms in the sector was more significant than in industry. In 1956 the average wage in retail and wholesale businesses that employed one to four people was only 33.9 per cent of the average wage at companies which hired more than 30 employees. In the service sector, in 1956 the average wage of small business owners who did not have any employees was only 31.3 per cent of that of companies with more than 30 employees, while the figure for firms with two to four employees was 38.8 per cent, and the figure for businesses with five to nine employees was 52.2 per cent.<sup>113</sup> Small businesses in the tertiary sector included groceries and other food stores, textiles and shoes shops, other fashion stores, tatami mat and antique shops, pharmacists, bath houses, restaurants and hotels.

In the database compiled for this research, we can see that out of those who continued to be small business owners in commerce in the post war years, fewer than half<sup>114</sup> re-established the same businesses as they had been involved in during the war. The majority started different types of businesses after repatriation. Examples of such transitions included a kimono merchant who became a hotel owner, a grocery shop owner who became a contract-based cook, and a cleaning shop owner who became a fishmonger.

The largest proportion of this group in the tertiary sector were living in their hometowns in 1956. Once again, due to the small numbers of individuals in this group, the figures should be treated carefully, but if we simply calculate the percentage figures, we find that 55.6 per cent of experienced small business owners in Ibaraki

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<sup>113</sup> Economic Planning Agency, *Nenji Keizai Hōkoku*  
<http://www5.cao.go.jp/keizai3/keizaiwp/wp-je56/wp-je56-021003.html>.

Accessed on 5 September 2015. The comparison of the average wage was for male employees.

<sup>114</sup> In the databases for this research, among wartime small business owners in the tertiary sector who established new businesses again, two out of 15 in the Ibaraki database, 16 out of 44 in the Hiroshima database, and six out of 15 in the Kanagawa database returned to the same types of businesses.

(five individuals out of nine individuals), 42.0 per cent in Hiroshima (21 individuals out of 50) and 50.0 per cent in Kanagawa (12 individuals out of 24) started their postwar small businesses in their hometowns. However, it is interesting to note that some others had also moved in from other prefectures. Two individuals out of nine experienced small business owners in the Ibaraki database, 19 individuals out of 50 in the Hiroshima database and 11 individuals out of 24 in the Kanagawa database had moved in to these prefectures and then founded their businesses there. Establishing small businesses in the tertiary sector is usually regarded as one of the most accessible options when people need to find a means of making a living in a new environment. When necessary, however, even experienced small business owners in the tertiary sector seem to have moved to other regions in search of new business opportunities and better locations.

### **People who entered new sectors**

For civilian repatriates who were not employed by wartime companies, who did not find skilled jobs or who did not enter the agriculture sector, another option was to enter a new sector to take up a new job. An analysis of this group is also important because it can reveal characteristics of the Japanese economy in terms of how it absorbed new entrants who had to start from scratch.

According to analysis of the databases created from the 1956 repatriate survey, about 25.8 per cent of the sample in the Ibaraki database, 26.3 per cent in the Hiroshima database and 20.7 per cent in the Kanagawa database found new jobs in sectors in which they had no previous experience. By using the 1956 national survey responses, it is possible to subdivide these people who entered new sectors to take up

new jobs into four categories roughly based on the level of significance of entry barriers. These can be summarised as shown in Table 4-27.

Individuals in Level 1 obtained employment with minimum skills and capital. For example, they were day labourers, peddlers or had unskilled employment. Repatriates in the database with this kind of employment included a security guard, a handy man, a warehouse attendant and packing service workers at major firms or SMEs. The Level 2 group found occupations in which entry barriers were usually low but obtaining employment required more effort than was the case for Level 1. This category included small business owners in retail and services, white-collar workers (office clerks or sales representatives) in SMEs and semi-skilled workers (such as technicians in industries or contract-based construction workers). Level 3 consisted of employed managers in SMEs, self-employed small business owners who might have possessed or raised some capital (such as small factory owners), and those who used skills unrelated to their previous jobs during the war, including things such as carpentry or billboard design. Some individuals might have taken up jobs they had been interested in or which they knew they could be good at. Level 4 includes occupations which might have been difficult to obtain and required significant efforts, and the findings of this analysis are summarised in Table 4-27.

Table 4-27: Occupational categories of repatriates entering new sectors to take up new jobs<sup>115</sup>

Levels	Occupation categories	Ibaraki	Hiroshima	Kanagawa
Level 1	<b>Day labourers, peddlers and unskilled labourers</b>	<b>17 (13.3%)</b>	<b>25 (15.4%)</b>	<b>16 (12.5%)</b>
Level 2	Small business owners in small-scale retail and services	86	71	27
	White-collar workers in SMEs (including sales staff members)	11	7	41
	Semi-skilled workers in industry	4	28	14
	<b>Level 2 total</b>	<b>101 (78.9%)</b>	<b>106 (65.4%)</b>	<b>82 (64.1%)</b>
Level 3	Employed executive managers of SMEs or owners of wholesale businesses	5	2	5
	Entrepreneurs who used previously non-job related technical skills	1	15	7
	Small business owners who established businesses which required some capital	1	1	6
	<b>Level 3 total</b>	<b>7 (5.5%)</b>	<b>18 (11.1%)</b>	<b>18 (14.1%)</b>
Level 4	Government licenses (certified accountants, etc.)	1	2	3
	White-collar workers at major companies (often career track)	2	11	9
	<b>Level 4 Total</b>	<b>3 (2.3%)</b>	<b>13 (8.0%)</b>	<b>12 (9.4%)</b>
	<b>Level 1 – 4 Total</b>	<b>128 (100%)</b>	<b>162 (100%)</b>	<b>128 (100%)</b>

\*Occupational groups which percentage figures in the prefectural total are larger than 30 per cent are shaded in grey.

<sup>115</sup> Ministry of Health and Welfare, "Zaigai Jijitsu Chōsahyō (Japanese Government Survey into Repatriates' Postwar Lives)."



Table 4-27 indicates that the occupations in Level 1 and Level 2 were destinations for many repatriates who entered new sectors in all the prefectures. It is likely that immediately after repatriation, many civilian repatriates may have been involved in black market trades both as sellers and buyers, or alternatively took up unskilled jobs, including day labouring, that are categorised in Level 1. Some perhaps never moved to other jobs and ended up staying in these jobs, but many managed to find securer jobs by the mid-1950s, including those categorised in Level 2. While Level 1 absorbed approximately 12 to 15 per cent of those who entered new sectors to take up new jobs, the Level 2 group absorbed larger numbers of people, accounting for approximately 60 to 70 per cent of this group in each prefecture's database.

The information obtained from each prefecture's database makes it difficult to fully explain why certain people chose to take up new jobs in new sectors. This is especially true for the Level 1, Level 3 and Level 4 groups because of the small number of individuals categorised in these groups. However, it seems the average age of those in Level 1 (unskilled labourers, peddlers and labourers) was generally higher than the average age of all civilian repatriates in each prefecture. Although the number of individuals in the samples is small, if we simply calculate the average in each group, the average age of Level 1 repatriates was 37.3 years old in Ibaraki, 41.3 years old in Hiroshima and 36.8 years old in Kanagawa, while the equivalent figures for all repatriates in each database were 34.4 years old in Ibaraki, 37.2 years old in Hiroshima and 36.2 years old in Kanagawa. This indicates that being older could have worked as a hurdle in entering the Japanese job market and some older repatriates might have been forced to take up one of the more accessible but less rewarding jobs. Individuals in the Level 1 group's wartime occupations included an office clerk of the Manchuria Mining Company, reclamation farmers, a public servant of the Taiwan Colonial

Government, small business owners, staff members of the South Manchuria Railway and Korean Railway, and a police officer, to name but a few.

This suggests that for many repatriates, finding postwar employment was not easy. It is difficult to fully explain their transitions by using factors available in the databases. For example, in order to make a successful occupational transition, in addition to skills, it might have been essential that repatriates should make efforts to search for job-related information, to market themselves to prospective employers, to improve their skills and performance, as well as having an ability to continue to motivate themselves.<sup>116</sup> One repatriate wrote in his memoir that his neighbours in the immediate postwar period included repatriated public servants and police officers. Even though some of them were fortunate and were offered a job in postwar public offices, their new positions were usually much lower than those they had held during the wartime. Some people tried hard to increase their performance at their new work place and were promoted relatively smoothly. But others fell into self-pity and did not even make efforts to improve their positions. Those lacking these attributes or opportunities may well have ended up in Level 1 type occupations, or even became unemployed.

According to Table 4-27, the proportion of individuals in the Level 2 group was the largest in all prefectures. The group of Level 2 individuals (consisting of semi-skilled industrial workers, small shop owners and white-collar workers at SMEs) was the largest in all the prefectures, and seems to have represented one of the most common patterns of occupational transition of civilian repatriates. In Ibaraki and Hiroshima, entering retail and services, often as business owners, was an important

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<sup>116</sup> Takanori Shimamura, "Hikiagesha Ga Umidashita Shakaikūkan to Bunka," in *Hikiagesha No Sengo*, ed. Takanori Shimamura (Tokyo: Shinyōsha, 2013), 47.

option, while in Kanagawa, taking up a job as a white-collar worker in small and medium-sized companies was a popular option.

Jobs in Level 2 absorbed a large number of repatriates who had been in the wartime utilities, communications and transport sector, as well as in industry and the public sector. It is difficult to judge whether these individuals felt their transitions were positive or negative. As the social status of those working in the commercial sector had traditionally been low in Japan, for those who had been public servants or employees of public corporations, becoming small retail shop owners or service providers may well have been regarded as a negative transition.<sup>117</sup> However jobs in this category were relatively easy to obtain and did not require previous experience, and seem to have been one convenient option to enter if repatriates did not have any other way to obtain a job.

The transitional pattern of civilian repatriates in the sample who were in the Level 2 group included a wartime section chief of the Manchuria Agriculture Public Corporation (Manshū Nōgyō Kōsha), who opened a stationery shop in his hometown Hitachi city in Ibaraki; a Manchuria reclamation farmer who became a mechanic at a coal mine within his home prefecture of Ibaraki; a wartime railway police officer who returned from Manchuria and became a factory worker at a small steel manufacturer in his hometown of Fuchū city in Hiroshima; a staff member of the North China Railway who became a gardener in Yokohama city; and a headmaster of an elementary school in wartime Korea who became a factory worker in Kawasaki city in Kanagawa.

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<sup>117</sup> It is difficult to explain why the status of small businesses in retail and services is low. Although this argument has been refuted, one commonly used explanation is that during the Edo period, the Tokugawa government had a policy about the social status of the four classes. The most prestigious one was the Samurai class, followed by peasants (because they produced staple food) and craftsmen. Merchants, who dealt with money, were not respected and were placed fourth. This system was called *Shi-nō-kō-shō*.

The data used in this research are of very limited use in explaining the nature of many of these transitions, but they do at least provide some examples of how repatriates tried to start their new lives in postwar Japan.

If many of those who took up jobs categorised in Level 1 and Level 2 did so due to low entry barriers, individuals in the Level 3 and Level 4 groups may have been different in the sense that they seem to have chosen their jobs based on their own inclinations. These groups were relatively small in number in all the prefectures' databases, when compared to those who chose Level 2 jobs. The opportunities of obtaining these higher-level jobs were particularly limited in Ibaraki. This might have reflected the fact that Ibaraki was still an agrarian society and the options of finding a more promising job which could be categorised in Level 3 or Level 4 were limited. However, we do find the examples of a reclamation farmer who returned from Manchuria and became a postwar carpenter in Hitachiōta city in Ibaraki; a wartime police officer who became a human resource staff member of a coal mine in Ibaraki; a wartime executive member of the Tōa Marine and Fire Insurance Company who established a trading firm in Fukuyama city; a wartime staff member of the Shanghai Consular Office who became a bamboo flute (*shakuhachi*) teacher in Mihara city of Hiroshima; an office clerk of the Mitsui Trading Company who established an electrical workshop in Yokohama city; a staff member of the Manchuria Development Corporation (Manshū Kaihatsu) who became a carpenter; and a railway police officer in Manchuria who became a cook in Yokohama city. It is not possible to know how these individuals chose their postwar jobs, but there were clearly individuals who re-established themselves in a creative way by using skills that were unrelated to their previous jobs, by acquiring some capital to start a new business, or by serving as employed managers in SMEs.

Level 4 comprises individuals who seem to have been in a better position to find secure and satisfying employment. Some of them possessed useful qualifications, such as that of a certified tax accountant, and the group included individuals who became employed by major business establishments. Examples of their transitions include a wartime public servant in Tianjin who was employed by the Hitachi Cement Company in Ibaraki; a staff member of the Manchurian Industrial Development Company who obtained a license as a judicial scrivener (*shihō shoshi*) in Ibaraki; a wartime farmer who had been repatriated from Texas and was employed by Tōyō Kōgyō (later renamed the Matsuda Motor Corporation); a staff member of North China Motors who was hired by the Hiroshima Electric Railway Company; a staff member of a mining company in Manchuria who obtained a license as a certified tax accountant in Hiroshima city; and a repatriated Korean Railway staff member who was employed by the Dai-ichi Mutual Life Insurance in Yokohama city. Many major company employees usually did not offer specific job information, and only responded in the 1956 national survey that they were 'staff' (*kaishain*). These individuals are included in Level 4, because in the Japanese corporate system even at that time, career track positions and office clerks are not clearly distinguished, and quite often any *kaishain* could be a career track position.

Civilian repatriates who entered new sectors and took up new jobs are often seen as exemplifying the most typical image of repatriates who managed to arrive in Japan and started their postwar lives from scratch. However, as we can see, they comprised approximately only a quarter of the repatriate samples in the database for each prefecture. Moreover, their postwar economic experiences were not homogeneous. Out of the four groups identified above, it seems that we can assume that those who had to take up new jobs in new sectors often started with the sort of

jobs that could be found in Level 1 as black market participants, or labourers in reconstruction projects or coal mines. Some remained in these jobs, but others tried to move to more secure occupations by setting up their own businesses or obtaining jobs as white-collar workers or skilled labourers in industries and the tertiary sector. Those in Level 3 and Level 4 would seem to have made further efforts or very particular decisions to improve their situations. However, these groups were a minority; the majority of repatriates moving into new occupations stayed in Level 2, which indicates that there were difficult transitions for a large number of repatriates.

### **Analysis of Takatsuki city and Sennan county: Occupational transitions of civilian repatriates in two municipalities**

For Osaka prefecture, the information obtained from the databases for the two municipalities, Takatsuki city and Sennan county illuminates some interesting aspects of the resettlement patterns of civilian repatriates. In the 1955 population census, the total number of households (including both non-repatriate and repatriate ones) in Takatsuki city was 11,106, and that for Sennan county was 16,081.<sup>118</sup> The number of survey forms available for this research is 325 for Takatsuki and 283 for Sennan respectively (see Chapter 2).

If we examine the family registration addresses of civilian repatriates in Takatsuki city and Sennan county, Table 4-28 shows that the majority of repatriates had their family registration addresses outside Osaka prefecture, which indicates that many of them were likely to have moved into Osaka after repatriation. The same

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<sup>118</sup> Statistics Bureau of Japan, *Population Census of 1955 (Osaka Prefecture)*, 5-27, 322-24.

figures in the databases for Ibaraki, Hiroshima and Kanagawa prefectures were 23.8 per cent, 27.2 per cent and 58.4 per cent (see Table 4-11). In these three prefectures, only Kanagawa prefecture had similar figures, which may reflect the fact that urban prefectures such as Osaka and Kanagawa might have attracted a large number of domestic migrants by the mid-1950s.

*Table 4-28: Repatriates' family registration addresses (Takatsuki city and Sennan county)<sup>119</sup>*

	<b>Repatriates who were originally from Osaka prefecture</b>	<b>Repatriates who had moved in from other prefectures</b>	<b>Total</b>
Takatsuki city	116 (35.7 %)	209 (64.3 %)	325 (100%)
Sennan county	137 (42.2%)	146 (51.6%)	283 (100%)

In order to show the economic characteristics of Takatsuki city and Sennan county, Table 4-29 compares the sectoral breakdown of all household heads for Takatsuki city and Sennan county (including repatriate households) with that for all of Osaka, reported in the 1955 population census. This table shows that in both Takatsuki and Sennan, agriculture was larger than for all of Osaka prefecture in terms of the proportion of the number of households. Accordingly, the proportion of households in industry and the tertiary sector were smaller in both municipalities. The size of the public sector was roughly four per cent for Osaka prefecture, as well as for

<sup>119</sup> Ministry of Health and Welfare, "Zaigai Jijitsu Chōsahyō (Japanese Government Survey into Repatriates' Postwar Lives)." Figures have been calculated from each prefecture's database, created for this research.

Takatsuki and Sennan. For Takatsuki city, the transport, communications and utilities was slightly larger compared to Osaka prefecture as a whole, as well as that in Sennan county.

*Table 4-29: Share of households in each sector in the 1955 Census (Osaka prefecture, Takatsuki city, Sennan county, total population including repatriates)<sup>120</sup>*

	<b>All Osaka (1955)</b>	Takatsuki city (1955)	Sennan county (1955)
<b>Primary sector</b>	<b>6.9%</b>	20.0%	25.2%
<b>Industry</b>	<b>35.9%</b>	29.9%	30.6%
<b>Transport, communications and utilities</b>	<b>7.8%</b>	10.9%	7.9%
<b>Public sector</b>	<b>4.1%</b>	4.6%	3.6%
<b>Tertiary sector</b>	<b>31.9%</b>	23.1%	19.2%
<b>Unemployed</b>	<b>2.6%</b>	2.1%	2.4%
<b>Not in labour force</b>	<b>10.8%</b>	9.4%	11.1%
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b>	100%	100%

In order to understand the characteristics of the repatriates' occupations in the mid-1950s, Tables 4-30 and 4-31 compare the postwar sectors of occupation of repatriates in 1956 with the profile of the total population (including civilian repatriates) in Takatsuki and Sennan in the 1955 population census. For both

<sup>120</sup> Statistics Bureau of Japan, *Population Census of 1955 (Osaka Prefecture)*, 5-27, 22, 312-29.



repatriates and the total prefectural population, the figures are for household heads. These tables show that the proportion of repatriates in the primary sector was much smaller than the figure for the total number of household heads in both municipalities, while a larger proportion of repatriates were employed in the public sector compared to the total population. In other sectors, repatriates and the total population had similar proportions, except for the group of unemployed individuals, which includes a larger proportion of repatriates compared to the total population for both Takatsuki and Sennan.

*Table 4-30: Postwar sectors of occupation of repatriate household heads compared to total population: Takatsuki city<sup>121</sup>*

	<b>Total Household heads in Takatsuki city (1955)</b>		<b>Civilian repatriates in Takatsuki city (1956)</b>	
<b>Primary sector</b>	2,218	20.0%	5	1.5%
<b>Industry</b>	3,321	29.9%	115	35.4%
<b>Transport, communications and utilities</b>	1,210	10.9%	48	14.8%
<b>Public sector</b>	515	4.6%	37	11.4%
<b>Tertiary sector</b>	2,560	23.1%	66	20.3%
<b>Other sectors</b>	3	0.0%	9	2.8%
<b>Unemployed</b>	236	2.1%	19	5.8%
<b>Not in labour force</b>	1,043	9.4%	26	8.0%
<b>Total</b>	11,106	100%	325	100%

<sup>121</sup> Ministry of Health and Welfare, "Zaigai Jijitsu Chōsahyō (Japanese Government Survey into Repatriates' Postwar Lives)." Figures have been calculated from each prefecture's database, created for this research.

Table 4-31: Postwar sectors of occupation of repatriate household heads compared to total population: Sennan county<sup>122</sup>

	Total household heads in Sennan county (1955)		Civilian repatriates in Sennan county (1956)	
<b>Primary sector</b>	4,051	25.2%	17	6.0%
<b>Industry</b>	4,920	30.6%	96	33.9%
<b>Transport, communications and utilities</b>	1,270	7.9%	16	5.7%
<b>Public sector</b>	576	3.6%	37	13.1%
<b>Tertiary sector</b>	3,095	19.2%	65	23.0%
<b>Unemployed</b>	379	2.4%	33	11.7%
<b>Not in labour force</b>	1,790	11.1%	19	6.7%
<b>Total</b>	16,081	100%	283	100%

Table 4-32 compares the pattern of repatriates' transitions for Takatsuki city and Sennan county with those for Ibaraki, Hiroshima and Kanagawa prefectures: some repatriates entered the agricultural sector, mostly in family farming. Some were able to continue their employment with their previous wartime employers, and some others were employed postwar by the public sector. The remainder entered the private sector to use their wartime skills or obtain new jobs.

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<sup>122</sup> Ibid.

Table 4-32: Repatriates' postwar occupation, 1956

	Ibaraki	Hiroshima	Kanagawa	Osaka Takatsuki	Osaka Sennan
<b>Agriculture</b>	27.6%	9.7%	2.5%	1.5%	6.0%
<b>Public sector</b>	21.8%	20.1%	22.5%	11.4%	12.7%
<b>Reemployment by wartime employers</b>	2.8%	5.5%	7.7%	17.2%	4.6%
<b>Skilled employment</b>	13.2%	26.9%	31.3%	39.7%	35.7%
<b>New sector: industry</b>	3.8%	8.1%	5.2%	4.3%	8.1%
<b>New sector: tertiary</b>	20.2%	15.5%	14.1%	11.4%	12.7%
<b>Day labourers</b>	1.8%	2.7%	1.4%	0.6%	1.8%
<b>Unemployed</b>	7.8%	3.7%	6.1%	5.8%	11.7%
<b>Out of labour force</b>	1.0%	7.9%	9.4%	8.0%	6.7%
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>100%</b>

\*Figures for Ibaraki, Hiroshima and Kanagawa are taken from Table 4-25. Occupational groups where the figures are larger than 15 per cent are shaded in grey.

This table shows that both in Takatsuki city and Sennan county, the proportion of civilian repatriates who seem to have been able to use their wartime skills and experiences after repatriation accounted for more than 35% of the individuals in the databases. In Takatsuki city, the proportion of individuals who were re-employed by their wartime companies was particularly high, at 17.2 per cent. By contrast, the proportions of those who were in the postwar public sector in Takatsuki city and Sennan county were significantly smaller compared to those in the public sector in Ibaraki, Hiroshima and Kanagawa. These differences indicate that in both Takatsuki

and Sennan, the private sector's role might have been more significant than in other databases. In order to examine the role of these companies, Table 4-33 lists companies which re-employed at least one civilian repatriates in the databases for Takatsuki and Sennan.

*Table 4-33: Companies which re-employed repatriates from their overseas branches or related companies (number of re-employed repatriate employees in parentheses)*

<b>Takatsuki city (56 individuals)</b>	<b>Sennan county (13 individuals)</b>
Japan National Railways (27), Yuasa Battery (5), Japan Tobacco and Salt Public Corporation (3), Japan Travel Bureau (3), Kansai Electric Power Company (3), Dainichi Metal (2), Meiji Seika (2), Asahi Kasei (1), Sekisui Chemical (1), Dainihon Bōseki (1), Daiichi Bussan (1), Hitachi Shipbuilding (1), Inahata Sangyō (1), Kanegafuchi Chemical (1), Nippon Beer (1), Nichimen (1), Nippon Telegraph and Telephone Public Corporation (1), Takashimaya Department Store (1), Yamaguchigen (1)	Kansai Electric Power Company (4), Ataka Sangyō (1), Daiichi Bussan (1), Dainihon Bōseki (1), Itōchū Shoji (1), Japan National Railways (1), Marubeni Iida (1), Postal services (1), Takashimaya Department Store (1), Tenri Kyōkai (1)

In both Takatsuki and Sennan, public corporations including the Japan National Railways and Kansai Electric Company, were among those who employed some of their wartime employees. The role of the Japan National Railways looks particularly significant, and in Takatsuki city, 26 individuals out of 325 civilian

repatriates were re-employed by the JNR. This is a significant number, but this also may reflect the fact that there was JNR corporate housing in Takatsuki and many might have commuted to various JNR work places in the Osaka region.<sup>123</sup> Other public corporations such as the Kansai Electric Power Company, the Japan Tobacco and Salt Public Corporation, and the Japan Travel Bureau (JTB) also employed a part of their repatriate staff members. In the early postwar period, the JTB was involved in the repatriation of Japanese soldiers from Southeast Asia. The company also provided the Allied Occupation Forces members with travel agent services. In this process, some repatriates might have been re-employed for their experience.<sup>124</sup> As shown in this section, the Tobacco and Salt Public Corporation also employed other repatriates.

One interesting characteristic of the resettlement pattern in both Takatsuki city and Sennan county is that there were several industrial clusters in these municipalities, which employed a group of repatriates. For example, in Sennan county, textiles was a major sector. In the 1956 survey, 96 out of 283 civilian repatriates were in industry in Sennan county, of which approximately half (45 individuals) were working in the textile sector. The textile sector in Sennan consisted of not only textile manufacturers, but also dye and fashion accessory manufactures, and major trading companies, including Daiichi Bussan (Mitsui Corporation), Itōchū Shoji, Marubeni Iida and Ataka Sangyō. In the group of repatriates in Sennan, who were in the textile sector, roughly half had been in the textile sector during the war, mostly as technicians or office clerks. They were repatriated from Manchuria (10 individuals), Korea (four individuals), China (three individuals) and Southeast Asia (two individuals). In the mid-1950s,

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<sup>123</sup> JR, "Takatsuki Shi Jōsaicho No Shataku Atochi Ni Hūzu Market Satake Ga Ōpun," news release, 2012.

<sup>124</sup> Nihon Kōtsu Kōsha 50 Nenshi Hensan linkai, *Sōhatsuteki Shinka Ni Mukete: Chōsakenkyū Senmonkikan 50 Nen No Rekishi* (Tokyo: Japan Travel Bureau, 2014), 6-8.

textile was an important industrial sector in Japan and it seems the cluster in Sennan county attracted workers from outside of Osaka prefecture. In the group of 49 postwar textile workers, the family registration addresses of only 18 individuals were in Osaka, and the remaining 31 seem to have moved from other prefectures, mostly in western Japan, including some from Kyūshū island.

In addition to Sennan county, Takatsuki city was home to other types of industrial sectors including shipbuilding companies, battery manufacturers, chemical and pharmaceutical firms, tobacco manufacturers, cellophane manufacturers and textile companies. In these sectors, major companies re-employed some repatriate staff members and some firms also hired other repatriates as new staff members. For example, the Japan National Railways re-employed 28 from wartime public corporations in transport in the Japanese empire. Hitachi shipbuilding re-employed one and hired 14 new staff members. The figures for Yuasa Battery were five re-employed and five new staff members and those for the Japan Tobacco and Salt Public Corporation were three re-employed and seven new staff members. Additionally, Dainihon Cellophane employed seven repatriates as new staff members, while this company did not have re-employed staff members. Table 4-34 shows a list of companies in Takatsuki city, which employed more than seven repatriates in the database, along with the repatriates' previous and new jobs in these companies.

Table 4-34: Examples of repatriates' new employment at major companies in Takatsuki city (Companies which employed more than seven repatriates)

Company	Repatriates' wartime occupation or employer	Postwar jobs (number of individuals in parentheses)
Hitachi Shipbuilding	<b>Factory workers of steel manufacturers in Manchuria (2)</b> , an owner of a small trading company in China (1), an office clerk of a small transport company in Korea (1)	Factory workers (4)
	Staff members of wartime railway public corporations (4)	Security guards (3), unspecified staff member (1)
	<b>Public servants in Korea and Taiwan (5)</b> , a hair dresser in China (1)	White-collar workers (6)
Yuasa Battery	<b>Staff member of a battery manufacturer in Manchuria (1)</b>	Factory worker (1)
	<b>Public servants in Taiwan and Korea (2)</b> Railway maintenance staff member of the SMR (1)	Office clerks (3)
	Staff member of the Bank of Korea (1)	Staff member on sick leave (1)
The Japan Tobacco and Salt Public Corporation	Public servant (1)	Warehouse staff member (1)
	Food shop owner (1)	Security guard (1)
	Staff members of construction companies in China and Malaysia (2), staff member of a tobacco manufacturer in China (1), staff member of a wholesale firm in Manchuria (1) and office clerk of the South Manchuria Railway (1)	Unspecified (5)

Dainihon Cellophane	<b>Factory worker of machinery manufacturer (1)</b>	Factory worker (1)
	Staff member of a chemist shop (1)	Human resource department staff member (1)
	<b>Staff member of oil company in Korea (1)</b>	Staff member of the product quality control section (1)
	Reclamation farmer in Manchuria (1), staff members of Manchuria Steel (2), South Manchuria Railway's training school student (1)	Unspecified (4)
<b>Total</b>	<b>33 repatriates</b>	

\* Repatriates who might have been able to use their wartime skills are typed in bold.

Table 4-34 shows that the most common new jobs for repatriates at major employers in Takatsuki city were office clerks and factory workers. Some had previous experience (they are typed in bold in Table 4-34), but for the majority, these were new postwar jobs. In the previous analysis of new job opportunities in new sectors for the repatriates in Ibaraki, Hiroshima and Kanagawa, these were categorised as Level 2 jobs (See Table 4-27).

These companies' businesses in Osaka are different from those observed in the databases of Ibaraki, Hiroshima and Kanagawa in the sense that in Osaka, light industry such as textiles and tobacco, occupied more significant positions. Furthermore, several industrial clusters co-existed, which included not only major firms but also medium or small-sized companies as important participants in each cluster. This sort of dynamism of economy in Osaka might have attracted a significant number of individuals, including repatriates, to the region. For example, out of 33 individuals who were working for major employers, 16 repatriates had been moved from other prefectures. It is certainly difficult to know the full picture of the transition



in Osaka prefecture only from an analysis of two municipalities. However, this analysis shows us one aspect of repatriates' resettlement patterns.

Behind this dynamism, Table 4-32 also suggest that the unemployment rate of repatriates might have been higher than that for the total population for both Takatsuki and Sennan. It is certainly difficult to know with any accuracy the unemployment rate in this analysis. However, for Sennan county, it would be worth mentioning that there is one small town called Kumatori chō where 20 repatriates participated in the national survey into repatriates' postwar lives in 1956. The number of unemployed repatriates (at working age) was particularly high and six out of 20 were unemployed in the database, of which five were reported as 'a patient'. In Kumatori town, there were five other individuals who responded in the survey that they were nurses in a mental hospital. There is no way of knowing whether the five patients were in the same hospital, but self-reporting as 'a patient,' is quite unusual in the 1956 survey and no other individuals responded that they were patients in any other databases. Therefore, in the case of Kumatori town, it would be reasonable to assume that they were hospitalized in the same hospital, most likely, where the five nurses were working.

The profile of these patients at the end of the war were a 29-year-old office clerk in Manchuria, a 31-year-old restaurant staff member in Saipan, a 20-year-old fireman of the South Manchuria Railway, a 37-year old actor in Manchuria and a 28-year-old dancer in Shanghai. In this group of patients, only the actor was originally from Osaka (Osaka city), and the other four were from Tokyo, Niigata, Wakayama and Fukuoka respectively. The profile of the nurses in August 1945 were a 37-year old engine driver and a 31-year-old conductor, both repatriated from the South Manchuria Railway, a 47-year old office clerk who had worked for the Korean Railway and a 33-year old technician at a leather manufacturing company in Korea.

They were all male nurses and there was only one female nurse, who had been a 19-year-old telephone operator of the Transport Department in the Seoul City Government. In the group of nurses, only one person (the office clerk of the Korean Railway) was originally from Osaka and the other individuals were from Ishikawa and Kagoshima prefectures. The profile of male nurses, who were more likely to be employed in mental hospitals, indicates that the patients' conditions might have been serious. It is difficult to know more details about this hospital including how the nurses had been recruited, but repatriate patients and nurses who were living in Kumatori town in 1956 may reveal one shadowy aspect of the postwar lives of repatriates.

## **Conclusion**

The findings identified in this chapter indicate that in all the prefectures chosen for research on the 1956 survey, repatriates' job placements in the postwar period were influenced by a number of factors: the presence of the agriculture sector, reemployment by wartime employers or related companies, and the government's employment policies (such as hiring at government offices). The role of the public and semi-public sectors in resettling the repatriates by absorbing approximately one-quarter of the repatriates in my sample should be emphasised. By 1956, some were no longer in the labour force, or were unemployed. The remainder had to find their own employment mainly in the private sector. However, about half were able to make use of their skills in postwar Japan, working as white-collar workers, skilled or semiskilled workers in industry or experienced participants in the tertiary sector. The other half entered new sectors.

These findings contrast sharply with some of the prevailing notions that repatriates were totally neglected by the state and society and unreasonably suffered

after their repatriation. Certainly, repatriates' transitional experiences were different in each sector or occupational group, and some certainly experienced difficult transitions. This was particularly true for reclamation farmers who returned from Manchuria, and older repatriates who were not preferred by Japanese firms, especially major firms. However, by 1956, ten years after the defeat, the majority seem to have been able to find some way of supporting their lives in the growing economy.

## Chapter 5

### **Economic experiences of South Manchuria Railway Company (SMR) repatriates**

Through much of its modern history, the Japanese government has used public corporations to secure funding from the private sector.<sup>1</sup> During the Second World War, these public corporations were called *kokusakugaisha*<sup>2</sup> or *tokushugaisha*. In Japan's overseas territories, such public corporations played major roles in the development of industries and infrastructure. In terms of the number of employees and the scale of business operations, one of the largest and most influential public corporations outside Japan was the South Manchuria Railway Company (SMR).<sup>3</sup> In this chapter, the SMR refers to the company as a whole, including railway operations and other related activities, such as the operation of coal mines, trading, and warehouse management.

One of the findings in the analysis of the 1956 repatriate survey undertaken for this research is that many repatriates had worked for the SMR group during the war. For example, in Kanagawa, 18.9 per cent of the civilian repatriate sample in the database for this research had worked for the SMR group. The equivalent figure is 19.0 per cent for the Ibaraki prefecture sample and 8.9 per cent for Hiroshima prefecture. In Osaka prefecture, the SMR group repatriates accounted for 13.8 per cent

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<sup>1</sup> Hirohisa Uozumi, *Kōkigyō No Seiritsu to Tenkai* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 2009), 30-43.

<sup>2</sup> *Kokusakugaisha* is usually translated 'national policy company,' but this paper uses the term 'public corporation' for both *kokusakugaisha* and *tokushugaisha*.

<sup>3</sup> Heisa Kikan Seiri linkai, *Heisa Kikan to Sono Tokushu Seisan* (Tokyo: Zaigai Katsudō Kankei Heisa Kikan Tokushu Seisan Jimusho, 1954), 327 and 400. If the size of the assets is compared, the North China Development Company (Kitashina Kaihatsu) was larger than the SMR. The asset value of the former was approximately 18,921 million yen in March 1945 and that of the SMR was approximately 7,688 million yen in March 1945.

of the sample in Takatsuki city and 9.9 per cent in Sennan county. This chapter will examine the postwar experiences of SMR returnees as one of the major groups among Japanese civilian repatriates. Regarding Osaka prefecture, due to the fact that survey forms have been collected only from two municipalities, this chapter omits the analysis of Osaka and will focus on the other three prefectures Ibaraki, Hiroshima and Kanagawa for which we have the most comprehensive data.

The focus on the SMR certainly raises the issue of representativeness, but this case study also offers interesting insights due to the SMR's large number of employees, and their diversified roles in the company, ranging from unskilled labourers and skilled technicians to top-notch engineers and executive managers. Despite their importance, the postwar economic experiences of the SMR repatriates have not been fully researched. This was perhaps because in postwar Japan, the SMR became a symbol of Japanese wartime aggression, and it seems that many SMR repatriates may have concealed their wartime experiences in order to avoid unwanted accusations. Furthermore, scholars have been more interested in the company's involvement in political and military activities, rather than its employment system or the activities of individual SMR employees. All of these facts seem to have contributed to the lack of scholarly attention to the postwar economic activities of the repatriate SMR employees. As will be shown later in this chapter, the repatriation of the SMR staff members was generally delayed, and the first official wave of SMR repatriation started in May 1946.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> Hiroyuki Amano, *Mantetsu Wo Shirutameno 12 Shō* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2009), 154.

## Source materials

In this chapter, the 1956 repatriate survey into repatriates' postwar lives is again used as a core source material. For the purposes of this chapter, however, this information was matched with SMR staff records kept at the Mantetsukai, a postwar organisation of the SMR established in Tokyo in December 1946 to assist repatriates' job search, to collect information on staff members who had been detained in Siberia or were still in China, and to help retrieve the employees' financial assets, including savings kept at the SMR's financial department.<sup>5</sup> The Mantetsukai later became responsible for the payment of retirement benefits to former staff members,<sup>6</sup> and it prepared a full set of records of approximately 100,000 employees (excluding employees of the SMR's subsidiaries), which included name, date of birth, the date he/she joined the company, the rank, the dates of promotion, monthly or daily salary, and postwar addresses. It was possible to match 97.1 per cent of repatriate SMR members for whom individual personal information was available in the Hiroshima database (34 out of 35 SMR staff members) and 92.5% in Kanagawa (74 out of 80 SMR staff members) with the information on individual SMR staff members collected by the Mantetsukai. This allows us to track these SMR staff members' wartime and postwar transitions in detail. In addition to these primary source materials, the research has used various documents published by the Mantetsukai, including lists of Mantetsukai members published in 1948, 1956, 1961 and 1966 as well as its newsletters. In addition, background information and various statistics on the SMR

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<sup>5</sup> Mantetsukai, *Zaidan Hōjin Mantetsukai 60 Nen No Ayumi* (Tokyo: Mantetsukai, 2006), 14-17.

<sup>6</sup> The funds for the SMR's retirement benefits came from sales proceeds of assets in Tokyo, which was sold to the United States government. The land of the company's Tokyo branch became the premises of a part of the American Embassy, and the residence of the SMR's president is now the premises of the Tokyo American Club. (See Kato 2006:193).

have been taken from *Heisakikan to sono Tokushu Seisan*,<sup>7</sup> which was edited by the Japanese committee<sup>8</sup> responsible for the closure of wartime public corporations, under the direction of the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers. In addition to these source materials, this chapter also uses various other information, including two books about the SMR,<sup>9</sup> both of which analyse the history of the SMR, including its political position in Manchuria, as well as its business operations and activities of its staff members. The first of these books were written by the current administration officer of the Mantetsukai, using the SMR's original documents. The latter was authored by a scholar who has researched the repatriation problem in the context of northeast Asia's post-World War II settlement.

In English literature, there are several books written on the SMR or which touch on the company, although their focuses are not on its individual staff members' wartime or postwar activities. Perhaps the most recent one is *Significant Soil* by O'Dwyer which focuses on the pre-war Kwantung Leased Territory and the railway zones administrator by the SMR.<sup>10</sup> This book vividly depicts lives of Japanese and Chinese people, the administrative structure, and the role of the SMR in the city development. Although this book's focus is on the period before the majority of Japanese repatriates had arrived to Manchuria, it is useful to understand the SMR's activities before the war intensified. *Empires of Profit*<sup>11</sup> by Daniel Litvin analyses the role of the SMR as one of the companies which had been the main actors of

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<sup>7</sup> Heisa Kikan Seiri linkai, *Heisa Kikan to Sono Tokushu Seisan*.

<sup>8</sup> The committee was called *Zaigai Katsudō Kankei Heisa Kikan Tokushu Seisan linkai*.

<sup>9</sup> Amano, *Mantetsu Wo Shirutameno 12 Shō*. Kiyofumi Katō, *Mantetsu Zenshi 'Kokusaku Gaisha No Zenbō'*, Kōdansha Métier (Tokyo: Kōdansha 2006).

<sup>10</sup> Emer O'Dwyer, *Significant Soil: Settler Colonialism and Japan's Urban Empire in Manchuria* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Asia Center, 2015).

<sup>11</sup> Daniel Litvin, *Empires of Profit: Commerce, Conquest, and Corporate Responsibility* (Mason, Ohio: Thomson, 2004).

imperialism, including the British East India Company. The subtitle of the SMR chapter in the book is *Violent Acquisitions*. It would be worth mentioning that these two books saw the SMR as an enormously powerful imperial corporation. This is certainly true, but truly politically influential staff members were only a handful of employees and the majority of the Japanese, as well as Chinese staff members, included numerous ordinary staff members, who are the main focus of this research.

## The South Manchuria Railway Company

The South Manchuria Railway Company (SMR) was established in 1906. In the agreement in the Treaty of Portsmouth after the Russo-Japanese War, Russia handed over the southern branch line of the Chinese Eastern Railway connecting the Lyushunkou District and Changchun, including branch lines and areas along these railways (*fuzokuchi*) which were necessary for railway operation and coal mines.<sup>12</sup> (O'Dwyer calls this region the Railway Zone). The SMR was responsible for not only the operation of railways but also coal mines, water services, electrical services, railway cargo services, warehousing, real estate services, as well as other associated services. The company was also authorised to administer infrastructure building, education and public health in the *fuzokuchi*.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> Heisa Kikan Seiri linkai, *Heisa Kikan to Sono Tokushu Seisan*, 381.

Yasuo Wakatsuki, *Sengo Hikiage No Kiroku* (Tokyo: Jiji Tsūshinsha, 1995), 16-17. *Excerpts from the Treaty of Portsmouth, (Portsmouth1905).* <http://afe.easia.columbia.edu/ps/japan/portsmouth.pdf>. Accessed on 25 March 2016. *Fuzokuchi* were the areas which Russia had controlled as part of the operation of the Chinese Eastern Railway with the agreement of the Qing government. *Fuzokuchi* stretched between Dalian and Changchun (approximately 705-kilometre length, with the width on either side from 43 to 427 meters), and Fengtian to Andong (approximately 259 kilometres of distance, with a width on either side from 16 to 259 meters). Article VI of the Treaty of Portsmouth ending the Russo-Japanese War defines the agreement on the handover of the railway and *fuzokuchi*.

<sup>13</sup> Katō, *Mantetsu Zenshi 'Kokusaku Gaisha No Zenbō'*, 22-26.



As of September 1944, the SMR (excluding subsidiaries) employed 398,301 employees, consisting of 138,804 Japanese and 259,497 employees of other nationalities (Chinese, Manchurian and Russians).<sup>14</sup> The number of Japanese staff members on leave for military service was 27,100 at this time. This number can be expected to have increased further toward the end of the war although no statistics are available. At the SMR, all employees were called *shain* (staff members), and the term included *shokuin* (career track personnel with degrees from higher professional schools or universities), *junshokuin* (skilled personnel with degrees from middle schools and equivalent educational institutions), *koin* (employees with degrees from higher elementary schools) and *yōin* (unskilled employees). Among *shokuin*, a small number of section chiefs (*sanji*) and sub-section chiefs (*fukusanji*) were included, who were usually university or professional school graduates. In 1942, the SMR changed the job classification system and all Japanese *yōin* were upgraded to *koin*, meaning that all *yōin* were non-Japanese in 1944. Table 5-1 shows the breakdown of employees in these ranks in order to show that approximately half of the Japanese staff members were *koin*, and that despite being *koin* they still had a higher rank than approximately half of the SMR's staff members of other nationalities.

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<sup>14</sup> Heisa Kikan Seiri linkai, *Heisa Kikan to Sono Tokushu Seisan*, 389.

Table 5-1: Job classification at the SMR in September 1944<sup>15</sup>

	<i>Shokuin</i>	<i>Junshokuin</i>	<i>Koin</i>	<i>Yōin</i>	Other ranks (including non-regular staff members)	Total
<b>Non-Japanese</b>	5,567	11,562	39,561	195,041	7,766	259,497
<b>Japanese</b>	39,428	31,604	66,813	0	959	138,804
<b>Total</b>	44,995	43,166	106,374	195,041	8,725	398,301

‘Non-Japanese’ in the statistics were mostly Chinese. Koreans and Taiwanese were categorised as ‘Japanese’ in the statistics and it is difficult to know how many Koreans and Taiwanese were employed by the SMR because they were registered with their Japanese names. Staff members could be promoted to higher ranks, often by taking promotion exams. Opportunities for non-Japanese people were limited, but there were some Chinese employees occupying important positions, such as station masters or engine drivers, and they were categorised as *shokuin*. The number of skilled Chinese staff members increased towards the end of the war due to shortages of Japanese employees because of military conscription, which forced the SMR to train a large number of Chinese staff members and promote them to more important positions. The number of Chinese staff members was larger in rural regions. This was specifically true in actual railway operations. For example, among five regional railway divisions at the SMR, it appears the Qiqihar Division had the highest percentage figures of Chinese staff members due to its location in inland Manchuria,

<sup>15</sup> Mantetsukai, *Mantetsu Zaiseki Shaintōkei* Mantetsu Shiryō Sōsho (Tokyo: Ryūkei Shosha, 1989), 2-3.

where the majority of customers were Chinese and where the company was not able to allocate sufficient Japanese staff members. In the SMR's employee statistics in September 1944, the engine depots in the Qiqihar Division employed 521 Japanese and 1,957 Chinese employees. The Japanese outnumbered the Chinese only in managerial positions, including station masters and section chiefs. (The figure for Japanese managers was 103, while that for Chinese managers was 25). In all other positions, the number of Chinese was larger. Chinese employees worked as 523 engine drivers, 641 firemen and 768 technicians, while there were only 184 Japanese engine drivers, 163 firemen and 60 technicians.<sup>16</sup>

The SMR had tens of subsidiaries and related companies.<sup>17</sup> Examples of these include the North China Railway (Kahoku Kōtsū), the Manchuria Steel Company (Manshū Seitetsu), International Transport (Kokusai Un'yu), Japan-Manchuria Warehouse (Nichiman Sōko), the Dalian Steamship Line Company (Dairen Kisen), the Dalian Urban Transport Company (Dairen Toshi Kōtsū), the Manchuria Film Association (Manshū Eiga Kyōkai), the Japan Paraffin Wax Company (Nippon Seirō), and Manchuria Mining (Manshū Kōgyō).

The North China Railway (Kahoku Kōtsū) was the largest subsidiary and the SMR transferred 15,600 Japanese and 3,000 Chinese staff members from various branches in Manchuria to Kahoku Kōtsū when it was founded in 1939. The establishment of the North China Railway was a part of Japan's effort to consolidate the economies of Japan-Manchuria-China, as the importance of the Chinese economy had become more significant for Japan, especially after the Second Sino-Japanese War

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<sup>16</sup> Amano, *Mantetsu Wo Shirutameno 12 Shō*, 182-89, 265.

<sup>17</sup> In Appendix, the SMR's largest subsidiaries and related companies are listed.

started in 1937.<sup>18</sup> At the end of the war, the total of 195,502 Kahoku Kōtsū staff members included 148,169 Chinese and 47,333 Japanese, including approximately 10,000 Japanese SMR staff members who had been transferred from Manchuria to China.<sup>19</sup>

Across a wide range of sections and subsidiaries, various sorts of SMR employees were working as unskilled blue collar workers at railway sections, factories and coalmines in addition to having jobs as semi-skilled technicians, experienced engineers, engine drivers, automobile drivers, conductors, researchers at the Social Science Research Department (Chōsabu) and the Central Laboratory (Chuō Shikenjo), managers, and office clerks, as well as being hotel staff. It is against this background, therefore, that this chapter examines the occupational transitions of a large number of SMR repatriates possessing diversified skills and experiences as a case study of Japanese civilian repatriates' postwar economic experiences.

## **Analysis of SMR repatriates in the 1956 national survey**

In the 1956 national survey into repatriates' lives, one of the findings was that a large number of civilian repatriates had been affiliated with either the SMR or one of its subsidiaries. This makes the SMR repatriates an interesting case study in terms of the postwar occupational transitions of Japanese civilian repatriates. The proportion of SMR repatriates in the total samples differs in the four prefectures, but between 8.9

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<sup>18</sup> Heisa Kikan Seiri linkai, *Heisa Kikan to Sono Tokushu Seisan*, 318.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, 339.

per cent and 19.0 per cent responded that they had worked for the SMR group during the wartime, as summarised in Table 5-2.

*Table 5-2: Number of employees in SMR-related companies in the database for each prefecture<sup>20</sup>*

	Ibaraki	Hiroshima	Kanagawa
<b>The South Manchuria Railway Company</b>	<b>60</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>80</b>
The North China Railway (Kahoku Kōtsū)	29	9	23
Other related subsidiaries	4	7	12
Individuals who had left the SMR before August 1945 to move to other companies	2	4	6
<b>Total number of repatriates affiliated with the SMR in the database (a)</b>	<b>96</b>	<b>55</b>	<b>121</b>
<b>Total number of civilian repatriates in the database (b)</b>	<b>500</b>	<b>621</b>	<b>640</b>
SMR affiliated repatriates as percentage of the total repatriate population in the database (a) / (b)	19.0%	8.9%	18.9%

This table shows that the SMR repatriates accounted for a significant part of the repatriate population. Although the SMR had various subsidiaries, due to the limited availability of source materials and possibly different experiences of affiliated repatriates, this chapter will only examine the occupational transitions of those who worked for the SMR including its railway operations and other sections, as well as

<sup>20</sup> Ministry of Health and Welfare, "Zaigai Jijitsu Chōsahyō (Japanese Government Survey into Repatriates' Postwar Lives)," (1956). Figures were taken from the databases, created for this research.

those who had temporarily been posted from the SMR to the North China Railway after the latter was established in 1939. The analysis here excludes the staff members of SMR subsidiary companies, focussing on its core railway activities, because detailed employment information is available only for the SMR staff members in the document kept at Mantetsukai, and similar information for employees of the SMR's subsidiaries is not available.

### **Wartime experiences of SMR repatriates**

#### ***Years of migration to Manchuria and purposes of migration***

The SMR staff members had migrated to Manchuria for various reasons. Table 5-3 summarises the timing of SMR repatriates' arrival in Manchuria and their entry into the SMR. We can see that the figures are concentrated in the years between 1932 when Manchukuo was established and 1941, when the Pacific War broke out. This suggests that their migration was decided in the context of Japan's wartime aggression and that their length of overseas residence was generally short. In addition, many were technical skill holders and received training in their workplaces or training schools within the SMR.

Table 5-3: SMR repatriates: Timing of emigration to Manchuria (number of individuals migrating in each time period)<sup>21</sup>

Years	Ibaraki	Hiroshima	Kanagawa	
- <b>1910s</b>	3	2	8	
<b>1920- 1931</b>	6	3	13	
<b>1932- 1936</b>	18	18	26	<b>1932:</b> Manchukuo was established
<b>1937- 1941</b>	22	8	28	<b>1937:</b> The Second Sino-Japanese War started. The administration of the South Manchuria Railway Zone and related staff members were transferred to the Manchukuo government. <b>1939:</b> The North China Railway was established.
<b>1942- 1945</b>	10	4	5	
<b>Total</b>	<b>60</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>80</b>	

In order to understand the characteristics of the migration of the SMR's staff members, Table 5-4 shows the reasons for their migration to Manchuria. The largest group started working at the SMR within one year of their arrival in Manchuria. This group includes those who had been admitted to the company via recruitment within Japan and sent to Manchuria, as well as those who joined the company within one year

<sup>21</sup>Ibid. Figures were taken from the database, created for this research.

of their date of emigration. The original purposes of migration of the latter group are not clear, but it is possible that they had arrived in Manchuria to seek employment, and took and passed an entrance exam in Manchuria to join the company. These individuals' overseas economic experiences were for the most part limited to their work experiences at the SMR, and their exposure to local society is likely to have been limited. The next largest group joined the company after they had spent more than one year in Manchuria after their date of emigration. The smallest group includes those who were born in Manchuria or some other place outside of Japan, or had emigrated as children.

*Table 5-4: SMR repatriates: Reasons for migration to Manchuria<sup>22</sup>*

	Ibaraki	Hiroshima	Kanagawa
To work for the SMR (including employees who joined the SMR within one year of their arrival)	43	30	43
Initially migrated for other reasons and then entered the SMR	15	4	29
Born outside of Japan	1	1	8
<b>Total</b>	<b>59</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>80</b>

The length of these SMR repatriates' overseas residence was generally shorter than that of non-SMR repatriates. The average length of stay for the SMR repatriates in the database for Ibaraki was 9.6 years, that for Hiroshima was 11.2 years and that for Kanagawa was 12.2 years. The corresponding figures for the total civilian repatriate population (including SMR repatriates) in each prefecture's database were

<sup>22</sup>Ibid. Figures were taken from the database created for this research.



10.7 years for Ibaraki, 15.0 years for Hiroshima and 12.7 years for Kanagawa, which supports the case that the SMR repatriates generally spent a slightly shorter time in Manchuria than other groups of the repatriate population did. In the SMR sample, as Table 5-5 shows, the average age of joining the company was in the mid-20s, indicating that many SMR employees had previous work experiences at other companies, although details of the SMR's hiring policy are not very clear.

*Table 5-5: SMR repatriates: Average age of joining the company<sup>23</sup>*

	<b>Average age</b>
Ibaraki	23.9
Hiroshima	23.4
Kanagawa	25.2

For SMR repatriates living in Kanagawa and Hiroshima prefectures, it is possible to know their initial rank and subsequent promotion dates to higher ranks, because the prefectural archives allow a researcher to see the names of the participants in the 1956 national survey, which can then be matched with the SMR's employment records produced by the Mantetsukai. The majority of the Japanese SMR staff members appear to have been higher elementary school graduates, because many had started their career from the lowest rank of *koin*, a rank which was the starting point for higher elementary school graduates, as Table 5-6 shows. Out of the SMR repatriates in the Hiroshima and Kanagawa databases, we find that a minority (11.4 per cent in Hiroshima and 11.2 per cent in Kanagawa) identified themselves as white-collar workers who were in charge of administrative tasks, and the rest (88.6 per cent

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<sup>23</sup>Ibid. Figures were taken from the databases, created for this research.

in the Hiroshima database and 88.8 per cent in the Kanagawa database) were working in railway services or related sections, the majority of who seem to have been engaged in technical jobs.

Table 5-6: SMR repatriates: Initial rank (upon entry to the company) and sections<sup>24</sup>

	Initial rank	Section				Total
		Railway operations	Railway factories / construction	Administrative offices	Other sections <sup>25</sup>	
Hiroshima	<i>Koin</i>	13	5	3	8	29
	<i>Junshokuin</i>	2	1			3
	<i>Shokuin</i>		1	1		2
	<i>Unknown</i>				1	1
	<i>Total</i>	15	7	4	9	35
Kanagawa	<i>Koin</i>	27	6	3	15	51
	<i>Junshokuin</i>	5	1	1	2	9
	<i>Shokuin</i>	6	1	5	2	14
	<i>Unknown</i>				6	6
	<b>Total</b>	38	8	9	25	80

\* Until 1942, when the SMR changed the job classification system in which all Japanese *yōin* were upgraded to *koin*, many Japanese young staff members should have entered the SMR as *yōin*. However, in the SMR's employment records from 1945, the lowest initial rank is *koin*, and the *yōin* category is not included.

During their service at the SMR, staff members were able to obtain promotion to the next rank after working for the company for several years if they could receive their supervisors' recommendation for promotion. In the databases for Hiroshima and

<sup>24</sup>Ibid. Figures were taken from the databases, created for this research.

<sup>25</sup> Other sections include staff members working at coal mines, wharfs, hotels, bus services, to name but a few.

Kanagawa, we find that the majority of *koin* (26 out of 29 in Hiroshima and 42 out of 51 in Kanagawa) were promoted to higher ranks. The minimum required service years was four years to be promoted from *koin* to *junshokuin* and two years to be promoted from *junshokuin* to the highest rank of *shokuin*. Another promotion path was to pass an exam, which included reading comprehension of the Japanese language, mathematics, the Chinese language, the English language and the Russian language.<sup>26</sup>

The SMR also established various training schools within the company to develop the skills of young staff members. These schools specialised in a number of areas, including railway operations, railcar factory production, steel manufacturing, and general middle school education. In September 1944, a total of 5,128 Japanese staff members (3.7 per cent of the total of 138,804 Japanese staff members) and 3,027 Chinese staff members (1.2 per cent) were on leave to attend these training schools.<sup>27</sup> The educational opportunities would have been valuable in increasing the job-related knowledge of young staff members. This was specifically true of those who had only received elementary school education and had not had chances to attend upper schools.

By the end of the war, the SMR employees had worked for the company for approximately 10 years, as Table 5-7 shows, and their average age ranged from 31.7 (in the Ibaraki sample) to 34.5 years old (Kanagawa sample). Overall, many were still young and relatively skilled as a result of basic school education as well as on the job training at the SMR. This suggests that SMR repatriates could be a valuable part of the Japanese labour force.

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<sup>26</sup> Interview with Hiroyuki Amano (The Senior Executive of Mantetsukai, SMR's postwar organisation) on 1 June, 2015.

<sup>27</sup> Mantetsukai, *Mantetsu Zaiseki Shaintōkei* 154. For the number of staff members in September 1944, See Table 5-1.

Table 5-7: SMR repatriates: Average years of service at the company and average age in August 1945<sup>28</sup>

	Average age in August 1945 (years)	Average years of service at the SMR	Average years of overseas residence
Ibaraki	31.7 years old	8.3	9.5
Hiroshima	32.8 years old	10.3	11.2
Kanagawa	34.5 years old	9.9	12.2

It is difficult to estimate the exact number of SMR employees in August 1945. As previously mentioned, the SMR had 138,804 Japanese staff members in 1944.<sup>29</sup> The number of staff members who were able to return to work for the company in September 1945 was approximately 80,000.<sup>30</sup> There is a reduction of approximately 54,000 staff members between these two figures. We cannot know the detail of any changes in the numbers of SMR staff members, but several reasons may be suggested. Firstly, some may have died in the war and some others may have already been repatriated to Japan along with Japanese troops. Others were taken to Siberia to be detained by the U.S.S.R. Secondly, many Koreans and Taiwanese, who had been recorded as Japanese in the company's wartime statistics, are likely to have left the company at the end of the war.

It is not clear how many of the SMR employees were in the military at the end of the war. In the database created from the 1956 national survey, only five individuals in Ibaraki (out of 59 SMR repatriates in the database), two (out of 80 individuals) in Kanagawa, and two (out of 35) in Hiroshima responded that they had been drafted,

<sup>28</sup>Ministry of Health and Welfare, "Zaigai Jijitsu Chōsahyō (Japanese Government Survey into Repatriates' Postwar Lives)." Figures were taken from the databases, created for this research

<sup>29</sup> Mantetsukai, *Mantetsu Zaiseki Shaintōkei* 2-3. Amano, *Mantetsu Wo Shirutameno 12 Shō*, 182.

<sup>30</sup> Katō, *Mantetsu Zenshi 'Kokusaku Gaisha No Zenbō'*, 190.

but for other individuals, it is not clear whether they were on leave from the company in order to be in the military or not. In addition, some former SMR repatriates resigned from the company when they were conscripted. As the war intensified, it became increasingly difficult for the SMR to keep recording who had been drafted, especially in the case of regional depots. This was particularly true after one of the last large-scale emergency mobilisations (often called *nekosogi dōin*) was ordered in Manchuria on 10<sup>th</sup> July, 1945, in which approximately 200,000 individuals were drafted, including middle-aged Japanese civilians and also SMR staff members.<sup>31</sup>

## **Defeat and the dissolution of the SMR**

### ***Delayed repatriation***

After the war, the SMR was taken over by the Soviet Union on 22 September 1945. The company continued its operation as the China Changchun Railway,<sup>32</sup> a joint company of the U.S.S.R. and the Republic of China established under the agreement of the Sino-Soviet Treaty of Friendship and Alliance concluded on 14th August 1945. The U.S.S.R. controlled the new company until the Soviet military started to withdraw from Manchuria in March 1946 based on the agreement in the treaty.<sup>33</sup> During the period of transition immediately after the war, approximately 80,000 Japanese SMR employees were instructed to remain at the company to continue their jobs, now at the China Changchun Railway. The operation of the SMR was gradually transferred to the Soviet military and the number of Japanese staff members was reduced to approximately 53,000 by February 1946.<sup>34</sup> Some SMR staff members started to return

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<sup>31</sup> Mantetsukai, *Mantetsu 40 Nenshi* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2007), 209. This source suggests that with the newly recruited 200,000 Japanese men in Manchuria, the size of the Kwantung army grew to approximately 700,000.

<sup>32</sup> Katō, *Mantetsu Zenshi 'Kokusaku Gaisha No Zenbō'*, 186.

<sup>33</sup> Amano, *Mantetsu Wo Shirutameno 12 Shō*, 150-55.

<sup>34</sup> Katō, *Mantetsu Zenshi 'Kokusaku Gaisha No Zenbō'*, 186-90. Katō mentions in this book that in

to Japan after May 1946 when official repatriation started, while hundreds of others continued to work in Manchuria until 1948, and in some cases, up until 1955. The number of Japanese detainees (*ryūyōsha*) in Manchuria working for the Guomindang in December 1946 was reported to be 9,654, with 21,428 family members. This figure included SMR staff members. The number of Japanese detainees (including former SMR staff members) on the Communist side has been estimated to be approximately 8,000, but official reports do not exist.<sup>35</sup>

For these reasons, the repatriation of SMR staff members was generally delayed. In the database compiled for this research, for example, we find that of the total civilian repatriate population which includes the SMR repatriates, 73.5 per cent in Ibaraki, 81.3 per cent in Hiroshima and 82.7 per cent in Kanagawa had been repatriated by the end of 1946. However, the equivalent figures for SMR repatriates alone were significantly lower: only 61.0 per cent of the SMR repatriates in Ibaraki, 74.3 per cent in Hiroshima and 72.5 per cent in Kanagawa had returned to Japan by the end of 1946. Table 5-8 shows the timing of repatriation of the SMR repatriates in the database.

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the Sino-Soviet Treaty of Friendship and Alliance signed on 14 August, 1945, it had been decided that the Soviet army withdraw from Northeast China within three weeks after Japan's surrender, but the Soviets remained in the region until March 1946. The military of the Republic of China was not able to arrive in Manchuria by the time the SMR was handed over to the China Changchun Railway. The Soviet military forces dominated the operation of the new company during the immediate postwar period.

<sup>35</sup> Amano, *Mantetsu Wo Shirutameno 12 Shō*, 155. Katō, *Mantetsu Zenshi 'Kokusaku Gaisha No Zenbō'*, 192. Daqing Yang, "Resurrecting the Empire? Japanese Technicians in Postwar China, 1945-1949," in *The Japanese Empire in East Asia and Its Postwar Legacy*, ed. Harald Fuess (München: Iudicium, 1998), 205. According to Katō, 11,400 Japanese people were employed by the government of the Republic of China, and approximately 80,000 were employed by the Communist Government in late 1946. Yang estimates that 14,032 Japanese technicians were working for the Republic of China in December 1946, including 976 Japanese railway workers in Manchuria.

Table 5-8: SMR repatriates: Proportion returning to Japan in each period of repatriation<sup>36</sup>

	By December 1945	1946	1947	1948-1950	1951-	Total
Ibaraki	3.4%	57.6%	28.8%	8.5%	1.7%	100%
Hiroshima	5.7%	68.6%	20.0%	5.7%	0.0%	100%
Kanagawa	3.8%	68.8%	20.0%	6.3%	1.3%	100%

A number of scholars have suggested that individuals who returned late experienced difficulty in finding a job because promising jobs had already been taken when they arrived into Japan and the Japanese general public viewed the repatriates who had been detained in the U.S.S.R. and China with some suspicion, thinking that these repatriates might have been influenced by communism. However, regarding SMR repatriates, very little evidence has been provided in support of this claim, which has also been taken up by the media.<sup>37</sup> Despite their generally slower repatriation, not all SMR repatriates experienced negative transitions as will be discussed later in this chapter. Rather, postwar settlement was affected not only by the timing of repatriation, but also by factors such as age, skills and the ability to move to places where jobs were available. Specifically, if repatriates were skilled and more mobile, the likelihood of an individual obtaining a favourable job could increase, and this was what happened to some SMR repatriates.

<sup>36</sup>Ministry of Health and Welfare, "Zaigai Jijitsu Chōsahyō (Japanese Government Survey into Repatriates' Postwar Lives)." Figures were taken from the databases, created for this research.

<sup>37</sup> For example, the following article in People's China mentions that repatriates who worked in postwar China faced difficulty in finding a job in postwar Japan. Jirō Takeyoshi, "Yūjin Toshite Atsukawareta Nihonjin," *People's China* 2006.

<http://www.peoplechina.com.cn/maindoc/html/fangtan/200601.htm>. Accessed on 23 February 2016.

***Mobility of the SMR repatriates after repatriation***

As Table 5-9 shows, a majority of SMR repatriates in the database settled in their hometowns after their repatriation. We find that 78.0 per cent of the SMR repatriates in Ibaraki, 85.7 per cent in Hiroshima and 60.0 per cent in Kanagawa prefecture responded that on returning to Japan they had first settled in their hometowns. If we compare this with all civilian repatriates in each prefecture, we can see that the SMR repatriates were more likely to return to their hometowns after repatriation.

*Table 5-9: Postwar settlement and mobility of the SMR repatriates in the database*<sup>38</sup>

	<b>Ibaraki</b>	<b>Hiroshima</b>	<b>Kanagawa</b>
<b>Proportion of SMR repatriates who first returned to their hometowns</b>	78.0%	85.7%	60.0%
<b>Proportion of SMR repatriates living in their hometowns in 1956</b>	59.3%	40.0%	28.8%

*Table 5-10: Postwar settlement and mobility of all repatriate population in the database*<sup>39</sup>

	<b>Ibaraki</b>	<b>Hiroshima</b>	<b>Kanagawa</b>
<b>Civilian repatriates (including the SMR repatriates) who first returned to their hometowns after the repatriation</b>	72.8%	64.6%	48.9%
<b>Civilian repatriates (including the SMR repatriates) living in their hometowns in 1956</b>	59.0%	45.4%	33.3%

<sup>38</sup> Ministry of Health and Welfare, "Zaigai Jijitsu Chōsahyō (Japanese Government Survey into Repatriates' Postwar Lives)." Figures were taken from the databases, created for this research.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid.



If the place of initial settlement and the 1956 (ten years after the war) place of residence of SMR repatriates are compared with those of all repatriates in each prefecture, the SMR repatriates show greater mobility, and the proportion of the SMR repatriates living in their hometowns declined faster than that of the repatriate population as a whole. It should also be noted that 27.1 per cent of SMR repatriates living in Ibaraki in 1956 had moved in from other prefectures since the time of their repatriation. The equivalent figure for Hiroshima was 34.3 per cent, and for Kanagawa 58.8 per cent. This indicates that while the majority of SMR repatriates initially returned to their hometowns, they were more willing to move to other places than seems to have been the case with other civilian repatriates, often moving across prefectural borders.

## **Postwar transitions of the SMR repatriates: An analysis of the 1956 survey**

This section analyses job experiences of SMR repatriates shown in the 1956 survey into repatriates' postwar lives. When they started thinking about postwar occupations, entering the Japan National Railways seems to have been the most favoured option for many SMR repatriates. In addition to the JNR, the public sector also employed repatriates and other war-affected individuals as part of policies to reduce unemployment. Some others found employment using their skills in the private sector, while others took up new jobs in sectors in which they had no previous experience. Table 5-11 shows job experiences of SMR repatriates in the 1956 databases.

Table 5-11: SMR repatriates: Occupational transitional patterns<sup>40</sup>

	Ibaraki		Hiroshima		Kanagawa	
	SMR repatriates	Total repatriate population	SMR repatriates	Total repatriate population	SMR repatriates	Total repatriate population
<b>Agriculture</b>	20.3%	27.6%	8.6%	9.7%	3.8%	2.5%
<b>Public sector</b>	13.6%	21.8%	17.1%	20.1%	25.0%	22.5%
<b>Reemployment by wartime employers (JNR in case of SMR repatriates)</b>	6.8%	2.8%	17.1%	5.5%	16.3%	7.7%
<b>Skilled employment</b>	18.6%	13.2%	34.3%	26.9%	41.3%	31.3%
<b>New sector: industry</b>	1.7%	3.8%	14.0%	8.1%	0.0%	5.2%
<b>New sector: tertiary</b>	27.0%	20.2%	6.0%	15.5%	11.3%	14.1%
<b>Day labourers</b>	1.7%	1.8%	0.0%	2.7%	0.0%	1.4%
<b>Unemployed</b>	8.5%	7.8%	2.9%	3.7%	1.3%	6.1%
<b>Out of labour force</b>	1.7%	1.0%	0.0%	7.9%	1.3%	9.4%
<b>Total</b>	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

<sup>40</sup> Ibid. Figures were taken from the databases, created for this research.

### ***Employment at the JNR***

For many SMR repatriates, postwar employment at the JNR was the most favoured option. According to the documents of a support association for repatriate railway workers (Tairiku Tetsudō Jūjiin Engokai) in Tokyo, the total number of repatriates who had worked for wartime railways in the Japanese empire was estimated to be approximately 180,000.<sup>41</sup> According to the organisation's annual report for the fiscal year of 1948, approximately 20 per cent of the railway repatriates, including those from the SMR, were offered a place by the JNR. If this statement is correct, it means that approximately 36,000 railway repatriates were employed by the JNR by 1948 (the month is not known). In the fiscal year of 1947, the total number of JNR staff members was approximately 600,000.<sup>42</sup> If these two figures are compared, we find that approximately 6 per cent of the total JNR staff members were repatriate railway workers, including SMR repatriates, around the years of 1947 and 1948. The 1956 survey database shows that 6.8 per cent of SMR repatriates in Ibaraki (4 out of 59 individuals), 17.1 per cent (6 out of 35 individuals) in Hiroshima and 16.3 per cent (13 individuals out of 80) in Kanagawa were working for the Japan National Railways. Employment at the JNR was partly a result of the petition submitted by the association of repatriated foreign railway staff members, details of which will be included later in this chapter. In order to understand who might be employed by the JNR, Table 5-12 shows the list of the SMR repatriates in the database who were working for the JNR

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<sup>41</sup> Tairiku Tetsudō Jūjiin Engokai, "Jigyō Gaiyō Kessan Hōkoku Tsuzuri," (Tokyo 1946). This document is part of the collection of Kahoku Kōtsū documents, available in the archival section (Shiryō shitsu) of the Library of the Economics Department of Tokyo University. I am grateful to Emeritus Professor Takeda of the Economics Department of Tokyo University for sharing the information on this collection of documents.

<sup>42</sup> Ministry of Land Infrastructure Transport and Tourism, "Nihon Tetsudōshi," (Tokyo: Ministry of Land Infrastructure Transport and Tourism, 2012).  
<http://www.mlit.go.jp/common/000218983.pdf>. Accessed on 25 February 2016.

in 1956, and their wartime sections, age, rank at the SMR in August 1945, educational background, timing of repatriation, and postwar sections at the JNR.

Table 5-12: SMR repatriates who were working for the JNR in the database<sup>43</sup>

	Wartime section at the SMR	Age in 1945	Rank at the SMR in 1945	Education	Repatriation	Home prefecture	Postwar section at JNR	Relevance to wartime responsibility
<b>Ibaraki</b>	Railcar factory	28	Unknown	Unknown	August 1946	Ibaraki	Station staff member	
	Train inspection	28	Unknown	Unknown	July 1946	Tokyo	Passenger carriage section	Yes
	Railcar factory	28	Unknown	Unknown	September 1946	Kagawa	Station staff member	
	Engine depot	29	Unknown	Unknown	February 1947	Ibaraki	Engine depot	Yes
<b>Hiroshima</b>	Train inspection	36	<i>Shokuin</i>	Elementary school	October 1946	Ishikawa	Passenger carriage section	Yes
	Engine driver	32	<i>Shokuin</i>	Elementary school	November 1946	Hiroshima	Engine driver	Yes
	Engine depot	22	<i>Shokuin</i>	Elementary school	June 1946	Hiroshima	Engine driver	Yes
	Construction	36	<i>Shokuin</i>	Elementary school	October 1946	Hiroshima	Electrical communication	
	Railway operation control department	35	<i>Koin</i>	Elementary school	May 1946	Ishikawa	Electrical section	Yes
<b>Kanagawa</b>	Electrical section	38	<i>Junshokuin</i>	Elementary school	July 1946	Hiroshima	Electrical section	Yes

<sup>43</sup> Ministry of Health and Welfare, "Zaigai Jijitsu Chōsahyō (Japanese Government Survey into Repatriates' Postwar Lives)."

	Railway section	35	<i>Shokuin</i>	Elementary school	December 1945	Kanagawa	Station staff member	
	Stations	28	<i>Shokuin</i>	Elementary school	January 1947	Kanagawa	Station staff member	
	Electrical signal factory	27	<i>Shokuin</i>	Elementary school	January 1947	Kanagawa	Railway operational department	Yes
	Electrical section	41	<i>Fukusanji</i>	University or technical college	October 1947	Tochigi	Electrical section	Yes
	Electrical section	30	<i>Shokuin</i>	Elementary school	June 1946	Ishikawa	Electrical power substation	Yes
	Accounting section	30	<i>Shokuin</i>	University or technical college	October 1946	Toyama	Railway operational department	
	Engine depot	29	<i>Shokuin</i>	Elementary school	May 1946	Kanagawa	Station staff member	
	Engine depot	33	<i>Shokuin</i>	Elementary school	November 1946	Kanagawa	Engine depot	Yes
	Construction	28	<i>Shokuin</i>	Elementary school	July 1946	Hiroshima	Conductors' section	
	Train inspection	27	<i>Koin</i>	Elementary school	October 1946	Kanagawa	Passenger carriage section	Yes
	Coal mine administration	34	<i>Shokuin</i>	Elementary school	August 1946	Shizuoka	Station staff member	
	Office clerk	28	<i>Junshokuin</i>	Elementary school	June 1946	Nagasaki	Engine depot	
	Freight train section	32	<i>Fukusanji</i>	University or technical college	September 1946	Osaka	Toyo Wharf	

Note: Rank and information on education were obtained from the SMR's employment records.<sup>44</sup> For Ibaraki, this information is not available because the prefectural archives does not allow a researcher to see the names of repatriates due to the archives' policies on personal information protection. Regarding rank, in addition to *shokuin* (career track personnel), *junshokuin* (skilled personnel), and *koin* (employees with qualifications from higher elementary schools), two *fukusanji*, who were sub-section chiefs, are included in this table. The educational background of repatriates is not included in the staff card, but this research assumes that most individuals who started their career at the SMR as *shokuin* had graduated from universities or technical colleges, and those who started as *koin* had graduated from higher elementary schools. Middle school graduates perhaps started as *koin* or *junshokuin*, but it is not possible to know more details. As with the case of the *sanji* (section chief), the *fukusanji* (assistant section chief) was an elite member of the company and the number of appointments was limited as discussed in the section on source materials earlier in this chapter.

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<sup>44</sup> The employees' records have been kept at the Mantetsukai in Tokyo. Details will be explained later in this chapter.

Table 5-12 indicates that many SMR repatriates who entered the JNR were relatively young or had specific skills, including those related to electrical engineering or train driving. However, the JNR's hiring policies seem to have been different in each prefecture. For example, all four individuals in the Ibaraki database who were working for the JNR in 1956, were in their 20s in 1945. By contrast, the JNR in Hiroshima employed skilled repatriates who seem to have had experience in electrical engineering, train driving and maintenance. They were not necessarily young; four out of six SMR repatriates were in their mid-30s or older at the end of the war. The JNR in Kanagawa employed both young SMR repatriates and skilled individuals who had experience of electrical work as well as train operation and maintenance. In addition, possibly due to the expansion of railway services in the early postwar period, the four individuals in the Kanagawa database had been employed as station staff members. It should also be noted that in all the prefectures the majority who found employment at the JNR had been repatriated by the end of 1946. Many changed addresses after repatriation and often moved from other prefectures, possibly to seize job opportunities at the JNR.

According to the employees' records kept at the Mantetsukai, the majority of individuals in this table started their career as *koin* but had been promoted to *shokuin* by the end of the war. This means that the individuals in this table had been higher elementary school graduates, but managed to get promoted by acquiring useful skills, obtaining references from their supervisors, or by passing promotion exams. In addition, it should be noted that all individuals included in this table were technical skill holders or individuals who had worked in the SMR's railway related sections, and that no white-collar workers appear in the table despite the fact that a large number of white-collar workers had worked at the SMR as managers and office clerks. It appears that the JNR preferred to reemploy technical skill holders rather than white-collar workers. This indicates that hiring by the JNR was not merely a result of the government's employment



policies, but that the JNR might have attempted to employ individuals who were useful for its operations. In any case, however, it is clear that the JNR was one of the most important employers for the SMR repatriates after repatriation. The number of SMR repatriates employed by the JNR might have been lower than the SMR repatriates' expectations, but the JNR still helped some of them settle after repatriation.

### ***Employment in the public sector***

In addition to the JNR, the public sector was an important destination for the SMR repatriates. The proportion of SMR repatriates in the public and the semi-public sector in each prefecture's database was 13.6 per cent in Ibaraki, 17.1 per cent in Hiroshima and 25.0 per cent in Kanagawa. The proportion of the SMR repatriates in the public sector was actually lower compared to the figure for all civilian repatriates (including the SMR repatriates) in Ibaraki and Hiroshima, but higher than that of all civilian repatriates in Kanagawa, because a larger number of SMR repatriates were employed in American military bases as quasi-public servants (*jun kōmuin*) in Kanagawa prefecture. If we analyse this further, SMR repatriates in the postwar public sector can be categorised into three groups: a) those who found employment at local government offices in their hometowns; b) a small number of individuals who moved to other places to find a better job in the public sector, which might have met their skill levels or interests and c) those who worked for foreign military bases.

Individuals in the first group (labelled (a) above) were the majority of all former SMR employees moving into the public sector. They were generally older than other SMR repatriates, and the proportion who had been repatriated in 1947 or after was larger than was the case for other SMR repatriates. This indicates that public employment of this type might have been a result of the government's employment policies to help repatriates to settle in the new postwar society. The second group (group (b) above) consisted of a small number of individuals who had been educated at universities or

higher professional schools. Some of them had been senior managers at the SMR. This group included older repatriates and those who experienced delayed repatriation, but they nevertheless managed to find employment in the public sector. The third group (group (c) above) were those who worked for foreign military bases. They were generally older than other SMR repatriates and included a number who arrived back in Japan in 1947 or after. It appears that foreign military bases offered a convenient choice to individuals of this kind, because the employers perhaps did not question the repatriates' age. The timing of repatriation also mattered to a lesser degree because many local employees in foreign military bases worked as temporary staff members and the turnover rate is likely to have been high. This could have led to frequent job vacancies that became available even to repatriates who returned to Japan relatively later than most others. But job opportunities in the service of the foreign military were limited to certain places, such as urban areas in Kanagawa.

In the Ibaraki database, out of 59 SMR repatriates, seven were in the public or semi-public sector and all can be categorised in Group A; they lived in their hometowns and worked as staff member(s) at post offices (two individuals), at the power plant construction division of Yamagata prefecture (though it is not clear whether this person had temporarily been transferred to Yamagata), at a local office of the Food Agency, agricultural cooperatives (two individuals) and at an accommodation owned by a school teacher's mutual aid association. These individual's average age (31.8 years old) was approximately the same as that of other SMR repatriates in the Ibaraki database. However, this group tended to be repatriated later than other SMR repatriates, with five out of the seven returning after January 1947. In addition, all seven individuals were living in their hometowns in 1956. One exception in the public sector in Ibaraki prefecture was an individual who was working for the Self Defence Forces as an accountant, who had moved into Ibaraki from Niigata, and who can be categorised as belonging to Group B.

In Ibaraki, the proportion of the SMR repatriates who were in the public sector in 1956 was lower than that of the prefecture's repatriate population as a whole, but public sector employment still appears to have been a convenient option for the SMR repatriates who experienced delayed repatriation or who were living in their hometowns in 1956.

In the Hiroshima database, six individuals out of 35 SMR repatriates were in the public sector, and all of them can be categorized as belonging to Group A. This group of six worked at the waterworks division of Hiroshima city (an SMR engineering specialist), at a high school as a teacher (SMR accountant), as an office clerk (SMR office clerk), at a tax office (SMR office clerk), at the prefecture's board of education (SMR office clerk) and at the British Commonwealth Forces base in Kure city as an ironer of laundry (SMR hotel staff member). All the individuals in this group were living in their hometowns in 1956. Their average age at the end of the war was 34.8 years old, slightly older than that of all SMR repatriates in Hiroshima, which was 32.8 years old. This can be explained by the fact that this group included three senior individuals (a 36-year-old high school teacher, a 37-year-old ironer of laundry and a 45-year-old prefectural Board of Education staff member). The 37-year-old ironer was repatriated in March 1947, and the waterworks specialist was not repatriated until October 1949. These facts suggest that the public sector offered employment for those who decided to stay in their hometowns and those who might have faced difficulty in finding jobs due to their older age and delayed repatriation.

The pattern of public sector employment shown in the Kanagawa database is different. In the Kanagawa database, we find that nine out of 80 SMR repatriates in the prefecture were in the Japanese public sector. Additionally, 11 individuals were working in American military bases. In the case of the first group, the majority (five out of nine) had moved into Kanagawa from neighbouring prefectures (Saitama, Tokyo and

Yamanashi) to take up jobs at the Ministry of Transport, the Special Procurement Agency, the Economic Planning Agency, the Hiratsuka City Government in Kanagawa, and the Tax Bureau of the Tokyo Metropolitan Government. These agencies were large establishments and seem to have been popular destinations for repatriates in general. These individuals can be categorized as being in Group B. All of them were 33 years old or younger and seem to have experienced a smooth repatriation. Four of the individuals had been repatriated by 1946 and two returned in 1947.

The other four individuals in this group can be categorised in Group A. They were living in their hometowns in 1956 and working respectively as an office clerk, a caretaker at public schools, a waterworks specialist, and a transport technician in the Yokohama City Government. These four individuals were in a disadvantageous position in the labour market; the 19-year-old office clerk was repatriated in September 1949 and the other three individuals were already 41 years old, 43 years old and 53 years old respectively in 1956. It can be suggested again that these individuals who were older or experienced delayed repatriation might have been helped by the government's employment policies to hire repatriates and war-affected individuals to reduce unemployment.

Eleven SMR repatriates in the Kanagawa database were working at American bases in Kanagawa. This group has two distinctive characteristics. Firstly, they were much older than other SMR repatriates; their average age was 40.0 years old at the end of the war. Secondly, seven out of 11 had been moved in to Kanagawa from various prefectures, including prefectures located on Kyūshū and Shikoku islands. Only half of them included any information on their responsibilities at the bases in the 1956 national survey, but the individuals who did provide information worked as technicians, a security guard and a translator. These individuals worked at the military bases as quasi-public servants of the Japanese government, and it appears that employment at the American

bases was an important option for repatriates who were older and who were able to move to places where job opportunities were available.

In summary, the public sector offered a convenient option for some SMR repatriates. Even for SMR repatriates with limited geographical mobility, who experienced delayed repatriation or who were older than other repatriates, this sector offered employment opportunities, often in their hometowns. If they were young or mobile, it was also possible to obtain employment at central government agencies. For older SMR repatriates who were mobile, American military bases offered unique job opportunities. In this way, the public sector played an important role in settling some portion of the SMR repatriates.

### ***Skilled employment***

For SMR repatriates who did not find employment at the Japan National Railways and in the public sector, the next option seems to have been skilled employment of some kind. In the Ibaraki database, nine SMR repatriates (out of 59 total SMR repatriates) found skilled employment, with more than half of them (five individuals out of nine) finding employment in one company, Nihon Kōgyō, a related company of Nissan which had been a key player in Manchukuo's five year industrial development plan after 1937 as discussed in Chapter 4.<sup>45</sup> Others were working for a local construction company, a small manufacturer (details unknown), a concrete manufacturing company and a local bus service company.

The hiring process of Nihon Kōgyō is not documented, but it would be reasonable to assume that the postwar Nihon Kōgyō employed individuals who had skills that could be used in mines, and found accessible human resources in the group of the SMR

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<sup>45</sup>JX Kinzoku, "Corporate History," JX Kinzoku. <http://www.nmm.jx-group.co.jp/company/history.html>. Accessed on 25 March 2016.

repatriates. If we look at the postwar positions of these workers at Nihon Kōgyō, we find that they included a worker in a mineral refinery (whose job at the SMR is not known), a miner (a former SMR driver), a construction worker (who had worked in the SMR's inspection division), and two individuals whose responsibilities at Nihon Kōgyō are not known (one had been a staff member of the mining department of the SMR, and the other one's wartime job is not known).

The nine SMR repatriates in the Ibaraki database who found skilled employment were generally young and their average age was 31.8 years old, approximately the same as the average of all SMR repatriates in the Ibaraki database, which was 31.7 years old. The majority (six out of nine individuals) had moved into Ibaraki prefecture from other prefectures (Tokyo, Yamagata, Fukushima, Ehime as well as Nagasaki and Kumamoto in Kyūshū). Only one out of the nine individuals in this group remained in his hometown in 1956, while two other individuals had changed their addresses within Ibaraki prefecture. Regarding the timing of repatriation, four out of nine individuals in this group (44.4 per cent) had been repatriated after January 1947. The experiences of the SMR repatriates in this group can be summarised by stating that although their repatriations tended to have been delayed, they were still sufficiently young and had skills that could be used in postwar industries. They were mobile and obtained employment postwar by moving into Ibaraki prefecture.

In the Hiroshima database, we find that 12 SMR repatriates (out of 35 total SMR repatriates in the database) found skilled employment. Four individuals were white-collar workers and eight were technical skill holders: two SMR office clerks became office clerks of Nippon Express and a construction company, one of the SMR's Yamato Hotel staff members found employment at a beverage company, and an SMR accountant found employment at Dentsū, a major advertising company. Regarding Dentsū, it would be

worth noting that it appears that Dentsū employed several repatriates who had been senior managers at the SMR and Manchuria Newspaper (the SMR's related company, Manshū Nichinichi Shimbun) both at its postwar head office in Tokyo and other regional bureaus. According to an essay in Dentsū's corporate history, the skill levels of its employees were not very high at the end of the war. This was because the public sector, zaibatsu companies, major banks and public corporations such as the SMR had absorbed talented individuals as their employees, and advertising companies, including Dentsū, were not able to employ promising individuals. The young president of Dentsū, who took the position in 1947, started to recruit skilled repatriates who had experience in public relations or management. From the SMR, Dentsū invited the former public relations section chief in the President's Office, and a section chief of the the Administrative and Coordination Division (Bunsho ka). It seems that these people invited younger SMR staff members to join Dentsū. The head office of Dentsū in postwar Tokyo was called 'the second SMR building' (Daini Mantetsu building) because the company employed a large number of SMR repatriates. (The exact number is unknown).<sup>46</sup>

Among other technical skill holders, a former SMR automobile driver became a taxi driver, while three SMR factory workers found similar employment at a factory of the Hiroshima Electric Railway, at Hitachi Shipbuilding and at another manufacturer. Another former SMR factory worker became a welder for a machinery manufacturer, a staff member of the SMR's coal mine found employment at Tōyō Kōgyō (later renamed Matsuda), and a staff member of the SMR's supply department founded a machinery manufacturer. In 1956, almost all 12 individuals in this group were living in large cities in Hiroshima prefecture (Hiroshima, Kure and Onomichi cities), except for one individual who was living in a rural region, Kamo gun, which is adjacent to Hiroshima and Kure

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<sup>46</sup>"Jx Kinzoku Nihon Kōgyō, Corporate History." <http://dentsu-ho.com/articles/2409> and <http://dentsu-ho.com/articles/2439>. Accessed on 20 December, 2015.

cities. Their mobility was about the same as that of other SMR repatriates in the Hiroshima database; five individuals living in their hometowns, four individuals moving in from other prefectures (Okayama, Ehime, Ibaraki and Nagasaki) and three individuals who had changed their addresses within the prefecture. Their average age was 31.4 years old, approximately the same as the average age of the SMR repatriates in the Hiroshima database (31.7 years old), but their repatriation tended to have been delayed and four out of 12 individuals in this group had been repatriated after January 1947.

In the Kanagawa database, 32 SMR repatriates (out of 80 total SMR repatriates in the database) found skilled employment. They included six white-collar workers, one cook and 25 technical skills holders. In the postwar transition, the six white-collar workers found similar jobs at a construction company, a paint company, a retail company Nagasakiya, the People's Finance Corporation (Kokumin Kin'yū Kōko) as a researcher, an electric company and a hospital. One cook from the SMR's restaurant found employment at Mitsui Corporation as a cook in the staff members' cafeteria. Out of 25 technical skill holders who found skilled employment, approximately half (14 individuals) were working for small or medium-sized enterprises and 11 individuals for major firms. Employees of postwar small businesses included employees of an import product checker (former SMR staff members of a station and a wharf department); a welder (former SMR factory worker); two construction technicians and a certified architect (all SMR construction technicians); a painter (SMR mechanic); a plasterer (former SMR wharf department staff member); a plumber (an SMR waterworks technician; a postwar woodwork factory owner (a former SMR bus service section staff member); and two automobile drivers who continued their same jobs.

Among the other 11 technical skill holders who were working for major companies in 1956, five were factory workers at Nihon Kōkan, a major steel company.



Their jobs at the SMR had been an electrical technician, two staff members of engine depots and two mechanics. Although information on the hiring policies of Nihon Kōkan is not available, it appears that this firm also employed many skilled SMR repatriates at some point between 1945 and 1956, when the company's business was expanding in the postwar growth, similar to the situation of Nihon Kōgyō in Ibaraki. The employers of the other eight individuals who found skilled employment at major companies in Kanagawa were Nippon Express (a driver both at the SMR and Nippon Express); Mitsubishi Heavy Industries and Komatsu (former SMR staff members of railway operation controlling sections); the Dainihon Sugar Company (an electrical technician); Tokyo Gas; aircraft manufacturer Nippi (SMR engine depot staff members); and Haneda Airport (a boiler man who had been a staff member of the SMR's warehouse department).

Almost all 32 individuals in the Kanagawa database who found skilled employment were living in large cities such as Yokohama and Kawasaki, except for one who was living in Ashigara county, which was still within commuting distance of these cities. Among the individuals in this group, 14 individuals who were employed by major companies (including white-collar workers and technical skill holders) showed greater geographical mobility, and 11 individuals had moved from other prefectures (one from each of Tokyo, Chiba, Gunma, Nagano, Yamagata, Fukui, Ehime, Yamaguchi and Kagoshima, and two from Niigata), while one had moved within the prefecture and only two individuals were living in their hometowns. SMR repatriates who were employed by postwar major Japanese firms seem to have been young; their average age was 29.2 years old at the end of the war, which was much lower than the average of all SMR repatriates in Kanagawa prefecture at 34.3 years old. Their repatriation was relatively smooth and 14 individuals (87.5 per cent) had been repatriated by the end of 1946.

The other group of 16 SMR repatriates who found skilled employment in small and medium-sized companies in Kanagawa show different stories. Firstly, they seem to have been less mobile. While ten individuals (62.5 per cent) had moved into Kanagawa from different prefectures (Fukui, Okayama, Tokyo (2 individuals), Oita, Kagoshima, Niigata and Tokushima), five individuals (31.2 per cent) were living in their hometowns and just one person had changed his address within the prefecture. Secondly, they were older. Their average age in 1945 was 37.3 years old, approximately 8.5 years older than the average age of the former group of major corporate employees. Moreover, eight individuals (50.0 per cent) had been repatriated after January 1947. This suggests that for older but skilled SMR repatriates, small or medium-sized companies, rather than major companies, might have offered more accessible employment.

### ***SMR repatriates who entered new sectors***

For SMR repatriates who did not find employment at the Japan National Railways or in the public sector, or who did not find skilled employment, one of the remaining options was to enter a new sector. In Ibaraki and Kanagawa, it appears that retail and services became an important option for repatriates, but in Hiroshima, more than half of this group found new employment in industry. Entering a new sector might have been the SMR repatriates' least favourite option, particularly for those who became postwar small business owners in retail and services, whose social status was relatively low in Japanese society. However, new employment, often at small businesses, offered the SMR repatriates a convenient way of making a living due to lower entry barriers.

In Ibaraki, 13 SMR repatriates (out of 59 total SMR repatriates in the database) found employment in new sectors, and the majority (11 individuals out of 13) became small business owners in retail and services. They ran a sweet shop, a grocery, a greengrocery, a fashion store, an antique shop, and a tea shop, as well as restaurants and

other shops whose details were not included in the 1956 survey. Additionally, one became an independent agent for an insurance company. In addition to these 11 small business owners, one person was employed in a small trading company in Tokyo, which seems to be a new job for this person, (this person possibly commuted from Furukawa city in Ibaraki), and another person became a day labourer in Takahagi city in Ibaraki prefecture.

These 13 individuals' previous positions at the SMR included two technicians in the maintenance section, a station staff member, staff member in the railway operational sections (four individuals), a staff member of an engine depot, and a staff member of a bus service section; some others did not include information on their wartime responsibilities. Out of those who entered new sectors, five out of 13 individuals were living in their hometowns in various places within Ibaraki prefecture. This means that 38.5 per cent were living in their hometowns in 1956, which was clearly a smaller proportion than that of all SMR repatriates in Ibaraki prefecture, at 59.0 per cent. The other eight individuals had changed their addresses within Ibaraki prefecture or had moved into Ibaraki from other prefectures (two individuals from Fukushima and two others from Tokyo). Among these 13 individuals, only three were living in the three largest cities in the prefecture (Mito, Hitachi and Tsuchiura cities); the others were living in smaller towns or villages. Their average age was 32.3 years old, slightly higher than the average age of the SMR repatriates in the Ibaraki database (31.7 years old), but their repatriation tended to have been delayed, and about half (six out of 13 individuals) in this group had been repatriated after January 1947. These trends can be summarized by saying that in Ibaraki, many individuals who entered new sectors seem to have experienced delayed repatriation, lived in rural regions which were not necessarily their hometowns and established small businesses in retail and services.

In the Hiroshima database, only six SMR repatriates (out of 35 total SMR repatriates in the database) found new employment in new sectors. In this group, only one individual became a small business owner, and he ran a bean curd (*tōfu*) shop. He had been an assistant station master at the SMR, who had first returned to his home prefecture Shimane, then moved to Hiroshima city and became the owner of a bean curd shop. The other five individuals worked as employees of various postwar companies in Hiroshima prefecture, whose business activities were not related to the SMR repatriates' wartime experiences. Their postwar jobs were a staff writer of a local newspaper, an employee of a real estate agent, a furniture manufacturer at Teijin Corporation (a major textile company), an office clerk at a small manufacturer and a day labourer at Tōyō Kōgyō (later renamed Matsuda). Their respective previous positions at the SMR had been technician at a maintenance department, an assistant station master, a coal miner, a staff member of a railway operation control centre, and an office clerk. In postwar Hiroshima, only one individual in this sample was living in his hometown (the furniture manufacturer at Teijin working in Mihara city) and the five other individuals had either changed addresses within Hiroshima prefecture (two individuals) or had moved in from other prefectures (three individuals, one each from Yamaguchi, Kagoshima and Shimane prefectures). Four out of these five individuals who had changed their addresses by 1956 were living in Hiroshima city or Kure city. All six individuals had been repatriated before the end of 1946. The average age of this group was 34.5 years old, somewhat older than the average age of the SMR repatriates in the Hiroshima database (32.3 years old). Overall, the repatriation experiences of those who entered new sectors show that they had been repatriated early, by 1946, but that they were older than other repatriates and might have had difficulty in finding a job. As a solution, they may have moved to larger cities where more jobs were available and took up new jobs in new sectors.

The situation in Kanagawa prefecture was similar. In the Kanagawa database, nine SMR repatriates (out of 80 total SMR repatriates in the database) found new employment in new sectors. About half (five individuals out of nine) became small business owners in retail and services. They ran a greengrocer, a paper product shop, a fashion store, a restaurant and a retail store for which details were not included. Others became corporate employees at a publisher, a fish net manufacturer (as a security guard), a health insurance company and another company whose business activities are not known. Their previous positions at the SMR included a staff member of a bus service section, two staff members of railway operation control centres, a staff member of a real estate division, a railway construction technician, an electrical engineer, a station staff member, a staff member of an engine depot and one other individual whose wartime section is unknown. A comparison of the mobility of the five postwar small business owners and four corporate employees in this group suggests that the mobility of postwar small business owners tended to be lower than that of corporate employees. Two of the small business owners were living in their hometowns in 1956, and the other two had changed addresses within Kanagawa prefecture, while another individual had moved into Kanagawa from Yamanashi and started a fashion store in Yokohama. By contrast, all four corporate employees had moved into Kanagawa from other prefectures, including Yamanashi and Niigata as well as Kagoshima and Miyazaki on Kyūshū island. Almost all of these nine individuals (both small business owners and corporate employees who entered new sectors) had been repatriated by the end of 1946, except for one SMR railway operation control centre staff member repatriated in May 1949 who became an employee of a postwar publisher. The average age of this group was 31.8 years old, younger than the average age of SMR repatriates in the Kanagawa database (34.3 years old).

In summary, therefore, it is clear that those individuals who entered new sectors included small business owners in retail and services as well as corporate employees in

small businesses in both the tertiary sector and industry. Jobs available in this category were usually very different from the SMR repatriates' wartime experiences. However, because entry barriers were usually low, entering new sectors to take up new jobs appears to have offered important and convenient options. Together with employment in the agricultural sector, which will be discussed in the next section, job opportunities in new sectors played important roles in settling the SMR repatriates and in absorbing the excess workforce.

### ***SMR repatriates in agriculture***

In the database compiled for this research, the proportion of SMR repatriates in the agriculture sector varies in each prefecture. Ibaraki prefecture, still an agricultural prefecture in the mid-1950s, had the largest proportion of the SMR repatriates in agriculture (20.3 per cent, 12 out of 59 individuals in the database). All of them had returned to their hometowns and became farmers there. Their average age in August 1945 was 32.0 years old, slightly older than that of all SMR repatriates in the Ibaraki sample, which was 31.7 years old. However, their repatriation had been relatively smooth. Nine individuals (75.0 per cent) had been repatriated by the end of 1946, compared to the figure for all SMR repatriates in Ibaraki of 61.0 per cent. This group included SMR electrical technicians and staff members of engine depots and engine drivers, all of whose skills could have been used by postwar Japanese companies. However, for whatever reason the SMR repatriates in this group decided to stay in their hometowns and enter family farming.

In the Hiroshima database, only three out of 35 SMR repatriates were in agriculture in 1956. All three were living in their hometowns in 1956 and were engaged in family farming. They were all young, at 18 years old, 19 years old and 25 years old respectively. One individual had been repatriated in August 1946, but the other two individuals were detained in Siberia and returned only in May 1947 and July 1949. One

of these individuals' employment information at the SMR is not known, but the other two individuals were a former SMR station staff member (18 years old in 1945) and a staff member of a forestry (*zōrin*) section (25 years old in 1945). Both were *koin* and had not been promoted during their service at the SMR.

The situation in Kanagawa was similar to that of Hiroshima; only three SMR repatriates in the database were in the agricultural sector in 1956. Two individuals were living in their hometowns and one individual had moved from Kobe city in western Japan. They were respectively 37 years old, 39 years old and 42 years old, and had been an assistant station master, a staff member of the SMR's bus service department and an engine driver. All three individuals had been repatriated by August 1946. Information on rank is only available for the engine driver, who was a 42-year-old *shokuin* in 1945. Although it is difficult to know the reasons why these individuals decided to enter agriculture and not to use their skills in the postwar economy, it is possible that for older repatriates in this group, their age might have worked as a barrier to finding employment. Alternatively, desire of their family members (including parents) to keep them at home would also have influenced their decisions to join family farming.

### ***SMR repatriates who were unemployed***

In each prefecture's database, we find that some former SMR repatriates were unemployed even though they were still of working age. Among the prefectures chosen for this research, the unemployment rate of SMR repatriates was the highest in Ibaraki, while the unemployment level in Hiroshima and Kanagawa was lower. In the Ibaraki database, the repatriation experiences of these individuals were not very different from those of other SMR repatriates, and it is difficult to know why some became unemployed given the limits on available information. However, it would seem sensible to assume that job opportunities, especially skilled employment opportunities, were generally more

limited in Ibaraki, and there were fewer possibilities for older individuals or those who were repatriated later than others. By contrast, in Hiroshima and Kanagawa, more skilled jobs were available, specifically at small or medium-sized companies, and it was relatively easy to find employment which could be matched with their skills.

For example, in the Ibaraki database, seven (out of the total of 59 SMR repatriates) were not employed, of whom six were still of working age in 1956. This means that approximately 10 per cent of the SMR repatriates in the Ibaraki database were unemployed. The six unemployed SMR repatriates were a 28-year-old (in 1945) former engine depot staff member, a 28-year-old staff member at the SMR's coal mine, a 31-year-old former mechanical technician, a 34-year-old railway staff member, a 40-year-old SMR staff member (detailed information is not available) and a 52-year-old staff member. Half of them (three individuals) had been repatriated by the end of 1946, while the other half (three individuals) experienced a delayed repatriation and were repatriated in 1947 or in one case as late as 1953. In the Hiroshima database, only one individual (out of 35 SMR repatriates in the database) was unemployed. He was a 49-year-old former railway maintenance staff member at the SMR, who was repatriated in September 1946. After repatriation, he first settled in his hometown in Shiga prefecture, but by 1956 he was unemployed in Hiroshima city.

In the Kanagawa database, only two individuals out of the 80 SMR repatriates were not employed at the time of the survey. One of these individuals was 58 years old in 1956 and may well have been retired by then. The other individual was 38 years old in August 1945. This man had been detained in Siberia and was only repatriated in December 1956. He had been a sub-section chief of the SMR's research department and his translation of academic essays on agriculture (on the effects of the climate on agriculture and on soil erosion) originally written by Soviet scholars had been published



by the SMR's research department during the war.<sup>47</sup> Although he was unemployed in 1956 right after his repatriation, it seems he became a Russian translator again. In fact, his name appeared in the 1960s as a translator of Soviet academic reports on agriculture, which were included in a monthly publication on political and social trends in the Communist Block (*Gekkan Kyōsanken Mondai*).<sup>48</sup> This shows that he was actually able to obtain a skilled job as a translator, although he had participated in the survey as an unemployed person right after the repatriation.

The analysis of unemployed SMR repatriates indicates that the postwar transition was not always easy for some SMR repatriates and they may have faced higher chances of becoming unemployed, as seen in the case of Ibaraki where skilled jobs were limited. For the SMR repatriates, it does not seem to have been particularly difficult to find some sort of job, especially if they were young and mobile, and had been repatriated by 1946. However, some became unemployed for various reasons.

### ***Railway repatriates' experiences from the documents of Tairiku Tetsudō Jūjiin Engokai***

An analysis of the 1956 survey into repatriates' postwar lives offers information on general trends of the SMR repatriates. However, for some groups of repatriates, it is possible to know in more detail about their background by looking at documents which can be obtained from other sources.

As previously mentioned, analysis of the 1956 national survey indicates that some SMR repatriates were able to enter the JNR. It appears that the employment opportunities

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<sup>47</sup> His publications are available in the National Diet Library in Tokyo. The name of this researcher is Takeo Shinozaki and he published several articles in 'Hokkei Chōsa' published by the SMR's research section specialised in economy of North Manchuria (Hokuman Keizai Chōsajo). One example is the following article: Takeo Shinozaki, "Hokuman Nōgyō Kikō Gairon," *Hokkei Chōsa* 46 (1939).

<sup>48</sup> *Gekkan Kyōsanken Mondai*, (Ōa Kyōkai, Year unknown). The translated essays prepared by this person appeared several times between December 1966 and May 1969. *Kyōsanken Mondai* was published by *Ōa Kyōkai*, a think tank which existed until 1976 (more details are unknown). This association was absorbed by another think tank which was operated under the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Japan Institute of International Affairs (JIIA, Nihon Kokusaimondai Kenkyūjo) in 1976. The JIIA is an independent organization now.

provided by the JNR were part of the government's policies to settle repatriates and also the result of a petition from an association set up to support the repatriated railway workers. In May 1946, the leaders of four wartime foreign railway companies (the SMR, the North China Railway, the Central China Railway and the Korean Railway) established a support association for repatriate railway workers (Tairiku Tetsudō Jūjiin Engokai) in Tokyo. The documents prepared between March 1947 and the spring of 1955 (the exact date is unknown) offer some important insights into the provision of employment opportunities in this area.<sup>49</sup>

According to these documents, the organisation for the support of former railway workers on the Asian mainland was founded in January 1946. It was funded by the Transport Minister and also received support from the Japan Tourist Bureau (Nihon Kōtsū Kōsha), Nippon Express and 162 regional railway companies and transport departments of local governments. The chairman of this association was Murakami Giichi, a board member of the SMR between 1930 and 1934 and Transport Minister in the Shidehara Cabinet between January and May 1946.<sup>50</sup> The presence of Murakami as the head of the organisation indicates the organisation's close relationship with the Japanese government as well as the networks between the SMR repatriates who returned to Japan after the war and the company's former staff members who had already been in Japan at the end of the war. According to a report on the activities of the railway repatriates' organisation dated November 1948, the total number of repatriates who returned from the above four railway companies was estimated to be approximately 180,000.<sup>51</sup>

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<sup>49</sup> Tairiku Tetsudō Jūjiin Engokai, "Jigyō Gaiyō Kessan Hōkoku Tsuzuri."

<sup>50</sup> Mantetsukai, *Zaidan Hōjin Mantetsukai 60 Nen No Ayumi*, 130. Murakami started his career at the Ministry of Railways (later renamed the Ministry of Transport) in 1912 and became an executive board member of the SMR in 1930.

<sup>51</sup> Tairiku Tetsudō Jūjiin Engokai estimated the number of repatriates to be 100,000 from the SMR, 40,000 from the North China Railway (Kahoku Kōtsū), 6,000 from the Central China Railway (Kachū Kōtsū) and 35,000 from the Korean Railway (Chosen Tetsudō).

The organisation attempted to have as many as possible of its members employed by the national railway agency under the Ministry of Transport.<sup>52</sup> Several former SMR employees and their family members testified in interviews with me that for SMR repatriates, employment by Japan's National Railway agency under the Transport Ministry was the most favoured postwar employment option.<sup>53</sup> Unfortunately, the total number of the SMR repatriates who were employed by the Ministry after the war was not recorded in this collection of documents. However, an annual report of the organisation for the fiscal year 1946 (ending in March 1947) stated that by June 1947, 11,200 repatriated railway workers (including the SMR repatriates) had been employed by the Transport Ministry.

The ministry, however, was not able to hire as many repatriate railway workers as expected because the National Railways itself had excess staff members as a result of the return of demobilised staff members. As a result, the number of employees of the National Railways increased from 455,000 in 1944 to 610,000 in 1947, and their salaries and wages became a significant burden for the agency.<sup>54</sup> For this reason, the official re-employment programme for the railway repatriates ended in June 1947.<sup>55</sup> Even after June 1947, there were several attempts made by the repatriate organisation to have railway repatriates hired by the ministry. For example, Chairman Murakami wrote a letter to the Ministry of Transport on 8th December 1947. The letter stated that as agreed between the organisation and the Ministry, the organisation was sending the curriculum vitae of applicants to the

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<sup>52</sup> The Ministry of Transport was responsible for the operation of the national railways. The operation was transferred to a new agency called Japan National Railways in 1949.

<sup>53</sup> Interviews with Shōshichi Tabuse (a former SMR employee) on 21st October, 2012 and Hiroyuki Amano (Senior Executive of Mantetsukai, SMR's postwar organisation) on 31st October 2012.

<sup>54</sup> Ministry of Transport, *Un'yushō Gojūnenshi* (Tokyo: Ministry of Transport, 1999).

<http://www.mlit.go.jp/common/000218983.pdf> P16. Accessed on 1 October 2015. In order to reduce excess staff members, in June 1947, the Japan National Railways dismissed 95,000 staff members by the order of the Act for the Total Number of Civil Servants (Gyōseikikan Shokuin Teisuhō). Katō, *Mantetsu Zenshi 'Kokusaku Gaisha No Zenbō'*, 194.

<sup>55</sup> Tairiku Tetsudō Jūjiin Engokai, "Jigyō Gaiyō Kessan Hōkoku Tsuzuri," Annual Report for the Fiscal Year 1947-48.

ministry to be considered for potential employment. With his letter, Murakami enclosed a list of 48 applicants with information on their name, age, school where the applicant received a degree, major, year of graduation, and the section in the SMR at the end of the war, as well as the current address and the cities where the individual wished to work. All of these 48 people had worked for the SMR and it seems that Murakami tried to find employment for former SMR staff members who arrived in Japan after the re-employment programme was terminated. The outcome of this application round shows that nine among the 48 applicants were accepted by the ministry. Another document stated that between April and November 1948, the JNR took in 17 railway repatriates who had returned that year. Although the number of SMR repatriates employed by the JNR in this process is not known, this organisation's attempts clearly helped some of them to secure employment at the agency.

***Repatriates' new businesses supported by Tairiku Tetsudō Jūjiin Engokai***

For individual members who were not employed by the Transport Ministry, the repatriate organisation supported the members' new businesses. According to the organisation's documentation, in the fiscal years of 1946 – 1947 and 1947 – 1948, 14 businesses were set up, as Table 5-13 shows. The organisation acted as a guarantor for a government loan programme (*seigyō shikin*) designed to provide funds for returnees and war-affected individuals.

Table 5-13: Examples of economic activities started by railway repatriates in the fiscal year 1946<sup>56</sup>

Name of or types of business (English translation in parentheses)	Prefecture	Number of participants in the business	Year of foundation	Loan in Yen	Major clients
Reclamation	Saitama, Fukushima	90 households	April 1946	333,423	
Kōtsūchōsa Jimusho* (Transport Survey Company)	Tokyo	46	April 1946	68,120	Railway companies
Komatsushima Seienjo (Komatsushima Salt Works)	Tokushima	10	Dec 1946	300,000	Members (of organisation)
Cooperative Store	Osaka	16	April 1946	28,000	Members
Shinnihon Gikōdan* (New Japan Engineers' Group)	Yamaguchi	21	Dec 1946	35,000	
Enshū Sangyō Kumiai (Enshū Salt Works)	Shizuoka	6	Dec 1946 (Dissolved in 1947)	16,000	Members
Gravel pit	Yamagata	6	Dec 1946	27,000	Railway companies

<sup>56</sup> Ibid.

Moriyama Yōgyo Kōjō (Moriyama Pottery)	Shizuoka	7	Oct 1946	35,000	Members. Dissolved in 1947.
Kyōei Sangyō (Kyōei Wholesale and Retailing)	Tokyo	8	Dec 1946	197,888	Members
Fusō Kōgyō* (Fusō Train Maintenance)	Tokyo	7	Mar 1947	17,855	Transport Ministry
Shinsei Dengyō* (Shinsei Electrical Engineering)	Tokyo	25 <sup>57</sup>	Apr 1947	Capital 500,000	Transport Ministry
Kyōwa Ringyō* (Kyōwa Logging)	Tokyo and Nagano	Unknown	Unknown	Capital 500,000	Railway companies
Asahi Kōmusho* (Asahi Construction)	Tokyo	30 SMR employees	Unknown	Capital 95,000	
Tairiku Sharyō Mōkkō Kyōdō Kumiai (Continental train maintenance company)	Tokyo	35 (from the SMR's train factories)	Unknown	Capital 230,000	Railway companies

\*Companies which were still in business in the fiscal year 1955.

<sup>57</sup> Shinsei Dengyō, *20 Nen Shinsei No Ayumi* (Tokyo: Shinsei Dengyō, 1967), 11.

These businesses can be categorised into two groups: subcontracting works for the Transport Ministry, and distribution services of food stuffs or daily goods for members of the organisation. The last record of this repatriate organisation was an annual report for the fiscal year 1955, in which only half of these initiatives (seven out of 14 in Table 5-13) had survived. It indicates that many of these businesses served as temporary solutions for railway repatriates and did not last for a long time. But four of the firms in Table 5-13 (Shinnihon Gikōdan, Fuso Kōgyō, Asahi Kōmusho and Shinsei Electrical Engineering) became full-fledged companies. Shinnihon Gikōdan and Shinsei Electrical Engineering are still in business as of 2016.

The Tairiku Tetsudō Jūjiin Engokai thus helped a portion of railway repatriates find employment in postwar Japan. However, the majority of individuals who were not offered places at the Transport Ministry or did not participate in businesses activities supported by the repatriate organisation had to find a job in the public sector, skilled employment, new sectors or in agriculture, as this chapter has examined.

The SMR's postwar self-help organisation Mantetsukai was established in December 1946, seven months after the Tairiku Tetsudō Jūjiin Engokai was founded. The Mantetsukai's goal was to secure a successful outcome for the employees' financial claims, including their personal savings within the SMR (*shanaiyokin*) and retirement benefits, to support former employees' job searches, and to petition the government for the repatriation of detained SMR staff members in China and Siberia.<sup>58</sup> The Mantetsukai also supported approximately 125 start-ups in the same way as did the Tairiku Tetsudō Jūjiin Engokai for all repatriated railway workers returned from China, Korea and Manchuria. The new businesses started by SMR

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<sup>58</sup> Mantetsukai, *Zaidan Hōjin Mantetsukai 60 Nen No Ayumi*, 14.

repatriates included construction companies, manufacturing companies and small businesses in retail and services.<sup>59</sup>

A newsletter of the SMR Hirono Club (a postwar organization of the SMR repatriate electrical engineers) included a testimony that 'in around 1947 and 1948, the SMR electrical engineers in Osaka formed a large number of businesses specializing in electric communication, electric signals and electric power technologies'.<sup>60</sup> However, setting up new businesses was not easy for the SMR repatriates. One of the directors of Shinsei Electrical Engineering (Shinsei Dengyō),<sup>61</sup> Hirai Tamaki, recalled the early days of the company in an essay written around 1977. He stated that many companies established by repatriates in the early postwar period did not have good reputations. Some companies failed to complete a project due to the lack of working capital and others cheated clients on various occasions. Hirai said that Shinsei Electrical Engineering tried to carefully and sincerely complete a project to establish its reputation. The company gradually accumulated business-related knowledge and experience. However, this learning process took time, as is likely to have been the case with many other repatriates' companies. For example, the company failed to pay some portion of the required taxes in 1957 and received an order from the revenue office to make an immediate payment.<sup>62</sup> The company went through a difficult time to make ends meet, but the company's business started to increase by its

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<sup>59</sup> Ibid., 32.

<sup>60</sup> Hirono Club, "Hirono Club Kaihō," (Hirono Club, 1989-2002), 8-9 in No. 16 published in 1994.

<sup>61</sup> This company is included in Tale 5-13 as one of the companies established by SMR repatriates in the immediate postwar period.

<sup>62</sup> It is not clear whether the tax evasion was intentional or not. But this incident hit the company hard and it struggled to pay off the fine.



participation in the JNR's first Five-year plan to upgrade existing railway infrastructure started in 1957.<sup>63</sup>

SMR repatriates' mind-sets which inevitably came from their previous experiences as employees of a prestigious public corporation also had the potential to work as a hurdle for their postwar economic lives. An essay written by Oka Yūjirō, who was president of the Taihei Electric Company (Taihei Dengyō), a company founded by the Manchuria Electric Company repatriates and employing a large number of SMR repatriates, stated that for some repatriates, doing business in a customer-oriented manner was a completely new idea.<sup>64</sup> This may not be surprising for wartime public employees who did not have to deal with customers with courtesy and fairness, and it seems that many SMR repatriates may have had to learn how to behave as business people in the very different postwar market economy.

Different from common start-ups, these companies were set up to hire repatriate engineers and received support from the government or related companies (such as JNR and major electric firms) in terms of funding and public works project contracts. Although successful companies gradually expanded their business activities into non-government sectors, the public works projects, such as the construction of railroads, roads and power plants, were important sources of revenue. Leaders of these start-ups were also active in repatriates' organizations and their networks. With strong leadership in key repatriate start-up companies, the repatriates maintained a loose network involving former colleagues in government agencies, JNR, electric companies and various SMEs, and occasionally participated in public projects together. In this type of corporation, connections with other SMR repatriates, specifically those

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<sup>63</sup> Hirai Fumiko, *Hirai Tamaki* (Tokyo: Rokusōseisha, 1989), 10-11.

<sup>64</sup> Taihei Dengyō Kabushikigaisha, *Oka Yūichirō Tsuitōroku* (Tokyo1993), 50.

in the public sector or major companies, were helpful in winning contract awards.<sup>65</sup> Although this type of business was only one of the examples of the SMR's postwar economic activities, and the majority of the SMR repatriates might not have been able to participate in these activities or SMR repatriates' network, their experiences could offer some insights into one major group of repatriates.

## **Conclusion**

It seems likely that most SMR repatriates probably regarded the transition process in a somewhat negative light. This might have been especially true of those who returned to family farming, who entered retail and services as small business owners, or who became unemployed for various reasons. However, their generally negative transitions were probably inevitable. This was because many SMR repatriates, including those who had occupied lower positions as a *koin*, had occupied elite positions in Manchuria, where non-skilled and low paid jobs were done by non-Japanese people, specifically the Chinese. In postwar Japan, the SMR repatriates lost their prestigious positions and they had to re-enter the labour market as ordinary citizens.

The first newsletter of the Mantetsukai, published in 1954, included a testimony stating that some SMR repatriates were able to find employment in public offices or major companies and continue similar jobs as their wartime ones, but that the majority had a difficult time in re-establishing themselves. The author of this testimony continued by saying that 'During the war, we worked under the prestigious name of the SMR, but after the war, we had to start new lives on our own. When we started a business from scratch, one of the major challenges was to build trust with

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<sup>65</sup> An interview on 5 August 2015 with a chairman of a company in Osaka, which was established by SMR repatriates.

clients and all other stakeholders. It was not easy to do this and took many years to make a business take off'.<sup>66</sup>

The findings of this chapter have confirmed that the proportion of the SMR repatriates who were able to be re-employed by wartime employers or related agencies (in case of the SMR repatriates, it was Japan National Railways) was larger than that of all civilian repatriates (including the SMR repatriates). Some others found skilled employment and others entered new sectors to take up new jobs. In this process, some were fortunate in finding secure employment at major Japanese companies, but many entered small and medium-sized companies. Some set up new companies based on their technical skills and occasionally worked as subcontractors for government agencies or public corporations, and made use of networks with their former colleagues who were working in the public sector. There were exceptions in their transitions and some individuals managed to maintain prestigious positions. For example, 18 SMR repatriates were elected as diet members.<sup>67</sup> The Economic Stabilisation Board also employed several former SMR staff members (some from the SMR's Research Department (Chōsabu),<sup>68</sup> who might have participated in the creation of postwar economic policies. In addition, it is also true that some elite members became university faculty members.<sup>69</sup> These successful examples were certainly a part of SMR repatriates' transitions, and became a source of pride for the rest of the SMR

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<sup>66</sup> Mantetsukai, "Mantetsu Kaihō," (Tokyo: Mantetsu kai, 1954-2016), Issue 1 published in February 1954.

<sup>67</sup> *Mantetsukai No Rekishi (Mantetsukai Website)* (Tokyo: Mantetsukai).

<http://www.01.246.ne.jp/~mateka/rekisi.html>. Accessed on 20 December 2015.

<sup>68</sup> Hideo Kobayashi, *Mantetsu Ga Unda Nihongata Keizai Shisutemu* (Tokyo: Kyōiku Hyōronsha, 2012), 65. Former SMR staff members who worked at the Economic Stabilisation Board included both those who came back to Japan before the war ended as well as repatriates who returned after the war.

<sup>69</sup> Amano, *Mantetsu Wo Shirutameno 12 Shō*, 156.

repatriates. In fact, these successful people's stories often appear in the Mantetsukai's newsletters.

However, in reality, only a fraction of SMR repatriates were able to seize these sorts of opportunities and many ordinary SMR staff members experienced less positive transitions. Their age, wartime skills, ranks and the timing of repatriation can help explain the patterns of their transitions to some extent, but even former SMR staff members who had occupied higher ranks sometimes became unemployed or took up new jobs, in which their social status was not high and financial rewards could be low. It is difficult to clearly understand what explains their transitions, because other than the factors mentioned above, motivation, interpersonal skills and networks might have made a difference.

Although many SMR repatriates experienced difficult transitions, there is one group of individuals who are more likely to have benefited from the transition from wartime to the postwar economy. This was younger SMR staff members who had not had the chance of receiving a school education before they entered the SMR. At the SMR, approximately half of the SMR's staff members joined the company with qualifications only from higher elementary school. Many received on the job training at the SMR and a small number of capable young staff members had opportunities to attend job training schools as full time students. Of course, some of them were sent to the battle fields at the end of the war, in some cases losing their lives, but some others were repatriated to postwar Japan and gained opportunities to use their skills in the postwar economy. In this sense, it may be possible to say that the SMR worked as a sort of an educational institution for young and capable individuals and made them more ready to work in the postwar economy.

In the postwar transitions, therefore, some individuals lost the opportunity of using their skills, but some others managed to make the transition in a way that meant they could apply their expertise in the postwar economy. The SMR was one example of the failed projects of imperial Japan, but, given its scale, the company nevertheless offers an interesting case study as to how those involved with the company made their transitions into the postwar period.

## Chapter 6 Conclusion

The Second World War ended in Asia in August 1945 with Japan's defeat. For repatriates, the defeat brought about the loss of assets, loss of jobs, and in many cases loss of community and network. Some also lost their family members. But repatriates had no choice but to restart their lives in postwar Japan.

The findings in this research indicate that the Japanese overseas residents can roughly be divided into two groups: colonial settlers who had migrated mostly for economic reasons before or in 1931 and individuals who migrated as part of Japan's war effort in or after 1932. Japanese migrants' early major destinations were Taiwan, Korea and China. In the 1930s, the major destination was Manchuria. If we examine individual repatriates in the database created for this research, based on the 1956 national survey into repatriates' postwar lives, the majority falls in the second group: first generation immigrants who spent less than 15 years outside of Japan. They were also generally young and many were in their 30s when the Second World War ended in 1945.

It appears that, in the immediate postwar period, the government saw the influx of more than six million individuals – the total civilian repatriates and demobilised soldiers – as something of a national crisis. With the war economy broken and an uncertain future under Occupation-led political and economic reforms, repatriation on such a scale was seen as potentially leading to greater shortages in food and materials, and ultimately a threat to social order. In this context, bringing about stability, including the repatriates' settlement, became one of the government's vital tasks. Although this concern has rarely been articulated, the many policies created to support repatriates speak to its importance. Provision of aid materials and public housing, job

training and employment support, and provision of businesses loans – with all these measures in place the repatriates were, in the end, resettled and the stability was regained. The government acted to address the problems of repatriation through numerous interventions, and it can be seen to have overseen a broadly successful transition. Yet this research shows that there were in fact several factors involved in determining any success, of which government policies played only a part.

Based on the analysis in this research, this thesis concludes that repatriates' postwar job placement was supported by four economic characteristics: a) the presence of agriculture and the tertiary sector, which had the capacity to absorb excess population, b) the government's direct employment policies (such as hiring at government offices and the transfer of foreign medical and educational licenses), c) the reemployment opportunities by some wartime employers in the private sector, and d) repatriates' transferable skills.

Firstly, Japan was still an agrarian country in the immediate postwar period. In 1950, more than one-third of total Japanese households including repatriates were still in the primary sector. As previously mentioned, more than half of repatriates first settled in their hometowns. It is not clear how many were actually engaged in farming there, but it would be reasonable to assume many did. Many might have left family farming soon after in order to take up another job. However, in the 1956 survey, still approximately one-quarter of repatriate household heads in Ibaraki prefecture and 10 per cent in Hiroshima prefecture were in agriculture, while the figure for more industrialised Kanagawa prefecture was much lower at 2.5 per cent. This indicates that in the early postwar period, agriculture was still an important settlement place for civilian repatriates, specifically in rural prefectures.

In addition to family farming, small businesses in the tertiary sector played a

similar role. The majority were family-owned small businesses. It appears that these businesses also absorbed their repatriate family members in the immediate postwar period. As with the case of family farming, some repatriates stayed in the tertiary sector permanently, while others left retail and services soon to take up a new job. Due to its usually low entry barriers and low levels of capital required, it seems that the tertiary sector, as was the case with the agricultural sector, became an easily accessible destination for repatriates who had failed to gain employment in other sectors. It is particularly worth emphasising this point given that the role of the economic structure has largely been overlooked in the literature on the Japanese repatriation, but in fact, traditional sectors such as agriculture and small family businesses in the tertiary sector played critical roles in temporarily or permanently providing a livelihood for the excess population and giving flexibility to the economy.

Secondly, as previously mentioned, the government also took actions to mitigate a shock which could come from a large-scale repatriation. However, ordinary repatriation policies, including the provision of aid materials and public housing, as well as job training, support for job placement and loans to help to start new businesses seem to have had only limited effects. In addition to these general repatriation policies, the government employed a large number of repatriates (perhaps together with other war-affected people) in various central and local government agencies. Semi-public corporations and associations, such as the Japan National Railways and agricultural cooperatives, also became critical destinations for repatriates. The government's employment policies were introduced to fill vacancies created by drafted staff members, the war-dead, and those who vacated positions for various reasons in the early postwar period. Newly created agencies, semi-public organisations such as agricultural cooperatives, or foreign military bases, including American bases in



Kanagawa or those of the British Commonwealth Force as part of the United Nations Army in Hiroshima, became important destinations for repatriates. Employment at public corporations was also a part of broader employment policies. For example, the Japan National Railways (JNR) absorbed repatriate railway workers, despite the fact that the JNR had to reemploy a large number of demobilised staff members and such a large employee population could not have been sustainable for the long run. In any case, approximately one-quarter of civilian repatriates found employment in the public or semi-public sectors. It should also be emphasised that the public or semi-public sectors indirectly helped some other repatriates who were in the private sector by favourably offering public works or purchasing contracts, as we saw in Chapter 5. In the early postwar period, this kind of arrangement was intentionally made with tacit approval from government agencies to resettle repatriates.

Thirdly, in addition to semi-public sector corporations, some major private corporations also re-employed selected repatriates who had worked for their wartime overseas branches. The number of repatriates able to return to their wartime employers was small, but there were some able to restart their lives in this way.

Fourthly, some other repatriates who did not enter agriculture and postwar public and semi-public sectors found skilled employment as white-collar workers or technical skill holders working in industry or in the tertiary sector. Individuals in this group included office clerks, accountants, electrical technicians, architects, builders, welders, plasterers, painters, waterworks specialists, and engineers, to name but a few. Many were employed by small or medium-sized companies, but some joined major Japanese companies. It is interesting to note that some major companies seem to have seen civilian repatriates as a resource pool of technical skill holders and employed a large number of repatriates, most of whom had worked for wartime public

corporations such as the South Manchuria Railway Company. Those major companies to recruit large numbers of repatriates included the steel pipe manufacturer Nihon Kōkan in Kanagawa, the mining company Nihon Kōgyō in Ibaraki, Mitsubishi Shipbuilding in Hiroshima and Yuasa Battery in Osaka. These civilian repatriates who were able to find skilled employment were part of a fortunate group because they were well placed to take advantage of the opportunities afforded by a newly liberalised and growing economy.

The remaining civilian repatriates had little choice but to enter new sectors, taking up jobs in which they had limited or no experience. For this group, postwar transitions must have been significantly challenging. The largest group became owners or employees of small businesses, mostly in the tertiary sector as mentioned in the earlier part of this conclusion. Some others made more creative transitions to use previously non-job related skills, by obtaining new qualifications, for example, as certified accountants, or by securing a position in major companies in sectors where they had not had previous job experiences. Some ended up as peddlers or day labours, or became unemployed while they were still of working age, for reasons which could not be specified in this research. These people's struggles should not be ignored, but, if we look at the total repatriate population, the majority of repatriates seem to have managed to find some ways to make a living by the mid-1950s. This was because the capacity of the economy to absorb an excess population, the employment in the public and semi-public sectors, various opportunities for skilled employment, and growing economy which offered new job opportunities were large enough to settle the majority.

If the majority of repatriates were resettled, the question of how we should evaluate that resettlement process still remains. In the economics of migration, conclusions of this type are usually based on measuring two things – the degree of

integration, and the economic impact. We tend to measure the degree of resettlement by looking at differences in wage levels between migrants and individuals in a receiving community. The impact of migration can be measured by comparing costs incurred by the receiving community to support migrants (such as the government's budget for aid programmes) with the migrants' economic contribution (including increased tax revenues from economic activities of newcomers). However, in the case of Japanese postwar repatriates, these two methods cannot be used because of a lack of relevant statistics. So in order to draw any conclusions about the success of the resettlement we must approach the question from different angles – one from the perspective of the government and one from the perspective of repatriates.

Firstly, in the early postwar period, for the government, the goal of the repatriation policy seems to have been to resettle the large number of repatriates without destabilising society – shortages in housing and food as well as large scale unemployment were all things which could have led to unrest, and let us not forget that these problems not only related to repatriates but also to other war-affected Japanese people. For repatriates, the government provided aid materials, a limited amount of public housing, support for job placement and job training and loans to start new businesses. Postwar reclamation projects were also introduced to increase food production and to absorb displaced individuals including repatriates. However, despite significant fiscal costs for the central and local governments, these policies appear to have played only limited roles. As we examined in this research, repatriates were eventually resettled and stability was regained, but the goal of stability was achieved not by these government's general repatriation policies, but rather via other channels as we have just reviewed.

In order to analyse additional reasons for the relatively smooth resettlement,

reviewing Yasuo Wakatsuki's hypotheses<sup>1</sup> (which we examined in the literature review section) might be useful. Wakatsuki listed up the following points:

- The history of Japanese colonial expansion started in the late 19th century and many returnees were first generation migrants who were familiar with Japanese culture.
- A large number of returnees had been sent overseas by Japanese companies or the government and had places which to return.
- The majority of the returnees were merchants, engineers and white-collar workers who had transferable skills.
- Discounting those from Manchuria, there were relatively few farmers amongst the total repatriates, so that conflicts over farmland in postwar Japan were limited.

Wakatsuki's arguments are consistent with the findings in this research. Japan's overseas expansion lasted approximately 50 years between 1895, when Japan colonised Taiwan, and 1945. Many of the Japanese overseas residents were the first generation of migrants, who spent less than 15 years on average in Japan's overseas territories. In these regions, it was possible to continue to live in the Japanese political and social systems, specifically after the early 1930s when Japan's war effort was intensified and the country extended its control in its overseas territories. They mainly spoke Japanese, and Japanese children, who were born outside of Japan, were mostly educated in the Japanese educational system. Japanese culture was maintained in households, schools and work places.

In addition, roughly half of Japanese overseas residents worked in the public

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<sup>1</sup> Wakatsuki, *Sengo Hikiage No Kiroku* 278-79.

or semi-public sectors or for Japanese companies of various sizes. The civilian repatriates also included a large number of merchants, engineers and technicians and white-collar workers, whose skills could have been transferred to postwar Japan. Moreover, farmers were in a minority in the total repatriate population, as Wakatsuki pointed out, which certainly reduced the chances of legal conflicts over land. In this way, the shock brought by a large scale of population influx was absorbed in a few years and stability was regained. But this was achieved largely by the economic structure, the large scale employment policies in the public sector, reemployment opportunities by private companies, as well as the characteristics of the Japanese migrants who included a large number of skilled individuals, rather than by the government's overall repatriation policy.

However, if the question, 'how should we evaluate the process of the repatriates' resettlement?' is asked from the view point of repatriates, the answer would be different. In Japan's overseas territories, the Japanese people had generally occupied higher positions in the social hierarchy and enjoyed higher standards of living than local people. But after the war, they were stripped of their privileges and had to re-enter Japanese society as ordinary citizens. Many repatriates would have felt they had lost their 'good lives'. This would have been particularly true in the case of those who had occupied prestigious jobs during the war, as staff members of major public corporations or government agencies, for example. If, upon their return, they took up employment in small businesses, local village offices or even as day labours, the government might see them as employed and therefore see their resettlement as an absolute success; yet with their loss in status and overseas assets they themselves are likely to have viewed their transition as largely negative. It is certainly difficult to measure the repatriates' satisfaction levels, but in the analysis for this research, it

seems only a minority in the repatriate total population managed to find employment which could have met their expectations and could have satisfied their pride, for example, employment with influential government agencies or major business establishments.

Even if repatriates were able to obtain jobs of the kind that they had wished, their satisfaction in their postwar careers would not have been guaranteed. One example is provided by the daughter of a South Manchuria Railway repatriate, who described her father's struggles upon returning to Japan. Though he had been given a post with Japan National Railways he and other returning workers were dissatisfied with having opportunities closed to them. Specifically, they felt themselves excluded from a career track which was tacitly open only to individuals who had spent longer years at the JNR. The daughter believes that there were few senior promotion prospects for repatriates (who were already middle aged by the time they joined the company).<sup>2</sup>

Among the total Japanese repatriate population, the group of individuals who seem to have suffered the most were repatriate farmers who came back from Manchuria. Many of them were recruited and sent to Manchuria in the late 1930s or 1940s to participate in reclamation projects. Some younger sons of poor farmers in Japan went to Manchuria with a dream to have their own land for the first time in their lives. Others were persuaded by the leaders of their local communities to participate in Japan's effort to control the remote areas of Manchuria. Adult farmers were also joined by teenagers, often persuaded by their school teachers to join the reclamation projects.<sup>3</sup> Towards the end of the war, most Japanese men in Manchuria aged between

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<sup>2</sup> An interview with a daughter of the South Manchuria Railway repatriate on 12 October, 2012.

<sup>3</sup> Shinsuke Kobayashi, "Hitobito Wa Naze Manshū He Watattanoka," *Minten*, no. 30 (2013): 26.

15 and 45, including reclamation farmers, were drafted by the military.<sup>4</sup> Some were killed in the war and some others were taken to Siberia or Central Asia to work as physical labourers. For other reclamation farmers, including women, the repatriation from the remote areas was enormously difficult and many lost their lives before being able to return to Japan. Out of 270,000 Japanese reclamation farmers and their family members, more than one-third died and only 160,000 managed to return to Japan.<sup>5</sup> Even after their repatriation, their lives were not easy. Due to their limited access to land in Japan and the difficulty in transferring their skills to other sectors, the occupational transition of wartime farmers appears to have been particularly difficult as Lori Watt discussed in *When Empire Comes Home*.<sup>6</sup>

In order to offset the loss of foreign assets incurred by Japan's defeat and repatriation, from the early days of repatriation, some repatriates attempted to obtain compensation from the Japanese government. Their logic was that their assets were taken by victor countries as part of reparations from Japan for damages and losses incurred in the Japanese War. They insisted, however, these reparations should have been paid by the government and not by individual citizens. Therefore, the government should have an obligation to compensate repatriates for the value of their lost assets. However, the government was reluctant to compensate due to the significant values of lost assets and due to the difficulty in estimating the actual value, given the fact that most repatriates were not able to offer evidence to support their claims. In addition, the government also feared that if it compensated repatriates, this could lead to other claims, for example, from the Japanese people who had lost their assets in air raids,

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<sup>4</sup> Mantetsukai, *Mantetsu 40 Nenshi*, 209.

<sup>5</sup> Sengo Kaitakushi Hensan Iinkai, *Sengo Kaitakushi* (Tokyo: Zenkoku Kaitaku Nōgyō Kumiai Rengōkai, 1977), 31.

<sup>6</sup> Lori Watt, *When Empire Comes Home: Repatriation and Reintegration in Postwar Japan*, Harvard East Asian Monographs (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2009).

which the total amount could be far beyond the capacity of the government to pay off. As a solution to the repatriates' claims, the government offered a small amount of monetary compensation to repatriates in 1957 and 1967. The government also decided in 1968 to grant public pensions for repatriate public servants if they continued to work in the postwar public sector.<sup>7</sup> It was not until 20 years after the war that the compensation negotiations were concluded. Repatriates were unable to recover the assets or equivalent values. However, it seems that repatriates accepted the reality that it would not be possible to obtain full compensation, and the voices demanding compensation faded out after 1967.

As the repatriates were assimilated into society, memories of the repatriation among the general public started to diminish, although the repatriates would not have forgotten their experiences. In postwar Japan, repatriates who had been associated with wartime public corporations or the wartime public sector appear not to have openly spoken of their experiences,<sup>8</sup> fearing being labelled as the empire's agents. Despite the fact that this was a major group within the total repatriate population, their experiences have therefore been unknown to the Japanese general public. The majority of other civilian repatriates did not openly share their experiences either, other than in casual conversations with their family members, neighbours, colleagues or acquaintances. Therefore, these repatriates' stories have largely faded from public consciousness.

On the contrary, experiences of repatriate farmers have caught the general public's attention. This might have been spurred since 1981, as Japanese war orphans, who had been left in Manchuria during repatriation,<sup>9</sup> began to return following

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<sup>7</sup> Mantetsukai, *Zaidan Hōjin Mantetsukai 60 Nen No Ayumi*, 44.

<sup>8</sup> Amano, *Mantetsu Wo Shirutameno 12 Shō*, 4.

<sup>9</sup> Asahi Shimbun, "Chūgoku Zanryū Nihonjin Koji," in *Kotobank* (Tokyo: Asahi Shimbun).



arrangements with the Japanese government. The government used the national broadcasting company (NHK) and newspapers to search for the orphans' family members. The orphans were interviewed and often showed old pictures or drawings which depicted their memories of their wartime family lives, all of which gave the Japanese general public a strong impression. A few other repatriate farmers also published their memoirs, their tragic stories often having been featured in novels, television programmes and newspaper articles.

The gap between the silence of repatriate public servants or employees of public and private corporations, and the often heard stories of victims might have led to the recreation of images of 'the repatriates' which significantly emphasise the tragic experiences of the latter group. In these stories, the Japanese civilians' harsh and unfair treatments of local people, or the Japanese people's arrogance as masters of the empire, have rarely appeared. Consequently, although details of the repatriation problems have been largely forgotten among the Japanese people, the imagery of the repatriates as victims of the war have been recreated and perpetuated among the Japanese general public.

Another implication of the repatriation problem is related to the way in which the repatriates were resettled and how stability was achieved. As we examined in this thesis, the resettlement of repatriates was largely supported by the presence of traditional sectors (agriculture and the tertiary sector) as well as the public and semi-public sectors. All these sectors had a capacity to absorb a large number of repatriates

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<https://kotobank.jp/word/%E4%B8%AD%E5%9B%BD%E6%AE%8B%E7%95%99%E6%97%A5%E6%9C%AC%E4%BA%BA%E5%AD%A4%E5%85%90-884599>. Accessed on 14 August 2016. Ministry of Health Labour and Welfare, "Chūgoku Zanryū Nihonjin Koji Kankei Tōkei," (Tokyo: Ministry of Health Labour and Welfare, 2013). <http://www.mhlw.go.jp/file/04-Houdouhappyou-12102000-Shakaiengokyoku-Engo-Chuugokuzanryuhoujinshienshitsu/0000025551.pdf>. The Japanese government defines Japanese war orphans as those who were approximately 13 years old or younger in August 1945 and had Japanese parents. The government estimates the total number of Japanese war orphans returned from China or living in China to be 2,818 as of 2013.

either temporarily or permanently. Throughout the postwar period, the labour intensive nature of these sectors largely remained. In theory, unproductive sectors gradually discharge redundant workers to more rapidly growing sectors, usually in industry. In Japan as well, a shift of labour force from agriculture to industry took place and accelerated after the mid-1950s. In the case of the public sector, there was also a large-scale downsizing in 1949 with the introduction of the Act for the Total Number of Civil Servants<sup>10</sup> under the direction of the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers. However, in many organisations, a redundant workforce remained. As we saw in this thesis, semi-public associations such as agricultural cooperatives also became important destinations for some repatriates. These organisations have remained quite unproductive, with a lack of transparency around their reliance on government subsidies. This issue of the trade-off between these sectors' capacity to absorb excess population at the expense of productivity growth would be worth investigating further, relating as it does to the fundamental characteristics of the Japanese postwar economy and its generally low levels of productivity in agriculture, as well as in the public, semi-public and the tertiary sectors.

Regarding the repatriates' postwar economic activities, it is also tempting to argue that some repatriates played crucial roles in Japan's postwar trade and economic diplomacy. It is certainly true that there were some influential people who were active in Japan's economic relations with other countries. Tatsunosuke Takasaki is one example. He was a businessman who went to Manchuria and became the president of the Manchurian Industrial Development Company in 1945. He returned to Japan in

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<sup>10</sup> The House of Representatives, *Gyōsei Kikan Shokuin Teisu Hō* (Tokyo 1949). This act became effective on 31 May 1949 and required that the number of the JNR staff members should be reduced to lower than 510,000 by 1st October in the same year.  
[http://www.shugiin.go.jp/internet/itdb\\_housei.nsf/html/houritsu/00519490531126.htm](http://www.shugiin.go.jp/internet/itdb_housei.nsf/html/houritsu/00519490531126.htm).  
Accessed on 1 March 2016.

1947 and became the first president of the Electric Power Development Company (Dengen Kaihatsu) when it was established in 1952. He later became chief of the Economic Planning Agency (July 1955 to December 1956), Minister of International Trade and Industry (June 1958 to June 1959) and Director-General of the Science and Technology Agency (January to June 1959). In 1962, he dealt with the negotiation with the People's Republic of China (PRC) to establish a semi-official trade deal called the LT Trade Agreement,<sup>11</sup> named after Liào Chéngzhì (a politician of the PRC, who was responsible for foreign affairs) and Takasaki. Another famous example is Yutaka Kubota. Kubota was involved in the construction of the Sup'ung Dam in Yalu River located between Korea and Manchuria in 1937 as a head of the consulting firm Kubota Kōgyō, under Nichitsu. In postwar Tokyo, he established the construction firm Nippon Kōei, which employed a large number of civilian repatriates. The company was involved in numerous major reparation projects in Southeast Asia and Korea, including the Baluchaung Hydropower Dam in Myanmar, Japan's first reparation project started in 1954.<sup>12</sup> Kubota continued to be an important businessman in Japan's reparation and ODA projects and influenced the country's economic diplomacy. Takasaki and Kubota are examples of repatriates who had tried to reconnect postwar East and Southeast Asia and Japan.

However, many repatriates seem to have spent the rest of their lives in Japan, and, other than those involved in foreign businesses or the small number who decided to re-migrate to Latin America or other destinations,<sup>13</sup> it seems likely that just a small

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<sup>11</sup> "Nitchū LT Bōeki Oboegaki," (Beijing: Institute for Advanced Studies on Asia, Tokyo University, 1962). <http://www.ioc.u-tokyo.ac.jp/~worldjpn/documents/texts/docs/19621109.01J.html>. Accessed on 1 March 2016.

<sup>12</sup> Nippon Kōei, "Sōgyōsha Kubota Yutaka," Nippon Kōei. <https://www.n-koei.co.jp/profile/history/founder/>. Accessed on 10 August 2016. Kajima Corporation, *Kajima No Kiseki* (Tokyo: Kajima Corporation). <http://www.kajima.co.jp/gallery/kiseki/kiseki12/index-j.html>. Accessed on 10 August 2016.

<sup>13</sup> Hiroko Nakayama, "Nihon No Kaigai Ijuū No Sōshutsukeitai Ni Kansuru Ichikōsatsu," *Hōsei*

number would go on to play a significant role in foreign affairs. In the early postwar period, some repatriates hoped to restore trade relations with China. However, with the Cold War rapidly intensifying and a lack of diplomatic relations with China, these attempts failed.<sup>14</sup> In addition, Japan's foreign relations were administered by the Occupation Authorities and large scale trade started after the Korean War broke out in June 1950 in which the U.S. increased purchasing from Japan,<sup>15</sup> and economic relations with most Asian countries were restored in the mid-1950s. By this time, many repatriates who had wished to do business with Asian countries might have been too old to start new projects. Moreover, in the development of the Cold War, the focus on Japan's foreign affairs shifted from Asia to the United States. Lori Watt explains that while some returnees had 'hoped to serve as liaisons between Japan and Asia in an effort to build new relationships...with diplomacy, trade, and travel between Japan and Asia proscribed by the Occupation..., [their] experience in Asia was obsolete'.<sup>16</sup>

In the late 1970s and 1980s, when diplomatic relations between China and Japan were restored, a group of repatriate Japanese engineers participated in a technological cooperation with China. Bringing expertise in infrastructure building, constructing factories and power plants, and electrical engineering, they were welcomed by China as a means of technological transfer.<sup>17</sup> The repatriate engineers

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*University Repository* (2014): 130. For example, from a village called Taishō in Kōchi prefecture, a group of farmers (the exact number is unknown) who had returned from Manchuria re-migrated to Paraguay in 1957.

<sup>14</sup> Naotaka Matsukata, "Separating Trade and Politics: The Restoration of Japan's China Trade, 1945-1958" (Harvard University 1996).

<sup>15</sup> Kazuyoshi Oku, "Senji-Sengo Fukkōki No Nihon Bōeki," *Kansai Daigaku Shōgaku Ronshū* 56, no. 3 (2011): 27-33. <http://kuir.jm.kansai-u.ac.jp/dspace/bitstream/10112/6020/1/KU-1100-20111225-02.pdf>. Accessed on 1 March 2016.

<sup>16</sup> Watt, *When Empire Comes Home: Repatriation and Reintegration in Postwar Japan*, 7-8.

<sup>17</sup> Hirai Fumiko, *Hirai Tamaki*, 6-7. Tōhō Kagakugijutsu Kyōryokukai, "Kaiin Meibo," (Tokyo1988). The list of corporate members included Idemitsu Kōsan which former president Keisuke Idemitsu (1966-1972) had worked for the South Manchuria Railway. In addition, 150 individual members are listed in this booklet.

also appreciated the opportunity to return to China after several decades. The motivations of repatriate engineers to participate in the projects appear to have been mixed, but there was a desire to redress Japan's past and many participants were willing to contribute to the development of China. We should not overemphasise the engineers' role as only a limited number of individuals participated in the joint projects, and it seems their involvement only lasted until around the early 1990s. However, this was one way in which repatriates were able to interact with China.

More than 70 years have passed since the end of the war. By examining the repatriates' transitions, this thesis highlighted postwar adjustment processes which have usually been overlooked. The most interesting and perhaps unexpected finding in is that a large part of repatriates' postwar resettlement was supported by Japan's economic structure, employment in the public and semi-public sectors, and the repatriates' skills. After their initial struggle, the majority of repatriates managed to settle. This pattern of their settlement offers a reasonable explanation why a large number of repatriates were able to be absorbed into postwar Japan and why the memories of the Japanese repatriation were largely forgotten, aside from selected images of the repatriates as victims of the war.

## Appendix

Table 1: The number of Japanese migrants (1881-1942)<sup>1</sup>

	1881	1895	1910	1925	1938	1942
<b>Korea</b>	3,417	12,303	171,543	424,740	N/A	753,000
<b>China</b>	1,217	670	25,452	65,482	95,508	N/A
<b>Manchuria</b>	N/A	N/A	17,474	17,845	418,315	1,097,000
<b>Kwantung Leased Territory</b>	N/A	N/A	62,338	184,894	N/A	222,652
<b>Taiwan</b>	N/A	N/A	98,048	189,630	N/A	385,000
<b>Sakhalin</b>	N/A	N/A	28,721	183,742	N/A	398,838
<b>Other regions</b>	1,457	30,580	167,133	361,740	501,188	N/A

\*Other regions include European countries, Americas, Hawaii and the Mandated Territories in South Pacific.

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<sup>1</sup> Wakatsuki, *Sengo Hikiage No Kiroku* 15-16.

Table 2: Number of individuals who migrated to Manchuria as 'reclamation farmers'<sup>2</sup>

Ranking	Prefecture	Total	Ranking	Prefecture	Total
1	Nagano	37,859	25	Ehime	4,525
2	Yamagata	17,177	26	Hyōgo	4,400
3	Kumamoto	12,680	27	Saitama	4,368
4	Fukushima	12,673	28	Saga	4,300
5	Nīgata	12,641	29	Tochigi	4,231
6	Miyagi	12,419	30	Osaka	4,155
7	Gifu	12,090	31	Mie	4,062
8	Hiroshima	11,172	32	Tottori	3,626
9	Tokyo	11,111	33	Ibaraki	3,573
10	Kōchi	10,082	34	Miyazaki	3,392
11	Akita	9,452	35	Kyoto	3,370
12	Shizuoka	9,206	36	Tokushima	3,325
13	Gunma	8,775	37	Wakayama	3,149
14	Aomori	8,365	38	Hokkaido	3,129
15	Kagawa	7,885	39	Fukuoka	3,114
16	Ishikawa	7,271	40	Shimane	3,025
17	Yamaguchi	6,508	41	Okinawa	2,994
18	Iwate	6,436	42	Ōita	2,571
19	Okayama	5,786	43	Aichi	2,358
20	Kagoshima	5,700	44	Nagasaki	2,151
21	Nara	5,243	45	Chiba	2,148
22	Toyama	5,200	46	Kanagawa	1,588
23	Fukui	5,136	47	Shiga	1,447
24	Yamanashi	5,105		<b>Total</b>	321,873

<sup>2</sup> Manshū Kaitakushi Kankōkai, *Manshū Kaitakushi* (Tokyo: Manshū Kaitakushi Kankōkai, 1966), 396-97.

Table 3: Period of migration to each region (number of individuals in each prefectural database): Ibaraki prefecture<sup>3</sup> (See Figure 4-1)

	Up to 1931	1932-1940	1941-1945	Total
<b>Other regions</b>	3	5	8	<b>16</b>
<b>Sakhalin</b>	11	3	1	<b>15</b>
<b>Taiwan</b>	19	15	4	<b>38</b>
<b>Korea</b>	34	25	8	<b>67</b>
<b>China</b>	8	68	19	<b>95</b>
<b>Manchuria</b>	27	187	55	<b>269</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>102</b>	<b>303</b>	<b>95</b>	<b>500</b>

Table 4: Period of migration to each region (number of individuals in each prefectural database): Hiroshima prefecture<sup>4</sup>(See Figure 4-2)

	Up to 1931	1932-1940	1941-1945	Total
<b>Other regions</b>	12	5	5	22
<b>Sakhalin</b>	4	0	0	4
<b>Taiwan</b>	43	12	6	61
<b>Korea</b>	101	53	14	168
<b>China</b>	23	62	30	115
<b>Manchuria</b>	67	132	52	251
<b>Total</b>	<b>250</b>	<b>264</b>	<b>107</b>	<b>621</b>

<sup>3</sup> Ministry of Health and Welfare, "Zaigai Jijitsu Chōsahyō (Japanese Government Survey into Repatriates' Postwar Lives)."

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.



Table 5: Period of migration to each region (number of individuals in each prefectural database): Kanagawa prefecture <sup>5</sup>(See Figure 4-3)

	<b>Up to 1931</b>	<b>1932-1940</b>	<b>1941-1945</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>Other regions</b>	14	17	13	<b>44</b>
<b>Sakhalin</b>	7	2	1	<b>10</b>
<b>Taiwan</b>	44	10	4	<b>58</b>
<b>Korea</b>	40	24	16	<b>80</b>
<b>China</b>	30	115	32	<b>177</b>
<b>Manchuria</b>	48	171	52	<b>271</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>183</b>	<b>339</b>	<b>118</b>	<b>640</b>

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<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

Table 6: The SMR's largest subsidiaries and related companies in March 1945<sup>6</sup>

<b>Name of company (Japanese original names in parentheses)</b>	<b>The SMR's ownership ratio</b>	<b>Book value (Yen)</b>	<b>Postwar company<sup>7</sup></b>
<b>North China Railway (Kahoku Kōtsū)</b>	30.0 %	120,000,000	
<b>Manchuria Steel Company (Manshū Seitetsu)</b>	11.3%	45,000,000	
<b>International Transport (Kokusai Un'yu)</b>	100.0%	30,000,000	
<b>Japan-Manchuria Trading Company (Nichiman Shōji)</b>	50.0%	14,500,000	
<b>Manchuria Artificial Petroleum (Manshū Jinzō Sekiyu)</b>	30.0%	11,250,000	
<b>Manchuria Chemical Engineering (Manshū Kagaku Kōgyō)</b>	46.8%	10,340,000	
<b>Daidō Coal Mining (Daidō Tankō)</b>	5.0%	10,000,000	
<b>Dalian Dock (Dairen Senkyō)</b>	100.0 %	10,000,000	
<b>Dalian Steamship Line Company (Dairen Kisen)</b>	100.0 %	22,530,000	Tōhō Kaiun (Tōhō Marine Transport)

<sup>6</sup> Heisa Kikan Seiri linkai, *Heisa Kikan to Sono Tokushu Seisan*, 399. This list includes the companies for which the SMR had a 100% control and related companies where book values are more than 3 million yen.

<sup>7</sup> All three companies listed in this column are still in business as of March 2016. Tōhō Kaiun was merged with several other marine transport companies and currently under *the NS United Kaiun*.

<b>Dalian Urban Transport Company (Dairen Toshi Kōtsū)</b>	100.0 %	22,500,000	
<b>Fūkin Mining (Fūkin Kōgyōsho)</b>	100.0 %	15,000,000	
<b>Manchuria Real Estate (Manshū Fudōsan)</b>	100.0 %	15,000,000	
<b>Japan-Manchuria Warehouse Company (Nichiman Sōko)</b>	50.0%	3,875,000	Tōyō Wharf and Warehouse (Tōyō Futo)
<b>Manchuria Film Association (Manshū Eiga Kyōkai)</b>	50.0 %	3,187,500	
<b>Japan Paraffin Wax Company (Nippon Seirō)</b>	100.0 %	3,000,000	Japan Paraffin Wax Company (Nippon Seirō)
<b>Manchuria-Korea Picket Company (Mansen Kōboku)</b>	100.0 %	2,250,000	
<b>Dalian Ceramic (Dairen Yōgyō)</b>	100.0 %	2,100,000	
<b>Fukushō-China Industries (Fukushō Kakō, details unknown)</b>	100.0 %	1,800,000	
<b>Manchuria Mining (Manshū Kōgyō)</b>	100.0 %	1,450,000	
<b>Dalian Agricultural Company (Dairen Nōji)</b>	100.0 %	1,000,000	
<b>North Manchuria Fishery Company (Hokuman Suisan)</b>	100.0 %	600,000	

## List of interviews

- A daughter of the South Manchuria Railway repatriate on 12 October 2012
- Shōshichi Tabuse (a former SMR employee) on 21st October 2012
- Yūji Tomi (a former SMR employee) on 25 October 2012
- Hiroyuki Amano (Senior Executive of Mantetsukai, SMR's postwar organisation) on 31st October 2012 and 1 June 2015
- Telephone interview with a staff member of the Japan Finance Corporation (Nihon Seisaku Kin'yū Kōko), which was established in 2008, absorbing the National Life Finance Corporation (formerly the Japan Finance Corporation), on 13th August 2013
- Mr Yoneyama, Mr Toshiyuki Yoshikawa, and Mr Junzō Tomita (members of the postwar organization of the Manchuria Railway Company, Manshū Dengyōkai) on 6 April 2014.

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