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PATTERNS OF SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS*

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Not all of social science as it is known today is concerned with studies of human behavior under controlled laboratory conditions. Much of what occupies the attention of some groups of behavioral scientists is the careful recording of human events and activities which take place in their natural setting free from the manipulation of the scientific observer.

FACT GATHERING

Much energy is spent in tedious fact-gathering activity not completely different from those of a botanist who spends months and even years in foreign countries looking for specimens of flora.

Group Relations

It is due to those scientists who, by the dint of their intellectual curiosity, bring back important facts about diverse peoples that we have today a fair knowledge about the range of variation in human behavior and how different societies solve certain universal human problems.

We have, for instance, a fairly complete knowledge of the different ways in which families are organized and how variations in family structures are related to the socio-economic organization of the society, to the psychology of its people, and to the cultural traditions these people follow. We have a considerable amount of information about the ways in which children are trained in different societies, how relatives are reckoned, and how religious beliefs are conceptualized. But such studies are not ends in themselves. They provide social scientists with comparative materials not otherwise available. They provide the "stuff" which a comprehensive knowledge of human behavior must take into account.

Interpersonal Relations

One specific area within the general framework of comparative studies of human behavior that has been relatively neglected, however, is the examination of the different modes of interpersonal relations. By this we mean the different processes by which face-to-face associations are established outside of the family or kinship context, and of the rules, premises, and symbols underlying such relationships.

If we are able to accumulate more knowledge about these matters, it seems reasonable that we can understand better than we do today how "grass roots" social movements are begun, how "behind-the-scenes deals" between politicians are made, how informal trade regulations and price agreements are informally maintained, how racketeering and other extra-legal organizations come into being, and how fanatic cults gain adherents. While the human relations involved in these matters are fairly well understood by the experts for the situation in the United States, we cannot assume that these American patterns apply to social movements, political deals, business combines, and the like which take place in other societies with a different cultural tradition. Much more information concerning "social relational" patterns needs to be systematically collected.

Study Made During Allied Occupation of Japan

It is with respect to these patterns of social relations, particularly those

* This is a brief report of one aspect of the social science project, "Research in Japanese Social Relations," at Ohio State University. The project is directed by Professor John W. Bennett of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology.

manifested in a certain non-Western society, that the project, "Research in Japanese Social Relations," has been devoting the past two years. The original materials used for this project were collected during the recent Allied Occupation of Japan and they constitute a good portion of the corpus of research of the Occupation's Public Opinion and Sociological Research Division.†

RITUAL KINSHIP, A SYSTEM OF SOCIAL RELATIONSHIP

As an illustration of the kind of problems pursued by this Project this paper will describe briefly a widespread and complex pattern of inter-personal relations found in Japan.

This pattern-complex, known most commonly as the *oyabun-kobun* system, is one in which unrelated persons enter into a compact and assume obligations, privileges, and rights of a familial nature. An employer, for instance, may enter into such a compact with some of his workers and maintain certain traditional, paternalistic, and "personalized" relations with these workers, but not with reference to other workers. Whether or not he manifests economically "rational" and self-interested orientation toward a given worker, then, depends in large part on the existence or absence of *oyabun-kobun* patterns in the relationship.

Not Unique to Japan

At the time field investigations were being carried out in Japan, it was believed that such a social relational system was unique to Japan.

Subsequent documentary investigation for comparative materials has revealed that such was not the case and that many societies throughout the world have similar patterns of relationship as, for example, in some European countries like Spain where industrialization has not been complete. Indeed, such a system of social relationships is so common that anthropologists have recently designated it by the technical term, "ritual kinship system."

How the System Works in Japan

Briefly, the ritual kinship system works like this in Japan:

Let us suppose that several unrelated people wish either to promote or to maintain against outsiders some vested interest which is not amply protected under the existing legal system. Thus, a group of street-stall merchants who want to protect their squatter's right on a section of the public sidewalk, a collection of casual laborers who want to keep the available sources of employment open to themselves, a gang of racketeers who want to prevent other gangs from encroaching upon their territory, a union of traditional artists who want to restrict and control their field of specialization, and a coalition of unaffiliated politicians interested in promoting certain political ends (e.g., a neo-fascist one) are all examples of individuals who lack legal and statutory protection of their interests in Japan. Typically, people in such circumstances, by mutual agreement and sometimes by intimidation, enter into a compact to assume obligations of a diffuse nature which are aimed to protect the interests of the group. The relationship is formally established by means of a ritual *sake* drinking ceremony involving some of the expressive symbolisms of kinship and marriage. The *sake*, or rice-wine, for example, is said to symbolize blood. Supernatural, rather than legal, sanctions are implied by taking the vow in the presence of a deity relevant to the group. Both the terms of address and the designation of roles within the group are patterned on the Japanese family system: the leader becomes a ritual parent (*oyabun*) and his followers, ritual children (*kobun*). These followers in turn are ranked in status designating "elder brother" and "younger brother" roles. A specific group of ritual parent and his followers, thus formed, constitutes a symbolic family group, and often assumes a "family" name. Some groups even have genealogies of ancestors traced through this ritual family line for five or six generations.

† This division has a staff of some 50 Japanese social scientists and five American social analysts. The large staff and the complete logistic support provided by the Occupation permitted the collection of data of a magnitude and depth difficult to duplicate under ordinary conditions of research support. The supervisor of the present project and the author were, respectively, Division Chief and research analyst of the Occupation's research division.

"Family" Coalitions

Not only is this nuclear group formed but several distinct "families" in turn may form combines or coalitions by one or both of these two methods:

One way is for the several leaders of these unitary families to enter into a brotherhood compact (solemnized by *sake* drinking), thus uniting at the same time the membership, wealth, facilities, and political influence controlled by their respective families. The other method is for the ritual parent (*oyabun*) of a given family to encourage his followers to recruit and establish dependent "families" of their own. When this is done, the original ritual parent becomes a "great parent" (*o-oyabun*) to the newest recruits and the recruits, in turn, become ritually related not only to their immediate leader but also to the original leader. Thus, by extending the relationships by means of these principles of brotherhood and of descent, a given group may enclose a number of interlocking "family" units and organize the manpower, economic resources, and political power of even several hundred individuals.

The above version is admittedly an idealized picture of this pattern of social relationships, and particular details in each empirical case, of course, will vary according to the kinds of vested interests that are at stake and the specific nature of the traditions of the particular group. This pattern—not completely understood by the staff at the time the data were gathered in Japan—is a generalization made from a close examination of dozens of cases during the past two years.

MESHING OF KINSHIP AND BUREAUCRATIC SYSTEMS

One more complication of this pattern of social relationship, however, needs to be discussed. And that is, how this ritual kinship system of relations is, so to speak, "meshed" in a more formalized and more "bureaucratic" system of relationships.

Formal and Informal Organizations

American sociologists typically describe large-scale systems (e.g., a factory) of human relations in terms of "formal" and "informal" organizations.

The first refers to a consciously planned table of organization which purports to serve the manifest purposes of the social group. Being of such nature, formal organizations are symbolized by personnel charts to indicate lines of communication, the system of authority, and the interrelated processes of decision-making, leadership, and control. The informal organization, on the other hand, is seen by these sociologists as a more or less unpremeditated and non-rational form of organization of people working within the framework of the formal organization. Specific aspects of such spontaneous organizations are known by such terms as "cliques," "friendship groups," and "natural groups."

In most Japanese social groupings examined by the Project staff, these "formal" and "informal" aspects of organizations were clearly discernible—which supports the thesis that these aspects are quite universal. But over and above these aspects of organization there were many social groupings in Japan which had a third aspect, namely the ritual kinship structure.

In such formally organized associations as the Kanagawa Labor Supply Association which recruited and placed some 100,000 laborers in various government projects in 1945-1946, and the Tokyo Street-stall Owners' Association which had in 1947 a membership of at least 25,000 small-scale merchants, *oyabun-kobun* relationships were found to be operating at various levels of the organizational hierarchy. The officers at each level of the formal organization—the local "boss," the branch chief, the president of the association—had established not only ritual parenthood (*oyabun-kobun*) relationships with their key subordinates, but also ritual brotherhood (*kyodaibun*) relationships with leaders of comparable rank in the formal organization.

SIGNIFICANCE OF KINSHIP SYSTEM SURVIVAL

It is not possible here to go into the details of the significance of this aspect—

ritual kinship—in the total organization, but those readers who are trained in the social sciences will see from what has been already stated how it might serve some very basic human needs, e.g., “personalizing” social relations in a potentially impersonal and bureaucratic organization. But since, in these large-scale organizations, ritual kinship compacts are entered into by select members of the group, “informal” organization—as the term is used by American sociologists—is found among those individuals not affiliated by ritual kin ties. These findings should prove to be of interest to students of comparative institutions.

Obviously not all large-scale organizations in modern Japan utilize ritual kinship relations as part of their organizational structure. Most large business enterprises, for example, which are strictly modelled after comparable Western systems, seem to lack this feature. Why, then, do some organizations have this feature and others do not? A preliminary and cursory answer was found in examining the Project’s case materials. In every case we examined, ritual kinship structures were found in situations where the vested interest of the group concerned was not fully protected by the existing laws.

The obvious case is the racketeers whose interests are extralegal. But similar interpretations can be made for labor recruiting agencies, neo-fascist movements, religious cults, and other organizations utilizing ritual kinship patterns. This finding led to our generalization, which was stated earlier in this paper, viz., that *oyabun-kobun* are found where the people concerned are interested in protecting a “right,” a “property,” or a “privilege” which is extralegal.

Though the Project lacks detailed case materials, the author believes that these ritual kin patterns of social relations are also utilized by the major political parties in Japan to control and to organize their respective political machines, especially those in the rural areas. It is also suspected that some of the big industrial and financial combines (e.g., the former *zaibatsu*) have formerly utilized some of these patterns. The teaching profession, especially at the University level, might also be included in this generalization.

In summary, then, we have presented here a bare outline of a system of social relationship found in certain segments of contemporary Japanese society. As was stated at the beginning of this report, it is our belief that such fact-gathering activity as is illustrated by the present study is not only important in contributing to knowledge about the range of variation in human relations, but also to provide a comparative point of view for examining our own society, culture, and institutions.

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test results, both published and unpublished, obtained by the Indian Education Research Project.

The two essays are interesting and worth reading, particularly by anyone interested in the field of culture and personality. Pier's essay, even though somewhat condensed and technical, is especially stimulating.

JOHN W. M. WHITING, *Harvard University*

Understanding the Japanese Mind. JAMES CLARK MOLONEY. New York: Philosophical Library, 1954. xviii, 252 pp. \$3.50.

This book, written by a former psychiatric consultant for the U. S. Army Medical Section of the recent Occupation of Japan, attempts a Herculean task of describing the "Japanese mind" within the small compass of 252 pages, virtually half of which are consumed by direct quotations. The central theoretical problem, according to the statement on the jacket, concerns the thesis that the cultural goals of a given society determine its method of psychotherapy. To anthropologists such a hypothesis should not appear as a surprise, but the extent to which the book oversimplifies both the cultural background and the psychology of people who are taken as illustrative cases will be seen as little short of incredible. Psychoanalysis in the West, we are told, is based upon respect for the individual and aims at the self-realization of the patient; whereas in Japan, psychoanalysis assumes strict adherence to national ideology and aims to "re-sentence" the patient to a depersonalized, "cultural reformatory."

Throughout the book are evident two recurring themes which are sometimes stated as generalizations and sometimes as facts. One theme is that: "The performance of all Japanese people is virtually identical with the performance of a single Japanese individual, and what can be said of the psychology of the individual can be said of the psychology of Japan." This statement suggests a 1954 revival of the discredited "group mind" theories of several generations ago. To fortify this theme, Moloney states flatly that the ethical code of *ko, chu, giri, bushido*, and the like "dissolves the ego boundaries of the Japanese persons" and hence "disindividualizes" them. He sees the temporal, physical, and social outlook of the Japanese as "having no beginning nor end" and being coeval "with heaven, earth, and the person of the emperor." Disindividualization and coevality, he implies, are the complementary facets of the Japanese mind.

The other basic theme is that the understanding of the Japanese psychoanalytic movement "should make more apparent what makes the Japanese 'tick' than any other single body of information." This proposition, of course, presupposes a prior existence of a wealth of literature on the history, society, and culture of Japan—literature which Moloney freely exploits.

In nine brief chapters, the author cursorily reviews the cultural background, dominant child-training patterns, male and female characteristics, psychodynamics of hate dispersal, and identification processes of the Japanese. Though he twice visited Japan in 1945 and again in 1949, Moloney presents virtually no new empirical material in this expository section of the book.

In the remaining six chapters, the psychoanalytic movements which began in the early 1900's or thereabouts, and the training, publications, and therapeutic goals of its adherents are sketched. Moloney indicates not only that Japanese practitioners are few in number, but also that they have been insufficiently psychoanalyzed and improperly trained. Moreover, he argues that the Japanese publications prove that the analysts are "strait jacketed" by the dominant ethos and norms of Japanese culture. He quotes at length from these writings (as much as five pages at a time), but the selection of

manor is likely to be differently organized, psychodynamically, from a serf, both in respect to their mutual relationship, and generally, even though each may have opposite tendencies and even though each may be able to empathize some parts of the other's role. Everyone in a given society has something in common, to be sure; and different character types and different role-groups do articulate; but why is it necessary to postulate a monolithic cultural character to explain it?

The positive progress in the development of observational techniques for national character studies marked by this manual is most impressive. A more profound understanding of national character as a type of phenomenon, however, as well as more precise descriptions of particular cases, requires a re-examination and empirical investigation of some of the concepts which have been so largely handled by assumption here.

ANTHONY F. C. WALLACE, *University of Pennsylvania*

Shame and Guilt: A Psychoanalytic and a Cultural Study. GERHART PIERS and MILTON B. SINGER. Springfield, Ill.: Charles C Thomas, 1953. x, 86 pp. \$3.25.

This monograph consists of two separate essays: "Shame and Guilt: A Psychoanalytic Study" and "Shame Cultures and Guilt Cultures." The author of the former essay is Gerhart Piers, M.D., a staff member of the Chicago Institute for Psychoanalysis; the author of the latter, Milton B. Singer, Ph.D., a professor of Social Sciences, The College of the University of Chicago.

The first essay, by Piers, defines *shame* as failure to achieve standards or goals presented to the ego by the ego ideal, and *guilt* as the transgression of rules or boundaries set by the superego. He further stipulates that the unconscious irrational threat implied in shame anxiety is abandonment whereas with guilt it is mutilation or castration. This basic distinction is elaborated, and certain implications for personality development, psychopathology, and therapy are discussed. The implications of this view at the cultural level are very briefly discussed in two pages in which he reiterates Riesman's point that Western culture is changing from a guilt to a shame orientation.

As is pointed out in the second essay by Singer, the above distinction differs from the one first advanced by Margaret Mead in *Cooperation and Competition* and current in anthropology for the last fifteen years. This distinction defines guilt cultures as those in which social controls are internalized and shame cultures as those where social controls depend largely upon external sanctions. Both Piers' and Mead's distinctions are valid and useful. It is a matter of taste as to which the labels "shame" and "guilt" should be attached. Although Singer argues that anthropological usage is wrong because it does not correspond to psychoanalytic usage, it could be as cogently (and as fruitlessly) argued that Piers is wrong because his definitions do not correspond to anthropological usage. It seems to me that neither discipline has a monopoly on the words "shame" and "guilt." The important thing to note is that they are being used differently. Even though anthropologists may not want to refer to failure to live up to ego ideals as shame, this is nevertheless a very useful concept that has not been given attention at the cultural level.

The second essay is more critical than creative. Singer, after having criticized anthropologists for their faulty use of "shame" and "guilt," then proceeds to state that they are also wrong in assuming that most cultures of the world are shame cultures. In arguing this point, he seems to revert to the anthropological usage of the terms. It is not entirely clear, however, which definition he is using. Despite this confusion, Singer presents fairly convincing evidence that Western European culture is not unique in its emphasis on internalized control. The data which he uses most convincingly are

excerpts is concentrated on writings of the prewar, "militaristic" period, a time when most Japanese social science literature by necessity revealed chauvinistic rather than scientific qualities.

Moloney picturesquely concludes:

The Japanese psychoanalyst, faced with the problem of curing a mentally ill person, must first of all diagnose him as "ill" because he does not adhere to the rigidly prescribed culture patterns I have outlined. The "cure" upon which the analyst then embarks constitutes the opposite of a cure by western standards. Instead of endeavoring, as do occidental psychoanalysts, to free the individual from his inner thongs, the Japanese analyst actually tightens those thongs. Moreover, by the very fact of the analyst's encouraging the patient to believe in the coevality concept, he forces him backward into the status of primitive mankind, where, as we have said, animism reigns. In essence, the effect is to encourage those regressive tendencies that lead the patient to revert to an embryonic state. The goals of western psychoanalysis are growth, maturation, and expansiveness; the goals of Japanese psychoanalysis are the opposite.

So concerned is he with the delineation of these broad differences, that Moloney fails to digest or to weigh his evidence carefully. The book is literally "padded" with quotations, many of which could have been summarized and some of which misrepresented the facts (e.g., the one describing the alleged uniformity of dress in Japan—p. 8). The author's limited face-to-face and intimate associations with Japanese psychoanalysts are apparent. Only two Japanese practitioners are named in the book's acknowledgment section. The sections purporting to describe child training methods and male-female differences in personality dynamics appear to be superficial and misleading. Japanese ethical codes (e.g., *on*, *giri*, *ninjo*, *chu*, *gimu*) which play an important part in Moloney's definition of the "Japanese mind" seem to be poorly understood in spite of the availability of abundant literature including Ruth Benedict's admirable exposition of these codes in her *Chrysanthemum and the Sword*.

The "Japanese mind" which Moloney claims to delineate is scarcely more than a superficial description of normative principles in popular Japanese culture. These norms constitute a consciously developed theory of human relations and are not an empirically derived set of generalizations. They prescribe *ideal* behavior, but the actual behavior and the thought processes of living Japanese do not necessarily follow this model. In sum, then, this book aspires to an inordinately difficult task, but lacks the arsenal of convincing facts and relevant information necessary for its accomplishment.

IWAO ISHINO, *Ohio State University*

OTHER

Class, Status and Power: A Reader in Social Stratification. RICHARD BENDIX and SEYMOUR MARTIN LIPSET (eds.). Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1953. 725 pp. \$6.00.

This reader consists of sixty selections—ten original articles prepared especially for this volume, the others reprinted from a variety of sources. The editors provide a compact and thoughtful introduction which traces some of the intellectual antecedents for the present study of social stratification and points up the central theoretical issues with a clarity and incisiveness that is rare in sociological literature. The book is then divided into parts. Part I on "Theories of Class Structure" presents selections running from Aristotle to Talcott Parsons; Parts II, III, and IV deal with research findings on the American system of social stratification, including "Status and Power Relations in American Society," "Differential Class Behavior," and "Social Mobility in the United States." Part V contains materials on "Comparative Social Structures."

Since the book is intended primarily as a text for sociological courses on social stratification, and since it would be patently impossible to do justice to the full range of rich material in a brief review, I shall restrict my comments to aspects which should be of most interest to anthropologists. These aspects are, in my judgment, threefold: (a) theoretical concepts and insights which could be helpful in the cross-cultural analysis of social stratification; (b) certain research findings on American society, especially those which provide additional materials for anthropologists interested in American culture patterns; and (c) some of the studies on comparative social structures.

Most of the theoretical section is devoted to reprinted articles that are, or should be, familiar to anthropologists, but there are three papers which warrant special mention. The "Introduction" by the editors contains three analytical distinctions that would be interesting to explore cross-culturally. The first is the distinction between the "image of a society" which is idealized by Conservatives and the "image" that is held by Radicals. A second and closely related difference is between the Conservatives' stress upon static studies, "persistence," and the theory that a system of social stratification helps to maintain the stability of a society, and the Radicals' stress upon dynamics, "change," and the theory that a system of stratification contains "inherent strains" which contribute to its instability. Finally, a useful distinction is drawn between "prestige-hierarchies" and "power-relations." Since these kinds of distinctions crystallized around differential responses to the process of industrialization in Western Culture, it would be difficult to say without much additional research how useful they would be in the analysis of social stratification in nonliterate societies. But it is evident that the concepts are useful in acculturation situations involving contact between the industrialized West and nonliterate cultures; they may be quite fruitful in analyzing the internal dynamics of other societies.

Bendix and Lipset also provide a highly useful summary paper on Karl Marx's theory of classes which goes a long way toward clearing up some of the popular misconceptions of what Marx had to say on the subject, as well as indicating the limitations of the theory. Had space permitted, a selection from V. Gordon Childe's writing on the development of classes in ancient cultures would have been an instructive addition at this point.

Talcott Parsons' "Revised Analytical Approach to the Theory of Social Stratification" is a greatly modified and expanded version of his 1940 paper on this subject. The new version reflects the recent developments in general theoretical treatment which Parsons and others have been working on in recent years and contains an expanded analysis of the American class system in terms of the theory. Although most anthropologists are likely to find the theoretical statement quite abstract for their research interests, both the theory and the analysis of American classes contain new ideas and relationships that are worthy of close attention.

The main points at which the bodies of theory presented fail to provide anthropologists with concepts and insights for the treatment of social stratification in non-Western societies might also be mentioned. There is perhaps too little recognition of the relevance of differences in cultural patterning for the problem of stratification in a society (a subject which Florence Kluckhohn, among others, has written about but whose papers do not appear in this volume). There is also little concerning the relationship of stratification to kinship systems, especially of the more elaborate types found in nonliterate societies, or to religious hierarchies, such as priesthoods, which loom large in the social rank systems of many societies studied by anthropologists.

Several of the selections on American class behavior will appeal to anthropologists

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facts. He contends that the technique of employing analogues to describe social structure is based primarily on "ideal" behavior patterns in equilibrium and is too static for the type of dynamic analysis necessary for material such as the Kachin systems. However, the author does not call for complete abandonment of the use of models in descriptive analyses. He recognizes that, "In practical field work situations the anthropologist must always treat the material of observation as if it were part of an overall equilibrium. . . . All I am asking is that the fictional nature of this equilibrium should be frankly recognized" (p. 285).

Leach's method is to integrate the ethnographic facts by reference to abstract systems considered as existing in unstable equilibrium and then " . . . postulate that the confusion of reality arises from the interpenetration of these unstable ideal systems" (p. 285).

The book is thought-provoking. It suggests new methods to grapple with the problem of analyzing and recording data on social systems in change. A problem which the author himself confesses led him into great difficulties is that of presenting this complex material in readily usable form.

HAROLD L. AMOSS, JR., *Committee for Free Asia (San Francisco)*

Takashima: A Japanese Fishing Community. EDWARD NORBECK. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1954. xi, 232 pp., 1 fig., 24 plates, 5 maps. \$3.00.

Although there has been a tremendous output of books and papers on contemporary Japan since the end of the war, this volume by Norbeck fills a gap not covered by the available materials, namely, the culture of fishing villages. Norbeck's book describes with felicity and authority the life and culture of Takashima, a picturesque island community on the Inland Sea. Takashima, meaning "high island" but actually only 250 feet above sea-level, is one of several island villages of Okayama Prefecture. About half of its thirty acres is devoted to agriculture and most of the remainder to pine and bamboo-grass forests. When first settled some three centuries ago (at least according to oral tradition), the community was largely agricultural, but about seventy years ago, with the introduction of a new type of large nets, the community shifted to a fishing economy. Today agriculture is largely a secondary occupation. Since the island is a little more than 400 yards offshore and very close to the town of Shionasu, its people send their children to school there and depend upon the town for marketing and recreation. The population of 188 persons is divided into thirty-three households, most of which recognize kinship with one of the three original patrilineal lines. Takashima is therefore a small, closely knit island community which depends upon a fishing-farming economy and upon the facilities of a town on the mainland.

The present book is a product of a year's study by Norbeck and his wife, done under the auspices of the University of Michigan's Center for Japanese Studies. Written in a concise and highly organized fashion, this volume devotes a chapter each to the problems of earning a living, the customs of family life and marriage, the organization of communal activities, the routinization of religious beliefs and practices, and the stages in the life cycle of the typical individual. In the concluding chapter, it summarizes the ethnographic facts and discusses a historical problem which interests virtually all scholars specializing on Japan: the process of Westernization.

In this brief review it is impossible to list the wealth of information presented in the book, but a few observations which struck this reviewer's interest may be given. First of all, there are woven unobtrusively into the book lucid accounts of the folklore and folkways of contemporary rural people of Japan. The reader will find descriptions not

only of traditional but also of up-to-date games played by children, the use of various rooms in a Japanese house, the rituals of taking a bath (*furo*), the magical ceremonies pertaining to fishing, the methods of applying "night soil" (human fertilizer), the practices of faith-healers and geomancers, and a host of other fascinating bits of Japanalia. Then too the series of twenty-four judiciously selected photographs conveys aspects of the culture that are difficult to describe verbally. Moreover, even though the text uses native terms and concepts liberally—as all ethnographic reports must—Norbeck has done a masterful job of translating them so that communication is not hindered. An excellent glossary and a rather complete index further facilitate communication. In the opinion of this reviewer, the two most rewarding chapters are the ones entitled "Gaining a Livelihood" and "Religion." Both of these seem to reflect Norbeck's special interests during the field investigation and are thus rich with information that should attract the attention of a wide variety of students.

The concluding chapter on the Westernization process deserves special comment. In addition to providing a basic ethnography of a fishing village, Norbeck's purpose was to examine the effects of Westernization observed in Takashima. In his own words, these changes

... may be summed up as the adoption of a money economy with attendant emphasis upon individuality and a decrease in communal activity; social status based largely on wealth; a decrease in the size and importance of the extended household; a tendency toward ever-larger community structure; the end of isolation and self-sufficiency for the *buraku* or small community; the adoption of a great many foreign inventions and ideas and a decline in religious faith [p. 214].

The ethnographic facts presented earlier in the book justify these conclusions about the developments which have taken place in Takashima. But to state that these changes have taken place as the "direct or indirect result of Westernization," as Norbeck has done (p. 220), seems to this writer an oversimplification of the facts. The book's thesis thus follows a basic diffusionist doctrine and as such ignores or regards as minor the role of innovation, convergence, cultural drift, and other mechanisms of change stemming from "within" the society.

These theoretical considerations, however, do not detract greatly from the central import of the book. As a carefully planned and concisely written text, this volume should become one of the standard works on Japanese rural society.

IWAO ISHINO, *The Ohio State University*

Ting Hsien: A North China Rural Community. SIDNEY D. GAMBLE. Foreword by Y. C. JAMES YEN. New York: Institute of Pacific Relations, 1954. xxv, 472 pp., 28 illus., 25 figs., 116 tables, 1 map. \$6.50.

In 1894, Arthur H. Smith wrote that the best method of gaining knowledge of "the interior life" of the Chinese people was to live twelve months in a Chinese village. If that were the sole requirement Sidney Gamble's *Ting Hsien* would be a pluperfect study, since it is based upon data gained from an intensive scrutiny of certain aspects of life in one Chinese county, the data having been collected over a period of seven years (1926-33). While *Ting Hsien* is a work of first-rate importance for those interested in community analysis, rural society, and similar problem areas, it is probably not the sort of work Smith had in mind when he made the exhortation referred to above. Briefly, *Ting Hsien* is a superb social survey, certainly the best example of the genre in China, but it is not a community study. This fact is of importance: it demonstrates the mutual independence of the two major methodological approaches to social units in complex, modern societies. The broad coverage in terms of individuals queried, the

precision of its statistical handling of detailed handling of method and a large data which emerge from informant sessions. techniques be applied. *Ting Hsien* is feasible.

Though Gamble's *Ting Hsien* is a piling *Ting Hsien*, it is a We are therefore concerned with nature than is usual in historical data, which "cultural" data are in the text. Among the things "customs."

Ting Hsien is one of the tells us in his preface in the period 1933. articles by Gamble compare the present Franklin C. H. Lee.

There is some doubt about chapter which is one of recommend the book of China. The summary organization seems to be a graphical background of forty-nine pages, with material to about distribution, for example, the historical data contain interpolations.

More serious, perhaps, because unnecessary of the chapter we get of these plays which eliminated is the result of any art form. Also Gamble's version is important, it assures of a wealth of statistical

Though *Ting Hsien* is a replacement for the do not measure up to one which shows that which the larger one

Finally, one would are not to be treated early as 1916. He

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

ANN ARBOR, MICHIGAN

COLLEGE OF LITERATURE, SCIENCE, AND THE ARTS

DEPT. OF ANTHROPOLOGY

June 8, 1955

Dear Iwao,

I enclose your two-book review, with the late-date explanation that it has been left rather floating, indecisively, during the change-over of editorship from Dave to me. We both came to agreement on it, to this effect:

The review is good. We like it, and would not like to have anything important left out. But we just don't have the space for it as is, and yet can't see where to cut it. We need something just about two-thirds as long (about six pages). Can you work it over to compress it? I hate to ask this after your good work, and after this passage of time. I hope you'll see our problem.

I have no very firm suggestions: perhaps compressing or suppressing a few examples will help. Or, again, though you suggest that the questionnaire procedure used on a culture "at a distance" goes wrong, from the anthropologist's viewpoint, you end up encouraging rather than deprecating the procedure. Perhaps a firmer stand on one side or the other will let you pare some wordage. (Incidentally, have you noted Mead's insistence, in her "Study of Culture at a Distance", on getting culture-context? Might this not apply here?) But you do as you think best, to pare it one third, please? Best,

Dick B.

Iwao Ishino

The Ohio State University

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Youth's Outlook on the Future. *A Cross National Study.* James M. Gillespie and Gordon W. Allport. *Ap 27:55*
(Doubleday Papers in Psychology. #15). New York: Doubleday and Company,
1955. ix, 61 pp., 2 append., 14 tables. \$0.85. *ac*

Without the Chrysanthemum and the Sword: A Study of the Attitudes of
Youth in Post-War Japan. Jean Stoetzel. New York: Columbia University
Press/Unesco, 1955. 334 pp., 16 figs., 10 plates, 79 tables, 6 appendices.
\$4.00.

These two monographs examine the attitudes of today's younger generation in different countries with the use of quantitative techniques. The first, by Gillespie and Allport, deals with youth from ten national societies and the second, by Jean Stoetzel, surveys intensively the young people of a single society, Japan. Both contain substantive and methodological materials that should interest the anthropologist. Since the first of these monographs is of more general interest, this combined review will deal with it first.

Writing in the new paperbound series, Doubleday Papers in Psychology, Gillespie and Allport have sought answers to two questions: (1) How does youth in various countries view the future? (2) Is international social research at the present time practical and beneficial? A definitive answer to the first question should tell us what cross-cultural values and expectations today's youth hold in common, but it might also forecast the attitudes of tomorrow's adult population. The answer the authors give to the second question should incite some controversy within the anthropological fraternity.

To seek answers to the above questions, Gillespie and Allport ^{study is based} devised ^{upon} two research instruments. One, designated as the "autobiography of the future", required each subject to project his life history "from now to 2000 A.D." The other instrument was a questionnaire of 50 major items inviting opinions on such topics as the number of children desired, child training, moral values, scientific curiosity, travel and cultural aspirations, "racial" attitudes, and outlook on international relations. Copies of these instruments were mailed to different countries where they were translated into the local idiom. The sample included 1,819 young men and women from selected universities in ten countries: New Zealand, Israel, South Africa, Egypt, Mexico, France, West Germany, Italy, Japan, and the United States. Since the sample consisted of those foreign scholars willing to cooperate in this venture, the authors do not have a representative sample of either the student population or of the youth population of each country. ~~The bulk of the data were collected in 1950.~~

In this monograph, the survey results are presented primarily in terms of similarities and differences found between national groups and secondarily in terms of sex differences. The following incomplete list suggests only the range of items to which the ten national samples responded more or less uniformly: (1) The typical number of children both desired and expected by these students was between three and four. The countries which were exceptions to this generalization tended to be the ones where women's status is regarded as low. (2) While there were differences in specific religious views, the majority of students of most countries felt that some form of religious orientation or belief was necessary in order to achieve a fully mature philosophy of life. (3) Greater racial equality between the white and the colored races was both desired and

expected by the majority of students. (4) In each national group, about 15 per cent anticipated a world government as the major international development of the future; another 25 per cent or so expected a federal union of most non-communist countries to characterize international relations; still another 35 per cent predicted the development of regional supra-state organization, like the Pan-American Union, to prevail; and the remaining 25 per cent or so expected only that "strong nationalism" would be the dominant theme of the future.

The report cites many interesting differences both ~~between~~ national groups and between the sexes, but they will not be given here because they cannot be easily summarized in the space allotted. However, it might be noted that in discussing these items, Gillespie and Allport relied more on autobiographical materials and other sources to explain or interpret these differences than they did in reporting on similarities among the different national groups. The fact that the authors have provided fuller interpretations on items of disagreement suggests that they have assumed that the similarities are self-evident. Such assumptions cannot be made. Why should national groups as obviously different as those used in this study agree on such diversified matters as the number of children desired, the significance of religious orientation, and outlook on international relations? Do the authors attribute this congruence to some kind of psychic unity, the diffusion of ideas among the scholarly community, or a kind of socio-psychological conditioning process?

As for the last of their three major objectives--to determine whether or not international social research of this nature is feasible--the authors decide in the affirmative. It must be noted that the authors never left

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their home country to pursue this investigation; that they utilized a standardized questionnaire ; and that they depended upon the gratuitous services of scholars and students willing to cooperate in the study.

Basing their findings on such methods of ~~the~~ data-collection, the authors ~~work~~ come up with a variety of interesting answers. They find, for example, that their sample indicates a considerable amount of agreement on a number of topics as the number of children desired, the general need for a religious orientation, the desirability of equality between the white and colored races, and the future development of international organizations. Difference in attitudes among the various national groups are also noted with care and these divergences are interpreted largely on the basis of information gleaned from the autobiographical materials that the authors^{had had}/collected.

But of more long-range interest than the specific cross-cultural information is the authors' claim about their methods of investigation. Here is what they write:

their home country to pursue this investigation; that they utilized a ^{standardized} rather rigid questionnaire which could have been misinterpreted and mistranslated; and that they had to ^{depend} depend largely upon the gratuitous services of scholars and students willing to cooperate in the study.

Yet the authors emphatically announce on page 35 that:

The value of this study, as we see it, lies in its clear demonstration that instructive studies on an international scale are possible. Like-minded collaborators can surmount linguistic and cultural barriers, and broaden the scope of research on social attitudes and values. Our method transcends the ethnocentric limits of most social investigations of the past [p. 35].

Here, then, is a clearcut challenge to the anthropologist, who has long prided himself on his world perspective and his monopoly in the area of cross-cultural studies. Conventional anthropological methods require such a long residence in the culture under investigation and such detailed description of a wide variety of social and ethnographic facts that only a few can study at first hand more than one or two different cultures in a lifetime. Gillespie and Allport claim that they have demonstrated that cross-cultural research can be treated by quantitative methods and that the techniques yield results with a minimum of expense, time, and effort. Should anthropologists, if they wish to maintain their cross-cultural orientation in today's fast-moving world--and it is obvious that they do--establish a rapprochement of these quantitative techniques and conventional research methods?

Another invitation to add something new to the work habits of the anthropologist comes by way of Jean Stoetzel, a social psychologist and Director of the French Institute of Public Opinion. Like the previous writers, he also depended upon a cadre of indigenous collaborators to carry the major burden of collecting the primary data. In this manner, his Unesco-sponsored study was completed in an amazingly short time, even though he had no previous field experience in Japan. The decision to make the study was made in "late 1951" and the essential data were collected by April of 1952--less than an half a year after inception. The results and implications of this concentrated effort will follow after a brief discussion of the objectives and methodology of the study.

As already announced, this is a monograph on the postwar youth of Japan. It discusses the Japanese youth in terms of three questions: (1) What were the attitudes of Japanese youth to foreigners? (2) How did they view their country's institutions? (3) What were their most important and significant personal characteristics? The Japanese youth are defined as those who are between the ages of 15 and 25, and they constitute about 15 million people or roughly one-fifth of the national population.

The principal datum for this Unesco study comes from a 34-item public opinion survey on a representative national sample of both young people and adults. The staff of the National Public Opinion Research Institute (NPORI) of Tokyo gave valuable advice in the formulation of the basic questionnaire and carried out the interviewing in March and April of 1952. The sample included 2,671 persons of which the youth represented 27 per cent or 733 cases. Additional quantitative information include data from

Another example of the questionnaire method for the study of foreign cultures comes by way of Jean Stoetzel, a social psychologist and Director of the French Institute of Public Opinion. Like the previous writers, he also depended upon a cadre of indigenous collaborators to carry the major burden of collecting the primary data. In this case it was primarily the staff of the National Public Opinion Research Institute in Tokyo which provided the opinion survey results on a national sample of youths and adults. To this were added data from the above-mentioned Gillespie-Allport tests administered to 231 university and secondary school~~s~~ students, a special questionnaire used by Stoetzel's assistant on 100 young people in Tokyo, and Takao Sofue's materials on 63 men and women in five scattered communities.

In this manner his Unesco-sponsored study was completed in an amazingly short time, even though he had no previous field experience in Japan. The decision to make the study was made in "late 1951" and the essential data were collected by April of 1952--less than an half a year after inception.

the above-mentioned Gillespie-Allport tests administered to 231 university and secondary school students, a special questionnaire used by Stoetzel's assistant on 100 young people in Tokyo, and Takao Sofue's materials on 63 men and women in five scattered communities. Finally, to obtain background materials, Stoetzel randomly interviewed a number of young people and adults with F. Vos, a Dutchman and a Japan expert, acting as interpreter.

Now for Stoetzel's findings. The first part of the book deals with the attitudes of youth toward foreigners. He finds, among other things, a general friendship felt for foreigners, some desire to visit abroad, a definite preference for foreign movies, literature, and music, and a general attitude of pacificism and anti-militarism. Generally speaking, then, Japanese youth are eager to learn from the outside world, especially with respect to scientific and technological advances. But a number are critical of certain foreign folkways which some young people have adopted in the postwar period, for example, kissing, boys and girls walking arm in arm, men paying "excessive" deference to women.

Another area of investigation centered around the issue of how the youth feel about their country's institutions. Stoetzel's information reveals many interesting trends. The postwar young people are only "mildly satisfied" with their present economic conditions, but they are "frankly optimistic" with regard to the future. Politically, the youth lean toward traditional "submission to authority" and hold a "passive attitude in internal political affairs" - notwithstanding newspaper reports of radical or communist-dominated elements. Moreover, the young people's attachment to the emperor remains "very strong." The family system, however, seems to be undergoing some change in the eyes of the youth and conflicts with parents are increasing. Religious orientation is less

important than before the war and the formal study of ethics has been dropped.

In the final part of his Unesco study, Stoetzel presents his information on the personality traits of youth. Though potentially the most valuable part, especially to students of culture and personality, it is unquestionably the weakest of the entire study. The shortcomings can be explained in part by the dearth of really pertinent data and in part by the author's failure to follow a consistent theory of personality in the organization of the available information. The NPORI findings are used sparingly, therefore the empirical materials come largely from Sofue's instrument (a kind of derived TAT) given to 63 students in Kyoto and Sapporo cities. The discussion centers on certain descriptive traits like ambition, optimism, passiveness, insecurity, escapism, and personal dependence. No picture of a modal personality type therefore emerges from this discussion. Though it is inherently interesting, the section amounts to slightly more than a mere exercise in cataloguing. However, it must be said in all fairness that these data may constitute the most complete empirical materials on Japanese character structure yet published in English.

Stoetzel devotes considerable attention in his investigation to youth's reaction to Japanese rules of social behavior. His fascination with codes of proper conduct relates directly to the title of his book, Without the Chrysanthemum and the Sword. Clearly this is a not overly subtle dig at Ruth Benedict's widely read volume.

The Japanese term, giri, is one of Benedict's central concepts for unravelling the mystery of Japanese behavior. To her giri meant something more precise, perhaps, than most Japanese ^{understand} ~~intended~~ it to be. She defined

the norm as a quasi-contractual obligation of a person who has received a favor (i.e., an on). Such a person is then a "debtor" and, if he fails to acknowledge his obligation--the Japanese say, "he does not know giri" -- this would be tantamountⁿ to destroying his honor, ruining his social standing, and losing his "credit."

Using ~~her~~^{Benedict's} discussion of giri as the baseline, Stoetzel framed two items on this concept in the NPORI questionnaire, one asking whether belief in the code was declining and the other inquiring what was meant when a person was said to "not know giri." Stoetzel interprets his findings in the following manner:

Precise knowledge of the meaning of giri decreases in direct ratio to the age of the subject interrogated; it is a concept which is in the course of disappearing. The young people now reaching adult status who have still heard of it, usually make the mistake of giving it a purely material meaning. The youngest quite evidently know least about it; the difference is very striking.

The major thesis of Stoetzel's book now becomes apparent. The opinion survey data, according to his interpretation, indicates that most of the postwar youth are blissfully ignorant of giri, and that therefore Benedict's characterization about Japanese behavior does not hold water, at least for the younger generation. The title of Stoetzel's book, "Without the Chrysanthemum and the Sword," suggests the youth's rejection of the traditional ethics and its historically related samurai morality.

In spite of many technical shortcomings, some of which have been suggested above, this book must not be overlooked by anyone interested in the Far East. The range of information brought together in this

comparatively small volume of 334 pages--including subject and name indexes-- extends far beyond the purview of the typical report on public opinion surveys. There is for example in an introductory chapter one of the most concise summaries yet read by this reviewer on the kumi, dozokudan, and oyabun-kobun institutions which define the essentials of traditional Japanese social structure. Or, to take another example, Yuzuru Okada's careful and still unpublished study on intra-family relations and parent-child attachments is presented in considerable detail.

To summarize this double review: in the Gillespie and Allport volume, it is claimed that the techniques and the requisite social scientific talents in many foreign countries have been developed to a point where international social research can be carried out efficiently. In Stoetzel's case, he has shown that a person without previous anthropological field experience can go to a foreign society like Japan and conduct extensive research in a matter of months. The two monographs demonstrate the high potentials of the quantitative techniques and standardized instruments for producing a wide range of social and cultural facts. To the extent that substantial numbers of anthropologists are now specializing in complex national societies, it seems that they might begin to explore the possibilities of these quantitative techniques.

As a matter of fact, a number of anthropologists are now using quantitative methods, for example, those who have been engaged in the Social Science Research Council's Cross-cultural Education Project. Also Geoffrey Gorer's forthcoming book on the British national character is reported to be based on an attitude survey. But the anthropologist obviously cannot borrow these quantitative techniques without modification and therefore he needs to learn from the experience of others the advantages as well as the pitfalls of these methods. Along these lines, it is noteworthy that Jean Stoetzel enthusiastically discusses his experience in a recent article.

Iwao Ishino
Ohio State University

To summarize this double review, it may be said ~~that~~ on the one hand that both volumes demonstrate the ~~stipulated~~ feasibility of quantitative methods in social research in foreign areas. Both studies rely heavily on the use of local talents for uncovering data and thereby reduce drastically the length of residence in the field. On the other hand, because of these considerations, the writers are perforce limited in their reporting of the cultural contexts from which their findings emerge. Stoetzel, as indicated above, provides a fuller explanation of the cultural ^{rubric} ~~situation~~ for his data than do Gillespie and Allport. Yet, he, too, is unable to provide the kind of interpretations and balance that a more long-term residence, participant observation, and nonquantitative, experiential data might provide. In short, these studies demonstrate that quantitative methods can be more fully exploited, but they do not supplant the traditional methods of anthropological research.

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Edited by RICHARD K. BEARDSLEY

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REVIEW ARTICLE

Les Lapons des Montagnes Suédoises. ERNST MANKER. (Géographie Humaine, No. 24) Gallimard, Paris, 1954. 289 pp., 16 plates, 68 figures. 1200 francs.

Changing Lapps: A Study in Culture Relations in Northernmost Norway. GUTORM GJESSING. (Monographs on Social Anthropology, No. 13.) London: London School of Economics, 1954. 67 pp., 2 maps. n.p.

Social Relations in a Nomadic Lappish Community. IAN WHITAKER. Preface by SIBJORN NESHEIM. (Norsk Folkemuseum, Samiske Samlinger, Redaksjon Sibjorn Nesheim, Book 2.) Oslo, 1955. 178 pp., 18 figures, 1 table, 2 maps, appendices. n.p.

Reviewed by D. B. SHIMKIN, Washington, D. C.

Few groups have been studied so long and so intensively as the Lapps. The first ethnography of the Lapps, by Olaus Magnus, and the first Lappish word list, by Stephen Burrough, were published four hundred years ago. In succeeding years, Scandinavian, Finnish, Russian, and a sprinkling of British scholars added an immense scientific literature, much of it excellent, to these pioneer studies. Careful investigations covered many special fields, ranging from archeology to physical anthropology, human geography, and law. Nevertheless, this literature remained substantially ignored by, and inaccessible to, most anthropologists; in turn, Lappish research tended toward parochialism in both objectives and methods.

Over the past two decades, Lappish research has received a new impetus. In archeology, the work of G. Gjessing and A. Nummedal, among others, was instrumental in delineating distinctive, major stone-age complexes in northern Fennoscandia, the early Komsa culture, and the extensive later "Arctic slate culture." In human geography, Ernst Manker and his collaborators at the Nordic Museum of Stockholm executed thorough researches on land use by nomads and semi-settled Lapps. Finally, in 1949, the Swedish linguist Björn Collinder synthesized much hitherto scattered work in a notable volume, *The Lapps* (Princeton University Press).

Collinder's study is primarily a descriptive ethnology of the Swedish Reindeer Lapps, but it also summarizes much historical and linguistic evidence on Scandinavian-Lapp contacts and brilliantly sketches the processes of contemporary acculturation:

"Nowadays the tending of the reindeer becomes more and more the specialty of middle-aged reindeer owners, aged sons, and hired herdsman. The wives spend most of their time in the settlements in the birch zone—these can hardly be distinguished from ordinary farmers' villages. The

A final section discusses the Devil as he enters the experiences of friars in Colonial convents, and as he appears in the kind of popular literature known as *loas* and in the dances performed in various Indian villages.

The author sees in his study of the evil spirit "the example of an imported concept of a complex cultural matrix which, upon penetrating the indigenous world, provokes through irradiation, attraction, and contamination, a series of semantic displacements in related or antagonistic concepts of the native culture, which are organized within a new system of meanings. . . . These vast movements of concepts from other cultures and folkloric notions in contact with a dominant imported concept are what we designate Cultural Semantics."

There is a good English summary.

Post-War Okinawa. F. R. PITTS, W. P. LEBRA and W. P. SUTTLES. (Scientific Investigations in the Ryukyu Islands, Report No. 8.) Washington, D. C.: Pacific Science Board, National Research Council, 1955. viii, 232 pp., 26 tables, 7 maps. n.p.

Reviewed by IWAO ISHINO, *Ohio State University*

This mimeographed report covers a wide range of ethnographic facts about a society that received little anthropological attention up to the time of World War II. Okinawa is the main island in the Ryukyu chain, situated south of Japan and north of Formosa. It has a population of one-half million residing in four cities, four towns, and some 500 villages. The culture at present is adjusting to the problems created in part by wartime dislocations and by the occupation of American troops. Problems of national identification, self-government, population pressures, family and kin relations, agricultural development, land tenure, health and sanitation, and education are only a few examples of the cultural developments that await investigation by those seeking a convenient laboratory for the study of culture change. While not a primitive culture, Okinawa has many characteristics of a folk society, with its attendant aboriginal beliefs and practices. Fairly complete census data, extensive written history, stable local governments, good transportation and communication facilities, and a substantial literate population are some of the conveniences that should facilitate the investigator's task.

Utilizing such resources and completing nine months of field work in Okinawa, Pitts, Lebra, and Suttles have tackled all of the problems listed above. Each of the writers did the major part of his work in different pairs of communities, so that the present report reflects both a generalized account of Okinawan culture and detailed information on diverse aspects of six villages.

The chapters are organized under familiar topical headings. Pitts has chapters on geography, agricultural history, rural economy, and population; Lebra on language, political organization, land tenure, and culture change; and Suttles on family and kin, health, and education. Suttles and Lebra collaborate in the concluding chapter, which is concerned with Okinawan-American relations.

It is regrettable that no integrated picture of Okinawan life emerges from this report, largely because none of the six villages investigated is presented as a community study. Neither does the report present a systematic comparative study of the six villages. These shortcomings can no doubt be justified on the ground that the report is intended to serve as a general handbook for administrators and others interested in the practical affairs of Okinawan society. (The report contains a generous sprinkling of recommendations concerning these problems.) In spite of these criticisms, this

The Mexican Bajio in the Eighteenth Century: An Analysis of Cultural Integration. ERIC R. WOLF. (Middle American Research Institute, Tulane University. Preprinted from Publication 17.) New Orleans, 1955. pp. 177-200, 1 table. n.p.

Reviewed by PEDRO CARRASCO, *Human Relations Area Files*

The Bajio region of Mexico had the earliest and most numerous concentration of Mexican Mestizo population, and it became the cradle of the independence movement. Wolf's essay is an interpretation of the conditions which led this region to play such an important role in the formation of the Mexican nation.

The Bajio early developed an economic complex based on mining, with related intensive agriculture, industry, and trade, and it supported a large population. The small aboriginal population in the area and its low economic development resulted in the corporate Indian communities being less important than they were in Southern Mexico, and this led to the formation, out of a heterogeneous population, of new sociocultural groups such as miners, small farmers, textile workers, muleteers, etc. The area stood in contrast with Southern Mexico, which had an agricultural economy and a large population of village Indians, and with the marginal areas of Northern Mexico, which had a small population engaged in mining with some related agriculture and extensive cattle raising. The Bajio thus developed economic and political interests that came in conflict with the monopolistic interest and the rigid social stratification maintained by the Colonial Government, and it became the center of the movement for independence.

The essay concludes with some brief remarks on developments after the achievement of independence, when the assumption of political power by local entrepreneurs led to competition in political and military fields rather than the economic, and resulted in the failure of the region to integrate economically with the new nation. This final section lacks the careful documentation of the core of the essay, and it overlooks the collapse of the mining industry after independence as an important reason for the lack of regional economic integration. However, it formulates some very suggestive hypotheses, and highlights the important change brought about by the disappearance of Spanish bureaucracy and the assumption of political control by warring regional caudillos.

This is an important contribution to the social history of Mexico in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

El Espiritu del Mal en Guatemala: Ensayo de Semantica Cultural. GUSTAVO CORREA. (Middle American Research Institute, Tulane University. Preprinted from Publication 19.) New Orleans, 1955. pp. 37-104. n.p.

Reviewed by PEDRO CARRASCO, *Human Relations Area Files*

This essay is a useful compilation of data on the concept of the Devil in various periods and among different classes of Guatemalan society.

The Spanish concept of the Devil is first described as evidenced in various Colonial religious chronicles, in which native religion is interpreted as the work of the Devil. Several Maya deities which were identified with the Christian Devil are then discussed, and the assimilation of the native underworld to the Christian Hell is also mentioned.

Various evil spirits related to the Devil are described as they appear in modern folklore, both Indian and Ladino, and in literary works. The idea of the Devil as connected with witchcraft is described mainly in terms of modern Indian witchcraft, but also with references to Spanish witchcraft during the Colonial period.

report should serve as a handy reference for all Far Eastern specialists and students of culture change, for it contains a wealth of statistical information and descriptions of linguistic and social behavior of the Okinawans. It is hoped that the authors will collaborate on a book written expressly for their academic colleagues.

Chinese Spirit-Medium Cults in Singapore. ALAN J. A. ELLIOTT. (Monographs on Social Anthropology, No. 14.) London: London School of Economics and Political Science, 1955. 179 pp., 6 plates, Appendices. \$2.80.

Reviewed by STANLEY SPECTOR, *Washington University*

Mr. Elliott's highly specialized monograph serves to modify the unbalanced emphasis that is generally placed upon the philosophical and ethical elements within the great Chinese religions. Confucianism and Taoism are frequently classified as systems of thought and guides to human relationships, rather than as roads to interaction between man and the supernatural. Even Buddhism appears to survive in modern China only at a highly sophisticated philosophical level. But Elliott's intensive field experience among Chinese nonintellectuals in Singapore seems to produce a different perspective on Chinese religious orientations. He finds that most Singapore Chinese, at some time in their lives, come into more or less active relationship with spirit-medium cults and have some experience with spirit-medium practices. His work gives the impression that the "shen" or spirits dominate the Chinese mind to a greater extent than is usually imagined.

From a sociological standpoint, Elliott's generalizations are unwarranted. It is no longer possible to speak of everyday Chinese, especially when referring to Singapore. Occupation, class, dialect groups, and education tend to break the superficial unity of the community. All may witness temple rites, funerals, magical displays, and processions. Many may at some time of crisis resort to native medical practitioners, who may rely occasionally upon spirit-medium (dang-ki) assistance. Nevertheless, as Elliott admits, spirit-media and spirit-medium cultism are rare. The overlapping features of spirit-mediumism and religious rites should not lead to an exaggeration of the importance of shamanistic practice among the Singapore Chinese.

Taken as a first-hand, scholarly description of shamanistic rites, and as a brief but illuminating analysis of the meaning of practices and incantations, Elliott's work is a valuable contribution to our knowledge of Chinese folk-ways. A useful, though too limited, comparison is made with religious traditions on the mainland, largely on the basis of De Groot's monumental work. Brief contrasts with similar Hindu practices found in Singapore are also provided. In both cases, the approach is neither systematic nor detailed enough to permit generalizations. If these limitations make Elliott's work the less suggestive, it must be recognized that he has deliberately limited his scope in order to do justice to the wealth of material which he gathered. This is a very complete source-book for those who wish to know exactly how spirit-medium cults operated in Singapore in the years 1950-51. It details the rites, conversations, and formulae through which Chinese reach the spirit world. Such close examination of the practitioners and of the gods and spirits with whom they deal reveals to the Westerner a formerly obscure body of knowledge passed down through the Chinese community largely by word of mouth. Elliott's achievement in overcoming the almost insuperable barriers of dialect and secrecy which prevail in occult Chinese groups must be given special notice. That he has not been able to explain more fully the meaning and significance of his study merely leads us to hope that he will publish

further. Reading in the United States and not in London, we are more interested in the anthropological and sociological implications of Chinese spirit-medium cultism than in the psychic research. Or, as one of Elliott's spirit-media wrote while in trance:

"Good man, learn this wonderful method,
When you understand it you can overcome the shortness of life."

Balam: Der Tanz- und Kultplatz in Melanesien als Versammlungsort und Mimischer Schauplatz. CARL A. SCHMITZ. (Die Schaubühne, Band 46.) Emsdetten, Westphalia: Verlag Lechte, 1955. vii, 184 pp., 8 plates, 1 map. n.p.

Reviewed by GERTRUDE P. KURATH, *Ann Arbor, Michigan*

Carl A. Schmitz contributes a study of dance and ritual sites in Melanesia to "Die Schaubühne," a German series of scholarly dissertations on the theatre. He is a disciple of Dr. C. Niessen, editor of this series. With infinite pains he has assembled his data and tackled his problems entirely from literary sources, some 250 of them in four languages, which are given in the text as references.

From the introductory problem statement to the summary of his hypotheses, the author approaches the aspects of the primitive "stages" as cultural and religious phenomena. He gives the title "Das Ethnographische Problem" to the chapter on the forms, which he divides into natural or artificial sites—pilgrimage places of holy myths, numinous locations marked off by plantings, bamboo fences, or stones near permanent villages or central village plazas, and platforms of various materials and uses. He underscores the uses at every point. Page 28 gives the etymology of the title, "Balam," as a Tami word for circumcision and an Arapesh term for spirit place, derived from *lom*, fragrant flower or magic.

These descriptions continue through the chapters on sacred and secular uses, titled "Das Soziologische Problem," on good and evil as "Das Religiöse Problem," and on dramatic procedures, "Das Theatralische Problem." Through them thread his theories on diffusions, origins, Austro-Melanid, proto-Polynesian, megalithic typology. At times he disagrees with the authors of his source materials.

The sites, which are never diagrammed, do not always emerge very clearly. The ritual and dance activities remain sketchy, with a few exceptions such as the Horiomu ceremony (pp. 136 ff.). The theories appear shaky. This is probably due to gleaning the materials entirely from secondary sources which at times gave inadequate pictures of the sites. One wonders why the author spent these efforts on remote phenomena instead of making a first attempt at the problem from observed European folk festivals. One can ask the same question about a large number of German works which seem to show an escapist preference for exotic peoples.

However, if one accepts the choice of subject matter, a careful reader will find the approach novel and scholarly. Field workers may do well to take the hint and pay more attention to the locations of ritual and secular activities, and to the ground plans of these activities as determined by the locations. Students of culture and of the theatre arts have another reminder that these studies are not in separate compartments.

Hawaii's People. ANDREW W. LIND. With Technical Assistance of ROBERT SCHMITT. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1955. xii, 116 pp., 4 figs., 2 maps, 25 tables, appendices. \$2.75.

Reviewed by FELIX M. KEESING, *Stanford University*

The senior sociologist on the University of Hawaii staff here follows his earlier

March 4, 1960

Professor Richard K. Beardsley
Department of Anthropology
~~University of Michigan~~
Ann Arbor, Michigan

March 4, 1960

Dear Dick:

You're not going to like what I have enclosed, a review of Village Japan for the A.A. As you know, it grieves me to write a review like this; yet I couldn't give a dishonest view of my appraisal. I hope the review editor will give you an opportunity to answer the criticisms raised.

Sincerely yours,

Iwao Ishino

Concerning Manuscripts
and Book Reviews address
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Editor

Michael S. Olmsted
Book Review Editor
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Northampton, Mass.

American Sociological Review

OFFICIAL JOURNAL OF THE
American Sociological Society

September 19, 1959

Concerning Advertising and
Subscriptions address
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Matilda White Riley
Executive Officer
New York University
Washington Square
New York 3, New York

Professor Iwao Ishino
Department of Anthropology
Michigan State University
East Lansing, Michigan

Dear Iwao:

Sorry to have seen you only so briefly at the meetings
in Chicago. My health was a bit off so I wasn't around much
of the time.

We would be charmed to have you review Kato's book on
Japanese Popular Culture for us. Would you also be willing
to take on Ray Baber's Youth Looks at Marriage and the Family:
A Study of Changing Japanese Attitudes (1958, 154 pp.)? You
could do a joint review of some 600 words or two separate Book
Notes of 200 words, or one of each. I realize this is indefinite
but I think you can judge the importance of the book more ac-
curately than I can. Our columns are crowded so keep them short.

Best wishes,

Mike

(str)

Michael S. Olmsted

MSO:bhv
Enc.

March 4, 1960

Professor Council Taylor
Book Review Editor
American Anthropology
387 Haines Hall
University of California
Los Angeles 24, California

Dear Professor Taylor:

At last I have finished the review of Village Japan which I am enclosing herewith. It grieves me to write such a critical review of a book written by a friend, but it would have been equally grievous to write a dishonest appraisal. Beardsley is receiving a copy of this review about the same time as you are. I hope he understands.

Sincerely yours,

Iwao Ishino
Associate Professor

Post-War Okinawa. F. R. Pitts, W. P. Lebra and W. P. Suttles. (Scientific Investigations in the Ryukyu Islands Report No. 8.) Washington, D. C., Pacific Science Board, National Research Council, 1955. viii, 232 pp., 7 plates.

Iwao Ishino, The Ohio State University

This mimeographed report covers a wide range of ethnographic facts about a society that has received little anthropological attention up to the time of World War II. Okinawa is the main island in the Ryukyus chain situated south of Japan and north of Formosa. It has a population of one-half million residing in four cities, four towns, and some 500 villages. The culture is presently adjusting to the problems created in part by the wartime dislocations and by the Occupation of American troops. Problems of national identification, self-government, population pressures, family and kin relations, agricultural development, land tenure, health and sanitation, and education are only a few examples of the cultural developments that await investigation by those seeking a convenient laboratory for the study of culture change. While not a primitive culture, Okinawa has many characteristics of a folk society with its attendant aboriginal beliefs and practices. Fairly complete census data, extensive written history, stable local government, good transportation and communication facilities, and a substantial literate population are some of the conveniences that should facilitate the research task of any field investigator.

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April 28, 1954

Professor David F. Aberle
Department of Sociology
University of Michigan
Ann Arbor, Michigan

Dear Dave:

I had some time on my hands after submitting my thesis, so I wrote up the review on Moloney's book. You'll find it enclosed in this letter

In my opinion, Moloney's book should not have been published. It is such a sloppy book that I wonder what motivated the Philosophical Library to publish it. Do they think they can make money on such a book? Be that as it may, Dave, I appreciate the opportunity to review it.

I also received a copy of your Kalmuk Kinship Study. Believe it or not, I have read it and was impressed by its straightforward description and analysis.

Concerning my thesis, I am anxiously waiting to receive the Committee's reactions to it. Hope I don't have to revise it drastically.

Thanks again for giving me the job of reviewing the book. If you think additional comments or emendations are desirable, please let me know.

With regards,

Iwao Ishino

Understanding the Japanese Mind. James Clark Moloney.
New York: Philosophical Library, 1954. xviii, 252 pp. \$3.50.

This book, written by a former psychiatric consultant for the US Army Medical Section of the recent Occupation of Japan, attempts a Herculean task of describing the "Japanese mind" within the small compass of 252 pages, virtually half of which are consumed by direct quotations. The central theoretical problem, according to the statement on the jacket, concerns the thesis that the cultural goals of a given society determine its method of psychotherapy. To anthropologists such a hypothesis should not appear as a surprise, but the extent to which the book oversimplifies both the cultural background and the psychology of people who are taken as illustrative cases will be seen as little short of incredible. Psychoanalysis in the West, we are told, is based upon respect for the individual and aims at the self-realization of the patient; whereas in Japan, psychoanalysis assumes strict adherence to national ideology and aims to "re-sentence" the patient to a de-personalized, "cultural reformatory."

Throughout the book are evident two recurring themes which are sometimes stated as generalizations and sometimes as facts:

One theme is that: "The performance of all Japanese people is virtually identical with the performance of a single Japanese individual, and what can be said of the psychology of the individual can be said of the psychology of Japan." This statement suggests a 1954 revival of the discredited "group mind" theories of several generations ago. To fortify this theme, Dr. Moloney states flatly that the ethical codes of ko, chu, giri, bushido and the like "dissolves the ego boundaries of the Japanese

persons" and hence "disindividualizes" them. He sees the temporal, physical, and social outlook of the Japanese as "having no beginning nor end and being coeval "with heaven, earth, and the person of the emperor." Disindividualization and coevality, he implies, are the complementary facets of the Japanese mind.

The other basic theme is that the understanding of the Japanese psychoanalytic movement "should make more apparent what makes the Japanese 'tick' than any other single body of information." This proposition, of course, presupposes a prior existence of a wealth of literature on the history, society, and culture of Japan--literature which Dr. Moloney freely exploits.

In nine brief chapters, the author cursorily reviews the cultural background, dominant child training patterns, male and female characteristics, psychodynamics of hate dispersal, and identification processes of the Japanese. Though he twice visited Japan in 1945 and again in 1949, Dr. Moloney presents virtually no new empirical material in this expository section of the book.

In the remaining six chapters, the psychoanalytic movements which began in the early 1900's or thereabouts, and the training, publications, and therapeutic goals of its adherents are sketched. Dr. Moloney indicates that Japanese practitioners are not only few in number, but also that they have been insufficiently psychoanalyzed and improperly trained. Moreover, he argues that the Japanese publications prove that the analysts are "strait jacketed" by the dominant ethos and norms of Japanese culture. He quotes at length from these writings (as much as five pages at a time), but the

selection of excerpts is concentrated on writings of the prewar, "militaristic" period, a time when most Japanese social science literature by necessity revealed chauvinistic rather than scientific qualities.

Dr. Moloney picturesquely concludes:

The Japanese psychoanalyst, faced with the problem of curing a mentally ill person, must first of all diagnose him as "ill" because he does not adhere to the rigidly prescribed culture patterns I have outlined. The "cure" upon which the analyst then embarks constitutes the opposite of a cure by western standards. Instead of endeavoring, as do occidental psychoanalysts, to free the individual from his inner thongs, the Japanese analyst actually tightens those thongs. Moreover, by the very fact of the analyst's encouraging the patient to believe in the coevality concept, he forces him backward into the status of primitive mankind, where, as we have said, animism reigns. In essence, the effect is to encourage those regressive tendencies that lead the patient to revert to an embryonic state. The goals of western psychoanalysis are growth, maturation, and expansiveness; the goals of Japanese psychoanalysis are the opposite.

So concerned is he with the delineation of these broad differences, that Dr. Moloney fails to digest or to weigh his evidence carefully. The book is literally "padded" with quotations many of which could have been summarized and some of which misrepresented the facts (e.g., the one describing the alleged uniformity of dress in Japan--p. 8). The author's limited face-to-face and intimate associations with Japanese psychoanalysts are apparent. Only two Japanese practitioners are named in the book's acknowledgement section. The sections purporting to describe child training methods, and male-female differences in personality dynamics appear to be superficial and misleading. Japanese ethical codes (e.g., on, giri, ninjo, chu, gimu) which play an important part in Moloney's definition of the "Japanese mind" seem to be poorly understood in spite of the availability of abundant literature including Ruth Benedict's admirable exposition of these codes in her Chrysanthemum and the Sword.

The "Japanese mind" which Dr. Moloney claims to delineate is scarcely more than a superficial description of normative principles in popular Japanese culture. These norms constitute a consciously developed theory of human relations and are not an empirically derived set of generalizations. They prescribe ideal behavior, but the actual behavior and the thought processes of living Japanese do not necessarily follow this model. In sum, then, this book aspires to an inordinately difficult task, but lacks the arsenal of convincing facts and relevant information necessary for accomplishment.

Iwao Ishino, Ohio State University

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~~The conclusions reached are most interesting, despite the unsatisfactory in the body of the study.~~ Dr. Moloney picturesquely concludes:

The Japanese psychoanalyst, faced with the problem of curing a mentally ill person, must first of all diagnose him as "ill" because he does not adhere to the rigidly prescribed culture patterns I have outlined. The "cure" upon which the analyst then embarks constitutes the opposite of a cure by western standards. Instead of endeavoring, as do occidental psychoanalysts, to free the individual from his inner thongs, the Japanese analyst actually tightens those thongs. Moreover, by the very fact of the analyst's encouraging the patient to believe in the coequality concept, he forces him backward into the status of primitive mankind, where, as we have said, animism reigns. In essence, the effect is to encourage those regressive tendencies that lead the

patient to revert to an embryonic state. The goals of western psychoanalysis are growth, maturation, and expansiveness; the goals of Japanese psychoanalysis are the opposite.

the delineation of ~~that~~
So concerned is he with these broad differences, Dr. Moloney fails to digest or to weigh his evidence carefully. The book is literally "padded" with quotations many of which could have been summarized and some of which misrepresented the facts (e.g., the one describing the alleged uniformity of dress in Japan--p.8). The author's limited face-to-face and intimate associations with Japanese psychoanalysts ~~are~~ also apparent. Only two Japanese practitioners are named in the book's acknowledgment section. The sections purporting to describe child training methods and male-female differences in personality dynamics appear to be superficial and misleading. Japanese ethical codes (e.g., on, giri, ninjo, chu, gimu) which play an important part in Moloney's definition of the "Japanese mind" seem to be poorly understood in spite of Ruth Benedict's admirable exposition of these codes in her Chrysanthemum and the Sword.

The "Japanese mind" which Dr. Moloney claims to delineate is scarcely more than a ~~superficial description of~~ ^{superficial description of ~~many~~ normative principles in popular Japanese} ~~set of ethical codes and ideology of the Nipponese. This ideology is~~ ^{culture,}
~~these norms constitute~~ ^{are}
a consciously developed theory of human relations and not an empirically derived set of generalizations. ^{They} ~~prescribes~~ ^{are} ideal behavior, but the actual behavior and the thought processes of living Japanese do not necessarily follow this cultural model. In sum, then, this book ~~shoots at~~ ^{aspires to} an inordinately difficult task, but lacks the ~~necessary~~ arsenal of convincing facts and relevant information ~~to get its game~~ ^{necessary for accomplishment.}

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Takashima: A Japanese Fishing Community. EDWARD NORBECK. (xi, 232 pp., 5 maps, 1 fig., and 24 plates, \$. University of Utah Press, Salt Lake City, 1954.)

Although there has been a tremendous output of books and papers on contemporary Japan since the end of the war, this volume by Dr Norbeck fills a gap not covered by the available materials, namely, the culture of fishing villages. Dr Norbeck's book describes with felicity and authority the life and culture of Takashima, a picturesque island community on the Inland Sea. Takashima, meaning "high island" but actually only 250 feet above sea level, is one of several island villages of Okayama Prefecture. About half of its thirty acres is devoted to agriculture and most of the remainder to pine and bamboo-grass forests. When first settled some three centuries ago (at least according to oral tradition), the community was largely agricultural, but about seventy years ago with the introduction of a new type of large nets, the community shifted to a fishing economy. Today agriculture is largely a secondary occupation. Since the island is a little more than 400 yards offshore and very close to the town of Shionasu, its people send their children to school there and depend upon the town for marketing and recreation. The population of 188 persons is divided into thirty-three households, most of which recognize kinship with one of the three original patrilineal lines. Takashima is therefore a small, closely knit island community which depends upon a fishing-farming economy and upon the facilities of a town on the mainland.

The present book, ~~is~~ ^{is} the product of a year's study by Dr Norbeck and his wife, done under the auspices of the University of Michigan's Center for Japanese Studies. Written in a concise and highly organized

fashion, this volume devotes a chapter each to the problems of earning a living, the customs of family life and marriage, the organization of communal activities, the routinization of religious beliefs and practices, and the stages in the life cycle of the typical individual. In the concluding chapter, it summarizes the ethnographic facts and discusses a historical problem which interests virtually all scholars specializing on Japan, viz., the process of Westernization.

In this brief review it is impossible to list the wealth of information presented in the book, but a few observations which struck this reviewer's interest may be given. First of all, there are woven unobtrusively into the book lucid accounts of the folklore and folkways of contemporary rural people of Japan. The reader will find not only traditional but also up-to-date descriptions of the games played by children, the use of various rooms in a Japanese house, the rituals of taking a bath (furo), the magical ceremonies pertaining to fishing, the methods of applying "night soil" (human fertilizer), the practices of faith-healers and geomancers and a host of other fascinating bits of Japanalia. Then too the series of twenty-four judiciously selected photographs convey aspects of the culture that are difficult to describe verbally. Moreover, even though the text uses native terms and concepts liberally—as all ethnographic reports must—Dr Norbeck has done a masterful job of translating them so that communication is not hindered. An excellent glossary and a rather complete index further facilitates communication. In the opinion of this reviewer, the two most rewarding chapters are the ones entitled, "Gaining a Livelihood," and "Religion." Both of these seem to reflect Dr Norbeck's special interests during the field investigation and are thus rich with information that should attract the attention of a wide variety of students.

The concluding chapter on the Westernization process deserves special comment. In addition to providing a basic ethnography of a fishing village, Dr Norbeck's purpose was to examine the effects of Westernization observed in Takashima. In his own words, these changes, ...may be summed up as the adoption of a money economy with attendant emphasis upon individuality and a decrease in communal activity; social status based largely on wealth; a decrease in the size and importance of the extended household; a tendency toward ever-larger community structure; the end of isolation and self-sufficiency for the buraku or small community; the adoption of a great many foreign inventions and ideas and a decline in religious faith. /p. 214/

The ethnographic facts presented earlier in the book justify these conclusions about the developments taken place in Takashima. But to state that these changes have taken place as the "direct or indirect result of Westernization" as Norbeck has done (p. 220) seems to this writer an over-simplification of the facts. The book's thesis thus follows a basic diffusionist doctrine and as such ignores or relegates as minor the role of innovation, convergence, cultural drift and other mechanisms of change stemming from "within" the society.

These theoretical considerations however do not detract greatly from the central import of the book. As a carefully planned and concisely written text, this volume should become one of the standard works on Japanese rural society.

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Village Japan. RICHARD K. BEARDSLEY, JOHN W. HALL and ROBERT E. WARD. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1959, xv, 498 pp., 45 figures, glossary, 65 photographs, 37 tables. \$8.75.

Reviewed by IWAO ISHINO, *Michigan State University*

Village Japan is the major report of an intensive, long-term, interdisciplinary research project of the University of Michigan's *Center for Japanese Studies*. In the spring of 1950, the Center established a field station in Okayama and began an ethnographic investigation of a small rice-producing hamlet, known as Niiike. Niiike (24

59. Anthropol., 122, p. 2, 26—A-12—DA

households, 130 persons) was continuously observed for four years and periodically thereafter until the present volume was completed in 1958.

Village Japan appears to be a conventional ethnography, if we glance at its table of contents: there are the usual chapters on geography and history, technology and material resources, household and kinship relations, religion and life cycle, etc. A look at its actual contents, however, reveals that it is something more than a highly polished ethnography. The book presents the culture of Niiike against a background of a more balanced picture of Japanese rural life gleaned from a rather substantial literature of Japanese studies. In brief, the manifest aim of *Village Japan* is to provide an ethnography of Niiike, but its latent objective is to delineate the culture of rural Japan. This review will consider each of these aspects of the book separately.

As for the manifest content of the book, its jacket claims that: "*Village Japan* is a *complete study* of a social microcosm in every aspect of its activity and organization" (italics mine). The early chapters begin with a comprehensive geographical description, a historical setting of the community, and a description of the physical and psychological characteristics of the people. There follow well-written chapters on an inventory of household goods and equipment, on the problems of land utilization and water resources, and on the farming and other work activities of Niiike people. A minute analysis of household income and expenditure precedes the chapters on family organization, kinship relations, *koju* (or neighborhood) associations, and significant aspects of an individual's life cycle. Next come two lucid chapters on local government and political processes. The book ends with a brief chapter on religion and a concluding chapter that presents a picture of a stable community making adjustments to innovations introduced since 1954. To augment the nearly 500 pages of verbal description, the book contains 69 annotated photographs, 45 line drawings and maps, and 37 tables. No other single work, written in Japanese or English, provides as much information about a single Japanese community as this one does. Hence, in my opinion, *Village Japan* comes very close to the claims made by its jacket as reproduced above.

Now to consider the other aspects of the book. As is suggested by its title, *Village Japan* attempts something more than an ethnography of Niiike. The long-term study of Niiike was not an end in itself, but a means to an understanding of the culture of rural Japan, if not the culture of Japan as a whole. To understand the problems this raises for the book, we must examine three issues: One concerns the representativeness of Niiike as a typical Japanese village; another, the shortcomings of the ethnographic method for studying a dependent or incomplete community; and, still another, the lack of a consistent theoretical point of view.

On the first point, the book is rather confusing. If both claims and disclaims representativeness for Niiike. There are in Japan some 50,000 sub-village units like Niiike and so the authors warn the readers of the great diversity of patterns. Yet, in the concluding chapter, they write: "Niiike . . . typified the majority of Japanese rural villages" (p. 480). On specific points of technology, social structure and religion, Niiike clearly differs from other communities. This is recognized and the authors on occasion provide comparative information gleaned from the substantial Japanese literature on village life. But since this is done unsystematically and unpredictably, the reader is left in doubt as to the generality of Niiike traits not specifically compared with other villages or regions. What is worse, the source of the comparative information is rarely cited. There are only six or seven references to the literature in the nearly 500 pages of text. The book has no bibliography, though it has an index and a glossary.

Another problem is the use of the ethnographic method and its focus on a small dependent community. Being merely one of 30 hamlets in the village of Kamo, Niiike has no schools, no stores and no village office within its boundary. It is a pure residential unit. Confining the focus of research to such a small group in traditional ethnographic fashion may have advantages for obtaining an intimate view of the people. However, compared with a primitive society, Niiike—as an object of ethnographic study—is an incomplete microcosm in Japanese rural society and no balanced picture of that society could emerge unless the researchers extend their sights to a much larger social unit. As a matter of fact, the authors partially recognize this limitation by extending their purview considerably beyond the hamlet, especially in the chapters on local government and political processes. In my opinion, if they had done the same for such institutional segments as public education, mass communication media, farm marketing and credit channels, and government experiment stations and extension services, a more dynamic and less conservative picture of the community might have emerged. (See Ronald Dore, *Land Reform in Japan*, Oxford University Press, 1959, as an example of a non-ethnographic study of rural Japan.)

Finally, there is the problem raised by the authors' non-theoretical stance. Their discussion of facts, or descriptions of what they observed, is presented without an explicit conceptual scheme. At best their presentation of facts is arranged according to conventions found in the usual ethnographies. But a careful reader will note that frequent opportunities to provide a "national character" interpretation or a "functional explanation" or a "value-orientation" analysis are readily passed up.

The net result is that it is difficult to find in this book a "cultural gestalt" about *Village Japan*. Perhaps such a configuration does not exist empirically. Whether it does or not, the authors do not help us very much. They say: "The more one learns of a people and a culture, the more one becomes conscious of the basic limitations and inaccuracies of any holistic generalization. For all its seeming homogeneity, Japanese culture is rich and diversified" (p. vii).

To sum up this review, then, *Village Japan* as an ethnography of a Japanese community is destined to become a standard reference. Such a detailed description and patient analysis of a small, unexciting settlement in Japan will be difficult to duplicate. The book, however, is far less satisfactory as an interpretation of Japanese village life as a whole. A systematic analysis of rural Japan is yet to be written, and I suspect that when it is produced it will not be written by focusing on a single community, by following conventional ethnographic methods, and by avoiding theoretical issues and implications. In short, this review is a lament that more was not done with the vast logistic and technical support given to the Niiike research project.

BOOK NOTES

The World of Islam. (Le Monde Islamique: Essai de Géographie Religieuse). By XAVIER DE PLANHOL. Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press, 1959. xi, 142 pp. \$2.00, paper.

This translation of the *World of Islam* will interest the reader by the sheer richness of its information. Widely different matters are presented: the differences between Moslem communities deep within Africa, paradoxes of the structured yet disorderly Moslem cities, the contrary effects of law and custom on agriculture and landholding, the nature of the heretical groups that have taken refuge in mountains or desert; these and many other subjects are discussed.

The conclusions presented seem less impressive than the extraordinary assemblage of facts. The thesis that there is "an urban ideal implicit in Islam" is not wholly convincing. Mosques are indeed the center of cities, but Islam has been spread by the trader and the warrior, both of them rendered independent of the mosque by the individualism of daily prayer. And does Islam "build with fragile materials"? One recalls the mosques in Cairo, and Damascus, and Benares. The fascinating question why Islam is roughly co-extensive with the arid belt is considered, but cause and effect perhaps cannot be conclusively distinguished. The open spaces and the existence of a somewhat unified religious culture have certainly delayed nationalism; but which is primary? Geography no doubt plays a part in Islamic history, but as the author very honestly admits, there are no simple truths. The reader is stimulated, but is left uncertain what "religious geography" really is.—VIRGINIA CORWIN

Monasteries and Culture Change in Inner Mongolia. By ROBERT JAMES MILLER. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1959. xi, 152 pp. 20.—DM, paper.

In this book, Dr. Miller, an anthropologist trained in Far Eastern studies, outlines the functional interrelationship between the Lama religion and the cultural, economic, and political aspects of the social structure of Inner Mongolia in the 16th to 19th centuries. An historical and morphological description of Lama monasticism and a concluding chapter stressing the positive function of the religion are also included.

The study is valuable to the sociologist for two reasons. First, though the method is anthropological, the data are historical. Too many sociologists, by ignoring research involving non-

contemporary situations, have left by default to the social historians problems which the sociologists are better qualified to solve.

Second, Miller, in choosing a non-Western society for analysis, has not selected a so-called primitive society, as is the more usual custom among anthropologists. As a result, once again we see that certain facets of the study of comparative social organization (for example, social change) will come to light only when other than primitive societies are examined. This is because corresponding forms of Western social structure are not found in many primitive societies. For example, by describing in detail how surpluses were systematically and deliberately accumulated in the monasteries but simultaneously systematically and deliberately ritually wasted, Miller sheds additional light on problems in economic sociology, especially the problem of isolating the sociological origins of modern capitalism.—NORMAN JACOBS

Japanese Popular Culture: Studies on Mass Communication and Cultural Change Made at the Institute of Science of Thought, Japan. Edited and Translated by HIDETOSHI KATO. Tokyo; Rutland, Vt.: Charles E. Tuttle Co., 1959. 223 pp. \$5.00.

Western literature on Japan's industrial development is considerable, but analyses of the popular arts in Japan are lacking. Since the mass production of goods and the mass production of popular arts are inextricably linked, many enigmatic features of Japan's industrialization will be better understood as we learn more about her mass culture. The present book provides a token introduction to this neglected area.

Sponsored by M.I.T.'s Center for International Studies, Mr. Hidetoshi Kato has translated and edited fourteen studies roughly corresponding to the categories found in Rosenberg and White's compilation, *Mass Culture: the Popular Arts in America*. American sociologists may be fascinated by the similarity in the forms of entertainment in Japan and in America, but they will be surprised at the difference in the content of each form of divertimento.

Most of the studies in this book were written by members of the Japan Institute of the Science of Thought and originally published in their journal. The members of this Institute are social scientists and humanists interested in the transformation of Japanese ideology as it responds

In the words of the author, the work is designed to examine "three broad questions connected with land reform in its relation to democracy." The first is, "How are those who want reform going to secure the power to carry it into effect?" Second, "Does democracy grow spontaneously after land is distributed or must it be deliberately sought and planned for during and after agrarian reform?" Third, "What technical problems must be solved?"

Though the study is projected against the background of a defense of the thesis that "the essence of the 'world revolution of our time' for perhaps the majority of the people of the world is the demand for land," the book itself is an examination of "the three major questions just stated as they apply to a specific large-scale agrarian experiment—that which is found in the important cotton-growing Laguna region of Mexico." It is, in short, a sort of case study, but it is a study permeated by the conviction that "the Laguna experience is meaningful not alone for those who think about or participate in agrarian action, but also for all those who deal with other aspects of the development of 'underdeveloped areas' and attempt to create more democratic societies; in fact, for all those who hope for intelligently directed social change."

The theoretical framework for this sociological analysis of a specific project of land reform is the Mertonian version of the structural-functional point of view. "The key concept [utilized] is 'that of strain, tension, contradiction, or discrepancy between the component elements of the social and cultural structure.' Specifically, in order to understand changes in land tenure arrangements, a sociologist would expect to find at least the following elements present: (1) Peasant dissatisfaction with existing agrarian institutions; (2) A determination to act on that dissatisfaction; (3) A goal (even though hazily formulated) toward which to work; and (4) Organization to carry out that determination and work toward the goal envisioned."

But the book is not only a sociological analysis of a specific land reform program. It is also intended "to lay the basis for an understanding of the principal problems of agrarianism, *insofar as its advocates hope to build a new social system in which democratic values and practices are basic.*" (Italics mine.) As a yardstick for measuring the degree of the presence or absence of democracy in Laguna, Lasswell's well-known eight "goal values" are employed and it is held that "A social system approaches democracy to the degree in which [these] eight 'goal values' are widely shared; it recedes from democracy as these values acquire a narrower base in the total population."

Senior begins by fitting the struggle for land reform in Mexico into the world scene with a chapter on "Land Reform—A World Issue." Chapters 2, "The Mexican Revolution," and 3, "The Revolution Reaches La Laguna," are excellent discussions of the way in which the Mexicans answered the first of the three questions mentioned above: "How are peasants to achieve the power to carry out land reforms?" Chapter 4 follows with an analysis of the "Geographic and Economic Factors in Regional Development" with which the newly empowered peasants had to cope. Chapter 5, "The Framework for Agrarian Democracy," is a description of the "new social and economic institutions [which] were created for the region almost overnight and Chapter 6, "Problems and Progress in Building an Agrarian Democracy," a consideration of the question "How do people only just released from a state of virtual serfdom, with its attendant ignorance and provincialism, go about building democracy?" In other words, these chapters are exciting answers to the second major question: "Does democracy grow spontaneously after land is distributed or must it be deliberately sought and planned for during and after agrarian reform?" And Dr. Senior's answer is sound, if not unexpected: "The Laguna experience would indicate that democracy does not grow spontaneously after land reform but must be deliberately promoted. Furthermore, the social norms of various groups involved in the reform must be recognized as playing at least as vital a role as new legal and economic arrangements." These chapters and Chapter 7, "Population Pressure and Agrarian Problems," also provide the author's answer to the third major question posed: "What technical problems must be solved?"

The book concludes with a chapter on "Democracy Comes to a Cotton Kingdom," in which an assessment is made "of the Laguna experiment in terms of the goal values of democracy adopted from Lasswell's study." To this there is added a list of sixteen "modest and elementary" generalizations derived from the study because the author (believing that "the end and justification for social science is 'prediction and control'") feels that even such tentative inferences may be useful to others engaged in land reform programs.

Excellent written and well presented, this book offers few targets for criticism. The text is supplemented by well arranged notes, 37 tables, 5 figures, a very good bibliography (marred somewhat by the failure to include the works of Cumberland and Ross on Madero), and an adequate index.

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to the fluid economic and political conditions of their nation. Unwittingly they reveal their personal values and predilections, and their articles tell us almost as much about the writers' prejudices as they do about the targets of the mass media.

Most of the analyses are qualitative and impressionistic; few of the findings are based on questionnaire or other quantitative approaches. An appendix contains helpful statistical data on readership and circulation figures on the mass media. In sum, this is only a glimpse of the popular arts in Japan.—IWA O ISHINO

Birth Control and Catholic Doctrine. By ALVAH W. SULLOWAY. Preface by ALDOUS HUXLEY. Boston: Beacon Press, 1959. xxiii, 257 pp. \$3.95.

This is a scholarly, keenly analytical work by a Connecticut lawyer giving the history of Catholic doctrines relating to contraception and exposing their inconsistencies and invalidities. Sulloway finds excessive rationalization, prostitution of reason, and substitution of institutional expediency for sound ethics. His extensive bibliography and copious notes evidence his mastery of pertinent documents.

Before 1932, the Roman Church had held that any separation of marital intercourse from possible parenthood was mortal sin, a violation of "natural law" or "God's will"—terms which our author finds are metaphysical substitutes for papal mandates. After 1932, the so-called "safe period" was touted as a "God-given" means of regulating family size. The calendar replaced the condom; and its wholesale distribution and the extravagant claims for its simplicity and reliability led to intervention by the Federal Trade Commission. Sulloway then proceeds to impale the Catholic writers "upon the teeth of their own arguments." Most of the dire evils which were said to follow contraception, such as increased adultery, premarital in chastity, venereal disease, race suicide, and so on are equally certain to follow use of the safe period.

Since the populations of Catholic countries are, in general, both poor and rapidly multiplying, the dilemma posed by Catholic birth control doctrine seems as obvious as it is tragic.—FRANK H. HANKINS

RKFDV: German Resettlement and Population Policy 1939-1945. By ROBERT L. KOEHL. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1958. xi, 263 pp. \$6.50.

When the German army overran Poland in 1939, Himmler set in motion a grandiose and ruthless resettlement policy designed to convert the occupation of eastern Europe into permanent

ethnic conquest. "Inferior races" would be expelled; Germans would be transferred into the evacuated areas and charged with restoring the economy and with building a human wall of "Germandom" on the eastern marches. As a preliminary came the annihilation of the European Jewish community, and the deportation to slave labor camps of hundreds of thousands of Poles and other non-Germans. To accelerate the absorption of over a million Germans in the newly conquered territory, the Nazis devised a special bureaucratic structure, the *Reichskommisariat für die Festigung deutschen Volkstums* (RKFDV).

Professor Koehl has written what is essentially a meticulous chronology of the RKFDV program. In filling in the details of this familiar record, the author has relied almost exclusively on the verbatim testimony of the Nuremberg Trials. The result is that, save for a brief evaluation in the final pages, he writes nearly always about files, exchanges of memoranda, orders, counterorders. This represents a modest and useful contribution, of interest primarily to historians in need of supplementing previous studies by Eugene Kulischer and Joseph Schechtman. To the sociologist concerned with the equivocal social role of the "neutral" bureaucrat in a totalitarian setting, *RKFDV* can have only limited value as raw material, another monograph in the ethnography of Nazism.—RICHARD ROBBINS

The Negro Press Re-Examined: Political Content of Leading Negro Newspapers. By MAXWELL R. BROOKS. Boston: Christopher Publishing House, 1959. 125 pp. \$2.75.

Like Dr. Kinsey, Dr. Brooks has claimed too much by way of a title. His book is not a general sociological survey; it is sketchy compared to the informative chapter on the Negro press in Myrdal's *An American Dilemma*. Neither does it constitute a searching re-examination of the strains inherent in an enterprise at once so vital to Black Metropolis and so sealed off from White Metropolis. Brooks makes no effort to assess such new periodicals as *Ebony* in the context of changes in Negro class structure, nor does he discuss what James Baldwin calls the "innate desperation" and E. Franklin Frazier calls "the world of make-believe" in the leading Negro newspapers.

The disappointing quality of the volume stems from a self-imposed limitation: the work is devoted to a quantitative treatment of the charge that the Negro press overdoes race protest to the point of embracing political "radicalism" and alien ideologies. This seems to me a relatively

minor point, deriving almost entirely from some southern writers who wish to link opposition to segregation with political disloyalty, but Brooks constructs an elaborate content analysis to deal with it. Sampling issues of the five leading weeklies during one year (1948), he examines the news and editorial comment to see whether the use of certain basic political symbols adds up to either a negative or positive approach to the American Creed (as derived from a consensus among a number of distinguished scholars of American values). Not surprisingly Brooks concludes, after scoring some 10,000 symbols, that strong negative feelings about racial discrimination to one side, the principal Negro newspapers are thoroughly American in outlook and, if anything, quite conservative on nonracial political issues.—RICHARD ROBBINS

When Negroes March: the March on Washington Movement in the Organizational Politics for FEPC. By HERBERT GARFINKEL. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1959. 224 pp. \$4.00.

The March on Washington Movement was at the height of its influence and fame in June, 1941. Its most important role was in helping to bring about the issuance of President Roosevelt's Executive Order 8802, which prohibited discrimination in defense employment and government and established the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practice to insure fulfillment of the Order. Herbert Garfinkel has written an interesting history of that movement, from its inception as a proposal by A. Philip Randolph in January, 1941, to its demise, to all intents and purposes, during the early part of 1944. While he utilizes the earlier writings of Kesselman, Maslow, Ruchames, and others, Garfinkel's contribution consists of material gleaned from an examination of the original records of the Movement itself, close attention to the personal role of Randolph in the birth and decline of the Movement, and interesting evaluations of various aspects of FEPC history. The book would have been much more valuable, however, if the author had also utilized the very important source material on this subject available in the Roosevelt Library at Hyde Park. This material, as yet untapped, throws much light on the history of the FEPC and the relationships between Negro leaders and the Roosevelt Administration. A more comprehensive index, which included the material in the Notes as well as the text, would have added to the volume's usefulness. Nonetheless, this study is an interesting and useful contribution to our knowledge of minority group movements in general and the March On Washington Movement in particular.—LOUIS RUCHAMES

Youth Looks at Marriage and the Family: A Study of Changing Japanese Attitudes. By RAY E. BABER, Tokyo: Rural Welfare Research Institute, International Christian University, 1958. ix, 154 pp. No price indicated, paper.

The Japanese family is about to undergo drastic changes if the attitudes of youths surveyed in this book are any indication of how they will behave as adults.

Using a questionnaire with 50 multiple choice items designed with the help of outstanding Japanese experts on the family, Baber asked more than 5,000 Japanese high school and university students about their attitudes toward the status of women, parent-child relationships, number of children desired, choosing mates, wives in the labor force, residence patterns after marriage, husband's participation in housework, inheritance, support of aged parents, and ancestor worship. In addition he presents a section summarizing the topics which university students discussed with their parents. The evidence is overwhelming that these youths profess attitudes which are not in accord with the prevailing customs and norms of their parents.

The author appears to have sampled his population well and to have gained sufficient rapport to obtain honest responses to his questionnaires. But the limitations of Baber's multiple choice approach is evident in the shallow probing into such vital problem-areas as contemporary dating patterns, interpersonal relationships within the family, and financial aspects of marriage. Nevertheless, Baber's report is a pioneer effort by an American sociologist to probe into the not-so-mystical family institution of Japan.—IWA0 ISHINO

New Horizons in Criminology. Third Edition. By HARRY ELMER BARNES and NEGLEY K. TEETERS. New York: Prentice-Hall, 1959. xvi, 654 pp. \$9.65.

At this point in the development of the field of criminology a basic textbook should accomplish at least three objectives: (1) assemble significant theory and research knowledge, (2) appraise the contemporary crime problem in historical perspective, and (3) present a point of view for new directions in the field. The recent edition of *New Horizons in Criminology* more than adequately fulfills these prescriptions; in addition it is a highly readable volume.

New Horizons weaves relevant theoretical and research conclusions, with lively case data, into the body of the book in a manner which makes a maximum impact on the new student. This approach, while appropriate for the beginning

Handbook for Industry Studies. Everett E. Hagen. (The Center for International Studies, Massachusetts Institute of Technology.)
Glencoe: The Free Press, 1958. x, 89 pp., glossary. \$3.50.

The Japanese Factory: Aspects of its Social Organization. James G. Abegglen. (The Center for International Studies, Massachusetts Institute of Technology.) Glencoe: The Free Press, 1958.
xiii, 142 pp. \$3.50.

Reviewed by Iwao Ishino, Michigan State University

The Center for International Studies at MIT and that resourceful publishing house, the Free Press, are bringing out a new series of reports, some of which are concerned with studies of non-Western peoples. Two books from that series are reviewed here.

The first, written by Everett Hagen, is a handbook for economists engaged in empirical studies of a certain kind. Apparently conventional economic theories of industrial growth do not apply to many conditions found in "underdeveloped" countries; hence carefully designed studies are urgently needed to develop new theories. Hagen's book is an attempt to systematize the collection of data in underdeveloped countries and to promote greater comparability in the organization of such studies. Thus the handbook contains a fairly extensive outline of factors related to economic development, a glossary of economic terms, a short bibliography of previous studies of industries, and brief chapter on research procedures.

Hagen's handbook should prove to be extremely useful for researchers in "underdeveloped" countries. One wonders why such a tool was not published earlier.

The other book reviewed here illustrates one type of activity urged by the previous writer. Aheggen's study describes the principles of social and economic organization of the Japanese factory. To illustrate the "take home pay" of two workers holding the same position in the same firm may differ as much as 200 per cent because of the "particularistic" allowances added to the base pay; high school principals and college professors play a significant role as unofficial recruiting agents; male employees are generally committed to a lifetime career in a single factory and inefficient employees are not discharged but re-assigned to other less demanding positions. In the United States patterns would be considered deviant or aberrant. But in Japan, according to Aheggen, these norms fit the social framework of the larger society and hence are deemed desirable. Moreover, he sees the modern social system as a natural and consistent outgrowth of the pre-industrial society. Indeed this leads him to differ with William Lockwood, Marion Levy and others who argue that Japan has undergone revolutionary changes since the 1860's. The author also quarrels with the Weber-Parsons thesis that "contractual, universalistic relations are necessary to successful industrialization." (.130) According to Aheggen, the Japanese case negates this widely held sociological thesis because his data indicates the pervasiveness of particularistic family-like norms in industrialized Japan. In brief, here is some evidence that industrialization is possible without Western-type universalistic social relations.

These conclusions are based upon observations of 19 large and 34 small factories in Japan. Such rich data are not presented in any systematic form so that factory-to-factory differences as well as similarities can be examined by the reader. Rather Aheggen's method of

presentation depends on anecdotal materials and "typical" case examples. Thus it is a pity that his readers cannot judge for themselves the degree of patterning of norms in Japanese factories. By the same token, he has written a provocative essay at the expense of making a scientific contribution to the comparative study of industrial organizations.

Handbook for Industry Studies. EVERETT E. HAGEN. (The Center for International Studies Massachusetts Institute of Technology.) Glencoe: The Free Press, 1958. x, 89 pp., glossary. \$3.50.

The Japanese Factory: Aspects of its Social Organization. JAMES G. ABEGGLEN. (The Center for International Studies, Massachusetts Institute of Technology.) Glencoe: The Free Press, 1958. xiii, 142 pp. \$3.50.

Reviewed by IWAO ISHINO, *Michigan State University*

The Center for International Studies at MIT and that resourceful publishing house, the Free Press, are bringing out a new series of reports, some of which are concerned with studies of non-Western peoples. Two books from that series are reviewed here.

The first, written by Everett Hagen, is a handbook for economists engaged in a certain kind of empirical studies. Conventional economic theories of industrial growth apparently do not apply to many conditions found in "underdeveloped" countries, and carefully designed studies are urgently needed to develop new theories. Hagen's book is an attempt to systematize the collection of data in "underdeveloped" countries and to promote greater comparability in the organization of such studies. Thus the handbook contains a fairly extensive outline of factors related to economic development, a glossary of economic terms, a short bibliography of previous studies of industries, and a brief chapter on research procedures. Hagen's handbook should prove to be extremely useful, and one wonders why such a valuable tool was not published earlier.

The other book reviewed here illustrates one type of activity urged by Hagen. Abegglen's study describes the principles of social and economic organization of the Japanese factory. To illustrate: the "take-home pay" of two workers holding the same position in the same firm may differ as much as 200 percent because of the "particularistic" allowances added to the base pay; high school principals and college professors play a significant role as unofficial recruiting agents; male employees are generally committed to a lifetime career in a single factory; and inefficient employees are not discharged but reassigned to less demanding positions. In the United States these patterns would be considered deviant or aberrant, but in Japan, according to Abegglen, these norms fit the social framework of the larger society and hence are deemed desirable. Moreover, he sees the modern social system as a natural and consistent outgrowth of the preindustrial society. Indeed, this leads him to differ with William Lockwood, Marion Levy, and others who argue that Japan has undergone revolutionary changes since the 1860's. The author also quarrels (p. 130) with the Weber-Parsons thesis that "contractual, universalistic relations are necessary to successful industrialization." According to Abegglen, the Japanese case negates this widely-held sociological thesis because his data indicate the pervasiveness of particularistic family-like norms in industrialized Japan. In brief, here is some evidence that industrialization is possible without Western-type, universalistic social relations.

These conclusions are based upon observations of 19 large and 34 small factories in Japan. Unfortunately, such rich data are not presented in systematic form, so that factory-to-factory differences as well as similarities can be examined by the reader. Rather, Abegglen's method of presentation depends on anecdotal materials and "typi-

cal" case examples, and his readers cannot judge for themselves the degree of patterning of norms in Japanese factories. By the same token, he has written a provocative essay at the expense of making a scientific contribution to the comparative study of industrial organizations.

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LOGICAL REVIEW

The Managed Casualty: The Japanese-American Family in World War II. By LEONARD BROOM and JOHN I. KITSUSE. University of California Publications in Culture and Society, Volume 6. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1956. vi, 226 pp. \$3.50, paper; \$4.50, cloth.

While dozens of writers have reported on the mass evacuation and relocation experiences of more than 100,000 West Coast Japanese during World War II, none seemed to have systematically examined the impact of these experiences on the family institution. In the light of the known importance of the family to Japanese communities in general, it is surprising that this type of problem has been by-passed. In the present monograph, Broom and Kitsuse contribute to this neglected area. Using the period just prior to the war as the baseline, the authors first trace the origins of the family back to the early immigration period and then examine its wartime adjustments as the Japanese were first taken to temporary camps and then later relocated in normal communities. However, they pay particular attention to the responsible governmental agency's (The War Relocation Authority) decision to close the camps prior to the termination of the war. Since the majority of the evacuees resisted relocation into what they considered unfamiliar and hostile communities, stern measures had to be taken. These measures—including the troublesome "loyalty" questionnaire intended to distinguish eligible persons from those deemed not eligible for relocation—threatened the unity of most families. Needless to say, some families fared better than others in keeping the kin group together, but the authors of this monograph are unable to pinpoint the critical factors that explain the differential responses of the families. They recognize the limitations of their sample and they invite the reader to seek clues in the ten selected family histories presented in the last 166 pages of the 226 page book.

This set of cases, in my opinion, is the most valuable part of the study. It documents the wide variety of personality patterns and degrees of acculturation within the family and between families; it shows the interrelationship between family customs, talents, and resources on the one hand and community attitudes and structures on the other; and it illustrates the aftermath of the administrative pressures for relocation. It is unfortunate, however, that the authors do not indicate how many other cases they examined so that the reader can better evaluate the presentation of this report. He is

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informed, however, that the original study which began some ten years ago envisioned a large-scale statistical analysis. As an attempt to salvage what data they obtained, the authors have done a creditable job.

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