

Shengxiang Tang()

: sxtang93@hotmail

가

O. sativa L.

O. rufipogon

가 . 11,400-4,500

가 115 가

(, , ,)

, , , ,

.

-

가

, mtDNA cpDNA

.

가

.

,

,

,

.

.

10,000

(*Oryza sativa* L)

90%

가

53° ~ 35° S

147.2

2003

576.3

.

.

.

가

. 2003

28.2 176.6 , 6.27
t/ha 35% 45% .

, , ,

가 가

.

.

1.

(*O. sativa* L.)

O. rufipogon , Griff

. Oka (1988) *O.*

rufipogon 1
. Wang (1996) *O. rufipogon* ()

.

O. rufipogon, *O. officinalis*, *O. meyeriana* 가

: *O. rufipogon*

(121°15'E) (100°47'E)

(18°09'N) (28°14'N) .

O. rufipogons , , , , , , , ,

113 , ,

300-600m 가 .

O. rufipogon .

10 가 571 *O.*

rufipogon 1 (Pang et al, 1995)

(Pang et al, 1995). , , , ,

O.

rufipogon 70%가 30 .

.

(Sato 1991, Tang 1994) 146

4

(6950±130 BP) 가 .

4 가 :

(1)

; (2) ; (3)

(1) . *O. rufipogon* 가 7000

31° N . (8285-7450 BP,

33°37'N)

가 (Wang et

al, 1996).

(結球)

,

.

.

.

1889 가

(Suh 2003). ,

.

.



.1 *O. rufipogon* (6950±130 BP)

2.

가 4 가
O. rufipogon ()
 가

가 가

1)

1970 .

가 가
 A

O. rufipogon 1 *O. nivara*
 가,
 () 6,570±210 BC 4,530±185 BC

가 . .

가
() . 가 4~5
/
가
. 8000
가가 .
1500-2000
.
2)
Chang(1976) 가
2,000 *O. rufipogon*, *O. nivara* *O. sativa*
.
.
. (origin) 가 . -
가
. () ,
() A.D. 200 .
() .
, 3 가
가 . , ,
.
Oka (1988) (, ,)
7,000 BP 가 .
500 BP Non-Nok-Tha
가 .

3)

가 (最古) . *Shennong* (BC 21 ,) *Guanzi* 5 가 --*Shu* (), *Ji* (), *Mai* (), *Dao* () and *Shuu* ()-- .
(*O. rufipogon* Griff) *Ni*, *Li*, *Lu* . *Keng* *Jing*; *Hsien*, *Xian*; () *Nuodao* 가 . *Western-Zhou* (BC 11th-8th) (conceptualize) (BC 2)
(圓錐花序) .

3 가 가 .

(a)

O. rufopogon , ,
Ding(1957) 1950 가 *O. rufipogon* .
3000-4000 BP , ,
6,000-9,000 가 가 .
4,000 BP 가

(b).

- , .
3 가 : *O. rufipogon*, *O. meyeriana* and *O. officinalis* .
1970~1980 가

가

. Huang et al (1996)

3000

가

(c).

1980

10

가

가

가

가 :

O. rufipogon

O. rufipogon

(28.1⁰ N),

(26.8⁰N),

가

1950

Keng

spontanea

34.5⁰N

(10,000-7,000)

(3-4°C

)

(

800 mm

)

가

. 10,000-7,000

O. rufipogon

가

가

(You 1987).

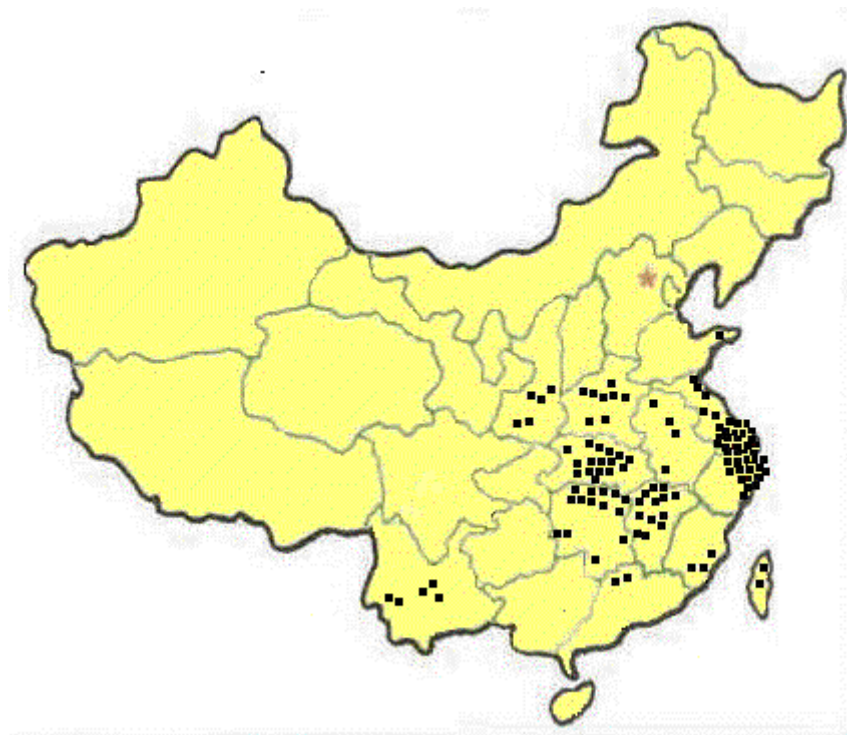
16 가

(gulf)

38⁰ N

가

, 163 가
 (, , ,) 115
 (2) . 가 12 가 7,000
 (1)
 .
 (29°58'N, 121°22'E) 6950 ± 130 BP 가 가
 가
 .
 .
 Lemma (peak) (小粒)
 , ,
 (Tang 1994, 1999).
 (33.4° N, 113° E) 8942-7868 BP 가
 (穎果)가 1990 (Wang et al
 1996). (米) *Keng* ()
Keng (total 74.4%) *Hsien* () *Hsien*
 (total 23.3%) . 1980
 8200-7450 BP 가
 . 1990
 (25°30'N, 110°30'E) 8327-7449 BC 가
 , , .
 10,000 (Liu 2003) 가 .
 1996 9,000-8,000 BP 가
 . 가 *keng* 가 *hsien*
 .
 14,820-13,010 가
 17,310 (準) 가 (Suh et al
 2002). 가
 . 가 .



.2

9

700

4

(, , , ,)

)가

(Huang, 1996).

2

. Tang (2002) 12 가

Pgi1, *Pgi2*,

Amp1, *Amp2*, *Amp3*, *Amp4*, *Sdh1*, *Adh1*, *Est1*, *Est2*, *Est5*, *Est9*

4408

가

0.012

0.547

(*Ha*)

Amp4

0.012

Est2

0.547

(*Ht*),

(*Hp*)

(*DP*)

0.248, 3.845,

17.7%

6

(*Ht* =

0.266) 가

()

(3.75)가

(2)

가

2	(>7000)	
, ,	6950 ± 130 BP	1979
, ,	7040 ± 150 BP	(majority) 1981
, ,	7885 ± 480 BP	1985
, , ,	About 7600 BP	1986
, ,	8200-7450 BP	1989
, ,	8285-7450 BP	1995
, , 가	6300-7000 BP	1996
, , ,	8,000-9,000 BP	1996
, , ,	8327-7449 BC	1996
, , ,	About 7000 BP	2000
, , ,	11400-8600 BP	2003
, , ,	6220-5660 BC	2003

. 가 (, , ,

,) , , , ,

. 1 12 가

가 , , 가 가 .

.2 6 (Ha)

Isozyme	(Ht)					
	Ha					
<i>Pgi1</i>	0.454	0.452	0.449	0.515	0	0.364
<i>Pgi2</i>	0.496	0.455	0.313	0.214	0.066	0.232
<i>Amp1</i>	0.125	0.115	0.278	0.189	0.038	0.072
<i>Amp2</i>	0.268	0.400	0.509	0.348	0.130	0.418
<i>Amp3</i>	0.118	0.122	0.171	0.129	0.066	0.030
<i>Amp4</i>	0.002	0.010	0.014	0.035	0.033	0.014
<i>Sdh1</i>	0.352	0.286	0.153	0.146	0	0.180
<i>Adh1</i>	0.064	0.138	0.249	0.167	0.130	0.074
<i>Est1</i>	0.099	0.095	0.232	0.139	0.033	0.099
<i>Est2</i>	0.448	0.521	0.504	0.512	0.185	0.342
<i>Est5</i>	0.039	0.043	0.135	0.028	0	0.030
<i>Est9</i>	0.249	0.077	0.132	0.014	0	0.043
	3.42	3.75	3.50	2.75	2.08	2.58
<i>Ht</i>	0.226	0.226	0.266	0.203	0.057	0.158

,

,

O.sativa L

가

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,

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10,000

.

3.

()

, , , , , , , ,

가

Hsien *Keng*,

, ,

.

1)

가

F₁

가

(*Hsien*)

(*Keng*)

(29°N),

가

3 가 가

(Ting 1957)

(Chang

1983)

—

(

),

Hsien

Keng

Hsien

Keng

(1400-1750m)

(>1750m)—

(<1400m altitude),

가 *Hsien*

Keng

Hsien

Keng

O.

rufipogon

가

가

(Morishuima 1987, Sano 1992, Tang 1994)

(-like)

(-like)

. Second (1985)

O. rufipogon

O.

rufipogon

(

).

O. rufupogon

Est, Cat, Acp, Amp

Cai (1996)

가

가

가

가

Keng

Hsien

Keng

(Tang 1993).

가

(3311±136 BC)

(5040±150 BC),

(8942-7868

BP)

Sun(1996) 7

RFLP

O. rufipogon 76 118 .
DNA (mtDNA) .
73%가 mtDNA, 6%
mtDNA, 21% 가 . PCR Open Reading Frames
(ORF100) 154 DNA (cpDNA) 94
cpDNA
가
가 .
(Sun 1996, Huang
1996).

8,000-9,000 BP
8285-7450
BP
(bi-peak) (小粒) .

2)
(semi-aquatic plant) .
가 — , ,
—
(panicle) 가 (穎), ,
(hybrid) .
(8,000-6,000 BP)
6,000-5,000 BP
. (Wang.1996) *Song* (960-1127)
“(Zhancheng Dao)” 가
, ,
, .
. *Ming* *Qing* (13-19th) (, ,
)
“ (Jiugongji)” “ (Houxiaji)”
. *Shoushitongkao* (1742)
3429

가 . 3 / ,

/ , , ,
3676 .

.3. 43676

Code			%
1	/ / /	9229	21.13
2	/ / /	841	1.93
3	/ / /	278	0.64
4	/ / /	53	0.12
5	/ / /	19412	44.44
6	/ / /	678	1.55
7	/ / /	178	0.41
8	/ / /	25	0.06
9	/ / /	4549	10.41
10	/ / /	3331	7.63
11	/ / /	447	1.02
12	/ / /	500	1.14
13	/ / /	2087	4.78
14	/ / /	1759	4.03
15	/ / /	215	0.49
16	/ / /	95	0.22

가 , , ,

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UCLA

(UCLA Fowler Museum of Cultural History)

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2

2

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padi)

(Iban)

フ

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2

(Derek Freeman)

(Iban rice agriculture)

(Harold Conklin)

(Mindoro)

1954

(Hanunóo)

.
 .
 .
 . [1970, 50]
 가
 가
 (swidden)
 “ ”
 가
 . [1975, 88]
 (“ ”)
 (Shinto)
 (- - *yama-no-kami*) (- -
ta-no-kami)
 가
 (Earhart) 1970, 15).
 (Negeri Sembilan)
 (Si Dang Sari)
 Si Dang Gembala)
 (Zainal 1985,
 140-41,149).
 가
 (Mae Phosop)
 (Phya Anuman Rajadhon) 1948
 ,
 ,
 ,
 “ ”
 ,
 가
 (Anuman Rajadhon) 1961, 23).
 (*khwan*) (Hanks) 1960,
 299).
 20
 (green revolution)”

O'Connor)가 (Richard
subsist)가 (a locus of meaning) 가 (a means to
가 "(1995, 969)
(Georges
Condominias)가 " (ritual technology)"(1986, 28-29)
가 가 가
" (work)"
" : *(The Art of Rice: Spirit and Sustenance in Asia)*"
가 가 가 " (rice
culture)"
(主義)
. 1980 (Christine
Helliwell) " 가 ...
가 "(Helliwell) 2001, 45).
가
가 가
가
가

가 (Twenty Tenets of Rice Cultures)	
1.	,
2.	,
3.	가 ,
4.	,
5.	(Rice Mother) (Rice Goddess) 가 ,
6.	,
7.	,
8.	,
9.	(anthropomorphic figure)가 ,
10.	,
11.	가 .
12.	가 가
13.	,
14.	“ (food)” 가 , “ (eat)” ()
15.	가 , 가
16.	,
17.	,
18.	,

19.	,	,	.
	가	.	
20.	,	가	,
	.		

(THE GODDESS OF RICE)

.

(Java) (Bali) (Dewi Sri)
(Betara Guru)가
(Sedana) , 가 가
가 가
(Pemberton) 1994, 207).

(Mbok Sri Ayu) “
”(가(Heringa)
1997, 363). 가
가
.

가 (Tai Yong)
(Trankell 1995, 107), (Mae
Ku'sok) 가 (Lap Ta)
“ ”

가
가
가
가
가

(Claude Lévi-Strauss)가 “ ” (comparative “structural” analysis)

가

가 , 가

가

가

가

가

가

가

(Dewi Sri) 가 가 (Java)

(*salamatan*) (連禱)가 “ ”(Jay) 1969, 209)

가?

(Vishnu* : 3) (Śrī Devī) 9 10 (圓錐花序) (Fontein) 1990, 197).

“ (Rice Mother)” “ 가 (Rice Maiden)” (Flores) (Lio)

(Iné Paré; “ (Mother Rice”) (Ibu Semangat Padi; (Mother of the Rice Spirit)) (Skeat) 1996, 248). (Minangkabau)

가 (Ande Gadih) “ 가 (Maidenly Mother)” (Klopfer) 1994, 152).

가 (Rice Mother)

가 ,
 (Batari Sri Dewi)
 가 “ ”
 가?
 (Annapurna)
 가
 (anna) (- (Eichinger Ferro-Luzzi) 1977, 535).
 가
 (Shiva)
 (Varanasi)
 (Nellore) “ ”
 (Lakshmi)
 (Bengal)
 가
 (Orissa) “ (;
 Laks[h]mi)가 ” ((Apffel Marglin) 1985, 180).
 (Devī)
 (Hawley 1996, 6)
 (Śrī)
 가
 (Śrī Sukta; 가)
 1000 500 (Rig Veda)
 ((Narayanan) 1996:88).
 가
 (śakti),
 ((Foulston) 2002, 9).
 가
 가
 (Tamil Nadu)
 (amman)
 가
 (ponni)
 (Ponniyamman)

가 (Inari) (Shinto) (Smyers) 1999, 1), (torii) 가 8 가 (Smyers) 1999, 8). (Dakiniten) (vahana) (Vedic) 가 가 가 “ (head)” (Fushimi Inari Taisha) “ ” (Smyers), 159). 가 가 가 (ta-no- (yama-no-kami)가 가 가 (kitsune zuka) (Smyers), 75-76). 가

가 (RICE, SELF, AND STATE)

[illegible]

(960-1279) (Anderson) 2001, 29).

(Sri and Sedana)

(Dewi Sri) /
 (Jaka Sedana) (imagery)
 가(Central Javanese state)
 (*methik*)
 “ (rice stalk wedding)” 가
 (Pemberton) 1994, 205; (Jay) 1969, 210).
 “ ”
 4
 - (Sri-Sedana)
 가(*dhukun*)가
 (Pemberton 1994,
 210). (가
 [*sakti*] (Vedic) .)
 “ ”
 가(*senthong tengah*) (kerobongan)
 (Rassers) 1959, 247).
 ,
 ,
 ,
 (kerobongan)
 / 가 / 가
 가
 가

(Fischer) 1994, 36),
 가
 (oro blonyo) (anointed
 pair)”((Rassers) 1959, 253) “ (inseparable pair)”
 ((Jessup) 1990, 59,
 263).

가 , 가
 가 (dalem) .
 (senthong) 가 가(senthong
 tengah) 가 ,
 ((Waterson) 1990, 186).
 가가 , 가
 가 ,
 (kerobongan) ,
 , 가
 -

가 , 가
 . 14 ,
 가
 가
 (sultan) (keraton)
 ,
 가 가
 ((Poeroebaja) 1939, 319)
 (oro blonyo) .⁵

((Rassers) G.A.J. (G. A. J. Hazen) 1959, 253)

[illegible]

가(Rice and State)

1957 (Karl Wittfogel) “
(Oriental Despotism)”
(灌溉) 가
, 가
, 가 (Angkor) (Khmer) (9
15), 가
, 가 가 11
(West Baray) , 5 1.5
가 , 가 “ (tank)”
. 1296-97
((Higham) 1989, 341).
, 가
, 가 가
가 ()
)
가
(1906)

, 가 (*subak*) (irrigation societies)

가 .

((Lansing) 1991, 7). 가 (Luzon)

. 가

.

가 가

, 가

. , 가

. “ (Sui)[581-618]

(Grand Canal), 가 가

가 ”((Needham) 1971,227).

(Francesca Bray) “ (green revolution)” (1984, 597-600). 1012 , (Champa)

.

. , 가 , 가

, 가

. 가

, 가 (Bray)

가 (1984, 95). 가 , (Yao) (Mien)

가 , 가

((Jonsson) 2000, 68).

가 (). 가

, 1880 (Nan)

(Jonsson) 2000, 70).

가

가

가 (Pagan) (

9 13) , 가 ,

19

(- (Aung-Thwin) 1990, 5, 63). (Tharu) (Terai)

가

((Krauskopff) 2000, 182-184).

가

(1185-1603) 가

(- (Ohnuki-Tierney) 1993, 67). (Edo)

가

30 40

((Okada) 1989, 36).

가

가

가

“ 가

(*inadama no shusaisha*)

”(- (Ohnuki-Tierney) 1993, 45).

10 가 (Ise Grand Shrine)

(Amaterasu) , 가 가

kami)가 , (Toyoukehime-no-

가

가

가

(Garebeg Mulud)
(*gunungan*)

가

878

가

“ (가 *anna linga*)”
(Brahma)

가

가

(Mahameru)

가

가

가

(*Ramayana*)

가

(Siddhartha)

가(Jataka)

가

가

(Gerson) 1996, 21).
“ ”)

(Raek Na;
(Gerson)

1996, 21).

가

가

(Meiji)

(1868–1912)

가

가

(Abanindranath Tagore; 1871-1951)가 1905

“

(

Bharat Mata)”

20

가

가

가

¹

(Anuman Rajadhon) 1961 (Visser) 1989), (Freeman) 1970
(Klopfer) 1994), (Trankel) 1995), (Ohnuki-Tierney) 1993),
(Helliwell) 2001)

² , (Karen Smyers) 「 :
(The Fox and the Jewel: Shared and Private
Meanings in Contemporary Japanese Inari Worship)」
³ 가 가 (Bhagavati) 가 “ ”
(Kali)가 가).
(Caldwell) 1996, 210–15).
⁴ 1980
⁵ 가 (chief minister)
(Jessup) 1990, 264) .
⁶ , 2003 (Tumpang), (Kik Soleh Adi Pramono)
⁷ 가(Rens Heringa) .

Rice, Art, and Culture in Asia Roy W. Hamilton

Revised excerpts from *The Art of Rice: Spirit and Sustenance in Asia*
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Oh sacred padi,
You the opulent, you the distinguished,
Our padi of highest rank;
Oh sacred padi,
Here I am planting you:
Keep watch o'er your children,
Keep watch o'er your people,
Over the little ones, over the young ones,
Oh do not be laggard, do not be lazy,
Lest there be sickness, lest there be ailing;
You must visit your people, visit your children.
You who have been treated by Pulang Gana;
Oh do not neglect to give succour,
Oh do not tire, do not fail in your duty.

—Iban prayer, quoted in Freeman (1970, 154–55)

With these words of prayer addressed to the rice (*padi*) spirits residing in a special sacred clump of rice plants, an Iban farmer in Borneo circa 1950 replanted them in his field. They had been uprooted the day before and treated in an all-night curing ceremony invoking the god of fertility, Pulang Gana, to restore their health. This special intervention was undertaken because the community's rice crop was threatened by disease and failing to thrive. In returning the sacred plants to the field, the farmer urged their spirits to watch over the other rice spirits in the field and spur them on to produce a bountiful supply of grain. This prayer was recorded and translated by anthropologist Derek Freeman and published in his pioneering study of Iban rice agriculture. Another anthropologist, Harold Conklin, conducted similar fieldwork among the Hanunóo on the Philippine island of Mindoro from 1952 to 1954. Both men were struck by the importance of rituals conducted to please the rice spirits:

In Iban eyes *padi* is by far the most precious thing which they possess; it is the main source from which wealth flows, and upon its successful cultivation all well-being depends. To the Iban, however, the cultivation of *padi* is not so much a problem in agricultural method, as a problem in ritual knowledge and skill. *Padi* is a spirit, and a farmer's success depends pre-eminently on his ability to order his dealings with the *padi* spirits in such a way as to win their approval, and to attract to himself the bountiful crops which all men desire. [Freeman 1970, 50]

Ritual observations for the rice plant spirits include the most obligatory taboos as well as the most sacred rites practiced by the Hanunóo. It is universally felt that the welfare of every individual, as well as that of the entire region, depends on the nature of the intimate relationship between the swidden farmers and these hypersensitive rice “people.” [Conklin 1975, 88]

Rituals involving rice spirits or deities are not limited to swidden (or “slash and burn”) agriculture, or to the islands of Southeast Asia. In the Shinto tradition of Japan, for example, the mountain spirit (*yama-no-kami*) is ritually invited in the springtime to descend to the irrigated rice fields and take up residence as the rice field spirit (*ta-no-kami*). There she presides until the harvest is gathered, when another ritual is held to release her back to the mountain. As in many other Asian traditions, this deity for rice is female (Earhart 1970, 15). In the Malay state of Negeri Sembilan, the rice spirit is sometimes personified in legends as a little girl and called by affectionate nicknames such as Flower Princess (Si Dang Sari) or Crystal Princess (Si Dang Gembala). Before the harvest, a Malay shaman traditionally selected the first seven stalks to be cut. This was done by inspecting the rice for several consecutive evenings to determine which heads of grain embodied the rice spirit (Zainal 1985, 140–41, 149). In central Thailand, when the rice grains begin to swell in the fields, the rice plants are said to be pregnant and a pregnancy ritual may be held for the Rice Goddess, Mae Phosop. Phya Anuman Rajadhon wrote about this ritual in 1948, describing how an orange, a banana, slices of sugarcane, powder, perfume, and a comb were placed for the Rice Goddess at a shrine in the rice field. The powder and perfume were sprinkled onto the growing rice plants and their leaves were gently combed. This was an act of “dressing” the goddess, while the orange was intended to prevent her morning sickness. At the conclusion of the ritual, a bamboo marker was set at the boundary of the field, to warn people not to disturb the pregnant goddess (Anuman Rajadhon 1961, 23). Every grain of rice is considered to be a part of the body of Mae Phosop and to contain a tiny bit of her spirit, or *khwan* (Hanks 1960, 299).

All of these rituals are expressions of the belief that a vital spirit animates living organisms, and in particular the rice plant. They were all recorded in the mid-twentieth century, well before the beginning of the sweeping changes in world agriculture that have come to be known as the “green revolution.” It cannot be assumed that these same rituals continue unchanged today, yet many traditional beliefs and practices related to rice still have profound meaning in contemporary Asian societies. As Richard O’Connor has written about Southeast Asian societies, “agriculture is a locus of meaning, not just a means to subsist. As these societies arise performatively, farming’s technical practices easily become ritual acts” (1995, 969). Rice rituals comprise what French anthropologist Georges Condominias has called “ritual technology” (1986, 28–29). To the farmer who performs them, the rituals are no less necessary than planting the seed, weeding the field, or guarding the ripening crop from damage by birds or wild animals. Both are “work” that must be successfully completed in order to meet the end goal of a bountiful harvest.

The Art of Rice: Spirit and Sustenance in Asia explores the cultural aspects of rice as they are expressed through the visual arts and material culture of South, Southeast, and East Asia. This vast region encompasses tremendous cultural diversity, with nothing—not language, not religion, not politics, not even geography—to hold it together. Rice, it seems, is the common element that comes closest to providing a sense of unity across the region, through the role that it plays as the focus of a rich complex of interrelated cultural practices and beliefs that might be called “rice culture.”

A key tenet of rice culture is that rice is a sacred food divinely given to humans that uniquely sustains the human body in a way no other food can. A woman from Borneo summed up this belief in the 1980s when she told anthropologist Christine Helliwell: “If I lived in the West...I would surely die. Because Westerners can’t eat rice. There isn’t any rice there. But if I couldn’t eat rice I’d certainly die. I wouldn’t want any other foods. They wouldn’t be right for me” (Helliwell 2001, 45). Since humans live by eating rice, the human body and soul are regarded as being made from rice. Therefore, it is by eating rice that humans are defined. Many rice cultures also hold that rice plants and rice grains have a special spirit or soul, comparable to the human soul, that must be nurtured with rituals in order to procure a bountiful harvest. Often seed is saved with special ritual procedures to keep the spirit of the rice alive from year to year, which at the same time maintains sacred varieties inherited from ancestors.

Each rice-growing society has its own unique set of values and beliefs associated with rice. Listed below are twenty of the most common tenets that are widespread in many parts of South, Southeast, and East Asia. The list is a composite. No single society holds to every tenet, and the wording below is generalized rather than specific to any particular group of people. Many societies, however, do follow a large number of the tenets, and taken together, they can be said to posit a creed of rice culture.¹

Twenty Tenets of Rice Cultures

1. Rice is a special sacred food, divinely given to humans.
2. The rice plant has a living spirit or soul comparable to that of humans, and the life cycle of the rice plant is equated with the human life cycle. The rice spirits must be honored and nurtured through rituals in order to assure a bountiful harvest.
3. The stages of rice agriculture determine the annual cycle of human activity, including the conducting of the proper rituals at each phase of the rice crop’s growth process.
4. The work involved in growing rice is the ideal form of human labor, reflecting a well-ordered, moral society.
5. The mythological origin of rice is attributed to a Rice Mother or Rice Goddess; in many versions of the story the goddess is killed and the first rice grows from her body.
6. The fertility of the rice crop is metaphorically equated with the fertility of the Rice Goddess and with the fertility of human females; therefore rice is often regarded as female and in exchange systems it functions as a categorically female good.
7. Rice must always be treated with respect in order to avoid offending the rice spirits or Rice Goddess; at harvest time it may be cut with a special type of knife to avoid harming them.

8. The granary is the home of the rice spirits and is often built to resemble a small human house. After the harvest, the grain is ritually installed in its home.
9. Special objects may be placed in the granary to accompany the rice; these include anthropomorphic figures made of rice stalks symbolizing the Rice Goddess, or in other cases carved wooden figures or even copies of religious texts.
10. The spirit of the rice remains alive at least until the rice is milled; thus the rice that is set aside before milling to serve as seed rice perpetuates the rice spirit, keeping it alive until the rice is planted again in the following agricultural cycle.
11. The maintenance of special ancestral genetic strains of rice is a primary link between living humans and their ancestors.
12. The daily milling of rice by pounding it in a mortar is traditionally one of the most characteristic activities of village life. Only after it is milled can the rice be brought into the house.
13. The daily milling, cooking, and eating of rice determine the daily schedule of human activity.
14. Language reflects the special nature of rice as the primary food of humans; often there is no general word for “food” other than the word for rice and an invitation to “eat” implies the eating of rice.
15. The household or family unit is defined as those who eat rice together, especially the rice that is produced through the joint efforts of the family members.
16. Cooked rice is the ultimate human food and only rice is capable of properly nourishing humans; other foods are regarded as condiments to accompany the rice or as snacks and do not constitute a meal if rice is not served.
17. Because humans live by eating rice, their bodies and souls are made from rice.
18. Rice and rice alcohol are quintessential offerings made to spirits, deities, and ancestors.
19. The offering of a portion of the daily cooked rice to spirits, deities, or ancestors sanctifies the remainder of the rice, which becomes the sacred daily food to be eaten by humans. The living humans and their ancestors are united through the daily sharing of this sacred food.
20. Because rice ties humans to their ancestors, defines the family unit, and provides the ultimate human nourishment, the growing and eating of rice define what it means to be human.

THE GODDESS OF RICE

Incest. Immolation. Incineration. According to Southeast Asian stories about the origin of rice, these are among the sufferings endured by the Rice Goddess in providing her sacred grain to humankind. In one version of the story of Dewi Sri, the Rice Goddess of Java and Bali, the supreme ruler of the deities, Betara Guru, murders Sri’s younger brother, Sedana, to put an end to his incestuous love affair with his elder sister. Betara Guru covets Sri for himself, and when she fails to come around to him, he murders her as well. From Sri’s corpse sprouts the first rice (Pemberton 1994, 207).

In an example from a village in rural East Java, the goddess, known there as Mbok Sri Ayu, voluntarily surrenders: “All right, eat me then, together with my child, when the third season has come” (Heringa 1997, 363). But this myth is a transformation of a related group of stories in which a stranger bride passes through the area on her way to meet her

husband. Instead she is waylaid, raped, and murdered by the locals. The Indonesian stories about Sri thus not only portray the Rice Goddess being sacrificed in order to benefit humans; they also suggest a close link between her sexual fertility and the origin of rice.

In a somewhat different version, from the Tai Yong of northern Thailand (Trankell 1995, 107), the Rice Goddess Mae Ku'sok is a starving woman searching for food to feed her children. She ventures deep into the forest where she encounters an ascetic named Lap Ta, the "wise man with eyes closed," who has accumulated tremendous heat through his meditation. Mae Ku'sok's pleas are so earnest that Lap Ta opens his eyes to look at her, and she is cremated on the spot by the intensity of his gaze. From her bones and ashes grow the first rice.

Clearly it is impossible to speak of a single Southeast Asian myth of the Rice Goddess, as each recorded account differs in ways big or small from nearly every other version. The name of the goddess varies; the cast of characters changes; the actions credited to one character in one version fall to another in a second version; the goddess is raped, decapitated, or incinerated by her brother, by the supreme deity, or by strangers, and so on. The many versions form a vast interlocking web, eminently suitable for the type of comparative "structural" analysis that Claude Lévi-Strauss pioneered in the study of mythology. When such an analysis is applied to the Southeast Asian Rice Goddess stories, several key points emerge. First of all, across a broad spectrum of Southeast Asian cultures with diverse religious traditions, rice is held to have originated through the activities of a goddess. Secondly, the Rice Goddess herself is sacrificed, and the rice produced from her body. Thirdly, due to its origin directly from the body of the Rice Goddess, rice itself is sacred and divine. Finally, the life cycle and fertility of the rice plants are equated with the life cycle and fertility of the Rice Goddess. This last point is illustrated most clearly by the pregnancy rituals that are held for the Rice Goddess when the grains of the rice plants growing in the fields begin to fill out and swell. In some cases every stage of the growth of the crop is equated with corresponding stages in the life cycle of the Goddess.

Despite the sometimes gruesome details of her many stories, it is the Rice Goddess's divine abundance that captivates the imagination of her followers. For the Javanese, Dewi Sri is by far the most beloved deity and the one most likely to enter into everyday conversations. This is especially remarkable in Java, where Islam has been the predominant religion for several hundred years. The Javanese, however, are known for their religious syncretism, and a standard litany for the ostensibly Islamic Javanese ritual feast (*selamatan*) is "Giving honor to Mohammad the Prophet, to Adam and Eve, and to Dewi Sri" (Jay 1969, 209).

And what of the origins of Dewi Sri herself? Her name is based on Hindu deity traditions that were brought to Southeast Asia from India. In the Hindu courts of ancient Java she took her place as Śrī Devī, consort of Vishnu. A ninth- or tenth-century bronze figure from Central Java depicts the goddess holding a panicle of rice (Fontein 1990, 197). Not all Southeast Asian peoples use an Indic name for the Rice Goddess, however. In many

cultures, she is simply called the “Rice Mother” or “Rice Maiden.” Examples include Iné Paré (literally, “Mother Rice”) in the language of the Lio people from the island of Flores, or Ibu Semangat Padi (Mother of the Rice Spirit) in Malay (Skeat 1996, 248). The Minangkabau call her Ande Gadih, or “Maidenly Mother” (Klopfer 1994, 152). These examples indicate that Dewi Sri is a Hindu goddess’s name applied to a preexisting Rice Mother, and the Rice Mother herself is simply the personification of the spirit of the rice plants. Thus the ultimate origin of the Rice Goddess in Southeast Asia lies in the belief in nature spirits and in particular a spirit of the rice plants.

In Bali, Sri lives on today as a Hindu goddess, formally called Batari Sri Dewi. She is the focus of a great deal of Balinese ritual, extending from the rice fields to the most sacred temple in the land, Pura Besakih, where an annual “wedding” for Sri performed.

If the Rice Goddess in Southeast Asia represents a grafting of Indian deities onto animist rice spirits, what of the Rice Goddess on the Indian subcontinent? Characteristically, a plethora of rice deities can be found there. Annapurna is a Pan-Indian deity whose very name is derived from the Sanskrit word for rice, or food, *anna* (Eichinger Ferro-Luzzi 1977, 535). She is typically depicted in a tableau with a rice spoon in her hand, often together with Shiva, to whom she is providing rice. Major Hindu temples dedicated to Annapurna are located in Varanasi and in Nellore, a town whose name means “town of rice.”

The goddess Lakshmi is recognized all over India as the goddess of prosperity, but in some regional traditions she too is strongly associated with rice. The worship of Lakshmi as a rice goddess is a common domestic practice in Bengal, for example. Similar practices prevail in Orissa, where it is said that “[w]ithout Laks[h]mi there is no food, no life-sustenance” (Apffel Marglin 1985, 180). That the goddess of prosperity could be equated with the goddess of rice comes as no surprise, for in preindustrial Asia rice was a primary measure of prosperity and wealth.

Even leaving aside the Hindu philosophical idea that all goddesses are one, called Devī (Hawley 1996, 6), it appears that India’s Lakshmi and Indonesia’s Dewi Sri are one and the same. The goddess Śrī is first mentioned in the *Śrī Sukta* (Hymn to Sri), which was probably added to the Rig Veda between 1000 and 500 B.C.E. (Narayanan 1996:88). Śrī appears in the churning of the milky ocean and becomes the consort of Vishnu. She is Vishnu’s *śakti*, his energy or power (Foulston 2002, 9). Both Lakshmi in India and Dewi Sri in Indonesia are considered to be the consort of Vishnu, and Vishnu the ideal head of state.

These major pan-Indian deities are supplemented by a host of folk deities honored in particular localities. In Tamil Nadu such village deities are known as *amman*, and the names of some *amman* indicate that they are associated with rice. For example, the most cherished variety of rice in northern Tamil Nadu is called *ponni*, and there is a village deity for this variety known as Ponniyamman.

In Japan, a huge infrastructure is devoted to the Japanese deity for rice, Inari. In fact, one-third of all Shinto shrines in Japan are dedicated to this deity (Smyers 1999, 1), constituting literally tens of thousands of shrines. The vermilion torii gates and fox sculptures that are the hallmarks of Inari shrines are common sights in city, suburb, and village throughout Japan. Inari is unique among rice deities in having both female and male forms, as well as being represented in both the Shinto and Buddhist traditions. Originally Inari, who has been worshiped by that name since at least the early eighth century, did not have a specific gender. The female aspects arose in relationship to rice and fertility, while the male aspects came later with the spread of Buddhism (Smyers 1999, 8). Inari may be depicted as an old man carrying rice panicles, as a young female goddess, or as the androgynous bodhisattva Dakiniden astride a white fox. The idea that deities ride on sacred vehicles (*vahana* in Sanskrit) is a Vedic concept picked up by Buddhism and carried across Asia to Japan. Inari's vehicle, sometimes termed his or her assistant, is so characteristic and important that many Japanese today say that Inari *is* a fox. Many of the most devout Inari worshipers belong to informal groups led by charismatic women in a manner highly reminiscent of the Northeast Asian shamanic traditions.² The groups can be seen daily making pilgrimages to Inari shrines, especially the "head" Inari shrine for all of Japan, Fushimi Inari Taisha. This spectacular shrine occupies an entire mountainside in the outskirts of Kyoto, and the path that winds to the top is lined with thousands of torii gates and fox sculptures. The spirit of Inari that is enshrined at Fushimi can be ritually "divided" by the Shinto priests and a part of it installed in a new shrine (Smyers, 159). In this manner, the spirit of Inari has been enshrined all over Japan, including in small portable home shrines.

Rice is nearly, though not completely, obscured by the complexities of Inari worship. At the Fushimi shrine, rice is grown on a small plot following Shinto ritual procedures. These include not only the rice transplanting ritual, which is performed in many places in Japan, but also a burning of the straw in November, which releases the rice field spirit *ta-no-kami* back to the mountain to become the mountain spirit *yama-no-kami*. Even the association of Inari with foxes has a relationship to rice, as foxes are said to be prevalent at the time in spring when the *yama-no-kami* descends to the rice fields to become the *ta-no-kami*. The so-called fox mounds (*kitsune zuka*) that abound in Japan are natural or artificial mounds located near rice fields where the rice deity is said to have been worshiped in former times (Smyers, 75–76).

In modern times Inari worship in Japan has undergone the same transformation as Lakshmi worship in India, namely, a conflating of the rice deity with a deity for prosperity and wealth. Among the most regular worshipers of Inari today in Japanese cities are businessmen who appeal to the deity for corporate success and profit.

RICE, SELF, AND STATE

Are we what we eat? In the West, this common adage is often taken as a joke, and its true significance is rarely contemplated. Millions in Asia, who feel rice is a sacred food that

nourishes them in a way no other food can, may not ponder this question in an overtly philosophical manner, yet they intuitively acknowledge a deep connection between rice and the self. On the most basic level, the eating of a single food as the main component of every meal promotes an awareness that one's body is literally built from rice. More importantly, rice serves symbolically as a key element in the construction of personal identity. The rice plant is held to have a spirit akin to the human spirit, and the life cycle of rice is metaphorically equated with the life cycle of humans. Rice features prominently in human life cycle rituals, and the growing and eating of rice is seen as defining in part what it means to be human. Since human life depends on rice, the fertility of the rice crop and the fertility of humans are one and the same. Not surprisingly, the pivotal role of rice in the formulation of individual identity expanded to encompass the community and the state. Just as humans are defined by eating rice, many Asian polities have been defined on a practical level by their management of rice production and even on a symbolic level by an imagined relationship, nurtured for political purposes, between the leader or ruler on one hand and the spirits or deities of the sacred grain on the other.

Rice is so ubiquitous in Asian rites of passage that it is impossible to give more than a few examples here, drawn from various cultures, but these will suffice to suggest why Asians might justifiably feel they are accompanied by rice throughout their lives, not just as a food but also as a potent symbolic agent. In the traditional central Thai rituals for childbirth, rice is scattered around the room when a woman is in the final stages of labor (Anuman Rajadon 1961, 121–22). Thus the baby is born into a space already marked with the sacred grain that will become a lifelong companion. In Kerala, the celebration of a young woman's first menses involves a display of a large quantity of unhusked rice as a fertility symbol invoking her future reproductive power.³

Rice in various forms appears repeatedly in engagement and wedding celebrations. Likewise in aging and death a strong relationship between rice and humans may be expressed. After death, in many diverse Asian religious traditions rice is provided to the corpse to provision the journey to the afterlife. In some cultures, most notably those influenced by Confucian practices honoring ancestors, rice offerings may continue to be made to the deceased as they gradually attain ancestor status. In the memorial practices of the Baba (Malaysian) Chinese community, for example, bowls of rice and chopsticks are placed daily on the altar for family ancestors. In the first year after death only one bowl is prepared, but thereafter more are added to accommodate the friends that the ancestor will have made in the other world (Anderson 2001, 29). In Song dynasty (960–1279) China, ceramic urns were sometimes filled with rice to represent the soul of a deceased ancestor.

Sri and Sedana The imagery of the Javanese Rice Goddess Dewi Sri and her brother/consort Jaka Sedana features in both personal relationships, especially marriage, and also in the formulation of the Central Javanese state. The traditional Central Javanese harvest ritual (*methik*) conducted in the field prior to the cutting of the grain took the form of a wedding ceremony for Sri and Sedana. The first cut stalks, representing the incestuous divine couple, were brought together in a “rice stalk wedding” (Pemberton 1994, 205; Jay 1969, 210). The stalks were then clothed in a batik cloth and carried in procession under a ceremonial umbrella to the field owner's house, where the

“newlyweds” were installed in a “bridal” chamber at the rear center of the house. This sacred space essentially constituted a shrine for Sri.⁴

The fertile divine couple, often referred to in Java by the hyphenated name Sri-Sedana, is in many ways an imagined model for the ideal human wedded couple. The preparations made for a Javanese bride by the ritual specialist (*dhukun*) on the eve of her wedding connect the bride to Sri (Pemberton 1994, 210). The bride spends the night meditating to enhance her radiance (a reminder of Sri’s Vedic origin as divine energy or power [*sakti*] for her husband, Vishnu), thereby effecting her symbolic transformation into Sri. The following day the bride and groom sit together in state. Older sources indicate that these procedures took place on mats laid in front of the sacred chamber at the rear of the house called *senthong tengah* or *kerobongan*, a space “designed to enable the inhabitants to receive the goddess Sri” (Rassers 1959, 247). This is of course the same space where Sri was worshiped and the seed rice was placed after the harvest.

In short, the bride and groom evoke Sri and Sedana, representing hope for the fertility of humans in the same way that the seed rice stored in the form of the wedded Sri and Sedana embodies the fertility of the rice crop. The Javanese bride and groom are also often said to represent a king and queen for a day, and they are dressed as lavishly as circumstances allow in order to express this ideal while they sit in state on the *kerobongan*. This too brings to mind the original Hindu ideology of Sri as the wife/queen of her husband/king Vishnu, a further indication that the Javanese bride in her finery is an evocation of Sri.

Rather standardized images of the ideal wedded couple are widespread in Javanese art, especially in the form of pairs of carved wooden figures and as paintings on glass. The glass paintings were popular items of Javanese folk art in the early twentieth century (Fischer 1994, 36) and still can still be seen hanging in some Javanese homes. The wooden figures too have become popular items of folk and tourist art. Technically the figures are known collectively as *loro blonyo*, sometimes translated as “anointed pair” (Rassers 1959, 253) or “inseparable pair,” but they are also explicit representations of Sri and Sedana (Jessup 1990, 59, 263).

To follow these ideas further, a short digression into Javanese domestic and court architecture is necessary. The traditional rural Central Javanese house has an enclosed, private central room (*dalem*). At the rear of this room are three smaller store rooms (*senthong*). The middle one of these, the *senthong tengah*, comprises the innermost sacred space in the house and is regarded as the domain of Sri (Waterson 1990, 186). The scale and grandeur of this space varies according to the means of the household. If the *senthong tengah* is small, the storeroom itself comprises Sri’s framed nuptial bed. If the room is larger, it may be separated from the *dalem* with an elaborate partition and have a freestanding *kerobongan* within it, also beautifully framed. No matter how grand or small, it is this space in which the straw figure of Sri was placed after the harvest and where the bride meditates on the eve of her wedding, to be joined by the groom the following day. Thus Sri-Sedana, the bride and groom, and the storage place for the rice

seed are all bound together in the complex of ritual practices involving the sacred heart of the rural farmhouse.

As Javanese architecture evolved to encompass other forms of dwellings, the *senhong tengah* and *kerobongan* and their meanings evolved as well. From the fourteenth century onward, the trading centers that developed on the north coast of Java began to rival the importance of the inland agricultural areas. The wealth generated by this trade allowed leading citizens to build splendid houses famed for the elaborateness of their carved and painted woodwork. The rather humble *senhong tengah* of the farmer's house grew into an ostentatious inner alcove in the north coast merchant's house. The space that the farmer used to store his most precious commodity, his seed rice, the merchant used as a storeroom for his valuables.

In the courts of Central Java, the palaces (*keraton*) that belonged to the various sultans also each had a private inner sanctum, analogous to those of the farmers and merchants. The royal *kerobongan*, which resemble large, fully enclosed four-poster beds, were situated at the back of these chambers, in a position analogous to the *senhong tengah*. Published reports (Poeroebaja 1939, 319) and photographs indicate that carved wooden *loro blonyo* figures were displayed in front of the *kerobongan* in the palaces.⁵ Beyond the court setting, the *loro blonyo* and the *kerobongan* also appear to have been closely associated. According to colonial era reports (G. A. J. Hazen, in Rassers 1959, 253), and also in the memory of elderly Javanese, the *loro blonyo* figures were placed in front of the *kerobongan* and formed a part of the shrine to Sri. The figures would not have been found in every house, but primarily the homes of aristocratic families.⁶

In Javanese studies, rural cultural practices are often characterized as poor-cousin imitations of the more refined practices prevailing at court—witness the “king and queen for a day” ideology. In the case of the Rice Goddess Sri, however, it may have been the other way around.⁷ Sri was probably first and foremost a rural agricultural “Rice Mother” who became deified as a Hindu *dewi* and came eventually to serve the state as regalia in the form of the sultan's *loro blonyo*. In his brilliant study of modern Java, John Pemberton (1994, 197–235) shows how Sri-Sedana and the imagery of the Javanese bridal couple was used by the ruling elite during the time of the “New Order” Suharto period (1965–1998) to enhance their legitimacy with a mantle of “tradition.” In the process, the *kerobongan* became a stage set that can be installed in large halls, totally removed from its former context as a sacred space in the house. As middle-class families have rushed to adopt this prevailing version of the “traditional” wedding, rent-a-*kerobongan* have become a feature of modern life. Seed storage, the promise of a wedded couple's fertility, the emblems of state, and society weddings—all have become bound together in the imagery of Sri and her bed.

Rice and State In 1957 the German economist Karl Wittfogel published his theory of “Oriental Despotism,” in which he claimed that the construction and maintenance of major irrigation systems for rice agriculture encouraged the centralization of power in premodern Asia, and led to despotic states. Wittfogel's theory, though influential in his time, has by now been debunked several times over. One of the key cases that he cited

was the Khmer kingdom of Angkor (ninth through fifteenth century), whose vast and famous temple complex was possible only with the production of enough rice to feed a huge corps of corvée laborers. Among the many impressive features of the site are the artificial lakes, the largest of which, the eleventh-century West Baray, is about five miles long and one and one-half miles wide. Wittfogel assumed that the main purpose of the lakes, like the “tanks” of ancient Sri Lanka, was for irrigation of the rice crop. More recently this has come into question. Chinese emissaries who visited Angkor in 1296–97 and wrote extensive descriptions made no mention of the lake water being used for irrigation (Higham 1989, 341). Archaeologists have pointed out that no mechanism for delivering the water to the fields has been identified, that the waterworks may have served religious or transport functions rather than as a means of irrigation, and that adequate rice may have been grown in rainfed bunded fields without any irrigation at all (as it is in much of the area today). This debate remains unresolved.

Another example that Wittfogel cited was Bali, where in precolonial times (up to 1906) several small kingdoms competed to dominate the rich irrigated rice lands of the southern slope of the island. Where he erred here is that irrigation in Bali is organized through a complex system of irrigation societies called *subak*, which still exist today and have never been a function of the state (Lansing 1991, 7). Finally, the strongest refutation of Wittfogel’s theory comes from a place he did not consider, the highlands of Luzon. There, successive generations of farmers living in tiny independent hamlets, with no state organization of any kind, built the most impressive system of terraced and irrigated rice fields anywhere in the world.

While it therefore cannot be claimed that any particular form of state organization developed in response to the needs of rice agriculture, there are nevertheless many ways in which states and rice were, and continue to be, linked in Asia. In imperial China, for example, the capital and its huge bureaucracy remained in the north even after the state became critically dependent on rice grown in the south: “The whole story of the Grand Canal, which took definitive form first in the Sui [581–618], was essentially the building of a main artery to bring tax grain from the economic to the political centre of gravity of the country” (Needham 1971, 227).

The changes that took place in Song dynasty China were so sweeping that Francesca Bray has likened them to an earlier “green revolution” (1984, 597–600). In 1012 new varieties of faster-ripening rice plants were imported from the kingdom of Champa, located in what is today Vietnam. The new varieties allowed double cropping in the fertile Yangtze Delta and elsewhere in southern China. These changes finalized the transfer of the economic center of China from the north to the south, where it has remained ever since. Without the Grand Canal, and without the massive importation of rice from the south to the north, the Chinese state could not have survived into modern times.

Throughout China’s history, the clearing of land for agriculture defined the borders of the imperial state. The influx of Han Chinese settlers in newly cleared areas brought stability, while the opening of new land provided a safety valve in Chinese society against the

dangers posed by refugees and expanding landless rural populations (Bray 1984, 95). At the far borders of the state, especially in the south, minority groups such as the Yao and Mien were repeatedly pushed further into marginal mountainous lands. Various Yao groups possess scrolls granted by the Chinese emperor that give them the right to move about, clear mountain land for swidden agriculture, and not be subject to taxation wherever they went (Jonsson 2000, 68). It was in part their practice of swidden rather than irrigated rice agriculture that defined these groups as being outside the Han Chinese state (although they differed in language and cultural practices as well). As the Han population expanded, many minority groups moved through the mountainous terrain into Southeast Asia. One Yao group, for example, settled in the 1880s in the territory of the small kingdom of Nan, located in northern Thailand (Jonsson 2000, 70). Whereas the Tai people of Nan farmed wet rice in the valley bottom that ran through the center of the kingdom, the Yao occupied the surrounding hills. As foreigners and swidden rice farmers living on the outskirts of the Tai state, the Yao were considered nonsubjects. Thus the state was in this case essentially defined by the limits of wet-rice agriculture.

All over the rice-growing regions of Asia, the practical aspects of rice agriculture impacted the formulations of the state, and vice versa. For example, from the time of the kingdom of Pagan (ninth through thirteenth centuries C.E.) onward, the Burmese state was always centered in northern Burma because a well-developed irrigation system there made rice agriculture feasible even though the region is quite dry. Only after British colonial efforts in the late nineteenth century drained swamps in the south and opened the area for settlement did the political focus shift southward (Aung-Thwin 1990, 5, 63). The settling of low-lying swamplands in Nepal's Terai region by Tharu minority groups was in some ways similar. As Tharu village communities opened the region to rice cultivation, the Nepalese kings gave them official documents certifying their status according to several different types of land ownership and labor management (Krauskopff 2000, 182–184). No matter which system characterized a particular community, the documents also regulated the tax that was owed to the king, payable in rice.

Japan also had a very extensive system of rice tax collection. During the medieval period (1185–1603), rice seed was distributed in the spring by the government and also by religious authorities. In the fall it was paid back, with interest, in the form of offerings of the new crop to the Buddha and to the Shinto deities (Ohnuki-Tierney 1993, 67). In the Edo period, the feudal system consisted of an urban warrior class ruling over village farmers, based on the collection of a 30 to 40 percent tax on the rice harvest paid directly in grain (Okada 1989, 36).

The relationship between the state and rice in Japan not only involved the practicalities of production and taxation but was also highly symbolic. Japan's imperial system originated with agrarian leaders whose political authority resided in their perceived ability to intercede with supernatural powers in order to achieve a bountiful rice harvest: "For this reason many scholars consider the emperor first and foremost as the officiant in rituals for the rice soul (*inadama no shusaisha*) who ensures the blessings of the deities for the new rice crop on behalf of the people" (Ohnuki-Tierney 1993, 45).

In October a representative of the emperor makes offerings of the newly harvested crop at Ise Grand Shrine, the most important Shinto shrine in Japan. The main deity enshrined at Ise is the Sun Goddess, Amaterasu, who is regarded as the ancestress of the imperial family and the Japanese state. Among the other important deities enshrined at Ise is Toyoukehime-no-kami, the goddess of grains, who is often depicted with a sheath of rice.

These practices indicate that the identity of the Japanese state is closely tied to rice agriculture. Similar ideologies are found throughout the rice-growing regions of Asia, reiterated through the rituals of state. In the Islamic sultanates of Central Java the most important annual holiday was Garebeg Mulud, the celebration of the Prophet's birthday. On this occasion, the sultan sent a procession bearing towering cones of rice known as *gunungan* through the streets of the city. These offerings represented the ruler's contribution to the fertility of the realm and were apparently ancient in origin, as an inscription dating to 878 C.E. describes similar rice cones called "food lingam" (*anna linga*) being offered to the Hindu deity Brahma. The name *gunungan*, meaning mountain-like, is itself derived from pre-Islamic concepts of the Hindu sacred mountain Mahameru, another symbol of divine rule. At the end of the procession, the offerings were torn apart in a scramble by the ordinary citizenry and carried off, spreading the blessing throughout the land.

Many Asian kingdoms had royal plowing ceremonies in which the monarch plowed the first furrow to mark the opening of the agricultural season. These ceremonies are quite ancient and probably originated in India, as they are mentioned in the classical Indian epic *Ramayana*. In the Buddhist tradition they are mentioned in the Jataka stories, the tales of the life of Prince Siddhartha before he achieved enlightenment as the Buddha. In one of the stories, the young prince shows supernatural talents at the annual plowing ceremony conducted by his father, the king (Gerson 1996, 21). The Thai royal plowing ceremony, Raek Na (literally, "first plowing"), continues to this day in Bangkok (Gerson 1996, 21).

Because rice has played so prevalent a role in conceptions of the state, rice imagery has been an ideal tool for expressing political messages in the modern era. In Meiji period (1868–1912) Japan, rice imagery appears in woodblock prints that satirized both cultural conventions and modern developments. In India the Bengali artist Abanindranath Tagore (1871–1951) produced his famous painting *Mother India (Bharat Mata)* in response to nationalist agitation following the British partition of Bengal in 1905. Mother India is shown in the form of a four-armed Bengali goddess clutching the symbols of Indian self-sufficiency, including a sheaf of rice. In the second half of the twentieth century, as the use of political posters became widespread, it was inevitable that political views of all stripes would be expressed using the idiom of rice.

¹ Detailed descriptions of these beliefs and practices can be found in the classic descriptions of rice agriculture (including Freeman 1970, Conklin 1975, and Anuman Rajadhon 1961), and in a continuing series of more recent treatments, including Visser 1989, Ohnuki-Tierney 1993, Klopfer 1994, Trankel 1995, and Helliwell 2001, as well as a great number of individual articles scattered through the literature.

² Inari worship is a tremendously complex and varied subject, richly documented in Karen Smyers's book *The Fox and the Jewel: Shared and Private Meanings in Contemporary Japanese Inari Worship*.

³ Rituals in Kerala often include sprinkling the earth with a liquid colored red with turmeric and lime. This "blood" represents the menstrual flow of the goddess Bhagavati, the preeminent goddess of Kerala (and regional variant of the pan-Indian goddess Kali). When soaked with the goddess's blood, the earth is said to give birth to rice plants in the same way that a mother gives birth to a child after experiencing menstruation (Caldwell 1996, 210–15).

⁴ These rituals could be observed readily as late as the 1980s, but they are now rare.¹

⁵ According to other sources, they were at least in some cases kept in the chief minister's residence (Jessup 1990, 264).

⁶ Personal communication, Kik Soleh Adi Pramono, Tumpang, Java, 2003.

⁷ I thank Rens Heringa for discussions that developed this idea.

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ewailes@uark.edu

2004

2004 5 28

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Eric J. Wailes¹

UN 2004 .

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25.7% 가 28.7%, 가 27.4% .

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90%가 가

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	2444	191	7.8
	2701	836	31.0
	3285	116	3.5
	2675	688	25.7
	3318	45	1.4
	2621	718	27.4
(LIFDC)*			
가	2433	699	28.7
	3407	113	3.3
	2854	298	10.4

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: FAOSTAT

* Low-income food-deficit countries.

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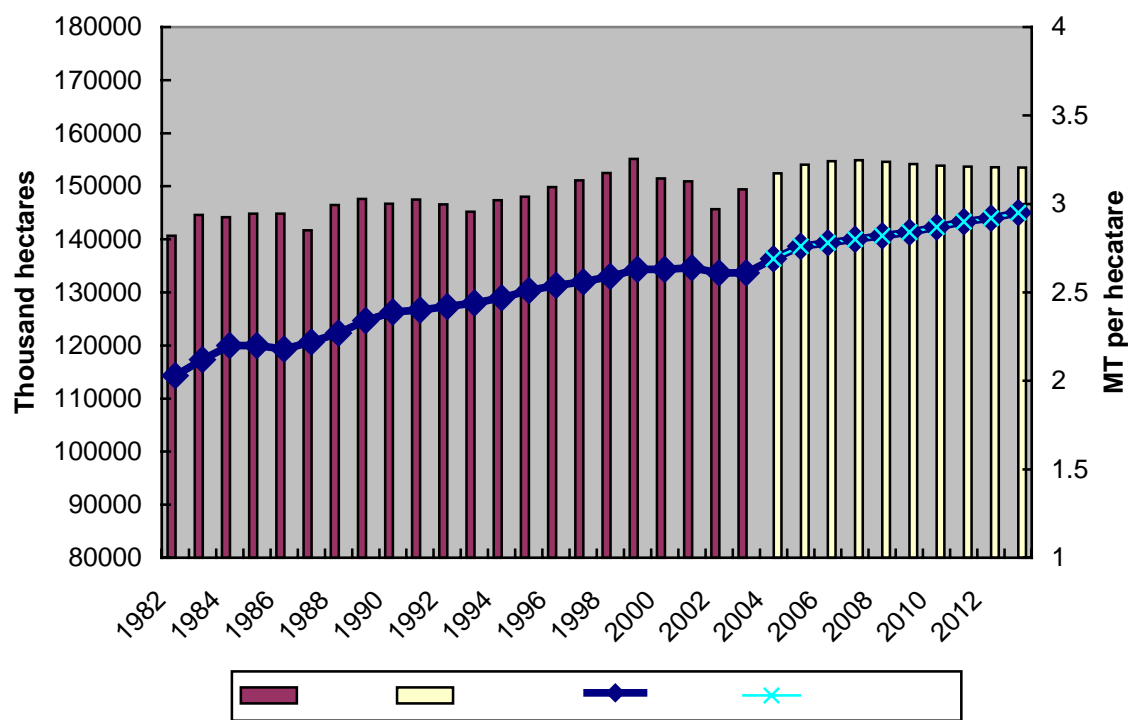
Global Rice Model, AGRM) . (rice area
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1. 1982-2003 2004-2013



: PS&D FAPRI (2004).

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가
(Rosegrant and Svendsen, 1992; Wailes).

2. 1976-99

(t/ha)			
	1967-69	1984-86	1997-99
	3.16	5.01	5.80
	1.62	2.44	3.42
	1.45	1.77	2.12

: Hossain, 2004.

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. 1999

, (high yielding, early season rice)

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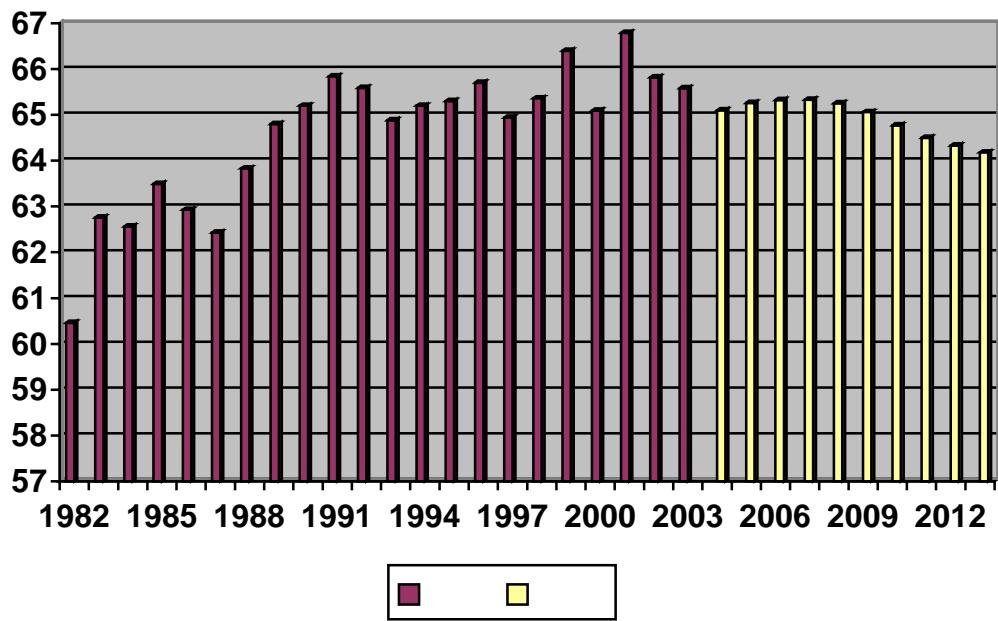
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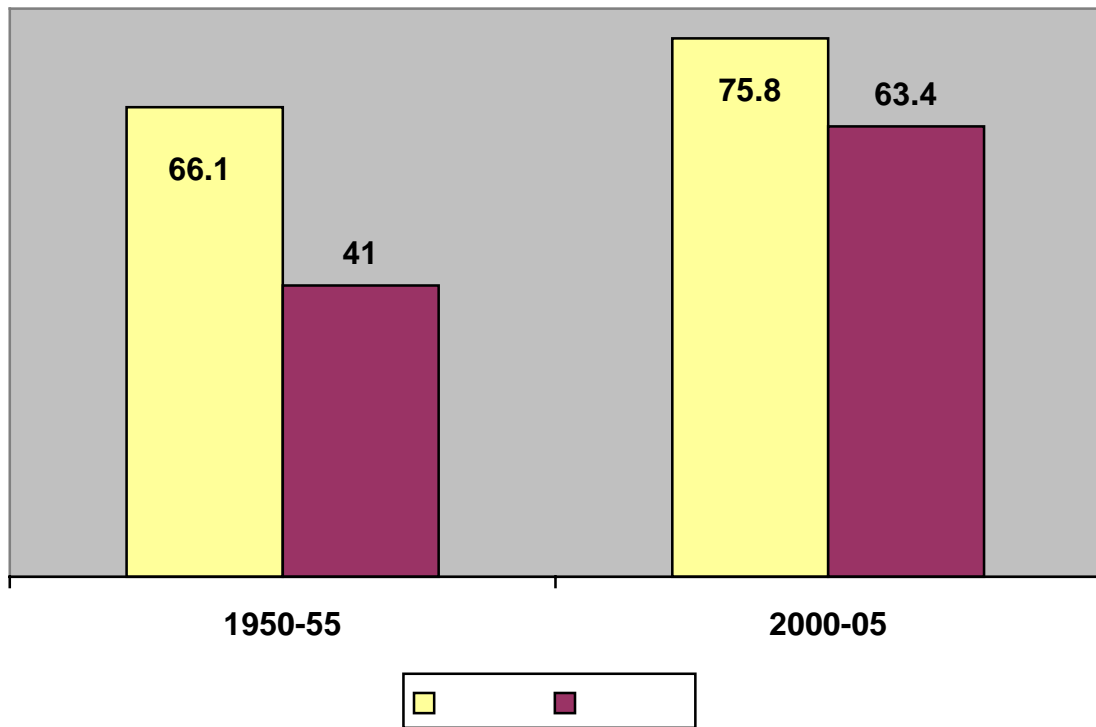
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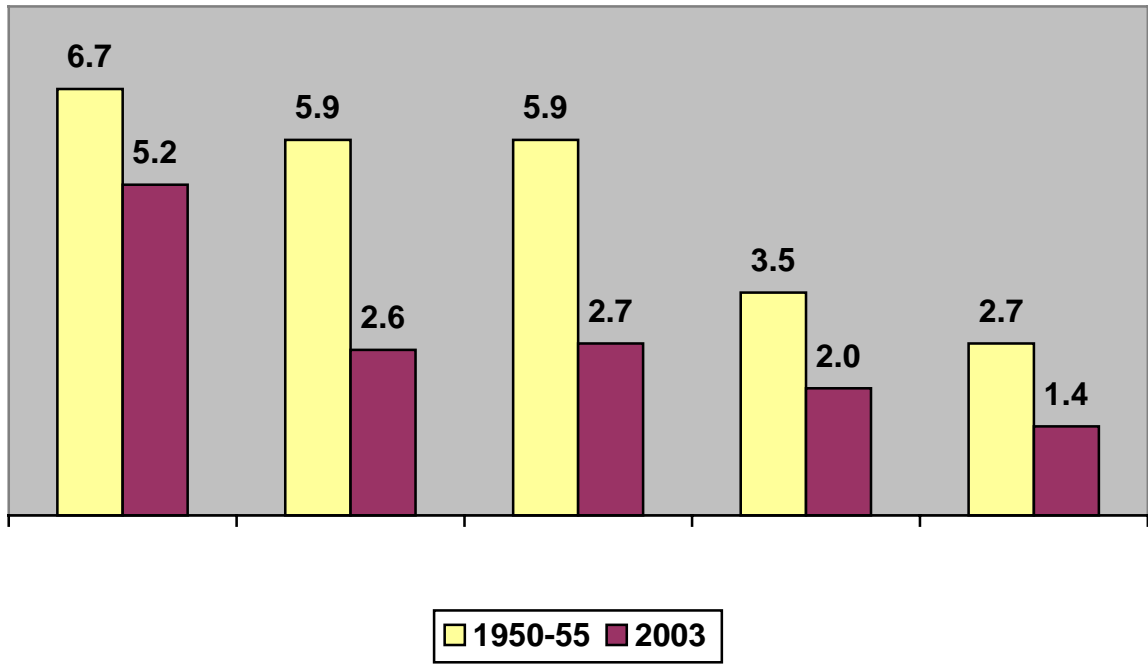
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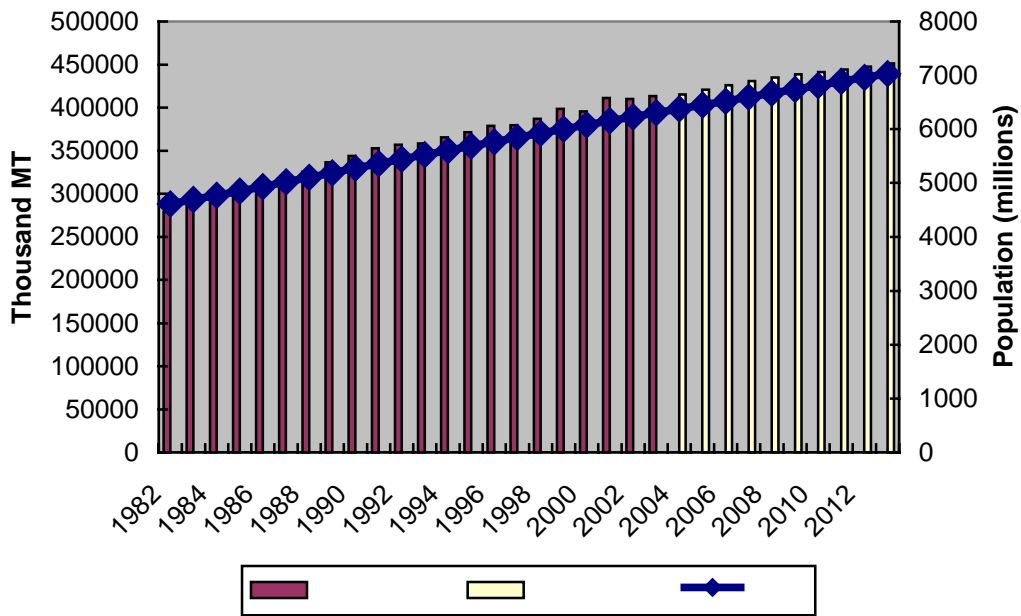
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		726	565	632	705
		326	391	448	512

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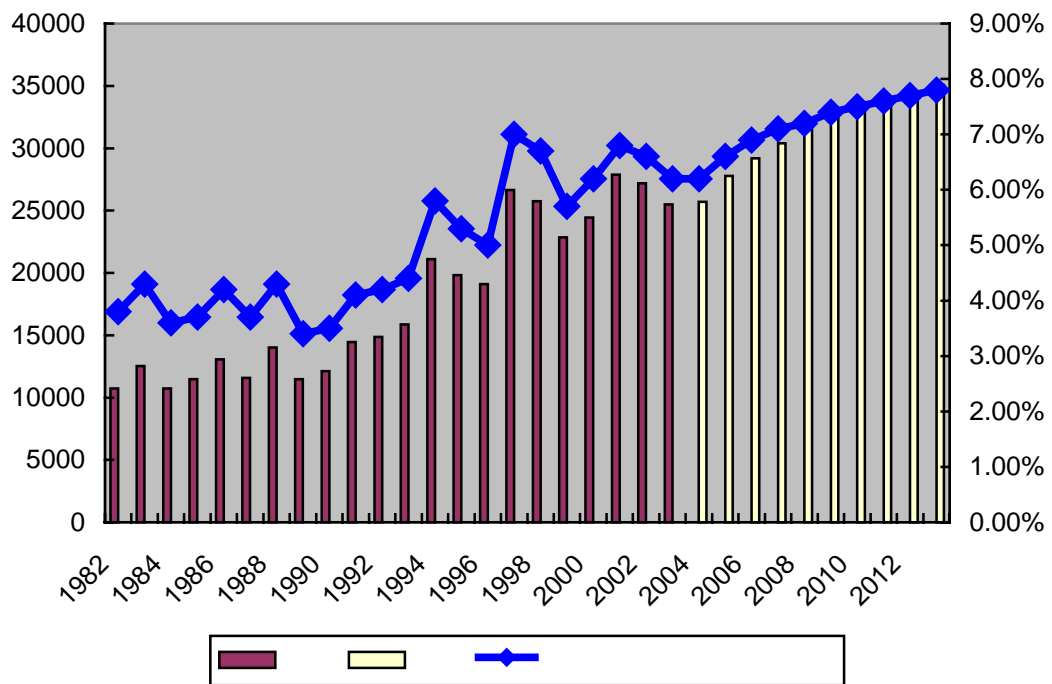
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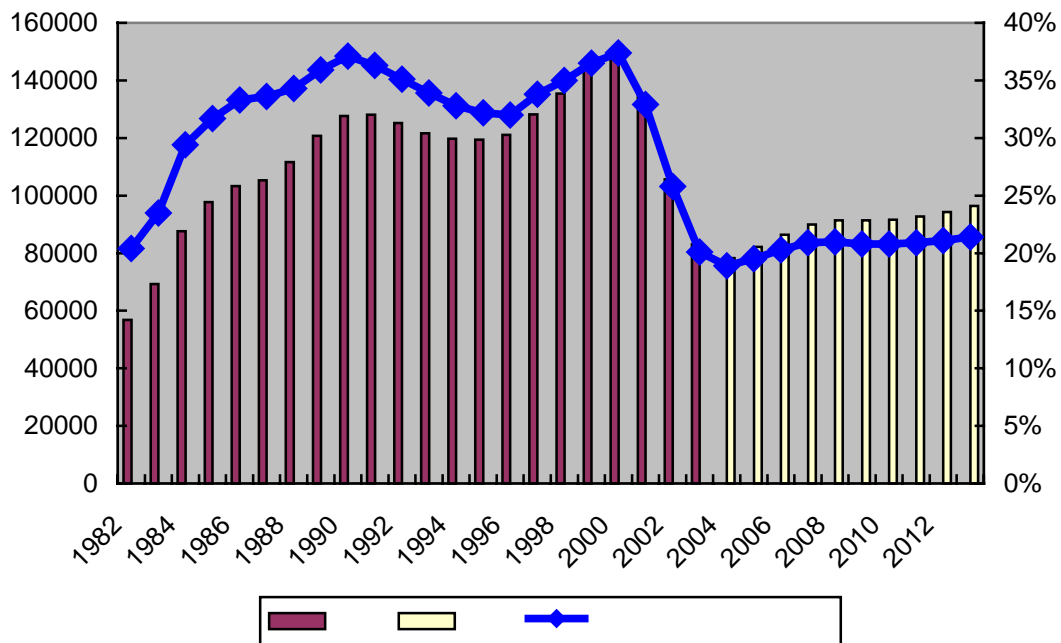


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**PROSPECTS AND CHALLENGES:
SUPPLY AND DEMAND OF WORLD RICE**

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2004 The International Year of Rice
International Symposium
Seoul, Korea
May 28, 2004

PROSPECTS AND CHALLENGES: SUPPLY AND DEMAND OF WORLD RICE

Eric J. Wailes¹

Introduction

The purpose of the United Nations in launching the International Year of Rice in 2004 is to bring focus to the fundamental role that rice plays as a cultural identity and an essential component of the world food and agricultural system. To that end, I am deeply honored to participate in the International Symposium on Rice Industry Development sponsored by the Korea Rural Economic Institute.

Rice is the most important food staple in the world, accounting for more than 20 percent of global calories consumed (Table 1). The share of calories is even higher for developing countries, 25.7 percent; for low-income countries, 28.7 percent; and for low-income food-deficit countries, 27.4 percent. Thus, an analysis of the prospects and challenges for the supply and demand of world rice is an important topic, particularly for consumers and producers whose nutritional well-being and livelihoods depend upon the performance of the global rice economy. Future developments in rice discussed in this paper will affect rice prices, production, consumption, and trade and will have a magnified impact in Asia where over 90 percent of the world's rice production and consumption occurs.

Table 1. Share of calories from rice by region, 2001.

Region	Total calories per capita	Rice calories per capita	Percent calories from rice
World	2807	565	20.1
Africa	2444	191	7.8
Asia	2701	836	31.0
Developed	3285	116	3.5
Developing	2675	688	25.7
Europe	3318	45	1.4
LIFDC*	2621	718	27.4
Low Income	2433	699	28.7
N C America	3407	113	3.3
S America	2854	298	10.4

Source: FAOSTAT

* Low-income food-deficit countries.

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Characterization of the global rice economy

Several aspects are important in discussing the global rice economy:

- Global rice production is concentrated geographically in Asia with three countries—China, India and Indonesia—accounting for two-thirds of output.
- Yield increases explain most of the recent and projected expansion in production of rice.
- Rice is a water intensive crop and the irrigated rice ecosystem accounts for almost three-fourths of total rice supplies.
- Most rice is produced on small family farms except in Australia, Europe, South America and the United States.
- Growth in demand for rice consumption depends upon relative prices, incomes, and population growth.
- The demand for rice in many Asian countries has become inferior with respect to income growth.
- Population growth rates have declined significantly over the past decade and are projected to decline even further in most countries.
- Demand for rice by consumers is highly differentiated by end use and quality characteristics.
- A relatively few number of rice exporting nations sell to a relatively large number of importing nations.
- Rice trade as a percent of global production and consumption is relatively small compared to other grain staple crops.
- Trade-distorting policies including producer price supports, export subsidies, state trading, import tariff and tariff rate quotas make rice one of the most protected agricultural commodities.
- International rice prices tend to be unstable because of the geographic concentration of production, the fragmentation of markets and trade, and the high degree of protectionist policies.

Prospects for rice production

Analysis of prospects for production is typically divided into two components—area harvested and yields (mt/ha). As Figure 1 shows, the global area harvested to rice has ranged from 140 to 154 million hectares since 1982. Over this period, the average annual growth in

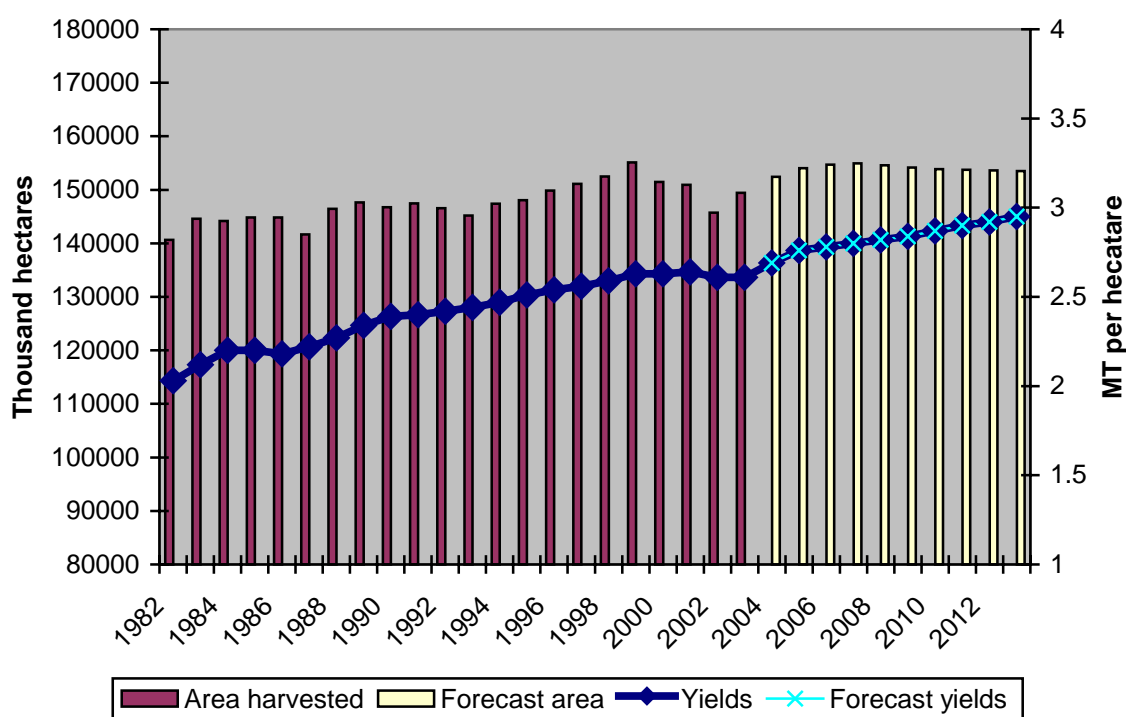
area harvested was only 0.3 percent. There are several important constraints on bringing additional land into rice production. First and foremost, the economic incentives to add additional land resources have not existed. As diets have diversified, there are growing pressures to divert rice areas to the production of other crops. Urbanization has also resulted in the irreversible conversion of fertile croplands.

Should profitability to rice production increase for a sustained period, there are significant areas around the globe that would be suitable to expand rice cropland. In Asia, the rice area in Cambodia, Thailand, Myanmar, and several eastern states in India could expand further (Hossain, 2004). South American countries including Argentina, Brazil, Suriname and Uruguay could also substantially increase rice production areas. Alexandratos (1995) has suggested that there is also the potential for considerable rice production area expansion in river valleys in western and southern Africa.

Depressed international rice prices from 1999 to 2003 reduced global rice area harvested (Figure 1). In addition to low prices, India experienced a serious drought in 2002 causing area harvested to decline to 145 million hectares. The projection of rice area harvested is based on analysis using the Arkansas Global Rice Model (AGRM). Projected rice area harvested expands from the recent low in 2002 to 154.5 million hectares and then levels off at 153 million out to 2013. This pattern is being driven by higher real international rice prices compared to the 1999-2003 period. However, over the projected period, global rice area harvested annually only expands marginally by an average of 0.1 percent.

Growth in yields per hectare accounted for 81 percent of the total expansion in global rice production from 1982 to 2003. While yields expanded at an average annual rate of 1.2 percent over this period, the annual rate of increase was substantially higher from 1982 to 1992 at 1.6 percent compared to only 0.7 percent over the past 10 years. Hossain (2004) has suggested the major reason for the slow down in the growth rate in yields is because rice farmers have already adopted the high-yielding modern varieties and the best farmers' yields have closed the gap between farm and experiment station yields. Prior to 1992, higher yield growth rates were achieved in part through the conversion of rain-fed ecosystems to irrigated systems where the difference in average yields between systems is 3.6 t/ha favoring irrigated systems.

Figure 1. World rice area harvested and yield per hectare, 1982-2003 actual and 2004-2013 projected.



Source: USDA, PS&D and FAPRI (2004).

Hossain indicates that the scope for additional conversion from rainfed systems to irrigated systems has become limited. Investment in irrigations schemes has declined and for irrigated systems that rely on groundwater, depletion of the aquifers has become problematic as in the United States and China (Rosegrant and Svendsen, 1992; Wailes et al.

Table 2. Average rice yields for irrigated and rainfed ecosystems, Asia, 1967-99

Ecosystem	Average yield (t/ha)		
	1967-69	1984-86	1997-99
Irrigated	3.16	5.01	5.80
Largely rainfed	1.62	2.44	3.42
Rainfed	1.45	1.77	2.12

Source: Hossain, 2004.

Another dimension to the situation on yields is that farmers increasingly respond to higher opportunity costs associated with their labor in rice production due to rural industrialization. Thus, there is less and less interest in adopting technologies that simply increase output per unit of land. Related to this phenomenon is the recognition that the demand for high yielding but low quality rice has diminished with income growth in both rural and urban populations. A good example is the rapid decline since 1999 in the production of high yielding, early season rice in southern China, which, due to its low quality, was filling government-owned warehouses without a market.

The projected global rice yields using the AGRM model and shown in Figure 1 above imply an average annual growth rate of 1.1 percent. Whether yield growth can be improved to this level will remain to be seen and the challenges to achieve this are discussed later in the paper. But what this projection does mean is that almost 90 percent of the growth in global rice production will depend upon improvement in rice yields. Total world rice production is projected to increase from 391 million mt in 2003 to 453 million mt by 2013. Will this be sufficient to meet the growth in global rice consumption? For that question we now turn to a discussion of the factors determining growth in rice consumption.

Prospects for rice consumption

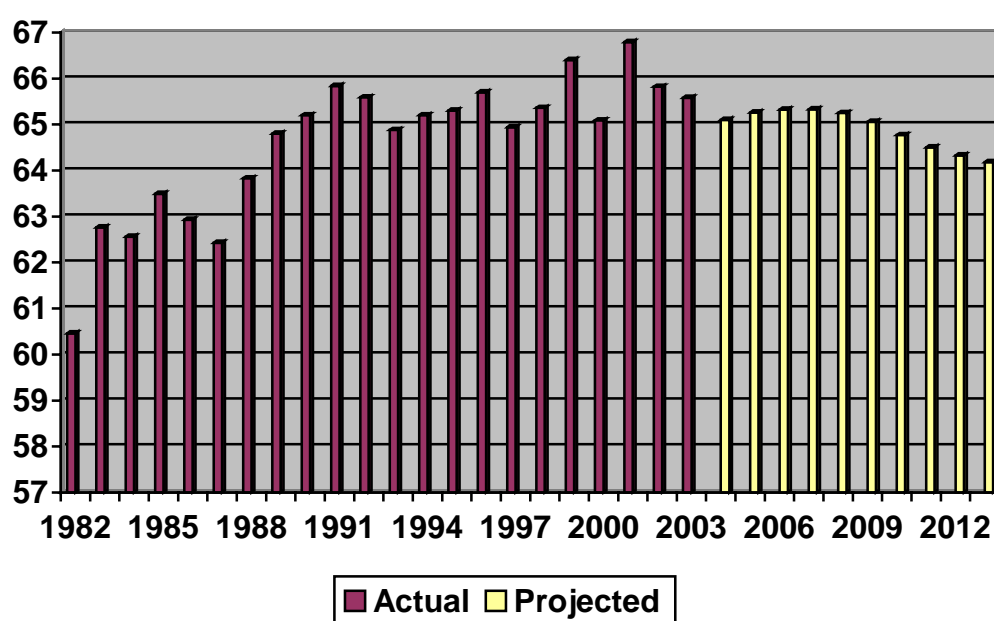
The primary factors that influence rice consumption are relative food prices, income growth and population growth. As a staple food, the response of consumption to changes in relative prices is extremely low. Rice prices are critically important in many Asian developing countries because rice is a major component of the household food budget. As a result, food security concerns regarding the availability of rice and the level of rice prices are paramount in these Asian developing countries. Therefore many lower income nations attempt to stabilize domestic supplies of rice through border protection.

In high income Asian economies, the expenditure share of food and particularly rice in the household budget is relatively low as households shift their spending patterns in favor of a more diversified diet, and into non-food expenditures such as housing, health and education. The relatively low importance of rice prices for consumers in these higher income countries provides the ability of these economies to protect domestic prices for producers. As producer price protection develops, the price supports become capitalized into the costs of producing rice, self-validating the need for continued producer price support and border protection.

The effect of income growth on rice demand follows from the fact that rice is a staple food and with higher incomes, household diversify their diets to such an extent that rice becomes an inferior good, meaning the additional increases in income result in reductions in rice consumption (Ito et al, 1989). This explains in large part why the increases in global per capita rice consumption have slowed and as depicted in Figure 2, why the projections of the AGRM model show a slight persistent decline over next decade.

Another reason for the decline in per capita rice consumption, and one highly correlated with the income level effect is the so-called income structure effect associated with the increase in urbanization (Bouis, 1991). As populations move from the farm, they become more sedentary and have lower energy requirements. Second, the urban environment typically provides many more food alternatives and third, rice is typically more expensive in urban areas compared to rural areas. The recent revision in urbanization projections by the United Nations (2004) indicates that while the world's population is doubling, the world's urban population is tripling. Levels of urbanization and growth rates vary across regions. Latin American nations, among developing countries currently have the highest proportions of urban to rural populations, but East and South Asian countries are projected to have the fastest growth rates over the next 30 years.

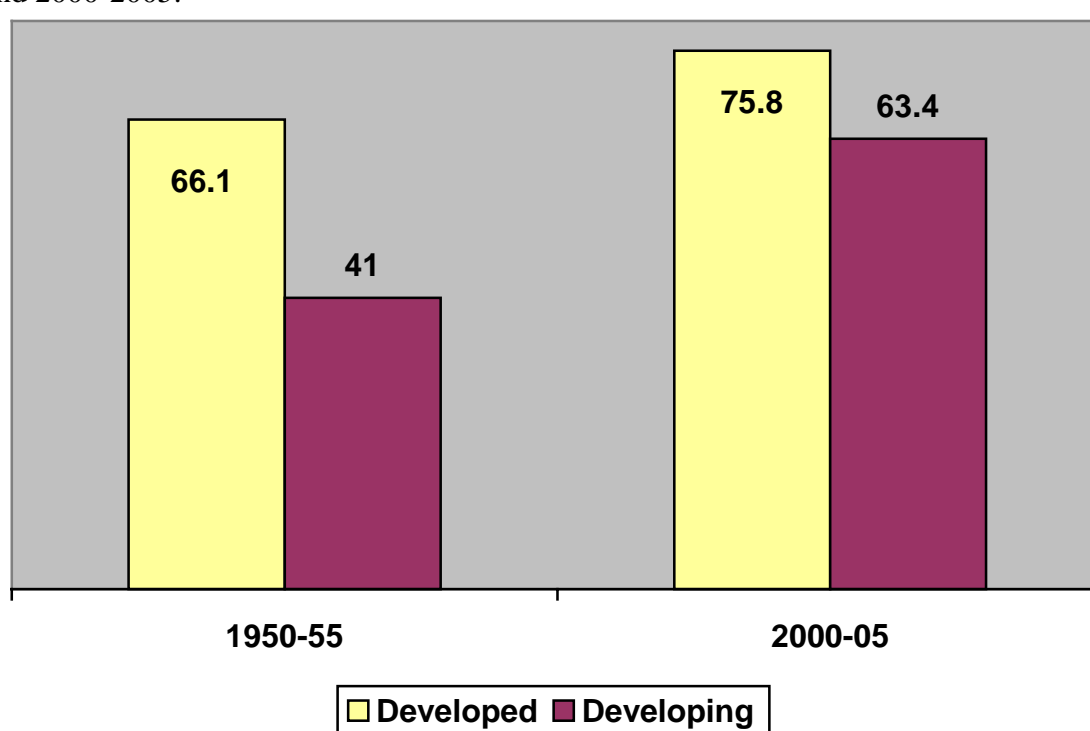
Figure 2. Global per capita rice consumption (kg), 1982-2013.



Source: USDA, PS&D, and FAPRI, 2004

With a leveling of and projected decline in per capita consumption of rice, due primarily to income growth and urbanization, the key parameter for global demand for rice is population growth. Over the past century there was great improvement in human health and significantly longer life expectancy. This improvement far outweighed the decline in fertility rates, resulting in a doubling of the population of the developed world, exceeding 1 billion by 2000, while the population of the developing world more than quadrupled, totaling nearly 5 billion by 2000 (Population Reference Bureau, 2004).

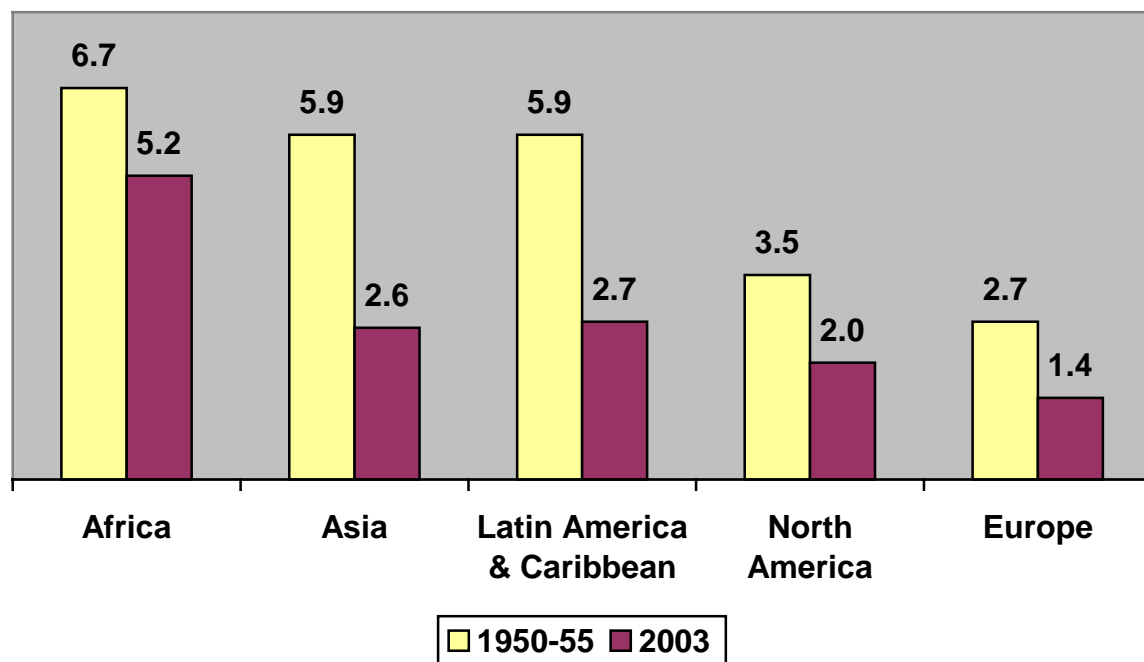
Figure 3. Changes in life expectancy (years) in developed and developing nations, 1950-55 and 2000-2005.



Source: United Nations, 2004.

Fertility levels, measured as children per woman, have declined over the past 53 years to a remarkable degree in all regions except Africa (Figure 4). While the transition to lower fertility in Africa is apparent, the speed and degree of decline is most uncertain. Widespread illiteracy, poverty and relatively low rates of urbanization favor a slower decline in Africa. The HIV/AIDS crisis has increased mortality rates, but the use of public funds to fight this disease may also be contributing to a lack of funding for family planning, delaying the transition to lower fertility rates.

Figure 4. Fertility levels (children per woman) in major world regions, 1950 and 2003.



Source: UN Population Division 2003.

The UN Population Division generates the most widely used projections of population (2003). Because mortality, fertility and immigration rates have been and will continue to be affected by policies, the UN provides three main scenarios as shown in Table 3 below. From the base of 6.3 billion in 2003, the UN projects global population to range between 7.4 to 10.6 billion by 2050. Regardless of the scenario, the UN predicts that at least 1 billion will be added by 2025. This growth is inevitable since fertility rates in developing countries, with 5.1 billion of the total 6.3 billion 2003 population, remain relatively higher than for developed countries. Continued improvement in health care in developing countries will improve life expectancy and the pyramidal age structure in developing countries will sustain population growth rates regardless of the trends in fertility levels.

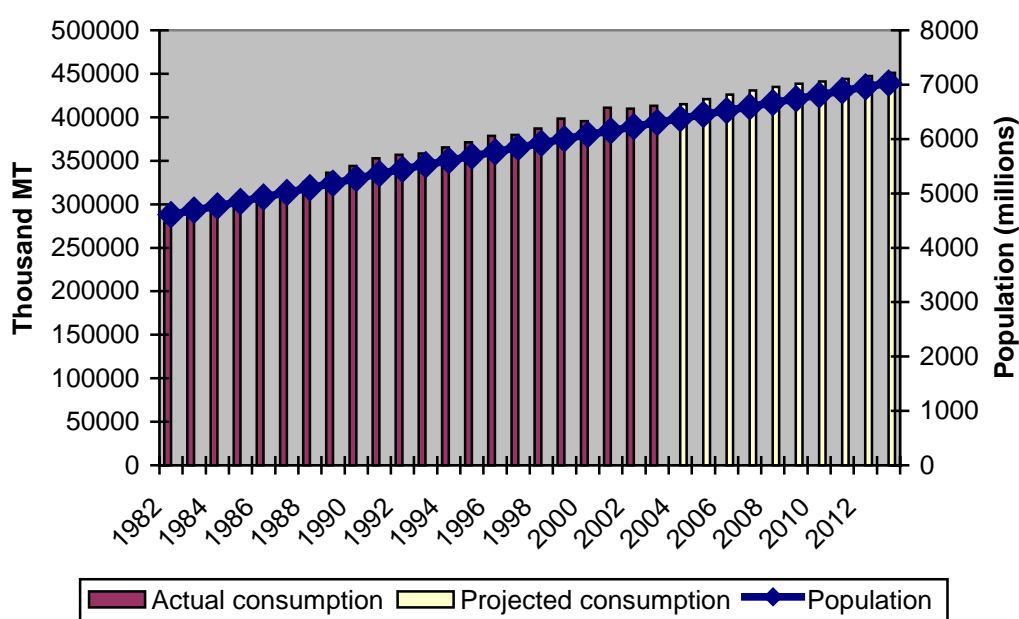
Table 3. Estimated and projected population of the world, groups and major areas, 2003 and 2050 according to fertility variant (millions).

Major Area	2003	Population in 2050		
		<i>Low</i>	<i>Medium</i>	<i>High</i>
World	6 301	7 409	8 919	10 633
More developed	1 203	1 220	1 370	1 185
Less developed	5 098	6 325	7 699	9 263
Africa	851	1 516	1 803	2 122
Asia	3 823	4 274	5 222	6 318
L. America/Carib.	543	623	768	924
Europe	726	565	632	705
N America	326	391	448	512

Source: United Nations, 2003.

Projections for rice demand taking into account population growth estimates are depicted in Figure 5 out to 2013 using the Arkansas Global Rice Model. From a level of 413 million mt in 2003, total world rice consumption is expected to increase to 451 million mt by 2013. World population increases from 6.302 billion in 2003 to 7.029 billion by 2013. With declining global per capita consumption of rice, the expansion in rice consumption occurs as a result of population growth.

Figure 5. Global rice consumption and population, 1982 to 2013.



Source: USDA, PS&D and FAPRI, 2004.

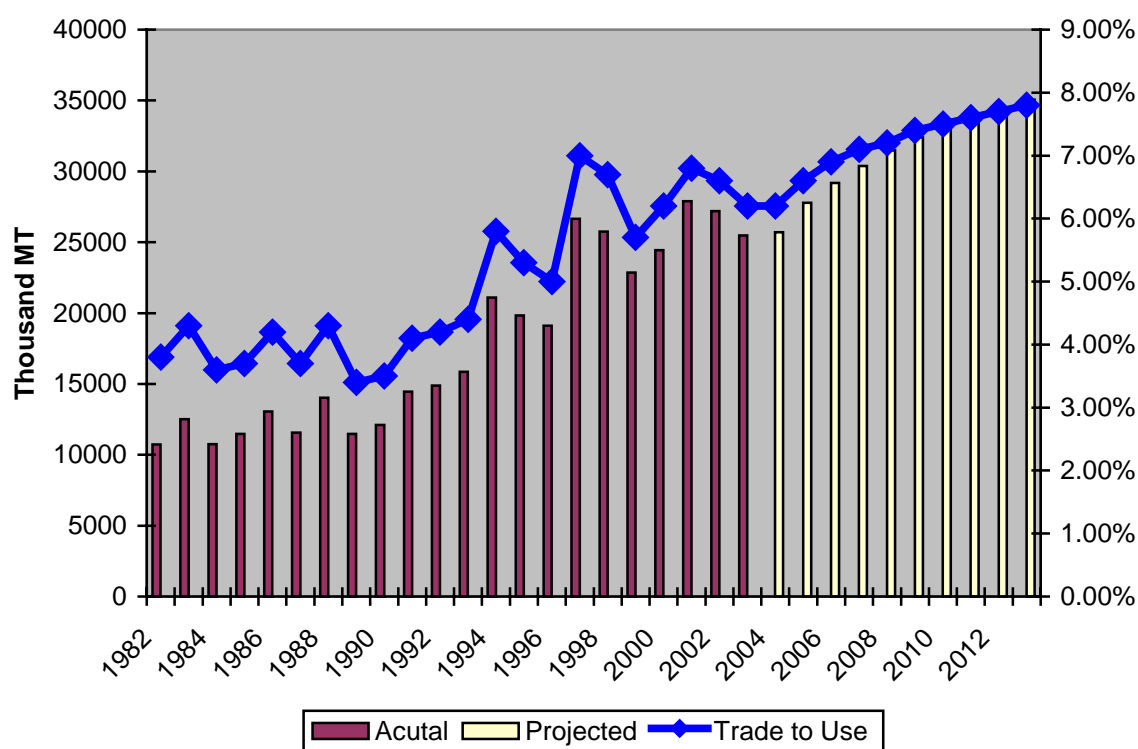
Balancing global production and consumption through trade and stocks

Despite the importance of rice in the world's food economy, global rice trade currently only accounts for 6.5 percent of consumption (Figure 6). This means that most rice consuming countries tend to be self-sufficient but must, in times of production shortfalls, import at uncertain prices and/or store large buffer stocks. Global rice trade relative to world rice consumption during the past 5 years is small compared to other commodities such as wheat trade at 18.3 percent, corn at 11.9 percent, and soybeans at 34.5 percent (USDA, PS&D). It can be argued that the thinness of trade for rice is primarily a result of a variety of protectionist mechanisms based on national policy objectives in major rice producing and consuming countries to achieve desired domestic food security and producer prices and incomes.

Wailes (2004) has estimated that elimination of trade barriers would increase total rice trade by 15 percent and as a percent of consumption to nearly 10 percent, although this varies by type of rice. Jayne (1993) has argued that the link between domestic stabilization policies and instability in world rice prices has been exaggerated. His study emphasizes thin and fragmented markets along with other factors as being major factors that cause price instability. Nevertheless, domestic price stabilization policies have been achieved by restricting imports, thus contributing in a substantial way to the international market thinness. Therefore, it is difficult to ignore the effect of domestic stabilization policies achieved through import and export restrictions as a significant cause of international rice price instability.

Trade liberalization is having a profound impact on the international rice market because of the very fact that rice trade has been highly protected in both industrialized and developing nations (Wailes, 2002). Even the relatively modest terms of agreement in the Uruguay Round Agreement on Agriculture (URAA) have contributed to global rice trade growth experienced in the latter half of the 1990s (Figure 6). Compared to rice trade in the 1970s and 1980s, post-Uruguay Round trade has essentially doubled in both volume and as a share of consumption. Rice, however, remains with sugar and dairy products, as one of the most protected food commodities in world trade. As a result of slower and longer market access reforms negotiated for developing countries in the URAA, rice policies in developing countries have not changed significantly over the past decade. Projected rice trade, assuming existing WTO agreements without additional reforms, is shown in Figure 6. These projections again are based on the AGRM framework.

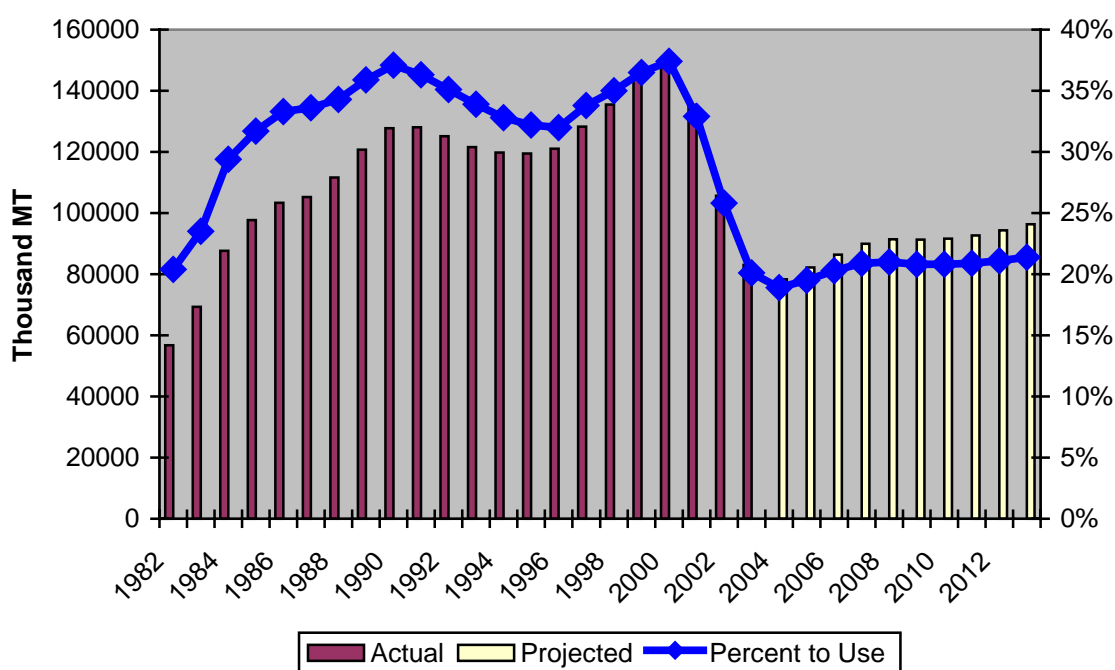
Figure 6. Actual and projected global rice trade and percent trade to use, 1982 to 2013.



Source: USDA, PS&D and FAPRI, 2004.

In addition to the thinness of rice trade, another important structural characteristic for understanding the global rice market, particularly for food security, is the level of stocks to consumption. As depicted in Figure 7, from the mid-1980s until 2002, global rice stocks relative to consumption were within a plus or minus 3 of 35 percent. However, over the past two years, this level has dropped precipitously to only 20 percent, a level not experienced since the early 1980s. China and India accounted for 90 percent of the recent decline in global ending stocks. At the rate of current consumption, this decline in stocks implies a drop from 4 months of rice stocks to 2.5 months. Current policies on stocks are uncertain but the projections depicted in Figure 7 suggest that stock levels are likely, under the assumption of normal weather patterns, to rebuild slightly and the share of stocks to use will remain near 20 percent. This startling projection then brings me to a discussion of the challenges facing the global rice economy.

Figure 7. Global rice stocks, actual and projected and percent stocks to use, 1982-2013.



Challenges

Of the more than 840 million people who suffer chronic hunger, more than half of this population lives in areas dependent on rice production for food, income and employment. More than 80 percent of all rice producers live in poverty and more than 2 billion people in developing nations depend on rice-based production systems for their economic livelihoods (FAO, 2004).

The importance of national and global food security systems will increase in the future not only because of population growth, but because a significant share of the world's population is being left behind. The continuing and immediate task is one of bridging the gap between potential and actual yields through synergistic packages of technology, services and public policies.

The diminishing availability of additional land and irrigation water will challenge the conditions under which more rice will have to be produced. The integration of traditional breeding with molecular techniques is beginning to bear fruit with continuous increases in the yield ceiling. Hybrid rice and so-called super rice are likely to dominate in the near future. Research on environmentally sustainable cultural practices necessary to complement this higher yielding rice is critical and must occur simultaneous with the research to breed for high yields.

As the first major food crop to have its genomic structure fully described, rice genomics and biotechnology is progressing rapidly (Khush and Brar, 2002; Khush, 2004). A drought-tolerant gene, for example, has been identified and varieties with this expression are in development. Development of rice varieties that will be much less dependent on water will have the potential to greatly expand production areas suitable for cultivation, changing costs of production and geographic areas of comparative advantage and disadvantage. There are new opportunities of improving the nutritive characteristics of rice, particularly for micronutrients and iron.

If, as noted above, most of the growth in population over the next 25 to 50 years is going to be in developing nations and since over 90 percent of rice is consumed in the country where it is produced, the challenge will be to harness the new technology to apply to the production systems in these developing countries where the rice is produced. This will require an increase in the productivity of complex, but low-yielding rice production systems in ways that are environmentally sustainable.

The global rice market will continue to remain thinly traded and segmented. The importance of rice as a staple food and its political and cultural significance will cause nations to continue to pursue inward-looking policies. The struggle between the inward-looking policies to achieve food security and the simultaneous efforts of nations to participate in the global economy will continue. As Pingali (2004) has noted, the food and agricultural policy agenda in the 21st century must shift from one of being self-sufficient to one of being self-reliant. The emphasis must be on maximizing the economic well-being of rural and urban households rather than one of generating food surpluses. Economic diversification and commercialization, with mobilization of resources to their highest and best use should guide long-term policy goals.

The designation of 2004 as the International Year of Rice is a timely opportunity for all nations to reflect on these challenges and recommit to meeting the challenges of food security, poverty reduction, nutritional well-being, and securing the sustainability of the resources for future generations.

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,

1)

1.

1.1.

1970 6,459 2002 20 8,733 가

23.7% 3.5% 1970 2

7,252 2002 596 3,812

1970 23.3% 2002

18.7% 가

2002 186 2

ha 18.7%

61.1% 38.9%

1970 3,224 2002 4,764 1.2%

가 가 1,442 2 2002 359 1

4.3%

가

44.7% 7.5% 가 1970 248 3 2002

128 2.0%, 가 가 5.81 2.80 2.2%

1.

: %

	1	가 2	3
1970	23.3	44.7	23.7
1975	22.7	37.7	22.1
1980	22.2	28.4	12.6
1985	21.6	20.9	10.7
1990	21.2	15.5	7.3
1991	21.1	14.0	6.5
1992	20.8	13.1	6.4
1993	20.7	12.3	5.7
1994	20.5	11.6	5.5
1995	20.0	10.8	5.3
1996	19.6	10.3	5.0
1997	19.4	9.7	4.5
1998	19.2	9.5	4.2
1999	19.1	9.0	4.4
2000	19.0	8.6	4.1
2001	18.9	8.3	3.8
2002	18.7	7.5	3.5

: 1)

2) 가

3)

: 「 」, , 2003

1) 한국농촌경제연구원, 연구위원(dgpark@krei.re.kr)

1.2.

가
74.8%(2003)
가 70%
가 가
가 가
가 가
가 가
가 1.2ha
가 0.5ha
가 1ha
가
43.9%
가
1.5ha
가
3.5ha
60 가 52.1%
(3).
70 가 15.6%

2. 가

	가 ()	가 (%)							
		0.5ha	0.5 1.0	1.0 1.5	1.5 2.0	2.0 3.0	3.0 3.5ha		
1970	2,020	53.1	31.3	10.4	2.9	1.8	0.5		
1980	1,849	47.7	34.8	11.7	3.5	1.8	0.5		
1985	1,643	43.3	36.0	14.2	4.0	2.0	0.5		
1990	1,508	40.4	33.9	15.0	6.0	3.5	1.2		
1995	1,205	41.2	31.4	13.6	6.4	4.6	2.8		
2000	1,078	42.2	30.6	11.8	7.0	4.6	3.8		
2001	1,054	43.8	29.6	12.1	6.2	4.4	3.8		
2002	985	43.5	29.4	11.6	6.8	4.5	4.2		
2003	945	43.9	29.0	11.2	6.5	4.7	4.7		

: 「 , , 2004

3. ,

		0.5ha	0.5 1.0	1.0 2.0	2.0 3.0	3.0 5.0	5.0ha
40	100.00	42.25	30.57	18.77	4.63	2.72	1.07
	5.92	2.40	1.63	1.09	0.36	0.29	0.15
	40 49	16.44	6.14	4.50	1.16	0.87	0.42
	50 59	25.57	9.40	7.69	1.58	0.93	0.33
	60 69	36.31	15.16	12.13	1.31	0.55	0.15
	70	15.75	9.14	4.62	0.21	0.08	0.02

: 「 , , 2000

2) 쌀농업에 종사하는 농가 수에 대한 공식적 통계자료가 없으나 여기에서는 논이 있는 농가를 쌀농업에 종사하는 농가로 간주하였다.

1.3.

가 20% 50% 가
(2002) 가
3.9% 29.7% 가

4. 가 , , : , %

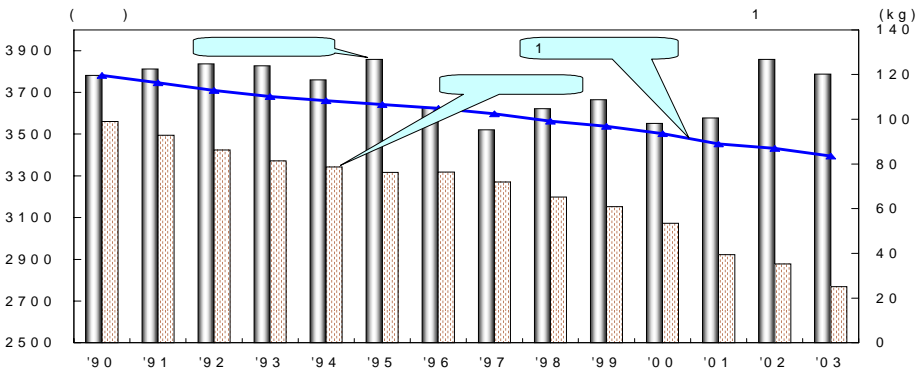
	1990	1995	2000	2001	2002	2003
가 (A)	11,026	21,803	23,072	23,907	24,475	26,543
(B)	6,264	10,469	10,897	11,267	11,274	10,825
(C)	3,097	3,984	5,671	6,050	5,298	5,450
가 (C/A)	28.1	18.3	24.6	25.3	21.6	20.5
(C/B)	49.4	38.1	52.0	53.7	47.0	50.3

2. , 가

2.1.

1 1980 1.0% , 1990
2.4% . 2002 1 87.0kg ,
2003 4.4% 83.2kg
1990 3,781 2002 3,859 가
가 (100)
1.6% . 2003 3,561 2,878
3,788 1.8%

1.



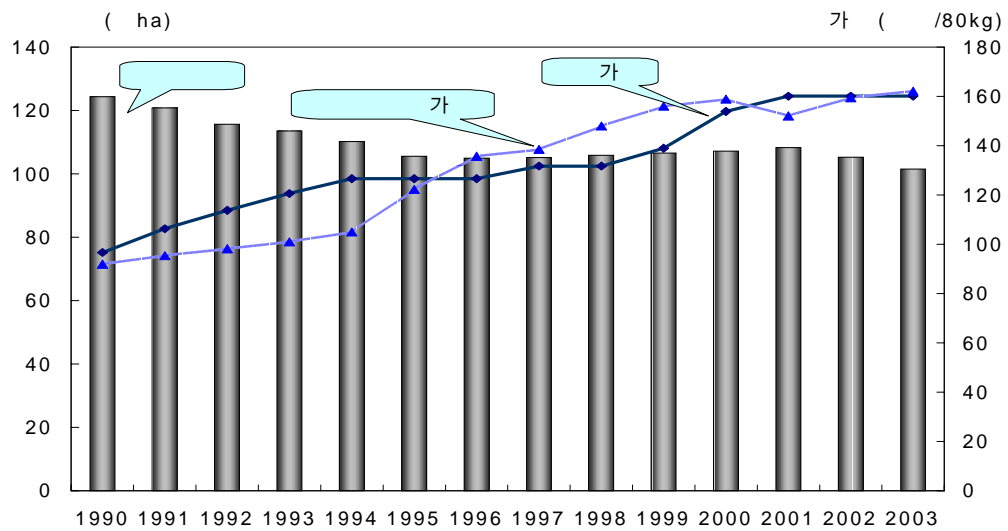
5.

	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003()
	41,816	41,670	42,306	45,040	48,636	45,514
	3,453	5,594	5,015	6,793	9,268	10,051
	37,842	35,397	36,550	36,742	38,299	34,216
	521	679	741	1,505	1,069	1,247
가	36,222	36,655	35,513	35,772	38,585	37,882
	31,985	31,532	30,728	29,228	28,783	27,790
	1,191	1,210	1,215	1,269	2,336	1,470
	0	0	0	0	2,778	2,778
	265	267	322	325	316	305
	2,781	3,646	3,248	4,950	4,372	4,839
	5,594	5,015	6,793	9,268	10,051	7,632

2.2.

1987 1996 가 2
4,000ha 1996 105 ha . 1993
1995 1996 가 . 가
1996 가 6,700ha 가 2001 108 3 ha가
. 가 , 1996 500ha 2001 2 7 ha
1996 2001 가, , MMA 2001
가 2001 가
7.5% , 2002 3 ha(2.8%) 105 3 ha
가 . 2003 (27,500ha) 101 6 ha
가 .
1987 91 456kg/10a 1999 2003 488kg 32kg
가 . 2001 90 가 516kg .
2002 가 471kg
45kg(8.7%), 32kg(6.4%) . 2003
가 441kg 6.4%,
491kg 10.2% .
2003 9.7% 3,091
. 3,200 (2,700 , . 500)
110 .

2. 가



6. , , ()

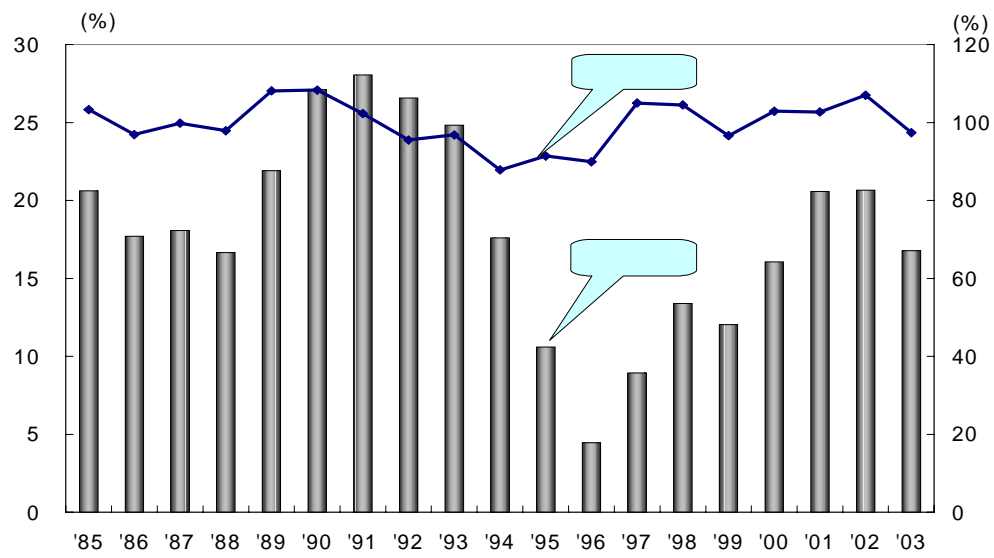
: ha, kg/10a,

	(ha)			(kg/10a)			
1990	1,244	1,242	3	451	451	222	3,893
1995	1,056	1,055	1	445	445	192	3,260
2001	1,083	1,056	27	516	516	235	3,830
2002	1,053	1,039	15	471	471	246	3,422
2003	1,016	997	19	441	441	245	3,091
(%)							
2002	-3.5	-4.0	26.7	-6.4	-6.4	-0.4	-9.7
	-4.7	-5.3	37.7	-10.2	-10.2	-14.3	-10.2

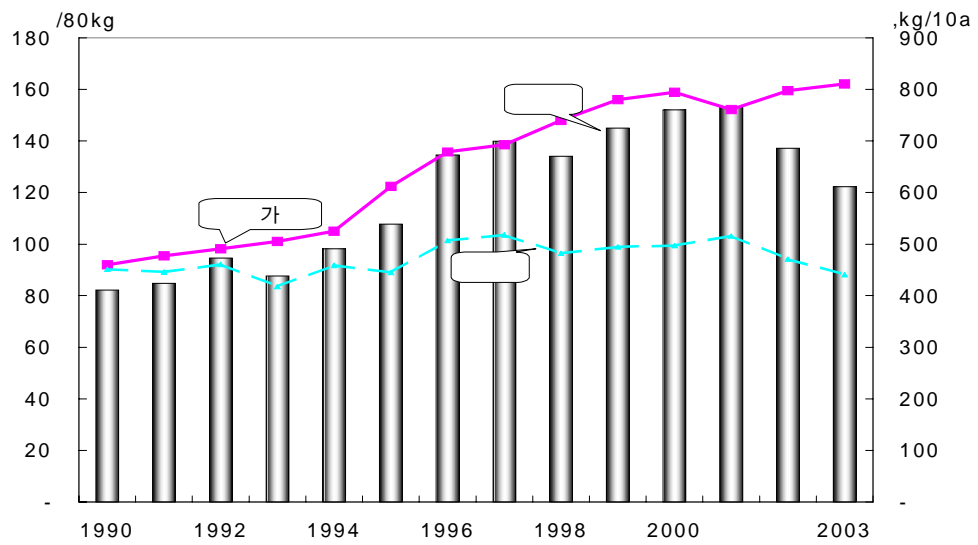
2.3.

1980 20% 1991
 39%(1,487 :) 1996
 4.7%(169) 가 2000
 , 2002 26.0%(1,005)
 2002 2003 763 (21.7%) 242 . 2003
 678 (20.4%) 2004
 2001 2002 1991 95 92.0% ,
 2003 2004 107.0% 가 . 2002 03
 97.4%, 93.1%

3.



4. 10a 가



2.4.

10a 가 . 2002 가 가 2001

3.

3.1.

UR 2004 10
(minimum market access:MMA)

2004 2004

가
가 (additional and acceptable) (concession)
(1986 1988) 가
가
가

가.

MMA “ 가 가 ”

UR MMA 4% 8%
MMA 3% 5%
3%(8% - 5%) 가

MMA
가 MMA 8% MMA

2002 35%
가
가 가
가 MMA 가
가 가

DDA 가
()

DDA 가
가 가 () DDA

가 (special products:
SP) (non - trade concerns: NTC)

NTC 가 가가

가 가 530 가 .
가 가 .

3.2.

가
, 가 DDA , 가 ,
가 (80kg) 2003 16 1 2013 11 15
10a
가
가 .

4. 가

4.1. 가

가.

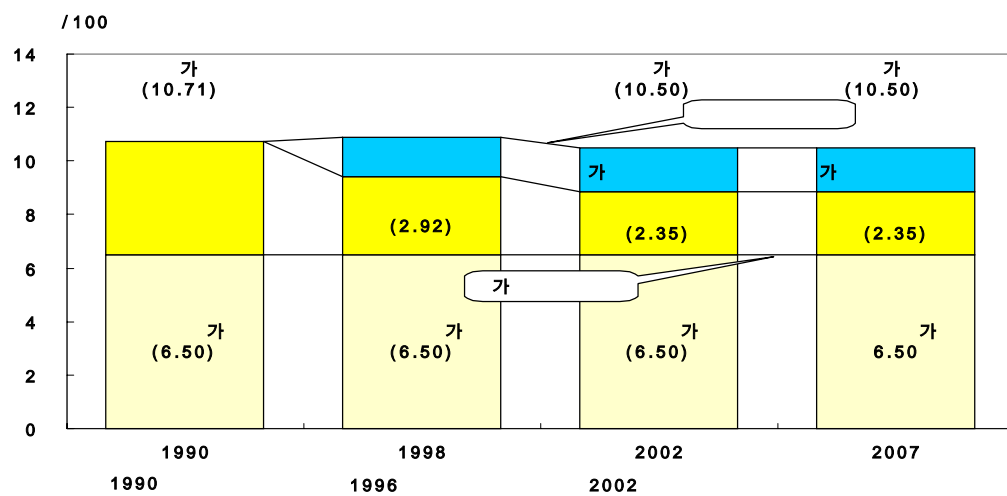
ha 53 (,) .
가 , (fixed payment)
(green box)
가 가 가
가 가 .
가 가 WTO
(decoupled income support) , UR 2(Annex 2)
2002 가 가 80% 가
가 0.5% 가 (amber) AMS
가 가 가
가 가 가 .

가
10a 2001 2003 74 5 (가
) /DDA
, DDA
가

4.2. 3)

가.
1996 (farm bill)
, 2002 1996 가
가
가 , 1970 가 가
2002 1998 가 가
(market loss payment) 가
2002 가
(counter - cyclical payment: CCP) 가 (target price: TP)
(5). , 2004~2007
CCP 가 50 가) 가
가
CCP 가
CCP , 85% CCP

5.

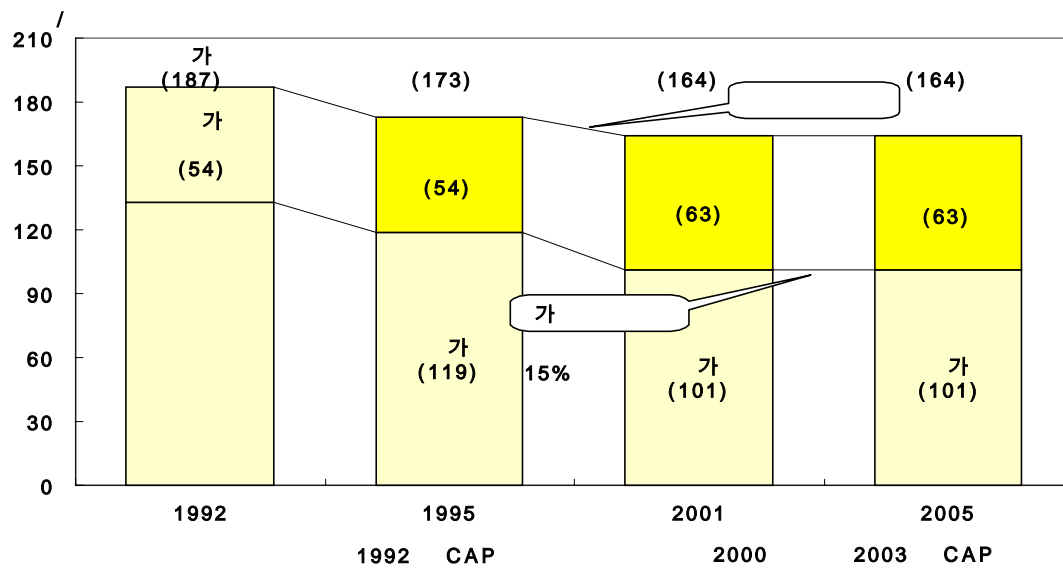


: (2003), “ EU ”,

3) 박동규 · 임송수(2004. 5)의 “쌀농가 소득안정 기본방향”(토론회 자료) 에서 인용함

(EU)
 EU 1992 (CAP) 가 가
 100% 가 가
 1999 Agenda 2000 가 가
 50%
 EU 가 가
 (6).
 2003 EU 가가
 (single farm payment: SFP) . SFP
 가 . SFP 가
 WTO
 EU (LFA), (AEM)
 가 LFA 2001
 3,300 ha EU - 15 25% , 1,930 ha
 1/7 AEM 2001
 15%

6. EU



: (2003), “ EU ”,

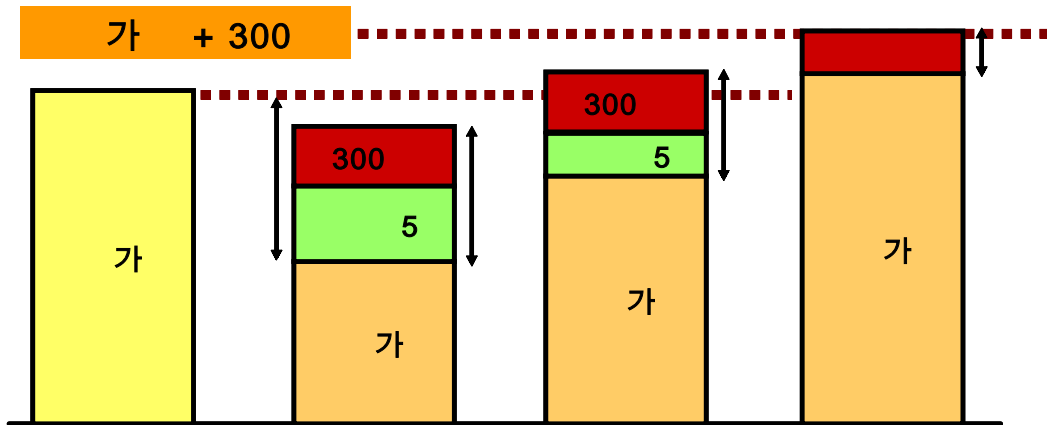
가

(1998) 가 80% 5 7 “ 가 가 가 3 가 가

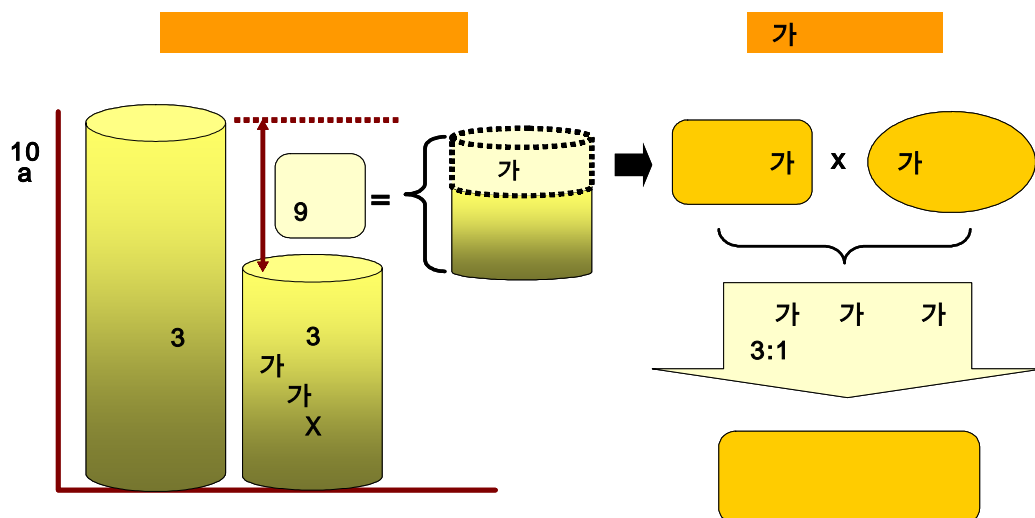
2004 60kg 300 가 가 50% 90%

(7). 10a (8).

7.



8.



4.3. 가

가.

() WTO
DDA
(AMS) 60~70% AMS 가
가 () (:
5%) ,
(de minimis)
() (AMS,
,)
가
DDA , 가
AMS

기본개념

가
AMS
가
가
가
(decoupled income payment)
가
AMS 가 AMS 가
. 가 , ,
.4)

4) 미국과 유럽연합의 공동 제안서에 처음 등장했던 개념으로 멕시코 칸쿠회의 각료초안에도 포함됐는데, 지금의 블루박스 개념과 달리 생산제한(휴경)의 요건을 포함하지 않은 조치임.

소득안정 목표

가 2가

(1) 가 가 가

(2) 5 가 . 가 3 가 가

(1) 가 가 , 가

가 (2) 가

기준년도 설정

(: 2001 2003),

이행년도 설정 및 운영

/DDA 2

(1) DDA 2007

(2) 1 가, DDA

3 5

(1) 3 (2005 2007)

(cross - compliance) .5)

AMS 가 AMS

AMS

5) 순응요건은 농가가 보조를 받기 위해 반드시 이행해야 할 기본적인 사항으로, 예를 들면, 적절한 농약과 비료사용, 습지 및 생태계 보전, 물 관리 등을 말함.

9. AMS AMS

:

	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003
AMS	21,825	21,056	20,286	19,517	18,747	17,978	17,209	16,439	15,669
AMS	20,344	19,594	18,845	18,095	17,348	16,596	15,847	15,097	14,348

.

가
, 가 , 가
가 ,
가
가 ,
가

(今村 奈良臣)

1.
 - (1) 2004 (UN) 2002 12 44
' , . 21
 - (2) ' , 가
 - (3) ' 가
2.
 - (1) 2003 11 , FAO() 1999/2001
8 4000
 - (2) 1996 ' , 1990/1992 8
2015 가
 - (3) 가 ,
 - (4) . 1
가 32
20% ,
27%, 31% ,
 - (5) (2), 1.5
가
 - (6) 1
1960 25%
28%~29% 가

(7) , 가 .

3.
(1) (2), 1960 20 가 , 21

(2) (3), 가 . , ,

(3) , 4 21 , 가

(4) (5).

1ha 6.5 , 1ha (4 .

(5) , 6 1973 가 , 1960 80 2%~4% . 1%

(6) 60 70 가 , 가 가

21

4.
(1) 2001 3 8,700 () .

가 (7), 1 (31.7%), 2 (21.7%), 3
(9.3%) ,

가

(2) 2002 5 7,600 () . 가
(8), 1
(30.6%), 2 (20.2%), 3 (9.0%) ,
(1.7%), (1.8%) 가

(3) 가 ,
가 ,

(4) 3 (2001 ~2003) ASEAN 10 , , 3
가 . 13 , , ,

(5) 13 , 2003 225 , 5.5
, 15 , 241 ,

(6) , , , , ,

(7) , 가 , , , 4 .
WTO

5. 가

(1) ,
(thin market)

9 ,
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The Significance and Role of the Rice Industry in East Asia

Imamura Naraomi, Professor Emeritus, Tokyo University

1. Significance and Assessment of the International Symposium on Rice

- (1) 2004 is the International Year of Rice that was agreed upon at the General Assembly of the United Nations held in December 2002. The decision was designed to draw attention to the significance and key role of rice in the improvement of food shortage in the twenty-first century.
- (2) The world highly praises and values the constructive activities of the Korean Government and the Korea Rural Economic Institute, which are the host of the International Symposium in commemoration of the International Year of Rice 2004.
- (3) This report comprehensively discusses the significance and role of the rice industry in East Asia while deliberating upon the significance of the International Year of Rice 2004.

2. Reduction of the world famine population and the role of rice

- (1) In November 2003, the Food and Agriculture Organization announced that 840 million people undergo food shortages.
- (2) **The International Food Summit Meeting** in 1996 declared that countries would need to cooperate in order to reduce the number of people suffering from malnutrition - as of 1990/1992, 800 million people - in half by 2015. However, the number is increasing rather than decreasing.
- (3) Recognizing that one key to the reduction of malnutrition lies in rice, we need to make a concerted effort to boost the rice industry.
- (4) Consider the role of rice as a source of nutrition. Table 1 indicates the contribution ratio of grain to food intake. A population of more than 3.2 million people depends on rice for their food energy intake. This fact reflects that rice accounts for 20% of food energy intake in the world, 27% in developing countries and 31% in Asia, much higher than that of wheat and corn.

(5) As for the calories supply per unit area (Table 2), rice contains 1.5 times the calories of wheat, thereby playing an essential role in world nutrition.

(6) When examining the worldwide trend, the status of rice as staple food is rising. As Table 1 shows, the production of rice accounted for 25% of the total production of grain in the 1960s, but has been increasing to 28-29% in recent years. The value of rice is further increasing in the world including developing nations.

(7) From this study, it is obvious that the maintenance and development of the rice industry should be the main task in order to realize the common goal of reducing the number of hunger-stricken people.

3. Rice production trends and the crisis of stagnation

(1) Investigating the trends of grain production including rice in Table 2, the production continued to increase from the 1960s to the end of the twentieth century, but now the production has either stagnated or decreased.

(2) Looking at the rice production trend in Asia in Table 3, recently all countries show the stagnation or decrease of rice production. Note the downward trend of the production of rice in proportionately high producing nations such as China, India and Indonesia.

(3) The **total** production of rice is calculated by the area of harvest and by the **production** per unit area. As shown in Table 4, the harvest area is decreasing as we enter the twenty-first century and the decrease in the production is largely attributed to the reduction of the harvest area.

(4) This is the trend of the rice harvest per unit area (Table 5). The average harvest per unit area is high and stable, around 6.5 tons/ha in Japan and other industrialized countries. However, the overall increase in the world average (and the Asia average) per unit area is slow, approximately 4 tons/ha.

(5) The rice harvest per unit area seems to be growing steadily worldwide, but the growth rate is not as favorable. In Table 6, though the growth rate was low in 1973, the overall growth rate from the 1960s to the 1980s was rather high, 2-4%. The recent growth rate, however, has drastically dropped to less than 1%.

(6) The backdrop of the dramatic increase in production in the 1960s to the 1970s is the period of the Green Revolution. It was successful thanks to the establishment of infrastructure including the irrigation facilities and investment in the development of agricultural chemicals as well as the development of new technology for high-yield varieties. This fact suggests that more social investment is needed in order to increase the harvest per unit area. Particularly in the twenty-first century, the policy measures include consistent securing of water resources and irrigation water for the improvement of productivity.

4. Rice production and consumption in East Asia.

(1) The world consumption of rice (polished) was 387,000,000 tons in 2001. According to the countries' ranks of rice consumption, (Table 7), first place is occupied by China (31.7%), second by India (21.7%) and third by Indonesia (9.3%). This demonstrates that rice is the staple food of countries with large populations. Particularly note that the proportion of rice consumption is very high in East Asia. However, in such countries as Japan and Korea where the income has increased drastically, the consumption of rice is on the decrease.

(2) The world production of rice (plant) amounted to 576,000,000 in 2002. Table 8 shows the rank of each country's production: China is in first place (30.6%), India in second (20.2%) and Indonesia (9.0%) in third. This is proportionate to their rice consumption. The proportion of world production by the US (1.7%) and Brazil (1.8%) is relatively high.

(3) When countries are compared in consumption and production of rice, the production and consumption are closely related in Asian countries. The maintenance and development of rice production ability is a major task in securing this staple food.

(4) Over the past 3 years (2001~2003), China, Japan and Korea have joined with 10 other ASEAN countries at the Summit. Table 3 shows some more detailed research on rice production, imports, exports and stock in 13 countries in East Asia (calculated for polished rice).

(5) Among the 13 countries in 2003, the rice production totaled

225,000,000 tons, with imports at 5,500,000 tons, exports at 15,000,000 and consumption at 24,000,000 tons. The quantity of production cannot cover the consumption demand.

- (6) Brunei, Cambodia, Indonesia, Laos, Malaysia and the Philippines depend on imports of rice because the production cannot meet the consumption.
- (7) China, Myanmar, Thailand and Vietnam export rice. Japan and Korea are in a different situation than other countries within the framework of the WTO agreement.

5. Changes in international prices of rice and reduction of stock

- (1) Every country aims to meet the domestic demand for rice. The trade volume of rice is relatively very small when compared with the volumes of other grains such as wheat and corn. Thus, the international rice market is referred to as a thin market (shown in Table 9) and has undergone greater fluctuations in international prices than those of other grains.
- (2) It should be noted that the world stock of rice is on the decrease upon the entry into the twenty-first century. Although the stock rate was over 30% in the late 1990s, it has rapidly fallen to 20% recently (Figure 10). Considering the situation, efforts should be made to establish a system for a stable supply and rice reserve in East Asia.

6. Initiatives on the stable supply and rice reserve in East Asia

- (1) In my article ‘ the Adjustment of demand and supply of rice in East Asia, published in 1996, I raised the issue of the need for the establishment of a system for adjustment of demand and supply of rice and a stable supply of rice.
- (2) The steps for the realization of the initiative of a rice reserve and the establishment of a stable supply of rice are being materialized.
- (3) At the meeting of the ministers of agriculture of the ASEAN countries and China, Japan and Korea on October 15, 2001, it was decided that research on systems of reserve rice was essential.
- (4) The decision was made with the backdrop of a serious rice crisis which took place in Indonesia in 1997. Although there was **the Aid for Emergency Rice Reservation** ASEAN, the system which supplies rice to member countries in an emergency, it did not function

effectively during this Indonesian rice crisis.

- (5) Meetings of experts on the rice reserve were held three times between April and October 2003, and **the East Asia Emergency Rice Reservation Pilot Project** was established at the meeting of 13 ministers of agriculture in Laos on October 11, 2003. At that time, Japan and Thailand were selected as coordinating countries.
 - (6) The third meeting of 13 ministers of agriculture was held in Tokyo, where there was a request to facilitate the pilot project was officially made. In December of the same year, Japan and ASEAN special summit talks were held, where support measures were decided upon for the early establishment of the emergency rice reserve system. Dr. **Sidiga** of Indonesia, who worked in the Procurement Agency, was elected as the director of the management team of the Pilot Project.
 - (7) At the second meeting of the pilot project steering committee held on March 25, the participating countries launched the project by opening the secretariat and receiving approval of the project.
7. The outline of the decisions at the East Asia second meeting of the steering committee for emergency rice reservation pilot project. (March 25, 2004):
- (1) Participating countries: 10 ASEAN countries (Brunei, Cambodia, Indonesia, Laos, Malaysia, Myanmar, the Philippines, Singapore, Vietnam, Thailand), China, Japan, ASEAN secretariat. WFP Asia representative, Korea absent)
 - (2) Decisions: The establishment of the secretariat within **the Thai Department of Agricultural Cooperative** and the project plan were approved at the meeting of the 13 ministers of agriculture from the 10 ASEAN countries as well as China, Japan and Korea for the implementation of the emergency rice reserve pilot project and the three-year project was launched.
 - (3) The outline of the project: The three sections of the rice reserve system will be examined under the voluntary response of the participating countries (Figure 11)
Reservation **each year** (each country **shall** promise to release part of its stock during an emergency)

Actually raised reservation (Response for refugees in

emergency, response to the poverty reduction project).

The bilateral contract on the release of reserved rice (Two countries **shall** sign a contract of releasing the reserved rice when two countries are short of rice).

(4) The calendar

Year 1: Drawing up a guideline of the reserve management, and collecting the records of **the annual contribution** to the earmark reservation

Year 2: Implementing the pilot project based on the guideline

Year 3: Verification of the project implementation, verification of responses after implementation.

(5) Problems and tasks of the project

As the autonomy of each country is respected, it is not certain at this stage how many countries can contribute to the rice reserve. I will continue to research the quantities available from each country and will draw up a management guideline. The secretariat to be established within **the Thai Department of Agricultural Cooperative** will be the window for the notification of rice reserve quantity and request for support.

After I the WFP, I will set an objective standard on the level of food shortage for which we need to support and initiate it. The Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries of Japan has secured 42,000,000 yen in order to contribute to the rice reserve initiative. Each country in East Asia shall establish friendly relationships of mutual peace. Further, if it does not promote this, it is impossible to establish an organization for a rice reserve and operate its stable management. It is my belief that the establishment and implementation of a rice reserve organization will make a great contribution to the stabilization of people' s lives, national economies, agriculture, and in particular, the development of the rice industry.

8. Conclusion

As for the twenty-first century agriculture and the essence of rural communities, I think that agriculture is the comprehensive life industry

and rural communities are the foundation of creation. This is also the spirit that defines food, agriculture and basic rural law in Japan. Agriculture has multifaceted functions such as producing and supplying safe food for the stability of people' s lives, conserving national land, nurturing water and forest resources, providing people with nutrition and health space, and passing on the traditional culture by exercising the education power that agriculture and food give. Since water field farming, rice farming and the rice industry are the basis of agriculture, it is our mission to comprehensively assess its significance and role and develop this foundational industry.

Table 1

The role of rice as the source of nutrition

The contribution rate of grains in the supply of food energy (%)

	Grain	Rice	Wheat	Maize
World				
Industrialized countries				
Developing countries				
Countries of low income with food shortages				
Asia				
Africa				
Sub - Sahara Africa				
Europe				
North & Central America				
South America				
Oceania				
Japan				

Source: FAOSTAT 2001

Table 2

Supply of nutrition through grain (world statistics)

	Rice	Wheat	Mixed grain	Unit
Consumption per person				
Energy supply				
Protein supply				
Area of crops				
Energy supply per area				/million ha CAL/person/ day
Protein supply per area				/billion ha GRAM

Source: FAOTAT 2001

Figure 1

1 million tons

the proportion of rice (right denotation notch)
grains other than rice (left notch)
rice (left notch)

Source: FAO, FAOSTAT, <http://www.fao.org>

Note: figures calculated in rice plants

(1 million tons)
production

Figure 2: Annual production of major grains

-- mixed grains
-- rice
-- wheat

(1 million tons)

Figure 3: Annual rice production in Asian countries

production

- - China
- - India
- - Indonesia
- - Bangladesh
- - Vietnam
- - Thailand
- - Myanmar
- - the Philippines

Figure 4 Changes in the world rice production
- harvest area and production

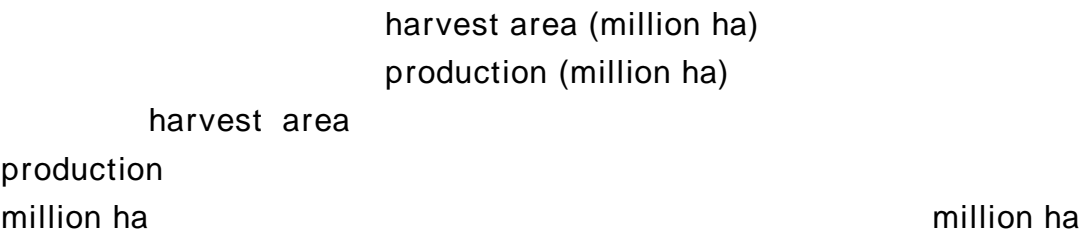


Table 3
Demand supply in ASEAN+3

Unit: (thousand
tons)(polished rice)

	Year	Producti on	Imports	Exports	Consum ption	Stock
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Cambodi a						
Indonesi a						
Laos						
Malaysia						
Myanma						

r						
The Philippines						
Singapore						
Thailand						
Vietnam						
Japan						
China						
Korea						
Total						

Source: USDA....

Figure 5. World harvest of rice plant per unit area in region 1961-2002

Japan
Average of industrialized countries World average
Africa

Source: FAO, FAOSTAT

Note: calculated in rice plants

Figure 6: Growth of world rice harvest per unit area

Source: based on the average of 5 years in Figure 4

Figure 7. Rank of rice consumption in 2001

-> Indonesia, Bangladesh, Vietnam, Myanmar, Thailand, Philippines, Japan

-> Brazil, Korea, US, Nigeria
가 -> World total 387,000,000 tons

- > China
- > Thailand
- > India

Source:

Note: calculated in polished rice.

Figure 8. Rank of rice production, 2002

- > Indonesia, Bangladesh, Vietnam, Thailand, Myanmar the Philippines, Japan
- > Brazil, US, Korea, Pakistan, Egypt

Source: FAO, FAOSTAT, <http://www.fao.org>

Note: calculated by rice plants

Figure 9

World grain prices

(unit: dollar/ton)

Rice

Soybeans

Wheat

Corn

Source: Reuters ES= , the Thai Trade Committee (is it a correct proper noun?), FAO, [FAOSTAT]

Note: The prices of wheat, soybeans, and corn are the average of the basis prices (settlement) on the first Friday at the Chicago Board of Trade. The price of rice is the average of the announced prices of the first Wednesday at the Thai Trade

Commission (FOB prices of polished rice with less than 10% of crushed rice)

(%) Figure 10. World Rice Stock Rate

US Department of Agriculture Survey

Figure 11. Image of test operations of emergency rice stock in East Asia

(内)
Secretariat (at the Thai Agricultural Cooperative)

Notification of stock quantity each country
promised

Adjustment of stock quantity each country supports

(request)
A Country A' s stock (each country)
(existing)
B Country B' s stock (rice stock)
D (Country D)
(promised part of) (food
support)

C (Country C' s stock)
 (the objective standard of mobilization)
 Occurrence of large - scale disasters

The release contract shall be signed in the case of raising the rice stock for the initial response to emergencies and in the case of insufficient stock