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WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY

ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI 63130

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY-ANTHROPOLOGY

January 11, 1966

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

Dear Iwao:

We are concerned that we have not yet received your paper. I believe you said, did you not, that you would reproduce it and distribute it from there? I trust you received the Revised Program I sent out shortly after January I. To the list of other participants, add John Gillin, University of Pittsburgh, and James O'Connor, Washington University. All the other "others" are Washington University, so you could send the batch to me and I will distribute. To that list some graduate students will be added so that the maximum number of participants will be about 30.

One other change--misfortune of misfortunes, I was unable to finish my paper by the deadline and so must be "scratched," but I shall become one of the "other participants!"

Sincerely,

Alvin W. Wolfe

AWW: ib

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area Cade 314 Univ. - 20 30100

Jamary 24, 1966

Professor Alvin W. Wolfe Department of Sociology-Anthropology Washington University St. Louis, Missouri

Dear Al:

Thanks for thehospitality and the stimulating discussions at Bromwood. I felt that I personally gained much from it.

As John Bennett suggested, I would like to put down some brief comments about this conference analysis but this will come later. This letter is just to submit to you the ticket stub on my plane ticket to St. Louis and back. The cost is \$65.40.

Regards.

IWAO ISHINO Professor To: Participants in Conference on the Anthropology of Complex Societies From: Alvin N. Wolfe

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Enclosed is a late issue of the program, unfortunately still incomplete.

We will be sending Conference papers as they are ready for distribution, and hopefully you will have received all by January 10.

Having failed to receive a subsidy, we cannot guarantee publication.

ANW: ID

#### REVISION

#### Conference on the Anthropology of Complex Societies

Bromwoods Conference Center Washington University St. Louis, Missouri 63130 January 20, 21, 22 (1966)

Sponsored by Department of Sociology-Anthropology Committee on Conference:

John W. Bennett Morris Freilich Jules Henry Alvin Wolfe

#### Participants whose papers will be distributed prior to the Conference:

Richard N. Adams, University of Texas, "The Methodology of Model Construction in Complex Cultures: The Power System"
John W. Bennett, Washington University, "Complexity as a Function of Microcosm- Macrocosm Relationships"
Leo Depres, Western Reserve University, "The Plural Soclety in Theoretical Perspective"
Morris Freilich, Washington University, "Anthropological Perspectives for Research in Complex Societies"
Harold Gould, University of Pittsburgh,
Jules Henry, Washington University, "A Theory for an Anthropological Analysis of American Culture"
Iwao Ishino, Michigan State University,
Arthur Vidich, New School of Social Research, "Some Consequences of Rural-Urban Thinking"
All the block of the

Alvin W. Wolfe, Washington University, "Sorting the Sub-Systems of Complex Societles"

#### Other Participants

David B. Carpenter James Jaquith Joseph A. Kahl David J. Pittman Lee Rainwater Charles Valentine Albert F. Wessen Norman E. Whitten George Talbot

#### Schedule:

Thursday, January 20 - Arrival at St. Louis, during afternoon; transpotation will be furnished to Bromwoods Conference Center (Call VO. 3-0100, Ext. 4430, and please allow for 75-minute drive to Bromwoods.

5:30 - Reception

6:30 - Dinner, Welcome Address

7:30 - Organizational Meeting, at which format for discussion will be decided.

4-10:30

11-12:30

9:30 - Coffee and Sandwiches

Friday, January 21 - 8:00 A.M. - Breakfast

10:00 A.M. - Coffee break

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12:00 Noon - Lüncheon

9:00 A.M. - Session

1:30 P.M. - Session

3:00 P.M. - Coffee break

3:30 P.M. - Session

4:30 P.M. - Adjournment of Afternoon Session

5:30 P.M. - Social hour

6:00 P.M. - Dinner

7:00 P.M. - Informal Discussion

9:30 P.M. - Sandwiches and Coffee

Saturday, January 22 - 8:00 A.M. - Breakfast

9:00 A.M. - Session 10:00 A.M. - Coffee break 10:30 A.M. - Session 12:00 Noon - Luncheon

1:00 P.M. - Adjournment of Conference

WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY

#### ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI 63130

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY-ANTHROPOLOGY

October 4, 1965

Professor Iwao Ishino Department of Anthropology Michigan State University East Lansing, Michigan 48823

Dear Iwao:

I trust my letter of June 3 reached you by a more direct route than that of May 1, and that your failure to respond has implied that the new date of January 20-22 for our Conference on the Anthropology of Complex Societies is satisfactory to you.

Granting all those assumptions, let me suggest -- or decree, if you prefer--that in order to assure reproduction and distribution of the papers to all participants, so that we can have discussion and not formal reading of papers at the conference, we should have your paper by December 20.

I hope I will see you soon, and let me assure you we are all looking forward very much to a pleasant and stimulating conference.

Sincerely,

Alvin W. Wolfe

AWW:kf

# Some Details of the Conference on the Anthropology

#### of Complex Societies

Bromwoods Conference Center Washington University St. Louis, Missouri 63130 September 24, 25, 26

Sponsored by Department of Sociology-Anthropology Committee on Conference: John W. Bennett Morris Freilich Jules Henry Alvin W. Wolfe

#### Participants:

Visitors invited to prepare papers:

Richard N. Adams Leo Depres Clifford Geertz Iwao Ishino Oscar Lewis John Useem Eric Wolf

#### Other Participants

Washington University Anthropology faculty:

John W. Bennett Morris Freilich Jules Henry James Jaquith Charles Valentine Norman E. Whitten Alvin W. Wolfe

Washington University sociology faculty will also be invited to participate.

Washington University anthropology graduate students.

Papers of 30 to 50 page length due September 1.

Suggested Topics for Papers:

Theoretical Conceptualization of Units of Complex Systems. Methods for Gathering Data on Complex Societies. The Ethnography of Supranational Systems. The Personal Community in Complex Societies. Rural Communities in Relation to the Complex Society. Autonomy and Interdependence in Complex Societies.

#### Schedule:

Sept. 24 - Arrival at St. Louis, during afternoon, transportation
will be furnished to Bromwoods Conference Center.
 (call Vo. 3-0100, Ext. 4430)
 5:30 - Reception
 6:30 - Dinner, Welcome
 7:30 - Organizational Meeting

- Sept. 25 Morning Session (Orientation toward Theory) Afternoon Session (Orientation toward Method) Reception, Dinner
- Sept. 26 Morning Session (The Training of Modern Anthropologists) Lunch

Departure

#### Publication:

Arrangements are being made with Washington University Press (in cooperation with University of Chicago Press) for early publications of the Papers and Proceedings of the Conference on the Anthropology of Complex Societies.

For further information write to:

Alvin W. Wolfe Associate Chairman Department of Sociology-Anthropology Washington University St. Louis, Missouri 63130 📆 UNIVERSITY

### ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI 63130

WASHINGTON

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY-ANTHROPOLOGY

April 12, 1965

Professor Iwao Ishino Department of Anthropology University of Michigan Ann Arbor, Michigan

Dear Iwao:

Four of us at Washington University (John Bennett, Morris Freilich, Jules Henry, and Alvin Wolfe) are organizing a conference on the anthropology of complex societies, and we have selected you as one of the seven we are inviting to participate. The conference will be at Washington University's Bromwoods Conference Center in the Ozarks, September 24 through 26, 1965. Participation means preparing a paper, in advance, for discussion at the conference and for publication in the conference proceedings later. Expenses will be paid, of course, and an appropriate honorarium will be given to participants. ( $\beta 200$ )

A word about the aims of the conference: We are developing a curriculum with some emphasis on the anthropology of complex socieites because we feel that the discipline has much to contribute in the way of research and theory in the modern world, but we also know that most anthropological curricula tend to retain, perhaps too much, the "traditional slots" which do not maximize the ability of the anthropological graduate to plunge directly, as anthropologist, into the study of some of the more critical problems of man now--problems of rural-urban interaction, of wide economic interdependence, of pluralistic states, of rapid "development" in many small countries.

We are concerned whether anthropology should not offer a clearer conception of what "complex society" means. Our discipline, broadly comparative and deeply historical, can sharpen the perspective of all social scientists here.

And we are concerned to look forward, to seek guidelines for ourselves and our discipline, that we may develop the methods and concepts most appropriate for analyzing the developing institutions in man's future.

At the same time as our methods must become more universalistic, the anthropology of complex societies must retain in some important ways the humanistic aspect that has been one hallmark of the discipline. How can Professor Iwao Ishino

we best study what these macro-institutions of the modern world mean for men as individuals?

Speaking for all four of us, may I urge you to let me know as soon as possible whether you will help us tackle these problems. I am enclosing an outline giving some details of the conference, including some suggested topics that may help guide you. Please feel free to choose your own topic, bearing in mind we should like to have the papers by September 1 in order to distribute them.

Hoping to hear from you soon, I remain

Sincerely,

olfe Associate Chairman

AWW:ib

Enc.

Michigan State University Group USCAR, MSU Group APO San Francisco, 96248

May 22, 1965

Professor Alvin W. Wolfe Associate Chairman Department of Sociology-Anthropology Washington University St. Louis, Missouri 63130

#### Dear Professor Wolfe:

Thank you for your information of May 1 to participate in a conference at Bromwoods. For shame! It was sent to the University of the Michigan. Then it went to my home campus at Michigan State and finally it reached me here in Okinawa, by the <u>slow</u> surface mail.

I am happy to accept your invitation to join this conference on the anthropology of complex sociaties. I am most sympathetic with the aims and approach of the conference.

To expedite matters I should like to inform you that I will be at the above address until August 1, 1965. After that date, letters should be sent to the Department of Anthropology, Michigan State University, East Lansing, Michigan, ZIP 48823.

Sincerely yours.

Iwao Ishino Professor of Anthropology WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY

ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI 63130

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY-ANTHROPOLOGY

June 3, 1965

Professor Iwao Ishino Michigan State University Group USCAR, MSU Group APO San Francisco, California 96248

Dear Iwao:

I am most embarrassed at having so poorly directed our original invitation that it took weeks to reach you.

Unfortunately, we find we must postpone the Conference on the Anthropology of Complex Societies, from the original September date to January 20-22, 1966. I hope this will not upset your plans to participate, as we were elated to receive your acceptance.

I hope you will let me know as soon as possible that you have saved those dates for us.

Sincerely,

Alvin W. Wolfe

AWW:ib

#### ★ CONFERENCE AND SEMINAR ROOMS

Marshall Hall, a gift of Granite City Steel Company, provides excellent meeting facilities for as many as fifty persons. Its modern decor and the heating and airconditioning equipment create the added comfort so necessary to successful conferences and seminars.



#### MARSHALL HALL

#### \* \* \* \* \*

Additional meeting rooms are available at **Brom** woods, thus providing ample opportunities for conference groups to divide into smaller discussion sections.



The attractive lounge of the Mary Jane Bromwich Lodge creates the proper atmosphere for relaxation of guests during off-duty hours. This room with the massive native stone fireplace is also a favorite spot for small discussion groups to meet. The Three J's Dining Hall can comfortably accommodate as many as 50 persons for meals. The large stone fireplace and knotty pine interior provide a cozy atmosphere conducive to the enjoyment of good food and friendly companionship. Attractively designed and centrally airconditioned for the added comfort of conference participants, the Three J's Dining Hall is noted for its magnificent cuisine. All meals at **Bromwoods** are prepared and supervised by the Food Service Department of Washington University. During the summer months the large outdoor barbecue pit is in operation to provide additional variety to the already superb menu.

#### ★ EDUCATIONAL ADVANTAGES

In getting away from the distractions of city living — conference participants are able to devote one hundred per cent of their attention to the subject matter. They "live, sleep, and eat" their subject for the three days, one week or whatever time they are present for the conference. From such an educational experience comes not only the usual intellectual understanding, but also an emotional grasp, a depth of perception and conviction almost impossible to attain with typical interrupted learning experiences.

#### **★** FOR ADDITIONAL INFORMATION

Including rates and scheduling activities at Bromwoods—You are invited to write or telephone the:

Director of Conferences, University College Washington University, St. Louis 30, Missouri Telephone: VOlunteer 3-0100, Station 4262

# BROMWOODS

THE NEW CONFERENCE CENTER WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY



LOCATED IN THE SCENIC OZARKS



area erde 314 May fair 9-374/ ANNOUNCES OPPORTUNITIES FOR BUSINESS AND PROFESSIONAL ORGANIZATIONS,

INSTITUTIONS, OR CULTURAL AGENCIES TO CONDUCT CONFERENCES IN THIS UNIQUE

RESIDENTIAL SETTING

#### **★ LOCATION**

Washington University recently announced a gift of seventy acres of beautiful wooded Ozark land, with several buildings included, from Mr. E. W. Bromwich of St. Louis, which has made this Conference Center possible. Located approximately sixty miles southwest of the Metropolitan Area, the tract is now called **Bromwoods**.

30 from St. Louis to Lonedell, turn left onto County Road FF and continue for approximately seven miles, until the first Conference Center sign is reached. Turn left again and follow the signs to **Bromwoods**.



#### DIRECTIONS TO BROMWOODS

#### ★ SETTING

**Bromwoods** provides a scenic Ozark woodland setting with comfortable facilities for special short courses of instruction and training programs administered by Washington University. Heating and air conditioning equipment permit the Washington Universty Conference Center to operate on a twelve month basis.

Walking over the self-guiding nature trails, developed by the Missouri Conservation Commission, is a year around pleasure. In the spring, the dogwood and redbud blossoms vie for the hiker's attention. Later, come the woodland flowers with May Apples, Jack-in-the-Pulpits, Blue Bells, and other unusual, but native, plantings. Autumn, of course, is breathtaking when the majestic oaks and maples assume all of the vivid hues of which they are so capable. At all seasons of the year, the Ozark woodland and countryside promote uninterrupted thought and concentration.

#### **★** FACILITIES

The original gift included a large dining hall, a lodge which contains five bedrooms and an attractive lounge with a native stone fireplace, as well as a cottage which is used as an administration center. Additional cottages have been constructed with the help of donations from business and other local friends of the University. Among these are the Louis Latzer Memorial Cottage (made possible by a gift from the Pet Milk Foundation) Dorothy's Cottage (the gift of an anonymous friend), and Marshall Hall (donated by the Granite City Steel Company).



A view of the interior of the modern sleeping rooms in Dorothy's Cottage. Each twin-bedded room is color keyed for restful living and provides the conference participant with elegant living facilities during his stay.

#### ★ ARRANGEMENTS

Arranging a Conference at **Bromwoods** 

a rewarding experience and is relatively simple for a program chairman. The resources and facilities of Washington University can be made available through conference and short course consultants in University College, the Civic Education Center, and other divisions of the University. Annually, the University conducts between 60 and 70 conferences and short courses. Although Washington University has just acquired this Conference Center, short term residential programs are not new to it. During the past several years opportunities for this kind of educational experience have been provided at resorts in the St. Louis area for alumni, business and engineering groups, physicians, school board members, and others.

#### ★ ACCOMMODATIONS

#### Bromwoods

night with three expertly prepared meals a day. The modern sleeping rooms have been spaciously designed for two persons to a room. Color keyed for restfut living, mach oak paneled room of the new cottages opens by way of double sliding glass doors onto a balcony overlooking the valley.



The Louis Latzer Memorial Cottage can accommodate eight conferees in twin-bedded rooms. Each room opens onto a large balcony overlooking the valley which serves as a "living room" for the occupants of the cottage as well as an area appropriate for small group discussions. The cottage is constructed with materials native to the area . . . cedar shingles, oak paneled interiors and Ozark stone foundations.

#### ★ RECREATION

Modest recreational opportunities include the nature walks and hikes to the Gazebo — a rotunda located for its view at the highest point on the grounds, shuffleboard, ping pong, badminton, volleyball, croquet and horseshoes. Other activities will be continuously added to round-out a complete recreational program.

#### **★** UTILIZATION

Over 450 different persons participated in conferences conducted at **Bromwoods** 

year of operation. At least 50 of these persons attended more than one conference at the new center. Over 100 companies, organizations and educational institutions were represented in this group.

June 11, 1966

#### Dow Chemical Talk, June 15, 1966

- 1. The importance of person-to-personx relationships.
  - = personalistic approach, vs. the impersonal, formalistic
- 2. Who makes the decisions?

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Asians feel that people with proper authority should make them; Americans generally believe that decisions should be made by the people affected by the decisions.

#### 3. Authority Hierarchy?

- = Asian feel that hierarchy and status are important and should be formalized.
- = Americans tend stress equality and stress informality. (First name basis).

#### 4. Approach to problems:

- = Asian favor an emotional, intuitive approach.
- = Americans favor a logical, resonable consideration.

#### 5. Conflict resolution techniques.

- = Asians tend to feel that the majority view should somehow take into consideration the minority's point of view, even thought the minority is absolutely wrong.
- &= Americans tend to put things to a vote and then force the minority to abide by the majority opinion.
- 6. Attitudes toward the future--planning.
  - = Asians tend to dislike planning for the future; rather base their action on past experiences.
  - = Americans like to engage in forecasts and plan accordingly.
- 7. Cause and effect relations.
  - = Asians tend to place greater stress on luck, fate, and accident.
  - = Americans tend to have more "rational" reasons; more empirically based reasons.

#### 8. Concepts of consistency

- = Asians tend to be more situationally oriented.
- = Americans tend to assume to a consistently on personal behavior an expect others to be consistent--logically consistent.

#### 9. Concepts of Space

- = Asians tend to restrict their notions of space and make much to about their physical surroundings.
- = Americans tend to be more "blind" about spatial relations.

#### 10. Concepts of time

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- = Asians tend to favor a more easy-going, slow, and deliberate approach to life.
- = Americans are impatient in Asian's views--tood fast, busy, and anxious.

mone Caler

11. Attitude toward outsiders = Asians generally regard people outside the kin system with distinst \_ foreigners are especially suspect

232 University Drive East Lansing, Michigan June 16, 1966

Mr. Bob Pittsley Dow Chemical Company 2020 Building Midland, Michigan

Dear Mr. Pittsley:

I have enjoyed appearing before your group grasterday. This Hong Kong Orientation class seemed to be very alert and sensitive to cultural subtleties. They should make out very well in the Pacific region.

Below is my statement.

Sincerely yours,

Iwao Ishino Professor of Anthropology

#### Statement

For professional services rendered on June 15, 1966 (includes transportation expenses and two lectures)

\$225.00

CONCEPTS OF TIME

- A. The Five Dimensions of Time
  - 1. Appointment time.

= 45 minutes in Latin America is not bad and one should not feel insulted.

2. Acquaintance time. (how long must you know a man before you he is willing to do business with you).

= One of the realities of a Japanese life is that it is dangerous to enter into business with someone over whom you have no more than formal, legal control.

- 3. <u>Visiting time</u>. (the question of who sets the time for a visit: What does "Come anytime" mean to an Indian?)
- 4. <u>Discussion time</u>. (Much of the business preliminaries involve much time in discussions. This is a necessary part of the talk).

= In American oulture, discussion is a means to an end: the deal. But not in Latin America. Discussion is part of the spice of life.

5. <u>Time schedules</u> (When deliveries are promised; deadlines are set)

= This is highly flexible in the Far East. Cite examples of getting calling cards in Okinawa.

#### B. Situational Analysis

- 1. Be sensitive to discussion topics--always be certain of the appropriateness of the time and place to talk about business.
- 2. Remeber the situation often determines what is appropriate.
- 3. In U.S. business talk is **Aboust** appropriate to discuss in almost all situations and places, even at church. Not so elsewhere.

#### C. Space Analysis

- 1. Standing distance.
- 2. Behind the desk position is poor taste in Asia.
- D. How class and status channels communications.
- E. Cross-cultural adjustment goes both ways.

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#### HONG KONG

Comments and a

#### ORIENTATION FOR OVERSEAS LIVING

JUNE 13 - JUNE 15 1966

MIDLAND, MICHIGAN

CORPORATE EDUCATION AND TRAINING DEPARTMENT

THE DOW CHEMICAL COMPANY

# PACIFIC AREA PERSONNEL

Mr.	and	Mrs.	J.	н.	Ashley
Mr.	and	Mrs.	V.	н.	Buckley
Mr.	and	Mrs.	м.	J.	Bur <b>w</b> ett
Mr.	and	Mrs.	Β.	G.	Etheridge
Mr.	and	Mrs.	R.	F。	Gettings
Mr.			J.	₩.	Harris
Mr.	and	Mrs.	Α.	L.	Johns <b>o</b> n
Mr.	and	Mrs.	R.	W.	Lundeen
Mr.	and	Mrs.	Ρ.	J.	Meeks
Mr.			G.	H.	Pitts
Mr.	and	Mrs.	J.	P.	Strouss

# HONG KONG ORIENTATION PROGRAM

MIDLAND, MICHIGAN - JUNE 13-15, 1966

MONDAY, JUNE 13	<u>Murphy's</u> Restaurant	
6:30 - 8:00 p.m.	Cocktails and Dinner	
8:00 - 9:30 p.m.	Speaker	Laurence J. Taylor Hillsdale College
TUESDAY, JUNE 14	Midland Country Club <u>Sunnyside Room</u>	
8:30 - 8:45 a.m.	Opening Remarks	Robert W. Lundeen
8:45 - 10:00 a.m.	An Overview of the Far East Today	Dr. Paul P. Chien Chairman, Banking & Finance Department Northwood Institute
10:00 - 10:15 a.m.	COFFEE BREAK	
10:15 - 11:45 a.m.	Hong Kong Climate and Customs	Dr. Kwan Wai So Associate Professor of History Michigan State Univ.
12:00 - 1:00 p.m.	BUFFET LUNCH Dining Room Annex	
1:30 - 3:00 p.m.	U.S. Foreign Policy - Far Eastern Countries	Paul Varg Dean of College of Arts and Letters Michigan State Univ.
3:00 - 3:15 p.m.	COFFEE BREAK	niemijam boade onive
3:15 - 4:45 p.m.	Common Languages of the Far East and Problems of Communication	Dr. Kwan Wai So Associate Professor Michigan State Univ.
6:30 - 8:00 p.m.	Cocktails and Dinner Left Annex	
8:00 - 9:30 p.m.	Day to Day Impact of Foreign Experience on Dow People Panel Discussion	Ronald L. Beckett Carole Beckett Lee Visger Betty Lundeen

# HONG KONG ORIENTATION PROGRAM

# (cont.)

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 15	Midland Country Club <u>Sunnyside</u> <u>Room</u>	
8:30 - 10:00 a.m.	Dow Foreign Policy Manual	Richard F. Gettings
10:00 - 10:15 a.m.	COFFEE BREAK	
10:15 - 11:45 a.m.	Problems of Doing Business in the Far East	Dr. Iwao Ishino Associate Professor Department of Anthropology Michigan State Univ.
12:00 - 1:15 p.m.	BUFFET LUNCH Dining Room Annex	G. Robert Baker
1:30 - 3:00 p.m.	Social and Religious Values Far Eastern Countries	Dr. Iwao Ishino Associate Professor Department of Anthropology Michigan State Univ.
3:00 - 3:15 p.m.	COFFEE BREAK	
3:15 - 4:45 p.m.	Communist China - Power in the Far East	Dr. Paul P. Chien Chairman, Banking & Finance Department Northwood Institute

#### MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY - East Lensing, Michigan College of Natural Science - Office of the Dean

**TO:** 

Staff of the Natural Science Seminars, Fall 1966

FROM: B. T. Sandefur, Coordinator for Continuing Education, 103 Natural Science Building, Phone: 5-1715

SUBJECT: Outline and Bibliography

Again, allow me to thank you for the cooperation given the Continuing Education phase of the College of Natural Science in arranging an excellent seminar program for the teachers of science in Michigan. I realize that you must sacrifice some valuable time on your week-ends but I do want you to know that the Administration, the Continuing Education Service, and especially the College of Natural Science appreciates your efforts and it is my hope that the experience will be a rewarding one and I assure you your efforts are deeply appreciated.

You will note on the brochure mailed to the science teachers the statement is made that each lecturer will prepare a short outline and bibliography for his lecture. I do not wish this to be a major chore for you, but is it possible to look over your old outline (if you are an oldtimer in the program) and see if it will surfice for your lecture this Fall. If so, all we would ask you to do is let us know if it is okay.

If you are new to the program and would wish more information please give us a ring and we will try to clear matters for you. Enclosed is a sample outline that you may use as a model, but keep in mind all of these things are personal and no one will prepare an outline exactly as the other person would. In addition do you think it would be possible for you to submit to me several topics, articles, or books that you think might make interesting reading matter for the participants. Please do not make this a lengthly list but if you could send a few titles, even if they were in pencil form, we will take the responsibility of mimeographing the material.

It seems that the teachers at this level rely heavily on handouts from their instructors and are somewhat lost without these assists. It should not be difficult for you to take the enclosed blank model, pencil in a few topics that you wish to discuss, and our office will mimeograph the sheets so that each participant may have at least a rough outline of what you wish to discuss. I don't think we should expect them to take voluminous notes, but your organization will be most important to them. If each speaker presents an outline and a short bibliography it will make a nice package for the entire seminar. In earlier seminars this procedure has prompted many favorable comments from the participants.

Please call if you have questions on any matter relative to your part in the program. Further information will follow, i.e. direction maps, lunch facilities, times, etc.

Thank you so much.

September 23, 1966

MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY EAST LANSING

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY AND ANTHROPOLOGY

The following is an outline for my part of the 1966-67 Natural Science Seminars: (Charles Cleland is taking up the problem of man's origin and human prehistory)

A. The contemporary scene regarding man;

- 1. Biological diversity (human races)
- 2. Cultural diversity (e.g., primtives vs. civilized)
- B. Consequences of this cultural diversity:
  - 1. Differences in population size; population growth
  - 2. Differences in disease rate and life expectancies
  - 3. Differences in literarcy rates
  - Differences in control over instural resources (e.g., lower per capita energy use)
  - 5. Differences in technology
- C. Contemporary attempts to close the culture gap existing among mankind

- With )

Iwao Ishino Professor of Anthropology

November 7, 1966

Suggester little for a term paper Some manples of cultural difference among livery peoples.

P's a hibling upply will be submy tid at a later date.

#### CONFERENCE ON THE ANTHROPOLOGY OF COMPLEX SOCIETIES

Bromwoods Conference Center Washington University St. Louis, Missouri 63130 January 20, 21, 22 (1966)

Sporsored by Department of Sociology-Anthropology Committee on Conference:

John W. Bennett Morris Freilich Jules Henry Alvin Wolfe

#### Participants whose papers will be distributed prior to the Conference:

Richard N. Adams, University of Texas, "The Methodology of Model Construction in Complex Cultures: The Power System"
John W. Bennett, Washington University, "Complexity as a Function of Microcosm-Macrocosm Relationships"
Leo Despres, Western Reserve University, "The Plural Society in Theoretical Perspective"
Morris Freilich, Washington University, "Anthropological Perspectives for Research in Complex Societies"
Harold Gould, University of Pittsburgh, "Satyagraha in India and Non-Violence in the American South: A Case of Cross-Cultural Adaptation"
Jules Henry, Washington University, "A Theory for an Anthropological Analysis of American Culture"
hwao Ishino, Michigan State University, "The Increasing Understanding of Japan"
Arthur Vidich, New School of Social Research, "Political Psychology and Social

Change"

#### Other Participants

David B. Carpenter John Gillin James Jaquith Joseph A. Kahl James O°Connor Lee Rainwater George Talbot Charles Valentine Albert F. Wessen Norman E. Whitten Alvin W. Wolfe C. Fred Blake C. Stanley Jones Seena Kohl Marilyn Merritt Coleman Romalis Carol Talbert Charles Thomas

Schedule

Thursday, January 20 - Arrival at St. Louis, during afternoon; transportation will be furnished to Bromwoods Conference Center (Call VO. 3=0100 Ext. 4430 and please allow for 75-minute drive to Bromwoods

5 30 - Reception

5:30 = Dinner, Welcome Address

7:30 - Organizational Meeting, at which format for discussion will be decided.

9:30 - Coffee and Sandwiches

Friday, January 21 - 8 00 A.M. - Breakfast

9:00 A.M. - Session 10:00 A.M. - Coffee break 12:00 Noon - Luncheon 1:30 P.M. - Session 3:00 P.M. - Coffee break 3:30 P.M. - Coffee break 3:30 P.M. - Session 4:30 P.M. - Session 5:30 P.M. - Adjoursment of Afternoon Session 5:30 P.M. - Social hour 6:00 P.M. - Dinner 7:00 P.M. - Informal Discussion

9:30 P.M. - Sandwiches and Coffee

Saturday, January 22 - 8:00 A.M. - Breakfast 9:00 A.M. - Session 10:00 A.M. - Coffee break 10:30 A.M. - Session 12:00 Noon - Luncheon 1:00 P.M. - Adjournment of Conference

January 14, 1966

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# PATERNALISMS IN JAPANESE INDUSTRY By Iwao Ishino

Consonant with the recent gains Japan has made in world trade and international relations, there has been a noticeable trend toward larger factory systems and toward more bureaucratic pattern of human relations in her economic sector. By the same token, there has been a tendency for the family system to play a smaller role in the economic life of Japan and for its functions to be concentrated in expressive and leisure time pursuits. Nevertheless, there is still a considerable zone of interpenetration where the family and the factory systems converge. I refer to this zone of interpenetration because it furnishes the broad boundaries by which the concept of "paternalism" is to be examined in this paper. Paternalism, in this view, is a pattern of organization in which elements of the family system are utilized to structure human relations either within a single industrial firm or between two or more nominally independent organizations. In our survey of Japanese paternalism four types appear as the dominant forms and it is our purpose to describe each of them here.

#### A. TYPES OF PATERNALISM

<u>Domestic Enterprise</u>. The most obvious kind of paternalism is found in an economic structure in which all or almost all workers are members of a single family unit. In enterprises of this kind the occupational and the kinship roles become so intertwined that it is difficult to separate the numerous strands. Loyalty to the unit, identification with the family organization, and total commitment to the enterprise results from the fusion of instrumental and expressive roles of the work force.

In enterprises of this kind many provisions of the national labor standards law do not apply and family workers may put in longer hours of work and labor under poorer working conditions than their counterparts do in larger factories or businesses. On the other hand, there are compensating factors which makes greater flexibility in the work schedule and in the daily routine. Furthermore as a long-range consideration, the capital gains that may accrue from this joint effort are seen as a tangible contribution toward the welfare of the family is next generation. Hence the time perspective of family workers are not generally limited to their immediate situation but toward the future. The Japanese farmer who today plants trees understanding fully that his son, not he, would reap the harvest, hold such an extended time perspective.

<u>Patron-Client Relations</u>. A second type of paternalism is the patronclient system. In this type the fusion of the instrumental and expressive roles does not apply to the entire organizational unit, but to paired individuals. The individuals so linked in this patron-client system are arranged in a hierarchical status relationship.

In the traditional case, an apprentice, let us say in the silk weaving business, may serve in the master's domestic de enterprise for a number of years with low to learn a trade. His reward comes when he cave establishes his own shop. But such shops do not become a success unless his patron, the master craftsman, provides the necessary financial and ther support.

Another form of Patron-client relations, is no longer important but at the beginning of the modernization period, this type led to the great proliferation of trading companies one finds in Japan today. These trading companies began as financiers to different sets of household industries. They loaned these tiny facotries sufficient funds to purchase raw materials and production equipment and they provided technical advice and marketing information. Patronage of this sort has paid off for many of the nationwide giant trading companies which have now diversified into a wide range of industries and have near monopolistic control over the distribution of many different commodities. In some instances, the client firms have outgrown their patron trading companies and therefore conceivably could exercise independent action for obtaining raw materials and for arranging for their own system of distribution for their products. However, because of sentiments regarding the former patron-client ties, these clients firms feel constrained to channel their business through the old system. These instances are, however, becoming rare as foreign businesses enter the domestic market and as new industries such as those in chemicals, electronics, and optics develop.

<u>Oyabun-Kobun Type</u>. The third type, the <u>Oyabun-kobun</u>, is a hybrid group in the sense that it combines organizational features of both the Voluntaria anaccentric kin group and those of non-kinsmen. That is, this hybrid type brings २

together as a productive work unit unrelated persons who operate together <u>as if</u> they were related. The myth of kinship is reinforced by appropriate ritual and by mutual obligations analogous to the real family situation.

Immediately after World War II (1945-50) these sets were found among various kinds of casual labor groups in transportation and construction industries. They were also found among street stall operators and racketeering syndicates. (See Bennett and Ishino, 1963).

It is not known how much of this type of paternalism survives in present day Japan, but it probably is not significant. The rise of the labor unions, the increase in the standard of living, and the improvement of public welfare contributed toward the demise of the system.

Managerial Paternalism. The final type to be considered here is what is known as managerial paternalism. The major features of this system was eloquently delineated by James Abegglen in 1958 when he surveyed 19 large factories and 34 small firms. These features can be summarized as follows:

First, the relationship between labor and management is based on loyalty and mutual obligations. Regular employees are recruited through well-established personal and institutional connections the firm may have with various schools and colleges. Once recruited, workers have a lifetime commitment to the firm (<u>shushin kyosei</u>). Management responds to labor with the <u>teiinsei</u> tenure system, whereby, despite the fluctuations of the business cycle, workers are maintained on the employment rolls. This formula permits employers to be free of responsibility with respect to non-tenured or temporary workers. This catagory can be released during slack periods with impunity.

Management also reinforces the loyalty principle by its functionallydiffuse wage system, which has a sliding scale of payment for such particularistic reasons as the number of dependents an employee has, his travel time from home, and his need for recreation. The disbursement of seasonal bonuses and the rather costly retirement allowances for long-term employees further support the paternalistic ideology.

Second, this general pattern of loyalty and lifetime commitment in industry is seen by Abegglen as a reflection of the more society-wide ideology of 'familism' and hence rooted in Japanese traditions. The pattern of relationship governing management and worker is seen not as an isolated instance, but an integral facet of Japanese culture. Those of us who have read Ruth Benedict's classic analysis of Japanese culture (<u>Chrysanthemem and the Sword</u>) are easily convinced of the validity of Abegglen's conceptualization of the Japanese factory system. ×

It is difficult to state precisely how pervasive this system is in the total picture of Japan industrial firms, but as noted before, Abegglen found "managerial paternalism" to be a common theme in all of the 19 large and 34 small establishments he visited.

Other observers confirm Abegglen's conclusions. For example, Peter F. Bruncher (1961: 68), an American management consultant to Japanese firms, has this to say about paternalism and its distinctive features: "A man does not 'get a job' in Japan. He is, so to speak, adopted into a clan: once on a payroll, always on the payroll . . . Wage and salary . . are an installment on a lifetime contract of mutual loyalty, not payment for work done. This makes seniority, rather than skill or accomplishment, the basis for wage levels, and raises the overhead in older companies . . . Because the lifetime relationship between the employer and the employee is considered a family tie, the employee also participates in the earnings of the enterprise, over and above the employer's fair share. Hence--most confusing to a foreigner--the bonus system. Actually people do not get twelve monthly salaries: they get between fifteen and twentyfour according to the size of the semi-annual bonus."

B. CASE EXAMPLE: THE MOTONO COMPANY

The foregoing varieties of paternalism often link together in interesting ways. One concrete case, the Motono Company, illustrates this point. It was studied by Lawrence Olson in 1964.

The Motono Company produces a variety of specialized machines for the textivele spinning and weaving industry. In 1963, it sold some \$678,000 of machines, 80 per cent of which were sold in the domestic market and the remainder overseas. To produce this quantity, it has a workshop staff of only 96 employees but an office staff of 52. The explanation of this low ratio of shop to office workers is found in the company's relations with its 35 subcontracting firms.

The Motono Company is a joint stock company with Motono and members of his extended family owning the controlling share. His father started in this business in 1905 as a domestic enterprise.

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When Motono was about 10 years old, his father died and the management of this shop was turned over to a trusted appretice by the name of Hara. This took place in 1919.

Motono was ready to take on business responsibilities in 1941 but instead of taking over the management of the shop run by Hara, Motono established an independent firm next door to Hara's shop. Motono then became **officially** a patron of Hara's and the latter's shop continued to provide the nuts, bolts, and other parts required the patron's firm.

Throughout World War II, Motono's company prospered with its supply of airplane parts for the navy, but Hara's shop continued as a small, subordinate shop. In 1957, Hara died Motono's subsequent action was most revealing. He closed down the shop his father had established and he came to regard his obligations to Hara cancelled with the latter's death. The only remaining matter was to take care of the longterm employees who worked under Hara. These workers were grouped along with some of the trusted employees in his own shop to set up what was translated as "special subordinate co-operating companies." Thus, Motono, as patron, spawned a group of six "client" shops.

These domestic enterprises, each headed by a former employee or an employee of his father, were not the only subcontractors to Motono. There were in fact 29 other companies, but the patron-client real tions applied to those managed by the former employees.

As stated before, Motono's net sales in 1963 was \$678,000, but he has not gone into mass-production. In that year, for example, he sold a wide variety of specialized machines in comparatively small lots, 144 units being the largest number of any one type produced. This high product differentiation makes mass-production difficult, but takes advantage of the flexibility his subcontractor relations make possible. Though he has several business building and a sales office in Osaka, his present employees number only 154. His wage costs for producing a wide variety of machines are kept low by the subcontracting system. He reinvests a fair share of his firm's earnings and his personal life style has not changed greatly in the last ten years. "He still lives in the same house and allows himself few luxuries beyond a good camera and a set of gold clubs."

Motono, now a man in his middle fifties, patterns his management labor relations described before as managerial paternalism, but with 5
a few additional embellishments. He has a company resthouse in the mountains north of Kyoto, a tennis court for workers on the company grounds, and a dormitory-like building on the factory premises. He gives "technical allowance" for those who finish special night-school courses. He appears before his massed workers each morning to give his personal greetings. He pays a good deal of attention to the recruiting of new employees and he prefers unsophisticated but malleable young workers brought in directly from the rural areas. For this, he has a team of recruiters who regularly cover the southwestern region of Japan.

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In summary, Motono and his subcontractors make possible a wide range of specialized machines products, spreads the business risks among a number of entrepredurs, and relies heavily on the manual skills of the various interdependent firms. If one company were to unite all these human and physical resources under one roof, it would require more capital and perhaps more management skill than that which Motono could personally muster.

### C. WHY PATERNALISM STILL SURVIVES

The foregoing description of Japanese paternalism strongly suggests that this institution is still a vital element in the nation's industrial structure. Seen from the vantage point of the Western experience, this persistence makes it appear as an anachronism. I would like to examine this system to see what "niches" are available to support the continuation or demise--as the case may be--of these various forms of paternalism.

The Niche for Domestic Enterprises. For reasons beyond the scope of this present paper, Japanese industry is still dominated by medium- and small-scale industries. According to the government's Bureau of Statistics (1964: 86), about 50 percent of the nation's 553,000 manufacturing firms have less than 5 employees. Another 22 percent have between 5 and 9 employees. Thus, this suggests that Japanese economic structure is still 6

dependent upon small face-to-face type of human relations in factory enterprises.  $77.9_{\circ}$  Kaust  $\mathcal{R}_{ero}$  is a  $10 \exp(\log \theta)$ 

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But further analysis can be made of these data. For one thing, several critical distinctions **mest** be made in the total economic picture. One distinction is "indigenous" vs. "Westernized" sectors of the economy. The former industries produce commodities which were available prior to the Meiji restoration (pre-1868), while the latter refers to commodities that were introduced since 1868, largely from the West.

If we make this distinction, then, the illustration of the Motono Company provides a concrete instance of how a group of these enterprises can be linked together to produce quality machinery for the <u>Westernized</u> sector. Such subcontracting firms are domestic enterprises and the particular arrangement between them and the superordinate company illustrates how this structure provides the niche that supports the domestic enterprises. This subcontracting network, from an economic standpoint, illustrates the full utilization of small amounts of capital, the great range of product differentiation, and the intensive use of manual skills (See also Rsovsky and Ohkawa, 1961; 496) that are still important for the Westernized sector.

There is another kind of niche which we call here the "indigenous" sector. A very large group of domestic enterprises are supported simply because there still remains a very active market for "indigenous" commodities and services. The Japanese public, in spite of its obvious Western facade, purchases a wide range of Japanese-style apparels, household furnishings (e.g. tatami mats), food items (e.g., seaweed and cuttlefish), entertainment and services (e.g. geisha). A very detailed study by Rosovsky and Ohkawa (1961) concludes that one-half of the typical household budget is spent on these "indigenous" goods and services. A wide range of enterprises specialize in >

producing, processing, and fabricating indigenous commodities to meet this public demand.

There is some evidence moreover that this indigenous niche is expanding along with the current improved standard of living. The new rising middle class can now afford expensive Buddihist shrines, valuable silk kimonos, periodic visits to hot spring resorts, and expensive Japanese gourmet items. These commodities and services are provided by the still substantial proportion of the labor force which ch is organized as domestic enterprises. Rosovsky and Ohkawa state that 27 percent of the non-farm labor force in 1955 were engaged in such industries.

Finally a third generalized niche so for domestic enterprises is the "agricultural" one. With the obvious pull of the urban-industrial sector for laborers--as was seen in the case of the Motono Company--one would expect a general decline in the number of farm families. Indeed some statistics indiciate the push of the farm population toward non-farm occupations. The Bureau of Statistics (1964;26) show that there were 16 million employed on the farms in 1955. From 16 million, this farm labor force has dropped to 6.6 million in 1963. In 1963 alone some 400,000 workers left agricultural employment.

Yet, the fact is that the farm units (or families) have not declined, in number along with this shift in the labor force. Though workers are moving out of farm employment in droves, the farm units have remained virtually constant for the past 80 years or more. (This is quite different from the United States where the shift from farm to nonfarm labor has meant a steady decline in the number of farm units.)

The Niche for Patron-Client Systems. In the case of domestic enterprises, the changing economic conditions on the national level have not resulted in its drastic elimination. The widespread system of subcontracting, the continued high demand for indigenous products, and the cultural pressure to maintain the identity of the farm family have combined to provide a sufficient number of economic niches that support the continuation of domestic enterprises as a viable system. Not so with regard to another kind of paternalism, the patron-client system. As the case of the Motono Company illustrated, the movement is toward joint stock company if the firm expands, and as soon as Motono's present subordinate client subcontractors retire, they will probably be replaced by non-patron-client type of relationship. The six special subcontractors, who are Noton's clients, receive preferential treatment, which do not make good economic sense. Similarly, with regard to patron-client relationships of the trading companies, Boye De Menthe (1963) indicates how the present tendency is to form new business coalitions which circumvent or negate the near monopolistic control formerly held by these traditional trading companies.

The Niche for Oyabun-Kobun and Managerial Paternalism. The description of the niche for the remaining two types of paternalism requires a historical treatment. In the original version of this paper I have written a rather long statement on this development, but time permits only a cursory statement.

In essense, like any developing nation, the labor force for the emerging factories of Japan came from the farms. These ex-farmers found it exceedingly difficult to adjust themselves to the pace set by the machines and to the working conditions of the factory. In the first decades of the modern period, there was a high rate of absenteeism and labor turnover. Factory owners tried to meet this challenge by hiring labor recruiters to comb the countryside for workers and they were authorized to offer such inducements as paying advance wages to the worker's family. When competition for workers became severe, the factory operators hired "goon squads" and labor recketeers to maintain the supply of labor.

Of course none of these tactics were satisfactory and the labor problem continued to mount. Radical labor movements rose to the surface and the government began to take an active rool in the problem. The strategy of the government was to force upon management a number of conditions which would make factory work more attractive. The Factory Act of 1916 (later amended in 1923) set minimum employment age, maximum working hours, compensation for injury and sickness, benefits.. In addition the Act provided for travel expenses to and from work, dismissal allowances and other features which were precursors of the present managerial paternalism.

As the enforcement of those regulations improved and as the labor force came to expect these benefits, it became increasingly difficult for the marginally efficient firms to conform to the letter of the law. If lifetime commitment, retirement allowances, dismissal pay, health benefits, seasonal bonuses and other features were necessary, the factory-owner reasoned that some distinctions should be made among his labor force. This distinction was to divide the work force into two hierarchical groups, the top called the "permanent" employees and the lower, the "temporary." Management would continue to assume their obligations of paternalism with respect to the permanent work force, but not with respect to the temporary staff.

This status distinction produced a further division in those industries, such as stevedoring and construction, where there were great periodic fluctations in the demand for labor. This secondary distinction separated the "temporary" laborers from the "casual" labor force. The development fo the "casual " labor force in turn provided a niche in which the <u>Oyabun-Kobun</u> pattern emerged as a system. a labor boss, having nominal ties with the established firm, would recruit laborers as a subcontracor. Such <u>oyabun</u> or bosses also acted as supervisors for the men they controlled.

The problem of labor relations continued throughout the depression of the 1930's. Trade union and radical political thought converged to put further pressures on the factory owners. The government attempted to control the rise of radicalism and applied stringent countermeasures. So did the factory owners who sponsored their own company unions and this, in turn, strengthened the paternalistic hold over the workers.

Toward the beginning of World War II, the problems of labor scarcity again emerged as men were being drained off for the army and as factory production increased. The distinction between permanent and temporary workers lost its meaning in this context of competition for scarce labor. The government's manpower mobilization program and the factory owners's desperate attempts combined to strenthen the philosophy of managerial paternalism as a means of keeping wartime productivity as high as possible.

With the end of the war, there began the sustained drive for economic development and with this drive came further adjustments in the labor market and further changes in the concept of managerial paternalism. These changes, affected by the stimulus provided by the reform-minded Occupation Forces, resulted in the universalization of some of the fringe benefits. For example, unemployment insurance, compulsory health insurance, and national old-age annuity were some of the governsment social security measures to which employees contributed a large share.

The foregoing development thus indicated that on the one hand the niche for oyabun-kobun systems has been virtually eliminated, but on the other hand the niche for managerial paternalism has been strenthened by the government's sanctioning of the system by means of the Factory Act of 1916 and subsequent legislation. The postwar trend toward nationalization 0

of some central features of paternalism, such as compulsory health insurance and old-age annuity, may portend a breakdown of the pervasive niche that is seen at the present time for managerial paternalism.

### C. PATERNALISTIC POLYMORPHISM AND THE JAPANESE ECONOMY

The foregoing disucssion of niches reveals a further condition of contemporary Japanese society and economy. That is, it is a society which not only has a dual economy (indigenous vs. westernized), but more accurately a "split-level" economy, with several intermediate levels between the indigenous and the "imported systems." The various types of paternalism discussed above indicated how this <u>polymorphism</u>--to borrow a term from population genetics--developed in relation to the split-level economy.

I conclude this paper with a brief summary of paternalistic polymorphism and with some speculations about its future. Will it continue to decline, as it did in Western nations, or, like in human genetics, is it a phenomenon of balanced polymorphism where a variety of forms continue as part of the "survival"system?

<u>Formal Classification</u>. The four types of paternalism reviewed above suggest a formal calssification. Two of them, the domestic enterprise and the <u>oyabun-kobun</u> type, clearly uses the <u>structural</u> principles of the basic family system. The remaining two--the patron-client system and managerial paternalism--do not attempt to organize the entire economic unit, but rather functions as a <u>relational</u> agent for linking one party to another. In the case of the patron-client system, the linkage is between the individuals concerned and does not necessarily imply an organizational involvement. Similarly managerial paternalism is also a relational one which defines labor-management relations,

Cross-cutting the structural-relational dichotomy is another which separates the four types into functionally-specific and functionally-diffuse categories. Both "domestic enterprise" and the "managerial paternalism" types are comparatively diffuse in the goals pursued, while the other two-are limited to the resources and the two-oyabun-kobun and patron-client--are more specifically goal-oriented toward particular economic or professional gains. These dimensions then provide Concerned the following classification:

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	Structural Types	Relational Types
Corporate security Functionally Diffuse Goals	Domestic Enterprise	Managerial Paternalism
Non corporate Functionally- Security Specific Goals	0yabun⊢Kobun	Patron- Client

Speculations about the Future of Paternalism. The preceding formal classification of paternalism raises an interesting point of speculation. By far the two "functionally diffuse goal types" (domestic enterprise and managerial paternalism) are more numerous than the "functionally specific "there" (oyabun-kobun and patron-client). I would suggest that the *Corporate security* "diffuse" types are more important in the contemporary economy because they provide an important counter-point to modern types of social structures where universalistic standards are the rule for guiding interpersonal relations in the work situation. By contrast the "functionally specific" types are more easily supplanted by the contractual and bureaucratic arrangement of modern industrial relations. Hence, if any form of paternalism is to survive, the functionally diffuse goal types would probably find a better niche in a split-level economy than would a functionally specific Moneorporate system of paternalism.

Another point of speculation regarding the future of functionally diffuse forms of paternalism concerns the national policy toward social welfard, Critics of the present government policy toward welfare claim that insufficient amount of public funds have been allocated to this sector. Yamamura (1966: 728) for example, notes that the "sum budgeted for social welfare in Japan is only 16.3 percent of the total budget for 1964, "and that this figure represents "one of the lowest among nations enjoying per capita income of over 400 dollars." He urges a much higher budget for badly neglected housing, education, and other areas of public welfare. In other words, Japanese industries, by means of paternalism for their own workers, tries to fill the welfare gap that the government fails to fill. It is submitted that Corporate comments and in the various forms, will tend to decline. Finally another speculation might be made specifically about the future of <u>polymorphic Paternalism</u>. I have suggested that modern Japanese society is based not on a dual economy, but on a split-level economy. And that this condition, in turn, tolerates the continued practice of polymorphic industrial structures, including several types of paternalism. Whether this kind of polymorphic industrial arrangement would continue into the future and result in <u>balanced polymorphism</u> is yet to be determined. But like balanced polymorphism in genetics, much of the controlling factors lies in the system's environment. If Japan's export goods **measures** continue to be appreciated abroad, then her modern sector will continue to expand and her paternalism will tend to decline. But, if the sales of her export commodities decline, paternalism would certainly be strengthened and her modern industrial structure will determine to a large extent whether the polymorphic industrial structure is balanced or fortuitous.

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To prevent possible misunderstanding, these speculations may now be summarized. First, the functionally diffuse types of paternalism have a better chance of surviving in contemporary Japan's split level economy, that do the functionally specific types.

Second, the functionally diffuse types, in turn, will tend to decline more rapidly if the government takes a more vigorous program toward improving badly negelected housing, education and other public welfare needs.

Third and Finally, the polymorphic paternalism will become fortuitous, not <u>balanced</u>, if Japan continues to enjoy an expanded world trade. At present with her split-level economy, this polymorphism is balanced.

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# THE ANTHROPOLOGY OF COMPLEX SOCIETIES: THE CASE OF JAPAN

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### JAPANESE STUDIES

This paper reviews some of the highlights of the anthropological studies of Japan, a society which I believe would qualify as a "complex society." Such a review illuminates the strengths, as well as the weakness, of the anthropological approach to contemporary civilizations. More important for the present conference, it examines the weaknesses and offers a remedy.

## The Case of Japan

By and large American anthropologists became interested in Japanese studies at the beginning of World War II. At that time there was just one major monograph on a Japanese community by a non-Japanese anthropologist or sociologist. This was John Embree's <u>Suye Mura</u>, an isolated mountain village in the southern island of Kyushu. Embree who carried out his study in 1937 concluded that though Suye Mura "cannot be claimed to represent all rural Japan any more than any other single village, it is at least representative in many respects... (1937: xv). Similarly in contrasting this village with a primitive community, he had this to say: "A peasant community possesses many of the characteristic of a preliterate society, e.g., an intimate local group, strong kinship ties, and periodic gatherings in honor of some defined aspect of the environment. On the other hand it presents many important differences from the simpler societies... /which/ make it impossible to regard Suye Mura as comparable to a purely selfcontained preliterate society" (1937: xvi). The image of the preliterate society persists in the study of the literate.

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The next major contribution to Japanese studies came from Ruth Benedict who wrote <u>The Chrysanthemum and the Sword</u> (1946). In her first chapter she provides some insights which guided her analysis: "...There are many social arrangements and habits of life in Japan which have close parallels even in the primitive tribes of the Pacific Islands. Some of these parallels are in Malaysia, some in New Guinea, some in Polynesia. It is interesting, of course, to speculate on whether these show some ancient migrations or contacts, but this problem of possible historical relationship was not the reason why knowledge of these cultural similarities was valuable to me. It was rather that I knew in these simpler cultures how these institutions worked and could get clues to Japanese life from the likeness or the differences I found... Anthropologists had shown over and over in their studies of primitive people how valuable such cultural comparisons can be" (1946: 8-9).

She continues to explain her approach to the study of Japanese society: "As a cultural anthropologist also I started from the premise that the most isolated bits of behavior have some systematic relation to each other. I took seriously the way hundreds of details fall into over-all patterns. A human society must make for itself some design for living ... Some degree of consistency is necessary or the whole scheme falls to pieces" (1946: 11-12).

I shall return to this configurational premise later, for it strikes at the heart of the discussion on the holistic approach that, according to many, . lies at the core of cultural anthropology.

In the postwar period there followed dozens of field investigations carried out by anthropologists, sociologists and other social scientists. No doubt attracted by the favorable public health conditions and generally excellent facilities for travel, residence and research support, this group of foreign scholars pursued a wide range of research projects. The field situation as

-2-

as Beardsley ably described it (1959:1-2) was also attractive:

1. Nature and culture combine to make Japan almost unique as a locus for comparative studies. Sharp cultural contrasts of many sorts exists side by side, resulting from marked variation of topography or ecology, intensive specialization of occupation, extensively developed social stratification, rapid cultural change, and other factors. These variations repeat themselves from region to region, for, in each area, city is set against country, mountain against lowland or seashore, old against new, in close juxtaposition...

2. Japan's spectacular leap from the past to the posture of a modern, industrialized nation, at a rate which has not yet begun to slacken, opens a wealth of processes to investigation. The study of these processes in Japan provide a model for nations with similar economic and social issues in prospect throughout the non-Western world...

The Japanese studies conducted by Western anthropologists and sociologists can be conveniently grouped into several categories: village studies, institutional analyses, national character researches, and urban life studies.

Village Studies. By far the most numerous were the village or community studies. While most tended to be problem-oriented -- e.g., culture change, family structure, land reform -- each contained a strong ethnographic interest. Beardsley (1954: 37-53) surveys this output through 1953, but the substantial productivity summarized here has multiplied since then. Over the entire period some of the best known monographs are by Robert J. Smith (1953), John B. Cornell (1953), Edward Norbeck (1954), John D. Donoghue (1955), Erwin H. Johnson (1961), Harumi Befu (1962), Felix Moos (1963), J.F. Plummer (1963). The most sustained and detailed analysis of a single community by any social scientist is a book written by Beardsley, Hall and Ward (1959). This work will be examined in more detail later.

One major interest in doing community studies is to obtain data and observations on the nature of the total culture of the society. The community study is a feasible handle for getting at this rather diffuse thing called "culture." Yet long-time students of the community study methodology like

-3-

Arensberg and Kimball (1964: 42) claim that such is not the purpose of doing community studies: "Community study is not the study of whole culture, or of communities; that is, in the natural contexts made up of natural and full human cooperative living, of living intergenerational and intersexual relationships, of ongoing cultural and interfamilial communication and transmission." In looking over the various community studies in Japan, I am forced to agree that Arensberg and Kimball are essentially correct. Out of these Japanese village studies no consistent picture of Japanese culture emerges.

Psychological Anthropology. Culture and personality studies, now being designated as psychological anthropology, have been popular in Japan. Both American anthropologists as well as their Japanese counterparts have pursued such interests as child-rearing practices, family relations, the diagnosis and care of the mentally ill, delinquency behavior, and national character. As is true elsewhere, in Japan the basic data for interpretations have relied on questionnaires, projective tests, opinion surveys and the like. William Caudill, George de Vos, Edward Norbeck, Hiroshi Wagatsuma, Takeo Doi, Hiroko Sue, and Takao Sofue are examples of researchers in this field. Y. Scott Matsumoto (1960) has attempted to delineate some salient features of Japanese national culture through the analysis of opinion survey data.

Again, while in many respects psychological anthropology in Japan might have been aimed at a holistic, integrative conceptualization of Japanese culture, such a product has not yet emerged. In a very recent article a Japanese scholar (Tatsuro Yamamoto (1964: 96-97) has examined these culture and personality data and synthesized findings under 17 topts:

1. Delicacy, fondness, beautification of life, harmony with nature, sensitiveness to seasonal change, love of small-scaled completion and simplicity, tampaku (unemotional, frankness, indifference), love of purity, cleanliness, attachment to the past.

-4-

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5

2. Politeness, courteousness, respectfulness, delicacy and sensitiveness to interpersonal feeling, fulfillment of promises, sycophancy, well-intentioned lie, dislike of flat confrontation.

3. Nonextremism, moderation, harmony, gentleness, tolerance, compromise, mediation-system.

4. Diligence, sincerity, patience, self-control, self-sacrifice, perseverance, sanguine temperament, blowing hot--blowing cold.

5. Love of peace, but bravery in war, martial spirit, and if the opponent is found to be stronger in a fair and square fight, frankness in surrendering at discretion.

6. Imitativeness, lack of creativeness and originality, ability to assimilate, receptiveness, adaptability, utilitarianism, pragmatism, progressiveness, sensitiveness to the external world. Reliance upon external standards and help, quick response to the outer impact, inferiority complex in facing foreign civilization.

7. Order, discipline, and self-sacrifice in the family, utmost importance of filial piety, nonestablishment of individual's place in the family, tradition of benevolent housefather, higher position of mother than wife, indulgence to infants, high estimation of family name and family honor, adoption of son for the continuation of household, <u>inkyo</u> (abdication of the headship of a family), ancestor worship, veneration of kami (god) together with the worship of ancestors, family suicide (including children).

8. Prominence of national interest, the nation as a disguised family, the religion of Tenno worship, mythological sanction of the position of the ruler, sympathetic relations between the imperial family and the people.

9. Thinking much of prestige, dignity, and honor, fear of being mocked, maintenance of dignity, attitude of protection from disdain, aggressive when insulted or blamed, virtuously vengeful when insulted.

10. Paternalistic benevolence in social contacts, boss-andfollower relations fictiously identified with father and son, submission and nonresistance to authirity, devoted service to lord annihilating private concersn--sometimes connected with the ascetic practice of Zen Buddhism, self-immolation on the death of the lord.

11. Having proper place in the graded social system, importance of honorifics and self-abasing expressions in the language, weakness of class consciousness, underdevelopment of public morality, indifference of politics, shame at being involved in political affairs. 12. Placing more importance upon limited human relations than universal ethics or religious belief, less importance on individuality than particular human groups, social tie of <u>on</u> (favor flowing down) and <u>giri</u> (sense of obligation created by <u>on</u>), conflict between humanity and <u>giri</u> obligation, endurance of the feeling of gratitude.

13. Immediate perception, intuitive and realistic thinking, actualism, empiricism, worldliness, love of practicality, nonmediativeness, nonmetaphysicality, dislike of abstract thinking, not giving recognition without concrete evidence, stressing koto (things, happenings) more than <u>ri</u> (reason, fundamental principle), vulgar meterialism, acceptance of existing reality, stressing the particular more than the universal.

14. Nontheoretical irrational thinking, underdevelopment of scientific spirit, ambiguous consciousness of subject and predicate in the expressive form of judgment, lack of imagination and criticism, classification by simplified categories, biased attachment to theory detached from actuality, general conclusion based upon one fact.

15. Dislike of religious commandments, more reliance upon humanity and sympathy than law, weak consciousness of super-existence over human groups, observance of social norms irrespective of one's thoughts in mind, changing principle of behavior according to time and place, inconsistency, opportunism.

16. Little care about life beyond the grave, no god of preeminence distinct from human being, double belief in Shintoism and Buddhism with no contradiction, no cruel treatment of infidels, belief in the divine favor in this world, subordination of religion to ancestors, parents, lord and nation, suicide normal and not a sin, shinju (lovers' suicide).

17. Belief in the uncertainty of life, fatalism, quick resignation, little consciousness of guilt, lack of profound hatred of sin, nonchalant optimism, <u>oharai</u> (expulsion of sin and impurity by means of Shinto ritual).

The compiler of the above list acknowledges the "somewhat arbitrary mixtures of heterogeneous writings ... and observations of diverse authors." In my view such a listing does not bring out the neat configuration which Ruth Benedict posited in her study of Japanese culture (see Benedict 1946: 11-12, quoted above).

Institutional Analysis. Going to another category of anthropological studies, I believe an increasing interest is shown in the various "institutional" areas "the Japanese" society. Ronald Dore (1965) has examined the roots of Japanese educational system in the pre-modern Tokugawa period, John Singleton (1965) has examined a secondary school and its relation to the community in northern Japan. Robert N. Bellah (1957), a sociologist, has assayed Tokugawa religion and its value system. Felix Moos (1963 b) has combined religion and politics in a survey of the <u>Soka Gokkai</u>, a religious group devoted to political action as a part of its nativistic orientation. David Platt (1965) has examined Utopian communities and their related religious values. David Plath (1964) has also produced an excellent study of the complex recreational life of the Japanese and its implications in the rising affluent society.

Family and kinship analysis continues alongside of community studies and an analysis of this institutional feature is accomplished with the standard ethnographic reports on communities. Bennett and Ishino (1963) have a book on the role of parakinship institutions in the Japanese economy.

<u>Urban Studies</u>. So far as Western anthropology or sociology is concerned, the significant contributions are these three: Ronald Dore's, <u>City Life in Japan</u>, (1958), Robert Smith's <u>Pre-industrial Urbanism in Japan</u>, (1960), Ezra Vogel's, <u>Japan's New Middle Class</u>, (1964), which focuses on the significant strata of urban life. However none of these attempts to show the total gestalt of the city.

-7-

Dore's work, for example, aims to "give an idea of what it is like to be a Japanese living in Shitayama-cho, a neighborhood of some three hundred households not far from the center of Tokyo" (1958: 3). Moreover, the view of urban life that the reader gets from this book does not fill the gaps that are left in his understanding of the urban growth of the Japanese society as a whole and the role Japan is playing in the modern scientific and political world. I realize that there is only so much that one could put in a single book, but the shortcomings noted here are matters of intent intellectual curiosity.

### Conclusion about the Japanese Studies

One cannot help but conclude that, despite the headstart both Embree's <u>Suye Mura</u> and Ruth Benedict's <u>The Chrysanthemum and the Sword</u> gave anthropology over other disciplines in the study of modern Japanese society, the lead has not been maintained over the last twenty years. Various academic disciplines with their more rigorous conceptual models have portrayed both historically and contemporaneously the political, economic, and demographic aspects of Japanese society. The following list suggests the mature, scholarly development of the literature on Japanese society.

> Robert A. Scalapino and Junnosuke Masum, Parties and Politics in Contemporary Japan (1962). Robert A. Scalapino, Democracy and the Party Movement in Prewar Japan (1953). Nobutake Ike, The Beginnings of Political Democracy in Japan (1950). George Akita, The Foundations of Constitutional Government in Modern Japan, 1868–1900 (1965). Kazuo Kawai, Japan's American Interlude (1960). Irene Taeuber, The Population of Japan (1959). William Lockwood, The Economic Development of Japan; Growth and Structural Change 1868–1938 (1954). Henry Rosovsky, Capital Formation in Japan (1961). Thomas C. Smith, Political Change and Industrial Development in Japan: Government Enterprise, 1868–1880 (1955).

-8-

The development of a substantial literature on the politics, economics and demography of Japan very definitely aids the maturation of anthropological studies. It enables anthropologists to obtain insights into those aspects of the modern<sup>1</sup> culture<sup>1</sup> which were not previously available. The most comprehensive ethnography of a Japanese village available in any language (Bearsdley, Hall and Ward 1959) illustrates this point. This magnificient compendium of facts and interpretations of the Niike people benefited from the efforts of a multidisciplinary team which included specialists in history, political science, geography, psychology and economics. It is safe to say that without such a team a thorough ethnography of this type would not have been possible.

At the same time, it becomes evident that as additional disciplines become involved in the study of the same complex society, the role and significance of anthropological findings may diminish concurrently. Another recently published book, an ethnographic monograph on the entire society of Japan, exemplifies the declining role of "anthropologically collected" facts. In this book, <u>Twelves Doors to Japan</u> (Hall and Beardsley 1965), only two of the twelve chapters can be clearly identified as being part of the anthropological province--one with the title of "Cultural Anthropology" and the other "Personality Psychology."

When it comes to integrating the various known facts about Japan and delineating the grand design, as Benedict urged, the historians have approached it better than any living anthropologist. The high quality of the following books illustrates the integrating skills of the historian:

George B. Sansom, The Mestern Morld and Japan (1951) Thomas C. Smith, The Agrarian Origins of Modern Japan (1959) Edwin O. Reischauer, Japan Past and Present (1964)

-9-

Hugh Borton, Japan's Hodern Century (1955)

E. O. Reischauer and Fairbank, J. K., Mast Asia: The Great Tradition (1958) Perhaps their control over historical documents and their broad humanistic concerns given them a better vantage point for uncovering the structure of the social and cultural patterns than do the anthropologists' field workkexperiences and the book learning of comparative cultures.

A more important factor might be gleaned from the 20-year experience of anthropologists dealing with the frustrating problem of trying to delineate holistically the Japanese culture pattern. That is, our attempt to find a national cultural comparable to the "whole culture" of primitive societies is resulting in a dismal failure because no such entity really exists. Perhaps the lack of a national culture is a defining characteristic of a "complex society."

Barlier, Richard W. Adams (1958: 357) came to a similar conclusion about the validity--or lack of it--of the national culture concept when he surveyed the cultures of middle America. He writes: "cultures and psychological characteristics attributed to nations may in fact not be national at all, but peculiar to one or a few components of the total population, or be characteristics of a supranational culture." (See also S.N. Eisenstadt 1960: 208 on a comparable point).

Eric (olf (1964) put this non-transferability of the culture concept from simple to complex societies more delicately: "We are confronting a concept  $\neq$  of cultur  $\subset$  vastly different in shape and meaning from the concept that occupied the anthropologist at an earlier time. . . We have moved on to emphasize interrelationships, and to visualize chains of systems within systems, rather than isolated phenomena with impermeable boundaries."

In another book, the same author dramatizes the point. It is

-10-

quoted here in some length because it makes still another point which I wish make later: (1965: 42)

A simple network market may exist where one peasant solls pigs, another woolen sweaters, a third hobnails for walking boots, a fourth lime and the pig-seller finally buys lime, the seller of woolen sweaters purchases hobnails. But as we have said, the relations are ever subject to the entry of third parties and are therefore capable of ever-increasing complication. More and more middlemen and converters, processing this or that product, may intervene between the primary producers. Mor need the circulation of product and money be confined to the original habitat of the primary producers. Coffee raised in Columbia may furnish the raw material for the øffice break in Ann Arbor, Eichigan; butter and cheese produced on Danish farms may make the English breakfast; machetes made in Connecticut may be sold in stores in Papantla on the Mexican Calf coast; German aspirin may cure a headache in . Indonesia. Potentially, therefore, these chains

of exchange not only involve ever larger numbers of middlemen, but they also add to the "horizontal" movement of goods and services among members of a peasant population increasingly complex "vertical" ties in which goods pass from the countryside to towns, from towns to inland cities, from cities to seaports, from seaports into overseas markets.

Eric Volf continues this analysis:

Put in another way, exchanges of locally produced goods in a local market may form but a small range of exchanges in a regional market, regional exchanges but a small sample of a national network of exchange, national networks of exchange but a small part of international markets. The peasant may thus find himself not merely dealing with a large number of middlemen and processors, but also becoming involved in a market system with many levels of ever widening scope. Moreover, the peasant involved in such far-flung systems may discover that prices are no longer regulated by custom and by local oxigencies, determined by the many-stranded relations of his local world, but by ever stronger forces of demand and supply which he may not entirely understand and which he certainly does not control.

Let us carry this analysis one step farther (Nolf 1965: 44-45): As the peasant sector become more firmly committed to marketing through network markets and grows increasingly dependent upon prices set in those markets, it will also be affected by even quite small changes in pricing. This may have astonishing implications for the entire economy of a country. For example, it has been estimated that in the modern world a change of only five per cent in average export prices for primary products, including agricultural products from the so-called underdeveloped countries, would be roughly equivalent to the to the annual inflow into these countries of private and public capital and of government grants-in-aid lumped together. In recent decades price fluctuations have frequently been much larger than five per cent, thus causing serious economic dislocations among the peasantry; as well as in the larger society so affected.

Putting together the ideas quoted from the preceding Adam's statement and from that of Wolf, we get at least two major implications for anthropological study. One is the growing need to consider the cross-national cultural and economic linkages in order to understand the nexus of the many lines of communication which converge on any given society. Here the analysis of these supranational processes was anticipated by Alfred Kroeber (1952: 379-95) in his Oikumene studies and extended by Gordon Hewes (1961). Useens and bonoghue (1963) have written a related paper on this subject.

The other implication has to do with the new awareness of the need to develop more "universalistic conceptual models" to handle the "macroscopic" linkages between the community and the nation-state. But before we enter into this discussion, we should understand the distinction between the "inside view" and the "outside view" in ethnographic endeavors (Hockett 1964: 125):

-12-

In ethnograpy . . . we find two equally objective views that can be taken towards the life of any human community.

One is the outside view, whose frame of reference is that of physics. An ethnographer speaks from this view when he locates a tribe by latitude and longitude, or estimates its population, or describes its habitat.

The other is the inside view. This does not arise in physics because stars and electrons are not observers. The members of a community are, and they perceive and react to things in certain ways. An ethnographer speaks from this view when he locates a tribe in a valley at the center of the world, surrounded successively by mountains, a river, and a sea of fire . . . The inside view is subjective for the members of the community, but for the invostigator it is just as objective as the outside view.

Both of these views are necessary for ethnography. Conjointly they are sufficient . . .

At the risk of oversimplification we might say that standard ethnographies and village studies present the inside view with some degree of sophistication. But with respect to the outside view, we train our students poorly and we obtain results which are highly variable. The fact that the peasant's world is affected by world markets, whether the villager recognizes it or not, behaves the investigator to analyze the outside view as well. The cold facts concerning the impersonal forces that surround the village and are part of the community must be delineated with skill equal to the talents used in describing the villager's image of reality.

It is from a concern with the outside view that the behavioral sciences generally have been attempting to derive "nonculture bound" concepts and measurable indices. If anthropology were to acquire a greater repertory of conceptual models based upon a more explicit understanding of the outside view, it would be a distintive achievement and perhaps counter much of the criticism which comes from the sister disciplines. Some concrete suggestions along these lines will be made in the context of urban studies, the topic for the concluding section of this paper. The Strategic Role of Urban Studies for Anthropology

Given the assumption that the notion of "whole culture" as an integrating concept is obsolete for the study of complex societies, what direction can anthropology take?

Cortainly peasant communities should be continued as an object of study. But data should be collected on the interpersonal and interorganizational linkages among the various sectors of the nation state, in addition to the internal relations of the community. The "flow" of messages back and forth among the "vertical" and "horizontal" components of the total society needs to be traced particularly with respect to their effects upon decisions and the allocations of social power, goods and services. Karl ". Jeutsch (The MBrves of Government, 1963) provides a good start for developing some conceptual models for taking the outside view of the community. Some of these ideas are being pursued at Eichigan State were a graduate student (Daniel United 1963) is processing his field data collected in Okinawa. It is hoped that, by synchronizing the humanistically-oriented inside view with the behavioral science approach of the outside view, we will be able to develop a more holistic analysis of the small community in a complex society.

A second suggestion about anthropological studies in modern nations has to do with a greater investment of effort in the analysis of urban life. Much of the standard methods used in the rural communities to obtain the inside view are readily transferable to the urban setting, as Ronald Dore (1958) has so ably done for the Tokyo neighborhood. Me need, however, to superimpose on this analysis the outside view of the city. At Eichigan State's Institute for Community Development several

-14-

of us are engaged in "transforming" nonanthropological concepts into our conceptual framework in order to sharpen the outside view of the city. The previoualy mentioned Deutsch volume (1963) is a fruitful source. Urban Growth, 1962), "Lith certain adaptations of this kind, we have grouped the "flous" in and out of the urban setting in terms of materials, energy, people and information (Hilf flows).

and growth is the concept of "social accounts." In Maha, the capital of Okinawa, where I sojourned for the past two years, the value of the daily imports of <u>materials</u> was (52<sup>th</sup>,<sup>47</sup>5, while the value of goods exported on an average day was (12,827, Such an unfavorable balance is related to the city's dependence upon the United States armed forces which is stationed there. Similarly some other illustrations of the daily MENI flows include: Material: Waterial: Waterial: Material of the consumption waterial: Material: Some other illustrations of the daily MENI flows include:

suctive to these hopefully quantifiable indices of city operations

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Such are the crude daily averages for this city of 261.535 persons. The systematic collection and analysis of these and other accounts--and their fluctuations--aro now technically known as social accounts. Gross (1965: 14-17) has written a popular article explaining the principle and purpose of social accounts for a total society. Conceivably these ideas can be adapted to the city. A system of social accounts could also provide the

-5T-

means for comparing urban societies and urban centual places.

In addition to these social accounts and the flow conception of social transactions, we have found it necessary to develop a conceptual model which meshes the various components together into a "grand design." We tenatively call this design, "systems theory." A very concise statement of this theory, as applied to organizations, has been written by Chadwick J. Haberstroh in March (1965: 1171-1211). As a footnote, we might contrast this systems approach to the cognitive approach of Ruth Benedict and her search for the design of culture. Essentially, I believe, Benedict structured her search of the grand scheme in terms of the inside view; ours, in contrast, is organized in terms of the outside view.

In conclusion a few points might be made. Based on the Japanese experience, it seems that it is presently premature for anthropology to undertake a holistic synthesis of a modern society as complex as Japan is. In its place, I would like to suggest that a concerted attack on the study of urban centers be made, both from the inside and outside views. For the inside view, the traditional methods used in community studies can be transferred to city studies; for the outside view the methods and concepts of selected behavioral science disciplines are available. Studies of urban hife may be the strategic intermediate step befor anthropologists can push to the summit, the totality of the complex society.

Some beginnings in the analysis of cities are already evident. Braidwood and Willey's <u>Courses Toward Urban Mife</u> (1962) and the Oriental Institute's <u>City Invincible</u> (1960) form the background for the case of pre-industrial cities. And the often quoted paper by Redfield and Singer (The Cultural Role of Cities, 1956) provide moral support for greater anthropological interest in the urban phenomenon. From our demographer friends, we learn

-10-

today some 70 per cent of the human population lives in rural areas. By the year 2000, however, they estimate that the balance will be reversed with 70 per cent living in the cities. Let us prepare for this transition by developing an urban anthropology.

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-22-

MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY EAST LANSING

DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY

Not to be Quoted

March 4, 1966

World Culture and Education

by Iwao Ishino

When a society assumes the posture of economic and social development, it faces a critical educational problem. It will find that the learnings of the past no longer suffices for meeting the problems of the contemporary society. Each new development decision and each new operation challenges conventional wisdom and traditional modes of thought. Development, in short, implies the obsolescence of conventional education.

By the same token a developing society is an open cultural system, operating in the context of the world scene. This linkage with the international scene makes possible the inflow of new ideas and new technology as wall as the outflow of goods, services and agricultural products that provide in turn the capital and experiences for further development. The role of education in providing this linkage with the world is crucial and any developing nation must invest heavily in education as a prerequisite for progress.

In this paper, I shall examine the nature of this linakge to world knowledge and experience which I designate for the present purpose as "world culture." Culture, when viewed in this global perspective, is a product of the contributions of many peoples at different times and places. It therefore cannot set claim to be the sole property of any single society. MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY EAST LANSING

DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY

While the developing society "taps" into this world culture primarily through its educational institutions, it faces simultaneously the problem of modiling a new and independent political-cultural entity.. Building toward a national culture is not incompatible, hewever, with an activic participation in the world culture. Indeed no society in the mid-twentieth eneury can develop in isolation. The challenge to education, then, is to foster national development with a minimum of social and political stress and, at the same time, to link the nation to the expanding body of science, philosophy and social **ings** thought of the world culture.
























PHOTOGRAJ DIFFAHOTORS

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Magnine M. 2 h. Arters

Michio Nagai visits Ris Friend from Ohio State days -(to the night of me). Cole Brembeck, Harry Roulet & The Dean ?

Title VI-B, 67 & 68

Memo to: The Hawaii Group

Subject: What I learned from the Hawaii Meeting, Jan 30-Feb. 3.

# A. Purpose:

As I understood it, the purpose of this January meeting was to do the following:

1) Plan for the summer seminar.

2) Work toward a draft proposal for research in Cross-Cultural Education.

3) Generate an interest in a new field of knowledge, tentatively identified as Cross-Cultural Education.

# B. Summary of the Major Decisions of the January Meeting.

1) On the research proposal, we ran into a major problem concerning the general plan. That is, should the proposal be stated in such general terms that many disparate and unconnected pieces of research can be brought under this research "umbrella"? Or, should it be a coordinated research program of the type George Guthrie proposed? No resolution of this problem was attempted.

2) Summer Seminar: While at one point in **tim** time, we discussed the theme and possible participants for this seminar, this matter seemed to be tabled as the group moved into a more basic area of concern, namely, the problem of identifying a new field of knowledge.

3) New Field of knowledge: It occurred to me in the process of our discussion that we did not all agree on what "this new field of knowledge" was, and that before working on such problems as the design of the research program and the plans for the summer seminar, we need to reach some agreement as to what the broad parameters of this new field of knowledge **x** are.

# C. My Ideas on this New Field of Knowledge.

# 1) White a need for this field exists:

a) The discussions at Hawaii indicated to me that, however one defines this field, no one discipline nor profession has all the qualifications, competence, and experience to develop it.

b) The necessary empirical knowledge for this new field is not being gathered under existing systems of gathering educational data.

c) A "data bank" type of approach to spelling out this new field is premature because: 1) the right kind of data are not yet being collected; 2) we don't know what the relevant categories and principles are for classifying matching the data that **i** might be already published.

# 2) What needs to be done before a new field can be identified.

a) Many conferences between different types of scholars must be held before a new field can be idenfied sufficiently to establish a long-range research program. A single conference is simply not **xmg** sufficient.

b) Potential contributors to this new field, or at least a substantial proportion of them, must have done some empirical work in one or more developing country.

c) Such contributors must publish their observations and findings.

d) Such materials must be read by **otherxcollergeners** a wide range of research scholars and criticized from a wide range of cultural and disciplinary viewpoints.

#### 3) Conclusions:

a) The conferees at Hawaii did not feel that the above-stated "spade-work" had been done and it needs to be done if this field is to reach the "take-off" stage.

b) It is recommended therefore that the coming summer seminar be explicitly recognized as a general seminar which will attempt the first of a series of conferences that would work toward defining this new field.

c) At some future point in time, after the field has been sufficiently identified, a research proposal of a long-range nature be drafted.

# Goals of the August Seminar

Cloes Mertin

The goals of the August seminar will be contingent somewhat upon the results of the January meeting. E. Wittermans' tentative program included a discussion of the technical aspects of a joint proposal and the preparation of the proposal during the January meeting. However, recent discussion at M.S.U. indicates that preparation of a research proposal at this time is premature. Consequently, discussion of the technical aspects of a proposal and the preparation of a proposal might occupy a portion of the agenda of the August seminar. Other goals might include:

Dan 24, 1967

- A. Identification and description of research studies which could become operational in the near future. Attainment of this goal would involve rather specific descriptions of possible research studies by some of the conference participants. Such research might involve a logical extension of current research being presently conducted at either MSU or the East-West Center.
- B. Study the feasibility of an MSU and East-West Center research partnership.
- C. Identification of professional personnel who could assume the responsibility for the development of a cross-cultural research program at MSU and the East-West Center.
- D. Discussion of appropriate funding agencies for cross-cultural research.
- E. Discussion of the distinguishing characteristics of the University of Hawaii's Education and Development Center and the research and information center proposed by MSU and EW Center.

Topics for the August Seminar

- A. Development of <u>Conceptual Framework</u> for Cross-Cultural research in learning. The inter-disciplinary nature of such a research and information center appears to require some type of conceptual framework which would permit more effective communication among the various disciplines and integration of research efforts.
- B. Definition of Cross-Cultural Research. What are the defining characteristics of cross-cultural research? Se cross-cultural research unique in terms of : research methodologies, variables studied, relation to theory, etc. Is it more applied than basic?
- C. Definition of learning. How is learning defined by the anthropologist, educator, sociologist, and the psychologist? What implications do these various definitions have for the study of learning in the context of a cross-cultural setting. Does learning research necessarily have to be comparative in order for it to qualify as cross-cultural research, or can it involve a description of the variables influencing learning in a given cultural context?
- D. Awareness of individual differences in learning. How do various cultures provide learning experiences for sensory and intellectually deficient children? Without doubt, in most underdeveloped nations learning for these individuals occurs primarily in the family and community rather than in the school. What provisions are made for differences in learning rates in the school environments for so called "normal" children? Are there cultural differences in the incidence of mental retardation, blindness, deafness?

E. Psycholinguistics and Cross-Cultural Research. Psycholinguistics is concerned with the way in which the speaker of a language encodes his behavior into linguistic responses, depending on the structure of his language, and, as a hearer, decodes these messages into further behavior. Recent studies have indicated that the grammatical and semantic aspects of sentences are variables influencing the ability to recall sentences. These studies may provide the background for some rather interesting cross-cultural research aimed at determing the influence syntactic and semantic variables have upon the recall and retention of verbal material in different cultures. Such studies would have implication for the preparation of formal written material in instructional settings.

My bias concerning the general orientation of the August seminar is quite obvious. Research has occupied a central role in my thinking, because I am not certain what the parameters of research are in a cross-cultural interdisciplinary effort. A discussion of specific research studies at the August seminar would be helpful from both a conceptual and proposal standpoint.

### MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY EAST LANSING . MICHIGAN 48823

CONTINUING EDUCATION SERVICE · KELLOGG CENTER May 31, 1967

Dr. Iwao Ishino 10 International Center Campus

Dear Dr. Ishino:

We are pleased to know that you will be participating in the Orientation For Overseas Living Program.

Your session has been scheduled for June 6 at 10:00 in Room 109. If you have need for any special equipment or audio visual materials please let me know in advance. You are also most cordially invited to attend the opening reception and dinner on Sunday June 4 at 6:00 p.m. in the Red Cedar Rooms of the Kellogg Center. If you do find it possible to attend I would appreciate your letting my office (355-0170) know by noon on Friday. If you do attend the dinner please stop at the conference registration desk to pick up your name badge. These will be used in lieu of meal tickets.

Also, if you would let my office know either before or at the time of your presentation what your social security number is, it will greatly expedite the payment of your honorarium.

Sincerely,

le

Tom Collins Conference Consultant

	MONDAY	TUESDAY	WEDNESDAY	THURSDAY	FRIDAY
8:30 to 10:00	The Values We Hold (The American Character?)	? Our Foreign Policy: A Global View	Northwestern Europe and the Far East today.	Comparative Gov- ernments and Pol- itical Systems  ditto	
10:30 to 12:00	In pact of the Foreign Experience ((ultural Shock, etc.)	People and society  People and society	Con't.	(or Misic) ====================================	
	LUNCH		LUNCH		
1:00 to 2:30	American Family Abroad: (American Life Overseas?)	The Economic Climate of Western Europe Today The Economic Climate of the Far East Today	Our Foreign Policy: Europe ====================================	Literature  ditto	
3:00 to 4:30	Our Image Abroad (How Well Are We Known?)	Economic Geography ditto	De Gaulle's France Hao's China	*Some Practical Adjustment to Living Abroad ====================================	

Evenings with films and/or free time

5

.

\*Informal 'coffee' panels composed of returning visitors, nationals. etc.

Basice premise : We con't anticipate every contingency in these orientation program. Nence in his propon, we need to inculcate an attitude that the sayourner is a learner = that we can provide a few solutions to mes by which problems of inter-cultural misunderstandings Con be discoverel. = (7 his needs to be drowatiged). What are the background information O Rose variations - why & how 2) Cultural Differences -how - why. 3) Principles q interpersong relations

(a) Recipionity = 'on' obligations 2 Transactions = social copital (b) Deformation transfer - communications (c) The nature of social structure (R) Linkages a channels (2) Information pool

May 23, 1967 · Final Lecture 1 - man s In this age, we can't get What we want by merely going to the store . Most og he important things require correction og others - in orken words, group action. Example : plean air, clean water, good education, the open houng, The problem is how to get cooperation, when not individues are ties into a wide rage of veter interes? Canalysi og Rido problem : (a) Example of here one goes about getting eleen air () City hall ? - much on uty hall ? (3) Start compaign to stir up public interest (3) Det newoponer publicity to keep stir up public interest. (4) Demonstrations a maches,

(5) Form an committe The problem of getting different group to cooperate: The process of negotiation Conflict resolution

Discers

O sow religion is somewhat digenent in Asia. multi - function of

2) How kinslip is important

3 Particulation is remport beet centrersolion is also ford.

(2) Sex roles are different in Asia - cite Women of Azia - Margaret \_\_\_\_

CONTINUING EDUCATION SERVICE • MSU REGIONAL CENTER • OAKLAND UNIVERSITY • ROCHESTER

September 12, 1967

Dr. Iwao Ishino #10 International Center Michigan State University East Lansing, Michigan 48823

Dear Dr. Ishino:

We are pleased to welcome you again as an instructor for our off-campus Extension Program at Oakland University campus this coming Fall Term. Please feel free to call upon our office if you have any special needs or requirements for your class. Information regarding audio visual materials is enclosed.

There will be advanced registrations for all persons taking graduate courses. Students appearing in your class who have not registered should do so at once in the Regional Center Office, Room 366 South Foundation Hall. Your class list and room assignment may be picked up in our office. Please notify us any time you need a room change, cancel a class or wish to make any changes in the current schedule.

Students may purchase textbooks in the Oakland University Bookstore in the Student Center. The store will remain open until 9:00 p.m. during the first two weeks of classes. If additional books are needed after the second week, please notify our office.

The Oakland University library is available to your students. Reference books from the Michigan State University Continuing Education library may be ordered by you and placed in a separate section in the Oakland library for circulation to your students.

We hope your stay here will be most enjoyable. If you have any questions, please feel free to contact me at the Regional Center, 366 South Foundation Hall. (Phone: 338-7211, ext. 2223 or 2224). Our office is open 8:00 a.m. to 8:00 p.m. each day, Monday through Thursday, and 8:00 a.m. to 5:00 p.m. Fridays.

172-338-7211

Sincerely,

Duane M. Tester Director

DMT:map encl

# MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY SOUTHEAST REGIONAL CENTER

SUBJECT:	AUDIO VISUAL EQUIPMENT FOR OFF CAMPUS COURSES AT OAKLAND UNIVERSIT	Y				
	Audio visual equipment and services of Oakland university are made available to support the Michigan State University off campus course program. In order to secure these services to support our program, the following procedures have been established.					
	1. Equipment Available: 16 mm Projector Stand or Cart Filmstrip and 2x2 Slide Projector Overhead Projector Phonograph (5 watt) Opaque Projector Operator					
	Equipment Requests: Requests for audio visual service should be made to the MSU Regional Center, 366 South Foundation Hall, Oakland University, telephone 338-7211, ext. 2223 at least twenty- four hours prior to its intended use. Requests received					

ment, date and time of use, and whether an operator is required. Requests may be made by phone or letter.
3. An employee of the Audio Visual section of Oakland University has been scheduled to work evenings until 10:00 P.M. Should there be a breakdown of equipment or problem with the equipment this employee may be contacted

through the center office until 8:00 P.M., or through

the switchboard operator.

available. The request should include: the type of equip-

later than the foregoing cannot be assured of being

5-24-67

SUGGESTED ROUTE TO MSU REGIONAL CENTER - OAKLAND UNIVERSITY





MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY EAST LANSING . MICHIGAN 48823

CONTINUING EDUCATION SERVICE · KELLOGG CENTER

July 14, 1967

MEMO TO: Fall Term Instructors of Off-Campus Courses

FROM: Charles A. McKee, Office of University Extension

Please assist us in eliminating a last minute rush by supplying the necessary textbook information on the attached order form and returning it to us as soon as possible in the envelope enclosed for your convenience. All orders for texts should be placed through the Office of University Extension. We would appreciate a reply even if you are not planning to use a textbook in your course.

Rad white Course and anis

When we receive this textbook order slip from you, we will order an appropriate number of the required text from the MSU Book Store or from some other source off campus. The books ordered at the MSU Book Store will be mailed directly to the students in your class between the first and second class meeting. The students will be supplied with mail order forms and textbook information at the first class meeting. Books ordered from an off-campus source will be delivered to the class at the first class meeting.

If you plan to use reference books in your off-campus course, please complete the enclosed Request for Reference Book form and forward it to the Continuing Education Division of the Michigan State University Library at least three weeks prior to the first class meeting.

information regarding your class, such as travel information, enrollment reports, etc., will be sent to you two weeks prior to the class beginning date.

Thank you for your assistance in this matter.

2 Kellogg Center Phone: 355-0150

CAM/sjm Enclosures Dr. Iwao Ishino #10 International Center Campus

August 24, 1967

# MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY

College of Social Science

# Confirmation of Assignment to Teach Off-Campus Course

This confirms your assignment as instructor of the following Michigan State University course. Will you kindly review the provisions outlined here. If all are acceptable to you, please sign and return this form within the next five days. Retain the yellow copy for your records. If the information is not accurate, please notify us immediately.

ANP 469 (3)	Cultural Areas of the World	- Japan	Anthropology
Course No. & Credits	Course Title 🖇 😤 a	r East	Department
Fall 1967	Oakland Univ.~Rochester	Wednesday	7-10 p.m.
Term	City	and the second	Day and Hours
As Faculty Mem	are to be designated and reimbursed: aber on normal load basis aber on overload basis	Stipend	992,70
As Extension Lecturer Stipe			a la companya da serie da ser
X Other Ene	rgy Increment	Stipend	

\_\_\_\_\_ Travel and meals (according to University policy).

If this course is cancelled, you will be reimbursed on a proportional basis for sessions taught and for miles traveled.

Additional information:

Mr. Buone Tester

As you undertake this work, you are invited to request assistance from the Michigan State University department for whom you will be teaching, from the office of the Assistant Dean for Continuing Education, from the University Extension office, or from the Regional Director for Continuing Education who is:

Reiland University Rochaster Michigan

at	and onitionally, including interregion
Diras Signature of Instructor	Assistant Deon or Representative John H. Wakeley
Title	Copies: University Extension — white College — blue
Address to which mail should be sent	Instructor – yellow Department – green Regional Director – pink
City	

This form is to be signed by instructor, yellow copy to be retained and other copies returned to 205 Berkey Hall, Michigan State University, East Lansing, Michigan.

Talk before Adventures in World anderstanding -Dec. 28, 1967 The study of Man 1. Two most monspecialized students of non, an hundonists + anthropologists. 2. The parkens of (a) incetony (A clompication (c) origina (2) charge + developent 19 Jore costing

A. What has happened to Anthropology?

.. . .

1. The problem of inventorying humanity.
= the image of unity of mankind has been splintered into a thousand different varieties.

(Analogy of light being splintered into a spectrum of lights)

2. The problem first raised by Western writers, philosophers, writers.

= But they thought they could analyze these differences by direct analysis of the mind. (For example by examining religious thoughts they could get at the essence of human variations).

3. R But anthropologists took another tack and were not satisfied to study mental configurations atoms alone.

> Anthropologists had to study unfamiliar physiques, bizaree behavior, and strange objects. Hence they took the <u>naturalists</u>' approach to their study.

4. Both humanists and anthropologists, however, were considered to be romanticsts.

= Humanists sought escape by searching for the true, the good, and the beautiful.

= Anthropologists escaped from the modern world to walk among the cannibals, peyote-worshippers, and learn about talking drums, magical rites, etc. (A kind of "unreal" world). p. 11

5. Retty The subjective and objective worlds.

Both humanists and anthropologists are interested in the variety of subjective worlds that different people live in: Gods, beauty, truth, etc.

= But anthropologists depart in that they are also bridges between this subjective and objective (idealized by scientists)x world. "By definition anthropologize is less subject matter than a bond between subject matters, translating from one realm to the other."

= Hence anthropologists are interested in the junction between the internal and external worlds; between the observed and observer; between the inside and outside views. A. The great power of the United States since the end of World War II. that

= this sheer political, economic and military power/US exercises today permeates every corner of the planet. Even the most remote primitives are affected by it.

B. What has been the conseugence of this fact upon anthropology?

1) This has  $\mathbf{x}$  frustrated the freedom of movement and sovereighnty of many nations and brought into question the methods as well as the prupose of anthropology in the study of foreign cultures. (Project Camelot, e.g.)

2) The dominance of the U.S. over world affairs has shap shattered the <u>romancticm</u> surrounding anthropological research today.

3) This has affected the form and shape of our central concept, the concept of <u>culture</u>.

- 4) This pushed anthropologists into the study of civilization.
- A Related to this is the -re-assessment of primitive cultures. No longer considered as isolated "museum pieces". hyperseriate they are now viewed as "ecological entitites tied inot the communities of more powerful maga urban centers and nation states. p. 22

5)  $\pm$  This has caused a **det** decline in emphasis on cultural relativity. p. 23 Pushed anthropology into applied anthropology and directed cultural change.

= better corn yields; better sanitation; better literacy programs.

C. A renwed interest in evolution

A. The new look at evolution has led to a distinction between general and specific evolution. p.29

= Specific evolution uncovered many parallel processes of evolution in different parts of the world.

- (1) More rigor demanded in these comparative endeavors than before.
- (2) Use of such concepts as: adaptation; dominance; specilaization; fitness

(analogies from biology)

B. Limitations of the biological analogy.

1) Fablure to recognize that individual in human society are not d cells in a social order, but are an organization Of bodily and mentally diversed distinct individuals (But are not cells also the same? II)

2) A Culutre is not a preset genetic code, but a changeable product (II: So is a cell).

3) Yet, an increasing interest in search for a "design" and "code".

p. 32: "The image of man projected by current anthropology is indeed an enigneer's most image."

D. A Shift to an Engineering Model (as result of applied anthropology)

#### A. The New View.

- 1) Study of human variation.
- 2) See which ones and in which manner cultural factors are subject to modification and "re-design".
- 3) To see which sets of human behavior "is so basic and universal that cultural modification is minimal." p. 34

Examples:

=

- = search into Oedipal theory.
- = search into dreams and their symbols.
- = search into myth-making and symbols.
- (The purpose: for understanding their "underlying psychological drama")

#### Contrast between the Old and New B.

- 1) The old collected evidence of variability among human beings.
- 2) The new hypothesized a uniform plot, modified in particular instances only by a particular cultural "phrasing."
- 3) This in turn led to a consideration of the basic cultural designs and codes.
- 4) Implications of the New View.
  - a) Return of social contract, but modified in form.

(Goffman: Nature of Deference and Demeanor, 1956. And Antz. p 473-502

- = The self is a ceremonial thing or sacred object to be treated with ritual care and in turn must treat others in a comparable manner. p. 39.
- b) A second model == the computer model.
  - (Anthony Wallace: The person is a robot, possessed of a brain iter, he cultur. Studying Personali 7 Gross See Culturelly 1961 of SMEE sufficient capacity to function as a computer, responding to the particular discriminations of the cultural code to which he has been conditioned. p. 40 in B Kapley (cd)
- c) Possibly a third model? The model of man as an animal. See Desmond Morris, The Naked Ape.
- What gives rise to this gnew engineering model? C.

1) The influence of linguistics and communications engineering. 22 E.g., Kluckhohn's linguistic does; "design features" of a culture. study of values as a coding matrix.

# Levi-Strauss:

. . . . .

"Anthropology begins with peopsle and ends with people, but inbetween there is plenty of room for computers."

Eric Wolf maintains:

"Let us not reverse this dictum: 'to see men as intervening links between machines.'"

# A. Culture, no longer a watertight category.

- 1. We move on to a conception of systems within systems, just as the human organism is made up of overlapping systems of respiratory, transport, digestive, excretory, regulatory, nervous, and behavioral systems.
- 2) Culture is now an abstraction "taken out of context." p. 53.

"we are less willing to assert that culture possesses this or that absolute attritube, that it <u>is</u> a mechanical sum of culture traits, or that it <u>is</u> like an organism,....

"we are more willing to consider that it may be thought of as a sum of culture traits, or as an organism, depending on the appropriate context.

3) Statements made about culture or kcultures now include the observer. "The statements made about culture or cultures now include the observer, and the observe has grown sophisticated in his knowledge that there may be other position of vantage from which the object may be viewed, and that he may himself occupy successive points of vantage in approaching his "object" of sutdy.

"Any object can thus be seen as belonging to multiple system: a human population may be considered as <u>carriers</u> of a culture, related to other cultures in both space and time; <u>or</u> as breeding ground for microorganisms that prey on it; <u>or</u> as agents of ecological disequilibrium when its members fire the forest cover in pursuit of game or prepare the soil for cultivation."

4) Traditional antinomies are giving way to relational categories.

Not biology vs. culture but biology and culture.

- (Study of human history; of sickle cell anemia and culture).
- = This has relational characteristic has produced an interest in <u>cultural ecology</u>.

5) Culture, as part of the "social fields"

"We no longer set off one culture against another, but include them both in "social fields" or "interaction areas" or as Alfred Koreber put it, as "global stream of interacting and interconnected cultural elements and constellations of cultural elements." p. 55

# B. The Concept of Ecumenical Culture, or Cultural Ecumen.

Viewed historically, the culture of mankind has now reached a closure.

In this closure the behavior patterns and the shared understandings of any human population can be seen as component parts of this world system of culture.

# 1) Implications.

- a) We view the worldwide culture process as a "st#eam of components.:
- b) We also see that a "a particular culture as a set of components that can be hooked together in **x** different ways, to **brai** which other components may be added, or from which components may be withdrawn." p. 64.
- c) Leads to another implication:
  - = At first sight this world system of culture may seem like a homogenization of all local cultures.
  - = But this is not the case at all. On the contrary, it is leading to a greater variation and wider variety of cultural forms.

= Why? Because any given local culture has a past which it intertwines with the ecumenical culture. The local culture will accept or reject elements of the world culture as it sees fit and the resultant will be something new and from carbon for each locality.

= (Illustrate this how ecumenical religion has affected Indonexian religion)

See Geerty, summariged on p. 72.

Peasant --- abangan (ritualistic) Trader --- santri (Intellectualisitc) Traditional elite-- prijaji (mystical)

= Illustrated by article on "Cultural Role of Cities"

Great vs. Little Tradition Universalization vs. particularization.

d) Another implication sis that with the movement of advanced industrial complex of the world cultural system, people are loosing transfer touch with each other and alienation is increasing.

- = We are driven by bureaucratic demands and must respond to inchoate orders.
- exerpiences a that = By contrast, the primitive hunter whyse daily existence/is a round of activities among familiar people, places and things. It also is a society where orders are understandable and where communication from top to bottom of the social order is almost immediate.

= But this kind of society has a cost to it also.

= See the Moview, the Hunters: "There is no gainsaying the primitive's lack of tenhnological control, his narrow margin of safety, his easy exposure to hunger and diease."

Highly coherent cultures as the Zuni and Hopi pay a high price for their social order an as well.

= So we gar in complex societies gain in some respects and loose in other regards.

= Are we paying too high a price for civilization?

whet is the role of the individend to his culture? - Consider This next

- F. Major Changes in Perspective on the Role of Personality in the Maintenance of Culture.
- A. The Individual no longer a "replica of his culture."

. 6

- 1) The former picture looked upon each individual personality as a microcosm of his culture.
  - = Like a "cell colony"; each cell equivalent to another.
- 2) Now the picuture is of anisist individual cells in a multicellular organism.
  - = Individuals are shelpless on their own.
  - = Individuals have specialized roles, or a special combination of roles.
  - = Wide range of individual differences noted.
- 3) No longer me deemed necessary to have everyone "tuned in on the same emotional wavelength."
  - = Individual need only siffu dent cognitions to play their respective roles adequately.
  - = Individuals need not have understandings of the total knowledge or information of his community.
  - = The organizing element for the society is no longer within the individual, but outside of him--in the society.
  - = The individual is seen as a flexible being in adapting to others and to the requirements of others.
Knowledge Explosion Source: Dubester, Henry J.

1964 Libraries and Information Retrieval <u>in</u> Revolution in Teaching: <u>Manoditan</u> edited by A. de Grazia and David A. Sohn. New York, Bantam Books. p 135 KNOWLEDGE EXPLOSION

July , 7, 1966

#### One-half since 1950.

"Of all the research and development work conducted by the human race since the dawn of history, about one half has been accomplished since 1950."

#### 2. Stientists still alive.

"Off all the scientists in the history of the world, about 70 per cent are still alive."

#### 3. Amount of literature.

"In 1960 a totlal of \$13 billion in research and development generated 60 million pages of technical reports requiring 55,000 journals in 60 languages for its total publication."

#### 4. Doubling of literature.

"The rate of accumulation of scientific data is doubling every  $8\frac{1}{2}$  years. And the indexing of this data is falling behind the rate of accumulation."

#### 5. Ten percent loss

"It has been estimated that 10 per cent of all research is devoted to the search for information which actually in in existence but can't be easily located."



1.











Educational Policies Committee, 68-69

# RICE UNIVERSITY

#### HOUSTON, TEXAS

77001

DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY AND SOCIOLOGY

October 18, 1968

Professor Iwao Ishino Department of Anthropology Michigan State University East Lansing, Michigan 48823

Dear Iwao:

I am delighted to learn that you will participate in the conference and I know the other members of the steering committee will be equally pleased.

It is our hope that your paper will include information on human resources such as training programs at colleges and universities for people in the behavioral sciences; that is, that your paper will tell us something of the prospects for the future as far as manpower to do research goes. Perhaps you could enlist the aid of Japanese scholars in getting such information on Japan. But, very likely, you have thought of all this and much else already.

We all realize that a good deal of work is required for the preparation of your paper and we know that we cannot expect the impossible. We shall be grateful for whatever job rounding up you can do. Later on we shall send information concerning matters of style, bibliographic citation, and so on in the conference papers.

Perhaps I shall see you in Seattle.

Sincerely,

Edward Norbeck Chairman

EN:ra

#### 

October 23, 1968

Professor Edward Norbeck Department of Anthropology and Sociology Rice University HHouston, Texas 77001

#### Dear Ed:

Thanks for your letter of October 18 which replied qicukly to my acceptance letter for the paper on research methods and resources.

I think you know me well wnough for you not to be offended by my rather adamant stand I will take in this letter. At least I hope so. The point is that I feel you have considerably expanded in this October 18 letter the instructions given on the initial invitation (see July 9 letter to me). The caveat, "We all realize that ja good deal of work is required for the preparation of your paper..." does not lighten the burden.

Sen ?

The amount of work, let me say, does not disturb me half as much as the fundamental consideration of why this information is necessary and is the benefits to be gained from the additional work worth the extra effort? In other words, to paraphrase Lynd's "Knowledge for What?', I ask "information for what?"

Suppose I do accumulate "information on human resources such as training programs at colleges and universities for people in the behavioral sciences" both in Japan and in the United States (see par. 2 of Oct. 18 leeter). Who is going to use this information? The C I.A.? Who is interested in this kind of data? Foreign policy makers wr academicians?

Suppose, on the other hand, legitimate scholars are interested in these data so that they can "tell us something of the prospects for the future as far as manpower to do research goes" (<u>ibid</u>.) Are these scholars the ones who decide on the allocation of research efforts? Wondeckerx I do not think they are most influential ones. The "influential groups" will organize their own data-retrieving activities and will not depend upon my data-collecting efforts.

Now that I got that off my chest I feel better. But I would like to receive an early response from you on this matter.

While you are regonging, will you also include the list of people who are giving papers at this conference? I would like to write them about the research method s and resources used in their own studies as micro-sample of the 'behavioral science" researchers studying Japan.

With regards,

# RICE UNIVERSITY

#### HOUSTON, TEXAS

77001

DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY AND SOCIOLOGY

October 28, 1968

Professor Iwao Ishino Department of Anthropology Michigan State University East Lansing, Michigan 48823

Dear Iwao:

Sorry that my letter put something on your chest; that was not its intent. The circumstances are simply that the steering committee, and other people in the field of Japanese studies, expressed interest in learning something--if it is possible to do so--about the future crop of scholars in the behavioral sciences that might be working on Japan. I must say that I have no clear idea of the number of people who might be in training, the places that give training, and the scope of programs of training, or other related matters that have to do with "human resources". Anything that you feel that you can or are willing to do on the subject will, I am sure, interest all of us. I know nothing about possible interest in this subject or the conference in general on the part of foreign policy makers. It is, of course, up to you whether or not to include the subject in your paper. Your subject, and I think virtually all other subjects, are broad and it seems that the only appropriate procedure is to leave the question of inclusion, exclusion, and varying degrees of emphasis to the authors of the papers.

Fairly soon a list of participants and titles will be going out. One or two participants have not yet been selected for the reason that a little more money became available only recently; that is, people have been invited but it is too early as yet for responses. So far, the following are on the list: John W. Bennett, Chie Nakane, William Caudill, Kiyomi Morioka, Iwao Ishino, Robert Cole (Sociology, U. of Mich.), Harumi Befu, Christie W. Kiefer, David W. Plath, Kenichi Tominaga, Howard Wimberly, George DeVos, Mamoru Iga, Ezra Vogel, Keith Brown, John L. Fischer, Betty B. Lanham, John Singleton, Richard K. Beardsley, John B. Cornell, Robert J. Smith, Tom Maretzki, William P. Lebra, Ronald P. Dore, Their addresses are on the enclosed sheets. Some of these people will be working with Japanese collaborators who will not be present at the conference, but I am not as yet certain who these collaborators are.

With best regards,

Sincerely,

Mailing List for Conference on Japan in the Behavioral Sciences

(Anthropology, Psychology, Sociology)

- Richard K. Beardsley, Department of Anthropology, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan 48104
- Harumi Befu, Department of Anthropology, Stanford University, Stanford, California 94305
- Robert N. Bellah, Department of Sociology, University of California, Berkeley, California 94720
- John W. Bennett, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Washington University, St. Louis, Missouri 63130
- Gordon T. Bowles, Department of Anthropology, Syracuse University, Syracuse, New York 13210
- Keith Brown, Department of Anthropology, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania 15213
- William V. Caudill, Laboratory of Socio-Environmental Studies, National Institute Of Mental Health, Bethesda, Maryland 20014
- Kenne Chang, Department of Anthro-Geography, University of California, Davis, California 95616
- John Chew, Department of Anthropology, University of Toronto, Toronto 5, Ontario, Canada
- Robert Cole, Department of Sociology, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan 48104
- John B. Cornell, Department of Anthropology, University of Texas, Austin, Texas 78712
- George A. DeVos, Department of Anthropology, University of California, Berkeley, California 94720
- John D. Donoghue, Department of Anthropology, Michigan State University, East Lansing, Michigan 48823
- Ronald P. Dore, London School of Economics, Loughton Street, Aldwych, London, W.C. 2, England
- John L. Fischer, Department of Anthropology, Tulane University, New Orleans, Louisiana 70118
- Ann K. Fischer, Department of Anthropology, Tulane University, New Orleans, Louisiana 70118

Robert Frazer, (?)- Kipt. of Payehology, Unit. of Calif., Backeley Patricia Golden, Department of Social Relations, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138 Mary Ellen Goodman, Department of Anthropology and Sociology, Rice University, Houston, Texas 77001 Douglas Haring, 117 Euclid Terrace, Syracuse, New York 13210 James A. Hirabayashi, Department of Anthropology, 1600 Holloway Avenue, San Francisco State College, San Francisco, California 94132 Francis L. K. Hsu, Department of Anthropology, Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois 60201 Frederick S. Hulse, Department of Anthropology, University of Arizona, Tucson, Arizona 85721 Mamoru Iga, Dept. of Soc., San Fernando Valley State College 91 Iwao Ishino, Department of Anthropology, Michigan State University, Northridge, Calif., East Lansing, Michigan 48823 Norman Jacobs, Department of Sociology, University of Illinois, Urbana, Illinois 61801 Erwin Johnson, Department of Anthropology, State University of New York, Buffalo, New York 14223 Bernard Karsh, Department of Sociology, University of Illinois, Urbana Illinois 61801 Christie W. Kiefer, Langley Porter Neuro-psychiatric Institute, 401 Parnassus Avenue, San Francisco, California 94122 Betty B. Lanham, Sub-Department of Behavioral Sciences, Albany Medical College of Union University, Albany, New York 12208 William P. Lebra, Social Science Research Institute, 2550 Campus Road, University of Hawaii, Honolulu, Hawaii 96822 Marion J. Levy, Jr., Department of Sociology, Princeton University, Princeton, New Jersey 08540 Robert Lifton, Department of Psychiatry, Medical School, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut 06520 Thomas Maretzki, Department of Anthropology, University of Hawaii, Honolulu, Hawaii 96822 Y. Scott Matsumoto, School of Public Health, 2540 Maile Way, University of Hawaii, Honolulu, Hawaii 96822 Felix Moss, Department of Anthropology, University of Kansas,

Tiskane, Chie, h. of Tokyo

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Lawrence, Kansas

- Edward Norbeck, Department of Anthropology and Sociology, Rice University, Houston, Texas 77001
- Herbert Passin, Department of Sociology (?), Columbia University, New York City, New York 10027
- David W. Plath, Department of Anthropology, University of Illinois, Urbana, Illinois 61801
- John A. Price, Department of Anthropology, San Diego State College, San Diego, California 92115
- Robert Ramseyer, Department of Anthropology (?), University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan 48104
- Robert Sakai, Department of Sociology (?), San Fernando State College,
- Mary Sanches, Department of Anthropology, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, North Carolina 27514
- John Singleton, School of Education, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania 15213
- Allen H. Smith, Department of Anthropology, Washington State University, Pullman, Washington 99163
- Robert J. Smith, Department of Anthropology, Cornell University, Ithaca, New York 14850
- Philip S. Staniford, Department of Anthropology, San Diego State College, San Diego, California 92115
- Mischa Titiev, Department of Anthropology, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan 48104
- Keith Thurley, London School of Economics, Loughton Street, Aldwych, London, W.C. 2, England Keneder Karnen Gerrar and decher and decher and the second state of the second state of the second state of the

Ezra P. Vogel, Department of Social Relations, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138

- Hiroshi Wagatsuma, Department of Anthropology, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania 15213
- H. Howard Wimberly, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, University of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa 52240

### SEMINAR ON MAN No. 2

#### MSU CENTER FOR CONTINUING EDUCATION OAKLAND UNIVERSITY ROCHESTER, MICHICAN

Since 1964. Michigan State University has been offering a series of sendmars to acquaint teachers of science in elementary and secondary schools with the most recent advances in science and research. These Natural Science Seminars are sponsored jointly by the College of Natural Science and Continuing Education Service, and feature a series of Saturday sessions, led by some of MSU's top faculty members, on a wide variety of general topics.

Because of the popularity of these early seminars, the College of Natural Science and Continuing Education Service have come up with three new courses, the first of which will be offered this fall. They will be in-depth courses, devoted to man and the world in which he lives: the origin of the universe; the origin of the earth, and the development of life on it; the detailed biological study of man as an organism.

"Man's Universe" will stress the recent discoveries in space. "Man's Physical World" will review the origin of the earth, focusing on the hypotheses and methods used to unravel the mysteries of life. "The Human Organism" will review the importance of new discoveries in biology for a better understanding of the human organism, with emphasis from the fields of genetics, molecular biology, behavior, developmental biology, physiology and ecology.

Although the three courses are related, one is not necessarily a prerequisite for the other two, since each offering is treated as a complete course. As indicated on the discussion list, these topics are rather broad. Every effort has been made to obtain professors from the departments which seem best prepared to handle a particular section of the program. Because it may be desirable in some cases to have several men from one department talk on phases of the same subject, individual professors are not named at this time.

**CREDIT** AND **TUITION**: This course, Physical Science #412, will be offered for three credits which may be applied to a graduate degree at the discretiou of the major department and the approval of the student's adviser. Tuition: \$15.00 per credit hour, and \$45.00 for non-credit. \$10.00 deposit should accompany the enclosed form. BIBLIOGRAPHY: Each lecturer will prepare a short bibliography and outline of his lecture with suggestions for interesting materials. A written report on a topic of the student's choice selected from a list relating to this seminar. FOR FURTHER INFORMATION, WRITE: Dr. B. T. Sandefur, Director, Natural Science, Michigan State University, East Lansing, Michigan.

Return to: Natural Science Seminars College of Natural Science Michigan State University East Lansing, Michigan 48823

# 1966-67 NATURAL SCIENCE SEMINARS

#### COLLEGE OF NATURAL SCIENCE CONTINUING EDUCATION SERVICE MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY EAST LANSING, MICHIGAN

MSU Regional Center For Continuing Education 366 South Foundation Hall Oakland University – Rochester, Michigan Dr. Jack D. Minzey, Director

#### **PRE-RECISTRATION FOR:**

# 1966-67 NATURAL SCIENCE SEMINARS

This registration form will reserve your enrollment in Natural Science College PHS #412, "Seminar on Man – Man's Earth," 3(2-0), scheduled for Fall term 1966.

It is essential that a \$10.00 deposit toward tuition be enclosed. Make checks payable to Michigan State University.

Phone:	
Address:	Street
City:	State

School or Education Area of Work: \_\_\_\_

Mail Application to: Mr. D. M. Tester, Assistant Registrar, Michigan State University, 8 Kellogg Center, East Lansing, Michigan. 48823

#### MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY

#### **SEMINAR ON MAN No. 2**

Oakland University Science Building Rochester, Michigan

9:30 a.m. - 3:30 p.m. - October 15, October 29, November 12, and December 3, 1966

#### **MAN'S EARTH**

Origin of the Earth Origin of continents. Rocks and minerals of the crust. Geological processes. Senior faculty selected from Geology

The Earth's Properties — Our Solid Earth The interior; liquid, plastic, solid. Recent geophysical and seismic studies. Earthquakes and volcanoes. Senior faculty selected from Geology

The Oceans — Our Liquid Earth
Physical and chemical properties.
Circulation—influence on biology,
climate, and food.

A storehouse for minerals for the future.
Senior faculty selected from Fisheries
and Wildlife — Oceanographic
Research

Oakland University Science Building Rochester, Michigan

9:30 a.m. -3:30 p.m. - October 15, October 29, November 12, and December 3, 1966

# MAN'S EARTH

The Atmosphere — Our Gaseous Earth
 Cloud physics and weather
 modification.
 Earth winds and structure of jet stream.
 Radar meteorology.
 Senior faculty selected from Meteorology — Engineering

Geologic History of the Earth Origin of life — geological proof of evolution. Fossils and paleogeography and paleoclimates. Geological time scale. Senior faculty selected from Geology

The Ice Age Modern concept of glacial origin. Multiple glaciation. Effect on man and ecology. Senior faculty selected from Geology

#### Man

Probable place of origin. Man's response to his world. Senior faculty selected from Anthropology Dr. Iwao Ishino, Professor

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"MAN"

	Fact	ts and Ideas	Notes and Remarks	
Α.	The Contemporary scene regarding man:		Space for students notes.	
	1.	Biological diversity (human races)		
	2.	Cultural diversity (e.g., primitive vs. civilized)		
			•	
В.		sequences of this cultural ersity:		
	٦.	Differences in population size; population growth		
	2.	Differences in disease rate and life expectancies		
	3.	Differences in literarcy rates		
	4.	Difference in control over natural resources (e.g., lower per capita energy use)		
	5.	Differences in technology		
		.ā		

Dr. Iwao Ishino, Professor of Anthropology Page 2

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"MAN"

	Facts and Ideas	Notes and Remarks
	A CONTRACTOR OF A CONTRACTOR O	Space for students notes.
C.	Contemporary attempts to close the culture gap existing among mankind	

#### REFERENCES

The Saturday Evening Post, MAN THROUGH TIMES MISTS, December 3, 1966.

An excellent article on new facts and insights from men and women who dig, scratch, study bits of bone, quarrel and watch animals to fathom man's deepest mystery - his own origin. Currently on the newstands. Page 41. Written by John Pfeiffer.