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Modern Japan

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are already a majority, at least in the statistical sense, in advanced capitalist countries. So, making use again of the first half of formula (4) or formula (3), we see, as the most recent of the new elements, the new possibilities of the labor movement in the changing structure of Japanese capitalism. According to recent survey reports, as we have seen, not a few workers are alienated not only from politics but also from their own unions. This is not because of their social consciousness itself, but because of the ineffective leadership of parties and unions. Some recently published papers have shown that there are new possibilities emerging in worker consciousness (Ishikawa, 1970, Motojima, 1971, Takagi, 1973). The urgent task of the study on social consciousness in Japan will be to set out to find the new structure of the people's social consciousness, which synthesizes all the new elements around the focus of this problem.*

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*Although it is beyond my task in this paper to inquire into this problem, I would like to say at least that the key will be the evaluation of *human factors* at each level of the social system. Protester autonomy, new citizens, and communes are examples. Then, taking up the human factor in companies, union leaders and members will be unable to evade facing the problem of "self-management" under the conditions of advanced technology.

interest spreading in spite of the “end of ideology”, we cannot see the causes and limitations of the steady strengthening of the Communist Party of Japan since the late 1960’s, because this has resulted mainly from the rise of “civil movements” under organizational leadership, while being limited by the weakness of influences in the labor movement (Taguchi, 1973, p. 114).

Pursuit of Communes---How have alienated young people been, as the bearers of the “complaining type of identification”? Tendencies finding extreme expression among youth can sometimes be guide-posts to social development (See Keniston, 1968, p. 290). Moreover, we have seen the differentiation of “*ikigai*” (core values) spreading not only in the youth stratum. What are the more or less alienated people seeking? If we look into the extreme expressions of young people, they can be seen to be in the pursuit of something new and communal.* In fact, similar things have been sought here and there, for example, in civil movements against environmental destruction. Therefore, making use of formula (1) again, we can see the pursuit of communes as the seventh of the new elements. Yūsuke Maki (another name of Mita) seems to be thinking of this in his recent works (Maki, 1971, 1973). It will be a developed form of this kind if a new constant appears in the Japanese people’s social consciousness, instead of disorganizing Japanese character.

New Possibilities of Labor Movement---The sprouting of communes, however, have been more or less localized and dispersed in most cases. In other words, in the class structure of Japanese capitalism it has been a case of divide and rule. The only way to stop such dispersals will be to get the support of labor organizations and movements, because workers

*Kanter, 1972, deals with American cases.

emphasized, in our theoretical reexamination, the humanist-socialist viewpoint to observe problems of social consciousness synthetically. In fact, reformist moments appear as Ethos or knowledge in individual social consciousness. Therefore, making use of formula (2) again, we can see the development from consumer autonomy to protester autonomy as the fifth of the new elements. We should not overlook the complicated development of the reality in being shackled by conventional ideas, even though they have been very useful. Otsuka's conception of autonomy derived from his study of British economic history was that of the autonomy of the "petit bourgeois strata" (*producers* in the middle range). On the contrary, people's autonomy developed gradually in the process of massification has been consumer autonomy to live their life in a "mass consumption" age (Shôji, 1971, p. 255, p. 268, p. 278). And this has developed into a protester autonomy as the contradictions of "high-speed growth" have appeared, such as continuous inflation and environmental destruction. To see the meaning of this development, as we have already said, it is necessary to take note of Aruga's conception of people's autonomy in ordinary life.

Awakening of Citizens---Protesters are appearing as "citizens" in its original sense in the sphere of Japanese politics. So, making use of the second half of formula (4) again, we take the awakening of the citizens as the sixth of the new elements. It was Hajime Shinohara who evaluated the positive meaning of "privatization", and inquired into it in connection with the "birth of new citizens" (Shinohara, 1971, chap. 1). As he had insight into their sound political interest, he criticized the theory of "political apathy" which had been predominant in the theory of "mass society" (*ibid.*, pp. 110-112). If we overlook this kind of political

(*dozoku dan*) as symbols of the Japanese traditional character have been “disorganized almost completely”, even in Akita prefecture which had been the most underdeveloped part (Fukutake, 1972, p. 59).

The “Unfocused Rebellions”---Where and how was the unusually swollen social psychology canalized in the “mass society”, when the “end of ideology” was appearing, accompanied by the “disorganization of home and village”? The “unfocused rebellions” of the student and youth strata were the most serious phenomena reflecting this canalization.* Although they were caused by structural and institutional defects common to advanced capitalist societies (Shōji, 1972), we cannot overlook some special causes, originating from the “disorganization of home and village”, in considering Japanese situation, because the explosion of these rebellions as the fourth of the new elements means the uncertainty of *C* of formula (2)---the non-establishment of the people’s autonomy, in the context of this paper. In other words, the rebellions were caused not only by the “identity crisis in youth” (E. H. Erikson, 1968, pp. 128-135) but also by the idiosyncratic anomie situation in contemporary Japan.

Thus, the new elements in the people’s social consciousness first appeared as a bundle of negatives. But of course, social consciousness cannot consist of only negative elements, since society itself develops dialectically. What then have been the new *positive* elements? We should see *the people’s pursuit of something new and communal* in the existing political struggle through the following four phases ;

From Consumer Autonomy to Protester Autonomy---Starting from the proposition that social development as a whole is ultimately restricted by the development of the individual social consciousness, we have

*The term “unfocused rebellions” suggested by Galbraith, 1967, p. 380.

report published in 1969, that many workers were leaving the reformist parties (Tekkô Rôren, 1970, p.162). As ideology is social consciousness linking parties and the people, its "end" means a gradual disorganization of the supporting body of reformist parties, the strongest evidence of which has been the "long-term weakening" of Japan Socialist Party since the 1960's.

*"Disorganization of Home and Village" (Kakyô no Kaitai) ---*As the living standard was rising even among blue collar workers and peasants, the "end of ideology" seemed to become the general tendency in the Japanese people's social consciousness. But at the same time, many serious problems arising should not be overlooked. Drawing on a very large labor force, the "high-speed economic growth" has at last basically destroyed the village communities. It should be pointed out therefore that the "disorganization of home and village" in Mita's sense (Mita, 1971, p.7) is the third of the new elements, which is rendering *C* of the formula (1) completely ineffective through the following duplicated process. First, stimulated by the traditional elements coming from the villages, the Japanese character has been continually reproduced and mixed with the new social psychology, idiosyncratic to "mass society", in the urban area.* Second, in the villages, on the other hand, the grim disorganization of man and society has almost entirely destroyed "the first villages" (natural villages) in Kamishima's sense (Hasumi, 1973). For example, according to a survey by Fukutake and his colleagues, conducted in 1968 as a follow-up to the survey from which they had deduced the peasants' "contradictory character", the combined families

*The anomic situation has been increasing lonely deaths among both younger and older people, and even infanticide by young mothers in big cities since the 1960's.

ent” as C. Wright Mills insisted was the case in America. But it has become impossible to say this if we study all types of surveys done since the 1960’s. The mainstream of change in the people’s consciousness in postwar Japan can be expressed in a phrase “from old familism (*kazoku seido*) to new familism (*my-home shugi*)”, and the white-collar workers have been the main bearers of this new familism which has made Japanese society stable and rather conservative (Shôji, 1971, p. 253). Odaka’s picture of Japan’s middle classes, based on his continual survey of “identification”, should be appreciated as a precursory criticism of their political tendency (Odaka, 1961).*

“*The End of Ideology?*”---The influences of massification appeared in the political sphere to restrain the development of Japanese society. So, making use of the second half of formula (4), we can mention the “end of ideology” as the second of the new elements. Although I agree with Mills (1960, p. 19) in claiming that the theory of “the end of ideology” is itself “an ideology of the end”, I think we should recognize it as a “cognitive symbol” denoting the actual degree of social consciousness.** It was in 1964 that Hidaka, in a report of a survey conducted in Tokyo and Chiba by Heiwa Keizai Keikaku Kaigi (Conference for Peaceful Economic Planning), pointed out the “consecratization tendency of the youth stratum” as the symbol of the changing political consciousness (Heiwa Keizai Keikaku Kaigi, 1964, p. 45f.). Thereafter this tendency strengthened steadily, although accompanied by some other positive aspects. It was shown in Tekkô Rôren’s survey

*At the end of this article, Odaka claimed that “Japanese society is gradually approaching American society....”

**This idea was suggested by Prof. A. Takahashi.

6. Present Situation in Social Consciousness in Japan

We have seen that opinion surveys in the 1960's, including those done by the workers themselves, reveal that something new is becoming predominant in the people's social consciousness. Of course these new elements cannot be regarded as having no relationship with the old or traditional ones, but they cannot be grasped sufficiently from any single point of view we have reviewed. Then, how are they to be comprehended, if we take as the basis the new theoretical framework we have just made ?

First, paying attention to the new *negative* elements, we need to see *the fundamental disorganization of the traditional Japanese character* in the people's social consciousness. Four phases can be discerned, as follows :

The "Massification of Society"---Back to the four formulae, we make use of formula (3) or the first half of formula (4). Then we see the influences of the "massification" of Japanese society as the first of the new elements. We have seen that attention was paid to this by socio-psychological studies on social consciousness done since the late 1950's. So the fact should be emphasized here that it is since the early 1960's, when the results of "high-speed growth" began to spread and fix in the people's consumption life, that Japanese society has become mature as "mass society as a normalcy" (Watanuki, 1962, p. 62.). The survey by Takahashi and his colleagues, as mentioned before, showed that the white-collar workers in Japan were not so "politically indiffer-

the spiritual sphere can be brought into the basic structure by individuals who are living in both the production process and the ordinary life, including mental activities such as religious ones. M. Weber showed this in his *Die protestantische Ethik und der Geist des Kapitalismus*. But, at the same time, we should see that this kind of social consciousness is not always irrational. "Knowledge" as science and technology taken up by individuals can be seen an actualized "universal productive force" (Shibata, 1971, part 1) which is contrasting, as a rational mental power, with Ethos. It is especially important to make this distinction when we inquire into social consciousness in contemporary "knowledge society" (Drucker, 1969, part 4).

4. The lower part of this scheme functions as the independent variable, the middle part as the intervening variable, and the upper part as the dependent variable in connection with social development. What part plays the role of constant, then? In the lower stage of social development, representations collectives embraced almost all this scheme, of course centering on the irrational. At the beginning of modern times, Ethos separated itself from the traditional group mind, on the one hand, and science began to develop independently from religion and politics, on the other. Moreover, in the late-modern times, social psychology appeared widely in the intermediate sphere between the basic structure and the superstructure. Therefore, "social character" is a kind of substitute for representations collectives in the late-modern times (See Fromm, 1941, appendix).

Thus, four forms of social consciousness are interrelated in connection with the social structure. We can now inquire into the new elements in the changing social consciousness.

point, which is based fundamentally on the theory of ideology. Therefore, the lower part of this chart coincides with the economic structure of society, and the upper part with its political and cultural structure.* The following notes should be added :

1. As social consciousness is both rational and irrational, we can divide it into rational forms---Ideologie and knowledge---and irrational forms---représentations collectives and Ethos. We characterize ideology here as basically rational because we emphasize its "logical character" (Tosaka, 1932, pp. 112-118), or "scientific components" (Shimizu, 1951, p.189), or "analytical system" (A. Takahashi, 1958b, p.183f.) in comparison with représentations collectives which can be identified with the "belief system" (T. Parsons, 1951, pp.367-379). However, ideology in a wide sense should be considered as including irrational components.

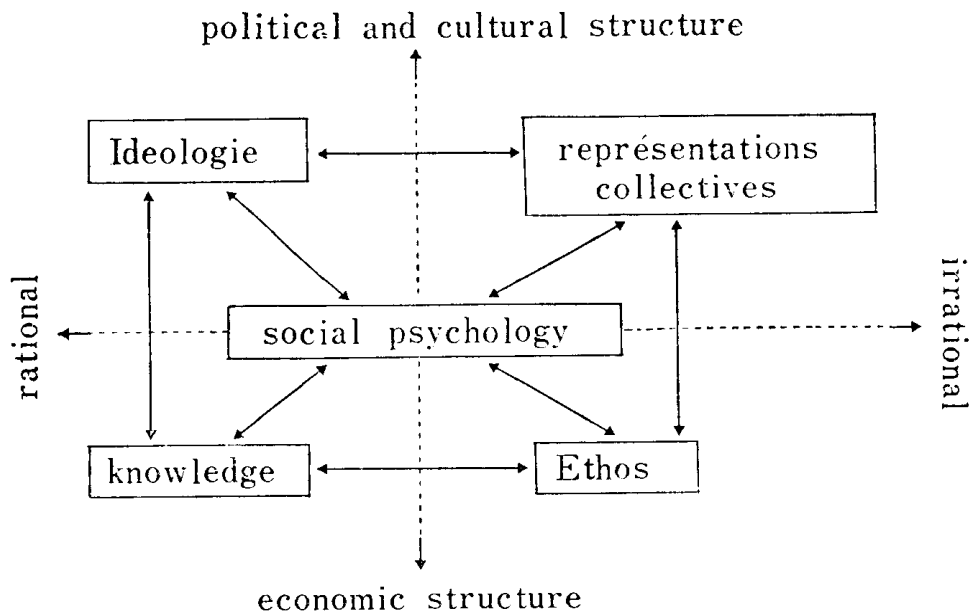
2. Social psychology as "les médiations" (J. P. Sartre, 1960, pp, 33-59) should be located between the economic structure (*Basis*) and the political and cultural structure (*Ueberbau*). It can be seen as semi-irrational. "Rationalization" in the Freudian sense is based on this ambivalence.

3. We posit Ethos in the irrational but basic part, contrasting it with "knowledge". And this is the point of this scheme. Why is a part of social consciousness located in the basic structure of society? Because it can become "*der soziologische Bildungstrieb*" (E. Troeltsch, 1925, S. 287) if internalized in individuals. In other words, a change in

*Of course, the economic structure is *die Basis* and the political and cultural structure *der Ueberbau* in Marx' s terminology.

Naturalism being the nature-oriented viewpoint, *culturalism* is the culture-oriented viewpoint also in the methodological sense. Then, in *socialism-culturalism* (E. Durkheim, 1912), as society is considered predominant over individuals and regulated mainly by cultural orientations, social consciousness appears as *représentations collectives*. On the other hand, in *individualism-culturalism* (M. Weber, 1904-1905), as individuals are seen reforming society by their spiritual energy, social consciousness appears as *Ethos*. Contrary to these, naturalism emphasizes determinants from the bottom. So, if social consciousness is grasped as *Ideologie* in *socialism-naturalism* (K. Marx, 1845-46) because of its view that “social nature (economy)” determines society, it is grasped as *social psychology* in *individualism-naturalism* (J. Dewey, 1922) because of its view that “human nature” (psychology) reforms society.

Chart (II)



Then how do these four forms correlate to each other? My opinion is that they can be connected as in Chart (II) from the synthetic view-

Four forms of social consciousness have the following relations with social development, if we try to express them in mathematical formulae;

$$D=C \cdot D \dots\dots\dots (1)$$

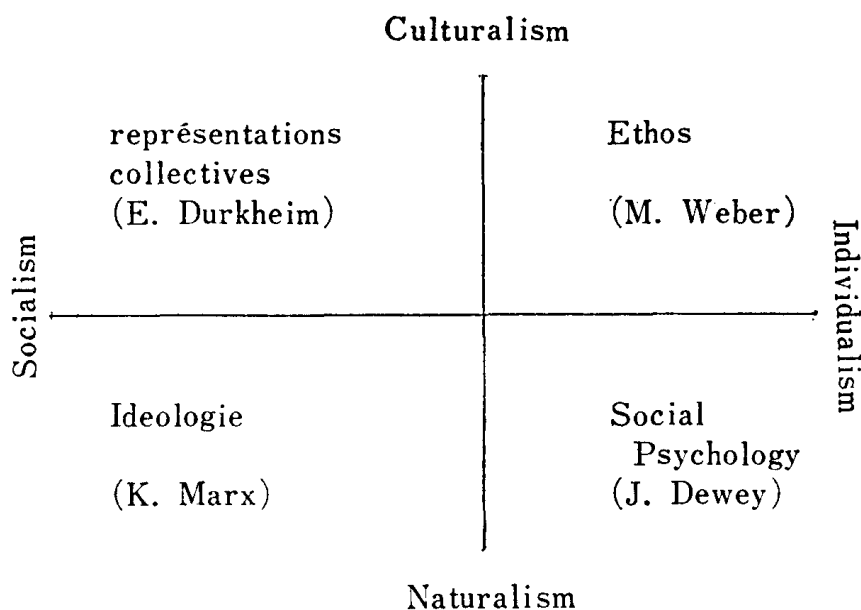
$$D=f (C) \dots\dots\dots (2)$$

$$C=f (d) \dots\dots\dots (3)$$

$$C=f (d), D=f (C) \dots\dots\dots(4)$$

Where *C* means social consciousness, *D* social development as a whole, and *d* development of the economic structure of society. Then we confirm that every *C* has its own methodological background, and therefore a theoretical perspective as we have reviewed it so far. Let us try to arrange them in a more comprehensive scheme.

Chart (I)



In my opinion, four forms of social consciousness can be arranged like chart (I) in connection with basic viewpoints in social science (Shôji, 1968). *Socialism* means here the society-centric viewpoint, and *individualism* the individual-centric one in the methodological sense.

Throughout the 1960's, most opinion surveys have come to be carried out more and more by so-called concerned organizations, such as labor unions, business corporations, and national or local governments. It can be claimed, therefore, that the class struggle has been fought by means of opinion surveys, and that techniques for analysis of quantitative data has been used very frequently in this struggle.* But it is quite paradoxical that not a few surveys by the workers themselves have given results which seem to be rather disadvantageous to their own class interests. On the other hand, the techniques for handling quantitative data have sometimes been used in more or less biased ways by these concerned organizations, because of their ideologically neutral character. The special techniques used for qualitative data such as Mita's, however, cannot be used widely and easily by them, since their use necessitates special ability and training. So it seems that scholars working in the field of social consciousness should reassess the methodological basis of quantitative analysis and form a general hypothesis by which to exclude its arbitrary uses.

We have started from a typology of the forms of social consciousness, where the main forms are known---social consciousness as a constant of social development, as an independent variable from it, as a dependent variable on it, and as intervening variable in it. Reverting to this typology, let us reexamine theoretical problems first, and then inquire into the new elements in the changing social consciousness.

*Sōhyō is publishing *Sōhyō Chōsa Geppō* (*Sōhyō's Monthly Review of Surveys*), the Secretariat of the Cabinet *Chōsa Geppō* (*Monthly Review of Surveys*), and the Prime Minister's Office *Gekkan Yoron Chōsa* (*Monthly Review of Opinion Surveys*). We find many kinds of opinion surveys in these journals.

These surveys revealed some interesting and important results. One is that "identification with the middle strata" has caught increasing number of workers, leading them to orient to cooperation between capital and labor (Nihon Seisansei Honbu, 1972, p.109f.). This means an expansion of Odaka's "overlapping identification" among the workers. But these surveys have also shown that the "complaining type of identification" has been expanding, especially among young workers, increasing their alienation from both management and union, which means that the workers are not as satisfied with their work and life as some people have claimed.* As the study by Takahashi and his colleagues suggested, the mass situation has been getting wider and deeper, and gradually disorganizing the social consciousness proper to Japanese industrialism, especially after the political crisis that arose over the revision of the Japan-US Security Treaty in 1960 was overcome by the conservative party. Taking the viewpoint peculiar to Japan's socio-psychological study on social consciousness, we can say that this means the growth of a "contemporary type of apathy" (*gendai gata mukanshin*) in the workers instead of its "traditional type" (*kyû ishiki*). But we should also pay attention to the differentiation of "core value" (*ikigai*) revealed in these surveys, which suggests that this apathy is not merely the negative one as described generally in the theory of mass society. And if we see this differentiation appearing not only in the working class, we should say that recent opinion surveys as a whole have revealed some new elements becoming predominant in the Japanese people's social consciousness (See Mita, 1970).

*The preface of Nihon Seisansei Honbu, 1972, expresses apprehensions for this from the management side.

we must review the last type of study in Watanuki's typology, which emphasized "demands in the workers' everyday life". According to him, it was quite difficult to use the results of these surveys as data for the study of consciousness because they had been conducted mainly to "raise discussions in labor unions by stirring up the workers' interest", rather than to reveal the configuration or structure of their consciousness. Besides, they had been at a very naive level because of the limits imposed by financial problems, insufficiency of research staff, and so on (Watanuki, 1956, p.255). How have they been developed since then?

It seems that there has been a big increase in the number of research reports, especially since the late 1960's. Eighty eight opinion surveys appeared in a report published recently, forty seven of which were conducted by various union organizations---*Sōhyō* (General Council of Japanese Labor Unions), *tansan* (national union offices), and *tanso* (union offices in companies) (Nihon Seisansei Hombu, 1972, p.118f.).* Among them are some that are not only relatively large scale, but also quite remarkable in content like the one conducted by Tekkō Rōren (National Office of Steel Worker Unions) in 1969 (Tekkō Rōren, 1970). It can be said that they have improved in content because of the introduction of some refined techniques by specialists and scholars who have been employed or asked to help by Sōhyō and other main national union offices.** But the techniques used were mainly on quantitative data.

*Of course, as this report points out, this is also because it is easier to obtain surveys done by labor unions than those done by companies.

**Most opinion surveys published since the late 1960's have been conducted with the leadership and help of Rōdō Chōsa Kyōgi Kai (Labor Survey Conference).

qualitative data.*

Moreover, Munesuke Mita, starting from the accumulation of socio-psychological studies, under Kamishima's influence, developed techniques for the analysis of qualitative data to be used not only in the historical inquiry but for the analysis of the existing situation (Mita, 1965). His analysis of "types of unhappiness in contemporary Japan" was successful in revealing the condition of the people's "mental structure" with more refined techniques for qualitative data ---in this case, scraps from the counselling column in a newspaper (*ibid.*, part 1). After analyzing them into the basic factors of the peoples' consciousness, he synthesized them into several "charts of factor correlations", and integrated them still further into a few "charts of structural relations", showing configurations of existence and consciousness in every class and stratum, and in the social system as a whole. This can be said to have been a macroscopic generalization of pathological understanding method in psychoanalysis, which had contributed to studies on social consciousness in postwar Japan as we have already seen in referring to Otoyā Miyagi (See also Miyagi, 1959). The "method of multi-stage analysis" (*tadan bunseki hô*), according to Mita's naming, was, therefore, a kind of solution to the methodological problems of socio-psychological studies on social consciousness which we pointed out before (Mita, 1965, part 3).

5. Popularization of Opinion Surveys and Theoretical Problems

Returning to the move of focus in studies on worker consciousness,

*He made mainly an analysis of historical documents such as personal diaries, old textbooks, etc.

however, pay attention to the fact that social character which is idiosyncratic to mass society came to have more importance than the Japanese character, which had been the main theme of studies on social consciousness until then. Needless to say, this reflected the changes in the social situation of Japanese capitalism which was just emerging into "high-speed growth".

But we should also pay attention to the development of techniques for the analysis of qualitative data, before following up this important change. It was Jirō Kamishima that extended the field of historical study on political consciousness by introducing Kunio Yanagita's ethnology into Maruyama's theory of modernization in Japan (Kamishima, 1961). He focused his study clearly on the problems of urbanized society, although he had started from the analysis of "principles of order in natural villages (*shizen son*)". His basic viewpoint had come from this, which saw the main problems of Japan's urbanized society in "the second villages" (the fictitious villages---*gisei son*) made in towns and modern organizations (*ibid.*, part 1, esp. p. 40f.). This was also the result of the approach by which he tried to reveal "mental structure" as the basis of Japan's Tennoist fascism. In other words, focusing on the problems of urbanization, he tried to connect the viewpoint to massification, and that, to the Japanese character (*ibid.*, pp. 20-21). His sharp analysis of the character of "middle classes" in modern Japan and the connection between "family orientation" (*iye ishiki*) and "desire of personal advancement" (*risshin shusse yoku*) was done from this combined viewpoint (*ibid.*, part 2-3). And what is more important here is that his analysis was made with more developed techniques for

top” (Kido, 1970, p.137). According to them the “characteristic complication or distortion” of worker consciousness in Japan was the result of reactionary obstruction to the natural growth of this class consciousness by the traditional consciousness from both the top and the bottom. Referring to “different strata based on differences of status in the line system as the most basic categories of business organization”, they tried to grasp the existing situation of working class consciousness, restricted in a complicated way by “postwar nationalism” under the manipulation of the ruling class (*ibid.*, p. 141, pp. 166-170). * They succeeded in this to a relatively high degree because of the techniques they used. That is why this has been evaluated as a monumental work which reveals that Japan’s social psychology internalized Maruyama’s viewpoint set out in his study of social consciousness.

This kind of study was developed even more by Takahashi and his colleagues. In the next study focused rather on the “relationship between consciousness and factors in the consumption aspect of life outside of business”, they set out to make the analysis more accurate along the developing line of social psychology by making a distinction between “pseudo-political consciousness” and political consciousness, and by scaling this distinction (Takahashi, 1958; Takahashi et. al., 1958). The merit of this study was that at the same time it discovered the “active political interest” and the “gap between this and behavior” in Japan’s white collar workers (Takahashi, 1958, p. 41, p. 51). ** We should,

*They realized here the foresight of Hidaka and his colleagues in a scheme of relationship between working class consciousness and nationalism as an ideology from the top.

**This showed the difference between Japan’s white collar workers and those in the United States. See Mills, 1951.

Referring to Kôtarô Kido's paper which analyzed social consciousness in connection with social stratification, Akira Takahashi had already pointed out in the article just mentioned that even workers with a strong inclination to socialist ideology in political and economic issues, were rather authoritarian as to the traditional value system (*jûmpû bizoku*) (Hidaka et. al., 1954, p. 241). The merit of Kido's study on the structure of social consciousness was that he had succeeded precursively in the quantitative analysis of the "duplicated structure of the people's consciousness", with the crossed scales of "authoritarian attitude" and "polito-economic ideology" (Kido, 1954). And this, unlike Odaka's study on the "overlapping attitude", belonged to socio-psychological studies with the focus on the political consciousness, since it took up the attitudes and ideologies of different social strata in the idiosyncratic arena for political struggle in postwar Japan.* Hidaka, Takahashi, Kido and Watanuki tried together to develop quantitative research along this line after Hidaka and his colleagues' study on the "traditional consciousness".

Their study on the workers' political consciousness, conducted in the middle of the 1950's, was based on methodology of a somewhat more quantitative analysis (Hidaka, Takahashi, Kido, Watanuki, 1955). The biggest merit of this study was that it assumed class consciousness as "consciousness to be easily mobilized by the Movement" other than the traditional consciousness "from the bottom" and that "from the

*The scale of "authoritarian attitude" was based not only on Adorno et. al., 1950, but also on Hidaka et. al., 1954, and the scale of "polito-economic ideology" was made as "socialism vs. anti-communism" in accordance with the political situation in postwar Japan.

ultranationalism" revealed by Maruyama, and the latter the order sentiment in villages and the patriarchal familism in general, both of which had been patternized in the arcadian life style (*jūmpū bizoku*). In other words, they saw the contradictory state of social consciousness as a combination of indoctrination "from the top" and moresian response "from the bottom". Therefore their methodology can be said to be a kind of synthesis of Maruyama's and Aruga's. Based on this methodology they showed in detail how the "traditional consciousness from the bottom", remaining as a kind of "natural reaction" to the postwar reforms, had been mobilized as the basis of the "political reaction" in postwar Japan, tending to reconcile democracy with Tennoism and even with the anti-communism (*ibid.*, conclusion).*

As to the techniques of analysis, however, this article shows that they were still ambivalent. They used positively not only newspapers ---especially letters to the editors---as qualitative data, but also the results of opinion surveys as quantitative data, of the "traditional consciousness from the bottom". But they cannot be said to have had a sufficiently clear methodology for the analysis of both kinds of data.** Their methodology was semi-scientific and semi-artististic. Therefore socio-psychological studies on social consciousness after this had to develop techniques for the analysis of quantitative data as well as of qualitative data. In connection with the development of the former, we return to studies on worker consciousness.

*They were also foreseeing here the "possible disorganization of the traditional consciousness" and the "conflict of symbols" about the problem of *nationalism*.

**Watanuki, however, pointed out only its "insufficiency in quantitative analysis" in his typology mentioned before (1956, p.173).

theory of mass society as its general basis.

Maruyama, as he himself mentioned, had taken the socio-psychological viewpoint according to the demands of the object of his inquiry, although he had not been so well acquainted with this discipline (1964, p. 495). However, his socio-psychological perspective based on the theory of Ethos opened up a new and special field for studies on social consciousness through the analysis of Japanese fascism. The Japanese character, which had been dealt with as a constant of social development since Aruga and Suzuki, was taken up as an intervening variable in the area of political struggles in the mass society. And, in addition, the method of dynamic analysis of "symbol manipulation" was introduced by modern political science imported from the United States. Many political scientists, under the influence of Maruyama, set out to inquire into the structure and change of political consciousness after the Meiji era, and to analyze its existing state in postwar Japan (See Ishida, 1954, Kyôgoku and Masumi, 1953). Social psychologists influenced by Shimizu joined this research movement. A new viewpoint then emerged in the attempt to analyze the dynamisms of organization and disorganization of the social consciousness within the general perspective of the theory of ideology. Social consciousness came to be considered relatively self-determining, though determined more basically by social existence.

Rokurô Hidaka and his colleagues, in collected works on postwar Japanese capitalism, published an article which could be called typical of this kind of study (Hidaka et. al., 1954). They characterized the traditional consciousness (*kyû ishiki*) as a contradicting variable consisting of components both "from the top" (*uekarano*) and "from the bottom" (*shitakarano*). The former was seen as the "logic and psychology of

syncratic condition of postwar Japan, for which we can say the Japanese type of social psychology was made. So, in an independent section, we will review the fourth type of study on worker consciousness as a branch of socio-psychological study in postwar Japan, before moving to the last type, which is more and more the product of the workers themselves.

4. Social Psychology and Studies on Social Consciousness

It has been pointed out that Maruyama's criticism of Japanese fascism, unlike his study of the history of ideas in the Tokugawa period, emphasized the complete lack of autonomy in both the leaders and the people. This must be noted, and it will go far in tracing the development of this kind of theory. It was not only because, unlike Aruga, he had no viewpoint on the people's autonomy in ordinary life that Maruyama could find nothing autonomous in Japanese fascism as the result of the modernization, which at a glance, could be seen as neither feudal nor Japanese, but also because he was aware of its irrational elements. Clearly these irrational elements were the products of Japanese society, which had big towns and bureaucracy in spite of the restraints exercised by villages. Referring back to Shimizu's paradox, we should also remember the historical character of social psychology. This has been said to be connected not only with an open society such as the American one but also with deadlocked bourgeois societies in Europe such as the fascist ones (See Hidaka, 1960). It was connection with the latter that made social psychology in postwar Japan select the

scientifically. As labor forces had been drawn from the villages in the process of "high-speed growth", the peasants came into factories and towns imbued with their traditional consciousness. The Japanese character had been reinforced in the lower strata of society, but, providing also the conditions for liberation from this character, this process developed a kind of combination of autonomy and modernity, at least in big business and in the cities. Of course, this was not just the kind of consciousness the modernists had been looking for, and even Odaka in his study did not succeed in realizing its growing *process*. But without reference to it, we could not understand the reasons for Japan's unparalleled "high-speed economic growth", nor realize the ambivalence of the new type of value orientation just emerging (See last section of this paper). Odaka can be said to have analyzed the social consciousness of *Japanese industrialism*.

Nevertheless, even his study was inadequate as an analysis of worker consciousness in postwar Japan. According to Jôji Watanuki's typology, made in the middle of the 1950's (Watanuki, 1956), it can be said that we have reviewed three of five main types in studies on worker consciousness. There were two other types besides Matsushima's (focused on the life style), Okouchi's (emphasizing the types of labor forces), and Odaka's (oriented to the attitude survey in industrial sociology) (*ibid.*, pp. 252-254). One of these was focused on "political consciousness," and the other on the "demands in everyday life". The former disputed worker consciousness in the area of political struggle where contradicting influences are at work, and the latter from the "practical viewpoint" to catch the working class. The former is more important than the latter, in that it had a special viewpoint on the idio-

His conclusion that the dominant type of identification was an overlapping one with both management and the trade union should be appreciated, because it was elucidated not only on an empirical basis, but through clear methodology, emphasizing the “human-pursuing” (*ningen sokyû teki*) approach---the socio-psychological approach (See also Odaka, 1958b). He emphasized in this series of surveys that the “overlapping type of identification” could neither properly be called Japanese, nor was it common to “industrial societies” in general. In other words, it could be called essentially Japanese only when used in international comparisons of worker consciousness (See in a contrast Odaka, 1953, and 1960). It is also notable that he mentioned the “workers’ temper that likes the realistic and pragmatic way of thinking” as well as “business familism” as reasons for the dominance of this overlapping type (Odaka, 1960, pp. 32-3). It meant that this type was not only traditional in its character of “work hard” (*kinben rikikô*) but also rather rational in its “give and take” (*toru mono wa toru*) style which appeared especially in union activities (*ibid.*, pp. 30-31). Moreover, it can be said that stable innovation was guaranteed in Japanese business if Odaka was right in his assertion that the “complaining type of identification” (*fuhei bunshi gata*), the opposite of the overlapping type, contributed to producing a kind of balance in business in the criticism of both management and the trade union, by “resistance” to the traditional value patterns (*ibid.*, pp. 28-30, p. 35).

Odaka’s study has been criticized because of its non-progressive political affiliation. It is important, however, here to realize that he revealed the secret of social consciousness in the Japanese people, which rural sociology and even industrial sociology before him could not see

market" like employment security organizations and trade unions, nor had they any clear job or class consciousness. Having the negative "consciousness of the lower class", they were involved in "the Japanese line-system" ---the relationship between "boss and followers". Ujihara, however, did not overlook the fact that management had to destroy this "prototype of labor-management relations in Japan" in the pursuit of economic rationality, and so a new arena was developed for the conflict between management and the trade unions.

Needless to say, these workers did not necessarily represent the working class as a whole in postwar Japan. The salient characteristic of Japan's postwar history, as is well known, is "high-speed economic growth" which can be called "industrialization" in the sociological sense, since it especially means the development of the heavy and chemical industries (See Moriya, 1971 chap. 4). If seen from the viewpoint of attaching importance to the effects of this industrialization, worker consciousness can be understood in a quite different way from the interpretations given before, which probably placed too much emphasis on the Japanese character. In other words, even "familism in business" which was naturally stressed in the accumulation of previous studies, should be interpreted as something rather modern, in the sense that it was expressing *industrialism* in a Japanese way, because industrial conciliation (*rôshi kyôchô*) has been the goal not only of Japanese familism but also of modern industrialism itself.

The merit of Kunio Odaka's continual research on "worker's identification" (*kizoku ishiki*) is that it succeeded in realizing these possibilities with the use of much survey data (Odaka, 1953, chap. 9, 1957, 1958a, 1960. Among these the last is a summary of his programmed surveys).

19).* So, according to him, it can be said that *tomoko* revealed a kind of autonomy of Japanese workers who were not able to attain truly modern character because of their unbreakable relationship with their native villages.

This autonomy, however, was not finally autonomy in the modern sense. Matsushima's study did not inquire into the combination of modernity and autonomy, although it was useful in correcting the fault of modernists who confused these two. Taking the legality of trade unions in postwar Japan for granted, Matsushima foresaw that traditional organizations such as *tomoko* would be substituted by more modern organizations of the workers (*ibid.*, p. 436f.). But he did not go on directly from there to study the areas in which modern enterprises and trade unions would come into conflict. It was a research group led by Kazuo Okouchi and Shôjirô Ujihara that opened the way to this inquiry, through the energetic application of empirical surveys, and they also revealed the predominance of the Japanese character in this world too, at least in appearance (Okouchi and Sumiya, 1955, Okouchi, Ujihara, and Fujita, 1956).

Ujihara, using some survey data, analyzed the character of the workers in big factories in a group study on "social tensions" conducted by the Japan Humanistics Association (Ujihara, 1953). Focusing on the effects on the workers of the "process of getting jobs in big factories" and of their "working process", he found that they had "no autonomy in job selection" in spite of the "economic necessity" of getting jobs as soon as possible. Therefore they neither made any "collective labor

*In this sense, Matsushima took also the viewpoint that the social consciousness is an independent variable.

Matsushima expressed substantial agreement with Aruga in his study on worker consciousness (*ibid.*, part 1).* He made it clear from an interview survey that worker consciousness was generally “quite unstable” compared with peasant one, and that especially mining and day workers’ was less stable than transportation and factory workers’ (*ibid.*, chaps. 2-3, esp. p. 64, p. 115). Craftsmen under the feudal system had rather “stable sentiment in their ordinary life”, backed by the stability of their “trades” (*kagyô*) (*ibid.*, chap. 4, pp. 136-138).** But, as workers in the modern sense had come from peasant families rather than from among these craftsmen, they were not so mature, and more or less “déclassé”, especially in the case of mining and day workers (*ibid.*, chap. 5, esp. p. 166, p. 182). *Tomoko* can be said to have been “a kind of self-help relief organization” which the workers in modern Japan had reproduced along the line of the Japanese character, to overcome their “immaturity” and “omittedness” (*ibid.*, p. 212).*** Inquiring into worker consciousness, Matsushima paid attention to the “restraints exercised on society by individuals—especially due to their consciousness” (*ibid.*, p.

*Matsushima mentioned “consciousness and ideology, especially class consciousness”, “workers’ groups, especially trade unions”, and “management-labor relations” as “three main themes in the sociology of labor” in one of his later papers (Matsushima, 1956).

**Matsushima, in analyzing the change in worker consciousness historically, pointed out in this chapter that “worker consciousness should be seen as an historical object by itself...” (p. 131). This means his viewpoint was ahead of the social psychological one which will be dealt with in the next section of this paper.

***This interpretation of the function of *Tomoko* has been developed into his later interpretation of the function of Japanese labor unions.

taken into account, though the apprenticeship system (*detchi seido*) was examined as a labor organization in merchant families (*ibid.*, chap. 3. esp. p. 165). Needless to say, it was in the process of early accumulation and industrial revolution that workers who were “free in the double sense” were concentrated into urban areas. But, in the history of Japanese capitalism, we can see even in the Tokugawa era the germs of manufacture where somewhat modern management and labor were growing. Shizuo Matsushima focused on mines as one such typical case.

His study on “*tomoko*” (the mining workers’ organization) is quite interesting, because it showed how the modern elements emerging in the feudal system had been distorted in a particular way to fit Japanese society (Matsushima, 1951, part 2). He insisted that *tomoko*, as an informal group, was also characterized by “communion between the boss and the followers”, though it consisted of individuals rather than families, based on occupational relations rather than kinship, and therefore was relatively unstable and short-term (*ibid.*, p. 389f.). In other words, it was different from *dōzoku dan* in that the members were floating and subject to change, but it was essentially a “familist human relationship” and “cosmos of duty and humanity” (*giri ninjō no sekai*) which, according to him, causes a feeling of nostalgia among those who are accustomed to ideological thinking (*ibid.*, p. 410, p. 440). Therefore his analysis, we can say, not only supported Aruga’s assertion that the Japanese character was not identical with the feudal one, but also showed how the traditional family group could be reconstructed as a kind of “fiction” (*gisei*) in modernized society. Was it possible to say that this was due to people’s “creativity”, as Aruga had done in his rural sociology?

“national sociology” through the intermediation of urban sociology*, and Aruga had emphasized the need for “sociological comprehension of Japanese capitalism”, pointing out that there had been common characteristics between the rural and urban communities in Japan (Suzuki, 1957; Aruga, 1943, p. 709).

It was Takashi Nakano who moved the focus from villages to towns, and tried to find in merchant families what had been found in peasant families by Aruga (Nakano, 1957).** In his study, he claimed that the combined families of merchants (*shōka dōzoku dan*) had the tendency to separate “the private sphere” (*oku*) and “the business sphere” (*tana*) whereas peasant families did not have this separation. This made it clearer that the “family” (*ie*) had been an “administration” (*keiei-tai*) at the same time. The big financial groups (*zaibatsu*) grew from these merchant families to direct Japanese capitalism (*ibid.*, pp. 66, 124, 191-192 etc.). He also added some important findings to the analysis of the “*ee ja nai ka*” movement, pointing out from this viewpoint that there had been “traditional organizations of combined families for the annual festivals” at the back of “mobs in ecstasy” (*ibid.*, chap. 6, sect. 8, esp. p. 644). This can be called not only an analysis of social relations in towns, but also of the social consciousness of *the people* living in towns.

In the analysis, however, workers in the modern sense were not

*But “social consciousness” was given very small importance in his urban sociology, unlike in his rural sociology. National sociology had not been systematized before his death.

**Nakano explained this process in his postscript. In addition, we find a very good description of the history of studies on *dōzoku dan* in chap. 1 of this book.

when villages were still autarkical communities.* Being sharply aware of this point, Otohiko Hasumi has begun to reorganize the theory, in the attempt to understand the changes in villages as the resultant effects of society as a whole (Hasumi, 1969b). Peasant consciousness, however, is still grasped as something “contradictory” and considered unable to reach “systematic awakening” unless receiving an “outside influence”, even in his new theory (*ibid.*, p. 245). It should be said that postwar rural sociology, because of its early enlightening concern, has neglected the autonomous character found in the peasants, which Aruga gave attention to. We cannot deny that neither the peasants nor their villages could advance in the direction of radical change by themselves. But it is also true that they have influenced the change in society itself in their response to the “high-speed growth”, and it is therefore necessary to inquire into the peasant consciousness in this direction---emphasizing their energy to shape society from the grass roots up. We will see this again after reviewing studies in other fields.

3. Studies on Worker Consciousness and Industrial Sociology

Japanese character revealed by rural sociology, was not restricted to the rural communities, because villages restricted society as a whole. It was after World War II that rural sociology developed in a rather narrow sense. Suzuki had planned to expand his rural sociology into a

*Fukutake moved the stress from stagnation to change in his studies on village communities after 1967. Compare his (1967) with (1964). This move, however, was compelled by changes in the reality itself. See his short essay (1972b).

Marxist standpoint, that it did not fit the thesis that “existence defines consciousness” and therefore that it did not make clear the direction of village development. They tried to understand peasant consciousness as the dependent variable of social development, objecting that Fukutake saw it still as somewhat constant because of its stagnation. Some counter-criticisms, however, were thrown at these criticisms from the sociologists who took a position nearer to Fukutake’s (Matsubara, 1961, Hasumi, 1969, chap.7), and the controversy can be said to be still continuing (See Shimazaki, 1967, chap. 4, Hosoya, 1972, et. al.). So the “contradictory character” of peasants is still the point of dispute in rural sociology. But we can say at least that postwar studies on peasant consciousness have neglected too much its positive aspects effecting social change even in the process of “high-speed growth”, although it is true that survey techniques have much advanced. For instance, Aruga’s “nationality” and Suzuki’s “spirit” are more or less irrational, and should appear as “contradictory character” if analyzed with the use of such techniques as Fukutake used. One critic was right in pointing out that he could not really succeed in analyzing the structure of peasant consciousness (Shimazaki, 1960, p. 170). It is not true, however, that all problems could be solved if we took the differentiation of peasants into strata as the basic trend of change in the villages, because, maintaining their own autonomy, irrational things have restrained the differentiation in the dimension of consciousness, or at least have distorted its appearance rather crucially (See Hasumi, 1969, chap.6-7).

It can be said that the biggest defect in Fukutake’s rural sociology has been its attempt to analyze the changing villages in the time of “high-speed growth”, using a theoretical framework made in an era

a more positivistic one under the influence of the modernization theories of Otuka and Kawashima, he built up his own theory of "the social character of Japanese peasants" as determined by "the limits of productivity of the too small farmers' society (*kashônô shakai*)" (*ibid.*, p. 11, 14). * He also introduced the techniques of social survey developed in the United States as its methodological basis. In fact, his survey conducted in 1953 (Fukutake, 1954), in comparison with those of the pre-war period, was "one that would remain in the history of sociology as the first systematic survey on the peasant consciousness" (Fukutake, 1972, preface). **

It is known well that this survey revealed the essence of the peasants' consciousness as "the contradictory character that they had no consistent opinion or attitude to every aspect of the environment but that they were generally conservative" (Fukutake, 1954, p. 276). This finding was generalized, and "contradictory character" can be said to have been a synonym for "peasant consciousness". *** But, as the villages began to change rapidly because of the "high-speed growth" of Japanese capitalism, some criticisms emerged against this theory which regarded stagnation as the basic characteristic of Japanese villages. Minoru Shimazaki (1960) and Takashi Hosoya (1961, 1962) criticized it from the

*Fukutake was in the same position as Aruga in this sense, but he criticized Aruga's theory of "nationality" (See, *ibid.*, p. 34).

**Fukutake (1957) contrasted prewar and postwar studies of Japan's rural sociology.

***The "contradictory character" of peasants had been pointed out in the general sense before Fukutake's survey report. His merit was that he backed it up with the empirical data.

taking social consciousness as their key, but made a somewhat different type of theory from Aruga's (Suzuki, 1940). A salient characteristic of his theory of "natural villages (*shizen son*)" is that it was much more Durkheimian in understanding the "spirit", although it was based on Sorokin's theory of communities. Social consciousness should be distinguished from individual consciousness, identified with the village community itself, and considered as keeping identity like personalities, although it would change and develop very slowly (*ibid.*, chap. 7, p. 417f.). In this sense, his concept of social consciousness can be considered more constant than Aruga's. This concept was from a "methodologically socialist" point of view, reflecting the concept of social structure as more important than social relations as seen in his sociology (*ibid.*, chap. 1, p. 48). We cannot say, however, that the movement toward autonomy was neglected entirely in his theory, because the germ of the people's autonomy was seen in a kind of rationalism found in *yui* or *kô* (peasants' association) (*ibid.*, chap. 6, p. 409).*

Postwar theories in rural sociology, quite naturally, have been developed on the theoretical accumulation represented by these. Tadashi Fukutake, who has been the leader in theories and surveys in this field, started out from his comprehension that the community structure in Japanese villages had been a kind of combination of "*dôzoku ketsugô*" (familist relationship) and "*kôgumi ketsugô*" (associative relationship) and that the "conservative nature of the peasants" had been based on this community structure (Fukutake, 1949, introduction). Rationalizing Suzuki's theory of "spirit" and Aruga's theory of "nationality" into

*But this rationalism, itself, did not develop into autonomy, although it raised the realistic interest of the peasants in postwar Japan.

munities and paying attention to the dimension of social consciousness from the ethnological viewpoint. As Noro was aware in his early works, the particularity of Asiatic society should appear clearly, especially in this dimension, in so far as it had a structure in which it was very difficult for individuals to act as such. The reason why the criticisms of Japanese fascism by Japanese modernists seems somewhat phenomenological, is that they lacked this ethno-sociological viewpoint to the dimension of social consciousness.*

On the other hand, even national character cannot be regarded as permanent in the historical perspective. If it appears as a constant because of the stagnant development of Asiatic society, it can also be seen as a kind of variable of social development, which changes more or less crucially when the time is ripe. We can take it as a constant only when time is relatively limited. Therefore Aruga was wrong in emphasizing too much the consistency of the national character. But he had another important viewpoint which could modify his defects, and we must note this because it was oriented to the people's autonomy in ordinary life, which was of a different kind from what modernists like Maruyama tried to analyze. It was the viewpoint of seeing social relations as "forms of intermediation between individuals and society" and emphasizing the "existence of the people's creativity in ordinary life" (Aruga, 1943, chap. 3, 1938, introduction).

Eitarô Suzuki, another originator of Japan's rural sociology, inquired into rural communities in Japan, and pointed out the importance of

*Thus Jirô Kamishima (1961) criticizes M. Maruyama. But Kamishima was influenced directly Yanagita's ethnological school without Aruga's intermediation. See section 4 of this paper.

tenant farming system, which had been one of the serious issues in the controversy about Japanese capitalism (Aruga, 1943).

Even in his early works he had made clear his viewpoint on the tenant system, which laid stress on the peasants' "ordinary thinking" (*seikatsu iskiki*) (Aruga, 1933, p. 211). Refined in his later works, this viewpoint led him to develop a systematic theory of Japanese rural society during World War II. He insisted that an important characteristic of the sociological viewpoint is to focus on "social relations", and that social consciousness is particularly the "essence of social relations" (Aruga, 1934, chap. 3). He built up his theory of "*dôzoku dan*" (combined families) from this viewpoint. It contended that the relationship of big families (*dai kazoku*) or complex families (*fukugô kazoku*), which were not necessarily based on kinship, was the typical social relationship in Japanese villages and society as a whole, and that its "nationality" (national character) had made possible the origination and continuation of the special tenant system (*ibid.*, p. 247). From this viewpoint and theory, he objected to Kôza-ha and emphasized the difference between the feudal and the national character (*ibid.*, pp. 604-616. See also Aruga, 1947, 1949).

His theory reached a high level in the search for the Japanese character. But it can be seen as a variation of the theory of Asiatic society, because, considering his explanations about the reasons for the growth of this "national character", we can reduce them to the factor of despotism based on the Asiatic mode of production, and to the fact that Japan was a narrow and closed land (Aruga, 1943, chap. 9, esp. pp. 691-692). Inquiring into the tenant system and social relations in general in villages, he was very penetrating in getting into the heart of com-

It is important to see that their studies on social consciousness were not based on analyses of the real class structure of Japanese society, nor on actual survey data, since they were developed in the form of criticisms or historical studies. In other words, they lacked sociological positiveness. As to class structure, in Japan, although the agricultural population dropped below one half in the 1920's, it did not break the 40% level until the postwar era (Ohashi, 1971, p. 23). Moreover, workers in urban areas kept their connection with the villages, as there still remained the possibility of them going back to their villages at times of depression or calamity. As the structure of Japanese capitalism was restricted as a whole by agriculture (Yamada, 1932, pp. 62-64, p. 283f.), so Japanese society was restricted as a whole by villages. If this was so, then the social consciousness of the Japanese people should have been considered to have its matrix in peasant consciousness.

Kôza-ha saw the particularity of Japanese capitalism in the feudal elements in relations of agricultural production. Thus the feudal elements were directly the Japanese character, from the viewpoint of this school, although some, as mentioned, took the special viewpoint of seeing the Asiatic mode of production. But were the feudal elements proper to Japanese capitalism? Is it possible to identify its particularity with the feudal elements, or even with the Asiatic ones? As to the inquiry into the Japanese character, it was the ethnological school started by Kunio Yanagita that had been doing this through steady surveys. This school, however, had not contributed any theory but a great deal of material to social sciences. It was Kizaemon Aruga, one of the originators of Japan's rural sociology, that made good use of the material in the scientific theory of society, focussing on the problems of the

chology, some other scholars of course introduced and depended on Freudian psychoanalysis. Kenji Otsuki posited this against Marxism (Otsuki, 1937), and Otoyō Miyagi succeeded in making use of it in his criticism of Japanese fascism during and just after the War (Miyagi, 1947). Reflecting its psychotherapeutic character, Miyagi's anthropology was typically modernist and rationalist, in the sense that it tried to completely rationalize anything irrational from top to bottom (See Shimizu, et al., 1948). Besides, social consciousness was the object of clinical treatment rather than scientific study.* This perspective was then introduced into the socio-psychological study of social consciousness, as theories of the left-Freudian school were imported from the United States.

2. Rural Sociology and Studies on Peasant Consciousness

Through the criticism of Japanese fascism, three of four basic viewpoints on social consciousness were established. Even the viewpoint of seeing social consciousness as a constant of social development can be found in Noro's works if we consider it as the perspective from which to see the Asiatic social consciousness. Moreover, the problems raised on the dimension of social consciousness by Japanese fascism were focused on the question of what was the essence of the Japanese character. Miki and the other founders of the Japanese theory of modernization, as we have seen, gave their own individual answers. But what degree of validity did their answers have?

*Miyagi has been working as a councillor with a newspaper.

guise of modern legal system (Kawashima, 1948, 1949, 1957). He used Max Weber's theory to grasp the Asiatic social consciousness, and combined this with ethnological studies.

Maruyama introduced the socio-psychological in addition to the Weberian perspective to analyze irrational elements in Japanese fascism. But it was Ikutaro Shimizu who had first introduced this socio-psychological perspective under the influence of Miki's anthropological philosophy. Following the Young Officers' Rebellion he showed in his analysis of rumors that the irrational elements in the people's social consciousness could sometimes be a weapon against the ruling class in the critical situation (Shimizu, 1937). This logic of criticizing fascism by making reverse use of the irrational elements has a structure similar to Miki's in making reverse use of the Japanese character as mentioned above. Shimizu also resembled Miki in his attitude to Japanese fascism. His bitter experience of being drawn into the system in spite of trying inner-system resistance, made him engage in energetic propaganda for liberalism and democratism, a form of reaction formation in the postwar period (See Shimizu, 1946, 1949). His tragedy, however, was that he could not but awaken to the new irrational elements emerging in modernism itself, just when it became possible to extol it. This paradox came from the fact that he looked at it from the socio-psychological viewpoint. His *Social Psychology* (1951), the first book that introduced the theory of mass society in a practical sense, can not be understood properly without taking this paradox into account.

It was from this trend that the perspective of seeing social consciousness as an intervening variable of social development actually appeared in Japan. Although Shimizu depended on the literature of social psy-

under the influence of the controversy between Kôza-ha and Rônô-ha, has written that he was influenced very much by Miki's anthropological ideas in his process of developing the perspective (Otsuka, 1967). He has also written that the rise of Japanese fascism made him pay attention to the petit bourgeois strata (Otsuka, 1960). And his subsequent study focused on the "spirit" of these strata (Otsuka, 1948). So his course of study in a sense resembles that of the Frankfurt school, but, in order to resolve this problem, he introduced not psychoanalysis but the theory of Ethos from Max Weber. Thus, the perspective of seeing social consciousness as an independent variable of social development was introduced to establish the individual autonomy in a situation in which problems of fascism were becoming complicated by the Japanese character.

It seemed natural, therefore, for Masao Maruyama and Takeyoshi Kawashima, who both developed original theories of modernization under Japanese fascism, to inquire into problems of social consciousness in the anthropological perspective explored by Miki and Otsuka. Both Maruyama and Kawashima tried to establish the individual autonomy against the Japanese character---one in the sphere of political consciousness and the other in the sphere of juridical consciousness. Maruyama had discovered this in Sorai-ism (one of the Confucian schools of the Tokugawa period), but then came over to its inconsistency in Yukichi Fukuzawa's thought, which had moved from nationalism to statism, and at last he had to point out its absolute absence in analyzing Japanese fascism (Maruyama, 1952, 1943, 1947, 1952, 1956-7). On the other hand, Kawashima went into the Japanese character in order to make clear the juridical trick, which he found to be retaining the feudal character in the

One man who was very sensitive to these kinds of problems was Kiyoshi Miki, an anthropologist philosopher, who had influenced Tosaka, but was criticized by him at that time as a pseudo-Marxist. Miki's series of essays written after the Young Officer's Rebellion of 1936 (*Nii-Ni roku Jiken*) showed quite ambivalent analyses about *Japanism*, in criticizing its irrational character even while evaluating the originality of the Japanese character (Miki, 1936a, 1936b, 1937). Thus, he tried paradoxically to protest against fascistic Japanism. Criticizing the view of "Japanese consciousness characterized by the form of non-form", he said that the exclusion of foreign thoughts should be said to be inconsistent and dishonorable, and that the problem of Japanism should be seen in the light of its own dilemma that "Japanism itself was losing the very traditional character of Japan". Then Miki went on to maintain along these lines that "the formation of the national character" should be "the simultaneous conquest of both the feudalist and the liberalist character" (Miki, 1940a, 1940b).

It can not be said that Miki's inner-system resistance was more effective than Tsaka's militant struggle. But it is important here that Miki went into the reality of the social consciousness as a basis of Japanese fascism, at the cost of being made a messenger who never returned. Meanwhile, Tosaka as a rationalist was expecting the awakening of class consciousness. So it was not Tosaka but Miki who introduced the other perspectives into studies on social consciousness, through the criticism of Japanese fascism. Stimulated by these, scholars in this field advanced to the introduction of two different perspectives in fascistizing Japan.

Hisao Otsuka, who developed an original theory of modernization

Marxism in prewar Japan took the attitude that social consciousness is a dependent variable of social development, and tried to get rid of other perspectives.

The theory of ideology itself was established in philosophy and sociology, apart from analyses of society. Although not a few scholars contributed to this, Jun Tosaka should be regarded as the most distinguished in developing an original theory, in addition to theories from western countries. His theory of ideology was built on such good understanding of preceding theories, and characterized by so fair an attitude to sociological and socio-psychological theories about social consciousness, that we can say it still holds a high level even if viewed from the standpoint of today (See Tosaka, 1930, 1932). It was with this depth and breadth of perspective that he could struggle against Japanese fascism, even after Marxism had been almost purged out from the sphere of social theory.

In attempting to grasp problems brought out by fascism on the dimension of social consciousness, however, his theory must be said to be somewhat inadequate. As the Frankfurt school emphasized, fascism in the 1930's gave rise to serious problems, especially, on this dimension (See Fromm, 1941, and Adorno et. al., 1950). Besides, Japan's national character made the problems more complicated. Tosaka, of course, paid attention to this character of Japanese fascism and criticized its ideology quite sharply, but this criticism did not touch social consciousness--- or, more exactly, social *unconsciousness*---as its deepest basis. On the contrary, his theory of ideology became more rationalistic at this stage, in the attempt to struggle against ideologies extolling the irrational elements (Tosaka, 1935).

of the former school had a rather different attitude, for they included jurists, political scientists and sociologists, who were naturally more wholistic. For instance, looking at *Nihon Shihonshugi Hattatsushi Kôza* (*Study Series on Japan's Capitalist Development*), 1932-33, from which the name Kôza-ha came, we can say that they paid some attention to social consciousness and its relationship to social development, for the study, not only consisting of three parts reflecting three stages---"The History of the Meiji Restoration", "The History of Capitalist Development", and "The Status Quo of Imperialist Japan"---, but also reveals a total composition including political and cultural analyses. This, however, does not mean that they went beyond the perspective that social consciousness is only a dependent variable of social development.

There are exceptions, of course. For example, Eitarô Noro not only pointed out the essence of Asiatic social consciousness in his early analysis of Japanese capitalism (Noro, 1930, pp. 24-25), but also emphasized the importance of the "revolution of consciousness" in his analysis of the Meiji Restoration (*ibid.*, pp. 51-60). Moreover, Gorô Hani, who himself wrote almost all the history of the late Tokugawa era contained in *Kôza*, attached much importance to mass disturbance of "*ee ja nai ka!*"* and analyzed it in fact in a very socio-psychological way in his paper on "Trends of Thought" in this period (Hani, 1932). So it would not be true to say that there were not other viewpoints on social consciousness in Kôza-ha. But considering that these were products of the insight of Noro and Hani as historians, and that therefore they were not backed up by any definite methodology, it cannot but be said that

*"*Ee ja nai ka*" was a kind of spell in this religiously disguised mass disturbance.

Of course, the fundamental reason for this dispersion should be seen in the very dispersion of social consciousness itself, resulting from the rapid development of society in postwar Japan. But this makes it all the more important that different kinds of studies be integrated, because the dispersed social consciousness will become even more dispersed unless we first succeed in reintegrating the dispersed studies. Can this be done? Or, before considering it, how has the dispersion been brought about? In order to see this, we have to go back to the starting line of studies on social consciousness in modern Japan.

1. Criticism of Japanese Fascism and Studies on Social Consciousness

We can say that it was Marxism in Japan, as in Europe, which first established the viewpoint from which to see the relationship between social consciousness and social development. In Japan, however, since not a few post-Marxian theories had been introduced before the introduction of Marxism itself, studies on social consciousness began with the liquidation of post-Marxian theories by determinism that says "existence determines consciousness". The result was that studies on social consciousness were, in fact, regarded as secondary during the palmy days of the "Marxist Movement" (Maruyama, 1965, p. 522n.).

Marxism in Japan, as is generally known, split into two different schools ---Kôza-ha and Rônô-ha. Scholars of the latter school paid hardly any attention to social consciousness and its relationship to social development, since they were mostly economists, and interested mainly in the economic aspects of Japan's capitalist development. But scholars

especially in critical situations. Psychology of the crowd and social psychology have paid much attention to this, because it functions as a medium between the basic social structure and the other derivative parts of society. As pointed out by many scholars, this is a particular characteristic of contemporary society. We call it *social consciousness as an intervening variable of social development*.

Thus we have four forms of social consciousness in relation to social development. It is, however, not important to decide which form or which view in this connection is most adequate. In fact, social consciousness appears in any of these forms and relates to all factors that lead to social development. This comes inevitably from the fact that society consists of human-beings and human-beings are essentially conscious beings. Therefore the determinist principle that "human consciousness does not determine man's existence but man's social existence determines his consciousness" is not the ultimate but the only pre-supposition in the study of all kinds of relations between social development and social consciousness.

In a sense, since this determinism has been argued only as a principle of criticism and not developed as practical methodology, other different theories have been introduced and substituted for, or used to make compromises with, this determinism. Studies on social consciousness in modern Japan can be said to have been a repetition of these kinds of introduction, substitution and compromise. The stronger the influence of Marxism, the more diversified and bewildering the repetition. And now studies on social consciousness have been dispersed into more and more different directions, as the influence of Marxism has decreased. It has become difficult even to find their foci.

ruled the individual before the individual has even become aware of its development, because there have been no good conditions that would permit the individual to become autonomous within the community. Social consciousness has maintained identity through changes in the economic structure of society, brought about by the gradual growth of productive forces. We can call this type of social consciousness *social consciousness as a constant of social development*, since it has given identity to developing society.

In comparison with this, the properly modern social consciousness that destroyed medieval communities and built modern bourgeois society is that of atomized individuals—"Ethos." As Max Weber made clear, this brought about rapid social development by establishing the idea of work oriented to rationalized business, and by creating the productive forces peculiar to modern society. In this sense, we can call this type, *social consciousness as an independent variable of social development*.

But this autonomous consciousness lost itself in changing society, and became alienated as capitalist development went on. It came to be called "Ideologie" in the sense that it was marked by subjective autonomy, but objective alienation. This conception has been generalized to denote social consciousness as a whole, but its essence is in *Seinsverbundenheit*---socially determined character. So we can call this type of social consciousness *social consciousness as a dependent variable of social development*.

Further, another type of social consciousness has appeared through the "massification" of different parts of developing bourgeois society. It is not entirely alienated, but naturally growing and very explosive,

Studies on Social Consciousness in Modern Japan

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Japan has the tradition of studies on social consciousness at least since 1920's. Developed much as critiques of Japanese fascism, they have been taken over by postwar sociological studies. Agricultural sociology, industrial sociology, and social psychology have developed their own characteristic studies. Opinion surveys have been popularized not only in academic fields but also from journalism to labor movement. But the most important feature of Japanese social consciousness today is the basic change of its fundamental character appearing since 1960's. All works until now should be reexamined to make a new scheme which can grasp the meaning of this basic change.

Social development embodies, as one of its important factors, the development of social consciousness, and as soon as we try to conduct a survey it becomes clear that the ultimate bearers of social consciousness are individuals as such. This means that social development as a whole is ultimately limited by the level of individual social consciousness, just as in political economy the production process is said to be ultimately limited by the level of individual consumption. No stage of social development can be accomplished except through the consciousness of the individual.

This is why Asiatic societies have either stagnated or developed only slowly. Society has as "représentations collectives" stood above and