

[Original Paper]

Making Inroads into Grape Production and Winemaking and Preservation of Agricultural Resources in Japan

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Abstract

In recent years, the increasing amount of abandoned and uncultivated farmland has become a critical issue in Japanese agriculture. As an economic sector, it is vital for Japanese agriculture to preserve and pass on agricultural resources such as farmland to future generations. In Japan, an increasing number of non-agriculturalists have recently established private wineries. This prompted us to conduct this study to empirically reveal the mechanisms by which abandoned and un-cultivated farmland is revived, preserved, and passed on by private wineries newly established by non-agricultural sector members in Japan. There are three dynamic strategies for wine grape cultivation and fermentation enterprise of wine grape as follows. First, it is a strategy by which a person's own will and ambitions paves the way for development. However, using this strategy, various risks and challenges must be addressed. The second is an administration, agriculture cooperative, or other sector- designed strategy for following a rail and system for agricultural assistance. Third, is a strategy for committing to incidents involving fateful encounters or unforeseen opportunities. Although this strategy is difficult to generalize and is assumed to be beyond logical explanation because it exceeds our comprehension, it has a significant impact on the development of wine grape cultivation and wine grape fermentation enterprises, which is synchronized with the other two strategies. Indeed, the unique background of the Shinshu-Ueda and Tomi regions, is a case example of the synchronization of three strategies affecting the development of the wine industry.

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1. Introduction

In Japan farmland abandonment has become popular, adversely affecting agriculture, which mainly relies on land for production. It is crucial for Japanese agriculture to achieve a balance between the sustainability of agricultural resources for future generations and the well-being of farmers, while also respecting their autonomy. This balance is essential for a country that upholds principles of liberalism, democracy, and a thriving industry. Numerous past studies on abandoned and deteriorated farmland have been conducted, revealing causal factors using quantitative analysis and solutions induced by empirical analysis concerning new leaders in local agricultural regions. According to Kawashima (2016) quantitative analysis, inhibitory measures of farmland abandonment are affected not only by market transactions, such as farmland leasing, but also by the number of discussions among farmer, such as farmers' meetings. While their effects are limited, both factors have some impact on reviving and inhibiting farmland abandonment. Shibuya (2009) concludes that it is critical for farmland abandonment to induce construction firms in the agricultural sector, based on an empirical analysis revealing the impact of a general company entering the agriculture sector.

In this study, we accept that both local community consensus and the entry of construction companies into the agricultural sector have affected the restoration of farmland abandonment. However, we focus on the connection between farmers and farmland to address the occurrence of farmland abandonment, considering the various types of community leaders contributing to the solution of farmland abandonment.

Although this balance has been seriously disrupted, the wine industry has emerged as a major trend in Japan. Wine entrepreneurs have diverse backgrounds, including careers as doctors, and there is a growing interest in this field. Most people plan to make their own wine by growing wine grapes for fermentation purposes. This report presents evidence from a case study of the processes involved in farmland revival, conservation, and inheritance by entrepreneurs cultivating wine grapes and fermenting wine.

2. Materials and Methods

We focused our research on Shinshu-Ueda and Tomi regions. This region, called the Chikuma River Wine Valley, is one of the most popular entrepreneurial launchpads. Using hearing and a survey, we analyzed six aspects of this region to determine the interrelationships that contribute to the process. The five aspects are as follows: The first aspect is the entrepreneur's background. The second aspect is the region's historical background and the incidental events that have contributed to its current situation. The third aspect is the support system for entrepreneurs provided by the local government, agricultural cooperatives, and so on. A case study of a pioneering winery in the region is the fourth aspect. The fifth is the support extended to entrepreneurs by other wine-related institutions. Regarding the sixth and final aspect, we reveal the mechanism of revitalization, preservation, and sustainability of farmland affected by the trend and intention of newcomers, and discuss the relationship between each effect based on the results of a factor analysis conducted on survey data.

In 2023, we then conducted a survey with 13 independent trainees who had graduated from the Shinshu-Ueda farm's training program. There were 12 valid responses. These responses were converted to IBM SPSS format and analyzed after missing variables were handled.

3. Results

The Shinshu-Ueda Tomi region was chosen as a major winery project that planned to cultivate grapes on a 30 ha scale. Three key people who gathered for this project determined the current state of the region. The first was Toyoo Tamamura, a famous writer who worked as a director at the winery's research institution. Shogo Asai, a leading Japanese winemaker who worked at Mercian, was the second person. Tamamura invited Asai to work as an advisor at the research institution after he retired. Toru Konishi, the third member, worked at the research institution after graduating from the Division of Agriculture of Kyoto University. Unfortunately, this project was abruptly terminated after three years of all-out effort. Negotiations failed because farmers had various expecta-

tions. Furthermore, due to declining profits, the company discontinued its wine business. After recovering from a serious illness, Tamamura began growing wine grapes in this region and established the Villa D'est Winery, the region's flagship winery. Konishi worked tirelessly to help organize this winery. Subsequently, other pioneering wineries were established in this region. For popularization and wisdom, Tamamura wrote a book about the history and development of his winery. With these events, the region began to attract people interested in the wine business. These pioneer wineries contributed to this region's growth in various ways, such as by supporting newcomers. These contributions resulted in the transformation of 30 ha of farmland in the Tomi region into wine grape fields. This farmland was the one that the wine company had previously attempted to acquire to grow wine grapes. This transformation occurred because they were able to negotiate with more than 100 farmers using knowledge gained from the previous failed negotiations.

Newcomers who desired to enter the wine industry and move to this region discovered it on the Internet and chose to stay after comparing it with other pioneering wine regions. Tamamura's book regarding his winery was significant in motivating newcomers to enter the wine business in the region.

Shinshu-Ueda Farm, funded by Japan Agricultural Cooperative (JA) Shinshu-Ueda, also supported newcomers in the following ways. First, it interviewed newcomers who had signed up for trainee positions at their institutions and taught them agricultural skills. Second, as newcomers became independent farmers, they were allowed to arrange and revive farmland to cultivate wine grapes themselves, while the institution prepared grapevines. Not only wine grape cultivation skills, but also vegetable and other fruit tree cultivation skills were taught in the instruction program; thus, they could earn money from growing vegetables while their grapevines matured.

Tomi City also has its own support system for newcomers. It leased homes to newcomers, introduced them to highly skilled farmers who could teach them farming skills, arranged farmland and homes for them when they became independent, guided them even after they became

independent, and assisted them in finding suitable farmland for grape cultivation. Moreover, it even supported newcomers who were unable to work at the institution managed by Shinshu-Ueda farm. Tomi City has played a major role in supporting newcomers in the region.

Wine grapes were fermented by "Arcanvigne" or other pioneer wineries on behalf of newcomers who lacked their own fermentation facilities. However, instead of having the commissioned winery make their wines, they rented the winery's grape demerit crusher, juice extraction machine, and fermentation tank and learned fermentation skills from the commissioned winery.

The transition in the number of trainees and farmland are shown in Table 1, especially vineyards, cultivated by trainees after they became independent from Shinshu-Ueda farm. Shinshu-Ueda farm already accepts 62 trainees, 75% of whom are independent in the region. Since 2017, twelve trainees in wine grape cultivation have been independent, accounting for 25% of independent trainees.

The results of a survey conducted on three trainees and seven graduate trainees in 2021 are discussed next. Table 2 provides a summary of the age, vineyard size, sales volume, and opinions of survey respondents on winery ownership. Half of these cultivated vineyards were on a scale of more than 3 ha. Because the average cultivated farmland scale for farmers in 45 prefectures in Japan is almost 1 ha, their farmland scales are larger than the average. Furthermore, 10% of trainees own a winery and 80% of trainees aspire to own wineries in the future.

Table 3 shows the reasons for the initiation of wine grape cultivation and wine grape fermentation in the Tomi region. From this table, it is evident that trainees who responded to our survey have a deep emotional connection to the wine business and are interested in starting their own cultivation and fermentation practices in this region. And they have great expectations for the potential of the wine business and for earning more revenue if they produce more wines. Finally, Figure 1 shows the annual transition in the number of newcomers cultivating wine grapes and wineries. Since 2022, newcomers attracted to the wine industry have entered this region, started to cultivate wine grapes and established wineries.

Table 1 Changes in the number of newcomers in the company

	Number of trainees accepted	Number of people who became independent farmers	Cultivation area started (ha)	Among them, the number of new farmers who started farming wine grapes	Among them, wine grapes area started (ha)
2009	1				
2010	4				
2011	2				
2012	2	1	0.30		
2013	4	4	0.70		
2014	2	1	2.50		
2015	12	5	6.20		
2016	4	0			
2017	7	9	16.45	4	12.20
2018	8	8	9.71	3	7.60
2019	6	6	8.57	2	5.75
2020	3	8	18.37	3	6.80
2021	7	5	-	0	-
Total	62	47	52.25	12	32.35

Table 2 Summary of responders of survey

Current Situation	During Training	Viticulture Started	Wine Making Started	
	30%	40%	30%	
Age	30s	40s	50s	60s
	30%	10%	50%	10%
Vineyard Scale	~ 1ha	1~3ha	3~5ha	5ha~
	10%	40%	40%	10%
Sales Amount	No Sales	\$ 5,000~10,000	\$ 10,000~30,000	\$ 30,000~50,000
	50%	10%	30%	10%
Winery	Owing winery	To own winery in future	To own winery with others in future	No plane to own winery
	10%	80%	10%	0

Table 3 Reasons for Trying to Make Wine and Grow Grape

	Exactly so	I think so	I don't know	I don't think so	Not at all
1. Be fond of wine	80	20	-	-	-
2. Future prospect of wine selling	60	20	10	10	-
3. Since wine grape cultivation was popular in this area	30	40	-	20	10
4. Recommended by preceding wineries	-	10	30	10	50

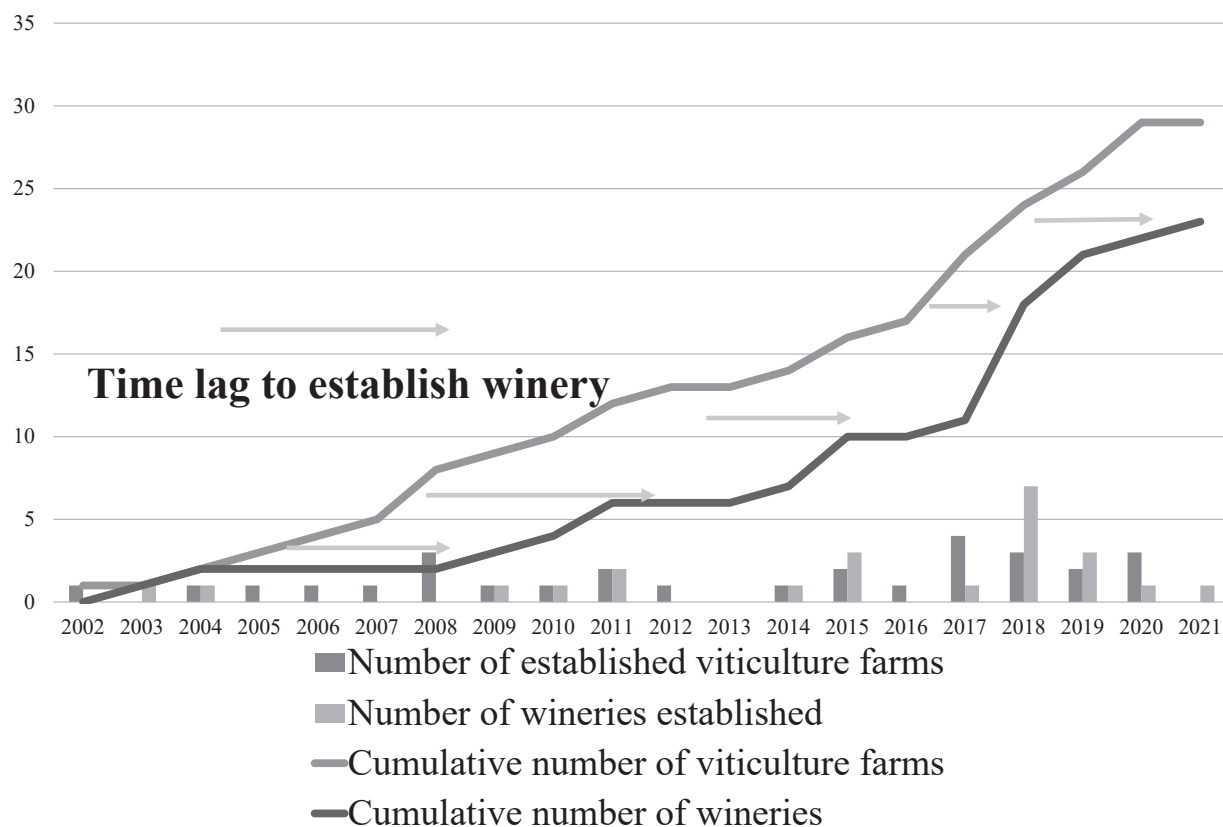


Fig. 1 Changes in viticulture and winery establishment

4. Discussions

1) Natural location condition and social condition inducing newcomers

Shinshu-Ueda began accepting trainees in 2009, and one trainee achieved independence in 2013. In 2017, trainees in the cultivation of wine grapes graduated and started farming independently, while 12 trainees graduated and became independent. The survey of 12 graduated trainees revealed several findings. Based on the findings, trainees who graduated and became independent could be categorized into two types. The first type comprises of recent graduates who are anxious about expanding the land scale for the cultivation of new varietal wine grapes. The second type comprises trainees who were previously independent, open a winery, engage in wine grape fermentation using wine grapes or by fermentation contracts with other farmers, and attempt to gain supporters for their winery through wine tourism.

Fifty percent of independent trainees were categorized as first type, and they all decided to begin cultivating wine grapes in Ueda region because it is prosperous for cultivating wine grapes. This type of trainees is more enthusiastic about exchanging information about the cultivation of wine grapes with other farmers and receiving advice regarding various techniques and knowledge from pioneering farmers and wineries. Using this information, they seek ways to develop wine grape fermentation by adopting the originality of a new variety of wine grapes cultivated by other farmers. In this study, this type of trainees is referred to as “originality interest-oriented” trainees.

The remaining fifty percent of trainees are classified as the second category since they can learn diverse approaches and get information from pioneer wineries. This type of independent trainees does not aim to expand the land scale for cultivation but rather cultivates high-quality

wine grapes by considering the optimal timing for farming work and work schedule. By acquiring supporters, they intend to increase and maintain the stability of wine sales. This study refers to these trainees as “sustainability pursuit-oriented trainees.”

The Shinshu-Ueda region’s newcomer inducement-promoting project was developed with cooperative scheme between the local government and the pioneer winery, and the number of newcomers in the region increased continually by providing training support from the JA and training accommodation systems by this cooperation. Furthermore, compared with developing and traditional wine countries, regions with mid- and small-scale wineries are mostly unrecognized as wine-producing districts, and local resources, such as landscape, scenery, and food culture related to wine grapes and wine, are frequently not

developed. In Shinshu-Ueda and Tomi, the existence of a pioneering winery and the popularity of wine grape-producing districts triggered the decision to train all independent trainees in these regions. Cooperation between local society and existing wineries in this region will induce the development of wine tourism resources, such as the collaboration of special regional products and wines.

2) New possibilities of the region discovered by independent trainees

Then, using survey results, we used factor analysis to reveal the subconscious, which can be grasped from the assessment of the response pattern of independent trainees related to the cultivation and fermentation of wine grapes. The factor analysis results are shown in Table 4. Question items are shown on the left side of this table, and factor

Table 4 The differences of the factor between originality interest and sustainability pursuit

	question	originality interest-oriented			sustainability pursuit-oriented		
		The 1 factor	The 2 factor	The 3 factor	The 1 factor	The 2 factor	The 3 factor
1	Shinshu Ueda region is a mecca for wine produce	0.785	-0.039	-0.039	0.681	0.087	-0.085
2	Shinshu Ueda region is suited to cultivate wine grape	0.73	-0.236	0.243	0.412	0.139	0.058
3	The region has well-developed system of fermentation contract	0.727	0.156	-0.043	0.534	0.103	-0.232
4	Supported by the local community in my transition from farming to the wine business.	0.692	0.129	0.075	0.032	0.153	0.041
5	Support and assistance from the government and administration are crucial for wine making	0.61	-0.292	0.371	0.585	-0.106	0.424
6	There is ample amount of capital prepared for farming	-0.076	0.672	0.044	0.177	0.511	-0.168
7	Depreciations of farming machines and facilities in each year are considered	0.01	0.666	-0.271	-0.054	0.545	0.057
8	In the peak farming season, I’ll take ample time for farm work, even if it is a bit of a stretch	-0.3	0.654	-0.202	-0.119	0.562	0.119
9	When I’m not feeling well, I will not push myself too hard even in the peak time.	0.158	0.645	-0.169	0.061	0.601	-0.146
10	Struggling for occurring of pests and diseases	0.079	0.61	-0.203	0.107	0.459	0.074
11	When taking on debt, it is important to carefully consider the repayment amount, duration, interest rates, and other related factors.	-0.096	0.564	0.091	0.013	0.622	-0.13
12	Wine business is a great job to harmonize with nature	0.131	-0.021	0.728	0.396	0.005	-0.089
13	Profitability of wine product is higher than other products	0.122	-0.134	0.625	0.542	-0.094	0.162
14	It is expected that demand of wine products will be increased	0.318	0.123	0.523	0.374	-0.011	0.098
15	Income from winemaking tends to be relatively stable and consistent	0.257	-0.383	0.44	0.613	-0.069	-0.114
Eigenvalues		3.477	3.217	2.122	3.27	2	1.088

loading matrices of both “originality interest-oriented” and “sustainability pursuit-oriented” trainees are shown on the right side. The correlation coefficient between each question item and common factor is indicated by each factor value of the factor-loading matrices. We focus on each common factor of “originality interest-oriented” trainees in this table and rearrange question items by order of strong correlation with the factor.

There are three common factors extracted from the table for both “originality interest-oriented” and “sustainability pursuit-oriented.” For the first, we interpret and name each “originality interest-oriented common factor,” which is then compared to “sustainability pursuit-oriented” common factors.

The first factor of “originality Interest-oriented” includes factors such as “Shinshu-Ueda and Tomi region is a mecca for wine produce,” “Shinshu-Ueda and Tomi region is suited to cultivate wine grape,” and “the region has a well-developed system of fermentation contract.” These factors are related to the geographical location of the Tomi region in Shinshu-Ueda. Thus, we named the first factor as the well-developed location factor.

The second factor includes “sufficient capital is available for farming” and “each year’s depreciation of farming equipment and facilities are considered.” Even if it’s a bit of a stretch, I devote ample time to farm work during the height of the farming season. These factors pertain to trainees’ attitudes toward agricultural training, such as preparation for beginning farming and perspectives on agriculture. Consequently, we refer to this factor as the personal circumstances factor in this study. The third factor includes factors such as “the wine business being a great job that harmonizes with nature,” “higher profitability of wine products compared to other products,” and “expected increase in demand for wine products.” These factors are related to the profitability of wine grape fermentation and the expansion of distribution channels. Thus, in this study, we refer to this factor as the wine expectation factor. The subconsciousness of originality interest-oriented trainees for wine grapes cultivation and fermentation is formed based on three factors: a well-developed location, personal circumstances, and wine expectation, in descending

order of contribution rate.

However, the factor structure of trainees interested in sustainability pursuits could not be clearly separated, whereas the factor structure of trainees interested in originality interests could. There was a clear separation between personal circumstances and the wine expectation factor in the latent structure of originality interest-oriented trainees. By contrast, in the latent structure of sustainability pursuit-oriented trainees, these two factors are not distinct.

The results indicate that originality interest-oriented trainees recognize the Shinshu-Ueda region as a mecca of Japan’s wine production district and that the region is suitable for wine grape cultivation. Moreover, 75% of them are willing to expand their wine lineup in future. Therefore, they are strongly motivated to participate in wine grape fermentation. The results of the factor analysis and survey pattern show that the characteristics of sustainability pursuit-oriented trainees, as well as originality interest-oriented trainees were strongly affected by well-developed location factors. Sustainability pursuit-oriented trainees have been influenced more by advice from and activities of pioneer wineries in the region than by the assistance provided by the local government and JA. The management philosophy and strategy established in this context contribute to the acquisition of support for the expansion and stabilization of wine sales.

3) Academic implications from this case study

Figure 2 shows the revival mechanism for the farmland revival process. The region’s farmland revival is because of historical and incidental events. Five factors contribute to the farmland revival process. First, the region’s natural conditions are conducive to winemaking and wine grape cultivation. Second, the newcomers came from diverse backgrounds and had knowledge of winemaking and grape cultivation. Third, the requirements of the farmland leasing system were eased for wine districts. Fourth, local governments and agricultural cooperatives created a support system for newcomers. Finally, pioneering wineries supported newcomers by accepting them as interns or trainees and consigning them to winemaking. These

support systems enticed newcomers to this region for the wine business and their settlement and winery resulted in farmland revival. This case study revealed that newcomers to the wine industry come from diverse backgrounds and enter the field in various ways. For instance, one entered the institution managed by Shinshu-Ueda farm and became a trainee, while the other worked at a pioneering winery as an intern or worker and then depended on the winery's assistance to launch a wine business after acquiring sufficient skills for independently operating the business.

According to the survey results there are two types of trainees at Shinshu Ueda farms: originality interest-oriented trainees those who are interested in originality and sustainability pursuit-oriented trainees those who are interested in sustainability. Former trainees have recently entered the wine industry and value the region's favorable natural conditions for wine grape cultivation. They also value the region's facilitation of information exchange with other farmers cultivating wine grapes, due to its high concentration of highly motivated wine grape producers. Furthermore, receiving various techniques and knowledge from pioneer wineries in the region, they have a strong motivation to seek a way to develop the fermentation of

wine grapes by adopting the originality of the new variety of wine grapes and by using wine grapes cultivated by other farmers.

Inspired by pioneering wineries, the latter type of trainee enters the wine industry earlier and develops wineries in the region. They are unwilling to expand the land scale for cultivation, but endeavor to cultivate high-quality wine grapes and seek to expand and secure the suitability of wine sales by acquiring supporters.

Particular, to ensure the acquisition of a certain number of vineyards, originality interest-oriented trainees, who are expected to increase in the future, must be motivated to revive abandoned farmlands that have adverse conditions. The issue of farmland abandonment in Japan is difficult to resolve because farmland is distributed around a small region, and a need for a sufficient number of small-scale farmers. Therefore, attracting a sufficient number of small-farm farmers with unique characteristics and skills and distributing them across a region is vital. In addition to their efforts, the success of pioneer wineries in this region is also attributable to wine's unique appeal as an agricultural product. Originality-focused trainees achieved success with a variety of objects and activities not only as a result of their original effort and creativity, but also due

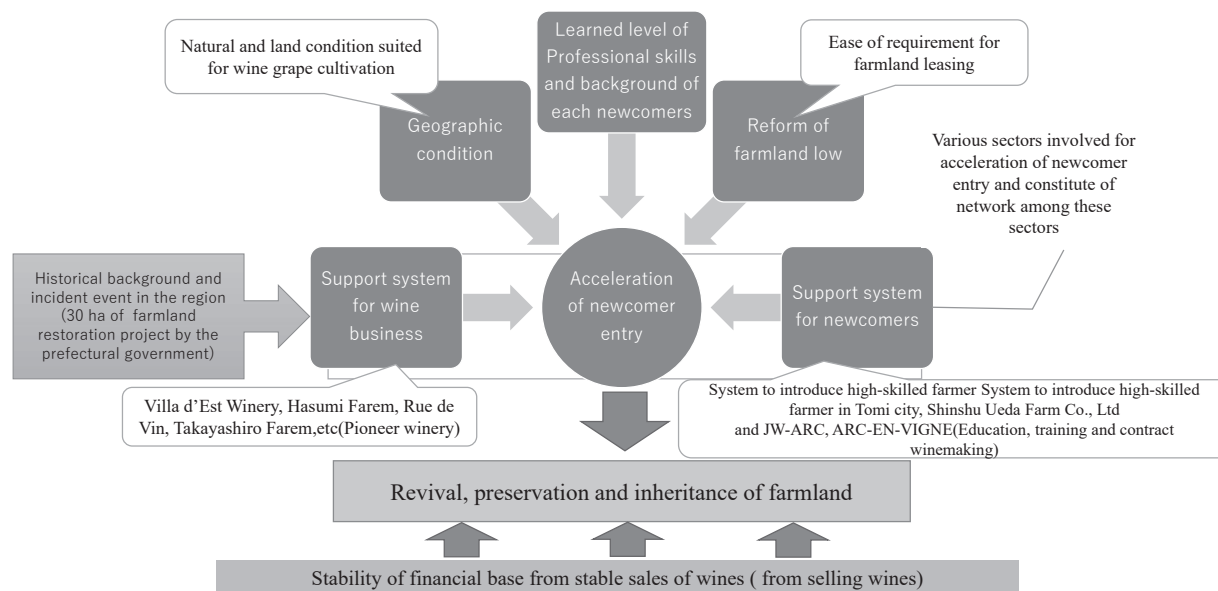


Fig. 2 The Revival Mechanism of Agricultural Resource

to the singular allure of wine as a processed agricultural product. There are three dynamic strategies for wine grape cultivation and fermentation enterprises. First, it is a strategy by which a person's own will and ambitions paves the way for development. However, using this strategy, numerous risks and challenges must be addressed. The second is an administration, agriculture cooperative, or other sector-designed strategy of following a rail and system for agricultural assistance. Third, is a strategy for committing to incidents involving fateful encounters or unforeseen opportunities. Although this strategy is difficult to generalize and is assumed to be beyond logical explanation because it exceeds our comprehension, it has a significant impact on the development of wine grape cultivation and wine grape fermentation enterprises, which is synchronized with the other two strategies. Indeed, the unique background of the Shinshu-Ueda and Tomi regions, is a case example of the synchronization of three strategies affecting the growth of the wine industry.

To preserve and inherit the revived farmland, wines had to attract and be valued by consumers so that farmers could earn a sufficient income from wine sales. Therefore, it is vital to conduct other business projects while attempting to sell wine at high prices. However, as the majority of newcomers have recently begun their wine businesses, we must anticipate their future management. In the case of pioneer wineries, they leveraged the characteristics of this region, which enable fruit tree cultivation, to make cider and sparkling wine from local apples and Kyoho grapes bought at low prices from farmers around the region. These products' low prices were due to the fact that they did not meet market requirements. They gained financial stability by earning income from these businesses.

Finally, we outline future problems and countermeasures for small-scale wineries in Japan that indirectly maintain the restoration, preservation, and inheritance of farmland. First, it is difficult for small-scale wineries in Japan to acquire expert knowledge on the cultivation and fermentation of wine grapes systemically. Therefore, most wine grape producers rely heavily on internships or training schools to gain expert knowledge of wine grape cultivation and fermentation. Thus, their expert knowl-

edge mostly imitates that of the others. In the world's most renowned wine regions, there are departments or major courses related to cultivation and fermentation in famous universities or technical colleges for wine. Students in these departments or major courses can acquire expert wine knowledge, and graduates with well-educated conditions. By employing these students in local wineries, the alcoholic content of the wine can be maintained and improved. Second, because Japan has hot and humid conditions, heavy annual rainfall, and higher night temperatures, it is difficult to cultivate the high-quality wine grapes essential for the fermentation of high-quality wine. Moreover, there is a need for higher costs and effort to cultivate wine grapes than in famous wine regions around the world, as there are distinctive challenges related to the cultivation of wine grapes, such as sheltered cultivation from rain and raised bed cultivation. Therefore, it is difficult for small-scale farmers to reduce the selling price of their wine to a level comparable to the international price; thus, price competitiveness of wines produced in Japan is poor internationally. Third, it is difficult for small-scale wineries to collaborate because individuals entering the wine business individually are, despite having diverse backgrounds, trying to establish their own brand and identity by doing it alone.

5. Conclusion

Beginning with pioneer wineries such as the Villa Dest winery and Arc-En-Vigne, an increasing number of wineries and new wines are opening in our study region. We selected this region as one of the typical wine-producing districts in Japan. The mechanism of development of wine producing districts would not only teach us a critical lesson about the development of wine business in similar regions around Japan but also give us prospects for restoration, preservation, and inheritance of agricultural producing resources for other products in which farmland is a central resource.

To summarize our analytical results, it is vital to learn and endeavor to obtain the latest expert knowledge on the wine business, as wine making is a science. Due to the difficulty of acquiring such knowledge on an individual

level, local universities, administrations, and private institutions must collaborate to create and continuously spread a system to acquire the latest expert knowledge and implementation methods for wine making. Furthermore, wine businesses are advised to attend academic conferences, seminars, and extension lectures held abroad. However, it is essential to create sales mechanisms that target supporters and local residence who expect and support the growth of specific wine producers. For example, a mechanism must be created to continuously sell 10,000 wine bottles for 3,000 yen. Through this mechanism, it is possible to establish and develop organizations that connect all regions, such as wine producer cooperatives. Cooperation among wine producers in certain areas is needed to increase the overall share of the wine industry while remaining competitive. They can cooperate and share the costs of expenditure for attending academic conferences, seminars, and extension lectures for wine businesses held abroad; take turns sending representatives; and share the latest expert knowledge learned abroad after the representative returns as an example of a possible cooperation area.

【Supplement】

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農業生産諸資源の再生・保全・継承とブドウ・ワイン造りへの参入

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要 約

近年、我が国の農業における耕作放棄地・遊休農地の増加は深刻な問題となっている。農業だけでなく経済的な側面でも、農地等の農業生産諸資源を次世代へと維持継承していくことは極めて重要な課題となっている。その様な中、個人経営のワイナリーを開業する人が年々増加している。そこで本稿は農産業と関りが無い新規就農者により新規設立された個人経営のワイナリーによる農地の維持継承に果たした役割を通して、そのメカニズムについて事例研究を用いて明らかにした。分析の結果、新規参入者個人に焦点を当てれば、そのブドウ生産・ワイン醸造事業の展開・発展過程には動態的にみれば三つの方向性が考えられる。一つは、当然に事業者個人が自らの意思と野心を持って道を切り拓いていく方向

である。しかし、この方向にはリスクや試練も多い。二つは、予め行政や農協、その他のセクターが様々な農業支援を名目として策定した制度やレールに乗る方向である。三つが、事前には全く予見・意図されない機会や運命的な出会い、たまたまといった偶然的な方向である。この三つ目の方向は、なかなか一般化が困難で我々の「理解」を超えて理論化の外にあるように考えられがちであるが、はじめの二つの方向と絡まり同期しあって実は極めて重大な影響や効果を当該経営体の展開や発展に与えていると目されることも多く見られる。まさに、本稿で事例として取り上げた信州上田・東御地域における様々な事情が、新規参入者の事業展開においてこれら三つの方向がそれぞれに絡み合って影響を及ぼしている査証と考えられた。