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A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF CONFORMISM IN JAPAN
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University of Hawaii, Ph.D., 1976
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A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF CONFORMISM IN JAPAN AND THE UNITED STATES

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE DIVISION OF THE UNIVERSITY OF HAWAII IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

IN AMERICAN STUDIES

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BY

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this dissertation is to compare conformism in Japan and the United States. In this analysis, the author tries to elucidate the mechanisms by which conformism becomes a recognizable tendency in Japanese and American cultures even though each society holds quite different sets of primary values. In Japan, these are group-orientatedness, sedentariness and achievement for in-group; in the United States, they are individualism, geographical mobility and personal achievement. This study tries not only to clarify the difference in conformism in Japan and the United States but also to offer speculations about future modalities of conformity in each culture.

In America, the above-mentioned core values tend to separate human beings from their primary groups, which can result in insecurity and loneliness. Being social animals, human beings need association with other human beings—a group or groups of affiliated people—among whom they can enjoy companionships and feel satisfied, esteemed and relaxed. In his efforts to affiliate himself with such group or groups, the American, though believing in the primary individualistic values, tries to cover such character traits in order to attune himself to such group's (in-group's) will or expectations rather than employing his autonomous judgment. American conformism is consequently not a deep-rooted value but a protective device, an expedient.

In Japan, the in-group is indispensable for ones' survival, security and happiness. Because of the importance attached to the in-group, the
maintenance of harmonious relationships among the members of the group takes priority over almost every other consideration. The Japanese core values seem to encourage and strengthen the importance of the group and the group affiliation. Unanimous agreements are always sought to reach and to express unwillingness or contradictory opinion is greatly disfavored. Conformism is thus attained willingly, voluntarily and almost spontaneously. Conformism in Japan seems not to be an outward, superficial protective device, or an expedient or a complement but rather a deeply-rooted, positive, central and value-laden character quality (or "value" item).

In American society, the shift of emphasis in the economy from production to consumption, the shift the individual to group control of the corporation, and the interdependency not only among organizations but among other aspects of society, all tend to increase the consciousness to other persons or groups. In Japanese society, the recent decrease in importance of mutual assistance among the members, of household as a functioning economic unit, and various reforms initiated since the end of World War II seem now to encourage the respect for the individual, autonomy and independence, freedom and equality and full development of individual personality.

American conformism thus may reflect a more positive and voluntary quality, in the future, Japanese characterological adjustments to the future - including a decrease in in-group dependencies - may show a rather expedient and unvoluntary nature.
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PREFACE

The reader should take note of two important considerations in the preparation of this work.

First, the entire work is conceived within the framework of the concept of culture. This means that while it contains many generalizations about Japan and the U.S., the remarks of the author are not to be taken as sweeping universal judgments. They do not claim to cover all members of the populations of the societies being studied. They are generalizations about central tendencies, and must not be taken to claim more than that.

Second, there has been a rise in the last fifteen years within the United States of a suspicion that a new social pluralism is developing in the United States. Mention is made, for example, of movements connected with a heightened sense of ethnic identity. There is no denying that some aspects of conformism in the United States are being either challenged or re-shaped by these tendencies. This study, however, while not denying these developments, does not take the responsibility for evaluating their impact upon the major propositions offered here. For the purpose of this study, it is a bit too early to attempt to do that in a scholarly fashion.
CHAPTER I  INTRODUCTION

This attempt to analyze a character trait of the Japanese and Americans on the basis of the primary values is to be made on the following understanding of culture, value, personality, and approach.

Integratedness

Culture is a well-integrated entity. Various aspects of a culture are, therefore, functionally linked with each other. Because of this integratedness, no culture can be reasonably separated into parts and be comprehended veritably. This interrelatedness among various parts of a culture is clearly demonstrated by the fact that once a certain change is brought about in an aspect of a culture, it will have an impact in every other part of the culture. This fact may explain why recent studies of cultures attempt to understand a broader range of cultural phases. Some anthropologists, for instance, take greater interest in making the integral nature

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1 Francis L. K. Hsu asserts: "Each society is a more or less organized whole unless there is an active revolution which threatens to pull it asunder." See The Study of Literate Civilizations (New York: Holt, Rinehard and Winston, 1969), p. 42.


of various aspects of a culture clear. In other words, a study about a single phase of a culture seems to mean little unless it is dealt in connection with the whole framework of the culture.

Even in the case of a so-called community study, care must be taken so that the interrelations of a community and the entire culture be put under close and systematic scrutiny. in studying literate civilizations, Francis L. K. Hsu claims, "one can no more confine oneself to a village or local phenomenon than to the high scriptures and philosophies." and actually, "many of the facts pertaining to the large literate society," he maintains, "cannot help but come to his [any scholar's] attention even when he tries to avoid them," because "any scholar working on China or India," for example, "is likely to have known something about Chinese history or Indian art through writings by nonanthropologists." In fact, such a connection between a local community and the nation as a whole has been considered as the ultimate aim of a small rice-growing settlement study done by Richard K. Beardsley, John W. Hall and Robert E. Ward. They assert: "The point has now reached at which Niiike may be set against the background of rural life in Japan as a whole so that its more general and typical features may be seen in perspective." Con-

\(^5\)Francis L. K. Hsu, *op. cit.*, p. 2. R. P. Dore, discussing the transferability of Japanese forms of industrial organizations such as a Japanese-type organization-oriented welfare corporationism, etc., claims that "It is necessary . . . to look at their interrelations with the other institutions of their respective societies" because one cannot evaluate them in isolation. See *British Factory*--*Japanese Factory* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973), p. 279.


\(^7\)Francis L. K. Hsu, *op. cit.*, pp. 49, 48.

sequently, if an anthropologist stops his statement at saying that "In American culture the dwelling house has opaque walls," he does not mean much.

He must also attempt to ascertain the bearing of the opaque walls of the dwelling house on the American pattern of family relationship, on American class status symbolism, and so forth—in other words, the place of the opaque walls of the American dwelling house in the larger context of American society and culture.9

Then, what is the "cramp" which interrelates the various aspects of a culture? It must be the value system of the culture. Many social scientists and anthropologists explain that concept in diverse phrases: "some design for living," "the fundamental orientation," "certain general principles of grouping," "some sort of law . . . to guide group coherence," "the core of culture," and "a frame of assumptions and system of symbols," just to name a few randomly.10 Though their ways of expression are full of variety, they fundamentally mean in their phraseology something like, "guiding principles of conduct" (when your eyes are on the people) or "framework for grouping" (when you are primarily concerned with the society)—which could be used properly according to one's point of view.

9Francis L. K. Hsu, op. cit., p. 47.

In fact, some scholars define the value system as "a large body of basic, common ideas, attitudes and expectations which provides the average man with his bearings in dealing with his fellow countrymen." And some psychologically oriented anthropologists define it as "common psychological patterns which underlie and unite the disparate aspects of each civilization." And it is generally assumed that such principles of conduct and the framework for grouping have been formed gradually in each culture through a common physical and social milieu, such as geographic locality weather, a common history with its victories and defeats, common economic advantages and disadvantages, common political ethics, many customs and sociological elements, such as language, and sometimes religion—in a word, through common experiences. The framework or the principles of a culture are considered to consist of a uniquely and distinctively combined value items. Therefore, even though one or some specific value items of a certain culture may be shared with other cultures, because of the uniqueness of the combination of the value items of


respective cultures, each culture takes a distinctive pattern or style. Since the pattern of culture (the unique combination of value items) exists, on account of the spra-imposing nature of the "cramo," on a high level of abstraction, a student of culture must lift his sights instead of being blinded by the details of a culture. With such over-all pattern of a culture at hand, we can use it as a point of reference in examining the divergent phases and factors of the culture. Such point of reference is especially indispensable for understanding the whole culture because of the value system, due to its over-all nature, exert a molding power on the entire culture, shaping every phase of the lives of the members. Accordingly, American ideas of equality, for instance, is recognizable, not only among citizens in the civic life, but also as an ideal among the family members. And, if certain attitudes and principles and patterns of social relations are observed in the place of work, they

16Francis L. K. Hsu, Americans and Chinese, p. 402.
17Francis L. K. Hsu, The Study of Literate Civilization, p. 46.
19David M. Potter, People of Plenty: Economic Abundance and the American Character, p. 193.
are likely to have something in common with those found in other aspects of the society. 20 As a result, "irrespective of region, national origin, race, class, and sex, there are points of likeness that will occur more frequently than among groups of people in other countries."21 Looking from a different angle, it could be stated that once we have grasped the authentic value system of a certain culture, an apparent contradictory phenomena of a culture, or seemingly contradictory character items of a people in a culture, may be incorporated consistently in the framework of the system.

This assumption seems to be very similar to the concept of "subsumption" proposed by Maurice L. Farber. According to him, if "a single concept appears successfully to subsume a number of discrete (sic) social phenomena, or at least to interrelate them," the concept may be a plausible one because "In mature sciences, such subsumption is successful and precise." The "general concept," used by Geoffrey Gorer, he maintains, "does succeed with a certain plausibility in subsuming and relating many of the specific descriptions of American character." So that, though "Methodological evaluation of this curious state of affairs is difficult," he concludes, "In the study of 'the seamless web of culture' the method of plausible subsumption may indeed be a valuable social


science research tool."

Going one step further, Francis L. K. Hsu claims that such subsumption is the basic maxim of science:

The fundamental axiom of science is to explain more and more facts by fewer and fewer theories. Anyone can explain all characteristics of a given situation with as many different theories, but his explanation will not be of value as a piece of work of science. It might be close to a factual description. Or it might be close to fantasy or rationalization. The axiom of explaining more and more facts by fewer and fewer theories is especially crucial if the facts are obviously related, as when they occur in the same organized society and often among and in the same individual.

Since the value system is the basic principle of conduct or framework for grouping—the fundamentals of a culture or society—it would be worthwhile and rewarding for a student of culture to venture into this area of study, say, a study of a characteristic or characteristics of a people resting its foundation on the value system.

The value system functions as an integrator of a society, because without fundamental set of values, which give meaning to each institution, the different institutions like family, work groups, legal and political structure, and religion might stand against each other. In other words, continuation of the society and its values is inseparably linked with each other. Therefore, so long as the society is not experiencing

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or has not experienced an upheaval or a revolution, its value system is expected to last without a break. Clearly, I am not denying the possibility of changes in values, but it would be safe to say that the change, if it had not been for a revolution, is a matter of, say, a century not a decade. "... the institutions, values, and emotions of a culture," Jules Henry claims even further, "are so amalgamated that fundamental changes become almost unthinkable."\(^{25}\) It would be, accordingly, necessary for a student of culture to "distinguish between the froth of passing awards and the deeper, more persistent habits and patterns which mark a way of life,"\(^{26}\) because otherwise he is likely to be blinded by the striking and eye-catching changes in technology and economic life of a society in the same manner as he may be dazed by changes in superficial life habits and in surface philosophies.\(^{27}\) From a practical point of view, in case of a comparative study, it would be more fruitful to handle the


persistent phase of a culture. "In a scientific cross-cultural comparison," Chie Nakane declares, "the constants are dealt with more effectively; aspects of change are more attractive for the description of the picture of a culture alone."28

As I mentioned earlier, since the system of values maintained by a culture exert a molding effect upon the character of individual members of the culture, it could be safely assumed that personality is mainly the product of cultural conditioning.29 And the conditioning is usually done successfully through the process of so-called enculturation. Accordingly, it would be almost next to impossible for the individual who is living in a culture to stay outside of the molding power of the value system, which works as the guiding principles of conduct or the framework for grouping, so long as he remains in the culture. "Men who have accepted a system of values by which to live," Ruth Benedict declares, "cannot without courting inefficiency and chaos keep for long a fenced-off portion of their

28Chie Nakane, op. cit., pp. 148, 149. Clyde Kluckhohn and Henry A. Murray, moreover, emphasize the importance of uniformities rather than individual uniqueness: "... for general scientific purposes the observation of uniformities of elements and uniformities of patterns, is of first importance. This is so because without the discovery of uniformities there can be no concepts, no classifications, no formations, no principles, no laws; and without these no science can exist." See "Personality Formation: The Determinants," in Personality in Nature, Society, and Culture, ed. Clyde Kluckhorn and Henry A. Murray (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1953) pp. 55, 56.

29Francis L. K. Hsu, Americans and Chinese, pp. 72, 73. Richard K. Beardsley states that "the character of one's environment is clearly vastly important to the structuring of personality." See "Personality Psychology," in Twelve Doors to Japan, by John W. Hall and Richard K. Beardsley, p. 353.
lives where they think and behave according to a contrary set of values. "\(^{30}\)

This occurs because each culture rewards to those of its members who act in accordance with its customary patterns of behavior, and it punishes those who do not. \(^{31}\) The greater the significance of the values is, moreover, the harder it would be for the members not, to adapt themselves to the values. Rewards and punishment given to the individuals by a culture are in proportion to the importance it attaches to the values. \(^{32}\) Because of this enculturation process, a close similarity between the value system and the character configuration of the people is achieved. In fact, these two seem to be the both sides of the same coin. Pointing out the similarity of the knowledge of history and behavioral sciences--both are quite capable of differentiating the characteristics of a single large group from the traits of people in other groups--David M. Potter comments on the affinity of the two aspects of a culture:

> When the historian observes this differentiation, he is prone to speak, perhaps very imprecisely, of "national character." When the behavioral scientist observes it, he talks of "culture patterns" and "personality norms." But in many cases they are speaking of the same thing. \(^{33}\)

**Perpetuity**

So long as the society continues without a break, the value system

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\(^{31}\)Francis L. K. Hsu, *op. cit.*, p. 73.


\(^{33}\)David M. Potter, *People of Plenty*, p. xvii.
and the character traits of the people are handed down from generation to generation successfully. It is exactly in this sense that Margaret Mead states that "Our behavior, good or bad, our strength and our weakness are the resultant of the choices, voluntary and involuntary, of those who have gone before us."34 As soon as a baby is born, he is usually situated in the family. Family is a social institution, and the social interrelation of the newly born child and the members of the culture is primarily carried out. There all the important patterns of culture are transmitted from his parents, his siblings, his relatives, and his nurses to the child.35 David M. Potter, referring to the authoritarian child rearing practices, points out the ties between the family and the society as large:

... the fact is that the authoritarian discipline of the child, within the authoritarian family, was but an aspect of the authoritarian social system that was liked with the economy of scarcity. Such a regime could never have been significantly relaxed within the family so long as it remained diagnostic in the society. Nor could it have remained unmodified within the family, once society began to abandon it in other spheres.36

After primarily being reared in a given fashion by those already enculturated members in the family, the child is put in a larger cultural

34 Margaret Mead, *And Keep Your Powder Dry* (New York: William and Morrow Company, 1965), p. 120.

35 Ibid., p. 38. David Riesman also comments on the connection of the child with the society: "... these early years cannot be seen in isolation from the structure of society, which affects the parents who raise the children, as well as the children directly." See *The Lonely Crowd* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1961), p. 4.

36 David M. Potter, *People of Plenty*, p. 204.
environment and is further molded in the cultural patterns by adults belonging to the culture, 37 and eventually he acquires a fixed character. 38

Ruth Benedict claims:

... From the moment of his birth the customs into which he is born shape his experience and behavior. By the time he can talk, he is the little creature of his culture, and by the time he is grown and able to take part in its activities, its habits are his habits, its beliefs his beliefs, its impossibilities his impossibilities. 39

As for this enculturation process, moreover, there would be no difference between a native born child and a foreign born one, so long as a foreign born child is reared by foster parents since the very beginning of his babyhood. Accordingly,

A child of Euro-American parents who spent his infancy and childhood with a Chinese family would grow up to be culturally Chinese. In language, ideals, preferences, even in the way he walked and held himself, he would be Chinese, a product of the thought and behavior of those who had reared him (emphasis added). 40

Configuration of Values

As he grows older, he passes through other social institutions such as peer groups, schools, work places, communities, etc., which he happens to be a member of and which are directly under the control of the same value system of the culture. Through these institutions he receives


38 Margaret Mead, op. cit., p. 21.


further character forming influence. Those social institutions, however, do not exert equal molding influence upon the individual. Because of the intimate and intense relationships between the parents and the child, together with the fact that a baby is tabula rasa when it is born, the family, without question, exercises the greatest impact upon the child's personality. Francis L. K. Hsu claims that "childhood experiences, or at least the early family constellations in which the individual finds himself, have a great deal to do with the formation of a personality orientation which then is congruent with the over-all pattern of the culture."  

Thus, owing to the upbringing by the parents already enculturated, a continuous interaction between a family and the culture, strengthening with each other, and later to direct influence of the culture upon the individual, the continuity of the culture is successfully achieved.

If we divide the value system of a culture into "core" values and "peripheral" values for convenience sake, it would be almost impossible, as noted earlier, for the members of the culture to stay outside the greatest molding influence of the core values, and consequently, there would be quite a high degree of uniformity among the characteristics of the members which have been molded by the core values. As for the peripheral values, however, since the molding effect is not strong enough to bring about unity among the character traits formed under the influence

42Jules Henry, Culture Against Man, p. 238.
of the peripheral values. Or I should state that since the culture does not require so rigid a uniformity in case of peripheral values, there is some room where regional, occupational, institutional, and ethnic differences may creep into the values to cause some variation in personality traits molded by the varied values among the members of the culture. A figurative illustration would help clear up this point:

A concentric circle means the character (or value) configuration of the individual member of a culture, A, B, C, . . . respectively. The area represented by the numeral (1) shows core character (or value); and the core character traits (or value items) are indicated by a, b, and c. The portion encircling the core character (or value), which is shown by the numeral (2), is the peripheral character (or value) area; and the peripheral character traits (or value items) are marked by d, e, and f. The outermost portion of each character configuration circle shows "personal" character (or value) area; and the "personal" character traits (or value items) are represented by, for the simplification purpose, only one inclusive symbol such as (g), (h), (i), etc. Those "personal" character traits (or value items) are formed through each individual's unique
experiences, independently of the influence of the core and peripheral values and, therefore, are not so important in my present consideration. The solid line between the peripheral character (or value) portion and the "personal" character (or value) section shows the independency which exists between the two. The broken line between the core character (or value) area and the peripheral character (or value) area, on the other hand, means that those two types of character traits (or value items) are thoroughly integrated and reinforcing in most cases.

The numeral in the core and peripheral character traits (or value items) indicates variation of those traits and items, but it does not show the degree of variation; rather it simply means there is a certain type of variation. Because of the strong molding influence of the core values, there is usually little variation among the core character traits (or value items) held by each member of the culture: here, only one such variation is shown by c₁. In case of peripheral character traits (or value items), on the other hand, many different types of variation are observable d₁, e³, f³, just to name a few. These different types of variation are caused mainly by regional, occupational, institutional, and ethnic differences.

Though in these five character (or value) configurations there is no omission of the peripheral character traits (or value items), this does not necessarily mean that those three traits (or items), d, e, and f, are universally noticeable among the members of the culture. It means that a great many members of the culture have such traits or values.
Since the members A, B, and D have the same peripheral character traits (or value items) $e^3$, they may be pursuing the same type of occupation; and for the same reason B and C may belong to the same ethnic group because they share the same peripheral traits (or items) $d^2$ and A; and E may live in the same region for they have the same peripheral character traits (or value items) $f^3$. Because of the differences in the peripheral character traits (or value items) which wrap up the core character traits (or value items) of each member A, B, C, D, and E, those five members may show different character configurations at the first glance. But it would be safe to assume that these differences are superficial; and closer scrutiny may reveal character traits which are quite similar. Within a single member of the culture, the core character traits (or value items) $a, b, c$, and the peripheral traits (or items) $d, e, f$, and even variants $d^1, e^3, f^3$, for instance, may, in most cases, exist harmoneously, reinforcing each other. In some members, however, there may be some conflict among the variants of the peripheral character traits (or value items) because of the variation, though $a, b, c$, and $d, e, f$, belong to the same value system or in other cases, a specific combination of the variants of the peripheral character traits (or value items) may manifest a slight contradictory quality to the core character traits (or value items), and hence, may become the cause of friction between the two. Especially if this type of conflict or friction exists in the member of the culture, his personality characteristics would seem to be quite different, at least in its surface
quality, from other members who have no such inner friction. And out of such conflict among the character traits (or value items) held by a single member, may come a historical (dischronic) change, when such members increase in number.

**Skeletal Personality**

If I state that the main character traits of the members of a certain culture is (a b c d e f), disregarding the variation which happens mainly in the peripheral character traits, this concept of character, which I call "skeletal personality," is very similar to a "basic personality" (or "modal personality") concept worked out by Abram Kardiner. About the "basic personality" Kardiner explains:

One can define such a thing as a basic personality among these one hundred individuals in our society by the fact that they all have been shaped by institutions which have their origin in institutional practices. Each individual handles the specific influences in a characteristic way, but this notwithstanding, the character-structure is formed within an ambit of a certain range of potenti- alities, and within this latter the basic personality is to be found. 43

The concept of "basic personality" rest upon the following postulates, which I agree with and which are similar to the character (or value) configuration I have worked on. They are: (1) the individual's early experiences exert a lasting effect upon his personality; (2) similar experiences will tend to produce similar personality configurations in the individuals; (3) the care and rearing practices of the child employed by the members of

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any society are culturally patterned and will tend to be similar; (4) the culturally patterned practices for the care and rearing of children differ from one society to another. 44 And on the assumption that these postulates are accepted, the personality configuration of such a "basic personality" is assumed to be "shared by the bulk of the society's members as a result of the early experiences which they have in common."45

There seems to be a similarity between the "basic personality" and a personality character which is, according to David M. Potter, reaffirmed by an anthropologist, a social psychologist, and a psychologist. David M. Potter believes that, without ignoring criticisms from scholars in the other camps, it is entirely just to say that they have provided a basis for regarding national character as "a relative rather than as an absolute quality . . . manifesting itself as a tendency in the majority of members of the national group rather than as a universal attribute present in all of them." (emphasis added)46 Geoffrey Gorer also expresses similar concept of national character:

It is perhaps necessary to emphasize that this concept of national character in no way denies the variations of individual personality; nor does it imply that all Americans exhibit all the characteristics


45 Florence R. Kluckhohn, op. cit., p. 344.

46 David M. Potter, People of Plenty, p. 57.
hereinafter described. All that is claimed is that the concatenation of characteristics and patterns of behavior ascribed to the group are exhibited by a significant number of the members of that group, and are approved of, or assented to, by most of the remainder... 

Instead of the "number" concept of national character, Richard K. Beardsley suggests a "frequency" concept of national character, which is basically the similar to the "number" concept:

Not content with a conclusion that a given cast of character is just "the nature of the race," psychological researchers must examine the question of whether the alleged specific qualities do in fact appear frequently... 

Francis L. K. Hsu introduces "probability" concept of national personality:

In speaking of American or Chinese as tending to behave in certain ways under particular conditions we are dealing with probability, in much the same way as the forecasts of the National Safety Council before holiday weekends predicts the number of Americans who will suffer traffic death or injury. These forecasts cannot specify which particular individuals will be among the victims, but they have usually been quite accurate in the over-all figures.

Though their phraseology is a little different, what they are trying to say seems to be the concept that despite of the individual dissimilarity in per-


48 Richard K. Beardsley, "Personality Psychology," in Twelve Doors to Japan, ed. John W. Hall and Richard K. Beardsley, pp. 359, 360. When David Riesman defines his "social character" he uses similar "portion" concept of national character; " 'Social character' is that part of 'character' which is shared among significant social group and which... is that product of the experience of these groups. The notion of social character permits us to speak, as I do throughout this book, of the character of classes, groups, regions, and nations." See The Lonely Crowd (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1961), p. 4.

49 Francis L. K. Hsu, Americans and Chinese, p. 134.
sonal character, a certain type of a character configuration is observable among the great number of the members of a culture; and hence it is predictable how a member of the culture would behave under a certain circumstance quite accurately. And such a man who is expected to act in a certain way under a certain condition looks like "the proverbial man in the street"--a concept used by Ruth Benedict. She maintains that "the proverbial man in the street"

would be anybody. That does not mean that this anybody would in his own person have been placed in each particular circumstance. It does mean that anybody would recognize that was how it was under those conditions. The goal of such a study as this is to describe deeply enthrenched attitudes of thought and behavior. 50

**Multi-directional Approach**

As mentioned, since the value system is the guiding principles of conduct and the framework for grouping in a culture, it has an unifying impact upon every aspect of the culture. Thus, in order to find an authentic value system, it is necessary for a student of culture to examine every phase of the culture. Based on the same line of argument, the character traits especially formed by the molding effect of the core values should show themselves in every aspect of the behavior patterns of the members of the culture. Consequently, to decide on the valid personality configurations of the people, the hypothesis must be checked against *every* character trait manifested in every phase of attitudes and behavior of the people. This is the main reason why the character study

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should handle the personality in its entirety. "The systematic study of personality," David M. Potter points out, "has not only eliminated the random consideration of separate traits but has also demonstrated that there are practical as well as the theoretical advantage in dealing with the personality as a whole." Especially, "the psychological study of character," he maintains, "emphasizes the importance of bringing character as an entirety into its focus, in this way avoiding the erratic and fragmentary effect that results from pinning a full-scale characterological diagnosis upon some tag end of a personality trait." Therefore, instead of "examining separate traits in a piecemeal fashion," he concludes, we should recognize "the fact that character, if it exists at all, is a complex or a Gestalt which must be examined and understood in its totality." Consequently, the study of whole character traits must be the goal of national character study. Otto Klineberg asserts:

> It hardly need be added that our goal is not a list of separate traits, but an integrated picture.

Since our eyes are on the whole culture and character traits, a single-method approach would be often inadequate. For instance, psychoanalytical inference alone may be sometimes deceptive due to its abtruse quality and its danger of easy generalization. Though the approach could be used as an auxiliary technique or as a part of a

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broader procedure, "psychoanalysis and psychoanalytic reasoning are hardly be-alls and end-alls for studying national personality struc-
ture and traits." Therefore, in order to accomplish the above stated
goal, "multi-disciplinary techniques" or "multilevel approach," or at least a combination of a few methods must be applied. In this
sense culture study or character study would be a very appropriate
field of research for a student whose background is area studies, e.g.,
American studies, which emphasizes multi-disciplinary orientation.
The combination of the ethnographic method and the use of large scale
attitudes surveys; joint use of vital statistics, medical and physical
data, psychological techniques such as the Rorschach and the other
projective techniques, the analysis of cultural products, and compara-
tive experimentation; the collaboration of psychologists and social
scientists; and the cooperation between physical anthropology and


56 Vera Rubin, op. cit., p. 20.


social anthropology—these are some of the proposals which have been made so far to meet such requirement. Actually, since many aspects of Japanese and American cultures and personality character have been studied up to now by many specialists, the attempt to examine the whole culture and personality configuration would not be a futile one. Practically, the student of culture pursuing such type of study could be a coordinator of the various data and findings. Likening the study of the whole culture to the work of the general practitioner, Richard K. Beardsley claims the necessity of multiple use of findings and methods in order to reach the valid conclusion:

... By analogy with the field of medicine, in which the general practitioner needs the findings and skills of a number of specialists to comprehend the whole person but himself bears chief responsibility for neglecting no part that may affect others, anthropological examination of the whole culture needs the finds and methods applied by other fields. 60

In fact, the objection to the use of a single method in a whole culture and personality study occupies one of the main criticisms which have been offered against so-called national character study done so far. Otto Klineberg classifies those criticisms into three major categories; and the third one being against such single-method approach. He states that "A third objective is that our methods are inadequate." 61 John W.


61Otto Klineberg, op. cit., p. 160.
Bennett and Michio Nagai also classify the methodological criticisms made by Japanese scholars on Ruth Benedict's work, which "are not essentially different from those made by American and European reviewers," under six headings. The sixth one, according to their classification, is the "Need for an interdisciplinary approach."  

**Subcultural Variations and Possibility of Change**

The other two types of criticisms assorted by Otto Klineberg are as follows: (1) nations are not homogeneous, implying that regional and class differences must be taken into account, and (2) nations change. Bennett and Nagai's other headings also include the similar critique. In the third heading, they point out that "differences of class region, and period tend to be glossed over"; the second criticisms is about the deterministic quality of culture; and the fourth, about the heedlessness of conflicts and differences indicating that it is necessary to study various institutional contexts which would bring out conflicts and differences. The fifth heading, The problem of historical change, criticizes Benedict's tendency "to overemphasize the continuities in

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63Ibid.
the culture and underplaying the vast changes which have come about.\textsuperscript{64} As for the regional, class, and institutional differences, I am going to dwell upon them in some detail later, but my basic assumption is, as noted earlier, that the more the value items or character traits are considered to be important in a culture, the less the possibilities of differences and conflicts among those various aspects of culture and personality would become. This, however, is not to deny the possibility of the variation among the peripheral values or traits, which are caused by regional, occupational, ethnic, and institutional differences. Rather, I have suggested some potential conflicts among the peripheral value items or character traits, and between the core values or character traits and specifically combined peripheral values or traits. (Nonetheless, I have pointed out the need to study about uniform quality of culture and personality, especially in case of a comparative study.)

As I noted earlier, I never gainsay the possibility of historic change. On the contrary, I will discuss the future direction of historical change in the last chapter. Yet, in accordance with the importance put on the values or character traits, those values and traits are likely to continue for a long time. At least the changes in those values and traits seem to be a matter of a century or at least a generation, supposing that there occurs no revolution. These considerations of the

\textsuperscript{64}John W. Bennett and Michio Nagai, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 208.
criticisms on national character study put in order by Bennett and Nagai leave one category of criticisms unanswered: the third one on over-
generalization (a danger I am aware of); not taking statistical variations into account (whose usefulness has been already suggested); and no distinction between what people say and what they do (which I will touch upon in the last chapter). 65

Comparative Analysis

Throughout my discussion I am trying to employ a comparative technique as much as possible because a comparative study possesses many advantages. First of all, a stranger to a certain culture can have eyes to detect the things which a native is apt to overlook because they are too commonplace to the native person. "Culture hides much more than it reveals," Edward T. Hall asserts, "and strangely enough what it hides most effectively from its own participants." 66 In a comparative


method, a student of culture can be detached enough from the culture he is studying to pass an objective and an unbiased judgment which is impossible for him when he attempts to understand his own culture. "In any matter of spectacles," Ruth Benedict writes, "we do not expect the man who wears them to know the formula for the lenses . . . ."67

Through dispassionate observation, furthermore, a student of culture can widen his perspective and overcome his narrow-mindedness, Joseph K. Yamagiwa, pointing out the usefulness of literature in understanding a culture, recommends a comparative method:

The comparative approach to a national literature is necessary is one is to rise above the level of parochialism in his critical judgments. Such an approach can broaden the reader's perspective and improve his understanding and appreciation of the way literature manifests itself in a variety of cultures. 68

A comparative method also helps a student separate unique characteristics of a culture from universal cultural phenomena, which is truly useful in understanding the quality of the culture. 69 Using a comparative analysis, the casual relation between change in values and national personality could be more clearly illuminated. Criticizing the attribution


69Francis L. K. Hsu claims: "Without denying the importance of cultural universals, I am of the opinion that the systematic exploration of cultural differences must occupy a central place in anthropology for years to come." See The Study of Literate Civilization (New York: Holt, Reinhart and Winston, 1969), p. 41.
of "other-direction" to the supposed demands of a certain type of economy and its unique organization, Seymour M. Lipset affirms:

... British and Swedish societies, for example, have for many decades possessed occupational structure similar to that of America. Britain, in fact, reached the stage of an advanced industrial society, thoroughly urbanized, where the majority of the population worked for big business or government, long before any other nation... If the causal connection between technology and social character were direct, then the patterns described as typical of "other-direction" or "the organization man" should have occurred in Great Britain prior to their occurrence in the United States. Yet "other-direction" and the "Social ethnic" appear to be pre-eminently American traits. 70

The differences between cultures are a matter of degree. This "degree" concept has been pointed out by many scholars. 71 So that

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70 Seymour M. Lipset, "A Changing American Character?" in The Character of Americans, ed. Michael McGiffert, p. 283. Despite the criticism offered by Lipset, however, David Riesman clearly claims the importance of comparative approach Lipset contends Riesman lacks: "Historical and cross-cultural investigation would be necessary before one could better understand how inner-direction came about--and why it may now be disappearing." See The Lonely Crowd, p. xxxviii.

71 Richard K. Beardsley, for instance, contends: "... if Japan differs even from America or English society, it is in degree rather than in kind." See "Cultural Anthropology: Prehistoric and Contemporary Aspects," in Twelve Doors to Japan, by John W. Hall and Richard K. Beardsley, p. 64; R. P. Dore states that "as discussions... of the family, of employment relations, and of neighbor relations have shown, this is only a question of degree..." See City Life in Japan, p. 378; Conrad M. Arensberg and Arthur H. Niehoff, discussing about the concept of an hourly wage scale for labor given, and the direct profit motive, and many economic relations in Japan, assert:"These differences, however, are relative rather than absolute." See Introducing Social Change: A Manual for Community Development, p. 45; and Dean C. Burlund claims: "No men are completely foreign to each other. So the differences we speak of are differences of degree and frequency, not of kind." See "The Public Self and Private Self in Japan and the United States," in Intercultural Encounters With Japan, ed. John C. Condon and Mitsuko Saito, p. 57.
If a well-trained anthropologist says, 'the Japanese are indulgent to their children' this statement may be interpreted: if all studied peoples are ranged on a continuum with respect to the degree of indulgence they show their children the Japanese will be found at the indulgent end. 72

Since it is impossible to state human behavior and values in qualitative terms, the description of such behavior and values must be comparative to have any significance. 73 Whenever a student of culture tries to delineate some cultural characteristics, accordingly, he usually uses a certain type of comparison tacitly or unconsciously even when he has no definite intention of making a comparison. Richard L. Rapson unmistakenly expresses the similar point when he states that "... the traveler inadvertently reveals a great deal about his own person and his own nation when he comments another nations." 74 If tacit comparison is inevitable in case of culture-description, then, explicit comparison is far less dangerous--this is the opinion expressed by Francis L. K. Hsu. He tells why:

In explicit comparison, the author at least puts himself on record, so that he himself can rationally examine the result of his comparison, and others can judge the factual or logical basis of his comparison as well as the merits or demerits of his comparison. Conscious and systematic comparison is indispensable to anthropology. 75

72 R. P. Dore, City Life in Japan, p. 7.

73 Francis L. K. Hsu, The Study of Literate Civilization, p. 55.


75 Francis L. K. Hsu, op. cit., p. 55.
Finally, and most importantly, a comparative method makes a student of culture interested in his own culture eventually. Though he may be filled with wonder at the initial stage of his comparison, his interest will be naturally and surely directed to his own culture with a renewed intensity as the first curiosity as to the foreign culture disappears gradually. Now he is more interested in his own culture than any of his fellow countrymen who have never undertaken a comparative study. "The best reason for such study [of foreign cultures]," Edward T. Hall asserts, "is to learn about how one's own system works." 76 Margaret Mead emphasizes the same point: "Peculiarities in manners, which those who stay at home take for granted, show up when the eyes and ears of the returning traveler are turned upon them." 77

Historical factors are taken into account whenever they seem to be feasible throughout my discussion. The main reason for such posture would be found in the fact that "Patterns of past social or political behavior or past value systems have relevance in setting the boundaries of the possible or the probable in the present or for the future." 78 In other words, since the past has affected the present and it provides a matrix from which the present evolves, it provides us the key to under-

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77 Margaret Mead, *And Keep Your Powder Dry*, p. 5.

stand the aspects of the present life, in particular value systems, which cannot be explained purely as the result of recent mutation or external influence. 79 David M. Potter, going one step further, claims that the answer to the national character study should be found in the zone where history and the behavioral sciences meet. And he points out the fact that the behavioral sciences—especially cultural anthropology, which have been so successful in dealing with relatively static primitive cultures, have encountered storms of controversy when they turned their focus on modern Western society because they tried to explain the society without reference to historic forces. 80

I assume that the primary values of American and Japanese cultures seem to exhibit a striking contrast: individualism, intra-generational mobility for an opportunity and personal achievement for American culture; and group-orientedness, sedentariness, and achievement for the in-group for Japanese culture. In the next chapter, I will explain the fact that those three major values of respective societies are observable almost universally, transcending regional, class, ethnic, and institutional differences, and that those values have continued to exist at least for a century or so in each culture despite the seeming drastic changes which have taken place in the respective societies. And in the

79John W. Hall, _op. cit._, p. 129.

80David M. Potter, _People of Plenty: Economic Abundance and the American Character_, pp. xvi-xvii.
rest of my thesis, I will try to answer the following three questions:

1) Historically and socially, how have the Americans and the Japanese come to believe in those values in each culture? And in what aspects of each culture, are they observable? 2) Many observers have pointed out that conformity is a prominent tendency both among the American and the Japanese who believe in the primary values which seem to be separated into both extremes on respective value continuums. Then by what process does such conforming tendency reveal itself in American and Japanese character traits (or "value" items)? Conformity here is defined as character quality (or "value" item) of the members of a culture which tries (or which values) to tune their words and deeds to in-group's will or expectations rather employing their own autonomous reasoning and judgment. 3) On the premise that the value changes, though very slowly, what are the conceivable future directions of the respective cultures in terms of the core value items or character traits?
CHAPTER II INTRA-CULTURAL DIFFERENCES AND THEIR HISTORICAL FOUNDATIONS

1. U. S. Subgroups

As I have mentioned in the Introduction, frequently passed criticisms on a whole culture or on a national character study are the seeming indifference to intra-cultural differences such as regional, class, ethnic, and institutional and diacronic (historical) change in culture on the part of the scholars. In fact, many scholars, having such criticisms in mind, have tried, for example, to exclude a certain region or area from their considerations in order to defend their studies. "The generalizations in this book," Margaret Mead claims in her book, And Keep Your Powder Dry, "should be regarded as based primarily on the North, Middle West, and West, and should not be called in question because certain elements of Southern culture differ from them, as this is inevitable."1 Acknowledging that his book, The American People, "is concerned with only about two-thirds of the inhabitants of the United States," Geoffrey Gorer points out that "... to a large extent the population of the southern states and to a lesser degree Texas, rural New England, and California contrast... strongly with those of the remaining portions of the country..."2


David Riesman also used the word "Americans" on condition that word means "Americans, at least outside the South."³

What they try to imply in those restrictions are many things; but since I am analyzing the three primary values in American and Japanese cultures--individualism, intra-generational mobility for opportunities, personal achievement; and group-orientatedness, sedentariness, and achievement for the group; respectively; I will examine the alleged peculiarities which might exist in a sub-cultural level, especially those which are supposed to be contrary to the primary values, devoting my attention to the "mountain" and "deep" South and rural New England, and the alleged historical change.

According to the generally conceived images, the "mountain" people in the South may still be isolated from the Great Society of America and they may still maintain a large authoritarian family and large close-knit kin relationships; and hence, they may be less motivated for personal achievement. Consequently, together with the scarce opportunities, they may show a low geographic mobility tendency for opportunities. In the "deep" South, many people may still engage in the primary occupations because of their industrial "backwardness"; since there may be little opportunities in the city, people may tend to move less and personal achievement may not, therefore, be valued highly and

hence they may put little value on educational attainment; the Negroes may still have a large family and they are less individual-oriented; and all in all the South may still retain its unique tradition.

In rural New England, people may still maintain an authoritarian family structure because of the Puritan traditions, in which the father may exert power over his wife and children and they in turn may be expected to be loyal to the father and obey him; they may still emphasize hereditary status and, therefore, personal achievement may not be valued highly; and because of the strong family ties and community relationships, together with the importance of hereditary positions, they may tend to move less for opportunities. There are also alleged differences between the rural, as a whole, and the urban area. In the rural areas, because of the geographic isolation and necessary cooperation caused by the lack of opportunities, strong kinship relations and community cooperation may be valued highly and individualism and personal achievement may not be so valued, and mobility for opportunities may be less pronounced.

As you might have noticed already, these alleged peculiarities seem to have been created by isolation and a low degree of mobility. Therefore, apart from the validity of the alleged peculiarities, it would be reasonable to make a beginning of the problem of the intra-cultural differences from this point. In the case of the integration of an isolated region into the Great Society, the first factor to be considered would be the mass media, such as radio, television, and newspapers. Since
four-fifths of the Americans are of the middle-class, the images the mass media send to each family are that of the middle-class. The mass media advertisement is especially about consumer goods which the middle-class Americans are expected to have in their homes. As such modern means of mass communication are being widely disseminated, more and more "backward" people have become aware of the way of living of the middle-class and been inundated with the new ideas.

In the meantime the development of a regional highway and local roads, aided by better transportation services, make it much easier for the "mountain" people to have access to the neighboring cities and to have chances to see the middle-class living and the consumer goods with their own eyes.

Rural Appalachia

Cultural isolation of the "mountain" people begins to crumble at this stage. Mountain people demand more goods and better services, which have changed the occupational structure of Appalachia. During the decade of 1950-1960 the number of persons employed in manufacturing increased 24 percent and the number in communications, utilities, and services also increased 24 percent. On the other hand, the number in agriculture decreased 55 percent and the number in mining also decreased 52 percent.  

Women in the labor force, who

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are most likely employed in the service industries, have increased from 21 percent in 1950 to 27 percent in 1960. 5 With the development of the means of transportation, job opportunities in surrounding areas have come to be incorporated with the accessible regions for the commuting Appalachians.

Simultaneously, these changes--propagation of mass media, development of means of transportation, and industrialization--have brought about changes in the patterns of thinking of the Appalachian people. They have accepted the value of material achievement in accordance with the American theme. 6 About a decade ago, it is reported, almost all rural Appalachian families already had mechanical refrigerators; most had power washing machines, and some had television sets. 7 Now the mountain people are future-oriented and many see formal education as an inseparable means to future success and the accompanying social status. 8 The proportion of children aged 16 and 17 years old who were enrolled in school increased 60 to 74 percent of the total age groups in the whole Appalachia from 1950


7Harry K. Schwarzweller, op. cit., p. 58.

8John D. Photiadis, op. cit., p. 18.
to 1960--compared favorably with a slower increase from 75 to 81 percent in the whole United States.\textsuperscript{9} The fact that mobility has become a value is shown in the following features. When job opportunities in the great industrial areas surrounding the Southern Appalachia became promising, for instance, hundreds of thousands of people fled the region for the promised lands of those industrial areas. From 1950 to 1960 the population of the Southern Appalachia declined for the first time in history to 5,762,178, a 3 percent decrease.\textsuperscript{10} Most of the out-migrants, moreover, were young adults--48 percent of them were between 15 and 29 years old in the same decade.\textsuperscript{11} And they began moving to more and more distant destinations. Furthermore, in the 1960's and during 1960-1965, the counties in Southern Appalachia with the lowest median family incomes and levels of living lost most heavily through migration.\textsuperscript{12}

Changes are also marked in the family structure. With the decline of agriculture and mining and the increase in number of employed women, together with the future-orientedness, the authoritarian father became a past story. Appalachian families "are rapidly taking on the characteristics of the equalitarian patterns as commonly practiced in


\textsuperscript{11}Ibid, p. 36.

\textsuperscript{12}Ibid, p. 34.
contemporary urban families." A typical Appalachian family is the
conjugal family composed of husband, wife and their immediate
children. For the Appalachians in 1960, the number of births per
thousand women aged 15-44, age adjusted, was 117.8 compared with
118.9 for the entire United States. Taking all these facts into
consideration, it would be safe to say that the integration of rural
Appalachia has been occurring at a rapid rate in every nook and
corner. And at least on the primary-value-level there exists little
regional difference between Appalachia and the Great Society. "...it
is axiomatic," Harry K. Schwarzweller asserts, "that a strong,
dominant culture, such as that of the Great Society cannot tolerate
an alien culture within it." 16

13 James S. Brown and Harry K. Schwarzweller, "The Appalachian
Family," in Change in Rural Appalachia: Implications for Action
Programs, ed. John D. Photiadis and Harry S. Schwarzweller, p. 87.

14 Ibid.

15 James S. Brown, "Population and Migration Changes in Appalachia," p. 30. Jack E. Weller also points out the facts that mountain man has been eliminated more and more from the job market, and that with the increase of employed women, and decline of birth-rate, and reduction in the family size, equalitarian family structure has been materialized. See Yesterday's People: Life in Contemporary Appalachia (Kentucky: University of Kentucky Press, 1965), pp 30, 136, 137.

16 Harry K. Schwarzweller, "Social Change and the Individual in Rural
Appalachia," in Change in Rural Appalachia: Implications for Action
Programs, ed. John D. Photiadis and Harry K. Schwarzweller, p. 64.
"Deep" South

Changing the region, mobility for opportunities is valued in the "deep" South. This is clearly indicated by the fact that in the 1920's when the price of cotton dropped, the boll weevil cut cotton production in the "deep" South, and business and industry boomed in the North and West; net out-migration from the South reached 1,700,000 among of whom 977,000 were Negroes compared with 778,000 whites. Since the end of World War II the South has been trying to do her best to catch up with the rest of the nation in industrialization. In these three decades, though employment in textile and tobacco industries has dropped a little, the region attracted capital investment in a substantial amount. Mechanization brought about by cotton-cultivating and picking machines during the decades, has decreased the number of tenants and sharecroppers, and those workers--rural Southerners, both the black and the white--have continued to respond to the need of the labor market in the cities. The great metropolitan areas have grown


19 Ibid.

in population at the expense of rural areas through migration. The percentage of farm income to the total income for the Southeast has been declining steadily. In 1957, for example, only 6.2 percent of the income of the Southeast came from farming. Since social mobility is directly connected with the amount of education one receives, the fact that personal achievement is valued highly in the Southeast would be shown by the increase in educational expenditure per pupil in accordance with the rising of the level of income. In the school year 1929-1930, for instance, the amount spent per pupil in the Southeast was only 47.1 percent of the national figure; by 1959, this figure had grown to almost seventy (69.9) percent of the national average. And the educational attainment, in its turn, seems to facilitate a greater rate of long-distance mobility. Horace Hamilton claims:

"Having a college education does at least give migrants a greater range of choice, whether in leaving or in returning to the South."  

21 E. William Norland, op. cit., p. 77.

22 Ibid., p. 169


24 Horace Hamilton, "Continuity and Change in Southern Migration," p. 70.
The rising standards of living and educational attainments have lowered the birth rate, especially among the Negroes, and the Southeast is no longer considered to be the "seed bed" for the nation: in 1940, the birth rate was 25.3, compared with 19.4 for the entire nation; by 1960, the two birth rates stood at 24.5 and 23.7, respectively.25 As mobility for opportunities and personal achievement are valued highly in the Southeast, there is little differences in the core values held in the Southeast and the nation at large.

Cultural isolation of the South has been attacked from another direction, too. In proportion to the progress of industrialization of the South, in-migration is also growing. As of 1960, 5,088,000 people born in the North and West, just under 10 percent of the total Southern population, were living in the South. On the other hand, 9,865,000 Southern-born people, under 9 percent of the non-Southern population, were living in the North and West.26 This means that the Southerners and non-Southerners are mixing quite freely and, hence, in its number, course, and distinctiveness, the Southern migration can no longer be regarded as totally unique in the Great Society.27


27 Horace Hamilton, _op. cit._, p. 54
As a result, Southern social life and culture are fully intermingled with those of the nation as a whole. Under these circumstances, it would be safe to assume that the unique tradition of the South is almost nonexistent.

Rural New England

Has rural New England still retained its peculiar characteristics? Before answering the question it would be necessary to have a glimpse of its earlier history. In the Colonial period, as a general rule at least, the biblical commandment to "Honor thy father and mother" was fundamental. According to the pertinent measure, John Demos claims, "If any Child or Children above sixteen years old, and of competent Understanding, shall Curse or Smite their Natural Father or Mother; he or they shall be put to death, unless it can be sufficiently testified that the parents have been very Unchristianly negligent in the Education of such Children, or so provoked them by extreme and cruel correction, that they have been forced thereunto, to preserve themselves from Death or maiming." It is noteworthy, however, as can be detected in the decree, that the children under sixteen years old were excluded from the Severe rules. They had chance, moreover, to testify on behalf of themselves before the constituted authorities of the whole Colony, not before the parents concerned. The Court usually

functioned as a mediator between the two parties, or as ratifying of an agreement already worked out on an informal basis by the parties. 29

In this respect, Philip E. Slater offers a hypothesis that any nonfamily-based collectivity that intervenes between the parent and the child and attempts to regulate and modify the parent-child relationships will have a democratic impact on such relationships regardless of its intent.

For example, according to Slater, however, the community wish to include obedience and submission in the child, its intervention betrays a lack of confidence in the only subject from whom a small child can learn authoritarian submission--the parents, and an overweening interest in the future development of the child--child-centered orientation. 30 Other than these two factors, we have also to take the following facts into consideration in order to really understand the authoritarian family structure:

(1) the child's loyalty and submission to his father should always subordinated to those toward God;

(2) though self-expression or individuality of the child is not encouraged by the Puritans, the supression of it reveals parental ambiguity because of the child-centeredness;

(3) corporal punishment except in the extreme causes is opposed


because they view it as purification rather than educative;

and

(4) the child should not be forced into an occupation against his will since it violates his "calling" in which he is destined to serve God. 31

These factors, being taken into account, it would be not too difficult to understand the reason why the older generations were complaining about the disobedience and disrespect of youngsters throughout the colonies during the early Colonial days. 32

Within the Colonial family the husband was always regarded as the "head" and the wife always expected to take an attitude of 'revered subjection' toward her husband. 33 Yet there were many indications which seem to be contradictory to the alleged dominance. In Plymouth Colony, for instance, the law explicitly recognized the widows' part in the accumulation of a family estate; the Court sustained certain kinds of contracts involving women on a fairly regular basis—in some cases contracts made by women after marriage; no husband ever included his wife's clothing among the property to be disposed of after his death; both spouses shared an important joint responsibility in decision-making of the putting out of children into foster families and in the management of inns and taverns—the Court sometimes granted

31 Philip E. Slater, op. cit., p. 36.

32 Ibid., pp. 37, 38.

33 Philip E. Slater, op. cit., p. 34.
liquor licenses directly to women. Thus, Philip E. Slater aptly concludes that "the American family has always been equalitarian, permissive, and child-centered relative to its European counterparts" in "all classes and regions."

Because of the emphasis put on the regulatory scheme in the Colonial period such as permission, punishment, order, censure, by the Court, for instance, we tend to overlook the other side of the Colonial life. Contrary to such restricted and suppressed images of the public life, the individual or private life contained a fairly flexible and free quality. John Demos asserts: "We uncover an area of life that was profoundly characterized by elements of movement and change--indeed by a kind of fluidity that is commonly associated with a much later period in our national history." He points out the geographical expansion of the Plymouth Colony despite the efforts of some leaders who believed that the establishment of a truly Godly community would depend upon maintaining a close and compact pattern of establishment. People moved, both as individuals and in groups, further and further away from the original center at Plymouth. After the middle of the seventeenth century, people moved "to take up lots across the river"

34 Ibid., pp. 85, 86; 88, 89.
35 Philip E. Slater, op. cit., p. 34.
and the Old Colony had been physically disorganized and spread out over a very broad expanse of territory, making even isolated homesteads. Mobility for opportunities, therefore, seems to have been valued since the very beginning of the settlements in New England.

Stewart H. Holbrook writes:

The strange race of Yankee not only permeated every last reach of the Republic; but almost always they made their impact felt. Their inventions, at home and elsewhere, changed the whole pattern of settlement in the West and South.

In Harrisville, New Hampshire, people left the region whenever they had opportunities to work elsewhere. During the slump of the 1950's especially, the young people went to nearby Keene for work, and they were slow in returning to the now busy Chesham Mills. With the development of the means of transportation and communication, the automobile and the truck gradually replaced the railroads. The number of motor vehicles per capita in Harrisville in 1940 was distinctly above the national average. And the high degree of integration of Harris-

37 Ibid., pp. 9, 11. John Demos claims that Richard L. Bushman has aptly described this process of geographical expansion as a change "from Puritan to Yankee." See Ibid., p. 12.


ville into the Great Society has been facilitated by the development of the transport facilities. Now the small community has made itself a clear part of it. Along with the mobility for opportunities came the emphasis of personal achievement, which may be shown in the increase of the school expenditure. While in 1940 the highway expenditure was the biggest item in the town's budget, the school budget became the largest in 1965. 40 W. Lloyd Warner, after conducting studies on social behavior in the various regions of the United States, concludes that "the forces and values of social mobility were always found to be basic and powerful for the free-enterprise system and a free society. Social mobility is a basic motivation for the worker as well as for the manager." 41 The fact that in rural New England, personal achievement is valued highly would be indicated by a community study done by John L. Fischer and Ann Fischer. They assert: "... Property is valued not only for itself but also as a sign of relative social status." 42 As I have analyzed above, there is no marked difference between rural New England and the Great Society in major values such as individualism, mobility of opportunities, and personal achievement.

40Ibid., pp. 250, 251.


In addition to those rural communities in the "mountain" and "deep" South and New England, the integration process of a rural isolated community into the Great Society is typically shown by the two community studies conducted at the same location by James West (Carl Withers) and Art Gallaher, Jr., with an interval of fifteen years between the two studies. They find that the isolation of Plainville—a typical 'backward' farming community in the southern Midwest—began disappearing since the middle of the 1950's owing to the development in the means of communication and transportation—mainly the radio and cars, and the urban technological and economic dominance.43 In fact, cars have played a great role in this respect. An old Plainviller reports that "there are more cars, pickups, and trucks than ever before; and people nowadays just like to go more... They don't stay home like they use to... They don't visit neighbors like they use to... They like to git out and do things... Want to see the world."44 The more Plainvillers have been attracted to the city, the stronger their consumer preference has been directed to articles displayed and available only at city stores.45 Aided by the

44 Ibid., p. 23.
increased cash income made available by the improvement of agriculture they began to imitate the city ways. 46 Governmental programs which are launched to eradicate "cultural pockets" from American society has also contributed to the change of the consumption trend of the Plainvillers. 47

With the acceptance of consumer orientation of the city, they have identified themselves with the same standards of values recognizable in much of American society outside their region. 48 Increasingly people now tend to attach importance to material comfort and spending is gaining its popularity at the expense of frugality. 49 Whenever people face financial difficulties in the pursuit of their cherished aim of possessing electric appliances and gadgets seen in middle-class families in their neighboring cities, 50 they resort to installment purchasing methods. Among the young generation especially, indifference to indebtedness is prevalent. A daughter of a mother of about forty years old expresses a typical opinion of her generation: "You might as well enjoy life by being in debt as to do without and miserable like most of

47 Art Gallaher, Jr., op. cit., p. 232.
49 Ibid., p. 211.
50 Ibid., p. 94.
our older people done when they were our age.\textsuperscript{51} In accordance with the importance people put on material comfort, they now believe, like other Americans, that one's social status is mainly determined by one's economic achievement indicated by status symbols rather than by the acceptance of a certain value system.\textsuperscript{52} Naturally cars and adornment of one's wife with expensive articles and jewelry and a nice house have become conspicuous symbols in this respect.\textsuperscript{53} Now we can clearly assume that personal achievement has been highly valued in Plainville.

The frequent visiting of the city with the development of the highway system and cars has also exerted a powerful influence on the concept of the local community. With the expansion of their "radius of action" and vision which resulted from the disappearance of geographic and cultural isolation, Plainvillers put less and less emphasis on their community matters, and, consequently, they feel less and less pride about their community. They tend to compare their community unfavorably with other communities.\textsuperscript{54} In inverse proportion to the diminishing community pride, the belief in mobility for opportunities has grown stronger. Now parents usually think that most of their children grow

\textsuperscript{51}Ibid., p. 33.
\textsuperscript{52}Ibid., p. 193.
\textsuperscript{53}Ibid., p. 94.
\textsuperscript{54}Art Gallaher, Jr., \textit{Plainville Fifteen Years Later}, p. 85.
up only to leave them and find an employment in the city. Even children from low-status families are expected to try to "better themselves" occupationally in accordance with the American ideal that "any man can rise." Now more than ever parents put confidence in education and vocational training as the surest ways for their children to attain success in their future vocations and resultant advancement in their social positions.

Other than the improved means of communication and transportation which have weakened the community ties, introduction of agricultural machinery and commercialism have also lessened the necessity of close human relationships. Plainvillers now can do their work individually without the help from other community members because of the machinery. There is no need for help in the threshing and the preparation of large amounts of food; butchering is now mostly done by professionals and sawing wood is unnecessary because of the change in the heating system. This independence of other people of his community, in its turn, has made a person feel less rooted in the community, enabling him to move more readily. The ties which connect many families in the neighborhood have also weakened, and as a result of the loss of their emotion laden attachments, the neighborhood now simply means, "geo-

55Ibid., p. 123.
56Ibid., p. 122.
57Ibid.,
58Art Gallaher, Jr., Plainville Fifteen Years Later, p. 240.
graphic locality,"59 One of the impacts caused by commercialism could be seen in the change in lodge organizations. With the increasing involvement of cash in their mutual assistant obligations, lodge brothers are less willing to observe such matters. 60

Kinship relationships are no exception in this respect. Improved means of communication and transportation, introduction of agricultural machinery and commercialism--these are also the factors which have loosened the ties among the kin group members. One conspicuous example would be observable in the family. Now aged parents are apt to be considered as cares, 61 and in actuality, the nuclear family is the major unit of social structure in Plainville. 62 Attendance at a big reunion of an extended family is poor, 63 and there are no binding obligations between married siblings. 64 Children are inclined to rebel against parental authority and wisdom. 65 Some young parents insist that their babies should sleep in their own cribs, and more mothers bottle feed their

59Ibid., p. 143.
60 Ibid., p. 157.
63 Ibid., p. 131.
64 Ibid., p. 125.
infants nowadays. As early as in 1948, Abram Kardiner, in trying to determine (answer) the possibility of studying a nation with the aid of the concept of basic personality, asserts that "The answer seems to be in the affirmative, since the Plainville variations from the norms established in urban centers are not very wide." Accordingly, it would be safe to conclude that personal achievement, mobility for opportunities, and individualism are values in Plainville today and those changes in many aspects of the rural life in Plainville can be expected to have occurred in many rural communities because Plainville is reported to have certain features in common with much of the other rural communities in today's America.

Class and Ethnic Differences

Here a few comments should be added with regard to the alleged differences among various classes and ethnic groups in the core values of American culture. The first factor which should be taken into account would be the fact that there has been no feudal type of class distinctions in American society. Americans believe in individual freedom and initiative and they firmly trust in the possibility of one's social mobility. The American, accordingly, consider one's status or position as

66 Art Gallaher, Jr., op. cit., pp. 119, 120.


68 Art Gallaher, Jr., op. cit., p. xiv.
something changeable and not fixed, as something to be earned. Because of this uniformity in their belief in social mobility, though they usually divide themselves into three or six different 'classes,' their classification is based on the difference in the distribution of material goods—especially those of status symbols. There may exist a slight difference in the values they hold, but it would be the difference in peripheral values. Such variation on the same value theme would be harmonized with the common American Creed. Taking the ideal mother and child images held by Americans as an example, W. Lloyd Warner points out the value uniformity among the three classes based on the material collected from his various community studies: "Although there were slight differences according to religion and race, the same fundamental patterning of the beliefs and values about the good mother and the good child prevailed in all three groups." After conducting the above-stated community study in Plainville, James West detects uniform features behind the difference in their income levels:

... despite the great statistical gaps in income stated above, and the gaps in expenditures thereby suggested, Plainville (and all of Woodland County) society and culture "appears" and "is" much more level and uniform than such figures suggested.

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71 James West, Plainville, U.S.A., p. 42.
Looking at the difference in value system, the class difference in American culture mainly results from the difference in the distribution of material goods—in clothing, in food, in dwelling and in leisure—which has been already minimized with the advent of the society of abundance.\textsuperscript{72} The diminution of the physical differences has been aided especially by the development of the mass production system and the narrowing of income disparity between the top and the bottom income brackets. The increase in purchasing power between 1941 and 1950 was found to be 42 percent for the lowest quintile of the income distribution, 37 percent for the second lowest, 24 percent for the third, 16 percent for the fourth, and only 8 percent for the highest quintile.\textsuperscript{73} It is widely accepted premise that about four-fifths of the American people describe themselves as middle-class in any type of public-opinion polls.

Whenever we think of ethnic differences in America, Negroes come to the front almost without fail. This ethnic difference found in Negro groups, however, could not be the one in the core values because, as noted earlier, a strong, dominant culture like that of America cannot tolerate an alien culture within it.\textsuperscript{74} Being freed from the bondage they


\textsuperscript{74}Harry K. Schwarzweller, "Social Change and the Individual in Rural Appalachia," p. 64. See footnote. 16.
have scattered themselves in the American society. Not only being freed from it, but they are completely equal with the rest of the Americans in the eye of the law since the epoch-making series of the Civil Rights Acts, ranging from 1957 to 1965, have become laws. Though it would be naive to assume that Negroes are completely equal in every aspects of their social and private lives, it would also be obstinate not to imagine that, after living in the Great Society for many generations, Negroes have come to, at least, believe in the American Creed. When Allison Davis and Robert J. Havinghurst studied child-rearing practices, they found no major differences between Negro and white families:

The striking thing about this study is that Negroes and white middle-class families are so much alike. The likeness hold for such characteristics as number of children, ages of parents when married, as well as child-rearing practices and expectations of children. 75

Whatever differences may exist between the two ethnic groups of Americans, they are, like in the case of class difference, the ones based on the difference of the distribution of consumer goods. This is clearly indicated by the generally-known fact that Negroes tend to affiliate with the values and customs prevalent among middle-class Americans when they become affluent enough to afford them. 76 It is also reported


that sons of working-class Negroes in the United States are more likely to go to college than sons of European workers. As the economic situation of Negroes has improved rapidly since the beginning of World War II, more and more Negroes may have turned into believers of the American Creed, for opportunities give hope even to those who have not yet benefited from them. Recent studies, according to Seymour M. Lipset, have made it clear that radical ideologies have made no inroads among Negroes partly because of their status improvements. The Germans in Wisconsin, the Scandinavians in Minnesota, the Irish in Massachusetts, the Mexicans in Texas, and French Canadians in Louisiana--they all exhibit local colors, yet, the existing differences are only superficial variations in a common model.

John Gillin, though admitting the existence of many subcultures in the general pattern of the American culture, offers a partial list of seventeen "most basic values" which are "dominant in United States culture as a whole" (emphasis ended). Among them are included (4) mobility of the person, whether with respect to physical or social posi-


tion, (7) individualism, and (8) competitiveness. If I rearrange those basic values according to my primary value classification, they could be assorted as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>My classification</th>
<th>John Gillin's reassorted to fit mine</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Individualism</td>
<td>Individualism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mobility for opportunities</td>
<td>Physical mobility</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personal achievement</td>
<td>Social mobility</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Competitiveness</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

So that is would be safe to conclude that individualism, mobility of opportunities, and personal achievement are valued highly in the present American culture transcending the boundaries which demarcate various subcultures. Gillin's study was originally published in 1955. As I have mentioned earlier, many changes—the most influential of them, in my consideration, being the development of the means of communication and transportation—have occurred in many and various geographically and culturally isolated regions or communities since 1955. Those changes have all played their roles in concert to "open" those isolated communities to the Great Society and to integrate them into it. Consequently, today it would be much easier imagined that uniformity on primary values has been successfully accomplished and America in now quite homogeneous on basic value-level.

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Subgroups Unifying Factors

So far I have regarded mass media mainly as an "accelerant" leading up to community integration. However, the role of mass media as an "uniformer" of a culture should also be taken into account, for my present main interest lies in the uniform aspects of a culture. The influence of mass media has been increasingly felt in the past fifty years, transmitting as a rule unified news, unified articles, unified images, and unified desires to the mass in every nook and corner. Nowadays news, moreover, travel faster than before thanks to technological development. Speedy delivery has been achieved by the jet-plane and the teletypesetter, which wires written in New York or Washington are transmitted directly to the linotype machine in a distant city or town. 81 Not only international news but also national news, including woman's columns and even comic strips, come from the same or a few syndicated sources. Consolidating tendency among these media, furthermore, gave an impetus to the unifying trend. For instance, in the case of the newspapers read by over ninety million people in the United States; in 1940, there were 1988 daily newspapers, and about one hundred and thirty million readers. In the ninety-two cities with a population of more than a hundred thousand, there were 368 newspapers; thirty years later there were only 239. In 1910 about forty percent of the press was distributed in town with a single newspaper; in 1940 this had

more than doubled, to almost eighty-six percent. Only fourteen percent of all American towns had, therefore, more than one newspaper. In 1910 sixty-two papers were controlled by thirteen chains; a generation later there were fifty-two chains which controlled nearly three hundred papers. 82

Education has also been important as an uniformer of American culture especially because of the importance Americans accorded to general education since the very beginning of the nation. One of the most influential advocates of the republican doctrine, Thomas Jefferson, for instance, firmly believed that the citizens are the depository in which the future of the nation can be safely enshrined. 83 The mass, however, could not be the safest depository if they are not enlightened. Americans, accordingly, believe that the government is safe only when the minds of the people are enlightened at least to a certain degree by education. Not only Thomas Jefferson but also even the conservative Yale Report emphasized (in 1828) the importance of education: "Our republican form of government renders it highly important, that great numbers should enjoy the advantage of a thorough education. . . ." 84


Later, facing the horde of immigrants with multi-ethnic, linguistic, religious, and political backgrounds, assimilation of these different elements has become vital in order to maintain the national unity. Education hereupon has been entrusted with the mission of acculturating them and has successfully played an indispensable role in instructing them to accept the American Creed. A school officer actually claims this fact: "In school the foreign kids are resocialized so that their differences, at least outside of the home, tend to disappear." Even after school, the ethnic child has, through the school system, far-reaching ramifying relations among cliques and gangs, which, most likely, exceed the narrow confines of his ethnic society. As a result, the ethnic child's character comes to be similar to those of the American children. In the middle of the nineteenth century, a British traveller observed:

The teaching was generally thorough and effective. . . . Furthermore, the common schools made possible the assimilation of the emigrant horde constantly arriving on American shores.

85 W. Lloyd Warner and Leo Srole claim that the American schools have almost exclusively the function orienting the first generation child to the American society, since the immigrant parents are themselves inadequately oriented. See The Social System of American Ethnic Groups (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1945), p. 127.

86 Ibid., p. 140.

87 W. Lloyd Warner and Leo Srole, op. cit., pp. 142, 140.

The unifying power of education has been reinforced by another factor. In the nineteenth century a very large and significant number of the teachers were young women from New England. Through their influences, it is generally believed, the Puritan ethnic has become such a widespread value. \(^{89}\) A recent study reveals that the overwhelming proportion of teachers of elementary and high schools are middle class: in town of Midwest, 98 percent of the teachers were middle class at the time of survey; in Yankee City, 97 percent; and in Deep South, 92 percent. \(^{90}\) Actually American education has carried out the entrusted mission so successfully that an Englishman Edward Dicey expresses his surprise in 1863:

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\ldots\text{ the most striking features about American society is its uniformity. Everybody, as a rule, holds the same opinions about everything, and expresses his vies, more or less, in the same language. } \ldots\n\]

\[
\ldots\text{ I believe that this monotonous in the tone of American talk and opinion arises from the universal diffusion of education. Everybody is educated up to a certain point, and very few are educated above it. They have all learned the same lessons under the same teachers, and, in consequence, share the same sentiments to a degree which it is difficult for an Englishman to appreciate beforehand. } \text{91}\n\]

In the 1920's, a critical Frenchman, André Siegfried, also visualizes

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America as a land of vast uniformity in speech, manners, housing, dress, recreation, and politically expressed ideas. 92

Consolidation trend of business and industry in the post-Civil War decades--especially since the 1870's--has necessitated a centralized political power to match the centralized economic power. The simple society of small-scale manufacture of farming does not necessarily make a strong centralized government necessary because the problems people face are comparatively easy to tackle. Drastic governmental control or regulations are consequently unnecessary.

A society of big-scale business and industry, like American society, on the other hand, has proven the necessity of having a powerful government in the face of the hard problems created by the bigness. 93 The Cuban insurrection of 1895, which was brought about by Spanish political oppression, and the economic prostration forced America to discard her isolationism. American appearance in the center of world dip-


lomacy after the end of isolation, consciously or unconsciously, has forced the American people to realize the importance of uniform action, which, in its turn, has made the differences in thinking dangerous. 94 The rise of Populism 95 and its sense of responsibility as a leader of democratic and capitalistic nations in the world have made Americans extraordinarily sensitive to anti-democratic and anti-capitalistic currents in the nation. Red Scare in 1919 and McCarthyism in the 1950's are a few example to show how nervous Americans are to such currents. Anti-business also tends to be un-American. The un-American concept has given a tremendous impetus toward uniformity. Harold J. Laski asserts:

The men who defined it [un-American] were the financial magnates whom Mr. Josephson has so admirably termed the "robber barons." . . . It assumed, without discussion, that the right premises of thinking were of the business men, or, rather, of the economists and lawyers, journalists and theologicals, who made explicit what business men were too busy to formulate themselves. It then inferred from the refusal to accept those premises the conviction that men who denied them were socially dangerous. 96

Through the two global wars, Americans has burdened willy-nilly with the role of the internationale gendarme for the world peace. This role, together with the experiences of the Great Depression, the Cold War, and pending danger of annihilation has necessitated a strong government

95 Ibid., p. 711.
96 Harold J. Laski, op. cit., pp. 711, 712.
and the uniforming tendency among the American people has been intensified.

2. Japanese Subgroups

Rural-Urban Difference

Turning to Japanese culture, it is generally imagined that though group-orientedness, stationariness, and achievement for in-groups—which I consider as the primary values in the present Japanese culture—are traditional values and they are still persistent in rural areas and among the older generations, in urban centers and among the younger generations those values are usually considered to be old-fashioned, and new values such as individualism, mobility for opportunities, and personal achievement, quite similar to those of Americans, are now dominant. Thus, there seems to be a marked difference between urban and rural regions on the major values in Japan. Contrary to those images, however, many scholars have pointed out that in Japan both urbanites and countrymen still believe in the same values of group-orientedness, stationariness, and achievement for in-group, which seem to have originated from the rural wet-paddy rice-cultivating community, despite the superficial changes which have occurred especially since the end of World War II, although they admit the existence of a sign of possible future change. More detailed observation on this point will be given in a later part of this chapter when I discuss historical change. I will ponder the question: Why the rural traditional patterns of thinking have been permeated in the urban centers.
During the Do (Tokugawa) period, close-knit human relationships for instance, were already well developed in the city because of the crowded situation and because of the necessity of cooperation in times of emergencies like a fire, typhoons, earthquakes, etc. About the constant danger of nature in Japan, Dore Ogrizek gives us a concrete description:

Japan comprises a string of islands of volcanic origin totaling 192 volcanoes (58 of which are active), constantly subjected to eruptions, and earthquakes (the seismographers register 4,000 to 5,000 tremors each year), often accompanied by tidal waves. In relief, the archipelago is one of the most rugged in the world; this explains why the population is necessarily grouped around the 16% of arable land. Again due to the extremely mountainous relief, the rivers are short and rapid, and there is thus constant danger of floods at the slightest torrential rain. Moreover, terrible typhoons generally break forth just as the rice is beginning to ripen, between late August and early October. . . . the houses are so densely packed together, and usually built of wood, means that fires can often destroy entire town. 97

Out of necessary cooperation, then, comes the importance of close human nexus, and the people in the towns of those days had developed "a formal etiquette of neighbor relations resembling that of the village and thus provided a model for urban living." 98 Present-day city neighborliness,


therefore, has been developed on this basis. Other than this traditional basis, we have to point out the inadequacy of the city services and the existence of a not insignificant proportion of self-employed workers who spend their working life within the city. 99 And even today close human connections are important in many aspects of daily life, e.g., such as getting a job. After conducting a community study in a ward of Tokyo, R. P. Dore observed the existence of mutual assistance, a sense of unity. Scrupulousness about sharing services, exchanging gifts, importance accorded to the block or ward meetings, acting as a unit in service at the local shrine—these are the marked qualities of the present city community, which exhibit a good deal of corporate character similar to that of the rural community. 100 In the city religious ceremonies also follow a sequence of dates established in the country.

A very large portion of present city dwellers came to the city within a few generations. So even those who were born in the city have been brought up, very probably, by parents or grandparents who have been reared in the traditional values. The city, moreover, recruits its new members from rural areas, too, because usually the small farm lot in the country cannot support more than one family and the eldest son

99 Ibid., p. 286.

inherits it. City population, therefore, have directly or indirectly, been acculturated in the traditional values. About the migration to the city from rural regions, Ezra F. Vogel cites an illustrative story. After doing a study in a suburb in Tokyo, he found that many families there are concerned about their speech and manners because of their rural origins.\textsuperscript{101} Those migrants, even after coming to the city, furthermore, maintain ties with their home villages and those ties may continue unbroken even after the death of the migrants' parents.\textsuperscript{102} Because of the bond, city workers not only can back to the country in times of emergencies--unemployment or natural disasters or illness, but they are actually expected to return to the country at least once a year to visit their ancestors. City dwellers have been given "nourishment" to nurse the traditional values.

Taking those factors into consideration, it would be safe to assume that in the city family the traditional values are still dominant. In addition to the family, the city has a very powerful seedbed of the traditional ways of thinking. That is the firm where the traditional practice of paternalism is observed, almost without exception, regardless of its size. Actually the firm is willing to maintain such practice because many of the owners and workers "were at one time migrants


\textsuperscript{102} R. P. Dore, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 219.
from a rural social structure and its involvement network of expectations," and the new recruiters from the country need "the kind of dependent relations" to which they have "become accustomed in their families and communities." before coming to the city. And the paternalism, in its turn, keep and nourish the traditional patterns of thinking in the city.

Class Difference

There are surely differences in the modes of living among various social groups in Japan. The reason I use the word "group" is that there is no class distinction based on the difference in values in Japan just like in American study. "There are indeed values," Edward Norbeck admits, "that permeate the whole." The Japanese people's unconsciousness of class distinction is convincingly indicated in Ronald Dore's findings:

The Japanese sociological literature on the family, while very much concerned with differences between urban and rural families, or between families where the family group is still a producing unit and families whose income is derived from wages


104Ibid.

and salaries, shows little concern with differences within wage and salary group comparable to differences in England between the middle and working class. 106

The difference in the ways of living in Japan, accordingly, originate mainly, like in American society, in the different levels of income. Such outward differences are less and less marked recently owing chiefly to the development of the mass media advertisement and the affluence Japanese are enjoying these days. An opinion survey conducted by Sorifu Kohoshitsu (Prime Minister's Office, Public Information Office) in 1975 shows this fact clearly. To the question "How you think you standard of living compares with other Japanese," ninety per-cent of the questionees answered "average"; one percent, "above the average"; and five percent, "below the average." 107

One of the strongest statements about the reason why there is no class distinction in Japan would be that the group solidarity is very important and every member of the society identifies with the group. Each social group, moreover, contains different occupational groups, all of which strongly indentify with the group rather than being composed of similar elements. Scott Y. Matsumoto claims:

In Japan the concept of the "working class" seems weak as compared to the West. The workers and owners are bound in collectively orientations and feel themselves less as repre-


sentatives of different classes or occupational groups. 108

Because of the emphasis placed on the group, communication between the groups is usually not so successful (sometimes even hostility may exist between the groups). Accordingly, horizontal combination, say, of the blue workers of various organizations seems to be almost next to impossible. This tendency is clearly shown by the proportions of different occupational groups who vote for a certain political party. For instance, in the survey of the proportion of different occupational groups which voted for the Japan Socialist Party in 1969 shows that the party lacks roots in any real working-class movement: among the supporters of the party, managers of large enterprises consisted of 28.6 percent; clerical and technical workers, 24.2 percent; and manual workers, 21.8 percent. 109 Furthermore, as for the age at marriage, and the extent of children's economic expectations vis-à-vis their parents, the manual working "class" and the middle "class" do not reveal any pronounced difference. 110

Study of the past history also shows the partial reason of classlessness in Japanese culture. In the Tokugawa period, 80 percent of the population was peasants, and samurai consisted of only 6 percent, the


remainder being made up of merchants, craftsmen, and unregistered minor groups. Such small minority of *samurai* had no significant meaning in the total stratification of the society. The line of difference between peasants and *samurais*, moreover, was not formed by the result of economic development but by the political and legal policy of the Tokugawa regime. Such "artificially" created (not the result of spontaneous generation) line of demarcation naturally became indistinctive with the collapse of Tokugawa Shogunate and with the development of common education and modern administrative organ.  

Thirdly, as noted earlier, most of the city dwellers were, directly or indirectly, brought up in the traditional values and they still maintain some kind of ties with the country of their home village, which makes their emergency "home-coming" possible. In fact, the rural regions absorbed four million escapees from Tokyo at the end of World War II. Because of this "siphoning power" of the rural areas, the potentially dangerous unemployed were absorbed and in consequence prevented the development of a rootless and class-conscious proletariat.  


Not only in war time, but also in times of economic depressions or natural disaster—or I should say all the time—the country has been functioning as a "safety valve" preventing the formation of a class in Japanese society. There is a "safety valve" concept in American society, but in America, it was (or is) the vacant lands of the West that absorbed the surplus laborers of the cities and overcame the blight of urban social problems, such as slums or serious unemployment; in Japan it is the close relationships between the groups (especially families) that has been performing the similar function.

**Ethnic Difference**

One line should be added here about the ethnic difference in the Japanese culture. The only noticeable ethnic group, though negligible in number, is the Ainu people who are mainly living in Hokkaido, the northernmost island in Japan.\(^ {113}\) Among the roughly sixteen thousand who are classed as Ainu, however, the pure Ainu (who live mainly in tribal Ainu villages) are reported to account for less than 1 percent of them.\(^ {114}\) The rest of them have been assimilated both culturally and ethnically almost completely into the dominant Japanese society. Cultural assimilation has been mainly accomplished through education (the main part of governmental assimilation policy) and ethnic assimilation, through intermarriage.

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\(^ {113}\) See page 73a

Strickly speaking, burakumin (or eta, which conveys a contemptuous connotation) should not be classified as an ethnic group because they are ethnically same as the majority Japanese. Yet they are often considered to belong to a different "ethnic" group by the Japanese, laymen as well as scholars. Burakumin are the group of about two million outcasts who are usually assumed to be engaging in occupations such as hunting, butchering, shoemaking, cremating, tanning, etc. However, they share a sense of family unity and "the Japanese emphasis on family interdependence. They are not socialized for independent individualism..."

Usually lacking chances for getting a job in the majority society because of the strong social discrimination and intolerance, "Most of the buraku individuals have to stay within the community and make their living there." In the community they usually work under strong paternalism—the relationships with the employer is that of "mutual obligation involving financial protection and income security." For them "The community itself is 'home', where one does not have to dress up." All in all, as for the core values of the Japanese culture I am presently analyzing—individualism, sedentariness, achievement for in-group—there seems little differences between burakumin and the rest of the Japanese. See Hiroshi Wagatsuma and George De Vos, "The Outcasts Tradition in Modern Japan: A Problem in Social Self-Identity," in Aspects of Social Change in Modern Japan, ed. R. P. Dore (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1967), pp. 382, 383, 380. Though legally aliens, six hundred thousand Koreans are also sometimes considered as an "ethnic" group within Japanese society (Japanese with Korean ancestry). Yet it would be doubtful whether they can successfully retain their ethnic characteristics in contrast to the main values of Japanese culture. William H. Forbis gives us suggestive comments "They [Koreans living in Japan] cling to their culture, Korean citizenship, and national pride, although now that three-fourths of them belong to the second or third generation, and in some cases have never been to Korea and can scarcely speak Korean, this patriotism is weakening." See Japan Today: People, Place, Power (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1975), p. 49.
Manu Ainu daughters inherited a plot of land which was given to their fathers by the government. Migrant peasants therefore wanted to marry Ainu daughters, which fact spurred the inter-ethnic intermingling. 

Sinichiro Takakura claims:

Though it would be a little rash to say that every social and racial prejudice against the Ainu people has been disappeared. Yet, now the time has come when we have to grasp the Ainu problem as the poverty problem resulting from their low socio-economic status rather than grasping it as a racial or ethnic problem.

Judging from my personal experience, there is every indication to show that they believe in the similar values held by the majority Japanese.

Subgroup Unifying Factors

Other than the factors which seem to have contributed to equalization of values cherished by urbanites and countrymen preventing the formation of class-conscious labor classes, there seem to be other causes which may have played an important role in the cultural uniformity in Japan. One of those causes would be Japan's geographical isolation made possible by her insular position. Due to this isolation, no significant mixture of foreign blood has taken place for well over ten centuries and uniquely distinct and unequivocal ethnic

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115Ibid., pp. 76, 78.
116 Ibid., p. 78.
identity has been fostered. Not only ethnic uniformity, but also cultural 
unity has been achieved at the beginning of Nara period (710-794), even 
conservatively speaking, because of the language used during the period 
is definitely Japanese presently spoken, with minor changes. With 
the geographical isolation, aided by Tokugawa policy of seclusion for 
two centuries, Japanese had ample time to digest foreign borrowings and 
to assimilate even small different domestic elements in every nook and 
corner. As a result, as early as the mid-nineteenth century, the Japa-
nese culture was probably the most homogeneous among those of Europe-
an countries of similar size. The fact that the Tokugawa Shogunate 
could successfully maintain the seclusion policy for over two hundred 
years has also rendered a big service in protecting the nation against 
foreign invasion or conquest, which has contributed to her cultural 
and ethnic uniformity, too. According to John W. Hall, furthermore, 
the Japanese islands are too small to provide a rival dynasty with a 

geographical foundation wide enough to acquire autonomous power--power 

119 Eiichiro Ishida, Japanese Culture: A Study of Origins and Character-
istics, trans. by Teruko Kachi (Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii, 

120 Edwin O. Reischauer, The United States and Japan, p. 103. Ezra F. 
Vogel also points out the uniquely high cultural homogeniety of Japan: 
"... Japan is a small country which has been relatively isolated be-
cause of its insular position and hence has a much more highly unified 
culture than most countries." See Japan's New Middle Class (Berkeley: 

121 John W. Hall, "The Historical Dimension," in Twelve Doors to 
Japan, p. 153.
strong enough to impugn the government in power\textsuperscript{122} and cause some cultural confusion.

The mass media—newspaper, the radio, and television, especially—is, moreover, very influential in Japan in unifying not only the mode or fashion but also the way of thinking and values of the people. Generally speaking, the Japanese mass media are considered as a mouthpiece of the Establishment and as a medium through which the consensus of the people can be created rather than a mirror of public opinion and a medium through which the people exchange their ideas. A notable example in this respect would be a semigovernmental broadcasting agency (NHK) which covers the entire nation with its networks of both the radio and television, and the press. The character of the Japanese press could be seen through the operation of the powerful press club, which is an association of reporters attached to every government agency at national and local levels, political parties, business firms and industrial organizations, labor unions, and educational and social organizations. The press clubs have power to decide which newsmen will cover the news, the questions to be asked, the way in which the media will carry out its news manipulation; and these press clubs eliminate 'excessive competition and ward off 'overzealous news-gathering'.\textsuperscript{123} The three largest newspapers cover the entire country

\textsuperscript{122}Ibid., p. 154.

with a total circulation of around ten million every morning and slightly
less every evening. These three major newspapers—Asahi Shinbun,
Mainichi Shinbun, and Yomiuri Shinbun—exert a great influence on their
readers as well as on the other newspapers and media. The well-
developed mass media, together with the wide networks of trains and
buses, both public and private, thus, keep the Japanese people in all
parts of the nation in touch with each other making regional variations
in the language and in their ways of thinking less and less marked. Richard Halloran points out the regional uniformity in Japan in the words
spoken by a protagonist in his book:

> We Japanese have the same basic beliefs and traits and language
whether we live in the city or the countryside, or in northern Honshu or southern Kyushu. It can be said, in my opinion, that we Japanese have a definite national character.

Compulsory education in Japan has been exerting a powerful
influence in establishing value uniformity among the people. Histori-
cally, a plan of compulsory system of primary schools was conceived
under the Meiji government in 1870. A separate Department of Education
(Monbusho), which was established a year later, began to draw up the
curriculum and the basic objectives of education. The Imperial Rescript

on Education, which was promulgated in 1890, was based on Confucian concepts and affected the life of every child while he was at school and served as an ethical guide throughout his life. It emphasized sacrifice of one's personal interest to the public good, which concept was expressed in phrases such as unity in loyalty and filial piety, advancement of public good and promotion of common interests, offering yourselves courageously to the State, etc. The Imperial Rescript on Education had been "the source of Our education" until the end of World War II.

The continuation of the Rescript, however, would be seen, for instance, in "The Images of the Ideal Japanese" which was drawn up by the Ministry of Education with the help of a commission of scholars and prominent establishmentalians for the Ministry in 1967. Most of its emphasis was on Confucian and traditional virtues and ethics such as responsibility, duty, loyalty, and harmony. Therefore, as for the core values of Japanese culture--group-orientedness, achievement for the group, and stationariness--it would be safe to conclude that education

128 Richard Halloren, op. cit., p. 36.
130 Ibid., p. 139.
131 Richard Halloran, op. cit., p. 111.
132 Ibid., p. 275.
is, as Edwin O. Reischauer points out, "perhaps the greatest of all the modern forces producing uniformity and regimentation in Japan." 133

Thus, Japanese educated by the end of World War II knew the same stories about Benjamin Franklin and the heroic trumpeter of the Russo-Japanese war, sang the same monbushō songs and recited the same poems. 134 Many of the younger generations can still share the stories and the songs with the older generations because of the home-teachings by the parents or grandparents.

To the Japanese, who had been under forcible rule of feudalism for such a long time and who had been inculcated with the sense of collective responsibility, submission to governmental decisions seems to be accepted easily as a matter of course. 135 The Meiji government which came into power in 1868 strengthened its centralization through its own military, education, and finance system. Changing into a modern industrial nation, which was the main aspiration of the Meiji leaders,

133 Edwin O. Reischauer, The United States and Japan, p. 196. Ichiro Kawasaki, referring to molding in schools in prewar times, affirms the same point: "This absolute obedience to authority has done much to stifle individual initiative, and has given rise to the uniformity of action and thinking among the Japanese." See Japan Unmasked (Tokyo: Charles E. Tuttle Co., 1971), p. 187.


135 Scott Y. Matsumoto writes: "In old Japan, the people became accustomed to submission to the highly centralized government with political power retained in the hands of the military oligarchy who formed the elite aristocracy in the feudal society." See Contemporary Japan: The Individual and the Group, p. 55.
necessitated the powerful centralization. The government provided the section of the economy where private investment was slow in coming with needed capital. This can be seen, for instance, in transportation, coastal shipping, railways, and industries. The victory in The Russo-Japanese War in 1905 brought Japan self-confidence and a sense of mission, which rushed her onward toward "the road that was to make her in the following forty years as an exemplar of Western civilization transplanted; a champion of Asia against the West; and the megalomaniac builder of an empire overseas."\textsuperscript{136} And the resultant military government during the War with its severe and flawless censorship, furthered the uniformity of the Japanese way of thinking.\textsuperscript{137}

3. Japanese Values

Today in Japan, as well as in the past, the group is very important as a functioning unit in the society. "In spite of rapid social change in Japan," Y. Scott Matsumoto asserts, "observers agree that Japan has not moved from group values toward individualism, but rather retains


\textsuperscript{137}John W. Hall asserts: "By 1935 . . . state organs of intellectual control had brought the country into a condition of visible conformity around the ideals of Japanism." See "Education and Modern National Development," in \textit{Twelve Doors to Japan}, by John W. Hall and Richard K. Beardsley, p. 411.
strong emphasis on collectivity orientations within the in-group."\textsuperscript{138}

In the group, stress being put on group unity, the rights of the individual \textit{vis-a-vis} the group are usually deemphasized. Under these circumstances it seems difficult for an individual to act as an independent agent in social interactions. He is always expected as a representative of a certain group. In his social and occupational life, accordingly, he needs dependent relationships with a group. Thus, people are willing to merge themselves in the group, and this tendency is noticeable even among "freedom loving" Japanese youth. They insist upon the liberation of the individual from the restriction imposed by the group, criticizing the traditional and contemporary practice to negate the individual in the presence of group importance. Yet "... underneath this ideal of selfhood... strongly maintained, one can frequently detect an even more profound craving for renewed group life, for solidarity, even for the chance to 'melt' completely into a small group, a professional organization, or a mass movement. ..."\textsuperscript{139} Since group-orientatedness is


\textsuperscript{139}Robert J. Lifton, "Youth and History: Individual Change in Postwar Japan," in \textit{The Challenge of Youth}, ed., Erik H. Erikson (New York:
one of the core values of Japanese culture, such orientation, as noted earlier, would be observed in every aspect of social institutions and in the everyday practices of the people.

On account of importance of group solidarity, to express one's anger outwardly, let along physical aggression, remains to be greatly discouraged. On highly disputable issues, a simple majority vote is usually avoided and, instead, some kind of consensus is groped for in order not to disrupt group harmony. In spite of industrialization and Westernization under the Allied Occupational Forces, much weight is still put on the family as a group than on individual rights of the members. In the family, all individual interests are consequently still supposed to be subordinated to those of the family, and the identity of each family member is deeply fused into ie (household) to which one belongs. In a Ward Association meetings in Tokyo, for example, one representative from each household is expected to 'show his face' as a matter of obligations to the local community. How one's identity is blended in the household is interestingly shown in the following episode cited by R. P. Dore:

In a small country town the head of a climbing upper-middle family was entertained to lunch by a definitely upper-upper family. The next day, when his wife (who was not, of course, included in the invitation) met the 19-year-old youngest son of

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140 Edward Norbeck, Changing Japan, p. 21.

141 R. P. Dore, City Life in Japan, pp. 233, 234.
the upper-upper family (who had nothing whatever to do with the invitation), she bowed deeply and used the politest possible form to say 'many thanks for your very kind entertainment yesterday'.

Even in salaried-man's family in the city where the importance of *ie* as an economic unit has been lost, the household members still accord significance to the concept of *ie* as a corporate unit. The family, both modern and traditional, has been providing a sense of security and emotional satisfaction to its members: "comfort, contentment, and happiness defined in every material terms" for the modern members and a "a quasi-religious reverence for the family as an enduring corporate entity" for the other members.

Emphasis being put on continuity and solidarity of the *ie*, marriage in traditional localities is still seen as more than a matching of the two individuals. Especially for the *ie* the bridegroom is a member of, it is considered to be a means of perpetuating a household by securing a son without disturbing harmony of the *ie*. The overwhelming majority of parents, therefore, take an active role in checking on details of the promising families and deciding on a suitable mate for their child. Such tendency is noticeable even in the most modern and industrialized city of Tokyo. Though officially only one-half of the recently registered mar-

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143 Ezra F. Vogel, Japan's New Middle Class, p. 172.

riages are reported to be arranged in a Tokyo suburb, one young father in Tokyo expresses, Richard Halloran believes, a typical sentiment of Japanese parents about the child's marriage:

The way marriage are made has changed somewhat. . . . But the parents still really control marriage. I am sure my sons would never marry anyone Akiko [his wife] and I didn't approve of. We might try to find wives for them, and they would have to say yes or no. Not many young Japanese will go against the wishes of their parents in marriage, no matter who finds the prospective husband or wife. 145

Love marriage (ren'ai marriage in Japanese) or free marriage, though gaining its popularity recently, is not yet the usual type. It carries implications of betraying the parents' expectation or connotes at least haste and immature decision on the side of the young couple. Because the marriage is arranged in many cases in Japan, it would be difficult to be separated without the consent of parents. The family in Japan accordingly continues to be amazingly stable despite the fact that the "present divorce laws are perhaps the most liberal of those in any major country."146

The continuation of ie is usually made possible by the system of primo-geniture--the eldest son inherits literally the entire family property. The system has been aided by an economic consideration, i.e., the unwillingness to break up small possessions into even smaller among the members. Here may also lie the partial reason why the

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145 Richard Halloran, Japan: Images and Realities, pp. 239, 240.

146 George De Vos, op. cit., p. 10.
patriarchal family system, though legally abolished after the end of World War II, is still virtually in effect in Japan especially in the rural areas and in small enterprises where the well-being of the family members is dependent upon unbroken inheritance of the family property. The eldest son consequently has a position different from that of other sons. Even in urban salaried-men's families where no such significant family property is involved, the family members "have a strong desire to continue the family line and an overwhelming hope that the family have at least one son to continue the family name," though in such families the position of the eldest son is far from the traditional authoritarian image.

Since the family unity and the filial piety are considered important, even today in Japan "the tendency to avoid responsibility for the care of the aged" is far less observed than in the United States! despite the recent widely used insurance policies which have made it less necessary for the aged to depend upon their children for their living. Although there is some increase in the number of institutions


150 George De Vos, Socialization for Achievement, p. 51.
which care for the aged, this type of care for the aged is usually considered undesirable and in no way customary. Even today it is rare for a father of grown sons, if his father has not retired, to make an important decision without consulting the old grandfather, and the father, as male head of the ie, is still served first at meals and goes to the family bath first.

Kin relationships and ritual kinship ties, whose main raison d'être is to secure group security against scarcity, have faded into the background with increased opportunities for livelihood and the rising of the standards of living. Yet, because of the importance of the group-orientedness, kin relationships are still observable in the gathering for marriages, ceremonies honoring the group's protective deity, or seeking guidance of branch members from the stem house on financial matters or voting, and ritual kin relations in "the Diet or local legislatures, that is, among the most modern Japanese institutions," "urban gangs, both adult and teenagers, and . . . internal

151George De Vos., Socialization for Achievement, p. 51.
154Richard K. Beardsley, op. cit., p. 84.
relationship within work teams in the cities.\textsuperscript{155} providing the members with the source of emotional satisfaction.

In the society of group-orientedness, the individual's sense of identity, in the occupational world, originates not from his occupation \textit{per se}, but from his place of employment—a particular business firm or government bureau. This identification, moreover, is strongly intensified by the tacit agreement of life employment. The importance of group attachment would be shown by the facts that a good number of ordinary workers, let alone governmental officers, even self-employed persons, have calling cards on which they are identified with the name of their company, department, section and position, and that they often wear their company's badges when they go out for a holiday.\textsuperscript{156} The company usually assumes a pseudo-familial structure: the owner or president simulates the father role; workers, the children. Though the authority attached to the employer has been tapered off, "the limits within which this process has taken place are narrower than in most industrial societies."\textsuperscript{157} The predominance of small enterprises in the

\begin{footnotesize}
\textsuperscript{155}Erwin H. Johnson, "Status Changes in Hamlet Structure Accompanying Modernization," in \textit{Aspects of Social Change in Modern Japan}, ed. R. P. Dore, p. 158. George De Vos affirms that "today's juvenile delinquents in Japan seem to want to belong to something which might provide such a relationship [a strong relationship on a dominant figure]." See \textit{Socialization for Achievement}, p. 308.

\textsuperscript{156}Ronald Dore, \textit{British Factory—Japanese Factory}, p. 214.

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Japanese business world provides a stronghold for the paternalistic practices, which, as noted earlier, serve more to foster the traditional familial affiliation to the boss and company than class consciousness as workers.

Not only in small companies, but also in large corporations, the necessity of the paternalistic practices has been recognized mainly because, as was noted before, both the owners and workers seek dependent relations and accordingly such practices are directly connected with efficiency. In those corporations, they emphasize "fringe" benefits such as bonuses of almost equal to a half year's salary in total, eating cheaply at the company cafeteria and participation in many types of recreations assisted financially by the firm,\textsuperscript{158} to name just a few.

Wages determinable more by seniority than one's ability, enterprise unions, and high levels of welfare payment—these are actually features generally shared by all large Japanese corporations.\textsuperscript{159} Moreover, you should not be surprised even if you find the section chief who acts as his subordinate's marriage go-between.\textsuperscript{160} One question which has been asked four times in a series of surveys conducted between 1953 and 1968 (using very carefully chosen samples) runs as follows:

Imagine you work in a firm where there were two section chiefs different in the ways described on that card. Which of the two would you prefer to work under?

\textsuperscript{158}Edward Norbeck, \textit{Changing Japan}, p. 66.
\textsuperscript{159}Ronald Dore, \textit{British Factory--Japanese Factory}, p. 301.
\textsuperscript{160}Ibid., p. 274.
A is a man who would never try to get extra work out of you to the extent of breaking the rules, but at the same time would never look after you in matters which had nothing to do with the work.

B is a man who might occasionally make extra work demands, even in breach of the rules, but on the other hand would always look after you, even in matters outside of work.¹

Answers clearly show the Japanese preference of paternalistic practices. Constantly, over fifteen years, 12-14% have chosen A and 82-85% have chosen B except for a curious drop to 77% (when there were more 'don't knows') in 1958. The pattern of age differences has held constant, with the younger age groups being more likely to prefer the paternalist—reflecting, presumably, according to Ronald Dore, differences in individual life cycles and not at all secular changes in attitudes. ¹⁶¹

Group-orientedness is observable also in the fact that the community members still participate in the group work even after such group cooperation has become unnecessary for survival. For example, tile and board roofs have replaced the traditional thatched roof in most rural areas today. Yet the villagers still cooperate when someone builds a new house although a team of professional carpenters are hired. They have a fine celebration feast after the day's work, in which warm cooperative spirits are further promoted.¹⁶² Funerals and building irrigation ditches may be the main works in which cooperation is actually needed.


In rural areas, in case of funerals, each household sends one person at least as a representative to do the necessary work such as making a coffin, preparing firewood for the cremation, setting up an altar in the bereaved house, and cooking foods for the funeral helpers.  

In the group-oriented rural community people still use kin terms in addressing persons who are their elders regardless of their real kin relationships. The continued sense of belongingness to a certain community would be shown by the fact that, even in the most "modernized" city of Tokyo, you can find many a Society of Men of . . . Perfecture ( . . . kenjinkai), and that in Tokyo still the first question to be asked after making a new acquaintance would be 'Which is your province?'

In urban regions, since various insurances and savings have come in wide use recently, mutual aids are far less necessary than in farming villages. Nevertheless, community spirits are still noticeable in case of, say, funerals where not only the words of condolence and monetary gifts, but sometimes ornate floral wreaths, which adorn the path leading to the entrance of the bereaved house, are offered by friends, colleagues, neighbors, and even casual acquaintances.


164 Edward Norbeck, Changing Japan, p. 27.


Actually in some occasions, such neighbor relations still carry out important functions: to lessen, as indicated before, the emotional shock of the city-bound migrants caused by uprooting. Herein lies the important reason why a giri-obligation relationship continues to be important in the heart of Tokyo even now. Inadequate public welfare programs, moreover, still necessitates the giri relations, and "meeting smiling faces instead of blank stares as soon as one steps outside one's back door" is more than mere pleasantness for the Japanese who are accustomed to living in close-knit groups.

Because of the importance of the group, Japan is still a country where personal connections functions as a powerful lever in occupational fields. Schools and universalistic entrance examinations provide an objective screening for more and more candidates for jobs recently. In interview and promotion in the company, however, there is still room for a "pull". R. P. Dore affirms that "There is still scope for patronage to operate in the final decision taken at the second-interview-stage of selection." Personal connections, moreover, furnish the employer a kind of guarantee for prospective job applicants. Some companies go to the extreme and accept only the applicants who have some type of


personal connection (kone in Japanese) with an established employee.\textsuperscript{170}

Inside the group in Japanese culture, "the vertical structure principle"\textsuperscript{171} is the basis on which two individuals establish relationships. For all its recent Westernization and democratization, consideration of social superiority and inferiority remains still important whenever one meets with a person in daily life. For instance, whenever one says to another "Come in" or "Sit down", he is expected to use the words which belong to the proper level of politeness, based on his relationship with the person addressed. Not only the position one occupies in his company, on such an occasion, but the type of job itself or the company's social prestige may sometimes furnish a criterion upon which he decides his form of expressions. In rural regions, despite the farm-land reform initiated by the Allied Occupation Forces, the landlords still have been able to retain great control over the village affairs. Possessions of forestry lands were excluded from the reform and farmers under distress and poverty turn to former landlords for help.\textsuperscript{172} As a result, patron-client relations are still maintained in the country. In urban settings, even though the post-war changes have reduced the authoritarian structure within the company and the company has accepted the union's right

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\textsuperscript{170} R. P. Dore, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 127.

\textsuperscript{171} Chie Nakane, \textit{Japanese Society}, p. 141.

to bargain, superior and inferior relations still remain in the daily informal work situation. Except for wages and job security, the "company union" seems not to interfere with the authority of management, because they themselves seem to seek a dependent relationship. Thus "the lathe operator called to the manager's office is still likely to be very respectful."\(^{173}\) Such superior and inferior relations are also detected in the internal organizations of the civil bureaucracy, hospitals, political parties, and even universities.\(^{174}\)

In Japan the taxi driver who is admonished by a policeman may still "take off his hat and give a smart 20-degree bow" though "he does not go down on his knees like a rickshawman of 1890."\(^{175}\) Japan, after all, took off her feudal "garment" only a century ago. And even after taking off the outermost coat by the superficial changes at the time of the Restoration, the substance of the society or culture have remained almost unchanged. Edward Norbeck affirms that in the Meiji area many and great changes took place but "these occurred in ways that allowed, even encouraged, the continuation of a social order and supporting values that in many ways did not radically differ from


\(^{174}\) Ibid., p. 10.

\(^{175}\) Ibid., p. 12.
from the past." The basic objectives of the Meiji education were, as I touched upon in the "education as a uniformizer," the Confucian teachings and the basic principles of which were loyalty, filial piety, advancement or promotion of public good or common interests, and the sacrifice of one's personal interest to the good of the family and the state. These teachings had continued at least up until the end of the War. And there are still some signs to show that they are still believed by the people: one of the signs would be "The Images of the Ideal Japanese" drawn in 1967.

As for mobility for opportunities, Japanese and American cultures give us quite different pictures. Unlike American society, the great part of the city population, not to mention the countrymen, are not constant movers. Even those who have migrated from the rural areas recently are not willing to change their firms or places of residence once they have settled in the urban environment. Even today most city residents are thus leading a life within steady human nexus and feel secure

176 Edward Norbeck, Changing Japan, p. 9. Chie Nakane also asserts: "It can be argued that the basic system of modern Japan was inherited from the previous Tokygawa regime and that the modern changes of the Meiji period, which appear so drastic, occurred without any structural change in terms of the basic state configuration." See Japanese Society, p. 114. Rinhard Bendix, also writes: "Modernization appeared to most Japanese who thought about it at all, not as a process in which a life-or-death confrontation of traditional or modern took place, but as a dynamic blending of the two." See "Preconditions of Development: A Comparison of Japan and Germany," in Aspects of Social Change in Modern Japan, ed. by Dore (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1967) p. 53.


178 Ibid.
and satisfied. The importance of group solidarity and personal connections (which are likely fostered by the unbroken and continuous relationships among the members or the persons involved), the lack of a horizontal "pipe" through which one can move from group to group (because of the group exclusiveness), the life-time employment and the seniority systems (which reinforces the stationariness), and the traditional teaching which emphasizes the carrying out of one's duty to the family and the state staying in one's proper station--these are all factors which work against the mobility for opportunities. Since these factors seem to have continued to exist, it would be natural to assume that, once one has got a job and settled down, mobility for opportunities continues to be "low" among the Japanese.

In the school curriculum of the Meiji era, emphasis had been put on morality, patriotism, and loyalty. Personal achievement and accomplishment were disdained. The Japanese still consider achievement as mainly the fulfilment of social expectations and obligations, including the duty of adding to the status, wealth or honor of their families, rather than personal ambition or achievement. The tendency is clearly indicated in the following two questions asked on an intention of surveying the general attitude toward personal ambition:

179Richard Halloran, Japan: Images and Realities, p. 35.
Which of these two do you think the most to be admired. The son of a blacksmith who works steadily all his life at this smithy and die a blacksmith, or the son of a blacksmith who gives up the family craft, starts a business and ends as the owner of a big company?

Why do you think so?

To the first question nearly 70 percent of the interviewees answered "The Company Owner" the most to be admired, 12 percent, "The Blacksmith," and 17 percent, "Don't Know." However, the top three answers to the second question were "One should take the course which benefits the national society (kokka-shakai)," "One should not strive simply to 'get on'--that is wrong--but it is the duty of modern man to develop his talents as fully and freely possible'," and "Of course everyone should try to get on; it is not only he himself who benefits, but his family as well."  

John C. Pelzel claims in this respect that "It is difficult to rationalize self-interest. Mobility is, to a considerable extent, thought of not as much as mobility of the individual, but as that of a group of which the individual is one part, and this group is typically the family or, to a lesser extent, the simulated family."  

So long as one's ambition or achievement is for the group he belongs, it would not contradict the group unity but support it. In Japanese culture individualism still seems not to "imply a sense of oughtness or responsibility, but rather it is seen as the right and privilege of an individual to look out for his own


interests even against the interests of the group."183 And Christianity
has had little success in proselytizing the Japanese people perhaps
because of its individualistic emphasis, exclusive nature, and lack
of ancestor worship. 184

4. American Values

Let me change the topic to the historical continuity of American
primary values. American individualism has been fostered through
the process of escape. The American escaped from old European
traditions including religious intermediaries, guilds, wars, poverty,
etc, when he had migrated to or immigrated into the New World or the
United States. In the time of the Westward expansion, he also escaped
from the institutions or the civilized society such as the government,
cities, commerce, industries, etc. American parents being trans-
planted in the familiar environment or/and living in a fast progressing
society, together with well-Americanized children and child-centered-
ness, have been unfit for maintaining authoritarian family structures.
The American, therefore, has escaped from parental authorities
(restraints, power, directions, etc.). (American women, by entering
into the occupational world and being protected equally by laws,
have also escaped from her husband's authority.) Being set free from

183 Ezra F. Vogel, Japan's New Middle Class, p. 147.

184 Edwards Norbeck writes: "Total membership in the numerous Chris-
tian sects totals only about seven hundred thousand persons, less than
the memberships of any one of a number of new Japanese religious sects
that have risen to prominence since the end of World War II." See Changing
Japan, p. 18.
the old traditions, the institutions, and the authorities, the American has been able to think and act freely and ambitiously, but at the same time, he has no one to depend upon or to ask help or guidance from and he has to carve out his own future and assume all responsibility alone.

The Image of an individualistic American is shown in the following episode of a United States Senator who, returning home, finds a workman standing at his door:

'Well my man,' said the senator good-naturedly, 'What can I do for you?' 'I'm not your man; I'm nobody's man except my wife's,' the fellow answered, with some asperity. 'I've come to paint the house.' 185

Since individualism is a pride and ideal for the American,

... an American parent who has not been successful in life may derive some benefit from the prosperity of his children but he certainly will not want anybody to know about it. In fact, he will resent any reference to it. At the first opportunity when it is possible for him to become independent of his children he will do so. 186

The natural corollary for the ambitious individualistic American who finds himself in the midst of 'American abundance'—partly provided by the generous nature and partly by the technologically and industrially progressing society 187—would be the strong motivation


for grasping the opportunity. Without being restrained by anything, the American moves freely and willingly to seize an opportunity before somebody can. Alexis de Tocqueville summarizes the nature of American mobility:

An American will build a house in which to pass his old age and sell it before the roof is on; he will plant a garden and rent it just as the trees are coming into bearing; he will clear a field and leave others to reap the harvest; he will take up a profession and leave it, settle in one place and soon go off elsewhere with his changing desires. If his private business allows him a moment's relaxation, he will plunge at once into the whirlpool of politics. Then, if at the end of a year crammed with work he has a little spare leisure, his restless curiosity goes with him traveling up and down the vast territories of the United States. Thus he will travel five hundred miles in a few days as a distraction from his happiness. 188

Since the American has to carve out his own future without the help from others, his worth is likely measured by the level of his achievement. In this sense his achievement is a personal achievement. And he moves up, and sometimes down, the social scale according to his efforts. Actually it is the fear of downward mobility that makes the American apprehend the staying on the same level because it means that he would be superseded sooner or later by those who are striving harder below him. 189 In order not to be passed by others the American has to compete vigorously all the time. The spirit of competition


189 Francisc L. K. Hsu writes: "In his continuous effort at status achieving and maintaining, the self-reliant man fears nothing more than contaminating by fellow human beings who are deemed inferior to him." See "American Core Value and National Character," p. 223.
is the American spirit. Meeting in Cincinnati in 1838 in the light of frequent accidents, steamboatmen came to a conclusion:

... the public have, themselves, contributed in no inconsiderable degree, to increase the evil, not only by newspaper puffs, but by the constant desire which a large portion of those who travel on steamboats, manifest to "go on the fastest" and even to urge an increase of speed. Is it wonderful then that under such circumstances some commanders should be induced to force their boats beyond the bounds of safety, when great patronage and applause are the rewards for the risk incurred? This morbid appetite among travelers for "going ahead" is probably one of the greatest causes of evils. ...

Many social scientists assert that individualism, geographic mobility, and personal achievement are still contemporary American values. Harold J. Laski affirms (in 1940):

There is something in the psychological climate in America which resists any ultimate regimentation of behavior or opinion. ... Non-conformity is an element in American life. ...

Richard Hofstadter, in 1958, points out the fact that individualism is still valued highly by middle-class parents:

I find some additional evidence myself in the growing revolt of middle-class parents against those practices in our education that seem to sacrifice individualism and creativity for adjustment and group value.

Conrad Arensberg and Arthur H. Niehoff claims that because of their individualism nurtured by the promise of 'progress' most Americans


"move about freely" and "change jobs and move up and down in status with considerable frequency." They also point out that newly-wed couples change their place of residence several times in their lives and thus lacks geographical roots. Concerning the continuity of achievement-orientation, George Gallup and Evan Hill published a survey in The Saturday Evening Post in 1960. The poll was taken in reference to "Preference for Highest Grade Rather than Popularity" among students in five nations. Among 10 year old students in the United States, 82 percent preferred highest grades to popularity; among 14 year old students, 63 percent; and among the combined age groups, 73 percent. This is the highest only after Norway. The results are as follows:

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Nation</th>
<th>PER CENT PREFERING HIGHEST GRADES</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>10 year olds</td>
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<tr>
<td>Norway</td>
<td>86%</td>
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<td>United States</td>
<td>82</td>
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<td>West Germany</td>
<td>62</td>
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<td>England</td>
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<td>France</td>
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Commenting on the differences in cultural heritage and environmental


factors in each society, Dean C. Barnlund claims that the American is "materialistic," "experimental," "pragmatic," "competitive," and "individualistic." Seymour M. Lipset asserts that at present "there are many trends making for an increase in autonomous behavior, in free choice," and that even in spite of "... the changes brought about by urbanization and bureaucratization, American still appears to be quite achievement oriented when compared to persons from more status-bound nations." He concludes that reading the historical record "suggest that there is more continuity than changes with respect to the main elements in the national value system. ... the value system is perhaps the most enduring part of what we think of as society, or a social system." Robin M. Williams, Jr. lists fifteen major value-belief themes that are "silent in American culture" and among them he cites "Individual personality," "Achievement and success," and "Freedom." "It would be conceivable," he maintains, "that a great many conspicuous changes in technology and economic life together with change in superficial customs and in surface ideologies could leave essentially untouched an 'underlying' substrate of basic values. In other words, specific norms, beliefs, and patterns of overt behavior might change while the funda-


mental standards for judging desirability were preserved intact, changing only in the surface forms of expression. 197 Culture should be continuous, otherwise the society is unable to progress on the basis of its accumulated cultural heritage and "each generation would have to start afresh with nothing more than its biological heritage." 198 Emphasizing cultural continuity Geoffrey Gorer writes: "... societies will maintain their culture through an indefinitely long period... unless they are disrupted by war or famine, by epidemic disease or other drastic interference which can be roughly described as external." 199 Lastly a Japanese sociologist, Chie Nakane, also stresses the persistency of social structure and the continuation of values to the effect that tradition exerts a molding effect upon the coming generation: "In my view, the traditional social structure of a complex society... seems to persist and endure in spite of great modern changes.... Values


that crystallized into definite form during the course of modern history are deeply rooted and aid or hinder, as the case may be, the process of modernization."

When I had discussed the alleged regional differences on the core values in American culture, I had marshalled the discussion without touching upon the possibility of such existing isolated regions whose members seem to have believed in quite contrary primary values to those of the Great Society before the integration of those regions, and the length of time, in most cases three or four decades, within which changes in the primary values seem to have occurred, or I should say, to have completed. If the premise, which I have developed in the introduction, that the core values have a strong molding effect on every aspect of a culture and that it seems almost impossible for a region within the culture to have contrary primary values to those of the dominant culture is valid, (which I believe it is,) together with the fact that no region had been completely isolated geographically or culturally before the integration, the argument I have marshalled in the first

part of this chapter (by the way, almost all the scholars I have encountered so far followed the same line of argument as I did), seems to be contradictory to the premise. In the Introduction I emphasized that the primary values in a culture, barring revolutions or the like, seem to continue for a long time and so that the change in those core values seems to be a matter of a century at least. Then the seeming value change completed in three or four decades also seems to be contradictory to the premise. Is my following solution to the seeming inconsistency too reckless?

Even in those geographically and culturally isolated regions, the people have believed in the same core values as the Great Society since the beginning of the communities because they were originally recruited from the same stock. However, the peculiar environment which they have found themselves in has necessitated them to make a certain type of variation in the peripheral values. Some of the factors which have such a variation necessary would be the need to cooperate in agricultural work due to the lack of suitable machinery, the need to stay in the same community due to the lack of opportunities in surrounding areas and of means of transportation, the impossibility of personal achievement mainly due to the lack of opportunities, and hence, one's personal ambition might infringe on another's happiness or the like. If those variants in the peripheral values are all observable in a certain region, the combination of those variants may make the people in the community look like quite a different kind of people to the
outside observers. However, when the peculiar conditions of the community have been changed by the development of the means of communication or transportation, the increase of opportunities outside the community, the introduction of agricultural machinery owing to the increase of the income, etc., the factors which necessitated the variation have also disappeared and the people may be quick in returning to the normal peripheral values almost side by side with the social changes. In such a case, if the social changes have been completed in three or four decades, the people in the community also seem to have changed their core values in three or four decades to the observers; and the observers may think that the region under the direct molding impact of the dominant culture introduced in the wake of the disappearance of the isolation, has been integrated into the Great Society.

One promising support to my "rash" argument seems to be found in the findings in Plainville. When Plainvillers could afford to buy agricultural machinery, they bought it individually. Even close relatives may duplicate major and expensive equipment. Farmers, in fact, agree unanimously that 'it's best for every man to own his own equipment'. 201 Art Gallaher, Jr., observing this fact, distinguishes "cooperative behavior" from "collective effort." He defines coopera-
tive behavior as "a number of individuals work together for a mutual goal" and collective effort as "helping individuals with their own, respective, private work." "Collective effort, then," he asserts, "can and often does exist where there's a high degree of individualism."

And he concludes that "This, in effect, has been true in varying degrees in Plainville throughout much of its history."202 If I restate his argument using my own logic it could be put as follows: though Plainvillers have been believing in individualism as a core value, they had to make variation in the peripheral value zone to value also collective effort under the specific conditions they were living in. To be more concrete, Plainvillers have been believing in the peripheral values "Thou hast to do thy work by thyself." However, under their peculiar conditions, they had to vary it to "Thou hast to do thy work by thyself, but if thou hast realized it impossible after checking every possibility thou hast no choice but to ask for help from others because thou hast to survive." Accordingly, this variation in the peripheral value may not necessarily be contradictory to the core value. But to the outside observers, Plainvillers may seem to lack self-reliance or to be even group-oriented. With the introduction of agricultural machinery, they are quick to have the peripheral value like "Thou has to do thy work by thyself because thou can do it thyself now." Now the observers may think that because of the rising standards of living Plainvillers have

202 Art Gallaher, Jr., Plainville Fifteen Years Later, p. 57.
come to believe in the core values of the dominant culture--individualism; and, hence, they are integrated culturally into the Great Society, though they already believe in individualism and the change has occurred only in the peripheral value level.

The same logic could be applied to other peripheral values: though Plainvillers value mobility for an opportunity highly, they have to shift the emphasis a little due to the lack of opportunities in the neighboring cities or of proper means of transportation. In other words, though they believe in the core value of mobility for an opportunity, they have to shift the peripheral value "Thou hast to move freely in order to get a better rewarding job" over to "Thou hast to move freely in order to get a better rewarding job, but since there is no such job in the places accessible to thee, thou hast no choice but to stay here." If such conditions last long Plainvillers may seem to have no motivation for moving for opportunities or may seem to consider mobility for opportunities as a necessary evil. With the development of the means of communication they may know that there are increasing job opportunities in the surrounding areas and they may begin constructing highways or demanding better bus services or purchasing a car. Now they may probably change the peripheral value into "Thou hast to move freely in order to get a better job, because there are so many better jobs in the neighboring cities and thou hast the means of transportation." This change may be very fast because they still believe in mobility for opportunities in the center of their value system. The observers may
think the change is one that occurred in the primary value. Plainvillers may believe in the peripheral value "Thou hast to succeed in thy occupation to show others that thy art a worthy person." They, however, may have to change it a little into "Thou hast to succeed in thy work to show others that thou art a worthy person, but since there is no such suitable job around thee or to become a big success endangers others' survival or happiness, thou hast to be contented with the things as they are." If they live under these conditions for a long period, they may seem to lack ambition or aspiration for a better job or position or to have no belief in progress or be not future-oriented. With the disappearing of isolation and the increasing opportunities they may quickly change the peripheral value to "Thou hast succeeded in thy work to show others that thy art a worthy person because there are many suitable jobs for that purpose and to do so does not ruin others' chances to success or happiness." They may begin to emphasize the importance of education and spend much money on education, and parents may encourage their children to widen their mental vision. The outside observers may think that because of the development of the means of communication and transportation, the increase of opportunities in surrounding regions, and the rise of the standards of living, Plainvillers and their community have been completely integrated into the Great Society.
CHAPTER III INDIVIDUALISM AND GROUP-ORIENTEDNESS

1. Individualism in U.S.

American individualism is defined for the present purposes as the tendency of the American to think and act freely, assuming full responsibility for the result when he tries to materialize his cherished aim. As touched upon in the previous chapter, such American individualism has been fostered in a series of processes of escape, being aided by abundant opportunities. The first one would be the migration or the immigration to the New World or the United States. In this process the American escaped from European "traditions"—depressions, famines, diseases, wars, restrictions imposed by religious intermediaries, etc. Carl Bridenbaugh gives us some idea of such "traditions" when he describes the situation of England during the half-century between 1590 and 1640:

In the countryside, large numbers of people had been deprived of their ancient rural security; they had no land to cultivate; unemployment threatened the agricultural laborer and village artisan most of the time; at best, their housing was inadequate; in cold or wet weather, fuel was scarce, costly, and often unobtainable. Undernourishment and unbalanced diets sapped the strength of thousands of the lower orders, and many fell victims to disease, notably tuberculosis. Periodically the plague decimated whole country villages. In the hearts and minds of respectable, if impoverished men, the payment of ship money, impressment, billeting, and similar demands by government during the years of the personal rule aroused bitterness and alienated not a few from the Stuart King. For human and often trivial offenses, the ecclesiastical courts meted out harsh punishments, but in spite of laws and sermons, people solaced themselves with drink, and, among the idle, bastards increased markedly. Approximately half of the peasantry lived in extreme
poverty and depressed conditions affected townsmen and city people everywhere.  

For the people living under these conditions, "Success stories about planters in America, letters from satisfied colonists, and the compelling lure of the promotion literature picturing a better England, one lacking old England's woe," functioned as "attracting forces." Now ordinary people, being forced out by "propelling forces" of the dire situations, began to group for the possibility of going to the New World and beginning a new life.

In fact the most important motive which led the Europeans, notably Englishmen, to seek a new future on the North American continent was to escape from the Old World represented by such traditions." General Court of Massachusetts, in 1651, clearly expressed the intention of their migration:

We came into these remote parts of the earth to enjoy the liberties of the gospel in their purity, which, hitherto, we have had, without restraint, these twenty-five years and above. . . . We know not any country more peaceable and free from war, for the present, through the mercy of God. . . . We humbly petition . . . that, if God so please, we may not be hindered in our comfortable proceedings in the work of God in this wilderness.

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2 Ibid., p. 411.
3 Carl Bridenbaugh, op. cit., p. 411.
William Penn desired to establish a colony in order "that an example be set up to the nations; there may be room there [in America] though not here for such a holy experiment." And Francis Daniel Pastorius claimed that "after I had sufficiently seen the European provinces and countries, and the threatening movements of war, and had taken to heart the dire changes and disturbance of the Fatherland [Germany], I was impelled through a special guidance from the Almighty, to go to Pennsylvania." Pilgrims, who were the small band of humble puritans of East Anglia, came to the New World to "begin anew in a world free from corrupting influences." Thomas Paine, champion of the common man, reaffirms the concept of the New World as an asylum:

This New World has been the asylum for the persecuted lover of civil and religious liberty from every part of Europe. Hither have they fled, not from the tender embraces of the mother, but from the cruelty of the monster.

Geographical factors were also influential in implementing this deeply rooted desire of escaping from the turmoil of the Old World in their

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minds. They knew of the roughness of the Atlantic and the danger in
crossing it. But because of this danger, they thought that once they
had crossed it they would be safe. They concluded that God Himself
had intended to divide the globe into separate spheres. America
was the "New Zion" and Providence had severed this "American
Israel" from a timeworn, corrupted, and warring continent."9

In fact the Atlantic Ocean in those days was too dangerous for
ordinary folk to cross or even think of crossing. The ships were
very poorly equipped and the voyage was under the strong control of
the weather. If the weather permitted, crossing the Atlantic took
only five weeks or so, but in case of bad weather, it took several
months. Sometimes, it was reported, the ship was caught by a
terrible storm, her mainmast was snapped off, and she drifted at the
mercy of the waves for eleven days. The stock of food ran critically
low and many poor passengers were in imminent danger of famine.
They were even exposed to the danger of pirates.10 Therefore, it
would be only natural that a small minority of the Europeans who were
under such frustrated and desperate conditions had fled to the New
World. In the case of England, between 1620 and 1642, close to

9Selig Adler, The Isolationist Impulse: Its Twentieth Century Reac-

10 Carl Bridenbaugh, Vexed and Troubled Englishmen, 1590-1642,
pp. 7, 8, 9.
80,000 Englishmen, or 2 percent of all Englishmen, left Britain and 58,000 of them ventured to the New World including certain small hitherto unoccupied islands in the Caribbean Sea. In this respect it would be safe to assume that those who had left Europe for the New World were different from the majority who stayed in their countries despite such terrible conditions. Migration or immigration was, accordingly, the process of selection. The people who had crossed the Atlantic Ocean were the people of strong will and courage because the brave and adventurous were more willing to try a new life in the New World at the risk of their lives than the fearful and common folk, who were likely to remain at home. And they were surely individualistic peoples, for they had left the close-knit farm and village life behind them and decided to venture on a voyage to the unknown world alone or in the small family group. The rural communities they left behind had been maintaining, in actuality, very compact human relationships within them. Carl Bridenbaugh affirms:

Always the essential features of farm and village life had been its local and communal nature. A relationship which was intensely personal cojoined the members of this vigorous, lusty village stock of the entire English countryside—an interdependence that was, more or less, an extension of the comings and goings of a country family.

13 Carl Bridenbaugh, op. cit., p. 83.
Two factors seem to have rendered help to further the individualistic tendency in the Europeans, and hence, backed up their migration or immigration. The first of these factors would be the Enlightenment. The old European "traditions" still persisted in the eighteenth century "though often in guises less terrifying than before. Wars, disease, starvation, insecurity, and injustice continued to darken men's lives and checked their hopes. Progress itself called for new victims, and the very improvements that lightened the burdens of many intensified the sufferings of others." Yet "the eighteenth-century mood," Peter Gay continues, "... was a genuine and far-reaching novelty in human affairs; it amounted to far more than a mere recapture of old position, and it surpassed anything the most confident of antique rationalists could have imagined." "... it was," he concludes, "a century of decline in mysticism, of growing hope for life and trust in effort, of commitment to inquiry and criticism, of interest in social reform, of increasing secularism, and a growing willingness to take risks."¹⁴ This kind of faith in man's worth is seen, for instance, in the field of philosophy. English philosopher, John Locke, emphasized freedom, equality, and the respect of natural rights of the human beings--the dignity of each individual--in his two Treatises of Government. He asserts that in the State of Nature "all

Men are naturally in... a State of perfect Freedom to order their Actions, and dispose of their Possessions, and Persons as they think fit, within the bounds of the Law of Nature, without asking leave, or depending upon the will of any other Man. A State also of Equality And Reason, which is that law, teaches all Mankind... that being all equal and independent, no one ought to harm another in his Life, Health, Liberty, or Possessions." In 1762 Jean Jacques Rousseau published his essay entitled The Social Contract, in which he also claimed the inalienable right of the individual to equality before the law. He declares that "the sovereign power, all absolute, all sacred, all inviolable as it is, neither will, nor can, exceed the bounds of general conventions, and that every man may fully dispose of what is left to him of his property and his liberty by these conventions; so that the Sovereign never has any right to lay a greater charge on one subject than on another, because then the affair would become personal, and in such cases the power of the Sovereign is no longer competent." Those who had migrated would have been among the most influenced by the philosophy which emphasized the individual dignity. This may be indicated by the fact that when Thomas Paine asserted the inviolableness of natural rights in his pamphlet, Common Sense, in


1776, such concept was already "common sense" in America, and that in a few months thousands of copies had been circulated in the colonies. In his pamphlet, Paine explains:

Natural rights are those which appertain to man in right of his existence. Of this kind are all the intellectual rights, or rights of the mind, and also all those rights of acting as an individual for his own comfort and happiness which are not injurious to the natural rights of others. Civil rights, [which are] the aggregate of natural rights, which relate to security and protection, and which his individual power is not in all cases sufficiently competent, cannot be applied to invade the natural rights which are retained in the individual and in which the power to execute is as perfect as the rights itself.

And the Declaration of Independence unmistakably reaffirms the spirit of the Enlightenment. It declares:

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

Protestants in Europe were forced to leave their mother countries because of their faith in Protestantism. However, when they

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18 Nelson F. Adkins, ed., Thomas Paine, Common Sense and Other Political Writings, pp. 84-85. The order of the phrases is rearranged in some parts.

faced religious oppression and they found out the teachings of "exodus" in the Bible, it was their individualism, which had been nursed by the individualistic doctrine of Protestantism, that helped them decide to migrate to the New World. As the Reformation began bearing fruit, the family, aided by Scriptural authority, assumed a religious role. The life of rural Englanders was no exception in this respect. "Religious observance of some kind," Carl Bridenbaugh writes, "figured prominently in the daily round of rural being. . . . Since the Reformation, the head of the family had assumed certain diurnal duties that made his family truly 'a little church, and a little common-wealth'." And what they found in the Bible was the exhortation toward the new land. Many texts in the Bible strongly urged honest Christians to leave behind the land which did not want them, to go to the promised land, and to be prosperous. Men and women who were looking for the words of God, discovered the Lord's calls to the benevolent land. The Lord said to Nathan the prophet, "I will assign a place for my people Israel; there I will plant them, and they shall dwell in their own land. They shall be disturbed no more, never again shall wicked men oppress them as they did in the past, ever since the time when I appointed judges over Israel my people . . . "

20 Carl Bridenbaugh, Vexed and Troubled Englishmen, 1590-1642, p. 32.
21 Ibid., pp. 86, 401, 402.
22 II Samuel, 7:10-11.
country, your kinsmen, and your father's house, and go to a country that I will show you. I will make you into a great nation..."  

Actually such "divine guidance" is clearly spoken, for instance, by Francis Daniel Pastorius in the previous quotation. 

Protestantism, which revolts "against excessive reliance of the institutional church," emphasizes "individual accountability to God." Since the individual has to establish a direct contact with God without the help from religious intermediaries, it would be necessary for him to be familiar with the divine law which, in the Protestant belief, was unmistakably said only in the Bible. Protestantism, accordingly, stressed the right of the individual to judge and interpret Scripture and the individual religious experience. In this sense, it emphasized the innate worth and upright-

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26 Gerald W. Johnson, op. cit., pp. 54, 55.

ness of the individual, and this self-confidence rendered the
Protestants great aid in reaching the decision of their migration.

Since those who had migrated were mostly Protestants, Protestantism was far more influential upon the formation of American mind
than Catholicism, though both were brought to the colonies. Ralph
B. Perry affirms:

... the colonial minds of America was molded by Protestant
Christianity and in the main by Puritan and Evangelical Pro-
testanism. Except for Maryland, the Catholicism of colonial
days was peripheral; and the Catholicism of the later migrations
not only came after the main characteristics of the American
mind already crystallized, but did not as a result reach the
upper economic, political, and cultural levels of American
society.

About the Protestant's emphasis on independence, David C. McClelland
gives us assuring findings. According to him, on the average, the
Protestant parents expected their sons to know their way around the
city, etc., at the age of about 6 1/2, the Irish parents at about 7 1/2,

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28 Ralph B. Perry, Characteristically American (New York: Alfred A.
out individualistic tenets of Protestantism: "A high value is placed on
the independence of both the congregation and individuals to decide what
they want to believe and practice." See "The New Englanders of Orchard
Town, U.S.A.," in Six Cultures, ed. Beatrice B. Whiting (New York:
paring Christianity with Buddhism and Shinto in Japan, states: "In simple
terms, Christianity is activist where traditional Buddhism and Shinto
take a position of passivity or retreat..." See "Religion and Philoso-
phy," in Twelve Doors to Japan, by John W. Hall and R.K. Beardsley

29 Ibid., p. 7.
and Italian parents at about 8 1/2. "The differences," he concludes, "were significance, although the number of cases in each sample varied only between 35 and 40. As predicted, the Protestant mothers stressed earlier self-reliance than the Catholic mothers." 30

Thus the daring and venturesome Europeans aided by the spirit of Enlightenment— the confidence in human intellect, trust in effort, and a willingness to take risks—and the inherent worth and integrity of the individual cultivated by the Protestant doctrine, had escaped to America, having a firm resolution to start a completely new life. They had no trust in the old "traditions," and hence, had no intention of repeating them. Geoffrey Gorer asserts:

With few exceptions the immigrants did not cross the ocean as colonists, to reproduce the civilizations of their homes on distant shores; with the geographical separation they were prepared to give up, as far as lay on their power, all their past; their language and the thoughts which only that language could express; the laws and allegiances which they had been brought up to observe; the values and assured way of life of their ancestors and their former compatriots; even to a large extent their customary ways of eating, of dressing, of living. 31

Now they were free to think and act and, actually, they were eager to set about the new experiment, following their own independent idea and decision.

American individualism has also been nurtured by the process of


escape from social institutions. As the American moves into the
wilderness in the "wave" of Westward Expansion, leaving the civilized
society behind, they were forced to make a simple living based on
the family. 32 The wilderness, Frederick Jackson Turner claims,
"strips off the garments of civilization and arrays him in the hunting
shirt and the moccasin. It put him in the log cabin of the Cherokee
and Iroquois and runs and Indian palisade around him. Before long
he has gone to planting Indian corn and plowing with a sharp
stick. . . ." 33 Since he is away from the civilized society, he is
freed from the grip of or the restriction imposed by the institutions,
and hence, he gains greater self-confidence. 34 The more he becomes
independent, the less he will become tolerant of the restraints imposed
by the society. Therefore, in the frontier, anti-social tendency is
dominant; antagonistic feelings toward control, especially toward
any direct one, is yielded. 35 Accordingly, in the frontier, he can
have an equality unparalleled to stratified society. 36 He is free to

32Ray Allen Billington, ed., Frontier and Section: Selected Essays of
Frederick Jackson Turner (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall,

33Ray Allen Billington, op. cit., p. 39.

34David M. Potter, People of Plenty: Economic Abundance and the Ameri­

35Ray Allen Billington, op. cit., p. 56.

36Don E. Fehrenbacher, ed., History and American Society: Essays of
David M. Potter, p. 235.
think and act of his own accord. 37

When the American has settled down in a tract of land being
usually separated or, I should say, isolated from other fellow frontiers-
men, and being far away from factories and stores, he has to prepare
necessary tools for cultivation and the daily necessities for the family
living by himself because nature does not provide the requisite materials
and there is no division of labor in the frontier. Not only does he have
to provide the necessities for the daily survival by himself, but having
left churches, schools, hospitals, any courts behind, 38 he has to
"minister to his own soul, to educate his own children, to doctor his
own ailments, to provide his own police protection, and to be a true
self-sufficient man." 39 Self-reliance has been a dominant mode of
living and a way of thinking in the frontier.

The American has escaped from parental authority, too. And
through this process of escape, American individualism seems to have
been reinforced further. First-generation parents, being transplanted
in the unknown environment, have almost nothing to teach their Ameri-
can-born children with authority, because each society requires unique

37Don E. Fehrenbacher, ed., History and American Society: Essays of
David M. Potter, p. 235.

38In a sense, Westward Movement is also a process of escape from the old
"traditions." Turner affirms: "... the advance of the frontier has meant
a steady movement away from the influence of Europe, a steady growth of

39David M. Potter, op. cit., p. 150.
traits for successful adaptation. Parental authority usually derives from the fact that parents' wisdom or knowledge is the source out of which the children "bail" the right guidance whenever the children are at a loss. When the old knowledge of the parents is irrelevant in the new environment, no parents would successfully maintain authority over the children. Philip E. Slater declares:

"... once uncertainty is created in the parent how best to prepare the child for the future... the authoritarian family is moribund..." 42

In fact, "Immigration from Europe, whether to farm or city in America," Rowland Berthoff points out, "was [an]... amputation that made the old-country ways of grandparents... unintelligible to their American-born grandchildren." 43 The American-born children, moreover, owing to the free public schools, in some cases aided by the neighbors, could turn themselves into the hundred percent

40 The abundance of opportunities in the vast frontier itself may have been a stimulant for American individualism. Rowland Berthoff claims: "The process of settling the western frontier was in many respects the force for individualism and equalitarianism... the frontier kep opening enormous fields for individual enterprise, individual fortune-buil..." See An Unsettled People Social Order and Disorder in American History (New York: Harper & Row, publishers, 1971), p. 147.


42 Ibid., p. 47.

American.\textsuperscript{44} The more the children have been assimilated to the American culture, the stronger their anger about the fact that their parents themselves do not behave like Americans.\textsuperscript{45} They accordingly reject their parents as old-fashioned, ignorant and foreign.\textsuperscript{46} Under these circumstances, it would be very natural that since 1650 Americans in every generation have been complaining about the lack of obedience and deferences of their children.\textsuperscript{47}

In the fast expanding and changing society of America, even for American-born parents, it would often be difficult to keep up with the change and progress of society. Such expansion and change are truly chronic in American society:\textsuperscript{48} the frontier expansion, the continuous waves of immigration, and a fast progressing technology.\textsuperscript{49} In American culture, therefore, the parents seem to be always left behind in the fast progress. The children, on the other hand, due to their flexibility, can usually improve themselves, keeping stride with the social progress. Furthermore, the migration, immigration, and

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{44}Geoffrey Gorer, \textit{The American People}, p. 26.
  \item \textsuperscript{46}Geoffrey Gorer, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 26.
  \item \textsuperscript{47}Warren G. Bennis and Philip E. Slater, \textit{The Temporary Society}, p. 14.
  \item \textsuperscript{48}Philip E. Slater, "Social Change and the Democratic Family," p. 20.
  \item \textsuperscript{49}Warren G. Bennis and Philip E. Slater, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 14.
\end{itemize}
Westward Expansion have been mainly motivated by the strong future-orientedness of the American, and since the child is the hope for the future, he is accorded a higher status than his elders, whose prestige is dimmed by its dubious applicability to the hopeful future. 50 Because of the belief in progress and the child-centeredness, American parents tend to dislike their children following the course set ahead by the parents. So that, "his father... is at heart terrifically disappointed if the son accedes to his ritual request that he docilely follow in his father's footsteps and secretly suspects the imitative son of being a milksop." 51 On the other hand, the father can be proud of his son's admiration for his success received from the neighbors. 52 In order to bring up the child to be more receptive to some envisioned future and hence to be self-reliant, the parents tend to separate their children from adult life, and, consequently, a strong emphasis is put on peer groups. 53

50Ibid., p. 40. Richard A. Bartlett depicts the future-oriented atmosphere in the frontier: "With a little luck and a lot of hard work, a man could rise to the limit of his abilities; and he could sense this, breathe it in the air. Here one's past was irrelevant, his future was exciting in its promise." See The New Country: A Social History of the American Frontier, 1776-1890 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1974), p. 170.


Lastly, in the forces self-sufficient conditions in the frontier, the survival of the family usually depends upon the labor of all the members of the family. The father, the mother, and the children all share the burden of their survival equally, and in this sense parental dominance over the children disappears quickly in the wilderness and individualism has been fostered. Philip E. Slater concludes: "... the democratic family began to prevail throughout the American colonies within a generation or two following the first settlements, and ... has never seriously challenged." 54

Since individualism has been a primary value in American culture, it would, as noted in Introduction, be observable in every aspect of the culture. Following roughly the life-cycle, I shall examine in the following analysis in what ways this value is recognized. I assume throughout the analysis that independence (self-reliance), initiative, aggressiveness, autonomy, freedom, equality, etc are values which exist in the peripheral-value-level, and that they are inseparably connected with the core value of individualism. Living in the culture of

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54 Ibid., p. 31. of course in the democratic family, the wife has been escaped from the authority of the husband. Women's individualism, moreover, though has been aided by the legal endorsement such as women suffrage, has been stimulated greatly by the economy of abundance "in which mother is no longer markedly dependent upon the father." See David M. Potter, People of Plenty, p. 200. Rowland Berthoff claims that "The ever-widening range of jobs for women outside the household came to be accepted as the chief gauge of their independence from the old-fashion family." See An Unsettled People: Social Order and Disorder in American History, p. 398.
individualism, to turn their child into a sissy would be the fear which is dogging all American parents. In order to shake off such anxiety, they constantly spur their child on to independence, activity and initiative.\footnote{Geoffrey Gorer, \textit{The American People}, pp. 85, 86. W. L. Warner points out that the "modern" mother stresses "training for self-reliance and citizenship by encouraging the child to be independent, teaching it to be a good citizen, and training it for self-help and encouraging it in independence." See \textit{American Life: Dream and Reality} (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962), p. 122.} The baby, accordingly, seems to be seldom indulged, for indulgence is usually considered to be detrimental to the successful development of independence in the child. Thus, even when "the baby screams with unassuaged hunger and rage . . . [it] is not fed."\footnote{Ibid., p. 76.} The parents simply think that the baby is crying for a friend\footnote{John L. Fischer and Ann Fischer, "The New Englanders of Orchard Town, U. S. A.," in \textit{Six Cultures}, ed. B.B. Whiting (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1963), p. 941.} and consequently it is seldom pleased or swung or rocked in a cradle.\footnote{Geoffrey Gorer, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 83.} Since "keeping [the baby] permanently tied to [mother's] apron strings"\footnote{Ibid., p. 85.} is very likely to turn it into a sissy, separation of it from parents seems to be always encouraged in America. The practices of separation begins with bottle feeding which is considered to be contributable to the individuation of the infant.\footnote{David M. Potter, \textit{People of Plenty}, p. 194.} Parents, moreover,
encourage the child, even a baby, to sleep separately, usually in a different room, whenever the practice is possible economically. According to the census data for 1950, in that year there were 45,983,000 dwelling units to accommodate the 38,310,000 families in the United States, and though the median number of rooms in the dwelling unit was 4.6. Eighty-four percent of all dwelling units reported less that one person per room. And David M. Potter concludes that "these conditions mean that a very substantial percentage of children now sleep in a room alone..." 61 Even in rural areas the similar practice is observed. John L. Fischer and Ann Fischer, in the rural community study in the New England area, report that "of the 10 children of preschool age in the sample, 6 sleep in the same room with siblings of the same sex, 3 with siblings of different sex, and 1 sleeps in a room alone, for he has no siblings living at home." 62 Not only the bedrooms in which parents and the children sleep are different, but they sometimes even live in a separate unit of the same household. Every member of the family, moreover, possesses his own room and even his own


dressing room and bath in many cases. A door is installed to every room, not only to the bathroom and the bedroom, but to the living room and even to the kitchen. In American culture walls seem always to stand between the individuals. David Riesman affirms: "Walls separate parents from children, office from home . . . ."

Encouragement of separatedness is also encouraged when parents go to various parties or recreation, leaving their children at home. On such occasions, since they take place in the night time, the parents get a baby-sitter if their children are under the age of 9 or 10. Thus, the practice of baby-sitting becomes a peculiar phenomenon in American culture. If parents invite guests for dinner at home, or are invited to such entertainment at their friends' houses, their children are usually told to go to bed before the arrival of the guests, or the children are seldom allowed to accompany the parents. Even if they are lucky enough

66 John L. Fischer and Ann Fischer, op. cit., p. 918.
67 John L. Fischer and Ann Fischer, op. cit., p. 918.
68 Francis L. K. Hsu, op. cit., p. 84.
to attend the party, they
do not participate a great deal. If the children are present
at dinner, they are expected to keep reasonably quite. After
the meal they are to play elsewhere--go outside if the weather
is good or to their bedroom or play area. 69

This practice is often even extended to the occasion of casual visiting.
Mothers, for instance, usually exchange visits with one another accom-
panied by preschool children. Children on such occasions, however,
are encouraged to play by themselves and not to interrupt their parents'
talk or activities. 70

The emphasis on individualism is inseparably related to the
emphasis on privacy. Children take a bath alone because parents do
not allow them to use a bath with their parents. The parents even
"take reasonable precaution so that their children do not see them
naked. Locks are always found on bathroom doors and are frequently
used." 71 Even the children of the same sex seldom seem to have a
bath together. "Children," James West reports in his community
study, "are often bathed in series... the larger ones or the girls
before the smaller ones and the boys." 72 It seems that there always is
a certain distance among the members, even between parents and children.

69 John L. Fischer and Ann Fischer, op. cit., p. 918.
70 Ibid. pp. 964, 965.
71 Ibid., p. 953
72 James West, Plainville, U.S.A. (New York: University Press, 1945),
p. 37.
Showing-off is especially encouraged in early childhood, which is considered to be helpful in overcoming the child's shyness of people outside the family, and hence, to be contributab Ie to the development of the independent quality in the child's character. As the child grows, a certain amount of aggressiveness begins to be stressed as the necessary quality to witness the child's independence. Margaret Mead claims:

"... agression and fighting are necessary, and in fact, compulsory whenever anyone tries to 'pick on you,' 'push you around,' 'take things away from you' " Of course, parents are without exception, very pleased if their children are popular with their playmates rather than being bullies, yet they also want to inculcate them with enough courage to 'stand up for their rights, and hence, they will not be ill-treated. Thus, each mother shouts her admonitions at her child in a playground:

"Stand up for yourself! Don't come crying to me when he takes your shovel. Get it back. You're big enough to look after yourself." . . . "Well, hit him back if he hits you. Don't stand there like a sissy and take it." "Go on, make him learn he can't hit you without getting hurt." . . . "No, I won't ask his mother to make him give it back. Go and get it yourself if


74 Margaret Mead, And Keep Your Powder Dry, p. 150, John L. Fischer and Ann Fischer also assert: "Arguing and mild physical fighting may even be encouraged by parents as defensive measures if they feel that another child is dominating or bullying their own child." See The New Englanders of Orchard Town, U.S.A., " pp. 974, 975.

75 John L. Fischer and Ann Fischer, op. cit., p. 964.
you want it. He's not much bigger than you are. Go and take it away from him! Show you've got what it takes.” 76

Adult supervision is less observed when school age children are playing, because too much interference or protection are felt to be detrimental for the child learning the lesson of independence. 77 And "no one is particularly surprised when high school boys, or those just out of high school, speed around town 'just scarin' hell outa everybody." 78

As parental interference is believed to be undesirable to the development of independence, the best way for parents to take must be to encourage the child to take the initiative, the parents assuming an attitude of a "pleased observer." 79 Thus, parents are not so strenuous in discipline, for compulsion is believed to crush the will and obstruct self-expression. 80 Parents, consequently, usually try not to restrain the baby's movement of kicking off the blankets and freeing his limbs. 81

76 Margaret Mead, op. cit., p. 141.
81 David M. Potter, People of Plenty, p. 198.
Under these circumstances, it would be very natural that weaning and


toilet training are not usually strictly imposed. The disposable diaper,


the diaper service, the washing machine, let alone the fact that "one


baby seldom presses upon the heels of another"--these are the factors


which have aided parents to wait until the child takes on initiative in


these matters. 82 The importance being put on initiative, more and more


matters are tended to be left in the child's hands as he grows older.


"Dances, parties, and other social affairs," Rowland Berthoff points


out, "not only [center] about the adolescents but [are] increasingly


conducted by them." 83


In American culture, it is expected, because of the emphasis


on equality, together with the child-centeredness, that the parents


are never supposed to be the 'master' but the 'companion' of the


child. 84 Rejecting authority is a laudable act and a part of the American


Creed. 85 The fear of authority may be indicated by the fact that the


American is concerned about the interference of the national government


82 John L. Fischer and Ann Fischer, op. cit., p. 944; David M. Potter,


op. cit., p. 198.


83 Rowland Berthoff, An Unsettled People: Social Order and Disorder in


84 W. Lloyd Warner and Leo Srole, The Social System of American Ethnic


Groups, p. 143. Francis L. K. Hsu points out that "The effect that this


emphasis on social equality has on the American way of life is all per­


vasive, including, of course, the parent-child relationship." See Ameri­


cans and Chinese, p. 115.


in state affairs and the interference of the state in town affairs,
and the fact that strengthening of government power is often designated as "creeping socialism,‖ No special respect, accordingly, is paid to government officers other than that they are "adult citizens in good standing." Art Gallaher, Jr., affirms the same point in his study of Plainville:

The reluctance of Plainvillers to submit to outside authority is apparent in areas of life other than those directly concerned with law enforcement. For instance, regulatory features of government agriculture programs are resented because of the implicit threat to the individual's independence... 

Apart from parent-child relationships, the emphasis of independence could be detected also in sibling-sibling relationships. It is reported that "the relationship between brothers and sisters is without deep intensity... (and) the brother is not expected to defend his sister's honor nor is he responsible for her fortune, her marriage, her children." Infant care is not usually given in charge of older siblings. Of course, consideration for safety precaution would be partial reason for the measure, but the other reason, more importantly, is that the

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86 John L. Fischer and Ann Fischer, op. cit., p. 901.
87 Ibid., p. 30.
89 Art Gallaher, Jr., op. cit., pp. 150, 151.
90 Geoffrey Gorer, op. cit., p. 95.
older child may intrade his opinions on the infant and, as the result, hinder the desirable characteristics of independence. In connection with this emphasis, responsibility is also stressed. The child is often encouraged to do the house-chores, which are considered to be more serviceable to the development of his character in the long run rather than to immediate purpose.

In the American public schools the emphasis on individualism is clearly recognized. W. Lloyd Warner and Leo Srole report that "The Aims of Education," written in an article and published in Yankee City, contains seven "objectives" of the schools. One of them is "Ethical character" with an explanation that "The good of all of us is dependent upon the character of the individual members of the group." And the objective includes value items such as courage, self-control, initiative, ambition, perseverance, and self-reliance. A foreign observer, on the basis of comparison with the European school, claims that "... in the American public schools freedom of action, imagination, initiative and self-reliance are pursued as the main goal in the

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92 Ibid., p. 957.

How has emphasis on individualism, especially independence and equality, revealed itself in husband-wife relationship? Since husband and wife, having successfully revolted against a "vertical relationship" since the very beginning of the republic, are on an equal footing, the only bond which keeps the marital relationship unbroken would be "through individualized attraction and sentiments which in turn require constant efforts to sustain them and which cannot be shared." Thus, a Chinese mother observes an American woman who shares a maternity room with her:

The American woman's activities were drastically different (from her). Each time, just before her husband's arrival, she would get out of bed, dash back and forth between the bathroom and the bedside dresser--dressing, painting, and combing herself--while frantically repeating: "I can't let him see me like this!" Several times she finished her frenzied primping and crawled back into bed only a moment before he knocked on the door, and in obvious relief she smiled to her Chinese roommate: "Just made it!"

The value of independence, moreover, urges women to seek an employ-
ment outside of the home as soon as the economy permits it, because to be "gainfully employed" is the surest way to secure their independence. Actually, having been assisted by the economy of abundance, over one-third of American women have already assumed economically the position of equal partners rather than that of subordinates within the family. 97

In 1870 working women accounted for 14.8 percent of the total working population of the United States; fifty years later, 20.4 percent; and in 1969, 36.3 percent. 98

Since a wife is independent of a husband legally and economically, together with the importance of "Freedom of personal choice," 99 there is no reason whatsoever for a wife to maintain the marriage tie when trouble arises between the two. The individual independence tends to lead to competition even between the spouses and to make a marriage pattern increasingly unstable. 100 The results are all too familiar. During the decade 1940-49 there were 25.8 divorces for every 100 marriages in the United States; in 1960, 25.1 divorces; and in 1970, 32.8 divorces. And of all divorces granted in 1948, no less than 42 percent were to couples with children under eighteen, and a very

97 David M. Potter, People of Plenty, p. 206.


100 Francis L.K. Hsu, op. cit., p. 146.
large proportion of these children were of much younger ages.\textsuperscript{101}

Since independence and equality are valued so highly, they seem to take precedence over all other considerations, even in the relationships between the wife and the husband.

Since individualism is considered to be so important, it would be a natural tendency for kin, friend, and neighbor relationships to be a matter of personal choice. David M. Schneider asserts:

Most fundamental, of course, is the fact that there is no formal, clear, categorical limit to the range of kinsmen. Or, to put it in another way, the decision as to whether a particular person is or is not to be counted as a relative is not given in any simple categorical sense. One cannot say that all second cousins are relatives, but all third cousins are not. An American can, if he wishes, count a third cousin as a kinsmen while a second is actually alive but unknown, or known to be alive but nevertheless not counted as a relative (emphasis added).\textsuperscript{102}

And many studies about American culture have shown that kinship relations are not so important as to regulate human relationships outside the family, for in actuality, interaction with other relatives is rare in America.\textsuperscript{103} Since even one's relatives are a matter of choice, one's


relatives are a matter of choice, one's friends are more dependent on personal preference. The fact that you can pick your friends easily means that such relationships can be severed at your will without obligation. 104 In American culture, "He's a friend of mine," seems not to be confined to two or three intimate companions. "It includes," Bradford Smith claims, "neighbors, members of the clubs and organizations one belongs to, fellow workers, the man who fills the car with gasoline, former teachers, the minister, the storekeeper." 105 For the American any person whom he happens to talk to a few times seems to be well deserved to be called a friend by him. The wide categorical range of friends may make up for the shallowness of American's friendship. Neighborhood relationships are also likely to be chosen by the individual. A man may be on intimate terms with another man while the wife of the man may not be on friendly terms with the wife of the other man. And so, many trifling matters seem to bring about a break in the friendships among the neighbors because of the shallowness. James West continues:

An old quarrel, rooted in a "line fence" (boundary) dispute, or in crop damage by livestock, or in a children's fight, may cause unfriendliness between neighbors; as may family alliances or misalliances; or a neighborhood division on a tax levy or an election; or a remembered quarrel over hiring a teacher, perhaps kin to one of the disaffected neighbors. 106

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104 David M. Schneider, op. cit., p. 53.


106 James West, Plainville, U.S.A., p. 70.
Then, in the land of individualism, is there no cooperative practice among the members of a group or of a community? Surely there is. Human beings cannot live alone; and especially when they are facing the problem of their survival, joint operation is a matter of course. In a culture of individualism, however, such "collective effort" seems to be seldom observed, except in times when survival is at stake. For instance, when the American people were crossing the vast continent in a train of wagons, they were willing to pool their resources for a common purpose in the face of so many dangers and necessities—the ever-present Indians, the vicissitudes of nature, the presence of more women and more children, crossing deep streams or climbing steep slopes or going down a steep hill, etc. They travelled in groups "not because they especially loved their neighbors or had inherited any ties to them, but because they needed one another." They, accordingly, disbanded the groups when they had reached their destination.

Similar "collective effort" is also noticeable in an isolated rural community. As noted in the previous chapter, when the farmers could not afford to buy expensive agricultural machinery, they had to resort to group work—work exchange. However, as soon as their economic situation had been improved, they began purchasing such costly machinery


108 Ibid., p. 54.
individually. Cooperative machinery buying has never been favored even among close relatives. "The Plainviller's desire to own machinery," Art Gallaher, Jr., claims, "is supported by a strong emphasis upon individualism. . . . Acceptance of combines, for example, caused threshing bees to disappear, and there is little need for haying parties if one owns or hires a balling machine."\(^{109}\) He also reports that though the dairy farmers have realized the importance of having quality animals, which are developed only by rigid culling and breeding controls, bull cooperatives, such as "bull clubs," for instance, have never been successful in Plainville "because of the Plainviller's stress on individualism."\(^{110}\)

Communal effort seems to have failed all the times in America. According to Daniel J. Boorstin:

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\text{In the vast western stretches, where mean annual rainfall was less than twenty inches, agriculture like that of the eastern seaboard was not feasible. Where possible at all, western agriculture there depended on irrigation. For this small irrigable part, the chief water sources were large streams, which could be developed only by cooperative labor or by large expenditures of capital for dams. . . . Pasture land too was obviously useless without water, which in these areas of scarce rainfall could be had only from streams. So that "land boundaries," he continues, "should conform to watercourses than to the compass. For the very life of cattlemen . . . would depend on their ability to share water and provide other common facilities." However, "Ironically," he concludes, "in the long run there were few}
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\(^{109}\)Art Gallaher, Jr., \textit{Plainville Fifteen Years Later}, pp. 57, 58.  

\(^{110}\)Ibid., p. 61.
stronger pressures to communal effort in the West, to vast co-operative projects of irrigation, dams, and controlled water sources, than those arising from the oversimplified land packaging of the first years of national life."\textsuperscript{111}

One of the natural corollary of American individualism would be the proliferation of an organization--club, society, association, sect, union, etc.; for as the individual always occupies the center of every consideration, personal preference or satisfaction should be paramount, and if one's affiliation to a certain group does not give him what he wants, he himself may organize a group. In connection with the sectarianism of American religions, Francis L.K. Hsu affirms the same point: "The real difference between the Old World and America is that the United States has atomized the broader division which started in Europe. . . . this is a direct result of self-reliance."\textsuperscript{112} In a community study of the Appalachian region, Jack E. Weller reports:

In the area of my own work there are about 100 churches for 20,000 people, which means that if every single person (including infants) was a church member, the average size of a congregation would be only 200 persons. When you recall that 20 to 35 percent of the population is nearer the actual figure for church membership, the situation can be seen, from an outsider's point of view, as extreme and even ludicrous.\textsuperscript{113}

\textsuperscript{111}Daniel J. Boorstin, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 248.

\textsuperscript{112}Francis L. K. Hsu, \textit{Americans and Chinese}, p. 268.

And in the society of individualism, the joy of association with his fellow workers seldom retains the worker who wants to change his place of work.\textsuperscript{114} The most important factor for candidates and their key supporters in an election seems to be face-to-face contacts with potential voters.\textsuperscript{115} Two-thirds of the manual workers are thinking of going into business themselves someday.\textsuperscript{116} "Americans are attracted to drugs like marijuana and LSD which accelerate their tendency to follow personal predilections, the extreme of which is completely unres- trained individual freedom."\textsuperscript{117} "American art... has merely inten-
sified the Western concern for and elaboration of one's individual feelings,"\textsuperscript{118} and "there is a strong tendency to regard each aspect of the universe separately and discretely, as though each existed inde-
pendently of the other."\textsuperscript{119}

And lastly, for the independent and self-reliant Americans, to be "cares" or "burdens" to their children would be unbearable humiliation. In this sense for Americans to become old and lose economic independence seems almost to equal the loss of everything that makes life meaningful.\textsuperscript{120}

\textsuperscript{115}Art Gallaher, Jr., \textit{Plainville Fifteen Years Later}, p. 146.
\textsuperscript{117}Francis L. K. Hsu, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 64.
\textsuperscript{118}\textit{Ibid.}, p. 22
\textsuperscript{119}Geoffrey Gorer, \textit{The American People}, p. 151.
\textsuperscript{120}Francis L. K. Hsu, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 317, 318.
Old age assistance may not only free the aged from such feeling, but also frees many children from the feeling of economic responsibility for aged parents. 121 "Self-reliance," Francis L. K. Hsu, "cannot but sharpen the demarcation between the generations." 122 Pension and Social Security, together with personal savings, may enable the American to engage in charitable, religious, or communal activities, but those are poor substitutes for the American, who has paddled his own canoe, compared with the business and social activities they once pursued with his heart and soul. 123

2. Group-Orientedness in Japan

Group-orientedness is the tendency of the Japanese to assume the group as the primary unit of society, to give the group priority over the individual, and to define the individual worth and his raison d’être in connection with the group. It has been nurtured gradually in the hamlet life, where the survival, in the economy of scarcity, necessitated mutual assistance among the members of the community. And irrigated rice cultivation, which had been the dominant mode of production, had also required the cooperation of the villagers. The introduction of such type of agriculture is said to be traced way back to the third century

121 Art Gallaher, Jr., op. cit., pp. 128, 70.
122 Francis L. K. Hsu, op. cit., p. 36.
123 Francis L. K. Hsu, Americans and Chinese, p. 138.
B.C., and during the years prior to the seventh century A.D., it is believed that the mode had been firmly established as the Japanese way of life. Since there has been a close interrelation between the forms of agriculture and rural society, the various aspects of the hamlet life in Japan have been inseparably connected with the irrigated rice cultivation. One aspect of such village life had been cooperative work. Due to the nature of the cultivation, drainage and irrigation ditches and canals, flood controls, access paths, and other vital auxiliary facilities and works connected with rice production must be constructed, done, maintained and operated jointly and co-operatively.

Co-operation, moreover, has been needed especially in cases of transplanting and harvesting, for transplanting at the right time—usually a short period of about two weeks—is very important for a good harvest in autumn; and finishing harvesting before the advent of the typhoon season is also vital. Help-exchange pattern among the members of

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125 John W. Hall, "The Historical Dimension," in Twelve Doors to Japan, p. 35.

126 Ibid., p. 156.


128 Thomas W. Maretzki and Hatsumi Maretzki, for instance, report how quickly the transplanting has been done: "Transplanting is done by mutual assistance groups... In a few days the whole paddy area suddenly turns from brown into the tender green of the young shoots." See Taira, An Okinawan Village, " in Six Cultures, ed. B. B. Whiting (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1963), p. 392.
the hamlet (buraku in Japanese) and relatives has been observable throughout these co-operative works, and it is naturally expected that "persons helping in another's fields will shortly be helped themselves." Other than these works, the buraku members have also been helping one another in times of housebuilding, bridge building and repairing, rites of passage; in organizing a mutual financing association; and in participating communally in ceremonies such as festivals. The hamlet, furthermore, owns communal property such as grasslands, which are the main fertilizer sources where members can get grass for green fertilizer and for animal to make animal manure; a tract of land in which they grow kaya (miscanthus)--a special and quite tough grass for roof thatching, which lasts over twenty years so that they thatch under the system of rotation; and uplands where they cut firewood and timber for building. Through those co-operative works, mutual help, and common property, though, as noted earlier, some of them are no longer vital for the members of the hamlet, each village family is constantly made aware of the importance of the community both to its economic and its social well-being, and hence, the least sign of reluctance is observable in those works and events, not only among

129 Thomas W. Maretzki and Hatsumi Maretzki, op. cit., p. 399.


131 Ibid., p. 165.
relatives but also among unrelated neighbors.\textsuperscript{132}

Wet rice agriculture in Japan has been run in an intensive method of cultivation. The degree of how intensive Japanese agriculture is would be shown by the fact that the Japanese farmer, using mainly hand tools, spends about 900 man-hours per acre in order to reap a slightly higher rice yield than a United States counterpart reap with 50 man-hours per acre.\textsuperscript{133} And it is generally believed that the more industriously you work in the field, the higher yield you will be able to reap though the quality of the land partly decides its productivity.\textsuperscript{134} In fact, owing to intensive care, Japan's rice yields per acre are the highest in the world—two to four times as large as those of Indochina, another rice producer, and it would be safe to believe that as early as during the Tokugawa period (1600-1868), traditional agricultural technology had reached a level of production as high as that of any area in East Asia.\textsuperscript{135} The necessity to invest great man power and the accompanying high productivity to support the dense population had given a rise to the population concentration and the sedentary tendency among the villagers for they could make a living within the hamlet. In this sense, it would be right to assume that a Japanese hamlet, generally speaking, had been a

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{132}Thomas W. Maretzki and H. Maretzki, "Taira: An Okinawan Village, p. 399.
  \item \textsuperscript{133}R. K. Beardsley, "Cultural Anthropology: Prehistoric and Contemporary Aspects," in Twelve Doors to Japan, p. 101.
  \item \textsuperscript{134}Thomas W. Maretzki and Hatsumi Maretzki, op. cit., p. 391.
  \item \textsuperscript{135}John W. Hall and R. K. Beardsley, Twelve Doors to Japan, pp 26, 28.
\end{itemize}
self-sufficient one. Chie Nakane asserts:

In the pre-modern Japanese village hardly any household specializes in any occupation other than agriculture, the only exceptions being the blacksmith, for instance, the general store and the local priest. Every peasant household lived by its own agricultural produce and wove its own clothes; even funerals were conducted by neighbors in co-operation, the priest being the only specialist engaged. A village rarely needed the service of other villagers or men engaged in occupations other than farming. 136

And owing to the life-long association and widely extended kin relationships, a solid unity had been achieved in such community. 137

The hamlet solidarity had been further reinforced by the fact that in inter-hamlet matters, the hamlet had always acted as a single unit: in disputes over the quota of water, which was taken from the common source to which several villages were attached, in the maintenance of the shrine founded by several hamlets and electing a representative to the shrine council, and in a petition to the local chief magistrate (daikan) to ask mitigation or lightening economic and political

136 Chie Nakane, Japanese Society (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1970), p. 101. Erwin H. Johnson also points out the self-sufficiency of the hamlet: "It would seem safe . . . to suggest that generally the Tokugawa hamlet was a self-sufficient unit of social cooperation. . . . It is not clear whether the hamlet households cooperated in the home manufacture of staples such as miso (bean paste) and shōyū (soy sauce) in the Tokugawa period. They definitely did during the Taishō (1912-1925) and Shōwa (1926-) austerity drives." See "Status Changes in Hamlet Structure Accompanying Modernization," in Aspects of Social Change in Modern Japan, pp. 162, 173.

burden or suffering. Under the Tokugawa Shogunate, governmental controls and responsibilities were imposed on the village as a unit, and so long as the hamlet paid land-tax collectively levied faithfully and put the allocated labor power at their service, the daimyo as well as the samurai retainers did not meddle in the village affairs, which in its turn, greatly promoted village autonomy. The method of treating the hamlet as a single unit was practiced until quite recently and still is practiced in some cases. Richard K. Beardsley, John W. Hall and Robert E. Ward report such a practice in their community study conducted recently:

... the inhabitants act together as a unit through community associations ... Moreover, they are treated as a unit by persons and agencies on the outside, as when the government assigns a rice-regulation quota not to each individual farmer but to a buraku as a collectivity.

A few words would be appositely added here about a ward unit in the urban setting comparable to the hamlet unit in the country. According to R. P. Dore and Ruth Benedict, a ward unit usually consists of less than 300 households, the size of which remains roughly the same since the Tokugawa period. In Edo (Tokyo) of the Tokugawa era, the ward was socially and politically more independent than today. Each ward, some-

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times two or three wards jointly, employed its gatekeepers who kept
strangers away from the ward at night; its fire-chief who had the pri-
vilege to supply labor for all housebuilding in the ward; its secretary
who kept all the records such as the composition of every household,
the place of birth, age and religion, the ward's tax allotment, and
various account books for expenditure on ward affairs; and its barber
who ensured the safety of all official papers in case of fire. Under the
ward unit there was the 'five-man group'--more aptly 'five-household
group' (gonin-gumi), which further strengthened the solidarity of human
relationships in the neighborhood. It was instituted mainly for ensuring the
observance of regulations and the payment of taxes.

During the Meiji period, the group was abolished and then restored
under the new name of tonari-gumi (neighbor group), which took the
responsibility for their members' behavior and of furnishing information
on any dubious acts and turning over any wanted person to the police.
Other than these functions, the whole group shared the sadness and hap-
piness of any member of the group in the occasions like funerals, fires
weddings, births, etc. Being supported by the government, the tonari-
gumi was quite successful in towns and cities. The ward associations
were legally recognized during the 1930's and confined a task of civil
defense, which fact furthered the ward unity. Those facts all in all
explain why even today neighborhoods in the ward succeed in maintain-
ing community sentiments despite the wide heterogeneity in occupations
and income levels of the members, and why they provide the security
and the sense of belonging which a rural community offers for the new
comers.141

Though the hamlet, on the whole, had been self-sufficient, the stan-
dards of living of the villagers had been only high enough to keep body
and soul together, for "heavy food requirements of the dense population
and the heavy man-labor requirements of the food production methods
have made a nearly closed circle of production and consumption and thus
set a low ceiling on material welfare."142 When their standards of living
are scarcely above the minimum, in times of emergencies--sickness,
poor harvests, natural disasters, just to name a few--they cannot find
way out of the difficulty without having help from other members of the
family and the fellow villagers. Since the very beginning of the irrigated
rice cultivation, the production unit had not been the individual, but the
family, and making a living in the economy of scarcity required the com-
bined efforts of all the members of the family.143 Yet, the family's

141 R. P. Dore, City Life in Japan (Berkeley: University of California
143 G. A. De Vos with contributions by Hiroshi Wagatsuma, William Caudill,
and Keiichi Mizushima, Socialization for Achievement: Essays on the Cul-
tural Psychology of the Japanese (Berkeley: University of California Press,
1973), p. 114. Hereafter cited as George De Vos, Socialization for Achieve-
ment. Such cooperation among the members was and still is necessary also
in the town. Scott Y. Matsumoto writes: 'In small home enterprises, the
family remains the important economic unit even in the urban areas. This is
true of . . . the small shopkeepers, and the small merchants, who must
by the nature of their work include the labor of the various members of the
family other than the household head.' See Contemporary Japan: The Indi-
vidual and the Group (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1960),
p. 40.
resources were not without limit, and accordingly, each ie had to depend on the relatives, and in some cases, even on the other members of the community for support. In Japan it is proverbially said that "a good neighbor is better than a relative afar," which tells unmistakenly the importance of the mutual assistance among the non-kin community members.

In fact it was their mutual assistance among the members of the hamlet and the kin derived from their solid relationships that life had made possible. Hence, the mutual dependency had been the dominant characteristics of the way of life in the hamlet. Under these circumstances, the individual or the ie separated from the group should feel very secure. The group was the source of his or its security, happiness, comfort, and satisfaction—the very meaning for his or its existence. In this sense it could be said that the individual or the ie had no existence apart from the ie or the community he or the household belonged to. Since the group


145 Edward Norbeck, Changing Japan, p. 4.

146 Scott Y. Matsumoto, Contemporary Japan: The Individual and the Group, p. 45.

147 E. Norbeck, op. cit., p. 4. E. O. Reischauer agrees with Norbeck and affirms: "In theory the individual does not even exist as individual but only as a member of certain larger groupings—family, school, community or nation." See The United States and Japan (New York: Viking Press, 1965), p. 150.
collectivity was the "life" for the individual or the ie, it naturally had priority over him or it. This means that every member of the household had to submit himself to the will of the household and each ie was expected to observe the decision of the hamlet rather meekly. 148 Even the leader of the community or the head of the ie had to depend on the support given to him collectively from the other members of the village or the family. 149 It would be almost impossible even for the leader or the head to make a decision by himself without taking into consideration the opinions held by the other members. This is why Japanese people, whenever possible, try to avoid individual decisions and individual responsibility. 150 Decision must be reached unanimously and responsibility must be taken collectively by the group.

Judging from a different angle, the individual discards his freedom in exchange for his security; the branch or junior house (bunke) has to do the bidding of the main or senior house (honke) because the

148 Takeyoshi Kawashima states: "... his (an individual's) is absorbed in the interest of the collectivity to which one belongs, and the interest of the collectivity is recognized as having primary importance, while the interest of the individual has merely a secondary importance." See 'The Status of the Individual in the Notion of Law, Right, and Social Order in Japan," in The Japanese Mind, ed. Charles A. Moore (Honolulu: East-West Center Press, 1967), p. 264.


150 Edwin O. Reischauer, op. cit., p. 150.
bunke has to depend on the honke for economic assistance\textsuperscript{151}; the ie has to acquiesce to the will of the hamlet since there is a limit to the household resources and hence cannot live alone. Therefore, it would be quite safe to assume that the individual (or the household) exchanges his autonomy and freedom for security or survival. Yet, the Japanese seem to submit themselves to the group rather voluntarily and even willingly. Maybe, as David M. Potter points out, they had or had to have cultivated suitable qualities for the role of submission and inculcated these characteristics into their children, and as the result they became accepted as values. Indicating the fact that scarcity found the worker seeking humbly any kind of toil, David M. Potter claims:

As a suppliant to his superiors, the worker under scarcity accepted the principle of authority; he accepted his own subordination and the obligation to cultivate the qualities appropriate to his subordination, such as submissiveness, obedience, and deference. Such a man naturally transferred the principle, instilled into his children the qualities appropriate to people of their kind—submissiveness, obedience and deference.\textsuperscript{152}

\textsuperscript{151} Richard K. Beardsley, "Cultural Anthropology: Prehistoric and Contemporary Aspects," in Twelve Doors to Japan, pp. 72, 77.

\textsuperscript{152} David M. Potter, People of Plenty, p. 205. Ralph Linton points out the interrelationships between initiative and security: "Membership in a rigidly organized society may deprive the individual of opportunities to exercise his gifts, but it gives him an emotional security, which is almost unknown among ourselves." See The Study of Man (New York: D. Appleton-Century, 1936), p. 131. Richard K. Beardsley too affirms: "... one may pay out loyalty in order to survive with group support in a society where public aid is yet only marginal against illness, old age, or destitution." See Personal Psychology," in Twelve Doors to Japan, p. 362.
In actuality, the general tendency to seek security rather than autonomy is observed even among the enlightened intellectuals in Japan.¹⁵³

Then what is the most effective means to ensure the compliance with the group will and thus to strengthen the solidarity of the group, which seems to be vital to the security of each constituent member of the group? It must be the pressure to expel a member from the group or ie (kando) or ostracize a household from the group of the hamlet (murahachibu). And those who are most likely to be ousted from the group would be those who are aggressive, egotistic, or irresponsible—those who may disturb the group harmony or unity.¹⁵⁴ Robert J. Smith reports some of the concrete examples, in which such pressure brought upon the members or upon the household of the community to comply with the will of the hamlet is observed:

Should a household fail to provide an adequate feast for those

¹⁵³ Chie Nakane, Japanese Society, p. 134. Such loss of independence, however, seems not to be unbearable for the Japanese. R.P. Dore claims: "By traditional Japanese moral standards the submissive client's role is neither humiliating nor irksome. An old proverb—'Wrap yourself up in something lone'—gives it explicit sanction." See City Life in Japan, pp. 70, 71.

¹⁵⁴ Ezra F. Vogel, Japan's New Middle Class: The Salary Man and His Family In a Tokyo Suburb (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968) p. 138. Ruth Benedict writes about the sacrifice of the personal satisfaction in fear of being shut out from the group: "To avoid the great threats of ostracism and detraction, they must give up personal gratifications they have learned to savor. They must put these impulses under lock and key in the importance affairs of life." See The Chrysanthemum and the Sword, p. 293.
attending a wedding of one of its members, tongues will wag. If the daughter of a household is thought too free with her affection, word will get back to her family very quickly. Were a man to build what others consider as overly pretentious, people will comment on his lack of judgment and label him a fool. Should a man prove always contentious in meetings of the hamlet association, there are many indirect ways to let him know that he is going too far.  

There are other factors which make the ostracism a much more unbearable duress than usually imagined. One of them would be the closed quality of the hamlet which originates from the fact that the village is generally self-sufficient, and hence, no need is felt to have contact with surrounding villages; that there is no surplus land which could be brought under cultivation by a newcomer and common property to be shared with him; that the close human relationships nurtured by long and common residence and wide ramification of kin members within the hamlet tend to work against the acceptance of a new member; and that because of the


156 Richard K. Beardsley, John W. Hall and Robert E. Ward, Village Japan, pp. 475, 476. Common property held by the village was used as the means to secure obedience among the members. Erwin H. Johnson writes: "Through the collective control of important factors of production the hamlet group . . . possessed a potentially strong hold on recalcitrant households. The ultimate sanction of cutting off the water supply grass, or firewood was always present." See "Status Changes in Hamlet Structure Accompanying Modernization," pp. 164, 165.
exclusiveness of the hamlet there is no adequate "pipe" through which each member or each household can come and go freely from one hamlet to another. In case of moving to a new group or community, it is usually required to have an introduction from a member or the preferably an influential one, of the hamlet one is to leave or/and an invitation from a similar member or group of the community one is expecting to be a constituent part of. Ezra F. Vogel points out the necessity of establishing "bridges" in case of shifting one's group affiliation:

... even in going to a new group, it is necessary to have an introduction. In some Western societies, if a person has difficulty with others in his group, he simply moves elsewhere. In Mamachi in a Tokyo suburb, even moving requires the support of one's group. One moves from one tightly knit group to another by way of bridges provided by the two groups. There is no promising alternative for a person except to remain sensitive to the demands of his group.157

Since the group had always been paramount, harmony, peacefulness and a compromise which were contributable to the group solidarity were favored; while a quarrel, an opposition, and a confrontation--disruptive to the unity--were greatly disfavored. How important the harmony is in the culture of group-orientedness would be understood by the fact that it was emphasized immediately after the unification of the nation under the centralized government after the suppression of the strifes among powerful clans. In Article I of the Seventeen Article Constitution established in 604, Prince Shōtoku, the originator of the

157 Ezra F. Vogel, Japan's New Middle Class, p. 141.
Constitution, stressed harmony and concord in human relations: "Above all else esteem concord; make it your first duty to avoid discord. . . .
when those above are harmonious, and those below are friendly, there is concord in the discussion of affairs, and right views of things spontaneously gain acceptance." 158 Harmony, in fact, seems to occupy the central position in the core value of group-orientedness. Taking notice of the importance placed on harmony in Japanese culture, Hiroshi Wagatsuma writes:

In most communities in modern Japan, rural and urban, social sanctions emphasizing harmony and discouraging open antagonism are as pronounced as they are among Saulteaux studied by Hallowel or the Navajo discussed by Kluckhohn. 159

Wet paddy rice cultivation inevitably requires the people to settle in one place permanently. Owing to the resultant life-long association, aided by the self-sufficiency originated from the high productivity to support a large population, every family line and kinship ramification in the hamlet become so well known to each other that the whole community


has a look of a single family, and a personal affair and behavior of any individual become almost automatically a matter of concern to all members of the hamlet. Keeping a secret is, accordingly, almost impossible and usually is disfavored. Living in the circle of such intimate human nexus and being taught the importance of the group unity for the sake of one's survival, how to get along well with other villagers naturally become the prime concern of everyone. In order to oil the wheels of community life, etiquette or manners have to be strictly observed.

At the same time out of such intimate, cooperative, interdependent, and familial situation grows the concept of on-giri (favor-obligation). Giri is the feeling of indebtedness to the parents or the community rising

163 T. Kawashima writes: "... social obligations arose in most cases out of close face-to-face social relationships of a high degree of particularism and more or less long duration, such as the family, kinship groups, landlord and tenant relationships, employer and employee relationships..." See "The Status of the Individual in the Notion of Law, Right and Social Order in Japan," in The Japanese Mind, p. 266.
from favors children receive from the parents in the process of being reared in a loving, warm and secure family environment and each household member receives from the fellow villagers in the cooperative works and help offered by them in times of emergencies (on). When the scope of the concept is extended further, it includes the indebtedness to the lord or the Emperor or the country as a whole. Those who are indebted under the giri-obligation are expected to be loyal to those who gave the favors and to repay the favors by selflessly and voluntarily serving the givers. Thus, the children, heavily indebted to their parents, under ko-filial piety obligation, are required to requite their favors by respecting them, honoring them by attaining success in life, taking good care of them when they become old, and securing offsprings to succeed in the ie. And the household members are supposed to cooperate willingly to promote the welfare of the whole hamlet and to exert their utmost efforts to enhance the reputation or the honor of the village. Accordingly, if a person attains great success, and hence, honors the village, he is said to have repaid the favors to a certain degree (because it is usually believed that however hard one may try to repay the favors, one cannot requite enough). On the other hand, if one, say, commits a crime, he is criticized as having no sense of obligation. 165


ness, at least to a certain extent, is encouraged to be directed to the cultivation of the qualities serviceable to his future success.121 At school he is always compared with his classmates in various activities, and teachers show the results of successful children to the others as a reward for the successful and as a yardstick of achievement for the less successful.122 He is moreover always stimulated to obtain good grades in his school work because they are a prerequisite for the mother's unreserved love and approval.123

Competitive achievement is so vital in American society that competitive elements creep into even the family, which is expected to be the sole provider of shelter from competition: the son and the father compete for the use of the family car (today this would be rare because each family usually has at least two cars) and for the regard of the mother-wife, the father and the mother compete for the children, trying to steal them by overpermissiveness, and siblings compete with each other for the mother's approval and love.124 And a friend must be won


123 Geoffrey Gorer, op. cit., pp. 97, 106.

This reciprocal relationship of on-giri had been, without doubt, reinforced in the feudal period. Under the feudal regime, though the peasants groaned under the heavy burden of land-tax payable in rice, they were, nevertheless, guaranteed the possession of their farm lands, which gave them at least a sense of security derived from the lasting bond with the mother earth. The lord had no estate of his own. This means that when the farmers of his fief had a poor harvest and could not pay taxes in full even under a strict collection, he, as well as his samurai retainers, had to be thrifty, thus the lord and the samurai shared their lot with the peasants.\textsuperscript{166} In this case, on-giri relations would be as follows: since the peasants were guaranteed the possession of their farms, to cultivate and to make a living on their products, and thus, were assured security by the lord (on-favors), they were obliged to take good care of the lands, be faithful in paying the land-tax, and submit themselves to the lord and his samurai vassals (giri-obligations). Between the lord and the samurai, there existed a much stronger sense of mutual dependency and established code of ethics. The lord guaranteed the samurais living and integrity by giving them a stipend of a certain amount of rice and the honor accompanying one's rank and position (on). The samurai retainers consequently were obliged to be loyal and protect the lord's fame, welfare, not to mention his life, whenever they were at stake, disregarding their lives (giri). The on-giri reciprocity, moreover,

\textsuperscript{166}Chie Nakane, \textit{Japanese Society}, p. 70.
had been strengthened especially during the Sengoku period (1467-1575),
the age of rival warlords, when the peasants, the samurai, and the lord
shared the same lot among themselves. Minako K. Maykovich asserts:

In this incessant warfare, defeat meant the total destruction of the
fief and family. The destiny of the lord and his relatives was synon­
ymous. Under the duress of war, a sense of mutual dependency and
responsibility became paramount. A vassal responded to his lord's
generosity with deeds. The samurai (warrior) looked to the pea­
sants for food and labor, while the peasants looked to the warrior
for protection. 167

Though the peasants and the people in other classes had already
developed a rudimentary concept of on-giri relationships, the well-estab­
lished and rigidly observed form of such reciprocity between the lord
and the samurai vassals provided a basis for moral standards of the
people in every class. And through the processes of emulation and per­
meation, it became the customary way of life. The peasants, artificans,
and merchants adopted the moral code as the model for master-servant
and master-pupil relationships, and even for the ethics biding the children
to their parents in the family. 168

The peasants' or the samurais' giri-obligations were, however,
primarily toward the provincial lord. Therefore, what counted for much
in those days was that one was from the fief of Satsuma (Kagoshima

167 Minako Maykovich, Japanese American Identity Dilemma (Tokyo: Waseda
University Press, 1972), pp. 25, 26. Scott Y. Matsumoto also pays atten­
tion to the same point: "It may be well to recall that the original lord-
vassal relationship which has served as the basis and model for inter­
personal relationships in Japan was born out the stresses and strains of
endemic warfare." See Contemporary Japan: The Individual and the
Group, p. 63.

168 Scott Y. Matsumoto, op. cit., pp. 10, 11.
Prefecture of today) or the fief of Mito (Ibaragi Prefecture). As the loyalty to the local Lord and the fief was important, the aim of the training of samurai sons was mainly to inculcate them with loyalty to their lord and clan rather than with patriotism—loyalty to their country and the people as a whole. Consequently, after the Meiji Restoration of 1868, when the provincial lords were abolished legally, the leaders of the new government took pains to shift the people's loyalty to the Emperor and the nation, claiming him as everybody's lord and a father above fathers of the Family State. In a sense such change of loyalty, however, would not be so difficult because the concept of the Family State with the Emperor as a father figure had since the early days of the nation almost spontaneously budded out and nurtured in a society where homogeneous elements prevailed, cooperation was emphasized, close human relationships existed, and no change of dynasty ever occurred. This explains why every feudal Shogun, after successfully uniting the

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171 R. K. Beardsley, "Cultural Anthropology: Prehistoric and Contemporary Aspects," p. 97. Despite their efforts localism was still strong in the late nineteenth century and to a certain degree even today. Chie Nakane claims: "... in the late nineteenth century, the locality, in terms of the territory of a former feudal lord... played an important part in the development of cliques and that is by no means as vital as the 'school clique'..." See *Japanese Society*, p. 128.
nation, looked up to the Emperor as the source of political power and authority, though most likely only out of political consideration; and the Meiji Restoration was the return of the political power to the Emperor by whom the Shogun was entrusted it.

Thus, since the Meiji era, on-giri relationships had been centered mainly around parents-children (kō-filial piety) and the Emperor—the people (chū loyalty). Such kō and chū principles, aided by Confucianism (which I am to touch upon later) underlay legal codes or political axioms and the curriculum of educations, typical concrete examples of which would be the Meiji Constitution, the Meiji civil code, the Imperial Rescript of Education, and the Rescript to Soldiers and Sailors. And the emphasis on duty and loyalty is still, as noted in Chapter II, observable, for instance, in "The Images of the Ideal Japanese" drawn up in 1967.

On-giri relations in essence comprise an element of vertical human relationships, which would be very reliable and enduring bonds, and hence, contributable to the group unity. This seems to be the main reason why the hierarchical relation had been the fundamental principle joining the individuals together in Japan, where the group solidarity had been indispensable for survival, and why the Tokugawa Sho-

172 Richard K. Beardsley, "Religion and Philosophy," in Twelve Doors to Japan, p. 333. John W. Hall, going one step further, claims that it was Confucianism that awakened the Japanese to the importance of education: "Confucianism firmly believed in the importance of education, and it was under Confucian tutelage that the Japanese after the sixteenth century erected a system of schooling with extensive textual and pedagogical support." See "Education and Modern National Development," in Twelve Doors to Japan, p. 389.
gunate, with the intention of solidifying its regime, established a more minutely graded ranking system than in previous times, inlaying every constituent member into the system and thus connecting him by the lord-retainer or master-servant vertical principle to his immediate superior, and ultimately, to the Shogun. 173 About the importance to the Japanese put on the hierarchy, Edwin O. Reischauer writes:

No major people in the world place greater emphasis on hierarchy than do the Japanese. . . . Proficiency in judo wrestling or the minor arts is graded and regulated like our Masonic orders. Almost anyone can tell you the order of prestige of the Japanese universities. . . . A committee without its chairman, a delegation without its chief makes the Japanese uneasy and unhappy. 174

Japanese language and literature are abundant with different expressions denoting relative social position—"polite and abrupt forms, honorific and humble words, distinctions between men's and women's speech, and words denoting family relationships." 175 Whenever, accordingly, the speaker tries to speak to another, he has, first of all, to choose the right form of expression, judged carefully on the basis of the relative hierarchial position between himself and the person or a group of persons spoken to. 176 The vertical human relationships are so deeply rooted in the Japanese minds that it "is as natural to them as

174 Edwin O. Reischauer, The United States and Japan, p. 163.
breathing." In Japan an organization founded on the vertical principle is usually considered to be better-established, larger with a higher degree of prestige and an organization without principle is considered to be a newly organized one, without sufficient time to mature as a corporate body, or a group lacking a functional unity.

Religions had played a great role in reinforcing the Japanese group-orientatedness. Whenever we consider the influence of religion in Japan, we have to take at least three major religions--Shintoinism, Buddhism and Confucianism--into consideration, because those three religions, supplementing and reinforcing each other, seem to have exerted a molding impact on the Japanese value system. Due to the inclusive nature of Japanese religion, almost everyone had been under the influence of those three religions since 1600, when "Japan became thoroughly saturated with the ideas of Confucianism . . ." Shinto is the native religion of Japan and Buddhism was brought from China through Korea in the seventh century.

The major contributions of these religions to the group-orientatedness of Japanese culture seem to be found in the following three aspects:

(1) the emphasis on selflessness or the effacement of self,


(2) the stress put on harmony, and

(3) the importance of submission or obedience to the authority. Japanese religions, unlike Christianity which emphasizes self,\textsuperscript{180} on the whole stress selflessness. What I mean here by the word "self" is "personal interest or advantage."\textsuperscript{181} In this respect Shinto emphasizes "To be helpful to others and in the world at large through deeds of service without thought of reward . . .."\textsuperscript{182} Which is the emphasis on selfless service. Buddhist creed also stresses the similar concept expressed in the state of nirvana, which is the stage of "selflessness, the dissolution of self in infinity, the destruction of ego. The greatest obstacle to the emancipation and deliverance of the mind proclaimed by the Buddha was the Self."\textsuperscript{183} The state of mind of 'not-self' in Zen Buddhism seems in essence to be the same as the selflessness.

Daisetz Suzuki, the great authority on Zen Buddhism, describes it as "ectasy with no sense of I am doing it."\textsuperscript{184} If we presume that a man has two selves--the doing self and the observing self, the state of mind

\textsuperscript{180}Scott Y. Matsumoto, Contemporary Japan: The Individual and the Group, p. 12.


\textsuperscript{183}Minako K. Maykovich, Japanese American Identity Dilemma, p. 28; Scott Y. Matsumoto, Contemporary Japan: The Individualism and the Group p. 12; and Francis Hsu, Americans and Chinese, p. 242.

\textsuperscript{184}Ruth Benedict, The Chrysanthemum and the Sword, p. 247.
mentioned above seems to be the one in which the doing self is freed from the observing self. In such state of complete freedom, a man can do everything in his power. This explains why it is believed that students preparing for major examinations had better go to a Zen temple to enter the realm of 'not-self', or that the mastery of the mysteries of any art come to those who are in the state of 'not-self'.

If the individual is freed from his personal interest or advantage, in the group consisted of such individuals, cooperation, harmony, and unity would be quite spontaneously achieved. Prince Shotoku was, perhaps, thinking of such advantage when he supported the propagation of Buddhism. And even today many companies include meditation at a Zen temple in the curriculum provided for the training of the newly recruited employees.

Shinto creed attaches importance to harmony, peace and prosperity. The statement published in 1956 by the Association of Shinto Shrines, for instance, includes the following point: "To bind oneself with others in harmonious knowledgement of the will of the emperor, praying that the country may flourish and that other people too may live in peace and prosperity." Its emphasis on the group collectivity, moreover, seems to be shown in its aim of group salvation or unification with the spirits of ancestors. According to Confucian teachings, man is inherently

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good and hence, it is possible for human beings to build a "good society" if only man tries to cultivate his character.\textsuperscript{188} In such a society the individual is brought into harmony with the social order by practicing the five classic virtues of benevolence, justice, courtesy, learning and integrity of character.\textsuperscript{189} Basic social unit in such a society is the family, in which parents and children are united together by the virtue of filial piety; brothers and brothers, affection; and husband and wife harmony.\textsuperscript{190} The State is basically conceived of as a vast replica of the family, every member living harmoniously under the Father, the Emperor.\textsuperscript{191} Buddhism in that respect is no exception. Its creed stresses ancestor worship and reverence, \textit{kaigo} -filial piety, and family continuity.\textsuperscript{192}

Shinto acknowledges the blessings of the \textit{kami} and the benefits of the ancestors\textit{(on)}, and teaches the people to be grateful and to be diligent in the observance of Shinto rituals, applying oneself to these rituals

\textsuperscript{188}Richard K. Beardsley, "Religion and Philosophy," in \textit{Twelve Doors to Japan}, pp. 391, 392.


\textsuperscript{191}John W. Hall, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 412.

\textsuperscript{192}Scott Y. Matsumoto, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 13. R. K. Beardsley and others also point out: "... many sects have diverged since then (a dozen centuries ago) but all unite in teaching their followers to love and venerate their ancestors." See \textit{Village Japan}, p. 234.
with sincerity, cheerfulness, and purity of heart (giri). Through the rituals, furthermore, the individual is awakened mainly to the national, and to a lesser degree, to the local collectivity, and as a result, the sense of obligation to the collectivity he is a member of is strengthened. Buddhism teaches that since the individual is bestowed blessings (on) by the benevolent Buddha, he is obliged to repay the blessings (giri). Buddha recognized four obligations the individual owes: to parents, fellow beings, sovereign, and three treasures of Buddhism. Out of the giri-obligations, as noted before, submissive attitudes are likely to come. Buddhism, moreover, makes the individual aware of his indebtedness to his ancestors, as well as to the other members of his family, and "supports such an attitude of veneration for, dependence on, and obedience to the founder, first, and then to each succeeding head, speaking with absolute authority in his name." Saint Rennyo of Jyōdo-Shin Sect of Buddhism, for example, emphasized obedience to the State authorities. Though Confucianism attaches importance to harmony and benevolence, the social order it advocates is the one

193Minako K. Maykovich, op. cit., p. 29.
194R. P. Dore, City Life in Japan, p. 370.
197Richard K. Beardsley, op. cit., p. 325.
based on the vertical or hierarchical principle. Actually, all
the three major religions in Japan seem to support in concert such a
hierarchical system when they emphasize group harmony. About the
Japanese concept of harmony (wa) Kokutai no hungi (Grand Principles
of National policy) states:

The wa of our country is not mechanical co-operation, starting
from reason, of equal individuals independent of each other, but
the grand harmony (taiwa) which maintains its integrity by proper
statuses of individuals within the collectivity and by acts in accord­
dance with these statuses. . . .199

In the family, according to Confucian teachings, the eldest male adult
occupies the position of the head, to whom the son has to submit him­
self unconditionally without having his own rights; the wife, who has no
rights, served her husband faithfully; and the younger brother, humbling
himself always, looks up to his elder brother.200 In the realm of the
State, since the State is the Family, Confucian insisted that all of the
people submit themselves to the authority of the Father, the Emperor,
be loyal to Him and the State, and thus, the social order based on the
vertical principle be maintained.201

199 Monbushō (Ministry of Education), Kokutai no hungi (Grand Principles
of National Policy) (Tokyo: Naikaju-insatsukyoku The Cabinet's Printing
office, 1937)pp. 50, 51, 57. as quoted by Takeyoshi Kawahima, "The
Status of the Individual in the notion of the Law, Right, and Social Order

200 Minako K. Maykovich, Japanese American Identity Dilemma, p. 27.

Then in what aspects of the Japanese culture is the core value of group-orientedness observed? In the following analysis of the Japanese culture I try to focus my attention on the values such as unity or solidarity, cooperation, harmony, submission, self-sacrifice, dependency, which seem to be the peripheral values of the core value. I also try to examine as many phases of the culture as possible on the understanding that, as I mentioned before, the core value exerts a molding impact on every aspect of the culture, and consequently, the value or the peripheral values are noticeable in wide spheres of the culture, though my analysis develops mainly in the family and the firm or company.

In the culture of group-orientedness, the family, unlike the individual in America, becomes an important unit of society. So that in many polls and census counts it is the ie that is enumerated.202 The concept of ie in the Japanese culture is not necessarily a kin unit, which emphasizes the blood continuity from father to eldest son. On the contrary, because the main function of the ie is an economic one and not a genetic one, the primary importance of the Japanese is put on the continuation of the family as a corporate unit, whose importance lies in the perpetuation of the family name and occupation.203 This fact

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explains why the doption ($\tilde{y}oshu$) is practiced so widely in Japan in order to continue the $ie$ as the unit of society, and why the eldest son not necessarily succeeds the household if he is judged to be incompetent.

Richard K. Beardsley, John W. Hall and Robert E. Ward report 26 cases of full succession in a small village, among which the eldest sons succeeded the family in 14 cases; junior sons in 5 cases; and adopted sons in 7 cases. They also report one case in which the eldest son did not succeed the $ie$ because he was found to be incompetent.

In various associations, the principle of "one adult person from one family" is often observed. Such feeling of the family as a unit may be expressed in the answer of a child, "It is the $ie$'s or ours" to the questions, "Whose rice paddy is this?" In contrast to the importance put on the $ie$, the members of the family are usually expected to sacrifice their personal pleasures and wants for the sake of $ie$. The importance attached to the $ie$ would also be shown by the fact that when men and women were asked a question, "Should a married woman obey

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205 Richard K. Beardsley, John W. Hall and Robert E. Ward, Village Japan p. 238.

206 Edward Norbeck, Changing Japan, p. 52.

207 Thomas W. Maretzki and Hatsumi Maretzki, "Taira; An Okinawan Village", p. 405.

208 Ezra F. Vogel, Japan's New Middle Class, p. 165.
her husband's family?", 65 percent of the male and 74 percent of the female answered that she "must" or "had better" obey, whereas only 5 percent of the men and 1 percent of the women answered that she did not have to obey.\footnote{Scott Matsumoto, Contemporary Japan: The Individual \& the Group, p. 27.}

Since the family collectivity is so important, the responsibility of the head of the family is to take care of the welfare of every member of the \textit{ie}, continue it, and add to the position and honor of the \textit{ie}. His power and authority as the head could be exercised only for the advantage of the whole family.\footnote{E. Norbeck, Changing Japan, p. 41; G.A. De Vos, Socialization for Achievement, p. 40.} In a sense he is a trustee of the \textit{ie} rather than an arbitrary autocrat.\footnote{R. Benedict, The Chrysanthemum and the Sword, p. 54.} As all the members of the household are inseparably identified with the \textit{ie} (and living in the society of close-knit human relationships), a misdeed by any single member automatically disgraces the honor of the family and hence all members. On the other hand, the success of a member is the success of the whole \textit{ie}. Accordingly, all members, for instance, take great pains to correct any misconduct of a member of their household.\footnote{G. De Vos, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 94. But because of such solidarity among the members, anxiety and sorrow of a member are fully shared by the parents and siblings, See Ezra T. Vogel, Japan's New Middle Class, p. 54.} They also try to keep family quarrels or fightings secret for fear of disgracing their family.\footnote{Ezra F. Vogel, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 210.} The inseparability of the honor of a member and that of the \textit{ie}, moreover,

\begin{footnotes}
\footnote{Scott Matsumoto, Contemporary Japan: The Individual \& the Group, p. 27.}
\footnote{E. Norbeck, Changing Japan, p. 41; G.A. De Vos, Socialization for Achievement, p. 40.}
\footnote{R. Benedict, The Chrysanthemum and the Sword, p. 54.}
\footnote{G. De Vos, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 94. But because of such solidarity among the members, anxiety and sorrow of a member are fully shared by the parents and siblings, See Ezra T. Vogel, Japan's New Middle Class, p. 54.}
\footnote{Ezra F. Vogel, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 210.}
would help you understand why all members of the family cooperate with a member and do not turn on the TV even when they have their favorite programs, when the member is preparing for entrance examinations. In Japan, the fear of disgracing or bringing shame to the family, rather than the fear of being put in prison, dissuades a Japanese from committing a crime. 214

The ie, being a unit of society and the source of security and happiness of all members, should be continued from generation to generation. A national survey taken in 1956 under the sponsorship of the prime Minister's Secretariat clearly shows the importance the Japanese put on the perpetuation of the ie. To the question, "In case there are no children, do you think it is necessary to adopt a yōshi?" 69 percent of the questionees stated that it was better to adopt a yōshi, and only 18 percent of them answered that it was not necessary. 215 In view of the importance of the continuity of the ie, the parents try hard to make their children aware of the favors their ancestors gave them and/or are still giving them (continuous protection of the family members, for instance) (on) and to teach them that to express their thanks is one of the repayments for their favors (giri). 216 Some type of a household Buddhist shrine is usually found in the ie and the ancestral tablets are


215 Y. Scott Matsumoto, "Notes on Primogeniture in Postwar Japan", p. 64.

216 R. P. Dore, City Life in Japan, pp. 320, 321.
kept in it. To continue the family religion and to worship the ancestors are usually believed to be one of the duties the household head has to observe. In fact such practices are generally observed. The Japanese usually believe that when they die they become Buddhas and join their ancestors. The fundamental meaning for marriage, therefore, lies in the ensuring of the continuity of family line rather than in bringing a man and a woman into the conjugal relations. This fact perhaps partly explains why marriage in Japan, though in the United States 'being in love' is the most approved reason for marriage, tends to be decided on the basis of objective standards rather than the mutual preference of the two persons, and consequently, an arranged marriage (mii) is favored. And in the family the basic human relationships are always vertical and the central one is the parent-child one.

On account of the importance of the family solidarity, unanimous decisions, regardless of the issues, are always sought to be arrived. To express a contradictory opinion, not to mention to raise an objection the the family decisions, is greatly disfavored on the ground that it is

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217 For instance, R.P. Dore asserts: "It is fairly safe generalization that conformity to traditional religious practices centering around the butsudan household Buddhist shrine and the ihai memorial tablets is much greater than conformity to those centering around Shinto shrines and the Kamidana household alter." See Ibid., p. 314.


219 R. P. Dore, op. cit., p. 98.
contradictory to the harmony of the family. The harmonious relationships among the members of the *jie* are considered to be more important than those with all other human relationships. Since too much privacy within the *fukkyo* members would be unserviceable to the real intimacy among them, a Japanese residential house is just ideal for this purpose. The rooms are usually partitioned by sliding wood-and-paper doors, and during the hot and humid summer times the sliding doors between the rooms and the corridor are removed. Even in winter they are often kept open to secure an easy passage to the kitchen or the lumber room. In the family, therefore, "One may be out of sight of others, but he is never out the range of hearing . . .," and there is almost no difference between sleeping in the same room (in a separate bedding)


221 Chie Nakane, *op. cit.*, p. 5. Too much emphasis on in-group solidarity may give rise to the oft-criticized indifference to the others and strangers among the Japanese. See, for example, Chie Nakane, *op. cit.*, p. 130, Ezra F. Vogel, *op. cit.*, p. 208.


223 Edward Norbeck, *Changing Japan*, p. 33. Even to be out of one's sight may be impossible sometimes, because holes in the screen doors by children are, especially in the rural areas, left unrepaired until the New Year's Eve. See Thomas W. Maretzki and Hatsumi Maretzki, *op. cit.*, p. 385.
in the same room. Of course, it would be difficult for a member to have his own separate room in Japan economically, yet to sleep alone in a separate room seems to be considered to be lonely, and crowded sleeping to be more pleasant. The preference for the crowdedness would be also noticed in the popular custom of gathering around the fireplace with a coverlet (kotatsu), enjoying the warmth of the family intimacy.

Spiritual unification with the ancestors is considered to be important in the culture of group-orientation. The Japanese are taught to believe that to take good care of the children is a part of the repayment of the favors he received from his parents and ancestors while he had been brought up by his parents. A Japanese woman is especially inculcated with the notion that to become a good wife and mother is the most important role assigned to her as a repayment of the favors, and that she is the sole caretaker of the home as the husband has to carry out his duties mainly outside the family. A Japanese woman, consequently,

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224 Ezra F. Vogel, op. cit., p. 231.
225 R. P. Dore, City Life in Japan, p. 49.
228 According to George De Vos, eleven out of the sixteen women queried accepted the idea that a marriage is an obligation. See Socialization for Achievement, p. 76.
puts much weight on the role of a wife and mother than that of a business- 
woman.229 When they were asked, "Which do you set a high value on, 
the family or the job?" 72.8 percent of the women answered that the 
family was more important than the job (whereas 54.9 percent of the 
men stated that the job was more important).230 In fact, the woman's 
role of looking after the home is deeply rooted in the tradition and there 
was no difference in this respect between the peasants and the samurai 
even in the feudal periods.231

The Japanese woman, therefore, shows no signs of reluctance 
or feels no confusion in her mind about accepting the role of wife and 
mother,232 and hence, unmarried women are rare in Japan.233

229 George A. De Vos, analyzing TAT stories, asserts: "... there are 
relatively few stories suggesting that a woman's accomplishment lies in 
any direction other than conforming as closely as possible to the ideal 
of wife and mother... this role revolves around a deep sense of 
responsibility..." See Socialization for Achievement, p. 71.

230 Nihon Chiiki Kaihatsu Center, ed., Nihonjin no Kachikan (Value Judg­ 

231 Ronald Dore, British Factory--Japanese Factory (Berkeley: Univer­ 

232 George A. De Vos, op. cit., p. 25. Women seem to place greater 
value on devoting their life to the role of faithful wives and good mothers. 
In April, 1952, 1,352 working women in Tokyo were asked in an interview 
how long they wanted to work. Only 21.1 percent of them wished to stay in 
their work "as long as possible," Whereas 69.3 percent of them expressed 
their desire to quit their work in the phrases like "until marriage," "until 
livelihood becomes easier," "want to quit as soon as possible," and "until 
a child is born." See Rōdōshō, Fujin shonen-kyoku (Ministry of Labor, 
Women's and Minor's Bureau). Fujin wa nani o kangaeteiru ka? (What do 
women think?) (Tokyo, 1952), p. 27, as quoted by Scott Y. Matsumoto. 
Contemporary Japan: The Individual and the Group, p. 28.

233 George A. De Vos, op. cit., p. 83.
Such a cultural bias is clearly reflected in the curricula of the schools for girls or women which emphasize social and homemaking subjects such as sewing, music, dancing, flower arrangement, and tea ceremony at the sacrifice of the academic lines. Owing to the suitable preparation for the future wife and mother role given by education, together with the special way of bringing up daughters at home—restricting their activities and directing their interests to the things around the role, Japanese women feel no chasm between their social activities before and those after marriage. Accordingly, after getting married her interests naturally center on the family life, children, food, and clothing. She feels a sense of fulfillment in the success of the role and derives personal satisfaction out of it. In contrast to the Japanese woman, the American woman usually feels frustrated after getting married, mainly because she is reared in the same way and as freely as the boys and studies the same academic subjects (under the equal principles), the experiences of which find her in a totally different situation when she enters into the conjugal relations. This may


235 Scott Y. Matsumoto, op. cit., p. 64.

236 Ezra F. Vogel, op. cit., pp. 189, 190. According to George A. De Vos, moreover, in American culture there is "an implicit derogation of the adult maternal role in favor of the more culturally appreciated economic vocational achievement." This also seems to be a partial factor for the frustration felt by married women. See Socialization for Achievement, p. 25.
explain the rather high divorce rate in America which I cited earlier. 237

Being assigned the role of a sole caretaker of the child and living in the society where self-sacrificing is a culturally-sanctioned value, a Japanese woman makes countless self-sacrifices for the child--making extra income in her spare time to meet the expense necessary for the children's tutors, spending virtually nothing on herself; 238 helping them with the homework, and in extreme cases even bringing them meals on a tray, sharpening their pencils and preparing for their every need always. 239 In Japan it is usually believed that the relationships between the mother and the children are special ones and hence no one can assume the role of the mother. This may be the partial reason why the practice of baby-sitting has not developed so much in Japan as in the United States. Even when there lives a grandmother at home, the mother is usually reluctant to leave the children under the grandmother's care. 240

When the child does not behave properly at school or does something wrong, it is the mother who suffers from the sense of failure, and in not so rare cases, she tries to correct the misdeeds of the child or to

237 In America there were 2.52 divorces for every 1000 Americans whereas there were 0.8 divorces for every 1000 Japanese in 1967. See Asahi Shinbunsha, Asahi nenkan, 1970 (Asahi Yearbook, 1970) (Tokyo: Asahi Shinbunsha, 1970), p. 198.


239 Ezra F. Vogel, Japan's New Middle Class, pp. 213, 54, 49.

punish him by injuring or even killing herself.\footnote{241}{George A. De Vos, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 124, 152, 37, 150.}

The emotional feeling of "oneness" which exists between the mother and the child originated mainly from the sense of obligations the mother feels she owes to her parents, and the virtue of self-sacrifice is still further reinforced by the close physical contact between the mother and the child, which is observable since the very birth of the child. The contact starts with breast feeding and goes on to bathing, carrying on the back, carrying in the arms, and sleeping close to the mother.\footnote{242}{Douglas G. Haring, "Aspects of Personal Character in Japan," in \textit{Personal Character and Cultural Milieu}, ed., Douglas G. Haring, (New York: Syracuse University Press, 1948), p. 401.}

The baby is seldom left alone beyond the sight of the mother or out of the mother's earshot. These practices of closeness are often continued to be observed exceeding the period of actual necessity. For example, even if the baby is old enough to crawl or learn to walk within the second half year of his life, he is still tied on the back, usually until the birth of the next sibling.\footnote{243}{Minako K. Maykovich, \textit{Japanese American Identity Dilemma}, p. 31; Thomas W. Maretzki and Hatsumi Maretzki, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 471.}

In the Japanese culture it is taken for granted that the child wants the mother's physical "warmth," not to mention emotional one, and accordingly, that the child is afraid of being left alone. The mother, being socialized in the culture of group-orientedness, naturally feels that to leave the child alone is a cold-hearted or even
cruel treatment. Such practices are quite different from those in the United States, where as noted before, the "separatedness" is always encouraged. If we take the fact that the practice of separatedness is emphasized in the culture of individualism into consideration, it would be fairly safe to assume that the practice of closeness will nurture a dependent tendency among the Japanese and hence, serviceable to the culture of group-orientedness.

In Japan, feelings of dependency are accepted as natural, whereas, in America to admit one's feelings of dependency is usually considered to be child-like. While in America mothers chase down the street after a child, in Japan a child frantically chase after a mother. In Japan the child who takes the college examinations sometimes needs moral support from the mother, who accompanies him to the school and waits for him in the adjacent room. The child continues to ask the parents for help when he decides, sometimes even after getting married, though he may act against the advices or suggestions.

244 Ezra F. Vogel, Japan's New Middle Class, p. 231, 233.

245 George A. De Vos, for instance, claims that "Hovering nurturance, which persists in a child's life to a far later age in Japanese than in American culture tends to impede aggressive independence." See Socialization for Achievement, p. 47. Minako K. Maykovich points out that the practices of closeness "arouse in the child fear of making independent decisions and creat anxiety about being isolated from family or friends." See op. cit., p. 31.

246 Ezra F. Vogel, Japan's New Middle Class, pp. 234, 235.

Usually the child's dependency gradually shifts from the family (parents) to the schools (teachers) and to the work places (superiors), though the shift is in terms of the main group on which he depends and his dependency on the older groups remains noncommittal.

Because of the disposition of the child to depend on the parents and to avoid an autonomous decision, together with the kō-filial piety which requires the child to be obedient to the parents and to continue the ie, the parents' advices and active and positive role, in the decisions on the marriage of the child, usually seem to be accepted by the child without any serious resistance. The child often thinks that the parents will find a suitable spouse for him or her.248 The parents, on the other hand, generally think that since they have seen much of life they can or should judge the child's spouse more prudently than the child, who knows little of the world. Out of this logic comes the following point of view: the "right" or "proper" marriage is the one arranged by the parents with the help of go-betweens.249 And the marriage without such steps (ren'ai marriage) is considered to be an unfilial rebellion against the parents. Actually many children who got married without those steps and especially in spite of the parents' opposition, it is reported, sustained guilt feelings,250 and often a failure is attributed to such fee-choice marriage.251

248Edward Norbeck, Changing Japan, p. 54.
250Ibid., p. 19.
251Ibid., p. 74.
In order to dodge such cultural pressures even when a young man and woman agree mutually to be married, they usually go through due formalities of an arranged marriage. During the war, when a university professor went to the local borough office to get the special wedding rice-wine (sake) ration for his wedding reception, the office refused to give him the sake on the ground that the form he handed in omitted the name of a go-between, and hence, his marriage was not a proper one, which forced him to coin one name in order to attain his purpose.

Owing to the cultural emphasis on repayment of the forces (and observing countless sacrifices of the parents for the child in his eyes), together with the enduring close and intimate relationships between the parents and the child, the married child feels obligatory and quite natural to share the same house with the parents. The child usually feels that after devoting their entire lives for the child, his parents would feel sad and lonely if they live separated from the child. The child thinks that the parents deserve to enjoy the rest of their lives being freed from the responsibilities and conflicts in life.

Actually, the aged parents seem to be given a privilege to be served


253 R. P. Dore, City Life in Japan, p. 165.

254 Richard Halloren, Japan: Images and Realities, p. 225; Ezra F. Vogel, Japan's New Middle Class, pp. 237, 238.

255 George A. De Vos, op. cit., p. 74.
first at meals, to go into the family tub first, and to enjoy warm relationships, especially with the grandchildren. They are usually considered as helpful hands, especially in the rural areas. The nation-wide poll collected from both male and female, twenty years and over, and from 32 cities and 90 towns and villages in 1957, clearly indicates the desirability to the co-residency. When asked, "Should one of the children live together with and look after parents, or do you feel it is necessary for any of the children to live with the parents?" 72 percent of the respondents replied that it would be better to live together. Parents also express the will to live together with the children. According to the Mainichi Newspaper survey in 1950, to the question, "Do you plan to be dependent on your children when you grow old?" 76.6 percent of the interviewees expressed their plan or desire to live together or to be dependent, whereas only 11.1 percent of them

256 Edward Norbeck, op. cit., p. 36.


258 Thomas W. Maretzki and Hatsumi Maretzki, op. cit., p. 478.

259 Ibid., pp. 398, 399.

stated that they would no be dependent.  

Due to the importance put on the continuity of the *ie*, the central human relationship in the family becomes the one between the parents and the child. The relationship between the husband and wife, therefore, tends to be relegated to the second place. In other words, the husband and wife seem, as it were, to be connected through the intermediary of the child. Such type of relationship, unlike the one between the husband and wife in the United States—the connection through the bond of mutual attraction or affection between the husband and wife—in Japan seems to be enduring, for even if trouble arises between the husband and wife, such matters seldom develops into a divorce. The estrangement between the husband and wife does not provide the decisive reason for the break of the parent-child relationship which is considered to be more important than the husband-wife relationship.

Since the mother (or the father) and the child are so intimately connected, the wife can get emotional satisfaction and spiritual support from her children and hence, she seldom feels sad or lonely even when the relationship with her husband is not so intimate or satisfactory. The mother and child enjoy warm and intimate relationships at home and the husband usually maintains such relationship with work associates and

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spends enjoyable hours at the local entertainment quarters, which fact also indicates that the husband-wife relationship may not be vital to the maintenance of the family life. There are, moreover, other factors which seem to make the family life a more lasting one. The Japanese tend to think that divorce brings disgrace to the parents, the go-between and everyone who has done a service in materializing the marriage because the divorce implies that their judgments have been proved to be incorrect. Even if one (especially the wife) could successfully get divorced, remarriage is usually quite difficult, for it connotates the widow's selfish motive to attach more importance to the conjugal relationship than the parent-child one (she is culturally expected to sacrifice herself to her children). As the husband has been accustomed to be nurtured under the mother's devotion, to depend upon the mother, and to get great contentment from the mother, he naturally tends to seek, after getting married, to be served by his wife, to depend on his wife, and to get the similar emotional satisfaction from the wife, who is, as it were, his substitute mother. The wife is usually willing to comply with the husband's requests mainly out of the sense of her duties

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262 Ezra F. Vogel, *Japan's New Middle Class*, pp. 215, 216.


264 George De Vos, *Socialization for Achievement*, p. 88. Moreover, since children are supposed to belong to the *ie* of their father, when the widow gets remarried the new husband, except moral obligations, can ignore the financial support to the widow's children, though such case is rare in reality. See *Ibid.*, p. 81.
which the culture assigns to the role of wife. \(^{265}\) And lastly, unlike the United States, it is usually difficult for a woman to be economically independent because there is no minimum wage fixed by a law, and even among the workers engaged in the similar type of work, wage difference is usually observable between men and women in Japan, which dissuades the wife from claiming a divorce. \(^{266}\)

Among the Japanese who are group-oriented, mutual assistance or labor-exchange among the relatives is a widely observable phenomenon, especially in the works which require more labor force than a single family can supply—house building, rice transplanting, etc.; in rites of passages, social activities; in financial matters; and in the times of crisis. \(^{267}\) Other than those occasions, the relatives have opportunities to meet and discuss matters of consequence and to reach a unanimous agreement among them. \(^{268}\) Whenever they gather, the reunion of kinfolk usually turns out to be a happy and enjoyable occasion. \(^{269}\) Apart from economic consideration, house-sharing among the relatives may be the case in which we can find the group-orientedness in the Japanese


\(^{266}\) Ezra F. Vogel, *op. cit.*, p. 178.


\(^{269}\) Edward Norbeck, *Changing Japan*, p. 44.
culture, for living together often considered to be more enjoyable
than living alone. Workers and students who come to the city from the
country, accordingly, usually try to find lodging at their relatives'
houses, even though such houses are inconveniently located. 270

In the culture where the family and the kinship group are believed
to be the most sure, solid and enduring groups, it would be quite
natural for other non-kin groups to adopt the organizing principles of the
family and the kin groups whenever they intend to perpetuate them. Those
principles are the parent-child (oya-ko) relationship, the elder-younger
brother (aniki-otōto) relationship, the main-branch house (honke-bunke)
relationship, and the succession to the headship of ie (katoku-sozoku)
system, just to name a few. The simulated parent-child (oyabun-kobun)
relationship would be found, for instance, in the professor-student rela-
tionship in the university; in the teacher-disciple relationship in the
schools of Japanese traditional arts (ceremonial tea, flower arrange-
ment, dance, song, drama, etc.); in the employer-employee (and often
in the head of the department and the workers under him) in the company,
factory, and shop; in the director-the staff relationship in the government
offices; in the mistress-maid, in the house; in the captain-worker, in
the construction group; in the master-apprentice, in the artisan shop;
in the senior-junior politician, in the political party or faction; the boss-
henchman, in the racketeer or ganster group; in the house-house (oyakata-
kokata), in the rural area; in the doctor-assistant and in the doctor or

270 R. P. Dore, City Life in Japan, p. 135.
assistant-nurse, even in the doctor-patient in the hospital; etc. The
simulated elder-younger brother relationship may be observed in the
senior-junior relationship among the co-workers, officials, craftsmen,
politicians, gangs, disciples, students, etc. And the main-branch
relationship, in the traditional Japanese art schools, in artisan shops,
merchant houses, religious temples and shrines, underworld gang groups,
construction groups, etc., in which you can also recognize the principle
of hereditary succession. 271 Such relationships and principles are so
widely accepted in the Japanese culture that Japanese people consider
them as the natural order of the society. 272

As I noted before, out of the mutual help among the members of
the family, the kin and the community for survival, together with the
intimate and familial atmosphere originated from the extended kin-
relationships and the life-long association of the members of the family
and the hamlet due mainly to the sedentary tendency made possible by
the self-sufficiency based on the high productivity, came the concept of

271 Ezra Vogel, Japan’s New Middle Class, pp.12,26,28,58,128; R. P.
Dore op. cit., pp. 94, 324; S. Y. Matsumoto, Contemporary Japan: The
Individual and the Group, pp. 38, 39; E. O. Reischauer, The United States
and Japan, p. 159; Chie Nakane, Japanese Society, pp. 43, 96, 97; T. W.
Maretzki and H. Maretzki, op cit., p. 397; R. Halloran, Japan: Images
and Realities, pp. 228-230; E. Noebeck, Changing Japan, p. 5; and
George A. De Vos, Socialization for Achievement, pp. 283-286.

272 Scott Y. Matsumoto, op. cit., p. 40.
on-giri (favors-obligations). This concept, in the simplest terms, means that since one's survival or welfare is only made possible by the favors one receives from the parents, the family, and the community (and the nation), one has to repay the favors by being loyal to the givers of the favors and exerting one's utmost efforts for the good of the givers, while remaining at one's proper suitable occupation or station. The proper station for the man would be found in the occupational circle outside the family (whereas for the woman, inside the family).

Therefore, though the Japanese works for various reasons, the strongest motive comes out of "a kind of nagging inner urge" that originates from the concept of his obligations or duties, which makes him uneasy if he does not carry them out. 273

3. Japanese Solidarity

Once you have taken these concepts into consideration, it would not be so difficult to understand why the Japanese devotes himself completely to the work once he has successfully engaged in the "proper" one. However, living to the group-oriented culture, where most of the enduring organizations adopt the form and the human relationships found in the family, together with the fact that living in the economy of scarcity, security is the prime concern of the employee which is guaranteed only by being loyal to the company rather than being competent in his work. What is important for the Japanese is the firm or the company rather

than the work itself. His loyalty and utmost efforts accordingly, are
directed toward the firm he belongs to rather than the job or the work
he does. The employer is also bound by the sense of obligations.
Since the workers give their utmost efforts to maximize the profits
and thus ensure the prosperity of the company, the employer is
obligated, he believes to take good care of the employees, as well as
their families, by means of various allowances and fringe benefits, for
the employee and his family to make a living on his salary, which is the
only source of income for them. Thus, the paternalism in Japan empha-
sizes duties on both sides—the employer and the employed.

Since the employee's loyalty is exclusively directed toward the firm
which employs him, the firm tends to absorb his total personality and
the employee rarely has an interest in other groups with specific and
confined aims. The relationships between the employer and the
employees in Japan can not be explained by the concept of

\[274\] Ronald Dore, op. cit., p. 382.
\[275\] George A. De Vos, Socialization for Achievement, pp. 193, 198;
and R. P. Dore, City Life in Japan, p. 73.
\[276\] Ezra F. Vogel, Japan's New Middle Class, p. 118, Chie Nakane
asserts: "... a man is too deeply involved in the affairs of his place
of work to have time or inclination to make friends in his neighborhood.
..." See Japanese Society, p. 126. R. Dore also reports, "In our sample
Hitachi workers, 83% belonged to some sports or social club or hobby
group organized exclusively for members of the firm or the union; only 14%
belonged to any outside social or political or religious organizations." See British Factory--Japanese Factory, p. 214.
contract, in which the employer pays a certain amount of money or money substitute in return for the employee's labor. The firm hires the entire person (not only the labor force), even including his family. Marugakae (total employment) is the characteristic form of management since the Meiji era. Chie Nakane explains the unique concept of the firm or company (kaisha) in the Japanese culture:

Kaisha does not mean that individuals are bound by contractual relationships into a corporate enterprise, while still thinking of themselves as separate entities; rather kaisha is 'my' or 'our' company, the community to which one belongs primarily, and which is all-important is one's life.

Accordingly, when the Japanese is asked "What are you doing?" he is most likely to answer by naming the company he belongs to first, then the place of work and lastly the type of work he is doing.

The depth of personal involvement within the "Company fami-

277 Ezra F. Vogel asserts:"Just as company expenses extend into areas which Americans regard as personal, so employer-employee relationships go far beyond contractual work relationship." See Japan's New Middle Class, pp. 21, 22.

278 Chie Nakane, op. cit., p. 15.

279 Ibid., pp. 3, 4.

280 Ronald Dore, op. cit., p. 115.
ly" would be understood by the widely prevalent practices—the director or department head plays a role of a go-between for his men and his men help him with the preparations for the general ceremony and the reception of the director's family. Superiors are concerned about the welfare of their workers, the foreman or superintendent helps his subordinates who are in financial trouble and visits them when they are sick, a worker goes to the wife of his employer to discuss and ask advice on his marriage plan or family issues, the employer's wife opens free classes of flower arrangement, tea cult, cookery, and sewing for the female employees as a part of their marriage preparations, and she, with her husband, also presides at employees' wedding receptions and various company entertainments.

When the eldest son takes a wife, one of the most important roles for the mother of the son would be to teach the bride the ie tradition so that she can harmoniously be incorporated into the ie and contribute to the

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281 A typical of these company families would be "One Railway Family" (koku-tetsu-ikka), which means the Japanese National Railways. "A union, incorporating both workers and management, calls this 'management-labor harmony'. Though it is often said that the traditional family (ie) still persists in modern contexts. A company is conceived as an ie, all its employees qualifying as members of the household, with the employer as its head." See Chie Nakane, Japanese Society, pp. 7, 8.

282 Chie Nakane, Japanese Society, p. 72.

283 Ezra F. Vogel, op. cit., p. 128.


fortunes of the family. On the same account, the education for the newly recruited employees becomes very important in a company family. The courses for them includes, among other things, one concerning the molding of character and attitudes proper to the company spirits. A booklet used in such a course, for instance, tells about the clothes they should wear, and the manner in which they should speak to their superiors. During the training periods, they are required to keep a daily record of the things they have learned, including weekly self-examination. Since the "soul" is the prime concern of the company, these courses are provided for all levels of employees. Owing to such socialization or induction classes, there is little difference in the official ideology held by the management and the workers and consequently, all the persons working in the firm have been united by the same feeling of "eating at the same mess" (onaji kama no meshi o ku).\footnote{286}{Ronald Dore, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 50, 63, 64, 65, 66, 71, 73, 208.}

The very emphasis placed on the employee training, on the other hand, makes the firm reluctant to extend a welcome hand to those who seek a new employment in the middle of their careers. The company thinks that those job seekers are too much imbued with the values or manners of their former companies and it would be difficult to hammer new ethics and attitudes into them, for as the proverb goes, you have to strike iron while it is hot. This fact partly explains why workers in Japan are unwilling to move from company to company once they have been hired.
They are usually loyal to the firm until their retirement age. Virtually life-time employment is the dominant pattern among the Japanese workers. In 1969, there were twenty directors in Hitachi Company, one of the biggest corporations in Japan. Fifteen of those twenty directors joined the company immediately after their graduation from a university or from one of the technical high schools (which had almost an equivalent status to a university). All except one of the remaining five joined within four years of their graduation. 287

With due regard to the importance of the group harmony and solidarity, the company adopts, other than the life-time employment system, so-called seniority system, which means, in the case of Hitachi Company, that "even the least favored worker is getting more than two and a half times his 18-year old salary at the age of 45." 288 (The wide adoption of the system, of course, had been backed by the pressures generated out of an increasing general social concern with working conditions of the workers, out of labor unrest, and out of the company's desire to retain specific types of skilled workers. 289 The company usually gives a bonus two times a year, which amount is determined by the prosperity of the company. 290 Family allowances are generally paid for the wife

287 Ronald Dore, op. cit., p. 222.


290 Scott Y. Matsumoto, op. cit., p. 40.
and children of the employee, which rationale, other than the company familialism, would be that if the employee is always worrying about his family's living, he cannot do his best at his work. The company, moreover, may provide educational loans for the needy employees; owns a company dormitory for the unmarried employees or/and owns one in Tokyo for the convenience of the children of the employees who are attending universities or cramschools; or owns a villa or an inn for the employees outings; and gives gifts of money in times of wedding, birth of a child, a child's entrance into an elementary school, funerals of the employee, as well as his family members, flood or fire. 291 The company may even pay for an overnight trip of the employees or sell them the company's products cheaply. 292

As harmony is much to be prized, and because of the group-mindedness of the Japanese, the work in the company is usually done through the cooperation among the members of a section and they bear the collective responsibility of the work. 293 The individual pieceworks are, accordingly, considered to be of minor importance. 294 Due to the


292 Ezra F. Vogel, Japan's New Middle Class, p. 36.

293 Ronald Dore, op. cit., p. 225.

294 For example, only 13 percent of all the workers of the Hitachi factory are on individual piecework. See Ronald Dore, British Factory--Japanese Factory, p. 107. This fact also means that there is little autonomy in the work situation. Only 25 percent of the Hitachi sample answered that they could work at their own pace. See Ibid., p. 231.
collective responsibility, the attendance ratio is generally high and many workers seem not to take all their paid holidays. Living in the culture of group-orientedness, aided by the company familialism, the workers usually think that it would be unfair as a member of the same company family to enjoy themselves while the other members are working hard. Under these circumstances, what is regarded important would be the skill to maintain smooth human relationships in the company rather than to do the work satisfactorily. A group tour and a party, in this respect, would be very serviceable. Such entertainments are usually conducted by the members of the same section, or, in case of a small company, by all members and in actuality, they are contributable to the promotion of the familial feelings and in-group solidarity.

Reflecting the familialism of the company, a union in Japan is essentially a "company union", admitting both staff and line workers into the organization, disregarding the categories of work and competence.

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295 The overall attendance ratio for the whole Hitachi company between April and November 1969, for instance, was in no month below 96.0 percent and in May was as high as 96.7 percent. Since the holiday entitlement alone would amount to more than 4 percent of total working days, these figures show that workers do not take all their paid holidays. See Ronald Dore, _op. cit._, p. 188.


297 Ezra F. Vogel asserts: "Going out together for recreation is crucial for keeping personal relationships strong enough to withstand the tensions which arise during the course of work." _Ibid._, p. 105.
The primary concern of the union is the job security, i.e., to prevent the members from being dismissed or layed-off.\textsuperscript{298} And since the union is the enterprise union, both labor and management have common interests: the prosperity of the company takes priority over all other considerations. This is more so because the workers are very likely to serve the firm until their retirement, and hence, their interests are inseparably connected, and engaging in mudslinging at each other is utterly unpleasant and profits neither side.\textsuperscript{299}

Since members of the union, thus, strongly identify with the company and are loyal to it, together with the fact that there is little class division or class consciousness among the Japanese workers, it seems to be quite difficult for them to identify themselves as the laboring "classes", transcending the "walls" between the unions. The lack of the horizontal links between the unions makes it extremely difficult for the workers in a small firm to organize a union and, thus, be incorporated into a larger organization. Or, it may be closer to the truth to state that since the smaller the company is, the stronger the familial atmosphere will be, the workers in such a small firm do not

\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{298}Chie Nakane, \textit{Japanese Society}, p. 18.}

\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{299}Ronald Dore, \textit{British Factory--Japanese Factory}, p. 173.}
even feel the necessity of organizing a union. 300 In such a company, paternalism would result rather spontaneously. The low wages of the workers in such a company, moreover, make such paternalistic practices necessary. Actually such practices—seniority system, life-lone employment system and fringe benefits, etc., are observed typically in the small enterprises (less than 30 employees), in which, in 1955, for example, two of every five industrial workers were working. 301

Such paternalism is, however, practiced, interestingly enough, even in the "modern" giant enterprises which often boast of their "progressive" management. 302 It is, furthermore, often observed in Japan that as a newly established company attains its maturity by growing bigger and achieving stable success, it gradually adopts a rigid seniority system and extends the range of its fringe benefits. 303 The union in

300 In 1953, for example, ninety percent of the firms with 500 or more workers were organized; 69 percent of firms with 100-499 employees were organized; 24 percent of those with 30-99 employees; and only 5 percent of the firms with fewer than 30 workers were organized. See Iwao Ayusawa, "The Labor Problem in Japan," Japan Quarterly, 1 (1954), 112, as quoted by Scott Y. Matsumoto in Contemporary Japan: The Individual and the Group, p. 41. In Dore's sample, of 42 employees below managerial rank, 16 said in the interview that there were no unions at their offices or factories and that they thought that a union was unnecessary because everything was fine without it. See R. P. Dore, City Life in Japan, pp. 211, 212.


302 Richard K. Beardsley, op. cit., p. 98.

such a big corporation, moreover, usually requires the employer to perform such paternalistic "obligations" fully rather than abolish them. 304

Living in the culture of close human relationships, the Japanese puts emphasis on the smooth human relationships. A friendly child, accordingly, is thus usually praised 305 and affability and pliancy are considered to be personal assets. 306 A too bossy or aggressive child, on the other hand, is considered to be an undesirable playmate and pushy children are seldom seen in Japan. 307 If a child hits his playmate, strict punishment is thought to be necessary for such a terrible offense. 308 Even when the child hits in self-defense, such an action is regarded just as bad as starting a fight first. No returning aggression is overlooked virtually in any situation. 309 Euphemism, rather than direct narration; creating a mood, rather than conveying definite ideas; 310 being reserved or shy and humble, rather than being self-assertive 311 are generally

306 Edward Norbeck, Changing Japan, p. 78.
308 Edward Norbeck, Changing Japan, p. 38.
309 Ezra F. Vogel, Japan's New Middle Class, p. 247.
310 Richard Halloran, Japan Images and Realities, p. 232.
favored. Japanese people are quite sensitive to the feelings of others and know what they are thinking about very quickly. Since the Japanese excel at having an intuitive understanding of other persons, preaching, debating, persuasion, or expatiation is usually considered to be unimportant and often to be unpleasant, and hence, avoided. Reflecting such cultural bias, the Japanese language evinces its non-logical character, such as lack of the relative pronoun "which" and frequent omission of the subject. The Japanese people, on the other hand, manifest emotional character, which may be discernible for instance in the emotive Japanese poetry, in their enthusiasm about natural beauty and, unlike the Americans, the sentimental affection toward one's parents' house, alma-mater, and teachers and friends. To conceal one's emotions, not to


315 Edwin O. Reischauer, The United States and Japan, pp. 122, 121, 132.
mention hostility or aggression, however, is considered to be a virtue, and the Japanese, unlike the people in America, rarely say "no" unequivocally. The meticulous formalism and rules of conduct are observed so that no one should be embarrassed by the unforeseen developments of an affair, and an important role of a go-between in arranging the matter in place of the party concerned is primarily to prevent "face-losing" on both sides to maintain the good relationships they had before.

Because of the life time employment system, friendships among the Japanese men are very likely made with one's work associates or persons connected with one's work, and the wife tends to make friends with her neighbors, and in both cases, once the friendships are formed, they are durable. Since friendships are enduring, they tend to be emotional and deeply involved ones. The friends are very loyal to each other. Ezra F. Vogel writes about the services one can get free from one's friends:

A person staying overnight in another city will stay with a friend or a friend of a friend . . . When seeking a job, getting personal counselling, or seeking a special technical connection, one is

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likely to get help from friends rather than to go to an official agency. Although private detective . . . and real estate agencies are still wide-spread, one feels safer and saves money if the services are performed by friends. When one wants to use a public facility, such as a meeting hall to entertain guests, it is often possible to get a big discount through friends. Some people will call upon a rich friend to help them entertain guests.321

As the group is paramount, the harmony and solidarity among the members must always be maintained at any cost. To express open and bold opposition, may disrupt the harmony, let alone to criticize a person to his face, and in an extreme case, one who acts against the harmony may be boycotted by the group as a disruptive element.322

Generally speaking, the Japanese seem to be more interested in personality than in capability and hence, in case of screening they often try to rely on subjective impressions.323 Unanimous agreements are always favored even if it is time-consuming and troublesome. When some trouble or dispute has arisen, the Japanese are willing to settle it by compromise, submitting it to judicial arbitration or settling it privately through a go-between, rather than by court ruling. The court itself recommends a settlement by arbitration.324 By doing that, they try to avoid the embarrassment, not to mention expense and time,

321 Ezra F. Vogel, op. cit., p. 79.


323 Chie Nakane, op. cit., p. 79.

resulting from a judicial decision. In case of business dealings, defining the contractual obligations and rights before signing the contract is usually avoided on the grounds that such process implies a mistrust of the other party's fulfillment of the contract.

In the society of group-centeredness the emotional harmony among the group members is considered to be the group's motive power and the success of the group is believed to be largely under the control of it. How important such harmony is in actuality would be illustrated by the following episode of a mountaineering team attempting one of the Himalayan peaks.

Their failure was said to have been caused not only by bad weather but also poor team-work. Since this team was one of the first to go from Japan to the Himalayans after the war, it was composed of the best climbers in Japan, who came from several different institutions and associations. When the party came down to Calcutta after the attempt it was split into several antagonistic groups almost unable even to speak to each other. It was being said that the poor team-work arose, first, from the fact that the members came from different groups, so that it was difficult to create a sense of one-ness in the party; secondly the members belonged to the same age group, which made it difficult to establish the vertical relationship... essential to the internal organization of any Japanese group.

Dismissing no man from a company without a good reason, making no student stay back in the class, forming no class according to the students' ability, numbering only the upper students in examination results--


326 Takeyoshi Kawashima, *op. cit.*, p. 266.

327 Chie Nakane, *op. cit.*, p. 75.
these are some of the practices that may result from the fear of jeopardizing the group solidarity. 328

In the culture of group-orientedness, it would be crucial for the individual to maintain satisfactory human relationships with the members of the family and of the community. It would be critical for a young lady, a prospective bride, for instance, to have a good relationship with her neighbors because it would be to her neighbors that a go-between would make inquiries about her when he has chosen her as a hopeful candidate for his planned marriage arrangement. 329 A letter of introduction from a notable elder man to his junior may produce good results; 330 and his accidentally discovered connections with the other party may be of great help in breaking down the "walls of apathy" one is likely to come upon when he meets with a stranger with no appropriate introduction. 331 A son going to the city to find a job may have to rely upon the personal connections the head of the ie arranges for him. 332 Sometimes schools or teachers may make necessary arrangements for a graduate seeking an employment. In the case of Hitachi company, it is the personal connections with about 140

328 Ezra F. Vogel, Japan's New Middle Class, p. 45; R. P. Dore, City Life in Japan, pp. 232, 238.


331 Ezra F. Vogel, op. cit., pp. 119, 120.

332 Ibid., p. 60; Ezra Vogel, "Kinship Structure. Migration to the City and Modernization," in Aspects of Social Change in Modern Japan, p. 95.
schools throughout Japan and the recommendations from the former
teachers of the members of the company that exercises a decisive
influence upon the selection of the new recruits. According to the sur-
vey conducted by R. P. Dore in 1969, 32 percent of the new recruits
had been recommended by the schools or the teachers; most of the
remainder were introduced by relatives and friends; and only 6 percent
came in answer to an advertisement or applied directly without any
personal connections. 333

Personal connections are, furthermore, closely linked with the
success of one's career. The wider the network of his personal
connections are, the greater his success in the political or business
world would be. 334 What counts for the newly recruited employees,
therefore, would be the establishment of human relationships with the
members of the company rather than the amount of salary they are going
to be paid. Taking all of those factors into account, it would not be so
difficult to understand why, in a survey of working women in Tokyo in
1948, 42 out of every 100 female workers knew neither the content of
the job nor the amount of the salary when they accepted the employ-

333 R. P. Dore, British Factory--Japanese Factory, p. 65; R. P. Dore
also points out *One indication of the importance of personal connections
in determining an individual's life-chances may be seen in the fact that
of forty-two employees interviewed in Shitayama-cho (in a Tokyo ward)
four got their present job by replying to an advertisement, two through
a Labour Exchange, two through an entrance test, and thirty-three by

334 Ronald Dore, City Life in Japan, p. 259.
ment, and why a Japanese engineer refused to accept a position with a salary ten times greater than his existing one offered by a foreign government on the grounds that it was better to keep his social position than to have the money.  

One of the aspects of familialism of Japanese society would be found in the usage of kinship terminology in addressing non-kin members of the group or of the community or even total strangers. "Grandmother" and "grandfather" would be used in talking to the aged members or persons; "uncle" and "aunt" to the parental generation; "elder brother" and "elder sister," to the younger person, usually unmarried. Another aspect would be group parties or group trips which the member of the group take part in. For example, school excursions, which are held at the end of primary school, the junior high school, and the senior high school, are typical of these group trips because virtually all of the students take part in them. Other than these trips, they also go for a bath in the sea in groups and go up a mountain in groups. On these occasions, to split the students into small groups is usually disfavored and hence, even sleeping arrangements may be rotated each

335Supreme Commander for the Allied Forces, Civil Information and Education Section, Public and Sociological Research Unit, Problems of Working Women in Tokyo, (Tokyo, 1949), as quoted by Scott Y. Matsu­moto, Contemporary Japan: The Individual and the Group, p. 27.


night. 338 The school sometimes finds difficulty in finding a big hotel to accommodate the whole group without putting up at different hotels. Families also travel together for leisure or for a visit. It is proverbially said that "in traveling a companion, in life sympathy;" to travel alone is, generally speaking, very rare and a lone traveller may be thought to be a little odd. Inns are hesitant to accommodate a lone traveller, especially one who has no reservations. The unwillingness, of course, may originate partly in their mercenary point of view because they charge on a per-person basis. A lone woman traveller may have the worst time in finding her lodgings; for she likely is thought to be of as brokenhearted, recently divorced or at best an unsocialable or unhappy person. 399

Unlike the American farmers who want to own expensive machinery individually for the sake of maintenance of their independence, the Japanese group-oriented counterparts living in the same hamlet often jointly own agricultural machinery, which have come widely into use especially since the end of the War, such as electric motors, hullers, polishers, barleymills, and tractor-cultivators, which could be used by any member freely. 340 Moreover,

338 Ezra F. Vogel, Japan's New Middle Class, pp. 105, 115.
They borrow and lend freely. When an unexpected visitor comes and you happen not to have a kettle boiling, it is always worth looking in next-door to see if they have one on the hob.\textsuperscript{341}

And despite constant efforts of the police in warning against giving too many opportunities to thieves, the villagers seem to feel no necessity or are reluctant to install locking devices on their doors.\textsuperscript{342}

Since Christianity is strongly linked with individualism, it may not appeal so much to the group-minded Japanese. Moreover, the family members are all identified strongly with the \textit{ie}, which has an established family religion. So that if a single member has been converted to Christianity, the conversion in a sense severes that member from the \textit{ie} by making it impossible for him to take part in the religious rituals held at the household Buddhist shrine, whose primary function is to unite the members through the worship of the common ancestors.\textsuperscript{343}

In 1968 the total membership of all Christian sects in Japan were 738,377, which accounted for 0.73 percent of all Japanese people.\textsuperscript{344}

Living in the circle of close-knit human relationships, the Japanese always have to observe the meticulous formalism, to suppress his emotions, and be sensitive to the others, which exhaust their nerves.


\textsuperscript{342}\textit{Ibid.}, p. 263.

\textsuperscript{343}\textit{Ibid.}, p. 361.

Accordingly, it becomes necessary for the Japanese to be freed from such tensions sometimes. This seems to be the main reason why drinking is so popular among the Japanese. After work men stop at a tavern or a bar (nomiya) and talk and laugh, without formality or inhibition, about every topic ranging from the daily happenings, including complaints about one's superiors, to the political issues, with sake and some edibles. Drunken Japanese people seem to be the happiest people in the world because abuse given or foolish acts committed, sometimes even a crime, under the influence of sake (sake no ikioide) are usually condoned. Even the court often tends to treat the acts or crimes committed under the influence of sake lightly. This may partly explain why the people take little account of alcoholism in Japan.

345 Ezra F. Vogel, Japan's New Middle Class, p. 104.
346 George A. De Vos, Socialization for Achievement, p. 274; Richard Halloran, Japan Images and Realities, p. 238.
347 George A. De Vos, op. cit., p. 50.
CHAPTER IV MOBILITY AND ACHIEVEMENT

1. Geographical Mobility

Geographical mobility here means the intra-generational geographical mobility in search of a better opportunity characteristically observed among Americans. Geographical mobility is inseparably connected with the existence of abundant opportunities, which has played an important role in the process of turning geographical mobility into a value.¹ The migration or immigration of Europeans to America had been and still is mainly the result of their response to the lure of the opportunities in America, where, they believed, they would "...dwell like kings in fairy land, lords of the soil."² Westward movement, the expansion from the Atlantic coast into the interior

¹Rowland Berthoff, taking the opportunities in the frontier as an example, writes about such process: "Between 1730 and 1890 the frontier advanced not only rapidly but by enormous leaps and bounds, from remote and isolated districts, themselves only recently settled, to others even more distant. No mere stepping up of the gradual infiltration from the seashore, this migration made physical mobility itself into a valued of life." See An Unsettled: Social Order and Disorder in American History (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1971), p. 129.

²David M. Potter, People of Plenty: Economic Abundance and the American Character (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1954), p. 80. Oscar Handlin writes: "Those Europeans who still had some resources but feared a loss of status learned with hope of the New World where land, so scarce in the Old, was abundantly available. Younger sons learned with hope that the portions which at home would not buy them the space for a garden, in America would make them owners of hundreds of acres. Tempted by the prospect of princely rewards for their efforts, they ventured to tear themselves away from the ancestral village, to undertake the unknown risks of transplantation." See The Uprooted: The Epic Story of the Great Migration that Made the American People (New York: Grosset & Dunlap, Publishers, 1951), p. 32.
spanning the continent, had also originated from the opportunities, mainly the "free" lands, the frontier offered to the American people. Such opportunities were alluring enough for the people to leave their economic and social footing they held in their native places. ³ Because of these opportunities they could always move elsewhere when they found it difficult to make a living, or when hopes were frustrated.⁴ Thus in the culture where geographical mobility is valued highly, land seems to be considered a commodity—something to be "used-up."⁵ Pointing out the fact that Americans show little attachment to land, Geoffrey Gorer claims:

Land is not something to be loved and succored, but something to be exploited. Significantly often, the terms of mining are applied to agriculture....Crops are extracted from a piece of land until it is exhausted, after which the land is abandoned, in exactly the same way as metal is extracted from a vein until that is exhausted and the mine abandoned.⁶

³ David M. Potter, op. cit., p. 94.
Industrial growth, brought about by scientific and technological
development, aided by abundant resources--fuel, mineral, crops,
industrial capacity, has furthermore provided Americans with rich
opportunities for horizontal mobility, especially since 1890, when the
land frontier was reported to have disappeared. 7 Such city-bound
migration resulted from the industrialization, which has been power-
fully backed up by the improved technology of food production, mainly
mechanization of agriculture. Whereas in 1820, 71.8 percent of the
working population were farmers and farm workers. 8 There have
always been more opportunities for the average person in America
than in any other nation in the world, which have kindled American
horizontal. 9 Herbert Croly asserts:

The Americans still believe that somehow and sometime some­
thing better will happen to good Americans than has happened to
men in any other country; and this belief, vague, innocent, and
uninformed though it be, is the expression of an essential con­
stituent in our national ideal. 10

7 David M. Potter, op. cit., pp. 94, 158-159. James West reports in
his community study in Midwest: "The proportion occupying new land
was at first large, later, small; the proportion securing jobs connected
with industry was at first small later large." See Plainville, U.S.A.,

8 Dan Golenpaul, ed., Information Please Almanac, Atlas and Year­

9 Francis L.K. Hsu, Americans and Chinese (Garden City, New York:

10 John William Ward, Herbert Croly, The Promise of American Life
(New York: Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc., p. 3.
And in fact, in the land of abundant opportunities, geographical mobility has been richly rewarded, which in its turn, has further stimulated the tendency. Bradford Smith writes how the hope has been fulfilled by moving:

... it is as wanderers that many of them find where they belong, and to whom. They (Americans) meet the girl (or the man) they are looking for in a place, at a dance, or at an office party. They find a career by experimenting with courses in many fields at college, and then by moving from one company to another until they find the right job. Advancement often comes more quickly by switching to a competitive company than by staying in the one where they started, and so mobility is rewarded while stability is penalized.

There seem to be many other factors which directly or indirectly have reinforced or are still reinforcing the value put on horizontal mobility among the Americans. One of them would be American individualism which originated from the escape from the shackles, oppression, and restriction imposed by old European traditions; Enlightenment with its faith in men's worth; and Protestantism which emphasized innate worth and uprightness of the individual. It emphasizes, as noted in the previous chapter, characteristics such as independence, initiative, and aggressiveness, together with the fact that the family ceased to be the operating economic unit,¹² which naturally encouraged the individual


¹²David M. Potter affirms: "... the age of abundance arising from industrial growth and in turn stimulating further industrialization, caused a transformation. By compelling the individual to work outside the family, it divorced the family from the economy." See People of Plenty, p. 107.
to move away from his parents and to seek opportunities.

In this respect, future-orientedness or optimism of the American people has surely contributed to the furtherance of physical mobility. In actuality when Europeans decided to sever themselves from the dire "traditions" and threw themselves against the challenge of restarting life in the unknown wilderness, they were, it seems to be, already more future-oriented and optimistic than any other people in the world. For Americans the future is far more important than the past. The new and modern are always favored to the old and traditional. They believe that something better or something bigger will happen in the future. 13

One aspect of Americans' future-orientedness would be their emphasis on education. In 1950, though the United States had a population only three times as large as that of England, she had college and university students over eighteen times as many as England had. The number of college and university students increased about seventeen times between 1890 and 1950, and persons employed in academic circles increased about thirteen times. The students from lower strata, moreover, accounted for 31 percent of all students who had completed college. The most notable increase in this respect would be the expansion of public educa-

tional facilities, including the growth of state universities. 14

The natural corollary of this emphasis on the future would be the people's confidence in change and progress. Their later experience in the frontier would certainly contribute to the furtherance of their optimistic way of thinking and their belief in progress, which enabled them to endure every hardship in expectation of better living in the future. 15 Thus, Americans are concerned with experiments, adventures, and a new way of life. 16 Whenever they are faced with some difficulty, they try to alter the environment rather than trying to adapt themselves to it. Consequently:

Americans seem to take particular delight in such changes—in removing a mountain to make land, replacing hand labor with automatic machinery, and then creating for increased leisure and to employ those who would otherwise be idled by automation. 17

The resultant changes and progress, on the other hand, have maintained the fluidity of American society and, as a result, have perpetuated the tendency to expect something new in the future, which eventually


15 David M. Potter, People of Plenty, p. 155.

16 Margaret Mead, And Keep Your Powder Dry, p. 121.

17 Bradford Smith, Why We Behave Like Americans, p. 90.
furthered the value of geographical mobility of Americans.¹⁸

The lack of the guild system, the feudal class system, the old European customs and traditions, all in all, have kept the American society open, in which each individual, being highly aspired by the possibility of his future achievement, is always ready to do his utmost, which would ultimately be of great service to the rapidly progressing society itself.¹⁹ Equality in the American culture means that every person should have equal chances for achievement.²⁰ It means "parity in competition."²¹ It means, furthermore, that the existing differences in position and social standing are very likely the result of chance and not so important is the quality of the person.²² A good example of this belief would be the way how American workers see themselves. Though they are watchful of their own interests, they never seem to admit the concept that they are the members of the working class, the admission

¹⁸David M. Potter, op. cit., p. 158. Edwin O. Reischauer affirms: "This (a rapid and accelerating rate of change) is understandable to anyone in the United States, where change, particularly in the form of 'progress' is a familiar and cherished concept." See The United States and Japan (New York: Viking Press, 1965), p. 178.


²¹David M. Potter, op. cit., p. 92.

²²Seymour M. Lipset and Reinhard Bendix, Social Mobility in Industrial Society, p. 78.
of which would deny their future upward mobility. 23

To put it in another way, however, because of this equal opportunity and the lack of fixed class stratification, the individual has to achieve his status or position by his own efforts. Even a son of a millionaire cannot be excused from the axiom. Margaret Mead claims:

... to be a success is to have done something, rather than to have been a kind of person. Pride at being at the top is soured if it is based on someone else's climbing, and so the sons of rich men are driven back into harness, back to the office to show what they have in them. 24

Under these circumstances each individual is never safely allowed to be satisfied with his present status or position. Since everyone is trying to climb up the social ladder and since achievement is always relative--never absolute in the society of equality and classlessness and ever changing--to remain at a certain notch means he will be surpassed by others sooner or later, and as a result, his position would be lowered. 25 Thus

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23 David M. Potter, op. cit., p. 97. Werner Sombat points out the existence of the worker's belief about their future upward mobility: "Consideration should be given to the mere awareness of the worker that he could become an independent farmer at any time. This consciousness was bound to give the American worker a feeling of security and peace of mind which the European worker did not know." See Warum gibt es in den Vereinigten Staaten keinen Sozialismum? (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1906), p. 135, as quoted by Seymour M. Lipset and Reinhard Bendix, op. cit., p. 12.

24 Margaret Mead, And Keep Your Powder Dry, p. 68.

There are practically no positions in American life where it will be generally conceded that a person has achieved final success and need make no further effort. There is always a higher grade. 26

The surest way to defend his present position or status against being surpassed by others would be to go up the ladder higher and higher without resting. 27 In this type of society, consequently, everyone is willing to move geographically in search of a better opportunity or a higher position. Thus, a typical American starts his life in a place away from his parents' home, trying to attain his position by his own efforts rather than by accepting one bestowed on him. 28 The parents themselves, because of the stress put on geographical mobility, seem to look for the time when their child leaves them. Margaret Mead writes:

... the American parent expects his child to leave him, leave him physically, go to another town, another state; leave him in terms of occupation, embrace a different calling, learn a different skill; leave him socially, travel if possible with a different crowd. 29

Physical mobility has been further stimulated in American society


27 David Riesman asserts: "Even those who do not care to compete for higher places must do so in order not to descent in the social system, which has become a more open and less age-graded and birth-graded one." See The Lonely Crowd (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1961), p. 41.

28 David M. Potter, People of Plenty, p. 95; David Riesman, op. cit., p. 42.

29 Margaret Mead, op. cit., p. 39.
by the mass-production economy. As the American society has been more and more abundant, the people want more and more consumer goods. In America, the people believe that it is their mission to bring the less fortunate or the benighted in the benefits of the economy of abundance, by producing more and better material goods. 30 In order to satisfy such a demand, machinery has been utilized to a greater extent in the production process, which, by making a man a part of the machine, has made creativeness of the former craftsman unnecessary. 31 Almost all types of jobs needed in modern mass-production are usually acquirable in a few hours and perfectable in a few weeks. What is needed then, would be physical strength rather than technical skills. The workers are even deprived of the sense of satisfaction which is attained from the end-product. Thus, the worker's emotional attachments to the work, not to mention the "instinct of workmanship," is minimized. 32 What the workers attach importance to, then, would be the better working conditions--shorter working hours, high salary, etc. And whenever they find the possibility of such lucrative working conditions elsewhere, change their jobs with the greatest of


31 David M. Potter, op. cit., p. 107.

32 Jules Henry claims: "So far, the mass study of 'job attachment' shows that the American worker's involvement in his job is so insubstantial that it is next to impossible to define the terms 'attachment'." See Culture Against Man (New York: Vantage Books, 1965), p. 27.
Between 1940 and 1949, for example, more than half of the American workers had from two to four different jobs and each worker changed his job around an average of three times in those ten years. The very high rate of mobility and the high turnover, moreover, are noticeable, especially among unskilled workers and those at mass-production factories.

Viewing it from a different angle, however, such high rate of mobility would be necessary in a society where the technology and economy are so rapidly developing. The most desirable and needed man in such a society would be the one who is willing to move from one place to another, responding to the demands quickly. Actually, it has either been the lack of involvement of the workers in their jobs or the lack of their loyalty to the organization which has made the speedy expansion of industry possible. For, when a new factory needs workers, all they would have to do is offer a few-cent-more-hour wage or have a more agreeable boss. Jules Henry maintains:

... were there firm and devoted attachment of the jobs, industrial growth would be much more different, for new enterprises would not be able to find trained workers if they loved it where they were.

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Since geographical mobility is valued highly in the American culture, migration is considered to be the laws of the Medes and Persians for the sustenance of society's stability, the ability to be unattached is regarded as a welcome trait of the American character, and stability is detested. The Americans are, as it were, a new kind of Bedouin. They attach importance to the freedom of movement more than almost anything else. They move in the hope that they would come upon the things which they are searching for. In America one out of every five families or 20 percent of the total population, change their mailing addresses every year; and in the case of the most mobile engineers, they change their jobs once in every two and one half years.

The word "home" conveys to the American almost the same meaning as "house", though in England it connotes the feelings of intimacy and emotional attachments. There seems to be a good reason why a balloon-frame method of construction has been popular among the mobile


38 Jules Henry, op. cit., p. 28.


40 New York Times, Jan. 27, 1961, as quoted by Jules Henry in Culture Against Man, p. 36.

41 Daniel J. Boorstin, op. cit., p. 144.
Americans: it is very easy to pull down and reconstruct the house built by this method. Daniel J. Boorstin writes:

A house simply nailed together was quickly taken down; its light parts could be piled compactly and conveniently transported, and the whole put together again by anyone who could handle a hammer. Three times within ten years of its erection in 1833, St. Mary's Church in Chicago, which was originally constructed on the canal near the southwest corner of State and Lake Streets, was taken down, moved away, and erected on a new site. 42

Until Americans near the retirement age, they consider themselves impermanent dwellers of their houses or apartments, for they never give up the hope of moving to the bigger and better residence suitable to their greater future success 43 and even after their retirement, the well-to-do are most likely to become restless "globe-trotters," and the less fortunate would turn themselves into the dwellers of motels and trailer camps. 44

Stationariness here refers to the tendency of the Japanese to remain in the group he belongs to for life—to be loyal to the group and to discharge his duties (do his best) once he has gotten his proper station (satisfactory job) in the group. In my present consideration, intra-generational horizontal mobility—movement from place to place and from one institution to another—rather than inter-generational mobility is brought into focus. This tendency is inseparably connected with the

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42 Daniel J. Boorstin, op. cit., p. 151.
44 Margaret Mead, And Keep Your Powder Dry, pp. 289, 290.
economy of scarcity where it is almost impossible for the individual
to make a living alone outside the group. Richard K. Beardsley writes:

Provided that a person can get along without family or other
group attachments, he may run away from otherwise intolerable
situation; provided that he can reply on his internal standards to
judge his capacity and accomplishments rather than needing re­
assurance from others, he can bear difficulties without even
running away. But evidence suggests that neither provision holds
true for many Japanese. 45

Though stationariness is valued highly, the Japanese sometimes move
geographically and institutionally in the hope of obtaining a secure and
suitable work: the notable example would be the city-bound migration
of the second and third sons of the farm families resulting from the
system of primogeniture for the former case, and the latter case would
be young workers' job-change in the early years of their careers. Ezra
F. Vogel points out the security-mindedness of the migrants:

The Japanese migrants' main desire was to obtain a secure place
in the city, and they were willing to undergo long periods of

45 Richard K. Beardsley, "Personality Psychology," in Twelve Doors to
Japan, by John W. Hall and Richard K. Beardsley (New York: McGraw
Hill, Inc., 1965), p. 365. The relationship between opportunities and
geographical mobility may be clearly shown by the fact that even mobility-
oriented American workers hesitate to quit their jobs when they have slim
chance to have another. Arthur M. Ross writes: "Most workers who
quit their jobs are young in years and low in service. They do not have
enough seniority to keep them from changing jobs; they have typically
not reached an age where retirement is a real element in their thinking;
and they have plenty of time to accumulate work credits after coming to
rest. The older workers, on the other hand, is declined to change
employment for a good many reasons even in the absence of seniority
and fringe benefits--particularly the difficulty of securing another job,
the probable loss of economic status, and his settled way of life generally." See "Do We Have A New Industrial Feudalism?" American Economic
Review, 48 (December 1958), 912, 913.
apprenticeship at low wages. 46

Historically, geographical mobility had been restricted in Japan.
In the long Sengoku Period, due to the perpetual wars between the clans, commerce with other clans became impossible and people were forced to live on the products yielded within their clan. 47 During the Tokugawa regime, in order to prevent the "outside" daimyō (those who are not hereditary feudatory to Tokugawa) from forming hostile alliances, barriers or check points were established at the important points of traffic and of the frontiers of the fiefs, where standing officials checked everyone's passport and banned the traffic of Edo-bound guns and out-bound women (wives of daimyōs were required to stay at Edo as hostages, and daimyōs had to live in Edo every other year). Domestic trade was also strictly restricted. 48 And during World War II, in order to combat labor shortages, the workers were ordered to remain at respective factories

46 Ezra F. Vogel, "Kinship Structure, Migration to the City and Modernization," in Aspects of Social Change in Modern Japan, p. 106. R. P. Dore states that one's first job is very likely his life work: As they (university graduates) come to occupy a growing sector of the economy, an individual's first job is increasingly likely to determine the rest of his career." See Mobility, Equality, and Individuation in Modern Japan," in Aspects of Social Change in Modern Japan, p. 122. Francis L. K. Hsu also claims: "Once so affiliated, they (the non-inheriting Japanese sons) usually remain for life." See Americans and Chinese, p. 288.


by government under the War policy. 49

Hamlet in Japan had developed, as I touched upon in the previous chapter. The closed quality had originated from several factors: the lack of surplus lands which could be cultivated by a newcomer and of common property to be shared with; the close human relationships fostered by long and common residence necessitated by wet rice agriculture and resultant wide ramifications of kin members within the hamlet tended to work against the acceptance of a new member; and the self-sufficiency of the village which made inter-hamlet connections or communications unnecessary. Because of the exclusive nature of the hamlet, there was not adequate "pipe" for horizontal mobility of a member of an ie. Even today, in case of moving into a hamlet, one has to first obtain a consent of the hamlet, and in actuality, it is pretty difficult for a family without personal connections with the members of the hamlet to be granted its membership. 50

Since the village has been the sole group to which the farmers' primary memberships have been attached they usually have little interests in going out of their community. 51 Moreover, realizing the difficulty they are likely to face in time of gaining acceptance from a


new group, are often reluctant to leave the group they are presently members of. 52 The same characteristics of a hamlet could be applied to the firm or company in modern industrial Japan. The emphasis being put on the group and having meager opportunities, the employee is loyal to the firm and is security-conscious. Thus, the firm tends to absorb his total personality and even to concern itself about the welfare of the family members of the employee under its paternalistic practices. The employer and the employed are usually deeply involved with each other and they are connected by loyalty-favor relationships (vertical connections). In inverse proportion of the loyalty to the company, the employee would feel less desire to change his place of work, and consequently, few channels for contact and information (horizontal connections) exist between the companies 53--usually even a sharp cleavage between groups. 54

Due to the strong sense of identity of the employee with the company, coupled with the fact that there is little class division or class consciousness among the Japanese workers, the workers seldom identify themselves as the laboring "classes", transcending the division between the company union. The lack of such horizontal links makes it

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54 Richard K. Beardsley, "Cultural Anthropology: Prehistoric and Contemporary Aspects," in Twelve Doors to Japan, p. 90
quite difficult for the whole workers, or at least those of the same occupational category, to form a firm and all-inclusive union, such as a horizontal craft union. The workers are thus unable to get help or advice even if they wanted to change the company. 55

Under these circumstances, the individual's position in his group tends to be determined by the length of his membership in the group. 56 The contact with the group itself becomes his social assets, which is valued highly so long as he remains in the group. Since the social capital cannot be transferred to other groups, together with the importance of such asset in the culture of group-orientedness, he is unwilling to change the community or the community. Even a temporary absence from the group may inflict a loss on the asset. This fact may explain why a man posted abroad writes letters so frequently hoping to lessen the feeling of separation and hence to prevent the depreciation of that asset. 57

In the culture where the length of one's membership of the group is his asset, the seniority payment system would be the logical outcome. One's advancement within the company, accordingly, is dependent upon his length of service. Even if one can successfully be

55 Chie Nakane, Japanese Society, p. 20.

56 The same principle if observed in the hamlet too. Chie Nakane claims that the ranking hierarchy was reported to have been usually decided on the basis of the length of establishment of respective households in the hamlet. See Japanese Society, p. 88.

transferred to another firm, he is, because of the system, only permitted to be placed at the bottom of the hierarchy.\textsuperscript{58} Otherwise, his admission may disturb existing order and connection among the members, entailing demoralization of the company spirit of harmony and weaken the bond binding employees to the firm. Under this type of system, one's best interest would be answered by remaining in the same company rather than moving from one firm to another.\textsuperscript{59} Thus, like the engineer who declined the position with ten times as high as his existing salary offered by a foreign government, even when a competent and capable person is solicited to join another firm with a much bigger wage, he is reluctant to accept such offer, weighing the relative importance of the economic gain and the loss of his social asset.\textsuperscript{60}

Given familialism of a Japanese firm, coupled with the fact that the workers are very security-conscious and the seniority system is accepted as a logical one among the workers, the life-time employment system would be the best system to satisfy those culturally-rooted demands of the workers,\textsuperscript{61} and accordingly, to serve best the prosperity

\textsuperscript{58} Chie Nakane, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 135; Ezra F. Vogel, \textit{Japan's New Middle Class}, p. 18.

\textsuperscript{59} Ezra F. Vogel, \textit{Japan's New Middle Class}, p. 105.

\textsuperscript{60} Chie Nakane, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 105, 106.

\textsuperscript{61} Chie Nakane, throwing doubt on the popularly suggested theory that the life-time employment system in Japan is closely related to the surplus labor, claims: "In fact, Japanese labor relations in terms of surplus and shortage of labor have least affected the life-time employment system." See \textit{Japanese Society}, p. 15.
of the company by the maximum output of the satisfied employees. In fact, at a company in Japan, no one seems to be dismissed. 62 The worker's wage rises constantly throughout his service, 63 making it easy for the employee to predict his future position and accompanying amount of his salary, five, ten, fifteen or even twenty years hence. 64 Ronald Dore reports a case study at Hitachi Company:

The system ... offers a fair security of prospects. A Hitachi graduate, joining the firm at the age of 22 knows that if he is very bright indeed he will reach an assistant principal section chief position by the age of 32. He has an 80% chance of getting there by the age of 36, and he will have to have distinguished himself in some way for gross inefficiency or uncooperativeness not to get there by the age of 40. (At the same time some high school graduates will reach this rank at any time between the age of, say, 34 and 50). 65

Such certainty about one's future seems to be almost everything to the Japanese whose primary concern is security rather than economic gain. In actuality, job-shifting has been moderate and in a big company it would be a rather exceptional man who has the experience of working for another during his career. 66 In the example of Hitachi workers, the


63 Ibid., p. 110.

64 Ezra F. Vogel, *Japan's New Middle Class*, p. 33.


average number of previous jobs held was 11 both for those over 50 and for those between 24 and 34. In Japan, to change one's place of work is considered to "soil one's curriculum vitae." 

As I mentioned earlier, in case of going to the city and finding a job one usually needs a "bridge" arranged between the company and the head of the ie due to the closed nature. In fact, the company seems to prefer to use such personal connections as a kind of guarantee for the devoted and reliable labor supply. Since the number of such connections at the head's disposal is limited, it would be almost next to impossible for a worker to leave his company without feeling a sense of insecurity. And the employer, because of the intermediary of the ie, would not dismiss the employee so easily.

Having been nurtured in the family where the mother and the child are united by the emotional feeling of "oneness" and the close physical contact between the mother and the child is observed, the Japanese tends to be dependent on the mother (or the father) and he is usually unwilling to make a decision by himself. He always tries to seek an advice from her. Even after having been employed such dependent disposition is

67 Ronald Dore, op. cit., pp. 34, 35.

68 Chie Nakana, Japanese Society, p. 107. Chie Nakane continues: "... no doubt this native moral orientation was closely related to the fact that the individual's group identification is formed during the fairly early stages of his career, and that the individual's loyalty towards a group (always one particular group to which an individual gives his primary concern) also develops early." Ibid., pp. 107, 108.

69 Ezra F. Vogel, "Kinship Structure, Migration to the City, and Modernization," pp. 94, 96, 104.
hardly altered in the company family. Consequently, the worker in
Japan is likely to depend on his superiors and is still reluctant to reach
a decision autonomously without seeking suggestions and advice from
them. Therefore, even if the worker wants to change his place of work
he is far less capable of making a decision on such a tremendously
important matter without consulting his superior, who, if sought on
advice, undoubtedly urges him to stay at his company. R. P. Dore
asserts that the relative low level of mobility in the big corporations
"may . . . be the result of an inability or unwillingness to make self-
reliant choices which is built deeply into the personalities of a majority
of the Japanese."\textsuperscript{70}

In the culture of sedentariness, in the most traditional rural and
fishing villages, 93 percent of the eldest sons were settled in the father's
village, and 85 percent followed the father's occupation of farming or
fishery.\textsuperscript{71} Once a man is assigned to a post at a university he will re-
tires, regardless of quality or excellence of his research.\textsuperscript{72} The worker
who changes his place of work is considered to be less loyal to the com-

\textsuperscript{70}R. P. Dore, "Introduction," in \textit{Aspects of Social Change in Modern Japan}, p. 15.


\textsuperscript{72}Chie Nakane, \textit{Japanese Society}, p. 117.
pany's interest and to be less reliable. A politician, who once joins a certain faction, is very likely to remain there for life.

Unlike the Americans, who regard the land as something to be used up or exploited, the Japanese regard land, including its products, a part of themselves, their ancestors, and their descendants. They have a strong sense of possession of the land. Once a family purchases a house they are almost without fail going to live there throughout their lives. And they tend to think that the society exists in a state of stable equilibrium and continues to exist without major changes, being disrupted only for a short time by disaster and subsequent recovery from it.

2. The Drive for Personal Achievement - An American Phenomenon

American society is characterized by equality. The term equality

73 Ezra F. Vogel, Japan's New Middle Class, p. 42.
74 Chie Nakane, op. cit., p. 131.
77 Seymour M. Lipset claims: "The emphasis on equality has pervaded much of American culture. It was reflected in the introduction of universal suffrage in America long before it came in other nations; in the fairly consistent and extensive support for a unitary school system at all levels so that all might have a common background; and in the pervasive antagonism to any domination by an elite in the fields of culture, politics or economics." See "Equal or Better in America," Columbia Forum, 4 (Spring, 1961), 17.
in my present consideration has mainly two different but closely related meanings: the supposition that all men are created equal being endowed with an equal faculty to endeavor and reap the fruits of their efforts, and the belief that since America is a free country with free institutions, men can, through their own abilities, make a success starting from scratch regardless of their family status, which means, in other words, that men have universal opportunity to move through the social ladder from rags to move through the social ladder from rags to White House. Being blessed with equal ability and living in a free society, Americans naturally have been motivated toward achievement.

78 Margaret Mead, And Keep Your Powder Dry, p. 196.

79 Ibid., p. 75. Early settlements in the New World would have provided in a sense, ideal situations for the development of such a democratic belief because when the survival is at stake you have to invite counsel from as many people as possible. Gerald W. Johnson writes: "They realized that the sum total of the brains and character in all Virginia was none too great for the task in hands; and they summoned to their aid all the brains and character that could be found, regardless of the identities of the persons in possession of these qualities." See Our English Heritage (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1949), p. 42.

80 David M. Potter, People of Plenty, p. 91; Bradford Smith, Why We Behave Like American, p. 88.

81 Geoffrey Coker, The American People, p. 166. Alexis de Tocqueville also asserts: "When both the privileges and the disqualifications of class have been abolished and men shattered the bonds which once held them immobile, the idea of progress comes naturally into each man's mind; the desire to rise swells in every heart at once, and all men want to quit their former social position. Ambition becomes a universal feeling." See J. P. Mayer, ed., Alexis de Tocqueville, Democracy in America, p. 629.
Francis L. K. Hsu writes:

> "When every man is as good as every other man there is likely to be a scramble on the part of a good many people to be better than the other good people." 82

And David M. Potter emphasizes:

> "... democracy is forever encouraging individuals to determine their own goals and set their own course toward these goals, even though only a small proportion can attain complete success..." 83

Foreign commentators in the late nineteenth century agrees in concert that social and economic democracy in America, far from mitigating competition for social status, intensified it. 84 Out of equality comes optimism or future-orientedness, which further spurs the desire of Americans to achieve and encourages them whenever they encounter a difficulty.

In the early settlements, work was indispensable for the common survival. This fact may explain why Captain John Smith, for example, forced gentlemen to toil in the field—even resorting to force. The maxim that "those who refuse to work should not eat out of the common store" carried crushing weight in the wilderness, where one's existence was dependent on the application of labor to raw materials while willing workers were richly rewarded "regardless of their creeds, their nationalities,


or even their police records. The dignity of labor was the natural consequence under these circumstances. In the unknown world, moreover, traditional *idée fixe* was often proved to be useless and new theories and new means to materialize them had to be adopted to overcome the obstacles they faced without any delay, for their survival depended on them.

One of the characteristics originating from this sort of experience would be the attitude of Americans toward nature: nature should be conquered or transformed in order that it may suit the human living; nature should be utilized for the good of human beings rather than for humans to try to adapt themselves to nature, which seems to be the traditional attitude of the Japanese toward nature. These conditions, together with the fact that Americans were dissatisfied, poverty-stricken, bold and energetic when they came to America, were all, it appears to be,

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86 The dignity of labor seems to have been appreciated in Great Britain even before the settlements in the New World because "The court of England granted a dignity to work... that was never accorded it at the court of Philip of Spain." See Gerald W. Johnson, *op. cit.*, p. 25.


88 Florence Kluckhohn, "Dominant and Variant Value Orientation," in Personality in Nature, Society and Culture, ed. Clyde Kluckhohn and Henry A. Murray, p. 347. Conrad M. Arensberg and Arthur H. Niehoff asserts: "Nature has been something to overcome, to improve, to tear down and rebuild in a better way... Harmful plants are weeds and harmful animals are "varmints"--the first to be uprooted or poisoned and the second to be trapped, shot or imprisoned. American farmers and ranchers have been notorious for killing predators." See Introducing Social Change: A Manual for Community Development, p. 224.
contributory to the development of the achievement-orientedness of the American people. 89

Protestantism, especially Calvin's notion of predestination seems to have been very influential in the furtherance of achievement motivation among Americans. Calvin decreed that those who were destined for Heaven had already been decided by God, so that even if one worked hard in this world he could not change the decision. In practice, however, this pessimistic view meant that since no one knew who was to be elected, the concept urged him to live up to someone mentioned in the Bible who was clearly one of the elect. 91 In fact, Calvin urged:

... let us not cease to strive, that we may be incessantly in the way of the Lord, nor let us despair on account of the smallness of our success; for however our success may not correspond to our wishes, yet our labor is not lost, when this day surpasses the preceding one; provided that with sincere simplicity we keep our end in view, and press forward to the goal ... 92

As geographical mobility is inseparably connected with rich opportunities, achievement orientation has also been greatly stimulated by the

89 Gerald W. Johnson, Our English Heritage, p. 52; Conrad M. Arensberg and Arthur H. Niehoff affirms: "It must be admitted that many of the achievements of Americans are due to this conquering attitude toward nature." See op. cit., p. 224.


91 Margaret Mead, And Keep Your Powder Dry, p. 195.

abundant opportunities. This view would be supported by the fact that even in the nonindustrial countries with relatively poor economic opportunities, business and professional people who have opportunities for advancement very often work as hard as American counterparts. 93 Opportunities in the land "frontier", in the mining "frontier", and in the industrial "frontier" have constantly offered new areas where the striving individual could attain a constant rise in the standards of living and hence, become a success fairly easily. 94 In the industrial frontier, for instance, the ratio of the business elite who are of middle-class and working class origins has been almost fixed: those from the latter class—whose father was a worker, a craftsman, a small entrepreneur, lower-white collar worker, or a small farmer—were between 10 and 20 percent. 95 Such opportunities for upward mobility may be increasing all the time. In 1928, for instance, among the business leaders the sons of businessmen accounted for 9.67 times as many as their share (deduced from the rate of businessmen to the total population); the sons of professionals, 4.33 times as many as their share; the sons of white collar workers,  

93Conrad M. Arensberg and Arthur H. Niehoff, _op. cit._, p. 34. Alexis de Tocqueville also claims: "Chance is an element always present to the mind of those who live in the unstable conditions of a democracy and in the end they come to love enterprises in which chance plays a part." See _Alexis de Tocqueville, Democracy in America_, ed. J. P. Mayer (Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1969), p. 553.

94David M. Potter, _People of Plenty_, p. 68.

95Seymour M. Lipset and Reinhard Bendix, _Social Mobility in Industrial Society_, p. 127.
0.71; the sons of farmers, 0.32; and the sons of laborers, 0.24. In 1952, about a quarter of a century later, the sons of businessmen dropped to 4.73 times as many as their share; the sons of professionals dropped to 3.50 times as many as their share. On the other hand, the sons of white collar workers rose to 0.80 times as many as their share; the sons of farmers rose to 0.33 and the sons of laborers rose to 0.32. In a word, the sons of the workers in favored and highly-place occupations are less likely to be in top positions in big business today than formerly, whereas the sons of workers in less prestigious positions are likely to be more mobile today than they were in the twenties. 96

There is another factor which increase the opportunities for social mobility. This is the development of tertiary (service) industries. For example, in 1919, there were 26,000,000 workers employed in "production" industries—agriculture, manufacturing, mining and construction, and 14,000,000 workers employed in service industries. In 1955, however, the workers in goods-producing industries had increased only to 28,000,000 whereas those employed in tertiary industries totaled 30,000,000—more than twice as many as in the figure shown in 1919. This means that, in 1955, about 55 percent of the working population was employed in trade, finance, government, transportation, communication, and service. The shift of industry from production to service, which has been noticeable especially since the end of the 1940's, has

96W. Lloyd Warner, American Life: Dream and Reality, pp. 150, 151.
had great impact on social mobility. 97

Being given opportunities and freedom to move up the social ladder according to one's ability and efforts because of the lack of fixed class system, how could the American measure his present position or the level of his achievement? Lacking absolute standards for achievement, coupled with the rapid rate of change of the society, it should be the comparison between his equals; the common denominator would, in most cases, be the size of one's income or wealth. Thus,

... dollars can be considered an adult equivalent of the marks and grades which signified the school child's relative position in regard to his fellows. 98

What counts in American society, generally speaking, would be the fact that one is the best-paid golfer, boxer, and wealthiest businessman rather than the times of his victory, his defense, or the position he is occupying in his company. 99 In other words, his social status is assigned by, among others, his economic achievement. 100

The size of one's income or bank deposit is hardly visible to the outsider, and hence, lacks display value. Here the whole range of material goods (status symbols) appears on the stage, which, though modified a little by the credit system, is still the best indicator of the

99 Margaret Mead, And Keep Your Powder Dry, p. 112.
individual's earnings. Not only does the place of residence (a country house) and the car (a cadillac) one drives, but also the appearance of one's wife (expensive furs or jewelry) and even agricultural equipment (expensive machinery) symbolize one's level of attainment in America, and whose conspicuousness intensifies all the more the race for achievement. How outward appearance is important in the society lacking established class standards is told by Margaret Mead:

The very facts that only among those with whom they habitually associate can upper-landers put on cheap clothing without fear of being taken for just anyone at all, insulted by doormen and refused entrance to clubs, and that lower-landers properly clad can go anywhere one does not require a pedigree or a personal invitation, demonstrate the lack of any absolute class standards in this country.

Is it possible for the American to be safely a loser in the race for achievement? Given the proposition that all men are created equal, the

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103 Margaret Mead, op. cit., p. 63. She also writes that "The sense that even if one gets as drunk as a lord, people will still recognize one as a Livingstone has its security-giving points, permits a casualness in dress and manners which is denied to all those who are still climbing the ladder . . . The security of those who have arrived and now have nothing else to do but sit, was lacking (in American society)." See And Keep Your Powder Dry, pp. 59, 60.
belief that they have equal opportunities\textsuperscript{104} and are living in a free society, seems almost impossible for the American to come off a loser. Given American individualism, which emphasizes the equality to think and decide by oneself, taking full responsibility for the result, and given the Protestant teachings that a worldly success is a sign of election, to fail to achieve is, more often than not, considered to be his own fault and consequently, it cannot be accepted without incurring the sense of humiliation and defeat.\textsuperscript{105} To shake off the fear of losing and the sense of insecurity, one tries even harder. Such fear-exertion cycle would be basic characteristics of all the upward-mobile middle-class Americans.\textsuperscript{106} Going one step further Jules Henry claims that the very "fear" is the motive power which makes American society function:

\begin{quote}
... the economy relies on fear. Take away fear of competition, of failure, of loss of markets, of humiliation, of obsolete, and the culture would stop ...
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{107}Jules Henry, Culture Against Man, p. 4.

\textsuperscript{104}If there is little opportunities in America, they may safely be a loser. W. Lloyd Warner points out: "When American workers equip themselves with the skills necessary and play the game according to all the traditional rules of learning on the job, and almost no one wins, then the individuals playing no longer blame themselves. Rather they blame the system." See American Life: Dream and Reality, p. 139.


\textsuperscript{106}W. Lloyd Warner, op. cit., p. 235.

\textsuperscript{107}Jules Henry, Culture Against Man, p. 4.
Because of the emphasis put on individualism, moreover, one is expected to carve out his own future without asking for help from others. And since the individual is the prime social unit and an essential constituent of the society, to fulfill his potential capacities would be most important for the progress of the society. Furthermore, living in an open society where no fixed position exists and no hereditary status is valued highly, the American has to attain his position or status through competition by his own ability and action. His greatness is usually not derived from his parental family nor does his achievement or success add anything to the honor or the reputation, let alone the status, of his parents' families. This means that his achievement is either primarily attained for himself or for his self-realization, and hence, is a personal one. This fact may explain why his existence is justified by what he has accomplished and what he will accomplish, and why maximization of the individual pro-

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108 John L. Fischer and Ann Fischer, for instance, report in their community study that "There are no ascriptive status. Persons appointed to political positions are supposed to be appointed on the basis of their qualification ..." See 'The New Englanders of Orchard Town, U.S.A.,' in Six Cultures, ed. Beatrice B. Whiting (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1963), p. 897.


fits or the standards of living is approved; such motives can be expressed publicly with immunity. \textsuperscript{111}

Since one's achievement is one's self-realization and one's existence is dependent on it, evaluation of his worth, too, is largely influenced by what he had done, what he is doing, and what he will do. \textsuperscript{112} Thus, when strangers happen to meet and try to make friends with each other, one of the first subjects of conversation would be the type of work that each person is doing. \textsuperscript{113} and

\dots the general practice was and is for millionaires\textsuperscript{1} and multimillionaires\textsuperscript{1} sons to go into business (preferably one with which the father has no connection, to avoid the suspicion of favoritism, of having things easy) and make their own money, prove their own worth in the competition of life. \textsuperscript{114}

Personal achievement, being valued highly in American society, is believed to increase the opportunities for upward mobility for the unfortunate and to amplify their freedom while the corresponding diminu tion of privilege among the top few would seldom endanger their status seriously. \textsuperscript{115} Through the achievement race, it is further believed,

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{111}Jules Henry, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 30.
  \item \textsuperscript{113}Conrad M. Arensberg and Arthur H. Niehoff, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 216. Margaret Mead writes: "\dots with extraordinarily few exceptions, when a host or hostess tells the special guest about the people he is going to meet, the information supplied is not who their families were, but what they or their husbands do." See \textit{And Keep Your Powder Dry}, pp. 64, 65.
  \item \textsuperscript{114}Geoffrey Gorer, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 177.
  \item \textsuperscript{115}Seymour M. Lipset and Reinhard Bendix, \textit{Social Mobility in Industrial Society}, p. 284.
\end{itemize}
America has attained unprecedented power, affluence, and high productivity in a short span of time, and an unrestrained competition is indispensable for furtherance of power, affluence, and high productivity of the nation. 116 In a word they believe that continuous social mobility is a guarantor of their democratic institutions. 117

In the culture of personal achievement, one's competitive life starts with his birth, when the size of his head is compared with those of other babies. 118 As soon as he can toddle about he spends most of his time among his competitors in the nearest neighborhood. 119 While he is playing, he is expected to show his ability which will make him a successor in his future achievement race. 120 His physical aggressiveness, at least to a certain extent, is encouraged to be directed to the cultivation of the qualities serviceable to his future success. 121 At school he is always compared with his classmates in various activities, and teachers show the results of successful children to the others as a reward for the successful and as a yardstick of achievement for the


118 Margaret Mead, op. cit., p. 88.

119 Geoffrey Gorer, The American People, p. 84.

120 David M. Potter, People of Plenty, p. 207.

less successful. 122 He is moreover, always stimulated to obtain good grades in his school work because they are a prerequisite for the mother's unreserved love and approval. 123

Competitive achievement is so vital in American society that competitive elements creep into even the family, which is expected to be the sole provider of shelter from competition: the son and the father compete for the use of the family car (today this would be rare because each family has at least two cars) and for the regard of the mother-wife, the father and the mother compete for the children, trying to steal them by overpermissiveness, and siblings compete with each other for the mother's approval and love. 124 And a friend must be won through one's efforts—be lured by his personal appeal and friendship relations are usually those of friendly rivalry. 125

A newly-wed couple expected to go out into the world without assistance from their parents because of the importance attached to personal achievement. The bridal dowry is usually a token of parental affection, 126


123 Geoffrey Gorer, op. cit., pp. 97, 106.


125 Jules Henry, op. cit., pp. 147, 148.

and one's humble family origin is not a matter of disgrace and hence, is not hidden but is a matter of pride to him and fountainhead out of which others ladle encouragement. 127

Even churches in the culture of competition tend to compete with each other in the matters such as the side of congregations, budgets, quality of choirs, number of clubs, and variety of activities, 128 and the greater part of the organized crimes and racketeering in American society is supposed to have its origin in the social pressures for personal achievement put on those members of the underground world who are denied ordinary routes to achievement. 129

2. Achievement "For In-Group" - A Japanese Phenomenon

Viewed in a historic light, social mobility in the feudal ages in Japan was not stimulated because of the rigid class system. After coming into power, the Tokugawa regime, intending to stay in power longer, established a legally unchangeable class system where change and growth were suppressed under the name of disruptive elements. The rigid social system which was designed to maintain the status quo

127 Seymour M. Lipset and Reinhard Bendix, Social Mobility in Industrial Society, p. 82.
128 Francis L. K. Hsu, Americans and Chinese, p. 272.
lasted for two and a half centuries until the Meiji Restoration in 1868. During this period it was almost impossible even for the *samurai* to be appointed to the important positions of government, because those positions were monopolized by a few thousand families of good lineage. Since the Meiji era, more and more opportunities for social mobility were opened to those of humble origins, especially to those in the army and navy, as well as those in political circles. Merchants and petty *samurai* became great *entrepreneurs* as the emphasis of the nation shifted toward industrialization. Since the end

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131 Reinhard Bendix, "Preconditions of Development: A Comparison of Japan and Germany," in *Aspects of Social Change in Modern Japan*, p. 44. Richard K. Beardsley, however, claims that even in such ascriptive society a number of people were motivated to achieve, even though such achievement was slight advancement. As a partial reason for such motivation he points out the fact that the achievement was for the sake of some collectivity rather than for self-betterment. See "Cultural Anthropology: Prehistoric and Contemporary Aspects," in *Twelve Doors to Japan*, p. 112. I think he made a good point because so long as the achievement motivations are for the benefit of in-group rather than for gaining admission or acceptance into a higher class typical of America, they are harmonized with the group welfare and hence, do not disrupt so much the existing class system even in the feudal age.

132 Edwin O. Reischauer writes that "Most of the leaders who created Meiji Japan were themselves men of relatively humble origin. The social and educational system, while designed to produce an elite of leadership, was so organized that true talent had a chance to rise from most segments of society. The Japanese army itself . . . was an organization that turned boys from poor and obscure families into national leaders." See *The United States and Japan* (New York: Viking Press, 1965), p. 304.

133 Ibid., pp. 161, 187.
of World War II, vertical mobility has been further encouraged by the
dissolution of the big financial combines (Zaibatsu), the abolition of the
peerage and of almost all other privileged groups, and the suffering of
much larger urban intellectuals and white collar workers by was damage
and post-war difficulty of obtaining food. 134

Then what type of achievement is valued highly in the culture of
group-orientedness? Because the group is so important for one's
security, welfare and happiness, the group interests have priority over
those of the individual. The individual's primary functions are defined
in terms of promoting the interests and prosperity of the in-group. At
best, the individual's benefits are considered to be on a level in its im-
portance with the group benefits. One good example of the inseparability
of the interests of a member and in-group would be shown by the fact
that a member's success is the group's success and a member's disgrace
is the the group's disgrace. 135 Being dissimilar to achievement for
self-realization in America, to consider one's advancement first seems
to be quite foreign to the Japanese value system. George A. De Vos
asserts:

... the Japanese placed little value on individualistic self-realiza-
tion in either the spiritual or the material realm. The ideal
found in the West of self-realization apart from family or social
group has been entirely alien to the Japanese system of thought

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134 Edwin O. Reischauer, op. cit., p. 305.

135 R. P. Dore writes: "A man's acts bring praise and blame not only on
himself but on his family, his parents and brothers, his ancestors and
descendants." See City Life in Japan, p. 100.
(outside that of a small group of intellectuals) until very recently. 136

To be specific the Japanese tries to achieve in order to repay for the on-favors he received from his parents (especially from the mother), who made countless sacrifices for him--doing homework to pay his tutors, being ready to serve him a every need, helping with his study, not turning on the TV even when their favorite programs are on (inside a Japanese house, whose rooms are partitioned by paper slides and/or sliding doors, it is virtually impossible for the parents to enjoy TV programs without disturbing their child studying in the adjacent room), being so worried themselves about his entrance examinations and hence, going to the examination hall with him and waiting in the anteroom the whole day, and also finding him a suitable spouse. Thus, George A. De Vos asserts:

... when a Japanese speaks of on, he refers to a deep-seated feeling within himself for his parents ... These feelings are related to the Japanese sense of social purpose and success. 137

136George A. De Vos, Socialization for Achievement, p. 196; Ezra F. Vogel claims that "Performance ... is not valued for its own sake, but for the sake of the group," and that "... achievement is rewarded within the context of the group." See Japan's New Middle Class, p. 156 and "Kinship Structure, Migration to the City, and Modernization," in Aspects of Social Change in Modern Japan, p. 109; Richard K. Beardsley made a similar point in "Cultural Anthropology: Prehistoric and Contemporary Aspects," in Twelve Doors in Japan, p. 86; and Ruth Benedict asserts a different but related point of view that a person who is not a self-seeker is constantly praised because Japanese ethics make a great condemnation on profit making. See The Chrysanthemum and the Sword, p. 218.

137George A. De Vos, Socialization for Achievement, p. 106.
And since his childhood he is repeatedly inculcated with such sacrifices that the parents had made in bringing him up—primarily by teachers (sometimes by the parents themselves), \(^{138}\) he is well aware of his obligations to repay them. When his parents are alive the repayment usually takes the form of good care for his aged parents and easing their minds by making himself a success in life, and even when they are dead he is still obliged to repay the on-favors by raising the reputation and honor of the family by his success. \(^{139}\) Ruth Benedict tells us about such repayment:

A son who cares for his mother can speak of not forgetting the on he has received from his mother. ... The term ... refers ... to all that his mother did for him as a baby, her sacrifices when he was a boy, all that she has done to further his interests as a man, all that he owes her from the mere fact that she exists. It implies a return upon this indebtedness ... \(^{140}\)

Another type of achievement motive of the Japanese toward the parents (mostly the mother) would be to atone for his undesirable conduct which made them worry and injured them. Such motivation has originated from feelings of guilt resulting from his lack of sincerity in

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\(^{140}\) Ruth Benedict, *The Chrysanthemum and the Sword*, p. 100.
study or work,\textsuperscript{141} his bad conduct and failure to come up to their social expectations,\textsuperscript{142} his disobedience to them,\textsuperscript{143} and his rebellion against his parents, say, by opposing the marriage his parents had arranged for him or by going to a culturally, not yet full sanctioned, love marriage.\textsuperscript{144} Even after the parents’ death, the Japanese cannot escape from the consciousness of guilt. He usually thinks that since he was not dutiful or devoted to them, they suffered and got sick and died. This kind of guilt feeling is especially felt keenly when the parents died from a disease. And these feelings of remorse drive him to achievement.

The logic of this guilt-achievement cycle thus could be stated as follows: as one’s evil conduct has injured the sorrowing parents (sometimes caused their death), one must expiate the sin by assuming the responsibilities for hard work and diligence previously avoided.\textsuperscript{145} The Japanese sometimes feels guilt consciousness even toward his wife, which similarly drives him to success. The following TAT story clearly tells about such consciousness:

(Gazes at the picture a long time) Although this couple was mar-

\begin{flushleft}
\begin{enumerate}
\item\textsuperscript{141} George A. De Vos, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 71, 147.
\item\textsuperscript{142} Richard K. Beardsley, "Personality Psychology," in \textit{Twelve Doors to Japan}, p. 370; George A. De Vos, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 138, 149.
\item\textsuperscript{143} Richard K. Beardsley, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 372; George A. De Vos, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 149; R. P. Dore, \textit{City Life in Japan}, p. 385.
\item\textsuperscript{144} Richard K. Beardsley, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 370; George A. De Vos, \textit{op. cit.}.
\item\textsuperscript{145} George A. De Vos, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 138.
\end{enumerate}
\end{flushleft}
ried and lived happily, the wife was not healthy. She went to bed with a cold. Her husband took care of her and did not go to work at his office. One day he thought she was somewhat better and went to work. When he came home that night he found his wife dead. From her diary lying there he learned that she had grieved over her husband (being absent from work) and had committed suicide by taking poison. (He is now crying with grief.) Having lost his wife, he continued to work very hard and... he led a lonely life by himself without ever forgetting his dead wife. 146

Motivation to achieve for the sake of the family or the ie is also sanctioned in the Japanese culture. 147 Since the member so closely identifies himself with the household, this sort of motivation would be a natural consequence. In this category, is included the achievement to enhance fame and to bring prosperity to the family collectivity, including past, present and future members. Achievement for helping to improve the economic status and to raise the fame of one's company would be also approved culturally. 148 In a larger sense, to achieve a success and be honored by his native village because of the glory he gave the hamlet, 149 to serve and contribute to the nation, or to the benefit of all the others, or to the next generation, 150 disregarding his personal gain, would be

146Richard K. Beardsley, op. cit., p. 375.
the highest achievement motive in the group-oriented culture.

In contrast to the highest praise given to the achievement for the welfare of the group collectivity, achievement pursued only from regard to oneself is strongly disfavored and is "considered a sign of excessive, immoral egoism . . ."\(^{151}\) Moreover, there is importance attached to group unity or harmony, mutual assistance among the members, and fulfillment of one's obligations resultant from on-favors one received—these are the factors which discourage personal achievement and competition among the members of the in-group, or at least put a ceiling on it. Since achievement in Japan, furthermore, is mainly for the advancement of one's position or status within the group rather than for the admission or entrance into a new and higher class of the American counterpart, one is, even after his achievement or success, obliged to continue close personal relationships with his fellows, superiors, and those he has personal connections with, and the fact of which, together with the fact that such personal connections are important social assets in the group culture, strongly disfavor overt competition among the in-group members. Richard Halloran writes:

> We (Japanese) are aware that excessive competition can be dangerous and could cause much harm in politics and business or daily life, if we did not control. We have many ways of making sure that competition does not become too strong. My foreign friends, particularly one who is an aggressive American businessman, says we control competition so much that we have none at all.\(^{152}\)

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Thus, within the family which is a cooperative collectivity, open competition among the members has been discouraged. Once a child is granted admission to a school, in addition, competition is usually relegated to the second place giving away the first place to group solidarity and friendship among the classmates. Thomas W. Maretzki and Hatsumi Maretzki report in their community study that "the observer finds few expressions of achievement motivated and competitive spirits," and that "There is little to indicate that children at this age are interested in winning or excelling." They also report that there are few cheating, supposing that is is an expression of achievement motive within the group, in an examination, though nothing separates the students and the teacher hardly proctors, and that in a game at school the winner seldom brags, gaining his satisfaction from the performance rather than defeating others, and losers are hardly teased or made fun of, and that the student who gives a wrong answer seems to feel no embarrassment. Each child is encouraged to better his own record rather than his relative position among his classmates, no student

154Ezra F. Vogel, Japan's New Middle Class, pp. 66, 67.
156A junior or a senior student is sometimes very concerned about his relative position among his classmates. The main reason for this concern is, however, not that he wants to be top in order to prove his talents or ability (for his pride) but that if his relative position is not high enough he is strongly discouraged even to take an examination for admission to a certain senior high school or a university he wants to enter by his teacher in charge.
stays back in the class, and grades are usually given not on their
school work but only on their conduct. 157

In the village, too, almost nothing is observed to support com-
petitive behavior, except occasional athletic sports and wrestling matches.
Parents discourage their children from boasting, fostering no competi-
tive motive. 158 Leadership roles in the hamlet, moreover, are allo-
cated on an annual rotation system by a generally fixed roster, so that
it eliminates competition and merits assessment of the members and
hence, disruptive elements in the community. 159

Situations would be similar in the firm or company where life-
long association and familialism are typical phenomena. Since the workers
are not accustomed to a competitive promotional system, if a man from a
certain year's recruiters is promoted, his fellows would be greatly upset
and may ask similar promotion for the reason that they are equally
competent. 160 This fact may partly explain why the seniority payment
system is so widely practiced in the companies throughout Japan. Ezra
F. Vogel affirms:

Once in the firm, one's success has been assured, and rivalry is kept in bounds by the primacy of seniority which is non-competitive and the common interest in the success of the firm. 161

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158 Thomas W. Maretzki and Hatumi Maretzki, op. cit., p. 527.
160 Chie Nakane, Japanese Society, p. 36.
161 Ezra F. Vogel, Japan's New Middle Class, p. 66.
Workers in Japan are constantly encouraged to improve their efficiency upon comparison with fixed standards or with their own records.\textsuperscript{162} Even in the case of election of union officers, the candidates are usually invited or persuaded to run for the available offices. In order to avoid competition, the number of candidates is usually equal to the number of positions available and the ballot is a vote of confidence.\textsuperscript{163}

Reflecting those cultural biases, much of the success literature of modern Japan

... does not dwell on the glamour and glitter of the rewards; the emphasis is all on the virtuous traveling rather than the arrival. Hard work and perseverance have a value far beyond their instrumental efficiency.

This is, indeed, an element of tradition still very much alive, and it is one which has institutional support in the schools where there is a considerable reluctance to acknowledge the importance of innate ability in determining academic or any other kind of success. Determined application, it is thought, can compensate for most natural deficiencies. It is significant that intelligence tests have never been popular in Japan.\textsuperscript{164}

And unlike Americans who can perform most efficiently when there are other competitors present, the performance of Japanese both young and old, it is reported, loses its efficiency in a competitive situation. When they are performing by themselves, they make less mistakes and progress at a faster pace, accomplishing the worker sooner. They are able to do their best when they are trying to improved against their own records

\textsuperscript{162}Edwin O. Reschauer, \textit{The United States and Japan}, p. 144.


\textsuperscript{164} R. P. Dore, "Mobility, Equality, and Individuation in Modern Japan," in \textit{Aspects of Social Change in Modern Japan}, p. 141.
rather than comparing themselves with others. 165

As I mentioned earlier, success or achievement in Japan wins the highest praise when it is reached for the enhancement and welfare of the in-group and that competition among the members of the group is strongly discouraged on the ground that the group is the source of one's security and happiness and hence, its solidarity must be strengthened through cooperation and harmony. Then how about the competition with strangers— with the members of out-groups—for the sake of the in-group? There should be no reason to restrict such competition. Thus, Richard Halloran asserts:

We Japanese are intensely competitive outside our families and small groups. We strive very hard for prestige and position, power and money, and even for space in our crowded country. 166

The in-group boundary, however, seems to change according to circumstances. For example, when one family is competing with the other family or families, the family is the in-group; when one village, with the other village or villages, the village is the in-group; and when one nation, with the other nation or nations, the nation itself becomes the in-group, et cetera. Herein lies the partial reason why Japan is sometimes called "Japan, Inc.," when it comes to the international competition. Thus, the circumference of the in-group needs to be decided by the fact of

166 Richard Halloran, Japan: Images and Realities, pp. 230, 231; Ezra F. Vogel also affirms: "Under conditions of competing with strangers the achievement pressures are least controlled." See Japan's New Middle Class, p. 67.
which in-group is at stake.

To compete for the admission to a famous high school and a famous college or university is culturally sanctioned, for it is the competition mainly among the strangers and a graduate from a prestigious university possess great advantages not only for himself but also for his whole family line.\textsuperscript{167} Of course, one sometimes has to compete with his classmates or friends in examinations but in such cases he

\ldots plays down competition \ldots A person ordinarily hopes that all in his group of friends will be among those who pass. Even if friends are separated and pursue different paths as a result of examinations, there usually is no feeling of acrimony. In a sense, the one who did not get in feels that the position he hoped for was filled not by his friends but by a stranger.\textsuperscript{168}

There are some factors which seem to make entrance examinations in Japan so acute: after the Meiji Restoration, out of the necessity to mobilize all the talents for the modernization and industrialization of the nation, every effort has been made to open educational opportunity to those who are striving, regardless of their family backgrounds and economic situations;\textsuperscript{169} on account of the system of primogeniture, parents seem to feel it a part of their responsibilities to give higher education

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{167}Richard K. Beardsley, "Cultural Anthropology: Prehistoric and Contemporary Aspects," in \textit{Twelve Doors to Japan}, p. 113. The fact that children in Japan usually enter into the keenest competition with strangers during their junior or senior high school days, when their emotion is least stable, may partly explain why the high rate of suicide is observed among adolescents.
\item \textsuperscript{168}Ezra F. Vogel, \textit{Japan's New Middle Class}, p. 66.
\item \textsuperscript{169}R. P. Dore, "Mobility, Equality, and Individualism in Modern Japan," in \textit{Aspects of Social Change in Modern Japan}, p. 131.
\end{itemize}
to the second and the third sons as compensation;\textsuperscript{170} the number of salaried men has grown—their children, unlike those of the independent professionals or the businessmen or the shop keepers who can work in their fathers' offices or shops, are dependent upon entrance examinations for the success in their future careers;\textsuperscript{171} and there is still a greater number of applicants than of openings and the big differences in prestige between the universities and hence, the possibilities to obtain "good" jobs, together with the fact that each university gives its own entrance examinations.\textsuperscript{172}

Given the fact that the highest achievement is the one for the good of the in-group and the keenest competition for success is fought between the out-groups, competition in Japan would have little impact on the group unity. Rather on the contrary. Such competition, together with the necessity to form a united front against other out-groups, would toughen the intra-group solidarity.\textsuperscript{173} Because of this, the group usually backs up the individual's achievement motivation.\textsuperscript{174}

\textsuperscript{170}Richard K. Beardsley, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 112, 113.

\textsuperscript{171}Ezra F. Vogel, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 38.

\textsuperscript{172}John W. Hall, "Education and Modern National Development," in Twelve Doors to Japan, pp. 418, 419; Ronald Dore, \textit{British Factory--Japanese Factory}, p. 294. In 1950, 42 percent of those who graduated from junior high schools went on to another three years of senior high school; in 1968, 77 percent. In the pre-war times, only 2 percent of those who reached the age of entering into university were actually university students: in 1968, 20 percent (of men nearly 30 percent). \textit{Ibid.}, p. 293.

\textsuperscript{173}Chie Nakane, \textit{Japanese Society}, p. 90.

\textsuperscript{174}R. P. Dore, \textit{City Life in Japan}, p. 220.
moreover, desire to obtain a new status or position within the in-group. Achievement in America, on the other hand, is primarily for self-realization, and Americans usually desire the admission or acceptance into a new and higher group or class. This means that American personal achievement tends to separate the individual member from the in-group—from the family, the firm, the community, etc., whereas Japanese "group" achievement (achievement for the group) seems to strengthen the tie of each member with the group, except the unavoidable separation of the second and third sons from the family in search of a job in the city. 175

175 The Japanese may have a stronger desire to stay home over leaving for success, which seems to have some connection with the sense of filial piety. George A. De Vos writes about his findings: "The Japanese tested in our survey do not desire to leave home; the strong need to remain close to the family takes precedence over the need to achieve. On a deeper psychological level, the data suggest that the Niiike (a small rice-growing settlement in the western half of Honshu, Japan's principal island) man does not want to give up the primacy of his relationships to his mother by leaving the household. . . . (Thought) they were very much aware of broader horizons . . . (TAT) stories in which achievement took a person away from his family often ended with his subsequent return. In stories about leaving home there were often indirect expressions of guilt over the evasion of filial responsibilities," See Socialization for Achievement, p. 68.
CHAPTER V CONCLUSION

I. A Review of the Evidence

America

As I mentioned earlier the central values in the American culture are individualism, geographical mobility, and personal achievement. Because of the importance attached to those primary values, the American is strongly encouraged to think and act freely, taking the whole responsibility for the result upon himself. He moves here and there in search of a better opportunity and tries to achieve his position or status through competition with the intention of realizing his potentialities. In other words, he is self-reliant and capable enough to curve out his own future and to accept the challenge of self-realization willingly.

Yet so many critics and observers, Americans as well as foreigners, throughout eighteenth, nineteenth and twentieth centuries, have detected a character trait—conformism—which seems to be quite contrary to the above-mentioned cherished American values. Conformism here means the character quality (or a "value" item) of the members of a culture which tries (or which values) to tune their words and deeds to in-group's will or expectations rather than employing their own autonomous reasoning and judgment. The concept, therefore, includes rather a broad range of character trends such as "the sensitiveness to opinion of the others," "the continual fears and apprehensions with regard to their neighbors," "willingness to submit oneself to a common rule," and "eagerness to join, belong, get together, and play the game" (and sometimes even the resultant "uniformity in speech, manners,
housing, dress, recreation, etc.").

After studying the writings of English travelers from 1785 to 1835, Jane L. Mesick, for example, states that one important characteristic mentioned in a number of books was "the acute sensitiveness to opinions of the others that the average American revealed." A German who became an American citizen later writes in the 1830's that "nothing can excite the contempt of an educated European more than the continual fears and apprehensions in which even the 'most enlightened citizens' of the United States seem to live with regard to their nextdoor neighbors, lest their actions, principles, opinions and beliefs should be condemned by their fellow creatures." Comparing the American with the English, an American writer, James Fenimore Cooper, in 1837, records:

In England a man dines by himself in a room filled with other hermits, he eats at his leisure, drinks his wine in silence, reads the paper by the hour; and, in all things, encourages his individuality and insists on his particular humours. The American is compelled to submit to a common rule; he eats when others eat, sleeps when others sleep, and he is lucky, indeed, if he can read a paper in a tavern without having a stranger looking over each shoulder.


In the same year, an English observer, Harriet Matineau, expresses American children's awareness toward the others in the following comments:

(Americans) may travel over the world, and find no society but their own which will submit to the restraint of perpetual caution, and reference to the opinions of others. They may travel over the whole world, and find no other country but their own where the very children beware of getting into scrapes, and talk of the effect of actions upon people's mind; where the youth of society determine in silence what opinions they shall forward, and what avow only in the family circle... 4

Nearly a century later, Andre' Siegfried, a critical Frenchman, described America as a land of vast uniformity in speech, manners, housing, dress, recreation, and even politically expressed ideas. 5 Ralph Barton Perry, an ex-professor of philosophy at Harvard, Ralph Barton Perry, characterizes the American people in 1949:

The individual who holds himself apart, who will not "join," who does not "belong," who will not "get together" and "play the game," who does not "row his weight in the boat," is viewed with suspicion. 6

Then how could those two seemingly antithetic character traits (or "value" items) be related with each other in the American culture? In the following analysis I am going to elucidate on the mechanism of American conformism.


6 Ralph Barton Perry, Characteristically American, pp. 8-9.
American conformism seems to be a protective device which covers the culturally deeply-rooted unconfidence, insecurity, or loneliness of Americans. When Europeans (especially Englishmen), aided by Protestantism first and the Enlightenment later, migrated or immigrated into America mainly as a result of the interplay of "propelling forces" and "attracting forces"—depressions, famines, diseases, wars, restrictions and/or persecutions inflicted upon them by religious intermediaries of the Old World and richness, peace, safety, freedom, equality and hopes of the New World—they gave up a great part of their traditional past, not only the values, the laws, and the thoughts but also their style of living, of dressing, and even of eating. What happened then to the American people who had to live in such a value and custom "vacuum"? Due to the rejection of the cultural patterns of their parents, Americans had nothing to rely upon when they tried to measure the "rightness" of their judgment and practices or the "level" of their achievement. They accordingly felt diffidence, uncertainty or insecurity. Taking their childrearing practices as an example, Geoffrey Gorer writes about the anxiety of the American mother:

The American mother is always more or less anxious, anxious lest she make mistakes or forget part of the prescribed routine,

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7 Even if Americans did not discard their old values and practices, such values and practices seldom provided the guidance for the younger generation because they were "tainted with the backwardness and superstition and unsanitariness of the old world". See Geoffrey Gorer, The American People: A Study in National Character (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1964), p. 72.
anxious lest the baby should not respond properly, often anxious lest she should after all have chosen the wrong method. 8

The only assurance and security were attained by the other's opinions or by the comparison with the others and by a ready correction in case of any differences. Because of this "tradition," not only in child-rearing practices but also in school work and jobs, Americans are sensitive to the others and are ready to follow the ways or judgments the others do or pass. David C. McClelland points out:

(Americans) agree much more than Britons or Austrians with an item like "parents should be guided primarily in what they do by what other parents do in their neighborhood so as to avoid bringing up their child differently" or more than German with items like "the negative opinion of others often keeps me from seeing a movie or play I had planned to attend" or my political opinion is easily swayed by editorials I read." 9

And the importance attached to comparison may partly explain why American children are so concerned with their marks in their school work and why the dollar becomes a common denominator to measure one's success in the business world.

The feudal class system was also one of the "dire" traditions they abandoned when Europeans crossed the Atlantic Ocean. Being backed up with rich opportunities and geographical and social mobility, Americans have never had rigid class stratification. However, such classlessness or the lack of a recognized elite group has made it virtually impossible for the

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American people to base their beliefs on those of the "class" they presently belong to, or to have the "judge" who gives a decision on the "properness" of their morality, thought, and mode of living. The American hence "seeks to heal his insecurity by attuning himself...what others do and say and what they think of him." 

The American, moreover, believing firmly the innate worth of man and placing reliance upon man's judgment, holds his creed that all men are of equal worth. Yet if all men are equally worth, no one can think of himself better than the others, and if the others or the majority entertain a certain opinion on a matter, he cannot but accept it because he has no reason to believe his superiority over them. This seems to be the concept which Alexis de Tocqueville tries to explain in the phrase, the "tyranny of majority." He asserts

In time of equality men, being so like each other, have no confidence in others, but this same likeness leads them to place almost unlimited confidence in the judgment of the public. For they think it not unreasonable that, all having the same means of knowledge, truth will be found on the side of the majority.

In America the majority has enclosed though within a formidable fence. A writer is free inside that area, but woe, to the man who goes beyond it. Not that he stands in fear of an auto-de-fe, but he must face all kinds of unpleasantness and every day persecution. A career in politics is closed to him, for he has offended the only power that holds the keys.


He is denied everything, including renown. Before he goes into print, he believes he has supporters; but he feels that he has them no more once he stands revealed to all, for those who condemn him express their views loudly, while those, who think as he does, but without his courage, retreat into silence as if ashamed of having told the truth.  

Not only the lack of old traditions and the emphasis on equality, but also the fast progressing and changing society like America seem to make the people conformists. In this sort of society, parental knowledge and experience become almost useless as standards for the younger generation. For instance, in such a society, is it possible for the parents to measure their child by the picture of their own babyhood: by the food they ate or the date they began walking or talking? Even the records of the elder brother or sister written ten years ago may often be irrelevant for a newly born baby. Under these circumstances, the only yardstick to be relied on and which removes the parents' uncertainty would be the comparison with his or her near contemporaries and follow willingly their practices. Thus:

Brothers and sisters within five years of the same age; cousins near of an age, neighbors near of an age, even strange babies chance met in a park, of some other nationality group and whose parents speak a foreign tongue, may be some like one's own child--owing to the orange juice and carrots and well-established taboos on pacifiers, which now occur only in the slums and among the very modern park Avenue practices--than any past and gone babies.

American individualism, geographical mobility and personal achievement, furthermore, tend to compel the American people to conform to the

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others especially to the members of in-groups—clubs, associations or churches. American individualism, which had been nurtured through the processes of escape from restrictions of the Old World, the civilized society, and the parental authority, emphasizes to think and act freely, taking the responsibility for the result by himself. Thus it idealizes complete freedom of the individual. However, the emphasis put on such type of individualism tends to separate a person from his company or fellow human beings. In fact separation begins with bottle-feeding and goes on to separate-sleeping practices; separate-bathing; locking devices installed on every door; emphasis on a certain amount of aggressiveness; the importance put on initiative; rejection of authority; no intensity in the relationships between parent and child and between sibling and sibling; the stress on peers; the emphasis on self-reliance in school curricula; the equal partnership of husband and wife; no deep relationships with relatives, friends and neighbors; and the fear of the aged who become "cares" or "burdens." However, too much stress on independence or on elimination from one's life "both the fact and the sense of dependence upon others" may raise "the constant and continuing threat of perpetual social and psychological insecurity." 14 It seems to be almost impossible for the American to have deep and permanent human relationships. 15 The American cannot

14 Francis L. K. Hsu, Americans and Chinese, p. 278.

15 Francis L. K. Hsu, Clan, Caste, and Club (New York: Van Nostrand, Reinhold Company, 1963), p. 206. He, referring to sibling relations in America, writes: "...by the time he is second grade, the American child begins to realize that socially he and his elders are separate individuals." See Americans and Chinese (Garden City, New York: Doubleday Natural History Press, 1970), p. 107.
assume that his human relations will continue long. He thus "tends to be uncertain of his relations at all times," which results in "loneliness and isolation of the individual." In a word, the American, trying hard to be freed from all dependence, seems to have purchased it at the expense of emotional insecurity.

Geographical mobility is also apt to lead to the separation of human relationships. The individual-oriented American, living in the free society lacking the guild system, feudal class system, or the old European fetters, and being surrounded by abundant opportunities, assisted by his beliefs in the future, by his confidence in change and progress, is strongly encouraged to move away from his parents' home, to move from his company to a new one, from community to community, and even from state to state, searching for a better opportunity constantly. Furthermore, being deprived of the sense of satisfaction attainable from the end-products by the system of mass-production, the American has less emotional involvement in his place of work. In the American culture, unattachment to the work and resultant easy moving is not only considered to be a desirable character trait and hence valued highly, but

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16 Francis L. K. Hsu, *Americans and Chinese*, p. 225

17 Ibid., p. 450. David Riesman also points out the loneliness of self-reliant American children: "... the fate of many innerdirected children is loneliness in and outside the home. Home, school, and waystations between may be places for hazing, persecution, misunderstanding. No adult intervenes on behalf of the lonely or hazed child to proffer sympathy, ask questions or give advice." See with Nathan Glazer and Reuel Denney, *The Lonely Crowd* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1961), pp. 69-70.
in actuality, mobility has been richly rewarded in a nation of a new Bohemians. However, such mobility tends to generate psychological tensions on the side of the movers as well as on those who are left. Philip E. Slater writes:

(In time of moving) individuals or family units are plucked out of their social context and transplanted. They may never live in the same place twice. While they may stay within the same society ... they must form new relationships, adapt to a new physical environment, new norms, and so on. Those who remain behind must repair the social fissure that the transients have created.

The culturally sanctioned transient nature of American human relationships produces insecurity, loneliness, individual isolation, alienation and even anomie, which is a unique phenomenon in America. Jules Henry

\[18\] The American's constant experience of regrouping and forming of new personal relations may explain why the concept of "friend" in America includes, as I mentioned before, such a wide range of persons from one's neighbors to the man who fills his car with gasoline. Americans seem to be good at forming a quick friendship.


writes about the inner insecurity resulting from the high degree of mobility
and of the absence of predetermined personal communities in America:

... the fact that those he numbered in his personal community one
day may not be there the next, makes for enormous uncertainty in
interpersonal relations; it makes for great sensitivity to looks,
stares, smiles, and criticism, and originates the endless inner
questioning, "Am I liked?" 21

And in fact, in this type of society popularity or personal appeal may become
the surest way to make a quick friendship and hence to alleviate one's un-
certainty in interpersonal relations; 22 and the teenagers preoccupation in
clothes and grooming may verify the importance they attach to the popularity
as means of securing their friends.

The natural outcome of individual-oriented, bold and energetic Ameri-
cans who find out themselves in the midst of equality, freedom and rich opportu-
nities would be a strong desire for achievement. Achievement motivation of
Americans, moreover, has been reinforced by the notion of predestination of
Protestantism. Being inculcated the dignity of labor into their minds, to-
gether with the fact that labor had been indispensable for their survival in the
wilderness, Americans have been really go-getters. However, due to the
importance attached to the proposition that all men are endowed with equal
capacities and the emphasis put on individualism, coupled with the facts that
no hereditary positions are valued highly and hence one has to carve out his

21 Jules Henry, Culture Against Man (New York: Vantage Books, 1965),
p. 149.

own future, American achievement is personal achievement, which could be attained through competition and the result is measured only by the comparison with his fellows. In such comparison of achievement, the size of one's income or wealth, in actuality a whole range of status symbols, becomes the common denominator. Since achievement is for self-realization and because of the conspicuousness of the common denominator, no one could become a loser without feeling the sense of self-degradation and hence, humiliation and defeat. Therefore, his sorrow, being shared with no one, seems to be much harsher. Furthermore as everyone is trying to climb up the social ladder and one's achievement is always relative in a classless and ever-changing society, no one is allowed to be satisfied with his present status or position, for to remain at a certain rung of the ladder eventually means that he will be surpassed by others. Thus the American feels he is forced to ascend the stairs without the head perpetually, and yet he is uncertain as to how far he has climbed and cannot shake off the fear that he may be a loser some day.

The individual, driven by the belief that he should never rest content in his existing station and knowing that society demands advancement by him as proof of his merit, often feels stress and insecurity and is felt with no sense of belonging either in the station to which he advances or in the one from which he set out.

... The fierceness of the mobility race generates tensions too severe for some people to bear, and fear of failure in this race generates a sense of insecurity which is highly injurious. Denial

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of status deprives the individual of one of his deepest psychological needs. 24

By the way, in constant achievement race, to conform to the patterns of consumption and behavior of the class the American striving for acceptance would be necessary. In order to get admittance he has to continue such outward emulation for quite some time. And the higher the group or class he is exerting himself for, the longer he has to follow those patterns or rules. In the case of the upper-upper class, he is usually considered to be a solid member only after he has participated in imitation for at least three generations. 25

He may once in a while be rejoiced by his achievement, yet his happiness tends to be unrestrained self-complacence because his success is only for himself. 26 Due to the relativity and individuality of American achievement, someone's success is usually won at the expense of another's failure, 24 David M. Potter, People of Plenty: Economic Abundance and the American Character (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1954), pp. 105, 106. Seymour M. Lipset also points out the uncertainty of achievement-oriented Americans: "... if equalitarianism has encouraged competition for status, for advancement, it has also made individuals extremely uncertain about their social position; that is, it makes them uncertain just how much they have achieved, and leaves them insecure about their prospects to maintain or pass on their achieved higher status to their children." See "Equal or Better in America," Columbia Forum, IV (Spring, 1961), p. 18.


26Francis L. K. Hsu, op. cit., p. 110.
and hence such achievement never puts persons together. 27

Then what has happened to the family in the culture of individualism, geographical mobility and personal achievement? Is it still maintaining its primary function? The reason I raise this question is that in the society of separation, itineration, itinerancy and competition the family seems to be the only place where Americans can seek autonomy, peace, contentment, security, relation, co-operation, freedom, self-respect, recognition, even challenge and creativity. 28 It is sad to say, however, that there seems to be little possibility of this hope. Because of the rejection of the old tradition, the parents had nothing to teach the children with authority. In addition to this, the first generation parents could not become one hundred percent Americans; the knowledge and experience of the parents could not successfully be applied to the new, ever progressing society; the parents and children had to share the burden of their survival equally; the child is the hope of the future, and hence is accorded higher status 29 -- these seem to be major

27 Ibid., p. 307. A good example of such relationship of "one's success is others' failure" is given by Jules Henry. He writes: "... so many of us feel a contraction of the heart even if the someone we never knew succeeds merely at garnering plankton in the Thames..." See Culture Against Man, p. 196.

28 Jules Henry, Culture Against Man, p. 128.

29 Geoffrey Gorer claims: "... no theory could gain widespread acceptance in America which did not concede that the child was the hope for the future, and that he could, given the proper start in life, go further and far better than his parents. This belief is basic in America..." See The American People, p. 71.
factors which undermined parental authority and consequently contributed to the equalization of relationships between the parents and the child.

The parents' authority is, in a sense, a "cramp" to unite every member of the family together. The collapse of it tends to lead the family to dissolution and disunion. Geoffrey Gorer, claiming Dagwood as a representative of American husbands and fathers, writes:

Dagwood is kind, dutiful, diligent, well-meaning within his limits; but he has so completely given up any claim to authority that the family would constantly risk disintegration and disaster, if it were not for Blondie. 30

Without the vertical relationships based on authority and respect, moreover, the only relationship left between the parents and the child would be the one based on emotion and usefulness. While American parents try to be good friends and suppliers, if they fail to be, the children think it justifiable to treat them as strangers. 31

The demise of the authoritarian parents and resultant equalization of the parent and child relationships also heralded the equalization of the husband and wife relationships. Being on an equal footing they are connected only through individualistic appeal and romance, which require constant "nourishment" in order not to fade them away. The economic abundance in America, furthermore, making the function of marriage as a division of labor less and

30 Ibid., p. 49.

31 Francis L. K. Hsu, Americans and Chinese, p. 116
less important, has made such emotional factors as appeal or romance paramount, and consequently has made the relationships more and more unstable. Thus if some trouble should arise between the two, the wife as well as the husband would feel no necessity whatsoever to maintain their conjugal relations. After reading a book written by a visiting Englishman in 1828, Rowland Berthoff comments on his reports:

... for all the politeness and solicitude American men treated their wives, it was the opinion... that there was no real companionship, mutual understanding, or even conversation between American men and women.

The increase of gainfully-employed women in America, which has been assisted by the stress on individualism and abundance of economy, has been aggravating the already weakening husband and wife tie, not only giving the wife economic independence of her husband, and thus making her feel no necessity to stick by him, but also constantly exposing the couple to danger of separation necessitated by competing job requirements or job opportunities of the two.

32 David M. Potter People of Plenty, pp. 203-204.


How does the emphasis on individualism exert influence on the family then? As was noted earlier, every sort of separateness is encouraged in the family because of American individualism: bottle feeding, separate sleeping, separate bathing, baby-sitting, playing among competitive peers, no charge of younger sibling taken by elder sibling, etc. Even when the parents become old, to become "cares" or "burdens" to their children would be an intolerable degradation or shame to them. As the family, furthermore, ceased to be the economic unit of the society, the fixed relationships among the members were destroyed, and the relations became casual and loose. Thereby an Italian visitor, in 1827 reported:

In a large family the sons gather at mealtime, each coming from his business; each enters the room, says not a word to father or mother; opens not his mouth, in fact, except to put something therein; devours in a few instances the few ill-cooked dishes; and whoever if first satisfied, without waiting till the others have finished, rises, takes his hat and is off.35

Geographical mobility is not exception in this respect. Individualism and achievement-orientedness have naturally stimulated the individual member to move away from the parents' home in search of opportunities for advancement of one's position or status. The combination of individualism and achievement-mindedness, moreover, brings competitive elements even into the family where the members are expected to be safely and warmly protected against the fiercely competitive outside world: the scramble between the father and the mother for their children or between siblings for their mother's

love and recognition. Actually, the American child is driven to "do everything possible to compete successfully against these same brothers" by the pressures for social mobility.  

Personal achievement being so important and the child being the hope for the future, the American child is constantly urged to surpass the father socially as well as economically. The father seldom expects his sons to become like him, pursuing the same profession and remaining in the same social class.  

However, since American success is a personal one, it seems to be quite difficult for the entire family members to move up the social ladder as a unit. Social mobility is apt to have disruptive influence on the family integration. Of course, in America, the child is usually supposed and encouraged to leave his parents' home as soon as possible, yet, such "differential mobility" (one or more members of the family moving up and down but not the entire family) would surely be disruptive to the primary group structure. 

37 Geoffrey Gorer, The American People, p. 46.  
38 E. E. Lemaster classifies social mobility into two categories -- Vertical Mobility As A Unit (all members of the family moving up) and Differential Mobility. According to his study, the former type consisted of 6 percent of the cases, the latter 59 percent, leaving 34 percent Social Class Continuity (no vertical mobility taking place). See "Social Class Mobility and Family Integration, " Marriage and Family Living, 16 (August 1954), pp. 227, 228, 229.
E. E. Lemasters asserts:

The parents and the children live in different social worlds, as do brothers and sisters in many cases. This makes communication and understanding difficult. Family unity, if it is preserved, requires more effort and more imagination than is usually the case. 39

Thus the emphasis put on individualism, geographical mobility and personal achievement in the American culture by eliminating every dependence from his life, encouraging to move away from his primary groups, and urging him to surpass the others at all times, are very likely to separate the individual from his company or fellows or primary groups and make it virtually impossible for him to have deep and permanent human relationships. The American, accordingly tends to feel enormous uncertainty in his interpersonal relationships and he cannot shake off the fear of becoming a loser one day. As a natural course of events, the American seems to be driven in physical as well as mental loneliness, isolation and alienation. He also seems to be dissatisfied, humiliated and stress-or tension-ridden. His last resort, the family, too, seems to be in a firm grip of the dear American core values-individualism, geographical mobility and personal achievement, and where impermanence, separateness, casualness and coldness seem to make an inroad into the relations between sibling and sibling, parent and child, and even husband and wife. Competitive elements creep in through the back door making the members constantly insecure; the family is in danger of dissolution, disunion and disintegration.

39 Ibid., 230.
Being social animals, however, human beings need association with other human beings, he needs a group or groups of conjugal people, among who he can enjoy companionship, have association with and form attachments. Among them he can also feel satisfied, be exalted and relaxed. However, among the neighbors, the fellow workers, the friends, and even the family members it seems to be quite hopeless for the American to find such a group. Something must be done in order to satisfy the basic need, it is indispensable for the maintenance of human psychological living. So that the American, after being affiliated with a certain group, though he still believes in the primary values (character traits), at least outwardly or externally, tries to cover such character traits and to attune himself to

40 Francis L. K. Hsu claims that "All human beings have social needs which cannot be satisfied except in association with their fellow human beings," and that "All humans--Americans, Eskimos, Chinese, or Hottentots--have a compelling need to be in the company of other human beings to satisfy their needs for sociability, security, and status." See Americans and Chinese, pp. 124, 294.

41 Philip E. Slater points out the necessity to have this sort of human group: "...where the group as whole wraps human feelings in a given direction, defining its differentness from other groups, his similarity with those around him palliates his sense of alienation from his feelings." "Some Social Consequences of Temporary Systems," in The Temporary Society, p. 80.


43 Outwardliness of American conformism would be understood by the following advice of a company president to a group of young men: "The ideal...is to be an individualist privately and a conformist publicly." See William H. Whyte, Jr., The Organization Man (Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1957), p. 172.
such group's (in-group's) will or expectations rather than employing his autonomous reasoning and judgment. American conformism is consequently not a value,\textsuperscript{44} but a protective device, an expedient, or a complement.

One result of the American's search for such a congenial human environment would be the proliferation of voluntary organizations--clubs, associations, sects, unions, etc. Fraternal lodges, ethnic societies, student fraternities and sororities, war veterans' associations--those are just a few examples of the voluntary associations. The primary purpose of such associations is, it is hoped, to provide the members with a group to belong to.\textsuperscript{45} Church, in this sense, also plays an important role in the society of isolation and impermanence, helping its members to reestablish "a sense of relatedness through his relation to a deity" and meet, through a special dependent relationship with God, the need for deeply-rooted psychological dependence.\textsuperscript{46}

\textsuperscript{44} John Gillin claims: "Outward conformity to the opinions of others has a certain value in relation to the individual. Although some observers hold that conformity in thoughts and "feelings" is also a part of the value system, this writer postulates that it is not--yet." See "National and Regional Cultural Values in the United States," \textit{Social Forces}, 34 (December 1955), 109. Since conformism is not a value to Americans, it is bad, is degrading, and a problem." See Francis L. K. Hsu, \textit{Americans and Chinese}, p. 127.

\textsuperscript{45} Rowland Berthoff, \textit{An Unsettled People: Social Order and Disorder in American History}, p. 472.

Yet, as the American believes in individualism, geographical mobility and personal achievement, he is in an insoluble dilemma between psychological needs (security, companionship, satisfaction, and relaxation) and cultural urges (fear of dependence, fear of being idle and fear of being a loser). Thus the American cannot contentedly be a conformist in the conjugal group long. Being driven by two forces—the psychological needs and the cultural urges—the American seems to move toward forming a new association by himself, for by so doing, he can, it seems to me, satisfy his individuality, movement and "doing" urges and at the same time his social needs. This also seems to be partial reason for the proliferation. For instance, around 1940, in a small industrial city of Newburyport, with a population of less than 20,000, there were about 800 different voluntary associations, 375 of which were established and stable enough to be classified their activities by investigating sociologists. Over one-third of the city dwellers was affiliated with them, averaging two memberships for each person. In a two year period, these groups had meetings nearly 6,000 times, an average of 8.4 times per group yearly.47 And as was noted in Chapter III, in the Appalachian region in a community with a population of 20,000, in the early 1960's, for example, there were about 100 churches each having average of 40 to 70 memberships, for, according to Jack E. Weller, the actual number of church-goers consist of usually 20 to 35 percent of the population.48

47 Rowland Berthoff, op. cit., p. 452.
In the Japanese culture, the in-group is indispensable for one's survival, security, happiness, promotion, success, etc. It is, moreover, a motivational power for the in-group members. Since the in-group---the family, the circle of friends, the place of work, and the community, is of such importance that to maintain the harmony among the members and to perpetuate the groups takes priority over almost every other consideration. The group unity, is paramount, and every measure to strengthen it is encouraged, whereas even a single element which seems to be disruptive to it is weeded out of the in-group environment. And every possible measure to secure the solidarity is thus employed. Achievement for in-group in this respect does not disturb the group integrity but strengthens it. In the matters of consequence, unanimous agreements are always sought to reach and to express unwillingness or contradictory opinions openly, and to raise an objection to the already reached decision is greatly disfavored. If a member dares to resort to such steps disregarding the frowns around him, he is boycotted by the other members as an disruptive element or even expelled from the group.

Usually such drastic measures would not be taken because the Japanese are not so self-assertive, his character has been nurtured by the mother who is always ready for the child's every need (which originates from her sense of duty and the virtue of self-sacrifice), coupled with the close physical contacts observed from the very beginning of his life to often way until his early teens. In fact the Japanese are usually afraid of
making an autonomous decision in an important issue by themselves. The Japanese, moreover, do not oppose the group will because they think that since they can make a happy living only through the favors they receive from the members of the group, they are obliged to be faithful and loyal to the group. Accordingly, to oppose the decision or will of the group is the least possible thing they can think of. The vertical human relationships inside the group also makes young potentially disruptive members loyal to the group. The Japanese are always willing to compromise whenever they face some difficulty in reaching a unanimous decision.

In the in-group, furthermore, the members are so closely and deeply and diffusely connected and almost every need of the individual member is satisfied within the group that he never thinks of joining another group or even feels any need of speaking out his personal dissatisfaction. As the members of the group are so strongly identified with the group, together with the cultural bias to assume the members of other groups to be uncongenial to their taste, there are usually no satisfactory connections between the in-group and other out-groups, whose fact makes it virtually impossible for the dissatisfied member to run away from the group and to be accepted by other groups. Still more, by staying in the group longer he will be rewarded more.

Consequently, in the Japanese culture, since the conformism—to tune oneself to the will or expectations of the group willingly rather than employing his autonomous thinking or judgment, and the core values—group-orientedness, stationariness and achievement for members of the in-group
are so closely connected, conformism would be attained willingly, voluntarily and rather spontaneously. Thus conformism in Japan seems not to be an outward, superficial protective device, or an expedient, or a complement but rather a deeply-rooted, positive, central and value-laden character quality (or value item).

2. Future Trends

As I mentioned in the introduction it is possible that values, though very slowly, will change. Since the values are the framework for grouping of the society or the guiding principles of conduct of the people, if the society and the people change, then values would change. Though the social change and the character change are inseparably linked, the former seems to occur first and the latter follows after it. The speed of social change would be different from society to society, depending upon how extensively change factors exist. If such factors are observable in various aspects of a society continuously, then this society would change faster than a society where only a few change factors arise sporadically. This fact may explain why the urban areas, where many change factors possibly happen simultaneously, usually change faster than the rural areas; and why the younger and the more educated, who are more likely to be exposed to change factors, entertain newer and

49 Washington Platt claims: "Personal character changes with time. In much the same way the character of a nation normally change somewhat from century to century." See National Character in Action (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1961), p. 75; David Riesman writes: "... as any element in society changes, all other elements must also change in form or function or both." See The Lonely Crowd, p. 220.
more progressive views than the old and the less educated.  

In case of studying a fast changing society, care must be taken, because in such a society there usually exists a big difference between the people's articulated opinions and their culturally deeply-rooted behavior. For example, Japanese society may be the case in point. Since the end of World War II, Japan has been experiencing various changes in the fields of laws, education, ethics, not to mention industrialization. Because of this rapidity there seems to exist a gap between verbally expressed ideal and actual behavior. R. P. Dore, referring to the superficial "value" change among the town dwellers, writes:

The change in the values now upheld by the organs of mass opinion is obvious, so is the change in the general nature of normative judgements of behaviour among the town population at large. But practice does not change so rapidly. Established patterns ... are not easily modified.  

Because of this discrepancy, the results obtained from opinion survey--either from direct interview or indirect questionnaire--should be carefully checked against the results derived from other sources. This

\[50\] Scott Y. Matsumoto asserts: "Those who are receptive to new and modern ideas moving away from traditional patterns were found to be disproportionately younger, male, white-collar and wage-earners, better-educated, and urban," See Contemporary Japan: The Individual and the Group (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1960), p. 66.

consideration also makes "multilevel approach" or "multi-disciplinary techniques," which I touched upon in the introduction, desirable. George A. De Vos points out the difference between the consciously expressed opinions and rather spontaneously told view about the marriage in the context of TAT stories:

These results seem to indicate that the majority of young Japanese students consider that marriage should be primarily for the sake of the young couple and that their will should not be thwarted by their parents' opinion or by their families' interest. However, these surveys are somewhat misleading: there is an obvious lag between survey responses and actual marriage practices.\(^{52}\)

Then, in actuality, what kinds of change factors are perceivable in respective societies? Some of the change factors are just beginning to be noticed and are in limited phases of the society and some others are observed extensively for quite sometime. Both would be, however, useful for the prediction of the future direction of each society.

In American society the shift of industry from primary to tertiary or from production to consumption would be one of such changes.\(^{53}\) In case of considering social change in America, it would be convenient to use the

\(^{52}\) George A. De Vos, *Socialization for Achievement: Essays on the Cultural Psychology of the Japanese* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973), p. 18. Scott Y. Matsumoto also writes about such "discrepancy": "The tendency in modern Japan appears to be the Western emphasis on husband-wife relations, at least verbally, and especially by the young, the urbanites, and the intellectuals. However, actual practices conform traditional orientations." See *Contemporary Japan: The Individual and the Group*, p. 16.

year, 1947, when Henry Ford died, as the starting date of such changes. In agriculture, mining and production industry, the objects Americans were dealing with were mainly, directly or indirectly, the non-human goods—the crops, the mineral and the goods. And what they were concerned about most was how to produce more crops, how to extract more mineral, and how to manufacture more goods. However, since 1955, more Americans have been engaging in service, communication, transportation, finance, trade, and government. Unlike in the primary industry, what they are dealing with here are mainly human beings—people. Such change could be seen even in the new supply of the children's toys.

David Riesman writes:

Added to boy's toys ... production-imitating equipment like trucks and steam shovels or toy soldiers and miniature war materials, is a whole range of objects modeled after the service trades: laundry trucks, toy telephones, service stations, and so forth. Added to girls' toys, the doll and her wardrobe, are juvenile make up outfits and voice recorders.

54 David Riesman, _op. cit._, p. 134

55 For example, between 1950 and 1960, the increase in employment in the educational occupations was greater than the total number employed in the steel, copper, and aluminum industries and the increase in employment in the health was greater than the total employment in mining in 1960. See Warren G. Bennis, "Beyond Bureaucracy," in _The Temporary Society_, p. 58.

56 David Reisman, _op. cit._, pp. 79-80. During the year of 1950, the number four best-seller of non-fiction in bookstores was directed specifically at salesmen. See Richard M. Huber, _op. cit._, p. 256.
The important character quality necessary for the Americans working in tertiary industries would be "interpersonal competence."\textsuperscript{57} While the Americans are engaged mainly in the work dealing with non-human objects, individualism was rewarded. In the age of service and consumption, however, those who are likely rewarded would be those who are good at working with and through others,\textsuperscript{58} who are good at persuading,\textsuperscript{59} and who suppress "the direct expression of aggressive feelings."\textsuperscript{60}

The second factor which might be influential to the values would be the shift from individual control to group control of the corporation. As the corporation grows in its complexity, together with the fact that in the age of consumption, production and sale does not go hand in hand and, accordingly, careful planning or marketing survey is necessitated, all important decisions must be reached on the basis of accumulated information and experience, specialized scientific and technological knowledge, and artistic or intuitive sense possessed by many persons.\textsuperscript{61}

\textsuperscript{58} Richard M. Huber, op. cit., p. 288.
\textsuperscript{59} Francis L. K. Hsu, Americans and Chinese, p. 207.
\textsuperscript{60} David Reisman, op. cit., p. 111.
The rapidity of social and technological change, the advent of multinational industry, the separation of management from ownerships, and the spread of higher education--these are the other factors which seem to have given the coup de grace to the power and authority of a great man. 62

Out of these circumstances come the importance on the committee in case of reaching a decision and the project team in time of executing a plan. And naturally in such a corporation, cooperation or harmony between workers and workers and between the line and the staff becomes more and more important, whereas technical skill or competence becomes less and less important. 63 The following story which happened at a well-known corporation tells clearly such change of emphasis--from individual to group control. A young brilliant man came into the laboratory of the corporation.

He did magnificent work and the company looked for even greater things in the future. But, though he was a likable fellow, he was imaginative and he had begun to chafe at the supervision of the research director. The director, the management said, was a rather run-of-the-mill sort, though he had worked loyally and congenially for the company. Who would have to be sacrificed?... The brilliant man would have to go... The management was unhappy about the decision but they argued that harmonious group thinking... was the company's prime aim, and if they had promoted the brilliant man it would


63 David Riesman, The Lonely Crowd, p. 65.
have upset the whole chain of company interpersonal relationship. 64

And the promotion of a manager to a higher position in the "group-oriented" corporation would be decided not only as to how well the person fits the company but also as to how favorably he impresses himself on his superiors and colleagues. 65

The third factor would be the interdependency not only among the organizations but also among other aspects of society. In many cases, those various facets of the society share their fortune with each other. So that cooperation rather than competition is likely to be encouraged more and more in American society. 66 David Riesman writes:

At present, the technologically advanced societies such as our own have reached a situation of interdependence analogous to that of Hope, who will all die if they do not collectively preserve the rainfall. 67

Unlike the society of isolated self-sufficient yeoman farmers, in the society of interdependency most workers are reliant upon many others to supply their needs in an

64 William H. Whyte, Jr., The Organization Man (Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1956), pp. 234-235. He also writes that "when a man wants to follow his own hunch, they (the management) believe, this is a warning that he is not 'company-oriented'." See Ibid., p.231.


economy with an advanced division of labor. Men now do depend upon the good will and the services of their fellows. 68

The greater part of Americans are now working in tertiary industries which mainly deal with human beings (rather than things), the growing importance is attached to the committee or the team in corporations and other fields, and interdependency is increasing among the various facets of the society--these are some of the change factors which may make Americans become aware of the importance of the human relationships and of the cooperation among the American people, or at least may arouse their interest in human beings or the people around them.

Such probable growth of interest in human beings may keep down American mobility, geographical and social. A few other factors which might induce Americans to stay where they are could be added here: the diminution of opportunities which could be exploited by mobile individualistic persons (the typical of which would be the closing of the frontier and the demise of the production economy), coupled with the growing need of blue workers caused by the restriction of immigrants since 1924 and the recognition of the employers to the fact that labor turnover inflicts greater economic loss on their firms as the skilled and semi-skilled workers are growing in number, 69 which may result in introduction of some measures


to retain the workers. In fact a few steps like liberal union policies, seniority in promotions, and negotiated fringe benefits or pension rights plans, are already being put into practice. And those policies seem to have "facilitated the preservation of a stable work force in the manufacturing industries." 71

With the growing interests in persons or personal relationships and in resultant coopera{tions, ruthless competition for reputation, excellence, wealth and status may be tamed down in the light of the importance attached to the "human factors." Americans may feel "guilt about success and even a certain responsibility for other's failure." 72 As the occupational structure becomes complicated, moreover, it will be difficult to compare hierarchical order or ranks of respective jobs, which may baffle Americans' achievement race. They may have to question themselves:

Does an army colonel "rank" the head of an international union? A physics professor, a bank vice-president? A commentator, the head of an oil company? 73

The increasing importance put on a group--a committee or a project team--seems to make an individual's role less and less conspicuous,

70 Arthur M. Ross, op. cit., p. 904; David M. Potter, op. cit., p. 110.

71 Arthur M. Ross, op. cit., p. 916.


73 Ibid., p. 47.
and success is likely ascribed to the groups. This tendency will surely water down personal achievement motivation.

Now Americans seem to be more concerned about popularity, happiness, peace of mind, group milieu, security, sensitivity, friendliness, adaptability, approval, acceptance, etc. -- all of these qualities seem to be serviceable for the furtherance of "budding" group consciousness. Some of the concrete examples which seem to reflect the change in the American culture would be growing popularity in the feeding-on-demand method of child rearing, mounting disfavor with fighting among boys, participation in multi-group activities of boys, educational methods which baffle individuality, many voluntary organizations at school which train students to be sensitive to the wishes and opinions of other students, comic strips emphasizing "the virtues of group-

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79 David Riesman, The Lonely Crowd, p. 60.

80 David C. McClelland, op. cit., p. 915.
mindedness, 81 and the song which is sung at a public recreational gathering:

- It's a good time to get acquainted.
- It's a good time to know.
- Who is sitting close beside you.
- So just smile and say hello.
- Goodbye, chilly shoulder,
- Goodbye, glassystare.
- When we all join in (shake hand of person next to you)
- And pull together,
- We are sure to get there. 82

In Japanese society, the pace of social change seems to have been gaining its momentum, because many change factors have been observed in various aspects of the society simultaneously. First in the rural setting, the necessity of mutual assistance among the members seems to be disappearing: many cooperative works such as thatching the roof (the tile or shingle roof replaced it), housebuilding (professional carpenters do it), planting rice plants and harvesting (by the introduction of machinery); communal property also seems to be unnecessary--by the use of oil or coal instead of firewood, chemical fertilizers instead of green manure, gasoline for the machine instead of grass fodder for horses or oxen, etc.; 83 and social welfare provided by governmental institutions and savings and loan services arranged by common interest organizations seem to have

81 David Riesman, op. cit., p. 155.

82 John L. Fischer and Ann Fischer, op. cit., p. 915

weakened the importance of mutual aid. As a result, the unity or solidarity of the rural community has been undermined. Such change may be reflected in the attenuated enthusiasm in a festival of the tutelary god: on such occasions, most villagers are usually at their everyday work. 84

Owing to the opening of job opportunities in surrounding areas created by the diversification of economy, along with the fact that the living on farm income is becoming harder and harder because of the rising prices of commodity and the wages of hired laborers, more and more household heads, being assisted by the development of the means of transportation, are trying to find jobs in the surrounding industrial areas, putting the farming in charge of their wives and aged parents. 85

In 1955, the number of farm households was 6,043,000, out of which full-time farm households were 2,106,000 (34.9 percent); part-time but mainly farming households, 2,274,000 (37.6 percent); and part-time and mainly doing other job farming households, 1,663,000 (27.5 percent). In 1972, out of total farm households of 5,170,000 full-time farm households were greatly reduced in number to become 743,000 (14.4 percent); the number of part-time but mainly farming households also decreased in number to be 1,404,000 (27.1 percent); on the other hand the households which do part-time farming and mainly do other jobs accounted for 58.5

percent (3,023,000 households). 86

The more the family depends on the wage of the household head earned outside the village, the less important the village will become as a security giving collectivity for the family, and frees the household from the subordination to the community interest. 87 At the same time, that the ie becomes less and less important as a corporate unit engaging in production, which may exert a great influence on the family solidarity.

The similar statement could be made about the urban community. Many institutions of social welfare, banks, labor unions, and common-interest associations are beginning to take over the functions formerly performed by neighbors or relatives. 88 The importance of the ie as a functioning economic unit has almost disappeared in the urban setting. 89

The fact that the family depends on the salary of the household head has deprived the members of the sense of unity that the family income is the result of the concerted efforts of the entire family members. 90

In the salaried man's household, there is usually no property to be inherited, and in such a new branch family, moreover, concept of the


88 Edward Norbeck, Changing Japan, p. 15


90 Ibid., p. 114.
ancestors does not mean much.\textsuperscript{91} This may be shown by the fact that though many marriages continue to be arranged, the parents are 'less concerned that 'the house of Tanaka' should receive a worthy future mistress other than their Taro who should get a girl who will look after him and make him happy.'\textsuperscript{92} This fact may explain why a household Buddhist shrine or a household altar is not so frequently found in the urban households as they are in the rural households, and why the members of the city family seem not to worry much even when they have no male heir.\textsuperscript{93}

With the decline in importance attached to the continuation of the \textit{ie}, together with the loosening of the family unity resulting mainly from the valedictory to the \textit{ie} as a production unit, came the decline in parental authority. In the similar way, the Occupation Forces also played an important role in weakening the authority of the parents (especially that of the father and in establishing legally the dignity of the individual).\textsuperscript{94} Thus, the parental control over the members of the family tends to become relaxed

\textsuperscript{91} Ibid., p. 111.

\textsuperscript{92} R. P. Dore, "Introduction," in \textit{Aspects of Social Change in Modern Japan}, p. 17.


and each member is no longer compelled to obey the wishes of his parents (sometimes of his elder brothers) so meekly. As a result, the marriage arranged by the parents are sometimes not accepted by the son and the filial piety is less and less rigidly observed, juvenile delinquency increases, and the parents tend to avoid becoming "burdens" to their children. The erosion of the mother's authority over the daughter-in-law caused by the rapid social change, assisted by old age pensions, makes the mother reluctant to live with the child. The result of this is the dominance of the nuclear family. The number of family members is also declining, owing to the dissemination of birth control information, and also due to the fact that the child is an economic liability rather than an asset. The weakening of the parental control and appearance of the small nuclear family seem to encourage the individuation of the family members.

Accordingly, in the family, a baby of a young child is more and more encouraged to sleep in a separate bedding; the concept of privacy

97 Ezra F. Vogel, op. cit., p. 73.
98 Richard K. Beardsley, op. cit., p. 115
99 Edwin O. Reischauer, The United States and Japan, p. 303.
100 R. P. Dore, City Life in Japan, p. 47.
is losing its traditional meaning of selfishness to that of loneliness;\textsuperscript{101} the exchange of visits among the brothers and sisters is becoming less and less frequent;\textsuperscript{102} marriage is supposed to be consummated by the mutual consent of the two and to be supported by mutual cooperation with husband and wife having equal rights;\textsuperscript{103} emotional elements are growing in importance between the couple;\textsuperscript{104} and the wife walking far behind her husband on the streets may attract the curious gaze of the passerby.\textsuperscript{105}

The vertical relationships between the head house and the branch house seem to be changing into the equal relations. The sons, after going to the city and finding a job, seldom seem to need financial support from the main house because their skills acquired by higher education make their jobs stable ones, by the fringe benefits offered by the firm, and by the public services and credit system.\textsuperscript{106} Sometimes the branch family in the city may grow richer than the main house.\textsuperscript{107}


\textsuperscript{102} Edward Norbeck, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 31.


\textsuperscript{104} R. P. Dore, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 157.


\textsuperscript{107} Ezra F. Vogel, \textit{Japan's New Middle Class}, p. 172.
isolation and economic independence of the branch family, thus, may contribute to the development "of the characteristics associated with the nuclear family in the West."\textsuperscript{108}

The paternalistic practices and the familialism of the firm may gradually permit the infiltration of more contractual or "cash" relationships among the workers. In fact, some company unions\textsuperscript{109} of giant factories and companies are beginning to demand the elimination of the feudal oyabun-kobun pseudo-parent-child ties between seniors and juniors.\textsuperscript{109} A foreman of Hitachi company seems to summarize such sentiments in the big corporation:

'Nowadays--I like people to be co-operative, of course--but you've got to recognize that people have their own ideas--and I prefer it that way. I like a man to speak up when he doesn't think what I've told him to do is right way of going about it.'\textsuperscript{110}

And sometimes a young technician with higher education and specialty than his senior workers is promoted to the position of decision and responsibility though he is usually paid lower than the seniors.\textsuperscript{111}

Various legal, educational and social reforms since the end of World War II, many of which were introduced by the Occupation Forces,

\textsuperscript{108} Ezra F. Vogel, "Kinship Structure, Migration to the City, and Modernization," in \textit{Aspects of Social Change in Modern Japan}, p. 101.


\textsuperscript{110} Ronald Dore, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 248.

\textsuperscript{111} Richard K. Beardsley, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 98-99.
have definitely played an important role in implanting the dignity of
the individual, the equality of human rights, and the equality of the
sexes, all of which seem, in the long run, to be contributable to the
shift of emphasis from the group to the individual. Starting from the
breakdown of the emperor-as-a-god myth, the Occupation Forces
proceeded to the declaration of the sovereignty which reses with the
people; to the prohibition of the state support of Shinto which stressed
selflessness, harmony and the submission to the authority; and to the
backing-up of the development of labor unions.

In the legal field, the Japanese have granted freedom of speech,
freedom of the press, freedom of religion and freedom of association,
and the fundamental human rights. In the educational circle, Shinto-
Confucian ethics which attached importance to the repayment of various
obligations and the sacrifice of one's personal interest for the good of
the public were removed from the school curriculum. And many new
ideals followed the removal to fill up the blank: respect for the indivi-
dual, autonomy and independence, freedom and equality, civil rights,
and the full development of individual personality. Educational system,
at the same time, has been decentralized.

Some of the examples which may indicate the direction of the
future shift from the group-emphasis to the individual emphasis would
be shown by the less frequent use of honorific expressions and the in-
creasing use of simpler and more informal expressions, 112 by the fact

112 Joseph K. Yamagiwa, "Language as an Expression of Japanese Cul-
ture," in Twelve Doors to Japan, p. 207; Edward Norbeck, op.cit., p.22.
that personal relationships are less and less used for the purpose of saving money in shopping, by the change of the most traditional oyabun-kobun ties in the "underground" groups to more expediential and impersonal ones, by the increase in lawsuit cases and the decrease in mediations, and by the prevalent confidence among the Japanese in man's ability to change his environment according to his needs rather than adapting himself to it meekly.

The change in emphasis toward more individualistic and independent personality, coupled with the decline in the paternalistic familialism and the increase in contractual relations, is likely to cause the Japanese to change their stationary tendency. Besides, there are several factors which may stimulate the workers to change their places of work. They are the gradual disappearance of the wage difference between the big and the small enterprises, the labor shortage especially for particular expertise--computer experts, system engineers, etc.

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113 Ezra F. Vogel, *Japan's New Middle Class*, p. 85.
115 In 1948, for example, cases of lawsuits consisted of 54.2 percent, and the cases of mediations, 45.8 percent; in 1962, the former increased in percentage to 84.4 percent, whereas the latter decreased to 15.6 percent. See *Hoso Jiho* (Lawyers' Association Journal), 15, No. 12 (1963), 60, as quoted by Takeyoshi Kawashima in "Status of the Individual in the Notion of Law, Right and Social Order in Japan," in *The Japanese Mind*, p. 273.
and the efficient-first-policy management and automation necessitated by the competitive market. Annual separation rate of the workers in big enterprises, and especially among the young workers, is reported to have been increasing gradually recently. In 1966, for example, the annual separation rate for all males in establishments with more than 500 employees was 8.4 percent, in 1970 the rate increased in percentage to 12.2 percent; the rate for males under 25 working in the establishments of the same size was, in 1966, 14.3 percent, in 1970, 21.4 percent.

With the gradual disappearance of the importance of the group as a security-giving collectivity and resultant attenuation of the sense of obligations for the in-group, assisted by the increase in opportunities and in non-kin security-giving institutions, one of the most important achievement motive—for the good of in-group—seems to lose its importance. As a result, in place of achievement for in-group, achievement for personal happiness and self-fulfillment seems to be gaining momentum in Japan. Achievement for in-group, at best, will be deteriorated in its loftiness and become the one only for himself and his children.

All in all, in the American culture, group consciousness seems to begin creeping into the American minds' quietly filling emotional

118 R. P. Dore, City Life in Japan, p. 212.

119 Rōdōshō, Tōkeichōsabu, Koyō Dōdō Chōse Hōkoku, as quoted by R. P. Dore in British Factory--Japanese Factory, p. 311.
"emptiness" created by their cherished values; in the Japanese culture, on the other hand, the individual seems to capture the stronghold of group-orientedness in the future. American conformism thus may carry more positive and voluntary quality whereas Japanese conformism may carry more expedient and less in voluntary nature. This probable mutual approach of the two cultures, though the speed is not the same in respective societies, will surely contribute to the mutual understanding and fruitful cooperation between the two nations which are located at the both ends of the Pacific Ocean--the great peaceful "river".
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