SOCIOLOGY

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I. Introduction

In the years 1988–89 Japanese society experienced major changes in many senses of the word. On the economic front the business boom that had begun in 1986 continued to gather momentum as a result of the appreciation of the yen and further enhanced Japan's global position. But at the same time instances of the stocks-for-influence relationship existing between the Recruit Company and politicians were brought to light in rapid succession and undermined the position of the government and political parties, especially the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP). It was in such circumstances that towards the end of 1988 the Takeshita Cabinet railroaded the Sales Tax Law, which had been a long-standing issue for the conservative government. The sales tax was consequently introduced in April 1989, but shortly afterwards the Takeshita Cabinet was forced to resign *en bloc*, and the Uno Cabinet was inaugurated in its place. But the Uno Cabinet also proved to be most unpopular, not least because of the exposure of the prime minister's private affairs involving women, and it was on this footing that the LDP entered the Upper House elections in July 1989, suffering a serious defeat and falling far short of a majority. The balance of power between the ruling and opposition parties had finally been reversed, although only in the Upper House, and consequently the newly installed Uno Cabinet was also forced to resign, being replaced in August 1989 by the

Kaifu Cabinet.

Thus, during this period, the ruling LDP found itself in continuous difficulties, but this does not mean that the opposition parties were by contrast able to greatly extend their influence. It is true that the Japan Socialist Party (JSP), having elected in April 1986 the first female party leader in the history of Japan's constitutional government, won a major victory in the Upper House elections of July 1989. But during this same period the labor unions, which had been the mainstay of the JSP's support, were reorganized with a right-wing orientation, and in November 1989 the General Council of Trade Unions of Japan (Sōhyō), which had represented the active wing of postwar reformist forces, was dissolved and the Japan Trade Union Confederation (Rengō), under private-sector leadership and devoted primarily to economic struggles, was formed. In September 1988 the Shōwa Emperor's condition took a sudden turn for the worse, and from then on until his demise and the change of era name (*gengō*) in January 1989 and the rites of his funeral (*taisō no rei*) in February there was considerable restraint (*jishuku*) in all spheres of social life as people reviewed the Shōwa Emperor's reign. Yet the JSP and other opposition parties proved unable to formulate any incisive or effective criticism of the generally retrospective atmosphere pervading society as a result of these events. In addition, the defeat of China's prodemocracy movement following the Tiananmen incident in June 1989 and the upheavals in Eastern Europe following the collapse of the Berlin Wall in November of the same year also contributed considerably, each in a different way, to the downgrading of the image of socialism, and this put a brake on the expansion of reformist forces.

Further events during this period that deserve attention sociologically speaking include the statement in a report submitted by a consultative organ of the Environment Agency in June 1988 that Japan should also make a contribution to global environmental issues in her capacity "as a member of the global community"; the establishment by the Ministry of Education of a Lifelong Learning Bureau as its leading bureau in July 1988 which effectively publicized that lifelong learning was to become the pivot of

future education administration; and the consolidation of the antinuclear movement following the Chernobyl disaster and the general transformation of social movements into citizens' movements as a result of the degradation of the image of socialism since 1989.

During this period, sociology in Japan continued to actively pursue its various research activities.

The general work of which mention must be first made is the dictionary compiled by Mita Munesuke, Kurihara Akira and Tanaka Yoshihisa [I-01]. This is the first comprehensive dictionary to have been produced by Japanese sociologists since the *Gendai shakaigaku jiten* (Contemporary Dictionary of Sociology, Yūshindō, 1984) supervised by Kitagawa Takayoshi, and whereas the latter adopted a policy of large subject entries, this new dictionary consists of smaller entries and includes many new entries reflecting new movements in sociology since the 1970's. It is an indispensable work in that it indicates a new trend in Japanese sociology, but from a specialist's point of view it must be noted that it contains not a few shortcomings requiring further consideration, such as the fact that, although including many new entries, entries relating to historically important subjects have often been dealt with in a somewhat superficial manner and the fact that the bibliographical data of the works referred to are not necessarily accurate and hence one must refer for such information to the dated but very well-written *Shakaigaku jiten* (Dictionary of Sociology; Yūhikaku, 1958) and to dictionaries dealing with other fields, such as the *Tetsugaku jiten* (Dictionary of Philosophy; Heibonsha, 1971) and *Keizaigaku jiten* (Dictionary of Economics; Iwanami Shoten, 2nd ed. 1979). A further large dictionary, compiled along the lines of the 1958 *Shakaigaku jiten* and including the new entries of the present dictionary, is probably desirable. One major achievement of this dictionary is, however, the inclusion of a bibliography of the main works of Japanese sociology, including translations, arranged chronologically and according to subject, and it deserves to be utilized by foreign Japanologists too.

In ongoing projects continuing from the foregoing period, Volumes 11 and 17 in the series *Readings in Japanese Sociology* [I-02]

and Volumes 4, 5 and 8 of the *Library of Sociology* [I-03] were published. As regards the publication of the achievements of past authorities in this field, there appeared Volume 3 of the *Collected Works* of Tanabe Hisatoshi [I-04], and a collection of papers in memory of Aruga Kizaemon, who died in 1979, has been compiled by Kakizaki Kyōichi *et al.* [I-05]. This latter volume discusses research from the prewar period on Japanese rural villages and the extended family (*ie*) from various angles, and it will thus be of use to researchers interested in this field. In August 1988 Shimizu Ikutarō who had contributed to Japanese sociology from outside academia over a long period of time, died and the publication of his collected works, the preparations for which had been completed while he was still alive, was suspended in accordance with his dying wishes. It is to be hoped that this project will be revived at some time in the future, not least in order to provide a dispassionate overview of the history of sociology in Japan.

As regards historical studies of sociological theories and research on the classics of sociology, there appeared works by Naitō Kanji [I-06], Orihara Hiroshi [I-07], Suzuki Masahito [I-08], Atoji Yoshio [I-09], Hamaguchi Haruhiko [I-10], Funatsu Mamoru [I-11] and Takagi Kazuyoshi [I-12]. Among these works, that by Orihara, who through a careful reading of Max Weber sheds light on the true structure of Weber's sociology as set forth in his *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft* (*Economy and Society*) and gives a full picture of the macrosociology of comparative religion and its significance, and that by Takagi, who through an examination of Talcott Parsons's interpretation of American society both before and after World War II demonstrates the significance and limitations of Parsons's sociology, are of outstanding content and deserve to be read by foreign researchers too.

As a reflection of the internationalization of Japanese society during this period, the international and global interests of Japanese sociology grew too, and we find studies by Kajita Takamichi [I-13, 14], who deals with the question of technocracy and social movements and also undertakes a full-scale inquiry into the question of ethnicity for the first time in Japanese sociology; works by Shōji Kōkichi [I-15~17], who by bringing together various writ-

ings from during the 1980's attempts to formulate a new sociology focussing on world society; and a book by Komai Hiroshi [I-18], who concentrates on Third World countries. Kajita's study of ethnicity analyzes the process whereby this type of research, which first appeared in the United States during the 1960's and 1970's, spread to France and other countries in Europe, and he also attempts to contribute to the reformulation of a perspective for considering the question of minorities in Japan. Shōji, taking note of dependency theory, world system theory and other currents of thought, attempts to establish within his framework of historical sociology, contemporary sociology and practical sociology a global sociology that interprets today's world as a single, large society. By way of contrast, Komai views the structure of international society from the perspective of the Third World and deals with questions such as the permanent settlement of foreign workers and development based on appropriate technology.

In addition, there has recently come to the fore among younger sociologists a movement which, taking due account of the moves to revise the paradigms of sociology during the 1970's and 1980's, seeks to construct totally new theories, and this has produced works by Ōsawa Masachi [I-19] and Miyadai Shinji [I-20]. The former invokes the generative algebra of Spencer-Brown in an attempt to interpret society phenomenologically from its formative stages, while the latter reinterprets power through the expectations of those over whom it is exercised and depicts with careful theoretical formulations the structure of the nonpersonal exercise of power in contemporary society. There have also been further developments in the study of mathematical sociology, particularly among the younger generation of sociologists, and a volume edited by Umino Michio, Hara Junsuke and Wada Shūichi [I-21] was published. In addition, there has been a movement to review the history of social surveys in Japan, and this has produced a study edited by Kawai Takao [I-22], in which the major surveys undertaken since the Meiji era are placed within their historical context and an attempt is made to bring out their universal significance. Although it was only after World War II, under the influence of American sociology, that social surveys in the modern

sense became widespread in Japan, various surveys had been conducted prior to this by government agencies, journalists and sociologists, and so reviewing postwar social surveys on the basis of a historical examination of these earlier surveys has considerable value.

II. Japanese Society: Structure and Characteristics

As an example of the achievements of this period relating to the structure and characteristics of Japanese society, one should first of all refer to the collection of papers edited by Shōji Kōkichi, Yazawa Shūjirō and Takegawa Shōgo [II-01]. This corresponds to Volume 17 of the aforementioned *Readings in Japanese Sociology* and it consists of a selection of papers from among the fruits of postwar Japanese sociology dealing with the social establishment as a whole and changes therein. Although the papers included in this volume do not necessarily deal directly with Japanese society, one may perceive the attitudinal changes of Japanese sociology towards societal analysis, and they will be helpful for enabling one to grasp the structure and characteristics of Japanese society through the work of Japanese sociology. A major issue discussed by the writers is the conflict between Marxism and functionalism in regard to the interpretation of the structure of and changes in total society, a conflict that led to the development of the theories of civil society, mass society, industrial society, and managed knowledge society, and these further led to the appearance of theories of world society.

Next, the study by Tominaga Ken'ichi [II-02], who within the context of the above currents has from the 1960's adhered to the standpoint of functionalistic industrial society theory, employs its methods to present an analysis of Japanese society from this vantage point. It consists of five chapters—"The Turning Point in Japan's Industrial Society," "Industrialization and Changes in Social Structure," "The Universalistic Interpretation of the Formation of the Welfare State," "The Turning Point in Industrial Society and the Dissolution of the Working Class," and " 'Postwar Society' in Japan and West Germany and Their Turning

Points"—and in contrast to theories of "Japanese uniqueness," which tend to emphasize the perdurability and universality of the cultural characteristics of Japanese society, this work analyzes Japan as an industrial society from the standpoint of positivist universalism. Theories of Japanese uniqueness inevitably treat Japanese society as a static entity, but as a latecomer to industrial society Japan has in fact experienced rapid development as an industrial society, and according to the author it now faces four major turning points, namely, the disappearance of the youth component in its population, the functional contraction and disintegration of kinship groups, changes in "Japanese-style management," and a move from groupism to individualism. Tominaga maintains that the development of the welfare state in Japan may also be adequately explained on the basis of Japan's development as a late-starting industrial society and its turning points, and that the construction of a model and the analysis of data in support of a universalistic interpretation of the formation of the welfare state are quite feasible. From this standpoint he further discusses the dissolution of the working class in industrial societies, maintaining that the growth of the new middle class, which was a major point of contention during the 1980's, is by no means a phenomenon unique to Japan, but was also to be found in Germany during the period before and after World War II. As an example of a universalistic discussion of Japanese society, Tominaga's views should find ready acceptance with most sociologists around the world.

Hashizume Daizaburō [II-03], on the other hand, analyzes sociology in contemporary Japan and Japanese society with which it deals from his own structuralist viewpoint. His work consists of four chapters—"How to Study the Social Sciences," "What Is Beautiful about the Constitution of Japan?," "Why Did Marxism Go Wrong?" and "What Is Questionable about the Constitution of Japan?"—and although it is written on the whole with an instructive intent, it is for this very reason all the more interesting in that it demonstrates the analytical potential of the author's social theories. According to Hashizume, both Japan's Constitution and Marxism, which have embodied the ideals and served as the

guidelines of the adherents of progressive viewpoints in Japan's social sciences, have become divorced from the realities of Japanese society on account of their respective self-contradictions and have failed to correctly grasp the fact that the emperor does in actual practice play an important role in the unity of Japanese society. Although this observation is in its own way very much to the point, a more concrete indication of how Japanese society ought then to be grasped is necessary, for otherwise there is a danger that the author's ideas will serve no purpose but to cater to the conservatism latent in the depths of Japanese society.

Miyauchi Taisuke's book [II-04] is an ambitious study by a young sociologist who by focussing on shrimps and related crustaceans (*ebi*), favorite delicacies of the Japanese since early times, investigates changes in Japanese society and their significance as reflected in changes in the eating habits of the Japanese. The rock lobster, in particular, is regarded as a table luxury and, being connected in the lives of the Japanese with festive occasions such as wedding receptions, was only seldom partaken of, but during the second half of the period of high economic growth (late 1960's to early 1970's) various kinds of *ebi* resembling the rock lobster began to be imported in large quantities and it ceased being a rarity. According to the author, behind this process lay the activities of trading companies, the food industry and the restaurant business and the history of the Japanese economy's increasing control of food and resources throughout the world. In his opinion, the point at issue is not so-called modernization but rather the process that "reorganizes" our life-styles and culture, sometimes reviving traditional customs at the same time, and this viewpoint is not only an effective criticism of existing theories of modernization, but also represents a telling censure of socio-historical analyses of contemporary Japan. A further merit of this work is the wealth of data it contains relating to foodstuffs and Japanese eating habits.

Another study relating to the social history of contemporary Japan is that by Nakano Takashi [II-05].

As a work attempting to grasp the structure and characteristics of Japanese society from the vantage point of politics, mention should be made of the study by Imada Takatoshi [II-06]. The

author of this book, which was published as a volume in a series on political science, focusses on the subject of "social stratification as a political phenomenon" and maintains that although industrialization brought with it "political safety valves" in the form of the spread of middle-class consciousness, the institutionalization of upward mobility and the changing social status, since the 1970's these have lost their validity in Japan; he accordingly reconsiders the question of inequality in Japanese society, moving as it is towards postmodernism, and discusses the spread of "behavior regardless of status" in seeking a switch to quality politics. Since Imada utilizes the results of the SSM (social stratification and mobility) surveys referred to in V below, this study is also useful for the data-based substantiation that it provides for discussions on this subject.

Studies essaying an approach to the structure and characteristics of Japanese society in their relation to education were published by Jinnouchi Yasuhiko [II-07] and Tamura Eiichirō [II-08]. Jinnouchi, drawing lessons from Durkheim's social history of education and recent contemporary research in social history, employs a performance model in developing a "sociology of educational acts" in an attempt to unravel today's bewildering image of the teacher, and he utilizes various sources to offer concrete analyses of the development of and changes in the society of the teaching profession in the early Meiji era, the institutionalization of teachers' training and the social position of the teaching profession in the late Meiji era, and the social stratum and culture of "teachers' society" in the Taishō era. Although the period since the start of the Shōwa era, especially the postwar period, remains to be tackled, it is an instructive work not only in the field of the sociology of education, but also as a study of one aspect of the social history of modern Japan, and it may be compared with Kudomi Yoshiyuki's work discussed in VIII below. Tamura's work, on the other hand, deals with education in postwar Japan and discusses the nature of education and problems in Japanese society in relation to nationalism, which has become a major issue. In addition to an Introduction and Conclusion, it consists of four chapters—"From Education during the Period of Nationalism to Educa-

tion under a Democratic System," "The Rise of Nationalism in Postwar Education," "The Welfare State and Education" and "Nationalistic Sentiments of the Postwar Generation"—and the author maintains that in Japan, which modelled its postwar educational reforms on the United States, nationalism has almost invariably played a reactionary role; that advantage has been taken even of the welfare state in order to strengthen state intervention in education; and that although nationalistic sentiments have indeed grown weaker among the postwar generation, an indifference influenced by a home-and-family-centred way of life will not necessarily serve as a bulwark against nationalism. At a time when, with Japan's rising position in the world, there are moves on the part of the conservative government to arouse a new form of nationalism, research such as this is important.

In addition to the above, there appeared a number of studies dealing with attitudes and behavior relating to Japanese emigrants, minorities within Japan, and the internationality of the Japanese. First, on the subject of Japanese emigrants, there appeared a study by Torigoe Hiroyuki [II-09] on Okinawan emmigrants in Hawaii, focussing in particular on the first generation. Employing the method of reproducing almost *verbatim* the information gained through individual interviews, Torigoe describes how inhabitants of Okinawa, who had been subjected to discrimination already in Japan, crossed over to Hawaii, where they encountered new forms of discrimination and various other problems which they nevertheless managed to overcome through their resilience. In order to grasp the "composite whole" of the people whom he met in the course of his investigations, the author "sometimes discarded so-called 'theoretical' methods and chose the method of exhaustive description represented by life histories," and this humanist approach, as well as his enthusiasm for "another form of science," deserves to be dully assessed. Murayama Yūzō [II-10], on the other hand, describes objectively and comprehensively the history of the first-generation Japanese who settled in the northwestern part of the United States, covering the period from their departure from Japan up until after World War II. During the "age of light," from 1890 to 1910, Japanese em-

migrants started off as laborers in the lowest social stratum, having to endure discrimination and many other difficulties, but just when they had begun to prosper economically and thought that they would be able to settle down permanently, they entered the "age of shadow," during which period, with the mounting anti-Japanese movement, their ownership of land was restricted by the Alien Land Acts, and following the outbreak of the Pacific War they were forcibly evicted from their homes and sent to internment camps. The stories of the people who underwent these experiences prompt one to reflect anew on the Japanese people in their role as a minority, a role that is difficult to imagine when one considers Japan's international position today.

In regard to minorities within Japan, there appeared a study by Saitō Heiichi [II-11] on the Ainu people and a study by Harajiri Hideki [II-12] on Korean residents in Japan. In the latter work the author first modifies the theoretical perspective of ethnic group studies, by placing an emphasis on ethnic identity and group dynamics, and then describes in objective terms the history and present conditions of Koreans living in Japan. Taking a certain area in Kyushu as an example, he furthermore describes in detail the world in which they live, covering aspects ranging from everyday life, their occupations, language, education, religion and neighborhood relations to marriage and naturalization. A noteworthy point made by Harajiri is that as a result of naturalization there arises a sense of marginality (namely, of being half-Japanese), referred to as *panchŏppari* (people looking like to have wild boars' feet because of wearing *tabi*s), and that this often leads to identity crises among Koreans in Japan. By way of contrast, the book by Kimura Kenji [II-13] deals with the fascinating history of Japanese who crossed over to Korea. The author points out that the Japanese were making inroads into Korea well before the Japanese annexation of Korea in 1910, even as far back as the Edo period, and that this laid the foundations for Japan's later control of the Korean peninsula. This would indicate that the Japanese were simultaneously involved in issues diametrically opposed in nature to the problems faced by Japanese immigrants in the United States, thereby drawing one's attention once again to

the complexity of ethnic questions in relation to the Japanese.

Finally, in regard to the internationality of the Japanese there appeared a study by Sofue Takao [II-14].

III. Population Dynamics and the Family

On the subject of population dynamics there appeared an introductory work edited by Yamaguchi Kiichi [III-01] and a survey report by Atō Makoto *et al.* [III-02]. The former consists of ten chapters on "Population and Population Statistics," "Methods for Observing Population Phenomena," "The Analysis of Population Growth," "The Analysis of Marriages and Births," "The Analysis of Deaths and Life Tables," "The Analysis of Population Reproduction," "The Analysis of Population Composition," "The Analysis of Households and Families," "The Regional Analysis of Population" and "Population Estimates," with an appendix on population models, and although only an introduction to the subject, it employs examples taken from the situation in Japan and is therefore useful for acquiring basic knowledge on the structure of and changes in Japan's population census since 1920, when a national census was taken for the first time. The work by Atō *et al.*, taking note of the rapid decline in Japan's birthrate, offers an analysis focussing on the views of marriage and children held by young single people.

In the field of historical research on the family there appeared first of all a work authored by Koyama Takashi [III-03]. This represents a collection of mainly early papers by the leading figure in family studies in Japanese sociology from the prewar period until after the war, and it constitutes a study of the large extended families of the mountain villages of Etchū (Toyama prefecture) and Hida (Gifu prefecture). Seven of the papers contained in this volume are based on surveys of large families conducted by the author in Gokayama (Etchū), Shirakawa (Hida) and two or three mountain villages of the Hokuriku region, and describing as they do in great detail the form, composition, historical origins and vicissitudes of Japan's large families which were to be found best preserved in these regions, as well as customs such as separate

households, migration and migratory labor, they today possess a historical value. In addition, the two papers written in the 1960's on the disappearance of these large families are suggestive in the manner in which they convey in succinct terms the realities of family disintegration that accompanied social changes and rural development in postwar Japan. According to the author, these large families were not, as has been maintained by some authorities, an ancient institution but were born as a result of "the harsh natural and social conditions of the feudal period" and could therefore not avoid breaking up on account of hydroelectric development and other major postwar social changes, and this view represents a legacy that must not be forgotten by those studying the history of the family in Japan.

Further historical studies appeared in the form of a series of "Select Studies on 'Family and Marriage' " supervised by Yuzawa Yasuhiko, with reissues of works by Aruga Nagao [III-04] and Toda Teizō [III-05]. The former, influenced by Spencer, represents a study of family evolution from the standpoint of the theory of social evolution, while the latter constitutes a theory of family composition and the family system based on the view that the family is in essence a partnership based on affection and trust. These studies will be helpful for acquainting the reader with both the family and family theory in Japan.

Next, turning to the family in contemporary Japan, there appeared a general study by Tamura Kenji [III-06] consisting of the following six chapters: "Japanese Society and Changes in Family Life," "International Circumstances and the Future of Family Life in Japan," "Families Living in the Parental Home," "Family Life Cycles," "The Disorganization, Loss and Collapse of Family Life" and "Family, Family Pathology and Self-fulfillment." The author understands the family in Japan in terms of four sets of conditions imposed by historical restrictions, international restrictions, the restrictions of the original family and the restrictions of family cycles, and examining questions of old age, divorce and other aspects of family pathology, he explores the path leading to self-fulfillment. Since it includes various examples gathered in the course of counselling and casework, this study is

useful for familiarizing oneself with family conditions in contemporary Japan.

By way of contrast, the large volume edited by Arasaki Moriteru and Ōhashi Kaoru [III-07] represents the epoch-making results of a comprehensive group study of family problems in postwar Okinawa. After having acquired general background information in the first two sections on "The Natural Environment and History of Okinawa" and "The Politics and Economy of Postwar Okinawa," the reader is apprised of virtually all aspects of the family in contemporary Okinawa in the subsequent four sections on "Family Composition and Family Finances," "Family and Religion," "Family and Welfare" and "Problems Related to the Family." Especially in the chapters on questions relating to kinship and inheritance and on the family and folk religion one will discover the unique characteristics of the Okinawan family not found on the Japanese mainland; on the subjects of single-member families, elderly households, the disabled, handicapped children and beneficiary households one will find family problems that are in a sense all the more serious in that they are manifesting themselves later than on the Japanese mainland; and in regard to divorce, disappearance from home and alcoholism one will sense fears of future aggravation of these problems, while in regard to mixed marriages and two-income familes one will perceive a certain progressiveness compared with mainland Japan. Being based on field studies, this work contains a wealth of data, and it is also useful for reviewing the family as a whole in Japan.

On the subject of the Japanese family in general there appeared a volume edited by Hoshino Akira [III-08], constituting the first volume in a lecture series on family psychology, and it seeks to grasp in a comprehensive fashion the manner in which the family is changing. The introductory chapter stresses in particular "an interdisciplinary approach to the family," and Part 1 contains papers on changes in the contemporary family viewed from demographic and sociological perspectives, changes in Japan's traditional family viewed from a social anthropological perspective, the family in civil law, and family changes and ancestral rites. Part 2, dealing with new perspectives for understanding the family, and

Part 3, entitled "The Pluralistic Understanding of Family Problems," bring together various papers and essays based on psychological and various other viewpoints, and although they include not a few that lack academic precision when considered from a specialist's viewpoint, they will doubtless provide hints for understanding family changes in Japan within the context of international comparison. From a sociological point of view the four papers contained in Part 1 are especially informative.

Next, there appeared a work edited by Arichi Tōru [III-09] on the functional disorders that have occurred in consequence of these changes in the contemporary family and on possible remedies. Having first classified the functional disorders of the contemporary family into juvenile delinquency, divorce and problems of the elderly, with descriptions of the situation in contemporary Japan in each case, the author then discusses problems inherent in the existing institutions for dealing with these questions and makes suggestions for the future through a comparison with the situation in Great Britain, France and Australia. In the case of juvenile delinquency, there is evidence of a deterioration in the situation in regard to both its content and nature, which is related to the decline in the socializing functions of the contemporary family, and as countermeasures the author suggests that adjustments in the conjugal relations of parents, measures by concerned agencies taking into account parent-child relationships, liaison between concerned agencies, and the consolidation of comprehensive counselling organs will be necessary; in the case of divorce, social conditions that encourage divorce are spreading also in Japan, with the accompanying financial problems and questions of the treatment of children becoming ever more serious, and since there are limits to the help available through public agencies such as government offices and lawcourts, the author suggests that as a countermeasure a "General Center for Family Problems" or some such similar counselling organ for domestic disputes will become necessary; and in the case of the elderly, family relations play an extremely important role in the purposefulness and happiness of the elderly, and hence in order to revitalize the functions which only a family can fulfill for the elderly

the author suggests that the establishment of local centers and networks will be necessary. On the subject of divorce there also appeared a volume edited by Toshitani Nobuyoshi, Emori Itsuo and Inamoto Yōnosuke [III-10] which attempts an international comparison focussing on the sociology of law in relation to divorce. Information on the legal and sociological questions that are arising in relation to divorce in Japan is provided by the three introductory chapters discussing, in addition to the points at issue, the criteria for a comparison of divorce laws and the historical and social factors behind the phenomenon of the collapse of the family and, among the chapters dealing with more specific topics, by the chapter on divorce in Japan.

In addition, there appeared a work edited by Shibano Shōzan [III-11] on the socializing functions of the family and school and a unique experimental study on housekeeping edited by Naoi Michiko [III-12]. The former takes up the term '*shitsuke*' or 'discipline,' the native Japanese word signifying 'socialization,' and discusses its theoretical framework, ideologies considered from a variety of angles, the subjective agent, its relationship to the learning of sex roles, its relationship to school regulations, its relationship to child suicide, traditional thought, changes that have accompanied modernization, and the contemporary situation. According to the contributors, there is no easy escape from the present "anomic situation" regarding discipline, but they point out that parents and teachers, as agents of discipline, must not forget that they themselves are socialized in the course of disciplining by the objects of their discipline, namely, children and pupils. The work edited by Naoi, based on the view that "both housekeeping and occupations are forms of work," is an attempt to analyze housekeeping by means of a framework similar to that employed in the analysis of other occupations and, using survey data, it discusses the six themes of the content of and time spent in housekeeping, the nature of housekeeping and housekeeping awareness, housekeeping in families with elderly members and housekeeping in nuclear families, housekeeping for housewives with other employment and housekeeping for housewives with no other employment, the influence exerted by work on a person's

personality, and housewife awareness and views on housekeeping. This study was born of the realization that although Marxist feminism, whose viewpoint is based on the two mainstays of the patriarchal family and capitalism, has succeeded in explaining the reasons why housekeeping is not socially recognized as a form of work, it has not yet undertaken any concrete analysis of housekeeping.

Finally, in regard to the life-course studies already mentioned in our previous review, there appeared a volume edited by Aoi Kazuo [III-13] and a study by Misawa Ken'ichi *et al.* [III-14]. The former work, in particular, presenting as it does the results of a case study of a considerable number of samples taken from both the older and younger generations of graduates of Tsuda College, founded by Tsuda Umeko, a pioneer of Japanese career women, is extremely interesting as a study of the role played by highly educated women in the course of Japan's modernization.

IV. Regional Society: The Village and the City

If we start with the rural village in regional society, the first work to draw our attention is the historical study by Takagi Masao [IV-01]. This is a case study, which seeks to understand the philosophy and realities of rural autonomy in modern Japan by focusing on the two institutions of rural local government and cooperative farming unions (*nōson kyōdō kumiai*), and it covers the years from the early Meiji era to the prewar period. Part 1, dealing with the administrative side of rural autonomy, consists of sections on the rural credit associations known as *hōtokusha* ("repaying virtue societies") and village communities, the evolution of government-conceived model communities, towns and villages in the late Meiji and early Taishō eras and local government administrators, rural local government during the period of Taishō democracy, and towns and villages during the Taishō and prewar Shōwa eras and village unity, while Part 2, dealing with cooperative farming unions, focusing primarily on Niigata prefecture, consists of sections on perspectives for the study of cooperative farming unions during their formative stages, the growth of production unions

(*sangyō kumiai*) in Niigata prefecture, management of family businesses by large landowners and production unions, the growth of production unions in the prewar Shōwa era and the management of family businesses by large landowners, and the autonomy of cooperative unions during the time of peasant movements. The author writes that, in contrast to the tendency to understand rural villages from above in the context of local autonomy, his aim was to describe the undercurrents of a peasant autonomy that was never brought under complete control from above.

As regards the situation in contemporary rural villages, there appeared firstly on the subject of Hokkaido a report by Ōyama Nobuyoshi [IV-02] and a study edited by Miyara Takahiro [IV-03]. This latter work describes with a diversity and wealth of detail and from the standpoint of folklife studies the manner in which migrants from Toyama prefecture, who began settling in Hokkaido during the Meiji era, transferred the accumulated culture of their everyday lives in Toyama to Hokkaido, where they preserved and further developed it while also making major contributions to social development in Hokkaido. This work is of considerable interest on account of the information it provides on clothing, food, dwellings and living space, rites of passage, annual events, oral literature and other aspects of the culture of life in Japan's rural villages, and of special value from a sociological viewpoint are the descriptions of social relations and social organization in the two chapters dealing with village life and with family and clan life. We find, for example, descriptions of forms of mutual aid known as *kōryaku* and *ē* and also of kinship groups and sets of households called *ikke* and *kabu*. With the changes in Japanese rural villages that have accompanied high economic growth, there has been a decline in sociological studies of such phenomena, and so our attention is aroused all the more by such references. We wish to take this opportunity to also mention that in 1982 the editor of this work established together with others the Hokkaido Folklife Culture Study Group, which has been publishing a journal entitled *Hokkaido o saguru* (In Search of Hokkaido's Culture) [IV-04].

In regard to the present state of rural villages, there were also published a volume compiled by Nishida Haruhiko [IV-05] and

a report edited by Naoi Atsushi and Ojima Fumiaki [IV-06]. The former was born of the idea that "it might be possible to make use by quantitative methods of the information and knowledge accumulated by sociological research on Japanese rural villages which, although of a high standard, has placed emphasis on meticulous case studies," and it contains the results of various analyses made by Nishida over a period of more than thirty years since the end of World War II on the basis of the results of SSM surveys and agrarian village cards. There is also a volume edited by Watanabe Zenjirō *et al.* [IV-07] which, taking Kokubunji in Tokyo as an example, reports on the significance of urban agriculture, its influence on civilian life, its position within town planning, and its relationship to environmental issues. For an understanding of the actual state of agriculture in Japan there is a need to take note of movements such as these too.

Next, turning to the city, we find first of all a collection of papers by Isomura Eiichi [IV-08]. Owing to the author's stance, leaning as it does somewhat towards practice rather than theory, the papers contained in these volumes have been criticized for a certain lack of academic precision, but insomuch as they are from the pen of the leading figure in urban sociology in Japan, they deal with a wide range of topics and are useful for acquainting oneself with the history and present state of Japanese urban sociology. Next, the study by Akimoto Ritsuo [IV-09] presents the results of a reexamination on the part of Japanese urban sociology of W. I. Thomas, R. E. Park, E. W. Burgess, L. Wirth and others of the Chicago school, while that by Satō Toshikazu [IV-10] attempts to formulate a new perspective for analyzing central and local government relations and the political system in Japan through an examination of the influence exerted on theories of urban politics by the arguments over power structure that have taken place in Europe and America, structuralist Marxism, neocorporatism, and discussions of center-periphery relations.

Moving now on to more detailed studies of cities, the major achievements of this period were first and foremost the publications on neighborhood associations (*chōnaikai*) by Iwasaki Nobuhiko *et al.* [IV-11] and Yoshihara Naoki [IV-12]. The former is

the product of a joint study by fourteen researchers and, divided into three parts entitled "A Historical Examination of Urban Neighborhood Associations in Japan," "Postwar Japan's Economic Growth and the Development of Neighborhood Associations" and "The Basic Characteristics and Present-day Issues of Neighborhood Associations," it represents the results of the largest and most serious study to have been conducted on the subject of Japan's neighborhood associations. In his introduction the editor Iwasaki proposes that neighborhood associations be understood as "residential associations," and while it has become more difficult for these associations to create on their own new forms of local community and autonomy for residents, he writes in his conclusion that there have instead been diverse developments in associations and networks transcending the bounds of neighborhood associations, school districts and workplaces, giving rise to the possibility that these will once again become linked to residential associations, and through such undertakings "the true community should certainly bubble up." This study is a must for those wishing to look at Japan's cities, local society and, through these, Japanese society as a whole and its political movements. The book by Yoshihara, who also participated in the above joint study and might be described as a specialist on neighborhood associations, is a study of the reorganization of neighborhood associations that took place in the postwar reform period during the Allied Occupation. On the premise that the basic structure of neighborhood associations, which may be said to correspond to the "grass roots" of Japanese society, has its origins in this Occupation period, the author undertakes detailed case studies of Tokyo, Osaka and Yokohama and concludes that the GHQ, with neighborhood society born of the American experience as its ideal, "slashed" neighborhood associations, the rudimentary foundations of Japanese society, and as a result historical continuity and discontinuity and cultural assimilation and alienation have repeatedly occurred in the substratum of Japanese society: this represents the true nature of neighborhood associations. This work too is a valuable contribution to the subject.

Now turning our attention to studies of regional society in spe-

cific localities, the first work we must mention is that edited by Kitagawa Takayoshi [IV-13], dealing with Kanagawa prefecture and the cities of Atsugi and Sagamihara. This represents the report of a survey that was undertaken on the assumption that advanced technological changes in the industrial structure were transforming the very foundations of Japan's social structure, a salient example of which is the formation of the Tokyo region centered on the "cosmopolis" of Tokyo, and that the changes taking place in the central part of Kanagawa prefecture (*ken'ō*) around Atsugi and Sagamihara were the result of this area's having become engulfed by the Tokyo region. Plans for a large-scale restructuring of the metropolitan area centered on Tokyo, based on the Fourth Comprehensive National Development Plan decided upon by the Cabinet meeting in 1987, are at present underway, and this study describes how, as a result of the concept of a "*Ken'ō* Technopia" in the Second New Kanagawa Plan based on the above plans for Tokyo, the former post-station town and later small commercial city of Atsugi and its environs are being transformed into a "cosmopolitan" city of advanced technology. Next, the work by Tanosaki Akio [IV-14] deals with Hamamatsu in Shizuoka prefecture and presents the results of a study of the development of a composite industrial city and the role of the concept of "technopolis" in this process. According to the author, although Hamamatsu, which has enjoyed relative autonomy, is assimilating the technopolis concept in its process of developing into a composite industrial city, when compared with the city of Shizuoka, which finds itself in the same situation of advanced technologization and internationalization that is assailing Japanese society, there remain problems in the case of Hamamatsu concerning its character as a city, cultural life and management functions.

In addition, the book by Okuda Noriaki [IV-15] is a comprehensive study of population changes, local structure, the daily life of citizens and children, the formation of communities, and the activities of self-governing associations in Sakaide, a more truly regional city in Kagawa prefecture. This city is also the site of the pier on the Shikoku end of the Seto Ōhashi Bridge, the first bridge

to link Honshū and Shikoku, which was opened in 1988, and Okuda's study deals in detail with the political process leading to the construction of the bridge, its influence on the life of residents, and in particular its influence on the life of the residents of the island of Yoshima, the site of the bridge's central pier. However, more critical research, taking into account citizens' reactions to the various problems that came to light during and after the construction of the Seto Ōhashi Bridge, will be necessary in order to determine whether this city, now promoting plans to become "the city of the sea-bridge," will really become a pleasant city of charm, conducive to culture, and also suitable for an aging society. There also appeared books by Tomino Kiichirō *et al.* [IV-16] on Zushi and Miyake Island, both localities that have become the focus of nationwide attention in connection with the question of American bases and Self-Defense Force maneuver sites, and by Tani Tomio [IV-17] on Okinawa. The former is a statement on the nature of local community offered from the standpoint of those attempting to pursue a form of administration representative of the will of local residents, while the latter is a historical study, with a generational focus, of life in Okinawa, which since its reunion with mainland Japan has experienced rapid over-urbanization.

In addition to the above, the work by Tanaka Toyoharu *et al.* [IV-18] discusses the changes that must be made by people and organizations in order to reform local administrative organizations, while the volume edited by Itō Zen'ichi *et al.* [IV-19] deals with the various forms of internationalization policies being pursued by local governments throughout the country and their significance for regional vitalization. As examples of various approaches to internationalization, this latter work takes up for consideration twelve examples from Kusatsu (Gunma prefecture), Kanra (Gunma prefecture), Sonobe (Kyoto prefecture), Shimoda (Shizuoka prefecture), Susono (Shizuoka prefecture), Tajimi (Gifu prefecture), Tsuruoka (Yamagata prefecture), Ashikaga (Tochigi prefecture), Kōriyama (Fukushima prefecture), Matsuyama (Ehime prefecture), Kitakyūshū (Fukuoka prefecture) and Nagoya (Aichi prefecture), and on the basis of these examples the authors posit five types of local government policies for internationaliza-

tion, namely, those promoting industry, those promoting tourism, those promoting culture, those promoting learning and education, and those creating international towns. On the subject of local internationalization, reference may also be made to documentary works such as that by Nagai Hiroshi [IV-20].

V. Industry, Labor, Class and Social Stratification

Moving on to the field of industry and labor, we should mention firstly the general study edited by Ishikawa Akihiro [V-01]. This is an introduction to industrial sociology, but it also provides a convenient overview of industrial society in contemporary Japan and may serve as a guide for researchers. After having defined industrial sociology, Ishikawa goes on to say that the greatest issue facing it is how to achieve social integration within industry, and from this perspective he points out both the positive aspects and the limitations of Japanese groupism. Next, on the premise that the focal point of Japan's industrial society lies in the transformation of services into economic commodities and in service labor, Ogata Takaaki analyzes the content of service labor and points out that there is a need to pay attention not only to the high-level service labor attendant upon informationalization but also to the peripheral service labor that is becoming widespread in the sphere of tertiary industry. In addition, Kambayashi Chieko discusses the structural changes taking place in Japanese-style management with the aging of society and the rise in female employment occurring in Japanese-style managment, and she analyzes the manner in which Japanese-style management is being compelled to change on account of these two factors of aging and feminization. This volume constitutes an important study for acquainting oneself with the manner in which basic currents in Japanese society, namely, informationalization, internationalization and aging, are being manifested in the world of industry.

Organizational sociology is a field of study that examines not only industry but society as a whole from the viewpoint of organization, and the period under review saw the publication of a work on this subject edited by Kobayashi Kōichirō and Umezawa Ta-

dashi [V-02] and of another work by Watase Hiroshi [V-03]. In the former, Umezawa discusses organizational phenomena in contemporary society and, after having listed organizations distinctive of Japanese society, he deals in detail with two typical organizations, namely, the General Council of Trade Unions of Japan and the Federation of Economic Organizations (Keidanren), attempting to establish a formula for determining the characteristics of organizations in an age of diversification through a comparison of the former, which has proved unable to weather the currents of the times, with the latter, which fills the role of guiding light to Japan Inc. Kobayashi, who traces the changes in organizational structure that have taken place in response to changes in the industrial structure of postwar Japan, points out the growing importance of planned reform in organizational culture within the general mechanism inherent in the birth and evolution of organizations, and he states that the major issue is coming to be self-organization following on from self-reference. Watase, on the other hand, who considers a distinctive feature of Japanese organizations to be their highly organic nature, first goes back in time to the Sorai school of thought, regarded by Maruyama Masao as embodying the germs of modern thought in Japan, and then, having examined the organizational theories of the Meiji sociologist Katō Hiroyuki, comes back to organization in the present age, emphasizing "the revival of organic organizations.". Both of these works may be profitably referred to when considering Japan's businesses and labor unions.

In addition, there appeared a book compiled by Imai Ken'ichi *et al.* [V-04], which considers business in contemporary Japan from the viewpoint of organizational strategies in an age of networks. Although it is written in dialogue format and is not an academic study, it contains discussions of organization from various angles by sociologists and business administrators who seek in particular to shed light on the distinctive features of business organization in Japan, and so it should provide hints and perspectives for further research.

On the subject of Japanese-style management there appeared two works by Hazama Hiroshi, the representative researcher in

this field. The first [V-05], on the genealogy of Japanese-style managment, is a reissue of a book that was first published in 1963, and although there is nothing new in its content, it is still of considerable value to researchers of this subject since it traces the history of management in Japan from the early Meiji era, or second half of the nineteenth century, up until the 1960's. Even a perusal of its table of contents provides one with an outline of the development of Japanese-style management: "How to View Management History," "Merchants and Artisans (The Precondition for Modern Management)," "Government Management and Private Management (The Transfer of Western Techniques)," "From Government Management to Private Management (The Entrenchment of the Logic of Capital)," "The Factory Law and Paternalism (The Evolution of Primitive Labor Relations)," "The Establishment of Zaibatsu Monopolies (The Formation of the Principle of Management Families)," "Labor Problems and Paternalism (Responses to the Labor Movement)," "Japanese-Style Management before the War (The Structure and Theory of Family Management)," "The Beginnings of the Industrial Rationalization Movement (The Introduction of the Logic of Efficiency)," "The Outbreak of World War II (The Principle of Management Families in Turmoil)," "Subsistence Wages and Industrial National Service Associations (The Legacy of War)," "The American-style Democratization of Management (The Collapse of the Principle of Management Families)," "Technological Innovation and Trade Deregulation (The Question of Management Welfarism)" and "The Distinctive Features of Japanese-Style Management (Groupism and Humanism)." Hazama's second work [V-06] was written as an introduction to the sociology of management, and although it does not deal with only Japanese management, it is based on the author's long years of research and adopts a theoretical framework that facilitates one's understanding of the characteristics of Japanese-style management. It provides food for thought not only on the business corporations and groups that are in actual practice driving the Japanese economy and on the realities of the matrimonial alliances by which they are connected with one another, but also on the groupism and humanism of the

Japanese people that lies at the basis of Japanese-style management.

Moving from business management on to labor management, we find a monographic work by Kawakita Takashi [V-07]. This skillfully brings together the results of various industrial and labor surveys in which the author participated in the 1970's and 1980's, and dealing as it does with subjects such as the period of high economic growth and technological innovation, labor management during the period of employment adjustment, labor management in the post-industrial stage, and the diversifying world of labor, it enables the reader to follow by means of examples the manner in which forms of labor management have changed in response to industrial changes in Japan since the 1970's. It should provide a wealth of data and hints for further research on the increasingly diversified world of the worker in its relations to the steel industry, its automation, the influence of automation on workers, the influence of microelectronicization, personnel reshuffling and reduced management, their influence on the labor movement, general retail businesses, labor-management relations and labor problems in the leisure industry, personnel training in Japanese businesses that have expanded to the United States, agencies providing clerical services, the cosmetic industry, and salespeople. In this connection mention may also be made of the work by Shimodaira Yūshin *et al.* [V-08] in which a number of people who have conducted labor surveys in a variety of fields, including Kawakita, review the distinctive features of this subject and points at issue to date; it also lists, with brief descriptive comments, the main labor surveys that were undertaken in the years 1962–88.

On the subject of labor there was published a historical study by Iwauchi Ryōichi [V-09]. The volume compiled by Ōyama Nobuyoshi [V-10] takes up for consideration shipbuilding workers, in particular the fitters of Hakodate and the finishers of Ishinomaki, and by tracing in detail the course of their lives from the prewar period until after the war, it seeks to describe the history of the shipbuilding industry in Japan, the living conditions of its workers, and changes in Japanese society as reflected in the shipbuilding industry and in the lives of shipbuilding workers. Not

only does the author deserve praise for his sociological stance, combining life histories with industrial sociology in order to educe a "reflexive theory" paradigm for describing the subjective growth of workers, but the life histories of the shipbuilding workers that he describes are in themselves of value both as historical material and as a stimulus for the formulation of further theories.

On workers in the present age there appeared first of all a study edited by Nohara Hikari and Fujita Eishi [V-11], dealing with workers in the automobile industry. This work first describes in detail how a group of companies affiliated to a certain automobile maker representative of Japanese-style "corporate society" procures labor, manages its workers and is able to achieve high productivity, and it then goes on to discuss in depth the kind of lives actually led by workers under such company conditions, their frame of mind, and the possibilities of there appearing from among them agents for changing such a system. The authors consider the preconditions for the workers' acceptance of the company's almost overharsh management system to be "the acceptance of a life-style of mass consumption," the dissolution of workplace groups and the suspension of the functioning of labor unions, and in their examination of the experiences of individual workers prior to their joining the company, their experiences in the workplace, their encounters with external values, the quality of their workplace activities and the quality of their lives outside the workplace, the authors discover that there are instances when a worker will through some experience or another encounter a value totally alien to that of corporate society, as a result of which he will then subject his own experiences and life-style to a full review and begin to aspire to changing the *status quo*. The authors point out that in this sense it is important that people with such experiences and aspirations "continue to stand out" in the workplace and in the local community. The work by Sasaki Ichirō *et al.* [V-12], to which Nohara also contributes, discusses changes in the awareness and life-styles of workers in contemporary Japan from a similar angle but in more general and more expository terms, and it also deserves to be referred to in connection with this subject.

By way of contrast to the above two works, that by Inagami

Takeshi [V-13], dealing with the world of labor at a turning point and including within its purview not only large corporations but also smaller businesses and companies that have expanded overseas, asserts that there has begun to appear within Japanese employment practices a new tendency towards "diversified management" and that there is also a trend towards a "moderate neocorporatism" in the union movement too, and the author, declaring that the tendency towards neodualism that is manifesting itself in Japan with corporate internationalization and the influx of foreign workers will not necessarily proceed in the direction of the "dual structure" type of control and vertical-connection management, suggests the possibility of there occurring instead an increase in the "relational contracting" type of cooperative and oblique-connection management. The volume edited by Sanada Naoshi [V-14], on the other hand, aiming at an understanding of the social character of workers in Japan's big business society, discusses the principles of achievement, adaptation to change (anomie), private life and Japanese groupism, and presents a view of the present conditions of workers that is in a sense even more critical than that of Nohara *et al.* The study by Kawanishi Hirosuke [V-15], based on the author's long years of strongly motivated research, is a painstaking work that discusses Japan's enterprise unions and Japanese-style labor-management relations on the basis of a positive evaluation of minority labor union movements.

In regard to the question of foreign workers, there have begun to appear, in addition to overseas case studies such as the report published by the Tsuda College Institute for International Relations [V-16], books presenting outspoken views and proposals relating to the situation in Japan, such as that by Miyajima Takashi [V-17]. Although the researchers who have started to deal with this question are not necessarily specialists in the field of industry and labor, cooperation and debates with researchers of industry and labor will doubtless produce important research on this subject in Japan.

The greatest achievement during the period under review in regard to class and social stratification was without doubt the publication of four reports by the 1985 National Commission on So-

cial Stratification and Social Mobility [V-18]. These are based on analyses of the data gained from primarily the fourth of the decennial SSM surveys that have been conducted since 1955. Many new, younger researchers participated in this latest survey, and the results have been published in four volumes dealing respectively with the structure and process of social stratification, the dynamics of stratum consciousness, education and social mobility, and women and social stratification. Since many of the papers are based directly on data analysis, specialist researchers may refer directly to them, but those who do not specialize in this field are advised to consult the more readily assimilable analysis results published in the period to be covered in our next review. Generally speaking, it would appear that whereas the previous 1975 survey suggested a "middle bulging" of stratum structure and a spread of middle-class consciousness, the results of the latest survey point to a new differentiation and fixation of social strata. It should be noted that the discussions of, for example, Imada Takatoshi [II-06], referred to in II above, are based on the results of such analyses.

VI. Mass Communications and Social Consciousness

In research on mass communications there first appeared during this period a work edited by Tanosaki Akio, Hirose Hidehiko and Hayashi Shigeki [VI-01]. This is a collection of papers published in honor of the seventieth birthday of Satō Tomoo, who has made a long-standing contribution to this field, and perhaps as a reflection of his personal repute Japan's leading sociologists have all made contributions on the three subjects of contemporary society, communications and the media. Papers such as those by Yoshida Tamito, who advocates the need to expand pseudo-environment theory and copy theory into information space theory and construction program theory in order to develop the study of mass communications into the discipline of social information studies, and Aoi Kazuo, who proposes that theories of communicative action be developed in greater depth into theories of therapeutical dialogue and Zen dialogue in order to overcome the historical rel-

ativity of rationality, will introduce the reader to the questions with which contemporary Japanese sociology is concerning itself in the field of mass communications, while the papers contained in Part 3, dealing with changes in media structure and the actual state of informationalization in contemporary Japan, should provide various hints for studying the present state of mass communications in Japan. In addition, the book by Yamada Minoru [VI-02], although only an introduction to the study of mass communications, contains an outline of the history of mass communications research in Japan and also has a chronologically arranged bibliography of the main works (including Western works) dealing with mass communications research published between 1909 and 1987; it may thus be referred to for basic information on mass communications and related research in Japan.

As an example of a study on a more specific topic, there appeared a work by Watanabe Jun [VI-03] who, taking note of the diversification of communications media in contemporary society, starts with a reexamination of McLuhan's media theory and, making use of ideas gleaned from ethno-methodology and other sources, essays an analysis of the micro-process lying at the basis of mass communications. Following an analysis of telephone communication, the microcosm of audio equipment, the photograph as an act, and the interaction of television by adapting the methods of Goffman's frame analysis, Watanabe then reexamines the relationship between writing and the self and the world of the written word, and points out the paradox of an external world, which is coming to manifest itself only through the agency of an ever greater number of media forms, "being felt on the one hand to be possessed of even greater reality, while at the same time reducing all sense of reality." This last point should help one understand the social conditions of contemporary Japan, especially the world of the young.

The attention of those concerned with the mass media in daily life also turns to cultural transformation and local society in the present age. The volume edited by Minoya Kazunari [VI-04] first discusses the information environment of contemporary life, then moves on to concrete analyses of the mass media within daily life,

mass culture within daily life, the mass media within the local community, local disputes within the mass media, and elections within the mass media, and closes with a study going back to the manipulation of the masses during World War II. Since the chapters discussing the mass media in connection with daily life and the local community make use of a variety of data, they may be profitably referred to for information on the influence exerted by the mass media on the lives of the Japanese, the regional distribution and regional control of the mass media, and the influence exerted by the mass media at election time. In addition, the book by Shiramizu Shigehiko [VI-05] analyzes the connections between the mass media and local culture and local identity, with examples from Okinawa and Karatsu (Saga prefecture), discusses the connections between communications and the social structure of rural localities, as well as the dissemination of religious innovations as forms of social communication, and also outlines the vitalization of local society by means of new media forms. Although it does contain some case studies relating to Southeast Asia, it is basically a study of Japanese society, including its last chapter which reviews the history of television research, and may therefore be referred to for the study of mass communications in Japan.

Next, on the specific subject of local media, reference should be made above all to the study edited by Takeuchi Ikuo and Tamura Norio [VI-06]. This represents a new edition of a comprehensive study of local media by seventeen researchers and is divided into three parts dealing respectively with the sociology of local media, the organization of local media, and the development of local media; these contain in turn chapters on social theory relating to local media and survey methodology, the relationship of local media to local politics and local government, and the relationship of local media to advertising, public relations, entertainment and youth culture in local society. In the view of the editors of this work, the system of one newspaper for each prefecture, which became the prototype of postwar local media, was forcibly created by the government and the military immediately prior to World War II, and they maintain that the perspective of media ecology is necessary for considering local media, which are now

discrimination, discrimination in contemporary society is also linked to regional questions, providing what might be termed the social psychological driving force behind the tendency to construct nuclear power stations in peripheral and underpopulated areas, and on this subject there appeared a work compiled by Yagi Tadashi [VII-06].

Next, in regard to regional questions proper as an aspect of social problems, a major yield of the period under review was the volume coauthored by Funabashi Harutoshi, Hasegawa Kōichi, Hatanaka Munekazu and Kajita Takamichi [VII-07]. As an example of the regional problems of high-speed civilization, this work takes up for consideration the construction of the Tōhoku-Jōetsu Shinkansen bullet train, the disputes that arose in the course of its construction, and their social implications, and it contains the following seven chapters: "Large-scale Development Projects and Regional Problems," "The Construction of the Tōhoku-Jōetsu Shinkansen and Regional Disputes," "The Construction of the Shinkansen as an Example of an 'Immature Type' of Public Enterprise," "The Decision-making and Implementation Process of the Construction Plans and Residents' Movements," "The Chain Transfer of Structural Tension," "What Did the High-Speed Transport Network Bring?" and "A Comparison of 'Regional Problems' in Japan and Europe." Outstanding features of the content of this work include the fact that it surveys the history of large-scale development projects that began in earnest with the introduction of the New Comprehensive National Development Plan in 1969; it criticizes the construction of the Shinkansen as representing an inadequate "immature type" of public enterprise in regard to all four criteria of value allocation, decision-making, establishment of goals and choice of means; it gives a detailed analysis not only of the complexity of the decision-making process on the part of the construction agents, but also of the complexity of the conflicts of interest among the residents' movements; it demonstrates that the high-speed transport network did not bring the anticipated benefits to local regions but instead, in a certain sense, accelerated the excessive concentration on the Tokyo region; and it concludes that, when compared with similar instances

in Western Europe, the local changes resulting from large-scale development in Japan are quite out of the ordinary in their magnitude and ought to be defined as "regional problems of Japan within the context of world history." In addition, on the subject of environmental issues, closely related to regional problems, there appeared a book edited by Torigoe Hiroyuki [VII-08]. Of particular interest is the fact that, on the basis of the results of environmental surveys of Lake Biwa, it proposes the viewpoint of "life-style environmentalism" in contrast to natural environmentalism and the principles of modern technology.

In the sphere spanning both social problems and social welfare there appeared several important works during this period. First, on the basis of the fundamental proposition that "social welfare is a social measure for resolving social problems," the book by Yamate Shigeru [VII-09], representing a collection of his past writings, examines various issues under the four headings of family problems and social welfare, women's problems and women's welfare, health problems and health and medical welfare, and sociology and social welfare studies. One may perceive the author's humanistic stance in the fact that he places family problems, women's problems and health problems at the basis of his consideration of social welfare, that he not only adduces a variety of data in discussing present conditions in Japan but also employs many diagrams illustrating connections between different factors in his analysis and interpretation of these data, and that he emphasizes the need for sociologists to cooperate in overcoming sectionalism in order to firmly establish the field of social welfare studies. Next, the volume edited by Soeda Yoshiya [VII-10] on the "sociology of social problems" first presents in Part 1 a general account, taking note of past theories, of the definition, taxonomy, origins and control of social problems; then in Part 2 it offers detailed discussions of the four subjects of the origins and growth of problems relating to the homes of children who have lost parents in road accidents, elderly people suffering from senile dementia seen as a social problem, interaction and labelling in relation to alchoholics, and the implementation of guidance in social aid. It is a noteworthy work in that it contains in Part 1 purely socio-

logical discussions of social problems and social welfare such as those who are involved in down-to-earth issues tend to pass over, while in Part 2 it gives details of the actual conditions and countermeasures being adopted in Japan. In addition, the volume compiled by the Social Development Research Institute [VII-11] is an ambitious collection of papers by ten researchers seeking to establish a "sociology of social welfare policy." In Japan the concept of social welfare policy has, under the influence of German social welfare policy studies that were introduced already prior to World War II, usually been understood in the sense of labor policy and workers' welfare policy, but the ten contributors to this volume, influenced by the pioneer Fukutake Tadashi, have made active efforts to adopt British and American theories of social welfare policy and are endeavoring to change the meaning of this term to that of policies promoting the social welfare of not only workers but the population as a whole. Although many of the papers contained in this work are of a more general nature, they may still be referred to for their references to the situation in Japan.

As regards more detailed studies of social welfare in general, there appeared a volume edited by Tani Katsuhide [VII-12] which seeks to reexamine the question of welfare in connection with the advance of internationalization. It is divided into five parts, each containing four papers, on welfare and changes in international society, Japan's welfare problems in an age of internationalization, the internationalization of Japanese society, welfare problems in Asia and their background, and practical examples of international cooperation, and each paper, dealing with the social problems that have arisen anew in conjunction with internationalization and countermeasures in the form of social welfare, may be said to represent an ambitious assault on the new frontier of social welfare studies. For information on actual conditions in Japan in regard to these matters, reference should be made in particular to the criticism of Japan's developmental education and international cooperation and to the attempt to formulate a theory for linking regionalism and internationalization in Part 1; to the studies in Part 2 of the family problems of Japa-

nese living overseas and of the youth problems that have resulted from increasing internationalization and the countermeasures that have been taken; and to the analysis of the questions of and government policies related to the permanent settlement and illegal employment of Vietnamese refugees and foreign workers, as well as to the accounts of unique attempts being made by local governments to vitalize towns and villages through internationalization, in Part 3. The report edited by Maruo Naomi [VII-13], on the other hand, is a painstaking joint effort by thirteen researchers who, on the basis of the idea of an "optimum social mix," consider the nature of social security and social welfare for the coming twenty-first century. It discusses the two fields of guaranteed income in the form of pensions, etc., and medical and welfare services for the elderly, both requiring greater attention with the aging of Japanese society, and also the question of the composition of the sources of revenue for social security and social welfare, and the contributors point out that not only pension schemes but also welfare services are becoming increasingly universal in character, that there is a need to rationalize the compensation rates of medical insurance, and that there is a need to create a system for the aged that integrates pensions and welfare services. This work is instructive for the information that it provides on the realities of social welfare in Japan today.

On the subject of welfare for the aged there also appeared a work by Kinoshita Yasuhito [VII-14] and a report by Satō Hiroki *et al.* [VII-15]. The former has been written for the general reader and lacks somewhat in academic precision, but it deserves to be referred to as a unique study of sociology focussing on care of the aged. In addition, there was published a work on the health and medical sociology by the Association of the Japanese Health and Medical Sociology [VII-16]. This study contains eighteen papers divided into four sections—"The Basic Situation and Issues," "Health, Medical Care and Welfare in Crisis," "Approaches to a New Age" and "Questions Related to the Methods of the Sociology of Health and Medical Care"—with three, six, five and four papers respectively. It may be referred to when seeking more detailed material and research on the present state of the soci-

ology of health and medical care and on the realities of the various questions with which it deals. On the subject of medical sociology there also appeared a textbook by Sakuma Kiyoshi [VII-17], while in connection with the relationship between illness and society Tanabe Shintarō published a book [VII-18] focussing particularly on forms of healing that do not make use of medicines or medical instruments. This latter work discusses "the body and illness within relationships" in the complexities of contemporary society and even touches on such topics as "psychic healing" and "communication with the cosmos."

VIII. Cultural Transformation and Social Movements

In this section we wish to consider signs of social change and social movements by examining the transformation of popular culture, religious phenomena, and new movements among women, the young and other marginal members of society.

First, on the subject of culture in general there appeared a book by Nakamura Shōichi [VIII-01]. Divided into three sections dealing with leisure, the periphery of daily life and culture, and social problems as aspects of culture, it represents a unique study of the various forms of culture that are being experienced by diverse people living in present-day Japan, and discussing as it does such topics as the nature of literacy, with an analysis of the preferences of the young for '*mook*' (an intermediate form of publication halfway between the book and the magazine), and the possibilities of a sociology of feminine beauty, it is of absorbing interest. Moving on to a more specific subject, we find a study of the "sociology of teachers' culture" edited by Kudomi Yoshiyuki [VIII-02] and dealing with the culture of the teaching profession, whose members accounted (in 1985) for as many as 1.06% of Japan's total population and 2.2% of her working population. It contains analyses of the pressure of work, which may be regarded as a distinguishing feature of teachers' culture in Japan, and of views of the teaching profession; a comparative study of middle-school teachers in Japan and the United States, focussing on their views on pupil guidance; a case study of a group of teachers in

a city in Chiba prefecture; and a study of movements to reform the traditional culture of Japanese teachers, which has been characterized by the term "stupidly honest"—these are all of constructive significance in the study of a subculture constituting an important aspect of Japanese culture. Broadening our horizons somewhat to include works describing the culture reflected in the lives of ordinary people in contemporary Japan, we find a publication compiled by the Study Group for the History of Common Life [VIII-03].

Next, turning our attention to religion, we may note that this period was a fruitful one for religious studies. As a comprehensive study of the relations existing between religion and social structure and also culture there appeared a voluminous work by Nomura Nobukiyo [VIII-04]. After an examination of the methodology of religious studies in Part 1, Nomura considers the Catholic villages of northwestern Kyushu in Part 2, the Catholic Church in Tlajomulco in Mexico in Part 3, and the shamanism of the mountain area of Izumo in Chūgoku district in Part 4. His method is that of attempting to grasp "that which people of religion have in common while existing as separate individuals" by such means as the free association method and the analysis of reactions to photographs, and after comparing Shinto priests and Christian clerics in regard to their respective views of nature, sense of time and understanding of self, he concludes that "when Japanese Christians are compared with those of Europe or America, it becomes evident that in almost all respects they have a leaning in the direction of Shintoists." The chapters of Parts 2, 3 and 4, in which he examines from such a viewpoint the structure and functions of religious cultural integration in the above-mentioned localities and the manner in which cultural content and form are shared, will be of considerable value in shedding light on the religions of Japan from the perspective of comparative religious studies. Next, the study by Itō Mikiharu [VIII-05] looks for the structural connections between religion and society in the correspondences between religious ideas and social structure, in the correlation between social structure and ritual, and in the social basis of religious symbols and rites, and then goes on to inquire

into the relationship between religion and social change by utilizing folk society theory in its capacity as a theory of social evolution. The examples cited include the traditional religious ceremonies of Takarajima, Nakanoshima and Kuroshima in Kagoshima prefecture, the folk beliefs to be seen in a society of "parent-child" (*oyakata-kokata*) relationships on the Oki Islands in Shimane prefecture, the shrine guild (*miyaza*) of a shrine in Kōsei in Shiga prefecture, the folk beliefs of Oshino in Yamanashi prefecture, the religious practices of fishing villages on the Shimokita Peninsula in Aomori prefecture, and Christianity in Tōwa in Miyagi prefecture. This work may be referred to as a study of religion based on the study of the family system and village structure in Japan.

In research on specific religions there appeared a detailed study of Shinto by Hirano Takakuni [VIII-06]. It consists of four chapters—"The Folklore of Festivals," "The Structure of Sin and Purification," "A Study of Heavenly Divinities and Earthly Divinities" and "The Conception of Accession to the Throne in the *Kojiki* and the Logic of 'Kamiyo no maki' "—and by employing the methods of folklife studies, the foundations of which were laid by Yanagita Kunio and Orikuchi Shinobu, and a comparative religious analysis of sin and deliverance therefrom (salvation, liberation and purification), Hirano considers the character of divinity (*kami*) in Shinto (namely, heavenly divinities [*amatsukami*] and earthly divinities [*kunitsukami*]) and the structure of the world of Shinto, as well as the emperor system which they serve to rationalize and in particular the theoretical basis of accession to the throne. This work will assist one's understanding of Shinto concepts and rituals that are still deeply rooted in the daily life of the Japanese and of the emperor system which, on the basis thereof, still possesses a political influence that cannot be disregarded. On the subject of ancestral rites, the work edited by Ishikawa Toshio, Fujii Masao and Morioka Kiyomi [VIII-07] compares the ancestral rites of Korea and Taiwan with those of Okinawa and the Japanese mainland and also examines questions such as changes in ancestral rites in contemporary Japan and the attendant issue of the inheritance of graves and other ritual property, the "household" and religious ceremonies in the middle ages as an example

of ancestral rites in a historical context, Buddhist temples and ancestral rites, and the meaning of "ancestor." It may be referred to for the changes that are being forced upon Japanese attitudes towards ancestral rites with changes in life-style.

In addition, the work edited by Shiobara Tsutomu and Hioki Kōichirō [VIII-08] deals with the organization of tradition and beliefs, and the section dealing directly with religion takes up for consideration as examples of the state of traditional religion the Tendai sect, the Kōyasan branch of the Shingon sect, the Jōdo sect, the Honganji and Ōtani branches of the Jōdo Shin sect, the Sōtō sect, the Myōshinji branch of the Rinzai sect, the Nichiren sect, the Kimbusen Shugen Honshū, and the Association of Shinto Shrines; as examples of the dynamics of new religions, Tenrikyō, Sōka Gakkai, Risshō Kōseikai, Agonshū, Ōyama Nezu no Mikoto Shinji Kyōkai, Seichō no Ie (House of Growth), and Rinri Kenkyūjo (Institute of Ethics); and as examples of sacred / profane conversion devices, the Association of the Kyoto Gay Quarters Union and the Association of Gion Festival Floats. Since it adopts a format close to that of dictionary entries in surveying the history, present organization, activities and problems of these religious and quasi-religious groups, it is a very useful work for acquainting oneself with their present conditions. The work compiled by Ōmura Hideaki and Nishiyama Shigeru [VIII-09] examines religious phenomena in contemporary Japan from a variety of angles, such as the meaning of "the return to religion," the rehabilitation of people's hometowns and the repose of the souls of the dead, the religious consciousness of the Japanese, the popularity of "psycho-thaumaturgic" religions and the "two modernizations," and the future of religion, and it should be useful for ready reference on these topics. On the subject of the evolution of new religious movements and the new religions of present-day Japan there appeared books by Morioka Kiyomi [VIII-10] and Numata Ken'ya [VIII-11].

Moving on to youth, the work by Kurihara Akira [VIII-12] is a collection of essays analyzing the character and state of being of youth today in Japan with a view to "demonstrating the existence of gentleness." Analyzing the "experience" of the young,

the author writes that "among the countless forms of social consciousness that have appeared and then disappeared since the war, the values that have remained alive for a quarter of a century are perhaps only democracy and this gentleness," and after having examined the content of gentleness, he concludes that "there are two paths that the young may take to escape from the consumer life-style and meism: . . . one is the path of discovering a purposeful life once again in self-sacrifice to the state, the company and especially militarism, . . . while the other is the path of a life that, aspiring instead to an 'open gentleness,' easily encompasses both civilian activities and the nature of daily labor within the framework of a way of life aiming at a society of 'cooperation between one living being and another' that transcends industrial society." It would be well worth considering just how realistic a view such as this is. Other works that may be referred to when looking at youth culture include the study of the blues by Yukawa Arata [VIII-13] and the study of "Tokyo as a phenomenon" by Nakano Osamu [VIII-14].

Next, turning to women, there appeared an excellent work by Ehara Yumiko [VIII-15] who, in dealing with a new stage in the history of feminism in which "people have lost interest in feminism," attempts to reestablish its significance. Asserting that "a number of terms of the women's movement become transformed in linguistic space as if subjected to a magnetic effect," she writes: "The power to extinguish all traces of its effects, namely, the power that envelops the spontaneous actions of the agent—this is the power latent in the very structure of society and represents the effect of a power that cannot be reduced to the intentions of any particular individual. It is this to which we refer as patriarchalism." Her critique from such a viewpoint of the arguments for a "complete withdrawal from corporate society," her criticism of various forms of sexual discrimination, and her references to marriage, the division of labor according to sex, family relations, and forms of old age all reflect the level of feminism in contemporary Japan. The study by Ochiai Emiko [VIII-16], tracing the history of childbirth from the viewpoint of historical sociology, educes two characteristics of the modern age, namely, constraints on the mar-

riage rate as a result of European-style marriage patterns and restrictions on family size as a result of the birth of the modern family, and within the context of a critique of the stratified structure of capitalism and patriarchalism that evolved in this manner the author criticizes the state of the contemporary family and attempts to reinforce the foundations of feminism. By curbing the tendency to lapse into superficial social commentaries and by developing these ideas with a long-range perspective, it is quite possible that they will develop into a theory that will considerably further the cause of feminism in Japan. In addition, there were also published a volume edited by Ehara Yumiko [VIII-17] and styled "the sociology of gender" which, although a textbook, embodies the original ideas of a number of younger sociologists; a study by Kano Yoshimasa [VIII-18] which, linking the sociology of science and women's studies, investigates on the basis of data the social environment and academic productivity of female academics, as well as the impedimentary factors operating in this process; and a discussion of new types of work for women by Amano Masako *et al.* [VIII-19].

In regard to sport we wish to mention the publication of a comprehensive introduction to this subject by Morikawa Sadao and Saeki Toshio [VIII-20]. It provides information not only on the standard of the sociology of sport in Japan but also on the conditions of various sports, and so it is possible to select topics from among those discussed for further more detailed studies.

Finally, on the subject of social movements there appeared a work on the paradigm of the theory of social movement compiled by Shiobara Tsutomu [VIII-21]. Although it consists mainly of translations and accounts of American theories of social movement, it still deserves to be consulted in that Shiobara and the other Japanese contributors discuss the stance necessary for and significance of introducing resource mobilization theory into Japan. Other works dealing with actual social movements include a study edited by Satō Yoshiyuki [VIII-22] on women's cooperative movements from the viewpoint of communicative action theory and network theory, an inquiry into the various forms and possibilities of urban social movements compiled by Yazawa Shūjirō

and Iwasaki Nobuhiko [VIII-23], and a book by Kamitsubo Hikari [VIII-24] which records the manifesto of the proponent of the Movement for the Aged. The Seikatsu (Livelihood) Club Consumers' Cooperative dealt with by Satō *et al.* is a close-knit movement of relatively highly educated women that has been achieving positive results in local elections and is attracting considerable attention. In the volume edited by Yazawa and Iwasaki ten researchers discuss various urban social movements, various community activities, women's movements, the movements of workers in an economy characterized by service labor, urban ecological movements, consumers' cooperative movements, workers' cooperative associations, neighborhood associations, and urban autonomy in Japan during the modern age. Within this great diversity one may take stock of the state of various social movements in contemporary Japan as they grope for new directions and new forms.

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