

SOCIOLOGY

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I. INTRODUCTION

In the years 1990-91 Japan resembled an overage ship trying to fix its course amidst the buffetings of a turbulent international situation.

In the Lower House elections held in early 1990 the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) managed to win a majority (286 seats), thereby showing that it had recovered from its serious defeat in the Upper House elections of the previous year, although in this it was partly assisted by the collapse of socialist regimes in Eastern Europe. In disregard of the objections of the Japan Socialist Party (JSP), whose fortunes were beginning to flag, the enthronement of Emperor Akihito and the *daijōsai* were performed in the time-honored fashion, thus providing a display of Japanese tradition in the midst of an affluent society boasting the foremost economic might in the world. But at the same time the economic bubble born of overinvestment and overspeculation burst, and with a growing recession attention was drawn to increasing differences in wealth. Then in August 1990 Iraq suddenly invaded Kuwait in defiance of the superpowers' world hegemony, a hegemony that had become somewhat lopsided as a result of the more conciliatory stance of the Soviet Union. This Gulf crisis was resolved by a military operation initiated in January 1991 by an Allied coalition which the United States justified by means of United Nations resolutions, and in the course of these events Japan was subjected to suddenly

increasing pressure from the international community in regard to her international contribution. The Kaifu Cabinet was unsuccessful in its attempt to pass a United Nations Peacekeeping Cooperation Bill and then also failed to find a way out of its difficulties by trying to introduce political reforms. The Miyazawa Cabinet which took over from the Kaifu Cabinet also endeavored to pass the UN PKO Cooperation Bill, but it ended up being carried over to the next Diet session.

During this same period the ratio of unionized labor against the total work force continued to decline, and by 1991 it had fallen to 24.5%. At the same time female workers continued to increase in numbers. The 17,490,000 regular employees among the 24,740,000 female workers in 1990 rose by 850,000 in 1991, the largest annual increase ever recorded. The percentage of regular female employees among the total number of employees also increased to a record 37.9% in 1991, and the female labor force participation rate, indicative of the percentage of women wanting to work, exceeded 50% for the first time in twenty-one years since 1969. The aging of Japanese society has also been steadily advancing, and in September 1991 there were 15,530,000 people aged 65 and over, representing a record 12.5% of the total population. On the other hand, educational institutions for children up to secondary school level, responsible for the well-being of the pre-working population, continued to be plagued with problems stemming from control-oriented education, and in July 1990 a high school girl died in Kobe after having been caught in a sliding gate that had been installed in order to lock out students who arrived late for school. Thus, as Japan vacillated agonizing over the course that it should take in international society, there spread within Japan what might be termed structural social problems, ranging from workers in the prime of life dying from overwork (*karōshi*) to sexual harassment of female workers, economic distress of the elderly, and greater control of and pressure on children.

What, then, were the responses of sociology to these realities? As with all branches of scholarship, sociology need not necessarily concern itself always exclusively with immediate social problems. But as was pointed out by Auguste Comte, social realities not only

possess spatial extensity, but also have temporal depth refracted through the present, past and future, and it is important to assess the historical significance of all research activities in this light.

Among the more general works published during the period under review, mention may first be made of the encyclopaedia compiled by Ishikawa Hiroyoshi *et al.* [I-01]. This encyclopaedia, in the compilation of which sociologists of the younger generation actively participated, provides leads on the study of almost every conceivable subject relating not only to mass culture in general but also to traditional, modern and contemporary aspects of the life and culture of the Japanese populace. The collection of materials compiled by Kawai Takao [I-02], on the other hand, although quite unpretentious, is a mine of information for those studying the history of sociology in Japan, and in its pages the reader can follow the process whereby sociology was studied, digested and interpreted during the Meiji era, thereby laying the foundations for the original research by Japanese that appeared in the Taishō era and later. In an ongoing project from the previous review period, Vol. 3 of the *Library of sociology* [I-03] was also published.

The work of a leading authority of more advanced age was represented by the publication of the collected works of Takeuchi Toshimi [I-04], an indispensable source for students of rural villages and traditional communities in Japan. In 1989 Fukutake Tadashi died suddenly, and an autobiography [I-05] and a collection of memorial writings [I-06] were published. Although of course not academic works, they are in many ways instructive for those wishing to acquaint themselves with the history of sociological research in postwar Japan. In addition, a prewar classic on economic sociology by Takashima Zen'ya [I-07], who died in 1990, was reissued, and a collection of posthumous writings on civil society, a subject to which he devoted himself in his later years, was also published [I-08]. Both of these works deserve to be read by anyone contemplating the study of Japanese society in that they provide insights into how a conscientious Japanese sociologist sought to interpret the true form of modern society at a time when, after a distorted process of modernization,

Japanese society had plunged into the fifteen-year war (1931-45) and how, on the basis of his reflections, he conceived of civil society in the present age.

As regards research on the classics of sociology, there appeared a study of Marx considered in comparison with Comte by Murai Hisatsugu [I-09], an examination of differences in the reception of Max Weber's ideas in Germany, Japan and the United States from the perspective of comparative cultural studies by Uchida Yoshiaki [I-10], a reexamination of F. Tönnies in connection with the question of friendship in future prospects for contemporary society in the twenty-first century by Iida Tetsuya [I-11], a discussion of the process whereby the foundations of contemporary American sociology were laid by Uga Hiroshi [I-12], and an examination of C. Wright Mills in relation to sociological imagination and styles of mass criticism by Ina Masato [I-13]. Among these works, that by Murai, who suggests that in respect to dialectic methods for the historical understanding of social development there are unexpectedly close similarities between Comte and Marx, is of special interest in that the author makes effective use of a distinctively Japanese perspective. The study by Uchida, who also describes changes in the reception of Weber's ideas in the social sciences in both prewar and postwar Japan, is helpful for understanding the character of not only sociology but also the social sciences in general in Japan. Lastly, the work by Ina, a study in which a young sociologist explores ways of adapting the ideas of Mills to contemporary sociology from the new perspective of the relationship between the self and the masses, will serve to familiarize the reader with the current state of Japanese sociology.

As contributions to general sociological theory, special mention should be made of the three books by Yoshida Tamito. In the first one, subtitled "An Evolutionist's Wienerian View of Nature" [I-14], Yoshida first formulates a view of all natural history as "the evolution of self-organization through data processing," and within this field of vision he positions an earlier paper of his written in 1967 in which he reformulated semiotics as an information science that permits human subjectivity, in the light of which he then interpreted individual behavior and the communication

process at the base of society. In the second book [I-15], which ranges in scope from early structuralist-functionalist research to the latest theories on self-organization, Yoshida begins by analyzing basic concepts such as 'motivation,' 'social relations' and 'group systems,' then introduces the perspective of information studies, and after advocating a general theory of change for social systems and the establishment of social information studies as a discipline, he surveys both systematically and developmentally theories of information and self-organization, in which advanced sociality is understood in terms of "self-organization of the 'linguistic information/internal option' type." Finally the third book [I-16], in which Yoshida applies this theory to issues in the social sciences rather than to questions of subjectivity and possession structure, establishes the meaning of human liberation while adding pertinent theoretical expositions of social topics such as life objectives, leadership and reform, and not only does he provide a theoretical basis for human meta-subjectivity, the duality of self and other, and feminism, but he also analytically reconstructs mass society theory and historical materialism and rationalizes the invalidity of capitalist/socialist dualism and the diversity and optionality of principles of social formation. These three works deserve to be read by foreign specialists and researchers in general as an example of an original social theory formulated by a Japanese sociologist who has suitably utilized the fruits of twentieth-century sciences. In this connection mention should also be made of the painstaking study by Naka Hisao [I-17], since, tackling as it does on the basis of many years of sedulous research the subject of communality, the eternal theme of sociology, it contains some outstanding insights into Japanese communality.

Further works tending towards basic or general theory include those by Satō Yoshiyuki [I-18], who deals with the everyday life-world and theories of dialogue; Tanaka Yoshihisa [I-19], who discusses the generation of meaning in social behavior and social relations; Kōtō Yōsuke [I-20], who examines the relationship between social perceptions and the imaginative faculty; and Ōsawa Masachi [I-21], who describes the process whereby society arises through the attribution of meaning to the human body.

Satō's study represents an attempt to apply J. Habermas's theory of communicative action to the realities of Japanese society, and on the assumption that "the people's desire for the reinstatement of the everyday life-world" underlies contemporary social changes, he maintains that in order to transcend Japanese-style corporate society and create a symbiotic society there is a need to shift from "solipsistic self-organization based on the paradigm of self-consciousness" to "relational self-organization based on the paradigm of understanding." Tanaka, on the other hand, considers the meaning of rationality in contemporary society from his long-held standpoint of methodological relationism, and inasmuch as his study pinpoints the problem of ambiguity inherent in the communicative action of the Japanese, it offers many suggestions to those wishing to study the relationship between the everyday life-world of the Japanese and contemporary society. Kōtō, basing himself on the viewpoint that "social perceptions are a method of world-production," discusses the structure and typology of sociological imagination as a form of world-production, and his work is full of highly suggestive comments on the role of folklife studies and narratives in the social structure of the everyday world of the Japanese. Lastly, Ōsawa deals with the process whereby human society evolves as a semantic realm through the generation from man's primordial physicality of a body to which have been attributed the meanings of "process body," "repressed body," "centralized body" and "abstract body," and his work merits attention as a new basic social theory or as a reexamination of society by an up-and-coming Japanese sociologist.

In the field of mathematical sociology, there appeared works edited by Hiramatsu Hiroshi [I-22] and by Seiyama Kazuo and Umino Michio [I-23]. The former volume tackles the popular subject of networks from the standpoint of mathematical sociology, and it deals with topics such as the paradoxical strength of weak bonds, power relations within an exchange network, the choosing of friends, social intercourse and social distance, balance in group structure, and the mathematical structure of relatives. The volume edited by Seiyama and Umino, on the other hand, approaches the question of social order and social dilemma, a

fundamental issue in sociology, from the perspective of mathematical sociology, but without bringing mathematical formulae to the fore, and it contains nine papers on the problem of order and the structure of questions, the individualistic approach to the problem of order, the social contract theory of institutions, the problem of order and evolutionary theory, the scope of the study of social dilemma, the Olsen problem, the tragedy of common land, social exchange and social dilemma, and social movements and solidarity. This compilation may be considered to provide evidence of the steady advances being made in mathematical sociology by both established and younger sociologists.

In addition to the above, there also appeared two painstaking studies on the history of social surveys in Japan. These were the second volume of a compilation by Kawai Takao [I-24] and a work edited by Eguchi Eiichi [I-25]. They are both meticulous historical studies undertaken by several researchers, and they are required reading for acquainting oneself with the history of social surveys in Japan since the Meiji era.

II. JAPANESE SOCIETY: STRUCTURE AND CHARACTERISTICS

As an example of a systematic study focussing on the history of Japanese society, there appeared first of all a work by Tominaga Ken'ichi [II-01]. This book, which is divided into three parts, dealing with theories of modernization and Japanese society, the modernization of Japan, and social modernization in Japan and changes in social structure, is the first comprehensive analysis of Japan's modernization to have been undertaken by a single Japanese sociologist.

Having first argued with reference to postwar theories of modernization for the need to develop the concept of modernization from a historical concept into a universal concept, Tominaga differentiates on the basis of T. Parsons's AGIL-schema economic modernization, political modernization, social modernization and cultural modernization, and he then subdivides social modernization, the special field of sociology, into the modernization of the family, the modernization of villages and cities, the modernization

of organizations, the modernization of social stratification, and the modernization of the state and national society. Tominaga defines Japanese traditional society, which constituted the initial stage of Japanese modernization, as a society which, although possessing a feudal system resembling that of the European middle ages, did not abandon the emperor system, a vestige of ancient times, but instead invoked it for the purposes of modernization, and he maintains that although Japan's modernization, which started off from this traditional society, began with economic modernization in the form of economic growth based on industrialization and attempted to achieve political modernization through the establishment of democracy, it encountered difficulties with social and cultural modernization aiming at the realization of freedom, peace and rationalism and left many problems for the postwar era. The author, who started off in his career from Parsons-style functionalism, has hitherto given clear-cut responses to problems concerning Japan's industrial society and various other issues, and it is worth noting that here he has accepted on a large scale the views of people such as Maruyama Masao who, while coming under the influence of the "Lectures" faction (*Kōzaha*) of prewar Japanese Marxism, also adopted Weber's understanding of the modern age based on his theory of ethos in their criticism of Japan's modernization.

The same thing can be said of Tominaga's analysis of Japan's social modernization, for he does not consider the structural changes in the family, village and corporate organizations that have accompanied modernization to have been consistently underpinned by anything distinctively Japanese such as the *ie* (household) principle, and instead he maintains that the Japanese family, village and corporation too can basically be dealt with by means of universal concepts also applicable to European social history, such as the family *Gemeinschaft*, village *Gemeinschaft* and family business. He also believes that so-called "Japanese-style management" is in fact indicative of the backwardness of Japan's social modernization and that with advances in modernization it is today definitely in the process of disintegration. Then in regard to structural changes in social stratification, the author undertakes an

analysis based on straight-out statistical analysis, and in contrast to commonly held views he argues that Japanese society cannot be described as a society characterized by academic credentialism, while in connection with structural changes in the state and national society he goes back as far as Aizawa Seishisai and Yoshida Shōin in probing the roots of the concept of a “national polity” (*kokutai*) and states that it was only in the postwar period that Japanese national society was finally liberated from the irrational spell of this ideology and assumed the form of a welfare state. In these respects this book deserves high appraisal in that the author is consistent in his exposition of modernism. But if one now reconsiders this “universalistic” theory of modernization from a still more universal perspective, one cannot help being critical of certain points, for example, the fact that, although referring to dependency theory and world society theory, the author has been unable to turn to full account the original intent of these theories and instead develops his arguments on the assumption that the brand of modernization that has spread throughout the world from the West is in itself universal, and consequently he appears to be unaware of the fact that Japan’s modernization has been part of the creation of a system of world control by the modern West and that not only does it for this very reason possess a certain degree of openness and even more repressiveness, but it is now, as was done by M. Foucault, also being subjected to the exposure of the violence inherent in the modern West itself.

Another historical study of Japanese society appeared in the form of a volume edited by Tsutsui Kiyotada [II-02]. As is noted by the editor himself, this is the first “historico-sociological study of modern Japan solely by researchers of sociology.” In his opening piece, Tsutsui surveys the history of the historico-sociological research of modern Japan in the postwar period and mentions three currents, namely, that of modernist political science which began with Maruyama Masao’s criticism of Japanese fascism, that of modernist sociology which, stimulated by the above current, delved more deeply into aspects such as consciousness and values, and that of postmodernism which, appearing after the two foregoing currents, has been producing results especially in the field of

education. The various schools of historical sociology in Europe and the United States are summarized by Tsutsui *et al.* in the closing chapter, and the fact that the contributors do not go straight into the study of Japan from here but in effect, even though it is not necessarily made explicit, from a recapitulation of research by Japanese scholars with a historico-sociological significance is no doubt the correct stance for researchers to adopt. The main body of this volume consists of papers by researchers still younger than the editor dealing with topics such as stratum structure in the early Meiji era with a focus on families of *samurai* descent (*shizoku*), views of the "family state" in the Meiji era, the formation of the military élite during the Taishō and Shōwa eras, the life histories of farming immigrants in Manchuria, the sentiments and logic of the general populace during the war, the careers of administrative bureaucrats, and a comparative analysis of the educated élite in Japan and Germany. This work represents an important collection of papers which would suggest that we may expect further achievements along these lines in the future. An important anthology of materials providing a basis for the study of the social history of modern Japan is that edited by Minami Hiroshi, mention of which has already been made on more than one occasion in previous volumes of this bibliographical series, and Volume 11 [II-03] was published during the period under review. It is full of valuable material on how commoners looked upon the emperor and the imperial family.

Turning now from the past to the present, our attention is drawn first of all to the collection of papers edited by Endō Sōichi, Mitsuyoshi Toshiyuki and Nakada Minoru [II-04]. Although a smallish book, the eleven contributors (including the three editors) each present pertinent analyses of structural changes in Japanese society since the 1970s which take into account the results of group discussions. In regard to this work, reference may also be made to a rather lengthy review in which I comment in some detail on the content of each paper [II-05]. A counterpart to this volume is provided by a collection of papers edited by Shiobara Tsutomu *et al.* and dealing with changes in lifestyle in Japan since the 1970s [II-06]. Researchers ranging from the up-and-coming to veterans

discuss the following ten topics: manners with a focus on gourmet culture; the trend towards pleasurable consumption in an over-mature consumer society; the structural reorganization of communication; education problems with a focus on the refusal to attend school; the self-consciousness of the Japanese; the boom of new and neo-new religions; changes in the world of medical care and questions concerning its social control; the present state of environmental issues and future prospects; directions of change in the life system of the Japanese; and the question of endogenous development within Japanese society. Partly because of the topics chosen, the analyses as a whole are superficial, but Chapter 4 (Imazu Kōjirō), which demonstrates that the refusal to attend school is a form of physical resistance by children against the control-oriented education of contemporary society, and Chapter 5 (Kimura Yōji), which points out that the focal point of the self-consciousness of contemporary man lies in “the discovery of the appearance” of our bodies exposed to the gaze of others, will assist one in understanding correlations between the structure of Japanese society and individual subjectivity as well as related micro-macro issues. In addition, Chapter 7 (Hōgetsu Makoto), which argues that the values and structure of Japanese society are being tested by the question of how to control the latest advances in medicine such as organ transplants, and Chapter 10 (Shiobara), which reexamines the role of the religious boom in the “multistratified structuralization” of life in society and considers the possibilities of endogenous development based on symbiosis and evolution through a change of direction from discriminative complementarity to counteractive complementarity, are also instructive when considering the future direction of Japanese society.

Further attempts to present overall analyses of the present state of Japanese society include a volume edited by Kida Akio and Sasaki Kiyozō [II-07] and a book by Maniwa Mitsuyuki [II-08]. In the former, Japanese society is understood as a “corporate society,” and the contributors set out to elucidate consumptive life, youth culture, Japanese culture, relations with Asia, science and technology, and human problems within such a society. It is a useful work in that it shows that all these issues are grounded in

the fact that Japanese corporations themselves constitute self-sufficient "societies" and it also describes the movements that are emerging both within and without these "societies" in order to liberate people from their spell. The book by Maniwa, on the other hand, attempts to shed light on the structure and characteristics of Japanese society from the perspective of group culture theory, and the author argues that a distinctive combination of inclusion by groups and exclusion from groups has determined the outward character of Japanese society. His examination of the formation of such a culture through the medium of agrarian communities and the emperor system, the role of group circles and corporations in postwar democratization and high economic growth, and the various forms of group repression and deviancy in a managed society that is becoming ever more systematized, as well as his subsequent reconsideration of the meaning of modernization in the light of the present state of Japanese society, offer a number of suggestions for the study of Japanese society.

An analysis of Japanese society that focusses on politics was brought out by Aoki Yasuhiro and Nakamichi Minoru [II-09]. As a study of political sociology that comes squarely to grips with Japanese politics it may be described as an epoch-making achievement. Following Aoki's introductory section, a total of eight contributors discuss the history of postwar conservative politics, the organization and character of the LDP, distinctive features of the administrative bureaucracy, business and politics, the character and role of the JSP, the political role of labor unions, central-local relations, the role of social movements, conditions in an advanced mass society and the phenomenon of depoliticization, and the relationship between political stability and economic development. The papers are all instructive, but especially deserving of attention are Chapter 8 (Tanaka Shigeru), in which, having defined central-local relations as a "system of compound differentiation of functions and regions," the writer maintains that interregional differences arise through the overlapping of regional differentiation and the "differentiation of social margins" (corresponding to the "social cleavage" of S.C. Flanagan and B.M. Richardson) due to industrial forms and geographical features, and Chapter 9

(Muta Kazue), in which the writer analyzes with reference to concrete examples the development of new social movements in Japan and their political meaning and maintains that the alleged stagnation of social movements does not necessarily hold true. In addition, there also appeared an analysis by Miyake Ichirō [II-10] of the political consciousness, political participation and voting behavior of Kyoto citizens over a period of twenty years from the late 1960s to late 1980s, a work by Nishihira Shigeki [II-11] which clarifies by means of statistics questions relating to the Japanese electoral system, and a volume in English compiled by Watanuki Jōji *et al.* [II-12] which brings together the results of many years of international joint research on the voting behavior of the Japanese.

Studies that examine Japanese society from the perspective of education include a study by Asō Makoto [II-13] on the relationship between the formation of an educated élite on the one hand and corporate growth and bureaucratic politics on the other; a volume edited by Amano Ikuo [II-14] which, drawing its examples from Sasayama in Tamba, elucidates the actual process whereby academic credentialism develops; a work by Yamanoi Atsunori [II-15] which, through a study of university professoriate transfers, sheds light on the realities of the domination of academic cliques; and a study by Kariya Takehiko [II-16] which clarifies the mechanism of high school graduate employment and considers the merits and demerits of Japanese-style occupation selection. Further details on the content of some of these works may be found in the chapter on "Education" in the present volume, but it is worth noting that the growing number of studies that may be broadly regarded as dealing with the social history of education would seem to corroborate the view of Tsutsui referred to earlier.

Lastly, studies of Japanese society relating to the problem of ethnicity appeared in the form of a book by Tomiyama Ichirō [II-17] dealing with the relationship between "Okinawans" and modern Japanese society and a volume edited by Okuda Michihiro and Tajima Junko [II-18] on the daily life and views of Asian foreigners and Japanese residents in Ikebukuro. The former work by Tomiyama is an excellent study which, on the premise that the

people of Okinawa “possessed their own cultural and political identity until they were incorporated into Japanese modern society as a result of the integration of the Ryukyus” in the 1870s, analyzes the process whereby, in the course of Japan’s capitalist development, they became a source of labor, were discriminated against and became victims of war in their varying roles as “Okinawans,” “Ryukyuan” and “Japanese,” whereafter they were once again absorbed into Japanese society. Along with the study of recent ethnic minorities such as those dealt with by Okuda and Tajima, a more active approach to the study of the ethnicity historically present in Japanese society will be without a doubt an important issue for Japanese sociology in the future. In addition, there was also published a book by Komai Hiroshi [II-19] which approaches the question of foreign workers not from the standpoint of either “opening up” or “closing off” Japan, but on the assumption that an influx of foreign workers is inevitable.

III. POPULATION DYNAMICS AND THE FAMILY

On the subject of population dynamics there appeared firstly a work by Yamaguchi Kiichi [III-01]. It is an introductory work dealing with the world at large, but since the author has for many years been engaged in the study of population problems in Japan, it contains an excellent overview of the population dynamics of Japan. Japan’s population problems and population policies are dealt with in Chapter 1, Section 4, and Chapter 2, Section 4, while historical changes in Japan’s population in the premodern period are described in Chapter 4, Sections 2-3, and population dynamics and related issues in contemporary Japan are discussed in Chapter 5. As regards historical changes in Japan’s population, it has now become possible to check the national population for every six years since Kyōhō 6 (1721) during the rule of Tokugawa Yoshimune, the eighth shogun, in the Edo period; if the population towards the end of the Sengoku period (second half of 16th cent.) is estimated to have been 18,000,000, by the time of Yoshimune it had risen to about 31,000,000, at which level it more or less remained until the end of the Tokugawa *bakufu*, and according to

Yamaguchi this stagnancy was due to famine, epidemics, incomplete registers, postponement of marriage, abortion and infanticide. If we now consider the population of present-day Japan, in 1985 it was 121,000,000, of which 21.5% was 14 years and under, 68.2% was between the ages of 15 and 64, and 10.3% was 65 years and over, and henceforth the growth rate will gradually fall until 2015, when the population will reach almost 136,000,000 and then decline, at which time it is estimated that 17% will be 14 years and under, 60% will be between the ages of 15 and 64, and 23% will be 65 years and over. According to Yamaguchi, the focal point of Japan's population problem in the future will, needless to say, be the rapid aging of the population, and he argues that not only is there a need to maintain the vitality of Japan's economy and society in order to bear the burdens of financial support, medical care and welfare for the aged, but it is also important to improve and expand housing and to explore the most desirable family arrangements. In this regard reference should also be made to an introductory work edited by Yamaguchi [III-02]. A study of population and class analysis by Sugimori Kōichi [III-03] discusses in detail social occupational classification in France, and one looks forward to a comparison with an analysis of class composition based on Japan's population censuses.

Next, turning our attention to the family, we find that a major achievement during this period was the publication of *'Kazoku kon'in' kenkyū bunken senshū—Senzen-hen*, compiled by Yuza-wa Yasuhiko [III-04]. This 16-volume series is composed of two volumes from the Meiji era, five volumes from the Taishō era and nine volumes from the Shōwa era. The two works from the Meiji era are Aruga Nagao's study of the evolution of the family system, which, drawing on H. Spencer's ideas, marked the start of family and marriage studies in modern Japan, and a collection of common-law precedents relating to personal affairs that was compiled by the Jichikan in view of the fact that "the two chapters on domestic relations law and inheritance law in the Civil Code are in fact drawn from an indigenous family system and are based on custom, and therefore if one wishes to penetrate their depths and learn their true meaning, one must perforce refer to customary

practice, just as when mastering European codes of law one must first explain Roman law from which they originally derive.” The works from the Taishō era consist of a study of retirement of the household head (*inkyō*) by Hozumi Nobushige, a discussion of the “child-centered home” by the Christian socialist Abe Isoo, a study of the divorce system by Hozumi Shigetō, a dissertation on the family system and women’s issues by the sociologist Kawada Shirō, and a study of the history of the Japanese family system by Sunagawa Kan’ei. Lastly, the works from the Shōwa era consist of two studies of the family and marriage and of the *ie* and the family system by Toda Teizō (who established positivist sociology in Japan), Suzuki Eitarō’s study of the principles of Japanese rural sociology and Aruga Kizaemon’s study of the Japanese family system and tenant farming system (both of which exerted enormous influence on rural sociology in postwar Japan), Marxist Tamaki Hajime’s critique of the Japanese family system, a discussion of the teaching of familism by Shimmi Kichiji, a study of the family system as seen from Japanese folklife studies by Hashiura Yasuo, a study of marriage and population by Okazaki Fuminori, and a study of the large extended families in Shirakawa by Ema Mieko. These works will enable one to familiarize oneself with the current of family studies in prewar Japan and with the history, realities and social significance of the family and family system in Japan.

Among family studies by currently active sociologists, one that should not be overlooked when considering the Japanese family or *ie* in its historical context is the volume by Hasegawa Yoshikazu *et al.* [III-05]. The theory formulated by the authors on the basis of many years of fieldwork in Nagano prefecture strikes at the ambiguity of existing views on the Japanese *ie* and family system, and it is of particular significance in that it develops a sound theory of the *ie* and the *ie*-like structure of Japanese society along the lines of a theory of the middle range. According to the authors, the Japanese *ie* is by nature composite in that it has meaning not only as a family, but also as a management body and as occupational rights (*kabu*) attendant upon the residential grounds, and its internal structure was defined by a system of dependent peas-

ants. In Japanese rural villages of the early modern period and earlier there were dependent peasants attached to independent farmers (*hombyakushō*), from whom some of them would be granted the right to establish a branch household (*bunke*) and groups of households (*dōzoku*) and villages would be composed of such units; these *dōzoku* and villages in turn constituted the ground base of the higher-ranking *samurai* households (*buke*), and thus was established the *ie*-like (rather than family-like) structure of Japanese society. On the basis of such a perspective Hasegawa *et al.* consider that with the modernization of Japan the *ie* was reduced to the family, while the *dōzoku* became kinship organizations and suffered social diffusion, and they rate highly the current of research by Kitano Seiichi and others who have been studying the contemporary Japanese family from such a vantage point. Since research of the family or *ie* along such lines is often inseparable from the study of rural villages, other such studies will be touched on in the next section.

A volume that should not be overlooked when considering the Japanese family in a global context, in contrast to the above work, is a study of patriarchy and capitalist system by Ueno Chizuko [III-06]. Subtitled "The Horizons of Marxist Feminism," it is divided into two parts, devoted to theory and analysis respectively, and it represents the high-water mark of feminist sociology in Japan. First, in regard to the question of why housework is unremunerated, a question which the debate over housework in Japan has been unable to resolve, Ueno states that Western feminist sociologists resolved the problem by differentiating between housework and industrial home work and arguing that through its counterpart of patriarchy modern capitalism separated housework from industrial home work and forced it upon women as a class, and she maintains that modern patriarchy has its base in "unpaid labor with sex as its variable." Therefore, when the women's liberation movement began to gain momentum in resistance to this discrimination and exploitation, modern capitalism attempted to preserve patriarchy by means of the "politics of reproduction" based on family policies and welfare policies. Japanese capitalism, which in the course of its development invent-

ed the *ie* as a corresponding form of patriarchalism, defended itself in this manner against the first wave of feminism before World War II, and with the burgeoning of the second wave of feminism as housewives became part of the masses and women evolved into a distinct class during the high economic growth of the postwar period, Japanese capitalism dealt with these developments by retaining an M-shaped pattern of women's employment, no longer common in the advanced nations of the West, through the "invention" of part-time work in response to the birth of "housewife workers," such that women who had found work after leaving school would stop working to get married and have children and would then take up part-time work in order to supplement the family income once the children had reached a certain age. This represented the second compromise between capitalism, which brought about the birth of the housewife, and patriarchalism, following on from the first compromise (the so-called Victorian compromise), and Ueno argues that Japanese capitalism, while threatening to replace women with immigrant workers if their resistance as a class should become too strong, is extending its measures for self-preservation from the reorganization of the family to the reorganization of the state, corporations and family relations by resorting to "QC ideas of reproduction" which encourage a "discontinuation/reemployment" pattern of female labor and emphasize the crisis facing the family.

But elsewhere Ueno reverses this viewpoint in an attempt to reinterpret the contemporary Japanese family through the eyes of individual family members. In the opening paper of a volume forming part of a series of which she herself is one of the editors [III-07], she advances the concept of "family identity" whereby she tries to grasp in real terms the manner in which individuals, forced to select or to endure diverse ways of life in families of which both the form and consciousness range from patterns traditional to Japanese society to more non-traditional patterns, each possess a family consciousness or identity that deviates to a greater or lesser degree and in differing senses from the actual form of the family, a family identity by which each family member attempts to bear with the complexity and weight of life. According to Ueno,

the family in contemporary Japan is in this sense “a new family illusion,” and yet for the Japanese the family represents “eternal psychological security goods” of such importance that they are unable to live without it. The volume containing this paper by Ueno is a collection of essays with an educative intent directed at the general reader, and since there are a number of sociologists in addition to Ueno among the contributors, it should provide leads for approaching the present state of the family in contemporary Japan from fresh perspectives.

Moving on now to other research on the family, we may note a study of the history of the family in Japan by Sekiguchi Hiroko and Kamata Toshiko *et al.* [III-08], a volume on various facets of the contemporary family compiled by Totani Osamu and Yatazawa Noriko [III-09], a book by Yamane Tsuneo in which the author discusses the family and marriage and tries to formulate a theory for transcending patriarchalism [III-10], a study of marriage and matrimonial relations by Kambara Fumiko [III-11], and a study by Yokoyama Hiroko and Kamitani Yukari of families where three generations live together, said to constitute a distinctive feature of the Japanese family [III-12]. Among these studies, that by Kambara examines the question of matrimonial relations, a topic difficult to deal with directly, by considering with the help of survey data points such as mutual satisfaction and the problems faced by each partner, and it is helpful for acquainting oneself with the situation in contemporary Japan. But when compared with the achievements of Hasegawa *et al.* and Ueno, the field of vision reflected in the work of researchers of the family proper is generally narrow, and their analytical apparatus also leaves something to be desired. It is to be hoped that, rather than confining themselves to family sociology in the narrow sense of the term, they will begin to actively incorporate the results of research by people with a both historically and structurally broad perspective in order to incisively analyze family conditions in contemporary Japan.

Lastly, in regard to family policies and regional policies, there appeared a work compiled by Iida Tetsuya and Endō Akira [III-13]. It begins with a general introduction in which Iida discusses

the relationship between family and regional policies, and among the ensuing chapters those dealing with family policies include Chapter 3 (Nakagawa Junko) on trends in family policies, Chapter 4 (Oda Toshikatsu) on the relationship between aging and family life, and Chapter 5 (Hamaoka Masayoshi) on changes in family policies accompanying the aging of society. This volume will help one understand how since the second half of the 1970s attempts have been made to formulate a new economic and social system following the end of high economic growth, in the course of which a "new Japanese-style family image" has been sought after, and how this in turn has formed the basis of proposals for a "Japanese-style welfare society" premised on the aging of society. Also of interest is Chapter 2 (Shibuya Atsushi) in which the writer points out that, with the expansion of the so-called informal sector in local areas, "regional policies in the form of women's policies" seeking to actively promote women's activities have become general. Along with Chapter 7 by Endō, who attempts to link family issues and regional issues through the medium of residents' movements, this work may be seen as a connecting link with our next section.

IV. REGIONAL SOCIETY: THE VILLAGE AND THE CITY

It is open to question whether the *Bindestrinch-Soziologie* of regional sociology is a viable proposition. Whereas rural sociology and urban sociology each have their own traditions and accumulated knowledge, the very concept of the 'community' or 'regional society' is rather vague, and it is only comparatively recently that it has become an issue. A discussion of this question in the context of Japanese sociology may be found in a volume edited by Hasumi Otohiko [IV-01], who defines regional society as a society in which identification is at issue since it is born of a multistratification of various regional societies, and he further discusses the distinctive features of its historical development in Japan and the reasons why local government and public policy in particular must be studied when considering it in a contemporary context. In the same volume Ōuchi Masatoshi discusses methods

for the comprehensive understanding of regional life, Nitagai Kamon deals with the relationship between various regional groups and public policy in the present age, and lastly Yazawa Sumiko describes developments in local politics from the 1970s to 1980s. This work thus merits attention as an introductory study which summarizes and reviews research on regional society in contemporary Japan. In this connection mention may also be made of a study by Miura Noriko of "mobile society," a form of society marked by greatly increased social mobility [IV-02]. She discusses assimilation and movement to provincial regions as well as movement patterns and regional typology, reports on field work in fishing villages in Okinawa, coal-mining towns in Kyushu, regional industrial cities, and communities in large cities such as Osaka, Tokyo and Fukuoka, and lastly touches on the importance of housing for community-building in a mobile society. This work is well worth referring to in order to grasp the general state of regional society in contemporary Japan.

Among the studies of rural villages published during the period under review, the most useful work for familiarizing oneself with the general conditions of Japanese rural villages was a work by Hasumi Otohiko [IV-03]. The author, who has for many years been at the forefront of sociological research on Japanese rural villages, emphasizes as a perspective for understanding developments in rural villages the need to grasp them within the context of changes in total society and at the same time to conversely consider total society from the vantage point of the rural village. On the basis of such a perspective, Hasumi surveys rural society in prewar Japan and describes the "modernization" of rural villages that occurred in the wake of the postwar reforms as well as the course taken by agricultural policies based on the Basic Agriculture Law that were implemented on the premise of economic growth. He concludes that the confusion in agricultural policy since the introduction of production arrangement policy has caused the decline of rural villages, has debilitated farming households by both pauperizing them insofar as they cannot survive on farming alone and enriching them through the spread of urban-style living as a result of increased income, and has generally weakened social

solidarity in rural villages. On the basis of this analysis he argues that the theory of agricultural modernization that evolved during the postwar reforms and economic growth was a mistaken theory that ignored the position of agriculture and rural villages in the highly developed capitalism of the present age, and on the assumption that in present-day rural villages incorporated into contemporary capitalism the premodern structure has been reorganized but traditional characteristics, although partially dismantled, still survive, he reviews the possibilities for new agricultural policies founded on these realities and for a rural sociology geared to this end. The author's appeal for "a rural sociology of contemporary capitalism" should be interpreted as the expression of a determination to revive Japanese rural sociology.

Matsumoto Michiharu has produced a more specialized tome on essentially the same issues [IV-04], and he not only surveys changes in the village, *dōzoku* unity and the *ie* in postwar rural villages, but also summarizes the results of many years of fieldwork on the structure of and changes in villages organized on the principle of household status in the Kinki region and on the transformation of villages in the Setouchi district and the formation of regional society there as a result of industrialization. This work should be read as a substantiation of the author's perception that seasonal migrant labor and the transformation of farming into a side business as a result of the destruction of agriculture are causing not only depopulation and the aging of rural society but also an environmental crisis. As a study of the transformation of Japanese rural villages and the accompanying changes in the lives of farmers, mention should also be made of the work by Yanai Satoshi [IV-05], which is divided into two parts, entitled "The Distinctive Features of Japanese Society" and "A Study of Rural Villages in Tōhoku" respectively. In Part 1 the author examines the daily life of farmers in respect to the order and customs of daily life, rites of passage and the socialization of children, home discipline, the process of growing up and regional society, and behavior criteria and reference groups, while in Part 2 he describes the realities of the life of a farmer's wife, the growing-up process in the case of the family heir, and contract associations as a type of

life group, and this book is helpful for familiarizing oneself with actual living conditions in Japanese rural villages.

In the previous section I touched on rural studies linked to research on the family and *ie*, and here I wish to consider some more such works. Firstly, the book by Kawamoto Akira [IV-06] is a general work on regional society, the family, the village, agriculture, and rural problems, and it includes an overview of the Japanese village based on the author's longtime experience and a rural-sociological discussion of the Japanese people that ranges from Ninomiya Sontoku to *ie*-type groupism. Next, Kinoshita Kenji's work [IV-07] deals with family theory, rural society theory and community theory, and it includes the results of a survey of parent-child relationships and the life objectives of the elderly living at home in contemporary Japan, a statistical review of the realities of farming life, the results of fieldwork on the disintegration of villages and changes in images of the farmer, and even a report on case studies of community identity. The study by Sugioka Naoto [IV-08], although based primarily on fieldwork in Hokkaido, represents the results of research on changes in rural regional society as seen through the family, and it contains case studies dealing with innovative behavior on the part of farming households, the responses of farming households to the trend towards farming cooperatives, and rural welfare plans for coping with the aging of society. The work by Aikawa Yoshihiko [IV-09] is an attempt to grasp the basic structure of rural groups through the *ie*, social relations centering on land, the village, and production organizations, and it covers rural villages throughout Japan as well as describing the results of historical research and fieldwork ranging from the prewar period down to the present day. Lastly, Matsuoka Masanori's work [IV-10] is a study of rural villages in contemporary Japan from the viewpoint of "mutual livelihood assistance," and claiming that with the disintegration of villages the complementation of family functions has been imposed on the neighborhood, the author examines attempts to restore and revive regional social relations in contemporary rural villages on the basis of examples taken from rural villages in Miyagi, Fukui and Akita prefectures. The above are all outstanding works which

demonstrate that rural problems are also family problems.

In addition to the above, there was also published a report compiled by Matsumura Kazunori and Aoki Tatsuji on the organic farming movement in Takahata in Yamagata prefecture [IV-11]. Since it describes not only the history of the movement but also the personal backgrounds of the main participants, it also has bearing on the question of those who uphold rural society and culture remarked on by Matsumoto, and it is a research report that deserves to be noted.

On the subject of fishing villages, the voluminous work edited by Masuda Shōzō [IV-12] also deserves mention. This represents the results of a joint study by a total of twenty-five Japanese and Korean researchers who focus primarily on fishing villages in three regions in their respective countries, and in addition to an ethnographical overview of the regions covered, it contains seven papers on society, ten papers on the economy and seven papers on culture in the fishing villages of both countries. One learns, for example, that there are marked differences in group cumulation and group functions in the fishing villages of both countries, that the Korean groups for mutual assistance and friendship (called *kye*) are more varied and diverse than the Japanese *kō*, and that it is possible to understand differences in, for example, the culture surrounding raw fish or *sashimi* (called *hoe* in Korean) through differences in the nature of their respective fishing communities, and researchers with an interest in this field will be able to gain much valuable information from this volume.

Turning now to the cities, our attention is drawn firstly to two books by Fujita Hiroo. The first [IV-13], subtitled "Beyond Urban Sociology," deals with cities and the state, while the second [IV-14], subtitled "The Historical Sociology of Famine and Gluttony," deals with cities and power, and both have been written on the basis of the author's extensive knowledge gained from a wide range of books. For this reason they do, however, lack in the sense of reality and gravity that is to a certain extent inevitably produced by fact-finding surveys of contemporary cities, but the comment in Chapter 4 of the former work that the analysis of neighborhood associations (*chōnaikai*) is of special importance in

the study of Japanese cities and the view underlying the latter work that cities are characterized through and through by a duality of power consisting of security and control are helpful for apprising oneself of the perspectives of Japanese urban sociology. By way of contrast, the work edited by Takahashi Yūetsu [IV-15], focussing on the social structure of Japanese cities, covers trends in changes since the Meiji era, the relationship between the overconcentration on the Tokyo area and the Fourth Comprehensive National Development Plan, the classification of the urbanization process of regional cities, towns and villages, and the systematization of public facilities and the state of residents' participation, and it provides concrete leads for research. Even more instructive is the book by Inoue Jun'ichi *et al.* [IV-16] on the rapid transformation of Tokyo into a world city, which develops in-depth discussions of structural changes in the economy, political antagonism, changes in the lives of residents, changes in local residents' organizations, the development of and prospects for city planning, the crisis facing urban culture and its revival, and the genealogy of urban thought. The authors, each specialists in their own fields, describe how the transformation of Tokyo into an international financial center as a result of the formation of a worldwide network of Japanese corporations has led to a restructuring symbolized by the transfer of the Tokyo Metropolitan Government to new towering offices in Shinjuku and how the accompanying steep rises in the price of land and the collusion between business and politics have had serious consequences for the lives of residents, residents' organizations, city planning and urban culture in Tokyo.

Moving on to more thorough urban surveys, we should mention first of all the volume edited by Hasumi Otohiko, Nitagai Kamon and Yazawa Sumiko [IV-17]. This constitutes the results of a joint study conducted over several years on Kobe, a major city in the Kansai region which has frequently been referred to as "Kobe City, Inc." on account of the distinctive "urban management theory" of Miyazaki Tatsuo who served as mayor for twenty years from 1969 to 1989, and the study in question presents a comprehensive analysis of Kobe's urban formation, local structure, industrial structure, employment structure, social stratification, local groups,

activities of major bodies, local politics, administrative organization, public functions, urban administration, urban policies, housing policies, neighborhood associations and self-governing associations, urban social plans, livelihood welfare problems, reallocation of housework labor, and problems of development. In this study, which develops the methods of structural analysis formulated by postwar rural sociology in a manner applicable to urban studies, especially the study of a major city like Kobe, and seeks to discern the dynamics of the interaction between "urban management" and civic life in the multistratified activities of the various groups that exercise influence over budget allocations and executive functions in local government, one may see an exemplar of the levels attained by sociological research of cities in contemporary Japan. Especially worthy of attention are Chapter 3 (Machimura Takashi), which maintains that Kobe's "urban management" was an anticipatory model for the "reorganization of urban structure" that has occurred since the 1980s, Chapter 6 (Nitagai), which lists and classifies various local groups in connection with public policies, Chapter 9 (Nitagai), which analyzes the decision-making process in the administrative organization with a focus on the drafting of the budget, and Chapter 10 (Hasumi), which analyzes the public functions of local government on the basis of the final returns of local finances.

In addition, the volume edited by Hotai Susumu and Ōhashi Kaoru [IV-18] is a follow-up study undertaken ten years after their study mentioned in Vol. 4 of the present series ([VIII-02]). After a reexamination of the urban structure of Kita Kyushu, the contributors discuss from the perspective of urban pathology behavioral problems such as crime, delinquency, prostitution, drug dependency and suicide, home and welfare problems such as the elderly, fatherless and motherless homes, public assistance, the mentally and physically disabled, mental health, child protection and divorce, school problems such as school violence, bullying, absenteeism and high school dropouts, and local environmental problems such as pollution and traffic, and they also put forward suggestions regarding a plan for local society called "The Renaissance Concept." They conclude that "generally speaking, with the

increasing deterioration of the economic base, about the only improvements were in the problem of pollution, and almost all other problems have remained at the same level or are worsening," and a future task for this kind of research will be to determine to what degree this conclusion applies to other major cities too. In the volume edited by Hayashi Masataka, Yagi Saichi and Ōhashi Kaoru [IV-19], not only the editor Ōhashi but also several of the contributors overlap with the above work, and although dealing with Hiroshima, it is basically an investigative study of the same approach. After having described the basic structure of Hiroshima, famous as the site of the dropping of the world's first atomic bomb, in terms of social structure, industrial and economic structure, ecological structure and the state of population, the writers deal with local problems such as housing, traffic, pollution, disasters, and the ghettos (*dōwa chiku*), family problems such as households of atomic bomb victims, low-income households, households of the elderly, solo-parent families, children under protective care, divorce and running away from home, education problems such as absenteeism, dropouts, private tutoring schools and the comprehensive selective examination system, and behavioral problems such as crime, juvenile delinquency, gambling, drug dependency, alcoholism and suicide. Perhaps the reader will feel some relief to find that for almost all of these headings "the state of the problems is average or below average when compared with other government designated special-status cities (*seirei-shitei toshi*)," "the incidence of suicide, the index of human breakdown, and of divorce, the culmination of home breakdown, is extremely low," and "there is comparative stability in terms of both the individual and the home."

Another example of a study dealing with a single city is Ninomiya Tetsuo's book on Kanazawa, a city steeped in tradition in the Hokuriku region [IV-20]. It covers the historical environment, ecological problems, local economic history, the industrial structure and social stratification, past relief activities for the needy, administration relating to the development of scenic views, amenities, the life of the residents, families and local and social support systems, fire-fighting activities, the structure of the citizens'

consciousness, annual events and the dialect, Kaga Hōshō (a local school of *nō*), traditional handicrafts, the citizens' spiritual life, religious culture, and folk culture. The efforts being made by this regional cultural city deserve high appraisal. Reference should also be made to the volumes edited by Kawamura Nozomū and Takahashi Kazuhiro [IV-21] and by Nakada Minoru and Taniguchi Shigeru [IV-22].

In addition to the above, there also appeared a collection of papers on neighborhood associations and local groups compiled by Kurasawa Susumu and Akimoto Ritsuo [IV-23] and a volume on communal living in large cities edited by Kurasawa Susumu [IV-24]. The latter, focussing on the occupants of higher-status condominiums and apartment complexes, merits attention as a new attempt to probe the substance of life in large cities. There also appeared a book by Hoshi Nagatoshi [IV-25] and a volume edited by Nakajima Akinori and Watanabe Yasuo [IV-26], both area studies relating to questions of education. A unique study of urban festivals by Matsudaira Makoto [IV-27] was also published.

V. INDUSTRY, LABOR, CLASS AND SOCIAL STRATIFICATION

The first point to be mentioned in regard to this field is the publication of the posthumous writings of Okamoto Hideaki, who died suddenly in 1989 [V-01]. This volume is divided into seven sections, dealing with industrialization and vocational training, technological innovations and workers, white-collar workers and the bureaucracy, the image of workers and worker consciousness, labor-management relations, the sociology of labor unions, and a historical review of employment and occupations, and it contains various papers touching on key points relating to industry and labor in Japan by an author who for thirty years led research in this field. Of equal importance was the commencement of the publication of the annual report of the Japanese Association of Labor Sociology, which was formed in 1988 [V-02]. The inaugural issue contains prefatory pieces by doyens of this field such as Odaka Kunio, Matsushima Shizuo, Mannari Hiroshi and Hazama

Hiroshi followed by papers devoted to the special topic of "Issues in the Sociology of Labor" by Kawanishi Hirosuke, Motojima Kunio, Kamata Toshiko, Yagi Tadashi and other leading researchers. The second issue of the same journal contains feature articles on "The Image of the Worker in Japan" by Motojima, Yagi and also younger researchers such as Uchida Tsukasa and Asakawa Kazuyuki. These are indispensable publications for acquainting oneself with the state of research on the sociology of labor in contemporary Japan. On the subject of organizations and corporations there appeared a book on Japanese organizations by Watase Hiroshi [V-03] and a study of corporate culture by Umezawa Tadashi [V-04]. The former is an enlarged edition of a work noted in the previous volume of this series ([V-03]), to which has been added a discussion of the works of the novelist Ishikawa Tatsuzō who, according to Watase, proved unable to totally accept the naturalism of Emile Zola on whom he modelled himself, and Watase finds in fact confirmation of the specific character of Japanese organizations in Ishikawa's anti-organizational thought. The book by Umezawa is an introductory work for the general reader in which the author expounds his long-held view that corporations should not be shackled by popular views of Japanese business but should instead set about to actively create their own distinctive cultures. In these works the reader will find hints for studying Japanese industry, labor, organizations and corporations.

On regional industry there appeared a substantial study based on surveys and compiled by Murayama Ken'ichi and Kawakita Takashi [V-05]. In this work five established researchers present the results of investigations into the actual conditions of regional industry in the Ina district in Nagano prefecture, Yonezawa city in Yamagata prefecture, Tsubame city in Niigata prefecture and Makabe town in Ibaraki prefecture, with reference to which they then discuss newly emerging trends and future issues, and it may be profitably referred to for information on regional developments in Japanese industry. On the basis of concrete examples one learns, for example, that in the development of regional industry (defined as the combination of industries centered on locally-based indus-

tries [*jibasangyō*] that economically support regional society) there is appearing in conjunction with the computerized informationalization of the economy and society a trend towards regional specialization in large city centers, the periphery of large cities, regional nuclear cities, regional industrial cities, and rural and mountain village areas (Murayama): that in response to an age of greater product variety and small-lot production there has emerged in regional industry a unique movement that promotes simultaneously the development of networks based on horizontal relationships and teams based on vertical relationships (Kunisaki Keiichi); that there has been a growing interest in personnel training for the revitalization of regional industry and that new experiments leading to improvements in the quality of personnel management are being made in connection with changes in business operations and research and development (Kawakita); that there has occurred a movement to reconsider agriculture as one facet of regional industry (Ōuchi Masatoshi); and that the use of local resources and the processing of agricultural, forest and aquatic products are being actively investigated for the purpose of vitalizing regional industry (Takada Shigeru).

In regard to employment, the work brought out under the supervision of Andō Kikuo [V-06] is a white paper on job changing, which has been on the rise recently even in Japan's labor market, traditionally static and closed, especially in the case of white-collar workers. According to this report, with the restructuring of business, labor mobility has been increasing, as has naturally also the engagement of employees with previous job experience, but there is still a strong demand for young people in their twenties. In certain occupations, however, there is also a strong demand for people in their thirties or even older, and not only in blue-collar positions but also in white-collar positions. This state of affairs is clarified on the basis of various types of statistical material and original survey results, and it is a useful work with a wealth of data. The book by Mutō Yasuaki [V-07] is a readable work written with an educative intent. According to the author, after having come through the first crisis of an oil shortage and the second crisis of external pressure, Japanese industry will be faced

with a third crisis of labor shortage, and claiming that in the medium and long term this shortage cannot be adequately remedied by employing women and foreigners, he puts a case for the mass hiring of the middle-aged. Then, after various concrete proposals concerning conditions, reeducation and the improvement of health for this end, he advocates the need for a change in thinking from "career development planning" (CDP) to a "life designing plan" (LDP). This work may thus be usefully referred to for information on employment conditions in contemporary Japan. On vocational guidance there appeared a book edited by Arimoto Akira and Kondō Motoo [V-08], ranging in content from vocational guidance within school education to the relationship between lifelong education and occupations, and along with general theory and overseas examples it also describes the history of this issue in Japan and the present situation.

Turning now to labor, we find a book by Yamashita Yukio [V-09] which discusses the transformation of labor in so-called "mechatronics" industries, centered on the computerized control of machine systems, and its historical and social significance. It is a study devoted primarily to theoretical considerations based on the technology theory and labor process theory of Japanese Marxism, the gist of the author's arguments being that "tool-operating labor," initially negated by machines, has been revived by mechatronics, which also implies a linguistic labor process, and has restored human beings to a position of operating instruments of labor, and inasmuch as the term 'mechatronics' is itself a Japanese coinage, this book will assist one's understanding of the state of labor in the frontier industries of contemporary Japan. In addition, a book by Mine Manabu [V-10] discusses Japanese conditions in recent years regarding the humanization of labor and the quality of working life, and following a general overview of responses to these issues shown by corporations, labor unions, the Japan Productivity Center (present Japan Productivity Center for Socio-Economic Development) and public policies, the author takes up for consideration chemical works, cement works, paper-manufacturing companies, electric power companies, iron-manufacturing companies and machinery works as examples of

business corporations and the All-Japan Federation of Electrical Machine Workers' Unions (Denki Rōren) and the Japan Postal Workers' Union (Zentei) as examples of labor unions and examines the actual content and effects of policies relating to the self-realization management of corporations, the humanization policies of unions, and personnel placing and work allotment in large companies. The author concludes that in order to humanize labor and improve the quality of working life a flexible job structure and an active role by work-site groups are necessary, to which must be added corporate measures for self-realization and union efforts to surmount the bureaucratization of unions, and he also touches on the issue of labor-management relations for creating the necessary conditions for this. It is a most instructive book on the current state of labor in Japan.

On the subject of labor unions there appeared a study full of proposals about union identity by Kawakita Takashi and Satō Hiroki [V-11]. As a preamble to their appeal for a "union identity movement for the regeneration of labor unions," the authors present examples from nine unions that have been implementing various original schemes aimed at union revitalization, and advocating "a new age through union renewal," they argue that in order to survive in a harsh environment labor unions must shift their base from "mechanical solidarity" to "organic solidarity," that in order to cope with the diversification of workers and the diffusion of the basic worker stratum they must extend union identity without being attached to fixed ideas and questions of affiliation, and that in order to withstand the current situation in which the estrangement of union members from unions has advanced to the estrangement of workers from union members they must anticipate changes in industrial society and sometimes adopt a stance of labor-management cooperation in regard to questions of employment. The authors conclude by stating that in order to tackle undauntedly a variety of issues "it is labor unions that should learn from the true entrepreneurial spirit." The work by Kawanishi Hirosuke on minority labor union movements [V-12] is a new edition of a study first published in 1977 in which the author examined the realities and significance of the continued

activities of minority unions affiliated to the General Council of Trade Unions of Japan (Sōhyō) and to the "New Left" within the context of the labor movement in Japan, where the overwhelming majority of unions are enterprise unions (unions organized on an enterprise, rather than an industrywide, basis). The new edition has been enhanced by a supplementary chapter in which Kawaniishi undertakes to carefully respond to the various criticisms that were made of the earlier edition, and it is an indispensable work for comprehending the labor union debate in Japan.

Turning our attention now to class and social stratification, we may note first that a full-fledged study of class in contemporary society was brought out by Hamashima Akira [V-13]. It is primarily a theoretical work, dealing with industrialization and questions of class and social stratification, class analysis of contemporary society focussing on the middle and poor classes, and present-day trends in class consciousness, but the latter half also contains an empirical examination, based on data from the author's own surveys, of the structure and dynamics of workers' consciousness under the corporate system of present-day Japan and of middle-class consciousness in Japan. It is essential reading as a critical analysis of the family-minded thinking of contemporary Japanese workers and of the middle-class consciousness said to be spreading among Japanese at large. Next, the volume compiled by Ishikawa Akihiro and Kawasaki Yoshimoto [V-14] provides an excellent analysis of equality and inequality in Japanese society based mainly on a written questionnaire conducted through two unions on salaried workers of middle standing. The authors consider questions such as when workers sense inequality, where there is inequality in their life opportunities, whether Japan is a society in which undue emphasis is placed on academic background, in what respects women experience inequality, and what sense of inequality workers have in regard to political participation, and after having demonstrated that Japan is after all a society characterized by credentialism and that the disparity in the representational potential per vote is felt to be too large, the authors conclude by saying that many people believe that Japanese society should be made a more equal society. In addition, the work edited

by Miyajima Takashi and Fujita Hidenori [V-15] is a collection of papers which apply P. Bourdieu's theory of cultural reproduction to questions of differentiation, structuralization and reproduction, and the final chapter contains an interesting report and analysis of a survey on cultural stratification conducted on students from seventeen universities in the Metropolitan area. This work merits attention as a new undertaking in Japanese sociology.

Finally, the four volumes edited by Naoi Atsushi and Seiyama Kazuo, Hara Junsuke, Kikuchi Jōji, and Okamoto Hideo and Naoi Michiko [V-16~19], of which advance notice was given in our previous review, are reports of the results of comprehensive analyses of the structure of social stratification in contemporary Japanese society based on the 1985 Social Stratification and Social Mobility Survey. This survey, which has been conducted every ten years since 1955, has on each occasion gained the participation of a new generation of sociologists, whereby new elements in the realms of theory, methodology and technique have been incorporated, and not only have self-perceptions of the research itself been clearly defined, but the accuracy of the various analyses has also been improved. In the present instance in particular a head-on clash between class research and discrimination research was on the one hand avoided by specifying the subjects and methods of the study, while on the other hand many sound results were achieved by incorporating class analyses underpinned by operationalism and quantification, undertaking multifaceted analyses of stratum consciousness in addition to analyses of the structure and process of social stratification, conducting penetrating studies of the connections between education and social mobility (considered to hold special importance in Japanese society), and also, in an even more epoch-making move, developing an absorbing analysis from various angles of the relationship between women and social strata. In content these volumes contain many important observations: in regard to the hypothesis that following the end of Japan's high economic growth the mobility of stratum structure has weakened and a new differentiation and fixation of social strata, defined by styles of consumption and differences in wealth, have occurred, it has been found that although there is indeed a possibil-

ity of movements in this direction, as far as the survey results up until 1985 are concerned, Japanese society's trends towards affluence and equality are basically unchanged; now that the debate over "middle" consciousness has blown over, there has arisen the question of "stratum images" (e.g., middle bulging model, pyramid model, equal distribution model, bipolar differentiation model, and inverted pyramid model) thought to underlie people's awareness of social stratification and their sense of belonging to particular strata; within the overall increase in educational opportunities and the trend towards higher academic credentials, it was only in regard to secondary education that any reduction in interstratal differences was to be observed, and especially in the case of higher education it cannot necessarily be said that there has been any increasing equality in educational opportunities; and whereas women have hitherto been able to achieve social status in a relatively open manner within a confined stratal space, with their advances into various spheres of society there is a possibility that there will emerge a system of stratification reproduction such as may be seen in the case of men. These compilations are therefore indispensable works of reference not only for those studying the structure of social stratification in Japanese society but also for those studying various related subjects.

VI. MASS COMMUNICATIONS AND SOCIAL CONSCIOUSNESS

On mass communications there appeared first of all during this period a work by Takeuchi Ikuo [VI-01]. It presents a synopsis of the author's many years of research and is divided into four parts dealing with the structure and functions of social communication, the reception of mass communications, broadcasting and politics, and public opinion; although it begins with general considerations of the subject, the second half contains studies touching on the actual state of mass communications in contemporary Japan. The author pays special attention to the functions of mass communications that relate to its reception, and these concerns lead him to an examination of models and hypotheses of the reception process

and to the study, from the vantage point of group behavior theory, of the relationship between broadcasting and politics and of the manipulation of public opinion through broadcasts and its effects on public opinion. It is in such a context that he analyzes the problematical nature of election coverage in Japan as well as the manipulation of public opinion by the mass media and the manipulation of information by the police that occurred at the time of the so-called "Mitchi (Princess Michiko) boom" prompted by Crown Prince Akihito's marriage in 1959, the 1964 Tokyo Olympics, and the Asama Lodge Incident caused by the extremist United Red Army (Rengō Sekigun) in 1972. Takeuchi's perspectives and research results will serve as an important legacy for Japanese mass communications research in the future.

Another important study by a veteran researcher during this period was a book by Satō Takeshi [VI-02] dealing more directly with the process of the reception of mass communications. In this work Satō proposes the concept of "communication mediated by alienation" in an attempt to transform earlier theories about the communicatee into a theory that focusses on the "reader." This concept, which draws its inspiration from the dramaturgy of Brecht, refers to a form of communication in which not only the actors but also the audience actively shatter the "assimilative illusions" such as are created by personality shows on television and attain a vivid grasp of reality by reading the unknown in the known and the known in the unknown, and according to the author it is symbolized by the following words of Zeami: "What an actor sees with his own eyes is his own image; what he sees when looking from a point removed from himself is at one with the spectator's image." On the basis of these ideas the author deals in Part 1 ("The Development of and Issues in Mass Communications Theory") with the development of mass communications theory in postwar Japan in comparison with its developments in the West, and then after having analyzed in Part 2 ("The World of the Media") the media as an apparatus of mass culture in contemporary Japan, he attempts in Part 3 ("The Media Reader") to decipher the phenomenon of advertizing in Japan today. This book is requisite reading as an indication of the level attained by

mass communications research in present-day Japan.

As an example of an approach to mass communications research from the standpoint of social psychology, there appeared a book by Takizawa Masaki [VI-03], in the first half of which he analyzes changes in people's living in postwar Japan on the basis of data on the "three great revolutions," namely, the family revolution, changes in sexual awareness and the advent of an aging society, and in changes in stratum consumption and the mass media he discerns "poverty within affluence." In addition, the compilation by Haraoka Kazuma [VI-04] begins, as befits a group of social psychologists, with an analysis of interpersonal communication, and after having gradually extended their discussion of communication in actual society to include communication within the family, at school, in corporate organizations and in local society, they also take up for consideration intercultural communication and the mass media. The volume edited by Ariyoshi Hiroyuki [VI-05] includes five chapters by four contributors other than the editor, and in addition to information society theory and mass communications theory there are discussions of the family and relatives as a form of social network, the relationship between the sociology of science and communication theory, and the application of mass media theory to the sociology of disasters. It should serve to familiarize the reader with the current state of mass communications research in contemporary Japan.

A more comprehensive joint study dealing with mass communications in an advanced information society was brought out by the University of Tokyo Institute of Journalism and Communication Studies [VI-06]. This presents the results produced in the process of attempting to reorganize various fields of research within the new framework of "social information studies" and to restructure the Institute itself in order to cope with the advanced information society of the present day, and it contains outstanding studies by eighteen staff members and associated researchers. It is divided into five parts, dealing with the theory and methods of social information research, the meaning and development of informationalization, informationalization and social and economic systems, advanced informationalization and the media, and the infor-

mationalization and internationalization of Japan, and the following papers are especially useful for acquainting oneself with the actual state of the informationalization of Japanese society: Tazaki Tokurō's examination of surveys relating to new media; Funatsu Mamoru's analysis of the realities of regional informationalization based partly on a questionnaire conducted by the Institute; Sudō Osamu's discussion of the relationship between advanced informationalization and economic development to be seen in, for example, diversification and the formation of networks; Yoshimi Shun'ya's inquiry into changes in the environment of large cities as a result of advanced informationalization, exemplified by the overconcentration on the Tokyo area; Hiroi Osamu's consideration of the information behavior of the Japanese based on foreigners' accounts of their sojourns in Japan; and Toh Lam Seng's critique of Japan's "domestic internationalization" from an Asian perspective close to Japan and focussing on coverage of foreign students. The papers by Hiroi and Toh in particular leave a strong impression: according to Hiroi, in the eyes of foreigners the information behavior of the Japanese shows a keen intake of information marked by both an enterprising spirit and emulation, a strong curiosity sometimes accompanied by an absence of privacy, and the coexistence, based on the distinction between in-groups and out-groups, of quite unreserved expressions and the moderate language used in the communication of will and emotions, while Toh points out that the coverage of foreign students by the Japanese mass media is disconnected and sensational, and in regard to domestic internationalization too he is critical of the fact that the Japanese "are still not free of the attitude that assumes a 'relationship of superiority' towards Asians."

On the subject of the influence exerted on people's lives by the spread of new media there also appeared a collection of papers edited by Takeuchi Ikuo, Kojima Kazuto and Kawamoto Masaru [VI-07]. Divided into two parts ("Changes in the Media and Life in Society" and "Information Behavior and the New Media"), it contains papers by nine contributors, among which the more significant are: Takeshita Toshio's study of the new media and regional life in which he points out "the influence of independent

CATV broadcasting on the fostering of regional consciousness"; Mizuno Hirosuke's discussion of the new media and family life in which he emphasizes the possibility of utilizing new media in order to maintain family bonds in the face of the functional decline of the family and proposes a field of study dealing with "information life theory"; and Muramatsu Yasuko's examination of questions relating to new media and gender in which she argues that new media should make positive contributions to the "fluidization of sex roles."

An important study devoted to a particular topic was the book by Hiroi Osamu [VI-08], which brings together the author's many years of research on disaster information. It is divided into two parts, the first dealing with theoretical aspects of disaster information and the second containing case studies, and in the theoretical section he treats of "communication systems for disaster information" and "urban disasters and the information media." In regard to the former, Hiroi responds to the view that disaster information may be a double-edged sword by arguing that measures on the software front relating to the control and use of disaster information still lag considerably behind developments in information media hardware, while on the latter subject he writes in regard to disasters involving "system damage" in large cities that are becoming ever more complex that there is a need to set up a disaster-prevention system based on the maintenance of important communications, the establishment of an information system that addresses the different aspects of disasters, and cooperation between administrative agencies and the news media. In Part 2 the author analyzes on the basis of these theoretical observations and with reference to extensive data the transmission and reception of the tsunami warnings on the occasion of the 1983 earthquake in the mid-Sea of Japan, the confused information and false rumors that circulated when the volcano on the island of Izu Ōshima erupted in 1986, the overloading of telephone lines and the usefulness of the radio on the occasion of the 1987 earthquake off the east coast of Chiba prefecture, the commotion caused by tsunami information after the submarine volcanic eruption off the coast of Itō in 1989, the nonoccurrence of any panic at the time of the 1989 Loma

Prieta earthquake, and the effect of typhoon information on disaster prevention during typhoon No. 19 in 1990. This work should be read as an indication of the level of research on disaster information in disaster-prone Japan.

The book by Shimbo Mitsuru, Tamura Norio and Shiramizu Shigehiko on Japanese-language newspapers in Canada [VI-09] examines the relationship between ethnicity and journalism. According to the authors, Japanese newspapers began to appear in Canada in the second half of the nineteenth century as Japanese immigrants arrived and formed their own society, and the newspapers grew with the development of the labor movement and also played a role in maintaining solidarity in the face of forced resettlement during World War II, but since then ostracism of the Japanese has weakened, new immigrants have also declined, and with advances in communications technology there has been less demand for Japanese newspapers. This is because, unlike people of, for example, Italian, German or Ukrainian extraction, Japanese immigrants were relatively few in number because of their harsh history and chose the path of active assimilation, and the authors conclude that "the course taken by Japanese newspapers was a faithful reflection of the history followed by the Japanese in Canada." In addition, there appeared a work on advertizing by Manabe Kazufumi [VI-10].

On social consciousness there appeared, in addition to the compilations by Ishikawa Akihiro and Kawasaki Yoshimoto [V-14], Hara Junsuke [V-17] and Okamoto Hideo and Naoi Michiko [V-19] described in the previous section, a volume compiled by Furuki Toshiaki [VI-11]. This is a sequel to *Sekai shakai no kōzō to dōtai* compiled by Shōji Kōkichi and noted in Vol. 7 of this series ([I-11]), and it presents an analysis of the results of surveys on how realistic Japanese images of world society are. The surveys were of two types: the first was conducted on leading figures in various fields in Okinawa, Hiroshima, Nagasaki, Osaka and Tokyo in 1985-86 and employed the interview method with free-answer questions, while the second was a sampling survey using a written questionnaire that was conducted in 1986 in Yokohama, the twenty-three wards of Tokyo, and Osaka. In view

of the continuing U.S.-Soviet tension at the time, the respondents in the former survey were asked in particular about how to ensure world peace and Japan's future prospects, and their replies show that for Japan, with its pacifist constitution, to develop into an "open nation" there remain major problems to be resolved in regard to relations with the world economy, the character of the state bureaucracy, and decentralization. The results of the second survey are analyzed from various angles with a focus on "Japanese perceptions of 'internationalization'" and "possibilities for a new human consciousness," and in regard to the latter point especially it is shown that at this stage neo-nationalistic consciousness, supported by Japan's economic power, was still strong and people supportive of a human consciousness compatible with the idea of world citizenship were still in the minority. When considering how the social consciousness of the Japanese has changed as a result of major changes in the world situation that have been occurring since the late 1980's, this volume will be of great value as a source of control data on the foregoing period.

Lastly, the book by Sigeki Nishihira and Christine Condominas [VI-12] is an introduction to the social consciousness of the Japanese based on Nishihira's *Yoron chōsa ni yoru dōjidaishi* noted in Vol. 7 of this series ([VI-14]). In addition, mention should also be made of a comparison of the consciousness of company employees in Japan and the United States by Kawakubo Michiko [VI-13] and a depiction of the inner world of child computer nerds, indicative of one aspect of today's youth, by Okuno Takuji [VI-14].

VII. SOCIAL PROBLEMS AND SOCIAL WELFARE

In regard to social problems, there was published first of all a volume edited by Iwauchi Ryōichi [VII-01]. It is an introductory work that covers family problems, social problems relating to women, industrial and labor problems, education problems, urban problems, problems peculiar to information society, problems of internationalization, problems of discrimination against *buraku*, crime problems, and social problems relating to medical care.

Although the omission of separate sections dealing with environmental problems and problems relating to the elderly is cause for some misgivings, it is a useful work for gaining a general grasp of social problems in the "affluent society" of Japan. The book by Yonekawa Shigenobu [VII-02], on the other hand, takes up alienation, anomie, social disorganization and deviant behavior as aspects of social pathology, and in doing so the author is careful to take into account the Marxist current of research on social problems, partly because this is almost a *sine qua non* for any consideration of social pathology in contemporary Japan. Although Yonekawa's use of concepts from the social sciences tends to lack somewhat in precision, he presents a well-balanced view of social pathology in contemporary Japan in which he understands alienation in terms of poverty, materialization and massification, perceives anomic ills in mammonism, overemphasis on educational background, troubles with loans, organized violence and drug abuse, gives not only family disintegration but also regional disintegration, epitomized by depopulation and overpopulation, as examples of social disorganization, and finally examines crime, delinquency and then suicide as instances of deviant behavior. The basic data for demonstrating the actual state of these social ills are also presented, and if one assumes that overwork, destruction of the environment and undignified forms of dying are not social ills, then this book may be said to offer a reasonable overview of social pathology in contemporary Japan.

In contrast with the above two works, the study by Hōgetsu Makoto [VII-03] deals in depth with deviance theory. While examining in detail labeling theory, made famous through H. S. Becker's *Outsiders*, Hōgetsu adds J. Habermas's communicative interaction to E. Goffman's twin concepts of strategic interaction and ritual interaction in order to lend greater sociality to Habermas's perspective circumscribed by the semantic realm, interaction and process, thereby opening our horizons to deviance theory as a theory of social interaction. Although essentially a theoretical work, it is helpful for ascertaining the level of deviance theory in Japan. Similarly, Yoshioka Kazuo's work [VII-04] examines a broader range of labeling theories both in Japan and

overseas and attempts to link them in concrete terms with criminology, but this too is basically a theoretical study. A factual treatment of criminal policy during the Shōwa era is found in a volume edited by Tsuchiya Shin'ichi [VII-05].

If we now consider first of all the question of discrimination as a concrete example of a social problem, we may note a work by Yamada Tomiaki and Yoshii Hiroaki [VII-06] in which, having emphasized the significance of applying ethnomethodology to the decipherment of exclusion and discrimination, the authors attempt to elucidate the manner in which exclusion and discrimination actually occur in the cases of children, the disabled, *buraku*, mental hospitals and women. They reject the method that would generalize questions of exclusion and discrimination in terms of structure and institutions, thereby reducing them to a "general theory of power," and in order to intersubjectively clarify and overcome the exclusion and discrimination that are actually taking place "here and now" they instead stress the need to expose not the naked exercise of power itself but rather the "operations of power" that work to conceal exclusion and discrimination. And since these "operations of power" function especially through the use of language, they are also linked by the authors to labeling theory.

As a more detailed examination of concrete questions of discrimination, the painstaking study by Kanegae Haruhiko [VII-07] deals with the question of *buraku* from the standpoint of the sociology of education, that is to say, with the question of "integration" (*dōwa*) education. Taking the view that the goal of integration education is "liberative scholastic ability" capable of bringing about both the liberation of *buraku* and the reform of a discriminative society, the author not only examines discriminative consciousness in regional society and the state of participation in social "integration" education, but also questions the interrelationship between discrimination and education with reference to the Sayama case, in which the suspect was a person of *buraku* origins, and considers the discriminative consciousness towards *buraku* in various stages and facets of school education and the nature of integration education. Next, the two books by Fukuoka Yasunori and Tsujiyama Yukiko [VII-08, 09] are both fine studies which

describe how Korean residents in Japan of especially the younger generation suffer from identity problems as they are confronted with various forms of discrimination and how they live searching for the "real me" while being torn between the two choices of assimilation with or alienation from Japanese society and culture. Using the life-history method, the authors throw into relief the lives of people who, although afflicted by a fear of using their Korean names, the sense of a lack of ethnic substance and the perception that second-generation naturalized immigrants of Korean extraction are still Koreans, have nevertheless chosen to use their Korean names and are endeavoring to bring about "a society in which Koreans can live as Koreans." The work by Asaka Junko *et al.* [VII-10] carefully follows the lives of disabled people who live away from home and outside institutions and analyzes modern society as an ingenious apparatus which in certain respects leaves these people to their own devices but in other respects actively intervenes in their lives (by means that include labeling). One learns through these studies that the methods for studying exclusion and discrimination sociologically not only involve consciousness research and life histories but have also developed to include what might be termed apparatus analysis.

Moving on to social problems that arise between man and nature or human nature, there appeared in regard to environmental problems an enlarged edition of a compilation by Torigoe Hiroyuki and Kada Yukiko [VII-11]. There was also brought out by Nudeshima Jirō the first full-fledged study of the social problems surrounding brain death and organ transplants from the standpoint of sociology [VII-12]. Starting from the premise that whereas the debates over brain death in the United States have revolved around the relationship between the brain and the soul, in Japan the issue has been complicated by the fact that the personality tends to be understood in the context of social relations, Nudeshima examines contemporary funeral rites in order to ascertain traditional views of life and death in Japan, and although noting that attachment to the body in connection with body donation and organ transplant has in a certain sense begun to disappear on a social level, he maintains that there are still many

institutional problems that must be resolved before organ transplants premised on brain death are performed with social consent in Japan. This work deserves to be highly appraised as a pioneering study offering many suggestions for future research.

On the subject of school absenteeism, which has become a major social problem in connection with education, there appeared a book by Morita Yōji [VII-13]. Rather than using the term "refusal to attend school," which implies will on the part of the pupil, Morita adopts the term "school absenteeism" as a broader concept referring to a more general "inability" to attend school, and on the basis of a survey of citizens' consciousness in Osaka and a nationwide sampling survey of second-year middle school pupils and their teachers he discusses the actual circumstances of absentee pupils and the significance that the problem of absenteeism holds for contemporary society. Whereas on the one hand school society has become more visible and is becoming more like a panopticon, on the other hand the culmination of the modernizing process in the form of individualism is also penetrating into schools, and Morita postulates that in a not inconsiderable number of cases absenteeism arises from the pupil's loss of social bonds, as described in bond theory, and he also recommends a reexamination of the structural basis of "privacy" in Japanese society and schools. This work should be referred to in conjunction with another study by Morita and Matsuura Yoshimitsu [VII-14].

In regard to questions of health and medical care, there appeared a volume compiled by the Japanese Society of Health and Medical Sociology [VII-15]. Representing the results of studies by this society, which was established in 1989, it contains in all twenty-one papers and essays divided into five sections and dealing with the common theme of "Urbanization, Internationalization and Issues in Health and Medical Care." Part 1 ("The Internationalization of Cities and Health Problems") deals with the health problems of foreign workers, prejudices against AIDS and the quality of life of AIDS victims; Part 2 ("The Living Environment of Urban Culture and Health Problems") examines on the basis of various data public health policies, the relationship between city life on the one hand and health and average life expectancy on the

other, and the health problems of city residents at home and at work; Part 3 ("Health and Welfare Problems in an Increasingly Urbanized Society") discusses in concrete terms infectious diseases, mental health, childrens' stress and home care; and Part 4 ("Cities as Regional Societies and Health Problems") deals in particular with urbanization in Okinawa and concomitant health problems. All in all, this volume provides a useful survey of the state of health and medical problems in contemporary Japan and of trends in the sociology of health and medical care grappling with these issues. The book by Shindō Yūzō [VII-16] is an introduction to medical sociology, and on the premise that the sociology of medicine or health and sociology in medicine or health are gradually merging, he traces historical developments up until the present time and classifies the analytical categories of medical sociology into the role of the sick, behavior associated with illness, doctor-patient relations, the doctor as a medical specialist, the hospital as a medical organization, and medicalization. Although focussing on the results of research in the United States, this work also suggests directions for future research in Japan.

In the field of social welfare, a major yield of this period concerning general theory was the collection of papers compiled by the Japan College of Social Work [VII-17]. This volume was compiled in commemoration of the move by this school, founded in 1946 in Shinjuku, Tokyo, to a new campus in Kiyose, also in Tokyo, in 1989, and it contains a total of seventeen papers divided into the following three parts: "The Functional Development of Social Welfare and the Establishment of Methods," "The Institutional Organization of Social Welfare and an Integrated Environment" and "The Research Methods of Social Welfare and Educational Issues." Although it contains approaches not only from sociology but also from psychology, pedagogy and economics, chapters such as Chapter 7 "Social Welfare 'Reform' and Its Theoretical Basis" (Miura Fumio), Chapter 9 "Social Welfare Reform and Issues in the Revision of the Social Services Law" (Abe Minoru) and Chapter 13 "The Possibilities of Welfare Clinical Studies and Welfare Management Studies" (Kyōgoku

Takanobu) are instructive for the information that they provide on the actual state of social welfare and social welfare research in contemporary Japan. As an example of a book by a single author, the study by Mieno Takashi [VII-18] reconsiders the "quality of life" in the context of the reexamination of the meaning of culture that is occurring with advanced informationalization, and having enriched and extended its connotations and denotations so that they match more closely the realities of contemporary society, he discusses "social security as the basis of the quality of life." In comments that merit attention, he points out that as expenditure on social security benefits continues to rise in an advanced information society, welfare should be extended in the direction not of "exclusion" but of "normalization," and that rather than aiming at a "welfare state" dependent primarily upon state finances and policies, there is a need to provide livelihood security directed towards the creation of a "welfare society" that also utilizes local government, private-sector activities and market mechanisms, thereby improving the quality of life. In addition, there was also published a textbook-type work edited by Ōyama Hiroshi and Takegawa Shōgo [VII-19] in which younger researchers attempt to develop a new theory of social welfare based on British conceptions of social policy and social administration.

Lastly, in regard to questions concerning the aged and welfare for the aged, issues of increasing importance in an aging society, there appeared a report compiled by the Social Development Research Institute [VII-20]. This is a report on a follow-up survey (undertaken in 1984-85) of a survey conducted in 1973 in the city of Kakegawa in Shizuoka prefecture. It first describes and analyzes changes in the life structure of the middle-aged in relation to changes in family structure (in particular, whether they live together with or apart from their children), public pensions, income levels, economic circumstances, employment and retirement, aging and health, nursing and care, and their degree of satisfaction with life, and then it goes on to describe and analyze changes in the structure of the household expenses of the elderly in the context of general trends, sources of income and consumer behavior, food expenses, health and medical expenses, and social security. This

detailed report, which implies that cohabitation of the elderly with the family of one of their children, a practice encouraged in Japanese-style welfare society theory, involves many problems, especially when those concerned have been living apart for some time previously, provides valuable material on the actual state of Japan's aging society. Next, the compilation by Hamaguchi Haruhiko and Sagaza Haruo [VI-21] is a collection of papers which characterizes the aging society of the future as an "age of mass longevity" and examines the quality of life in such an age with respect to food, clothing and shelter, time theory, and lifestyle. It is pointed out, for example, that sex life holds an importance for the quality of life of the aged that must be squarely confronted and that in a time theory for an age of mass longevity there is a need, based on the concept of "lifelong wages," to pay positive attention to sport and leisure, and not only does this volume contain various discussions such as these reflecting distinctive features of Japanese society, but it also includes a comparison of Tokyo and Osaka in regard to longevity and the quality of life and the results of lifestyle surveys conducted in the cities of Tokorozawa and Chichibu in Saitama prefecture, thus providing much information of interest to those wishing to study Japanese society from this angle.

On welfare for the aged, there appeared a book by Matsumura Naomichi [VII-22] in which the author first discusses the position and implementation of welfare for the aged in regional welfare and then examines the occupational life and welfare problems of middle-aged workers in Hitachi in Ibaraki prefecture, the group structure and organization of welfare volunteers, and the formation of business groups for the employment of the elderly. In regard to the patterns of social activity of the elderly, it is shown that there has been a gradual shift in a positive direction from viewing the elderly as objects of social exclusion to treating them as recipients of social services, then as subjective agents of social participation, and finally as subjective agents of self-realization as elderly citizens, and thus this work is helpful for acquainting oneself with developments in welfare theory for the aged in Japan. Finally, the volume edited by Naoi Michiko and Hashimoto Masaaki [VII-23] explains and examines welfare for the aged in

Japan from the viewpoint that there is “a need for a new setup in a new society” and in accordance with the two principles of not only describing the system but also considering its realities on the basis of actual cases and of considering welfare for the aged in relation to other welfare activities and social trends. It should provide suggestions for studying the realities of problems concerning the aged in contemporary Japan, the administrative and financial structure that supports welfare for the aged, the actual state of welfare services for the aged, the system of health care for the aged and its realities, new trends in recent years, and prospects for an aging society in the twenty-first century.

VIII. CULTURAL TRANSFORMATION AND SOCIAL CHANGE

In this final section I wish to consider signs of social change and the possibilities for social movements by examining changes in popular culture, religious phenomena, the movements of marginal members of society such as women and the young, and sports culture.

On the subject of popular culture in an earlier period, there was published a collection of materials on manners, popular vogues, daily life and sex during the Meiji era compiled by Ogi Shinzō, Kumakura Isao and Ueno Chizuko [VIII-01]. It contains contemporary documents relating to attempts by the state and by intellectuals to improve manners, anti-enlightenment and anti-manners thought, the study of manners, popular vogues, accounts of prosperous business, daily life, students, married couples and the home, women's occupations, gender, and the framework of sex, all of absorbing interest. The expository comments on each topic are also instructive, and in particular the commentary on sex by Ueno, divided into three sections on the birth of the Japanese-style modern family, Enlightenment sexology and gender theory during the Enlightenment period, is an outstanding exposition in which she clarifies on the basis of much documentary evidence the process whereby the idea of equal rights for both sexes put forward during the Enlightenment period gradually disappeared during the Meiji era while nationalistic ideas of womanly virtues were used to

justify the sexual division of labor within the modern family, resulting in gender theories that advocated different rights, or at best a “different equality,” for both sexes by “justifying under the guise of scientism the division of labor between men and women both within and without the home.” Next, the compilation by Minami Hiroshi and the Institute of Social Psychology [VIII-02] is a sequel to the work noted in Vol. 7 of the present series ([VIII-05]) and it deals with Shōwa culture from Japan’s defeat in 1945 until the change in era name from Shōwa to Heisei in 1989. Questioning the “postwar responsibility of Shōwa culture,” editor Minami is unsparing in his comments that “the 63-odd years of Shōwa culture represent a historical exemplar of the axiom that a poor beginning makes a poor ending” and that the postwar history of the Shōwa era “demonstrated that as long as there is an emperor system in Japan there will be no complete freedom of speech, nor can there be a democratic culture in any true sense.” But it is questionable whether in content this work is underpinned throughout by unrelentingly critical analysis matching the scathing stance of the foreword. The culture of daily life is discussed with reference to the establishment of the Japanese modern lifestyle, the establishment of a consumptive society, conditions surrounding sex in postwar Japan, and the dreams and realities of postwar women, while information culture is dealt with in terms of broadcasting during the Allied Occupation, high economic growth and television culture, the manner in which publishers coped with the postwar era, and the path taken by the modernization of “advertising transactions,” and mass culture is considered through the history and psychology of films, the genealogy of postwar popular songs, pleasure trips, and travel. Insofar that this work is devoted to culture, one feels that the science, art and thought of this period should also have been dealt with more seriously, but nevertheless in regard to the above three forms of culture it also contains a bibliography of important reference works and a chronological table, and so it will be a must for study of culture, especially mass culture, during the Shōwa era.

On postwar culture there was also published a volume edited by Yasuda Tsuneo and Amano Masako [VIII-03]. It records the

experiences of fifteen people representative of various specialties and backgrounds and ranging from mathematicians to scholars of religion whose youth coincided with the Occupation period, and it is useful for acquainting oneself with social and cultural conditions in postwar Japan. In regard to cultural conditions in contemporary Japan there appeared a volume edited by Shimada Hiromi [VIII-04]. It analyzes the process in which intercultural contacts have become more complex in a society of increasing internationalization and informationalization, thus necessitating methods of communication differing from existing methods, and it defines Japan, with her tendency to stand isolated in the international arena, as an “*otaku* state,” resembling young people who, unable to adjust to these new circumstances, retire within their own world, adopting a distant attitude towards other people by using the somewhat aloof second-person pronoun *otaku*, and avoid relating to others. Notwithstanding the fact that the superficiality of this type of interpretation is cause for some concern, the analyses by the contributing young sociologists are instructive, for they compare the United States, China and Japan, which they associate with individualism, relationism and groupism respectively, and from this perspective they then compare rules of communication, the occurrence of communication gaps, the formation of corporate organizations and modes of participation, and forms of corporate integration. Although comparisons of Western individualism and Japanese groupism are commonplace, the further comparison of these with Chinese relationism, which attaches great importance to “face,” could be regarded as a new viewpoint that merits consideration.

Next, turning our attention to religion, we find that the foremost achievement of this period was without a doubt the publication of an encyclopaedia compiled by Inoue Nobutaka *et al.* [VIII-05]. This brings together in one volume the knowledge hitherto accumulated on new religions in modern and contemporary Japan, and it describes in great detail the various new religions that have appeared since the end of the *bakufu* and the Meiji Restoration down to the present age with reference to the eight subject headings of origins and history, founder, organization, teachings and philos-

ophy, practices, facilities, relations with society, and relations with foreign cultures. Although the majority of new religions have until now not been treated of seriously, their members are said to account for ten or even twenty percent of the population, and through the academic study of these religions the compilers of this encyclopaedia attempt to shed light on the desires and hopes present in the lives of the general populace. The concluding section of materials includes lists of religious groups and their founders and leaders, laws and regulations related to religion, a bibliography, academic journals, and a list of abbreviated names of religious groups, and it is an indispensable guide for researchers of Japanese new religions. In addition, the work by Araki Michio *et al.* [VIII-06] discusses religious booms in the context of modernization, and leading religious scholars set forth their views and debate amongst themselves on a number of interesting topics, all of which are most instructive. For example, Araki views new religions as forms of folk religion; Nishiyama points out that during the Taishō era, when the modernization of the Meiji era had come to an end, and during the 1970s, when postwar modernization had come to a provisional end, there appeared new religions employing techniques for controlling spirits, and he perceives therein a reaction to modernization on the part of the populace; Ōhama points to the need to pay attention to the distinctive means and motives of Japanese who have converted to Christianity; and Ōmura argues that unexpected postmodern trends are emerging in established religious groups such as the Jōdo Shin sect. In addition, there also appeared a study by Suzuki Masataka [VIII-07] of mountain cults and mountain asceticism (*shugendō*) still to be found in various parts of Japan and a sociological inquiry into the historical development of Christianity by Take Kuniyasu [VIII-08].

On the subject of youth, there appeared *inter alia* an examination of contemporary youth from the perspectives of independence and networking techniques by Shibano Shōzan [VIII-09] and a volume edited by Takahashi Yūetsu and Fujimura Masayuki [VIII-10] which discusses youth culture in contemporary Japan from the three aspects of the sacred, profane and playful.

In regard to women, there was published first of all a collection

of basic materials by the Statistics Bureau of the Management and Coordination Agency [VIII-11]. This monograph, authored by Sagaza Haruo, discusses the social status of Japanese women on the basis of the 1985 census, and following an introduction which touches on the sex ratio of the Japanese population and longevity, it deals comprehensively with the marital status of women, the position of women within the household, the employment of women, and women and education. It includes much useful information, such as, for example, the fact that whereas the ratio of women entering junior colleges and universities surpassed that of men in 1988-89 (from 37.2% v. 36.2% to 35.8% v. 36.8%), there was still a large difference in the numbers entering universities only (34.0% v. 14.5% [1989]). Next, the work by Ogino Miho *et al.* [VIII-12] represents an attempt by women researchers to gain a grasp of women themselves from a socio-historical perspective, and Sembon Akiko's study of the formation of the sexual division of roles in Japan, based on an analysis of a housekeeping survey, and Ochiai Emiko's analysis of the modernization of childbirth in Japan, based on a midwife's life history, are useful for understanding Japanese women in a historical context.

On feminism there appeared a volume edited by Hirowatari Seigo *et al.* [VIII-13] and books by Oda Motoko [VIII-14] and Ehara Yumiko [VIII-15]. The work by Hirowatari *et al.* is the record of a joint seminar conducted at a university, and a distinctive feature of this work is its attempt to universalize feminism, with male researchers specializing in law and the history of thought also taking part. Oda, on the other hand, sets out to bring some order to the convoluted debates about feminism by applying system theory. She seeks to relativize the sometimes radical statements of feminists within patterns of relationships based on evolutionary theory in an attempt to strike some sort of balance, but there will doubtless be objections to the orientation of her pessimistic view of the future of human liberation in an ecologically reduced equilibrium. By way of contrast, Ehara's book, partly influenced by Ueno's aforementioned work [III-06], insists upon the continuing need to expose sexual control grounded in patriarchy, and it is an important work for reconfirming the well-

being of radical feminism in Japan. As will be evident from the above works, it is still in this field that sociology as pursued for the sake of social movements is most active in Japan.

The sociology of sport has also been burgeoning, and there were published compilations by Sugawara Rei [VIII-16] and Kameyama Yoshiaki [VIII-17] and a book by Nakamura Toshio [VIII-18]. The volume edited by Kameyama is divided into three parts, dealing with sport in contemporary society, social problems and sport, and leads for sports research, and the contributors discuss, for example, the social functions of sports such as professional baseball, marathons, golf and *sumō* wrestling, which with the help of television and other mass media enjoy overwhelming popularity among the Japanese, and the question of "health as a symptom of uneasiness," thought to underlie the sports boom. The book by Nakamura considers problems associated with contemporary sports, distorted by "artificiality," in terms of the inverse functions of the observance of rules, which lies at the very heart of sport, and it is a controversial work by an experienced sportsman arguing for the need to restore to sport its natural qualities. When one considers that sport has often been used as a means for giving release to desires and frustration, more wide-ranging studies of topics such as these should no doubt be undertaken in connection with cultural transformation and social movements too.

Finally, taking into account all of the above as we turn to social movements, we find that the foremost and virtually only achievement in this field during the period under review was a volume compiled by the Social Movements Theory Study Group [VIII-19]. Entitled *Shakai undō no tōgō o mezashite*, this work is divided into two parts devoted to theory and analysis respectively. In Part 1, dealing with theoretical issues, the resource mobilization theory and "new social movement" theory, which have emerged in the United States and Europe respectively since the 1970s, are compared, and while probing the possibilities of integrating the two, the contributors attempt to define their own perspective on movement theories that have emerged anew in Japan with regard to environmental and other movements. But perhaps because of the generational characteristics of the contributing researchers, the

discussions as a whole tend towards resource mobilization theory. In Part 2, devoted to analyses, an overall analysis of social movements in postwar Japan is followed by reports on, for example, a grass-roots citizens' movement in Musashino, Tokyo, which relies on networking, a residents' movement of the livelihood-autonomy type which grew with the aim of opposing the construction of accommodation units for U. S. army personnel at Ikego in Kanagawa prefecture, and the activities of certain disabled people which developed from a self-help group movement into a movement involving other people too. According to Kajita Takamichi's analysis, in which Japan since the period of high economic growth is defined as a "development state," Japan's postwar social movements, focussing on ideological confrontation, rejected "distinctively Japanese qualities" up until the early stages of high economic growth, but with the advent of an "affluent society" and under the influence of citizens' movements and university disturbances they assumed the characteristics of a new type of social movement, and after having thriven in the form of anti-pollution movements and residents' movements as protests against the "development state," they developed on the one hand, in fitting with the "era of regionalism," from indictment to community formation, while on the other hand they also began to emerge, in fitting with "internationalization," as minority movements supporting women, ethnic minorities and other minority groups. Although this analysis is a little too neatly formulated, it does help one grasp the general trends of social movements in postwar Japan.

When considered in this light, it would seem that the "eye of the storm" of social movements in contemporary Japan is dimly taking shape within the triangle formed by feminism, the question of foreign workers, and regional revitalization movements.

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