Luxury Market and Survival : Japan's Traditional *Kimono* Weaving Industry after the 1950s

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Luxury Market and Survival: Japan's Traditional *Kimono* Weaving Industry after the 1950s [*]

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Abstract

This study investigates the market for traditional dress in Japan in the second half of the 20th century. The textile industry has been regarded as a "declining" or mature industry in Japan since around the 1970s, and imports from developing countries with lower wages have increased rapidly. Although domestic production of textiles has decreased, increasing imports have not destroyed all subsectors. Instead, the market for Japanese *kimono* (traditional dress) and *obi* (belts) has expanded with the increase in disposable income accompanying Japan's economic growth. While the scale of the *kimono* market has shrunk in favor of Western clothes for everyday wear, the market for high-quality *kimono* as formal dress or luxury goods for special or formal occasions has survived. Production changes in Nishijin, the most advanced weaving district in Japan, provide a good example of this transition from low- to high-quality *kimono*.

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1. Introduction

It is well known that textiles were one of Japan's leading industries from the early industrialization period shortly after the Meiji Restoration (1868) to the period of rapid economic growth after World War II (WWII). In the early 1950s, Japan was the only one country in eastern Asia with a modern textile industry that could export textiles to foreign countries. Even though the textile industries in other Asian regions, such as Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Korea, were emerging in the 1950s, the Japanese textile industry nonetheless enjoyed export-led growth. Specifically, textile exports were USD 12.2 billion in 1960 and amounted to 30.2% of all exports (Nihon Sen'i Kyogikai 1961, p. 22). However, the emergence of developing economies, Japan–US trade friction, and the oil crisis in the early 1970s depressed the export growth of the Japanese textile industry.

The foreign market as well as the growing domestic demand led by rapid economic growth were critical for the textile industry. Personal consumption expenditure (PCE) accounted for about 60% of gross domestic expenditure in the second half of the 20th century in Japan. The growth rate of per capita PCE was 7.9% (1960–70), 3.6% (1970–80), and 3.1% (1980–90) (Yamazaki and Abe, 2012, p. 6). PCE symbolized the arrival of the era of mass consumption as consumer durables, namely, TVs, washing machines, refrigerators, cars, and air conditioners, appeared in the market at prices that people could afford. As a result, ownership of durable consumer products

rose sharply after the period of rapid growth.

In addition, the consumption of textiles increased; however, it was accompanied by remarkable changes in demand for clothing, from the Japanese traditional *kimono* to western dress. One of the impacts of Western influence on Japan in the middle of the 19th century was the adoption of Western clothes. However, many Japanese people did not change their habit of wearing the traditional *kimono* in everyday life until the 1960s. Western dress in public and Japanese dress at home remained the general rule for a very long time (Slade 2009, p. 56). As Franks (2012) shows, production for the domestic market, which was dominated by Japanese-style clothing, played a significant part in the crucial stages of growth of the textile industry. In fact, the *kimono* market particularly continued to expand even after the end of the period of rapid growth of the industry. The Westernization of clothing came much later than that of other aspects of Japanese society. In around 1972, Japanese people started using the term “apparel industry,” which refers to the manufacture and distribution of Western clothes, whose industrial foundations were built in the 1960s (Kinoshita 2009, p. 191).

What happened in the *kimono* market? Certainly, the *kimono* market shrank because many people no longer wear *kimono* as often as they used to. The market scale of *kimono* was JPY 296 billion yen in 2012 (Yano Research Institute, 2013, p. 15) from a 1981 peak of JPY 1,800 billion (METI-Kansai Bureau of Economy, Trade and

Industry, 2009, p. 3). Yoshida (2013) argues that *kimono* and *kimono*-related industries declined not only because of the change in consumers' lifestyle but also because of producers deciding to shift production to the higher price range in the market. Moreover, their strategy resulted in decreased demand for *kimono* worn only by wealthier people for special occasions (Yoshida 2013, p. 435). However, faced with both declining demand and increasing imports from Korea, which rapidly expanded exports of undyed narrow silk fabrics for *kimono*, it appears natural that the Japanese *kimono* industry concentrated production on the higher-priced range of the market. As a matter of the fact, Nishijin, traditionally the most advanced silk-weaving district, changed its primary product from the popular *kimono* using synthetic fibers or worsted yarns to silk *obi* for women. In addition, share of Japanese silk *obi* in total production in Nishijin rose dramatically from 69.9% in 1966 to 99% in 1978 (Furumai 1982, pp. 41–42). In other words, their venture was oriented toward the luxury market.

The aim of this study is to explore how the *kimono* weaving industry converted production from the popular *kimono* to the luxury *kimono* and *obi* for women in the face of demand changes for the Westernization of clothes. Even though normal dress in everyday life was substituted with Western clothes, the higher-quality *kimono* industry, especially for women, has been able to survive today by being both an asset and a luxury good. From the point of view that the luxury market for *kimono* grew as the Westernization of clothes changed demand, this study analyzes the historical survival of

the Japanese *kimono* industry and its structural changes in the second half of the 20th century.

The case of Nishijin is analyzed mainly. Nishijin has a long history as the most advanced silk-weaving district for textiles for high-quality luxurious *kimono* and *obi*. In the pre-modern period, Nishijin produced silk for high-quality luxurious products exclusively for privileged people; however, it started production of more popular textiles corresponding to changes in demand after the Meiji Restoration. In the 1870s, Nishijin played a leading role in introducing advanced Western technology, such as jacquard, flying shuttle, and synthetic dyestuffs to Japan. This occurred not only in the popular Kiryu silk-weaving district, which centers production primarily on the domestic market, but also in Fukui, which experienced export-led growth through the introduction of advanced technology for silk weaving from Nishijin, although the pattern of development was quite different in each district (Hashino and Otsuka 2013).

The rest of this article is organized as follows. Section 2 discusses changes in demand for clothes and the growth of the Japanese *kimono* market at the expense of Western clothes in the period of rapid growth after WWII. Section 3 examines the changes in *kimono* production and demand for *kimono* in Nishijin, which made efforts to switch its market from the popular *kimono* to more high-quality luxury goods. The article concludes with a summary of the main findings and implications for future research on the luxury market.

2. A Brief History of the Japanese *Kimono* Market during Rapid Growth

2-1 Rapid change from *kimono* to Western clothes

As mentioned, the introduction of Western clothes was one of the impacts of Westernization in modern Japan. However, it was only after WWII that Western clothing became popular among Japanese people. Western clothing was first adopted in the Japanese public sector with, for example, military uniforms. Western clothing had become a symbol of social dignity and progress in Japan by the early 20th century (Slade 2009, p. 53), although the pace of adoption was quite slow, especially for women. Until the 1930s, the majority of Japanese people continued to wear *kimono* and Western clothes remained largely restricted to public or nondomestic use by certain classes (Slade 2009, p. 57). The comparative advantage of Western clothes through the rationalization of textiles in Western fashions, such as shorter skirts and narrower sleeves, contributed to more active lives, especially for women. However, by the outbreak of WWII, most working women in Japan and quite a few housewives wore Western dress. Most Japanese people, both in cities and rural areas, continued to wear *kimono* at home (Slade 2009, p. 60). During WWII, most Japanese women became familiar with Western clothes by wearing work pants or loose trousers to accommodate the needs of the war system.

After the end of WWII, Japanese women preferred Western dress in everyday

life. According to a nationwide poll by the *Yomiuri Shimbun* newspaper in 1950, 61% of respondents continued to wear both Western and Japanese dress, while 29% had turned completely to Western wear (Gordon 2012, p. 61). Even though the fashionable *meisen kimono*, which was woven by spun silk, became popular in the early 1950s, it came to be replaced by the "wool *kimono*" woven by worsted yarns. People preferred the cheaper wool *kimono* for normal dress in everyday life because it was warmer, more comfortable, and easier to tailor and keep than silk *kimono*, including *meisen*. This boom of wool *kimono* accelerated the substitution of *kimono* with Western dress because of the development of mass production of ready-to-wear dress using chemical and synthetic fabrics (Koizumi 2006, pp. 52, 67; Nakagawa and Sone 1983, p. 20). As a result, *kimono* as formal as well as normal dress came to be substituted with Western clothes.

Today, most Japanese women wear *kimono* as formal dress for special occasions, for example, weddings and coming-of-age ceremonies, although some people engaged in Japanese traditions, such as tea ceremonies, flower arranging, and Japanese dancing, usually wear *kimono*. According to an interesting survey by the Japan Chemical Fibers Association (1989, p. 46), 47% of customers for retailers, including *kimono* shops and department stores, buy *kimono* for ceremonial occasions, 29% use *kimono* for traditional hobbies and parties, while only 2% wear *kimono* as normal dress in everyday life.

2-2 Changes in consumption and production of *kimono*

From the literature survey in Subsection 2-1, it seems that most Japanese people regard *kimono* as luxury goods for formal and special occasions and that such product upgrading has shrunk the *kimono* market. The question then arises whether the Japanese people stopped buying *kimono* as a result of rapid growth in incomes after WWII. Figure 1 shows the growth of disposable income and stagnation of *kimono* consumption. The index of disposable income rose dramatically toward 1975 and increased at a stable pace after the mid-1970s. On the other hand, the index of consumption of *kimono* stagnated in the mid-1970s, even though it rose sharply along with the rapid increase in disposable income. It is worth noting that consumption of *kimono* expanded during the period of rapid growth despite the rapid Westernization of clothes.

As shown in Table 1, the share of clothing and footwear in consumption expenditure was 10.4% in 1965, 9.5% in 1975, and 7.5% in 1985[1]. The share of Western clothes in expenditure on clothing and footwear was 27.2% in 1965 and increased sharply to 36.4% in 1975 and 38.4% in 1985. On the other hand, the share of *kimono* expenditure was 9.2% in 1965, rising to 10.2% in 1975. This shows a decreasing trend, although it is surprising that the share of *kimono* expenditure remained stagnant until the late 1980s.

[1] The original data of this table are based on the *Household Survey*, which was conducted by the General Affairs Agency (now the Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications).

How did *kimono* production in Japan change in the same period? The production of both yarn-dyed and piece-dyed silk fabrics show decreasing trends in Figure 2. In particular, the production of piece-dyed fabrics declined dramatically. This is not only because the demand for the *kimono* decreased owing to the Westernization of clothes, but also because the import of silk fabrics grew rapidly, especially from Korea, as the government promoted silk production and exports in order to acquire foreign currency (Maekawa 1982, p. 105). Some weaving districts attempted to solve such difficulties by concentrating on production of higher-priced textiles or luxury goods. Table 2 shows the changes in real average prices and the quantities of *kimono* and *obi* for women in the same period[2]. It is interesting to note that the prices of both *kimono* and *obi* more than doubled from 1970 to 1988, whereas the quantities purchased declined sharply by around one half (*kimono*) and one third (*obi*). According to Table 2, each household purchased an average of 0.45 *kimono* and *0.21 obi* in 1970, which indicates that Westernization of clothes prevailed.

However, we have to consider that consumption of *kimono* and *obi* was supported by particular groups of people. Table 3 shows that the results of purchasing are quite different between two objects in the survey: the first is all households, which includes both households that purchased *kimono* and those that did not during a year,

[2] Both prices are deflated by consumer price index of "Women's *kimono*" and "Woman's *obi*," which is published by the Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications. For further information, see http://www.stat.go.jp/data/cpi/historic.htm.

and the second is only households that purchased *kimono*. The average number of silk *kimono* purchased by all households was quite small at between 0.22 and 0.32 in both seasons in 1970, and dropped further to less than 0.2 in the mid-1980s. From these small average purchases, it is apparent that people did not wear silk *kimono* like they used to. By contrast, the average number of *kimono* purchased by the second group, that is, only households that purchased *kimono*, was stable at more than two throughout all periods. In fact, it grew in the late 1980s. This may be partly because of the boom known as the "bubble economy." However, as shown by the declining rate of households that purchased silk *kimono* to all households, it is clear that there were increasingly limited numbers of people who wanted to buy *kimono*. Unfortunately, no data are available to know to what extent these households were wealthy. Judging from the increasing average price of *kimono* and *obi* in Table 2, it is appropriate to conclude that the market of silk *kimono* became a market of luxury goods from the 1970s to the 1980s.

Table 4 shows the changes in the production of silk fabrics by three major prefectures, including Kyoto, Fukui, and Ishikawa. About 30% of silk fabrics were produced in Kyoto prefecture, where popular weaving districts, such as Nishijin and Tango, were located. Nishijin was the most advanced silk-weaving district with a long tradition of production. As mentioned, it centered production on more luxurious goods as demand decreased for popular *kimono* and *obi*. On the other hand, Tango, located in

the northern part of Kyoto prefecture, started production of piece-dyed crape. In the early period, Tango producers were out-weavers for Nishijin, but they became independent through the establishment of the *Tango-chirimen* (crape) brand before WWII. After Nishijin increased production of luxury *kimono* in the period of rapid income growth, Tango producers reverted to becoming out-weavers for Nishijin, this time producing *obi* instead of crape. This study focuses on the changes in production of Nishijin to establish what kinds of survival efforts were made in the severe situation of Westernization of clothing.

3. Focus on the Luxury Market: The Case of Nishijin

3-1 A brief history of Japan's most advanced silk-weaving district

The history of Nishijin dates more than 1,400 years when Japan's capital city was transferred to Kyoto. Textile production was started by the government to produce high-quality goods exclusively for privileged people. Private weavers gradually started production of silk fabrics as government control loosened. During the Onin war (1467–77), craftsmen and weavers escaped from Kyoto because it was destroyed by a fire but returned after the war and started production again. During the Tokugawa Period, Nishijin grew and flourished as the most advanced weaving district in Japan. After the Meiji Restoration (1868), Nishijin promptly introduced advanced Western weaving technologies and knowledge for the modernization of production of *kimono*

and *obi* (Uruma and Tominomori 1992, p. 58) and played a significant role in spreading these technologies and knowledge to other weaving districts. Even though emerging districts were trying to catch up with Nishijin, it maintained its leading position in silk-weaving production in prewar Japan.

During WWII, Nishijin producers had to stop production owing to a ban on the production of luxury goods but started production again as soon as the war ended. Production increased keenly during the recovery process and the period of rapid growth. According to Maekawa (1982), there were two phases in the growth process of Nishijin: (1) rapid expansion of the production of popular *kimono* and *obi* from the late 1950s to the early 1960s and (2) an increase in sales by changing production from popular goods to luxury goods from the late 1960s to the early 1970s (Maekawa 1982, p. 125). In addition, the increase in Nishijin's production had a great effect on the production of other weaving districts. First, the development of Nishijin induced an increase in the production of piece-dyed fabrics in other districts, which became out-weavers for Nishijin and reduced production in other districts as they competed with Nishijin in the same market. Second, production growth of *kimono* and *obi* made of wool and synthetic yarns in Nishijin from the late 1950s to the mid-1960s accelerated the decline of other districts that competed with Nishijin in the same market (Maekawa 1982, p. 121). As a result, Nishijin's share of production grew to 74.2% of *obi* and 25.9% of *kimono* in Japan in 1978 (Maekawa 1982, p. 120).

3-2 Changing production: from popular goods to luxury goods

Such a significant share by Nishijin in the production of *kimono* and *obi* was accompanied by the conversion of *kimono* and *obi* from popular goods to luxury goods. From the 1950s and early 1960s, popular obi were not high-quality silk *obi*, in which Nishijin had a traditional skills advantage, but union (silk and rayon) *obi*, rayon *obi*, and *obi* woven from synthetic yarns (Sasada and Yoshida 1982, p. 180). The boom of popular *kimono* and *obi* was almost simultaneous with the rapid Westernization of clothes. People preferred cheaper *kimono* to more expensive high-quality *kimono* but the cheaper versions were substituted quickly by Western dress.

Figure 3 shows the dramatic changes in production of *kimono* and *obi* from the late 1950s to the late 1970s. First, production of *kimono* increased toward the middle of the 1960s but declined rapidly in the late 1960s. The production of *kimono* in 1978 dropped to less than that in 1957. By contrast, production of *obi* grew remarkably from the early 1960s to the early 1970s. In other words, Nishijin producers changed their strategy; they converted from production of *kimono* to that of *obi*, especially high-priced silk *obi*. As shown in Figure 3, almost all *obi* produced in Nishijin were made of silk by the end of the 1970s, which means producers changed their main product from popular goods to luxury goods for survival.

It seems that Nishijin's strategy was quite appropriate because the demand for

kimono and *obi* for formal occasions, such as *furisode* (long-sleeved *kimono* for unmarried women) and *tomesode* (black *kimono* with designs for married women), was expanding drastically (Koizumi 2006, p. 53). In short, Nishijin immediately gave up production of cheap and popular *kimono* and *obi*, which were destined to be substituted by Western clothes. Their intensive production of *kimono* and *obi* exclusively for formal occasions accelerated the formation of a luxury market for particular groups of people. As shown in the estimation of total demand for *kimono* and *obi* in Japan from 1963 to 1978 (Kakino 1982, pp. 403–403), although the demand for cotton *kimono* continued to decline from the mid-1960s, the demand for other popular *kimono* increased remarkably until 1970, when it peaked. In the 1970s, the demand for *kimono* and *obi* started declining, accompanied by qualitative changes in demand: from popular goods to luxury goods. It was after the 1970s that Japanese people came to recognize traditional Japanese dress as a luxury good (Kagami and Sen'nen 2013, p. 37).

It can be said that in order to survive, Nishijin returned to becoming a silk-weaving district producing luxury textiles, especially sophisticated *obi*. The luxury market for *kimono* and *obi* grew steadily after the period of high income growth. Figure 4 shows the rise and fall of shipments from Nishijin from 1975 to 2008. Production of all types of fabrics declined significantly after the boom in the late 1980s ended and by 2008 had become quite stagnant. The share of *obi* as a major product was around 60% until 1990 but has dropped to less than 40% in recent years. On the other hand, the share

of production of “other fabrics,” including interior decoration, scarves, and cloth for Western dress, grew to around 50%. It cannot be denied that the luxury market that is the focus of this study is becoming smaller and smaller in Japan. However, it is difficult to ascertain whether the strategy to focus on the high end of the domestic market has failed because the highly sophisticated skills for producing traditional goods, such as *obi*, could be utilized for the creation of new fabrics for various purposes[3].

4. Conclusion

This study focused on the growth of the traditional *kimono* and *obi* market in spite of the rapid westernization of clothing after WWII. The demand for traditional clothes as luxury goods expanded after the end of the period of rapid growth, meaning that many aspects of Japanese lifestyle were substituted by those of Western origin. Nishijin, the most advanced weaving district in Japan, chose to center its production on high-quality textiles as luxury goods. The case of Nishijin shows that it was a means of survival for the district’s producers to return to weaving for the production of luxury goods.

When demand for *kimono* changed from popular *kimono* to luxury *obi*, who was able to observe the change immediately and decide to start production of higher quality obi at the expense of the popular market? Furthermore, how was Nishijin able to

[3] The case of Hosoo in Nishijin, a wholesaler and producer of *obi* that was established in 1688, is a good example to show that accumulated skills created new types of fabrics for interiors. According to an interview with Mr. Masataka Hosoo (April 15, 2014), Hosoo’s product, which is woven by power looms invented by craftsmen, is now used for interior wallpaper in the shops of luxury brands. http://www.hosoo-kyoto.com/

change its production so quickly in response to changing demand? Was it the result of collective action? To answer these questions and to further understand whether the strategy oriented toward the luxury market was really successful, we need detailed case studies at both firm level and district level as well as further comparisons between districts.

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Table 1 Changes in consumption of *kimono* for all households (thousand yen, %)

Year	Total consumption expenditure	Consumer expenditure on clothing and footwear	Expenditure on *kimono*	Expenditure on Western clothes	Share of clothing and footwear in total consumption expenditure (%)	Share of *kimono* in expenditure on clothing and footwerar (%)	Share of western clothes in expenditure on clothing and footwear (%)
1965	580.8	60.3	5.5	16.4	10.4	9.2	27.2
1970	954.4	93.6	10.8	28.4	9.8	11.5	30.3
1975	1,895.8	180.6	18.4	65.7	9.5	10.2	36.4
1976	2,097.5	200.7	20.3	74.7	9.6	10.1	37.2
1977	2,286.0	205.6	20.1	75.9	9.0	9.8	36.9
1978	2,420.6	212.5	20.1	79.6	8.8	9.5	37.4
1979	2,576.4	220.8	20.4	84.5	8.6	9.3	38.3
1980	2,766.8	228.9	21.3	86.2	8.3	9.3	37.7
1981	2,880.2	225.4	20.4	85.1	7.8	9.1	37.7
1982	3,038.0	233.7	22.6	87.2	7.7	9.7	37.3
1983	3,114.2	234.2	19.1	89.7	7.5	8.2	38.3
1984	3,195.8	234.7	19.2	88.8	7.3	8.2	37.8
1985	3,277.4	247.4	19.3	95.0	7.5	7.8	38.4
1986	3,316.5	249.5	19.2	97.0	7.5	7.7	38.9
1987	3,371.3	253.8	20.0	97.7	7.5	7.9	38.5
1988	3,493.5	265.4	19.0	106.1	7.6	7.2	40.0

Source: Japan Finance Cooperation (1990), p. 181.

Note: Original data was based on the Household Survey conducted by Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications.

Table 2 Changes in real average price and quantity of womens' *kimono* and obi purchased per a household

A. Real price and quantity purchased per a household for a year (piece, thousand yen)

	Average price of *kimono*	Average price of *obi*	Number of pieces of *kimono* purchased per a household	Number of pieces of *obi* purchased per a household
1970	60.8	37.9	0.45	0.21
1975	59.7	44.3	0.33	0.21
1980	88.8	59.9	0.18	0.11
1985	102.9	69.2	0.12	0.08
1988	138.3	88.8	0.09	0.06

B. Indexes of price and quantity (1970=100)

	Average price of *kimono*	Average price of *obi*	Number of pieces of *kimono* purchased per a household	Number of pieces of *obi* purchased per a household
1970	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
1975	98.1	116.9	72.3	98.6
1980	146.0	158.1	39.9	53.8
1985	169.2	182.8	25.9	38.1
1988	227.3	234.6	18.8	28.1

Source: Japan Finance Cooperation (1990), p. 182.

Note: Prices are deflated by consumer price index which is cariculated by Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications.

Table 3 Changes in the number of pieces of silk *kimono* purchased per household

Unit: piece, %

	Spring-summer season (from March to August)			Autumn-winter season (from September to February)		
	All households (piece)	*Kimono* - purchased households (piece)	Rate of silk *kimono* - purchased households to All households (%)	All households (piece)	*Kimono* - purchased households (piece)	Rate of silk *kimono* - purchased households to All households (%)
1970	0.22	2.09	10.5	0.32	2.12	15.0
1975	0.22	2.14	10.3	0.28	2.04	13.5
1980	0.20	2.26	8.7	0.24	2.24	10.6
1983	0.16	2.24	7.1	0.19	2.20	8.8
1984	0.15	2.17	6.8	0.19	2.22	8.5
1985	0.14	2.18	6.5	0.17	2.32	7.5
1986	0.15	2.51	6.1	0.18	2.33	7.5
1987	0.15	2.62	5.9	0.17	2.48	7.0

Source: Japan Chemical Fibers Association (1989), pp. 47-48.

Notes: Each year means fiscal year in Japan which starts in every April. Original data was based on the survey conducted by Japan Raw Silk and Sugar Price Stabilization Agency in 1989.

Original data was based on the Household Survey conducted by Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications.

Table 4 Production of silk fabrics by major prefectures

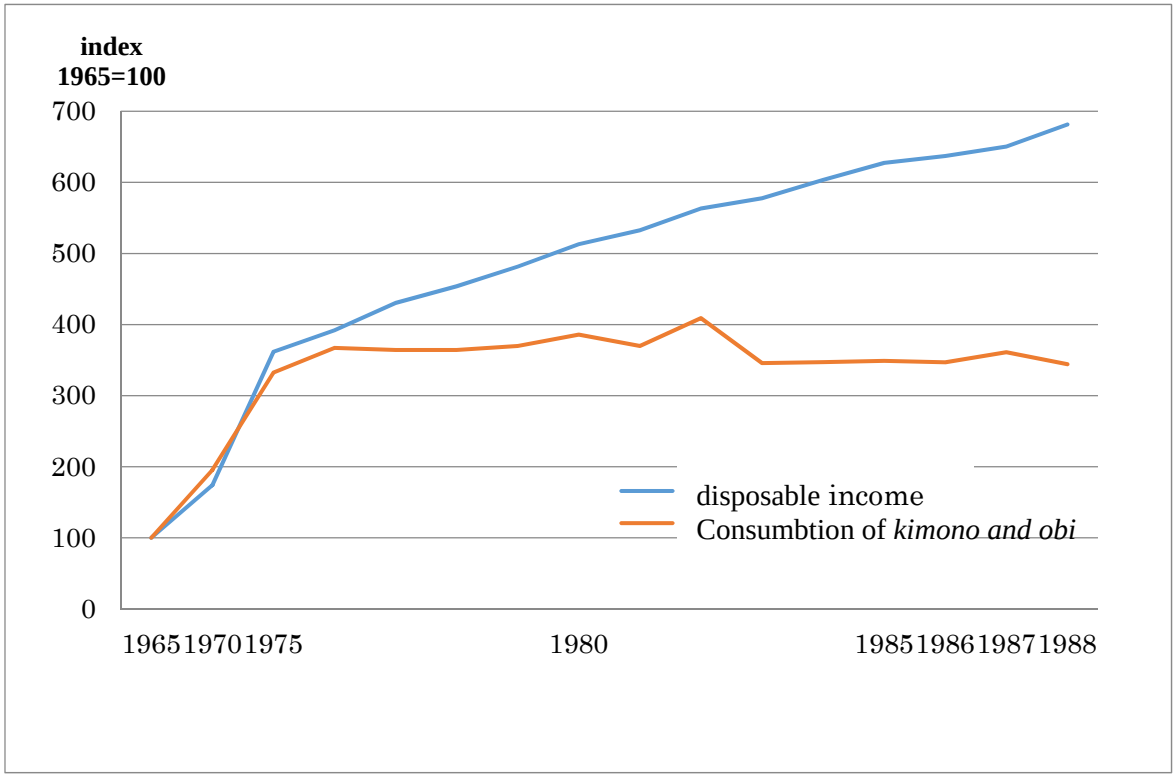
(thousand m^2, %)

	1975		1985		1988	
		Share		Share		Share
Fukushima	5,679	3.6	5,772	5.3	7,059	7.2
Gunma	6,597	4.1	4,036	3.7	2,930	3.0
Niigata	17,909	11.2	7,073	6.5	6,194	6.3
Ishikawa	16,275	10.2	18,711	17.2	18,153	18.5
Fukui	24,793	15.5	20,102	18.5	17,247	17.6
Kyoto	48,898	30.6	29,515	27.2	26,484	27.0
Subtotal	120,151	75.2	85,209	78.4	78,067	79.7
Total	159,772	100.0	108,488	100.0	97,931	100.0

Source: Japan Finance Cooperation (1990), p. 190.

Note: Original data is based on the *Yearbook of Textiles Statistics* published by Ministry of International Trade and Industry

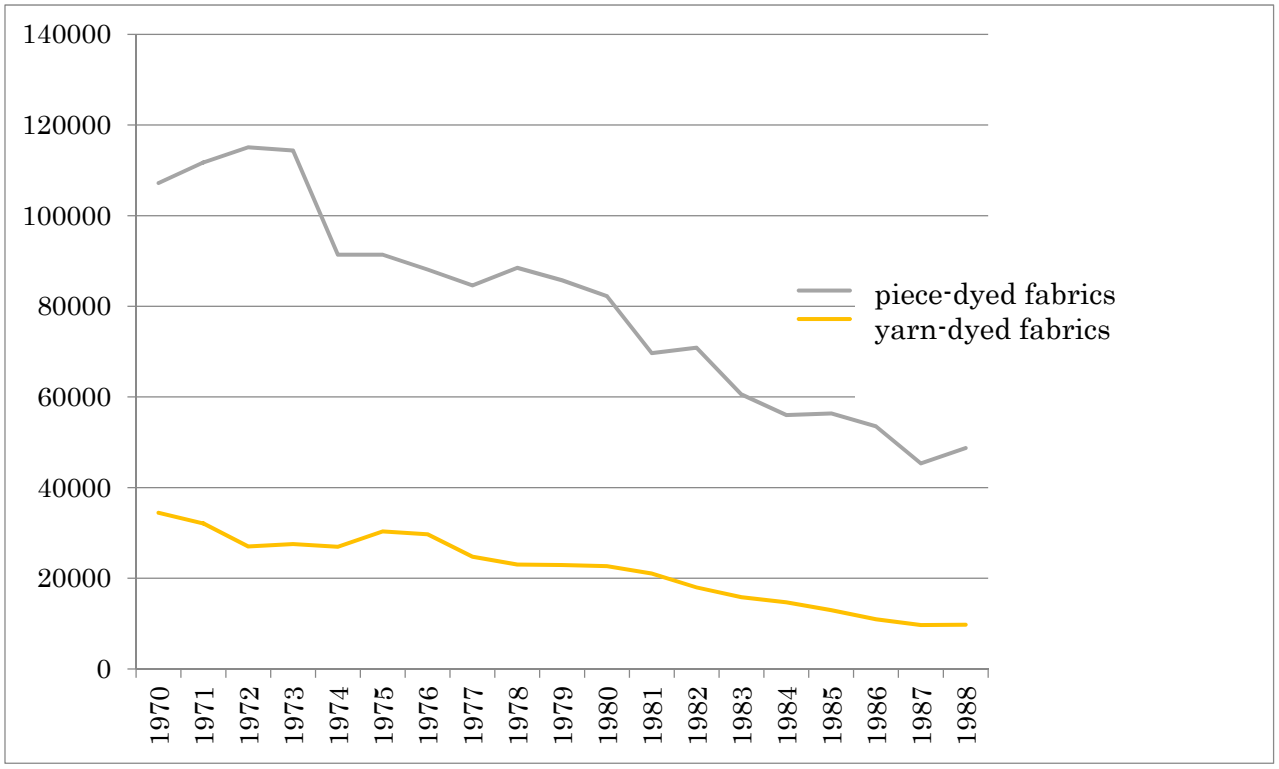
Figure 1 Growth of disposable income and consumption of *kimono* and *obi*, 1965-1988 (index, 1965=100)



Source: Japan Finance Cooperation (1990), p. 185.

Note: Original data is based on the Household Survey conducted by the Ministry of Internal Affair and Communication.

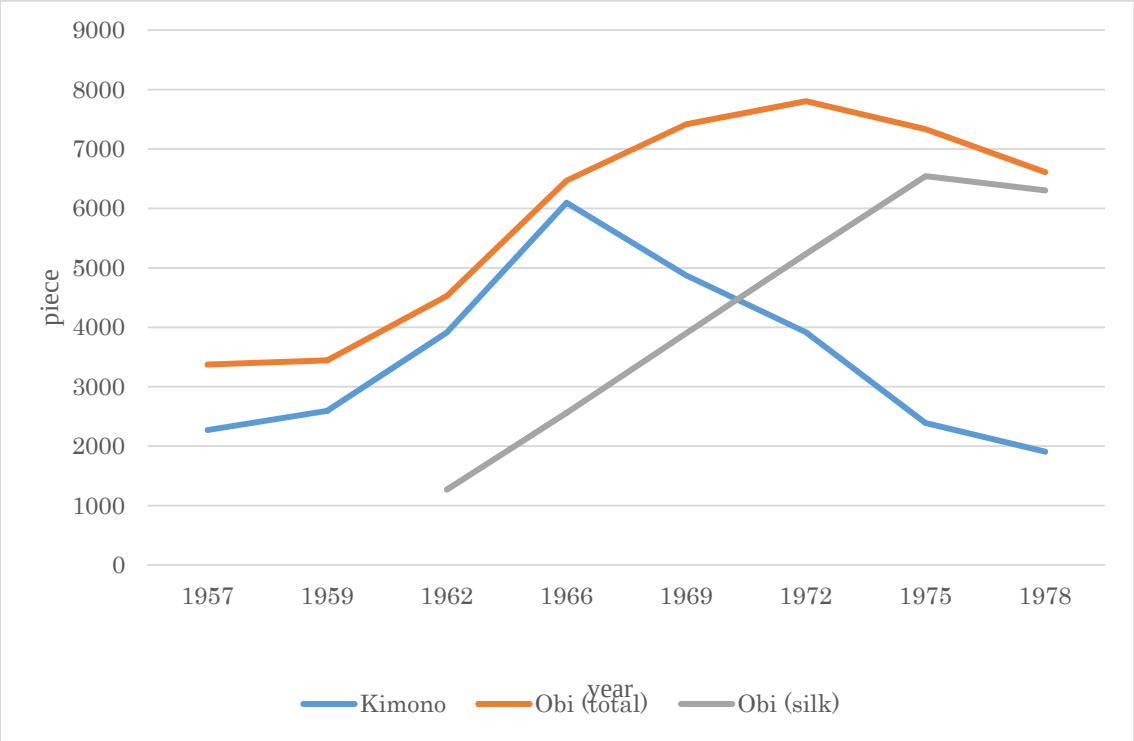
Figure 2 Decreasing trend of production of silk fabrics for *kimono*, 1970-1988 (m^2)



Source: Japan Finance Cooperation (1990), p. 188.

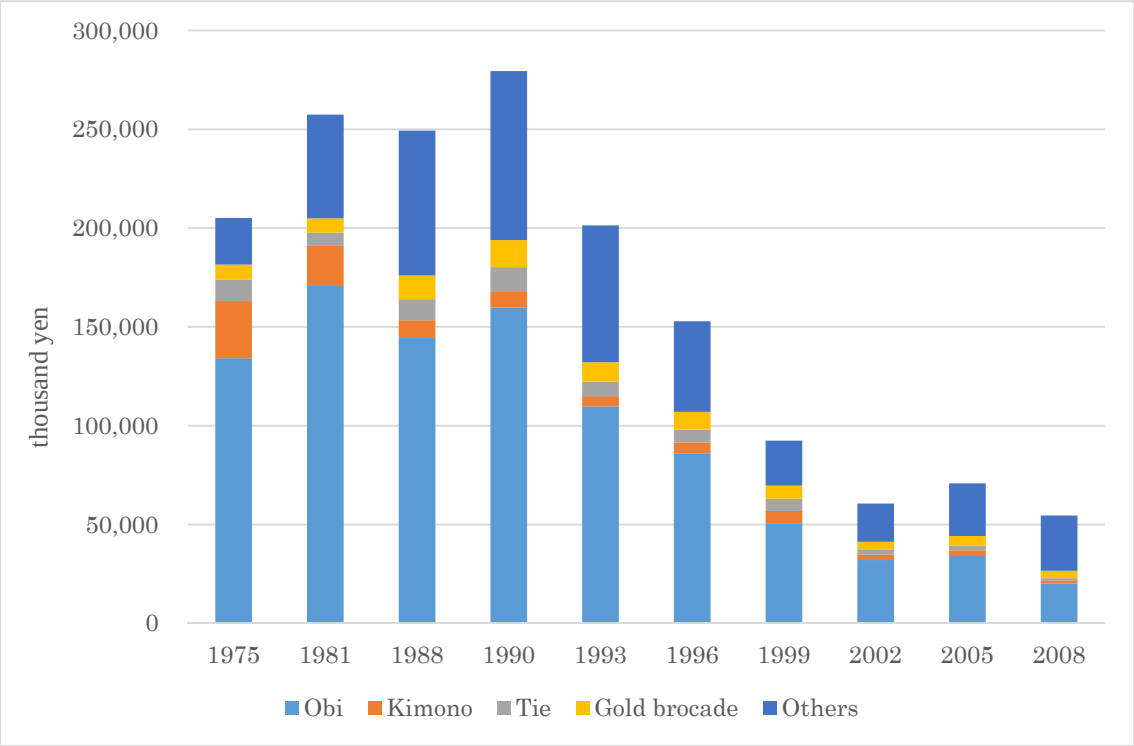
Note: Original data is based on the Household Survey conducted by the Ministry of Internal Affair and Communication.

Figure 3 Production of *kimono* and *obi* in Nishijin, 1957-1978 (piece)



Source: Sasada and Yoshida (1982), p.178.

Figure 4 Growth and decline in shipment by product from Nishijin, 1975-2008 (thousand yen)



Source: Nishijin Textile Industrial Association (2008), p.3.

Note: Figures are nominal value. Kofuji and Shinohara (2006) analyzes the real value of production from 1975 to 2002.