Towards a Theory of Japanese Social Structure

An Unilateral Society

Chie Nakane

Social science is a product of the west and so it is natural for Japanese scholars to employ western analysis and theories for studying Japanese society.

The problems in Japanese society, however, differ considerably from those found in western societies, and these problems still remain.

In discussing Japanese society, one approach is to use theories and models drawn by western scholars mainly from their study of European society to explain the various social phenomena in Japan.

The second method is to isolate the various phenomena which seem to be peculiar to Japan by comparison with those of the west and then discuss these in order to grasp the the special nature of the Japanese people's society or culture. These differences and peculiarities are often explained as feudalistic remnants or examples of Japanese backwardness.

The author's thesis differs from both these approaches. It aims at presenting a measure which is appropriate to the structure of the Japanese society, viz the measure of structure derived from the study of social anthropology, by applying the unique methodology for it which has developed in England in the past 20 to 30 years.

The Japanese people who are engaged in modern organisations are quite different from those of the West, they have not changed essentially since the Meiji era. Therefore, the author finds it necessary to reconsider the simple assumption of unilateral evolution. Her thesis aims at presenting a measure which is appropriate to the structure of Japanese society.

[Chie Nakane, Department of Cultural Anthropology, University of Tokyo, wrote this paper originally in Japanese and for Japanese readers but has kindly allowed this translation to be published in the Economic Weekly because of its possible interest to Indian readers on the understanding that it will not be regarded as final. The translation has been made by a group of students and the staff of the Department of Sociology, the International Christian University, Mitika, Tokyo, and will be re-written eventually for publication in a technical anthropological journal.]

Introduction

THERE are two principal established approaches in discussing Japanese society or culture. The first approach is to use theories and models drawn from research by western scholars mainly dealing with Europe to arrange and explain various social phenomena in Japan. These are theories rather than methodologies. The second is to isolate the various phenomena which seem to be peculiar to Japan usually by comparison with those of the west, and then discuss these in order to grasp the special nature of the Japanese people, society or culture. Now these two approaches seem to be opposed to one another but both use a common assumption of the western model. They are at the opposite ends of the one line, the western model line.

Needless to say, social science has its background in the "West". So it is natural for Japanese scholars to employ such western analysis and theories for their own use. However, when these theories are applied to a different society, different in history and background, the problems of which differ considerably from those found in the western societies, there is naturally a considerable discrepancy between the extracted theory and its reality in social phenomena. These theories also cannot be applied directly to western society. Moreover, a society is dynamic in its nature and established models are always liable to modification. There are always discrepancies between a model and actuality in both the cases of the West and Japan. Yet, the question I wish to raise here is, what exactly is the nature of these discrepancies. For the quality of discrepancies vary according to the place where they lie. Do they lie at the core of the problem or at one of the edges? In other words, I want to question the whole validity of this approach to theory.

Measure for Kimono

A familiar example of this is the use of a "centimetre measure" for measuring a "kimono". This results in adding fractions to the standard measures for kimonos such as 28.35 cm or 22.7 cm which is quite an irrational measurement. But if we cut all these fractions since they do not match well, the finished kimono will be in a shape far from that traditionally accepted, although it might resemble it. The essential silhouette of a kimono will be spoiled and a fashion-minded person would not wear it.

On the contrary, the most reasonable way is to use a "cloth measure" even though it is legally prohibited. By this measure the form of a kimono is decided by the standard measure of back width 7.5, front width 6, length 4. There are no fractions and so this form of measurement is reasonable for measuring a kimono. Therefore there are two ways of explaining the composition of a kimono to a person lot familiar with it. One way is to use a centimetre measure which is familiar to him to explain parts and whole. The other is to use a cloth measure to show the standard measurement and afterwards convert the latter into centimetres. Both are means of comparison. The former is more direct and brings abstraction into concreteness, while the latter makes comparisons only in an abstract manner.

Measuring a kimono by means of a centimetre measure thus corresponds with applying the theory established in the west to Japanese society, inevitably creating odds and ends of measurement. As far as these odds are found in minor parts of the social structure, the problem is a small one. Yet they are also to be found in the essential part, like the standard measurement of a kimono. Japanese social
scientists have been dealing with these odds and ends as feudalistic remnants or examples of Japanese backwardness. This is a convenient explanatory term. And the people generally accept such views. The west (especially represented by England) is advanced because of the fact that industrialization began there earlier, historically speaking. But this does not lead to the conclusion that the level of Japanese industrialization at present is inferior to that of European countries. What is more, those who accept the view of unilateral evolutionism in the west, stress the feudalists remnants or backwardness of Japan. There are also many people, in Japan, who simply accept an upper structure and lower structure theory. These two structures are related, of course, yet it would be oversimplification to assume that the industrialization of the economy brings the Japanese way of thinking and human relations closer to those of the west. As I wish to show later on, the Japanese people who engage in modern organizations are still quite different from those of the west. The Japanese people have not essentially changed since the Meiji Era. Therefore we must consider the simple assumption of unilateral evolution.

What is important for consideration is not the change in itself but the conclusion about the whole arrived at from seeing parts of economic and political institutions changing, it is also important to consider why those things which have changed and those which have not changed are integrated in the same system without any sense of contradiction in Japanese society.

Contrary to the first group (those who automatically use western theories), the second group pay their attention exclusively to those facts which the first group tend to ignore. They try to explain Japanese society and culture by stressing the peculiar and seeking social significance in the peculiar. This view also has a weakness in logic since it utilises the theoretical products of the west negatively and is apt to explain the society by 'ideas' without any theoretical consistency.

**Social Structure Basic**

My thesis differs from both these approaches. It aims at presenting a measure which is appropriate to the structure of Japanese society. This is not by any means a new idea but is derived from the study of social anthropology, a unique methodology which has developed in England in the past twenty or thirty years. In social anthropology, this measure is called social structure. But in sociology, economics or history, social structure refers to the total image of a society or an era or the structure of the overlapping elements in the society, or an institutionalized structure or refers to a special period having a certain structure such as England of the 17th century, or a rural society in Japan. In social anthropology, social structure is a much more abstract concept and refers to fundamental principles immanent in a certain society. For instance, 'social organization' may change, but 'social structure' will not change. Or, as it will be explained later on, we can show that while a rural settlement (uraoku) and a company in a city (as groups) will have differences in organization and form, both are indentical in their structure as a social group.

In social anthropology, this fundamental principle is sought on the basis of relationship between persons and between those groups which are composed of persons. This relationship is the most static part of the elements which form a society. This has been empirically proved. The theoretical setting of a 'social structure' not only aims at elucidating the complicated social phenomena but also serves as a rivet to provide possible ranges to cope with the internal change and external stimulation. It can also serve as a foundation for theoretical explanation of the changing phenomena or can be used to estimate possible changes.

**Tested by Human Behaviour**

Changes never occur, in any age or society, without a background, but always take place under certain historical circumstances. Big changes will never take in opposition to, or separate from, the actual historical reality. In such a case they will only occur in very small scale primitive society when such small scale society will be swallowed up by the society outside with overwhelming economic and political power. Intensity of the persistence of 'social structure' is stronger, the older the history of the society and the tighter the density of the population. This indicates that social structure becomes more strongly rooted as the society itself becomes more highly integrated and the social quality becomes higher. All phenomena caused by modernisation ought to be considered under this assumption. For example, the modernization of India can never follow the same pattern of our country. This is a natural thing and here lies the special complexity of modernization.

Moreover, the study of social anthropology has its basis in the actual observation of human behaviour. Thus the theory of 'social structure' explains not only the social organization but also the way of thinking of the people or the behavioural pattern to some extent, within a logical consistency. Therefore, the theoretical propriety of the structure abstracted from various phenomena in various social groups in Japan should be tested in regard to its logical validity. Moreover, it is also to be tested by the nature of actual social phenomena in Japan, various Japanese behavioural patterns, ways of thinking, value concept, etc.

**The Creation of an Identity Based on Criteria of Common Qualification or of Common Membership in a Social Group.**

In general terms we can deduce two different principles out of the forms of social groups composed of persons. These are positions derived from membership common to all persons of a group (hereinafter termed situational position) and positions within a group determined by a common qualification (hereinafter termed a qualifying position). For example, membership of a village refers to situational position as the villagers all happen to live in the same locality whereas membership of a clan, or a caste or as landowner or tenant refers to the qualifying position derived only from having a special quality. Taking an example from the field of industry, being an employee of a company refers to the situational position while that of a turner refers to the qualifying position. In the same way, professors, clerks, students all indicate a qualifying position while being connected with a university indicates the situational position of the members.

In any society, an individual belongs through situation and qualification to a social group or a social stratum. The two may possibly coincide but in almost all cases the two are entangled and form two separate groups. The interesting point is that the two principles keep different balances in different societies, either of them superseding the other or both competing with each other.

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The way these principles vary is closely related to the value concept within the sphere of social recognition. We can clearly observe the structure of the society by using these two criteria. An extreme contrast can be seen in this way between Japanese and Indian societies. That is to say, Japanese group consciousness is strangely based on situational membership, while in India it is based on qualifying membership. This is symbolically seen in the caste system—fundamentally a social group based on occupation and status. I cannot describe here in any detail the organization of Indian society. However, I believe that as fields for the structural analysis of social anthropology, Japan and India present a vivid theoretical contrast, quite dissimilar to any other such contrast throughout the world. Chinese and European societies are not as extreme as these two and can possibly be classified in between, but possibly closer to that of India.

Situational Membership

Now let us proceed to the main theme. We want to analyze the forms of social groups in Japan which stress situational membership.

When a Japanese compares himself socially with another, what he prefers to look at is his situation rather than his qualifications. Rather than calling himself a reporter or an engineer, he would say he is from A company or S company. And the first thing other people would be interested in is which company he is from and afterwards whether he is a reporter, or a pressman, or a clerk. In fact, if a man says he is from X Television, one may easily think he is a producer or a cameraman but really the man may only be a company driver. (It is extremely difficult to judge from appearance in modern Japan since everyone wears the same sort of suits).

What can be stated here is the situation—the framework of company or school—has a strong social function in group formation or in group recognition, and only afterwards comes the individual’s qualifications.

This form of group recognition is observed in expressions such as ‘uchinotoki’ (ours referring to his working place) or ‘otakunokoto’ (yours referring to the recognition of other people). As symbolized in these expressions, the company is not recognized objectively as a business group to which one is related by contract, but subjectively as my or our company. Often times, this is all of the employee’s social existence and he becomes deeply attached emotionally to the company, thinking that this is his life itself. Here enters the logic that a company does not belong to the shareholders but is really ours. This is such a distinct peculiarity of Japanese culture that any alteration in law would probably fail to change this native logic.

IE, the Traditional Household

This unique group recognition deeply rooted in Japanese society is shown clearly in the general concept of IE (traditional household). This concept is found throughout Japan. In the past, IE has been much discussed under the term IE system by lawyers and sociologists. IE is believed to have disappeared with modernization, especially as a result of the post-war new Constitution. Such arguments connect IE with feudatistic moral discipline, but it does not deal with the IE as the fundamental social structure in itself. From the author’s standpoint the most fundamental element in the concept of IE is neither the actual manner of livelihood such as the eldest son’s family living with the parents nor the power structure in a family. The IE is a community and in the case of a farmer, it is a managing community. It is definitely a social unit composed of family members (usually the families of the household head and possibly others). In other words, it is a social group formed in the setting of a framework such as community or a managing community. What is important here is that the human relationships within this IE group are recognized before any other human relationships. Namely, the wife, or the daughter-in-law who has come into the household from another household, is regarded more highly than the daughter or the sister who has married away. If the son once becomes independent; he is regarded as an outsider while the adopted son becomes very important to the IE as a member of the household. Now this is quite different from Indian society in which relationship among brothers and sisters are permanently considered and continue to hold ties until one of the members dies (IE relationship based on common parents cannot be terminated). Logically, the stronger the sibling functions are, the less the social independence of a household (as a living community) becomes. In fact, the IE system of Japan has never developed in India. (There is also no such system as adopted son-in-law in European societies) This indicates in my thinking that the group structure by qualification is strongly in opposition to group structure within a framework.

This principle of functional group structure by framework is clearly shown in the structure of IE. For the IE there is a possibility of holding together members of different status, and this is its main reality in practice. IE could have placed as the heir a stranger or included workers as its members. Unless we have preconditions that the IC itself is superior to the family, we could not have a system such as the head employee becoming the daughter’s husband (mukoyoshi).

Social Group Structure

The principles of social group structure in Japan is thus closely observed in the IE. Japanese population has maintained the same sort of society since the Middle Ages which suggests the uniqueness of this type of approach.

The larger group than IE is a group expressed by the term ichizoku roto (a family and its retainers) which originated first in the Middle Ages. This group structure quite well represents the form of a group by means of a framework. That is to say, they do not distinguish separate kin or followers. All within it form a social group. At the same time marriages take place within the group, so blood distinction becomes more vague. But this does not alter the membership of the ichizoku roto. This resembles the case of the workers and family members in the IE.

Furthermore, those who formed such an IE or ichizoku roto form in modern society groups like the Japanese National Railways. The unions of the Japanese National Railways totally involve staff and workers and, as a result, they have as one of their principles the close coordination between workers and managers. Even though the IE system is said to be destroyed, people still speak of ‘IE gurami’ (enveloped in family) and individuals tend to be recognized as members of a family, and the families of the workers are recognized as an identical unit together with actual workers. Such recognition of social group by framework is, in all ages, stressed by moral slogans, and these slogans are supported by the traditional moral validity together with the actual use to which they are put in the group structure.
II

Emotional Participation by Group Members

In the previous section, I made a point that if we have a social group based on common situational membership within a certain framework, then, there will be within the group members of different qualifications. When these people of different status all have strongly different functions, some measure to develop group unity must be taken. If this group be based on a common situational position, then the group can keep its unity by developing within itself a distinctive exclusiveness. Although the degree of differentiation of functions within a group may vary, nevertheless, the degree of homogeneity of group members may have such influence on the actual organization of the group structure that status becomes secondary to situational membership.

When a group is made up by these without any common status or situational position, its original form is simply that of a mob, and it does not have within itself any social structure. In order to be a social group, there must be a strong and permanent framework such as the household or an *ie* or *buraku* or an enterprise organization or bureaucratic organization. All these involve an economic element. In order to strengthen both the framework and the function of the social group itself, there are two ways of procedure. One is to assist the members within a framework to have a strong consciousness of integration and the other is to strengthen the internal organization which ties each member to the group. Empirically speaking, these two procedures are taken at the same time, and yet share a common aim. For convenience I will deal with these two separately. In this section I will first deal with the consciousness of integration and in sections IV and V, I will refer to the actual details of the internal organization.

The emphasis on the consciousness of integration which will lead to the group's integration and isolation:

The principal means of letting members with different status acquire a common recognition of their position as group members is an emphasis on 'we' group consciousness, especially against external and similarly qualified groups. (I will discuss this point later in section IV.) Internally it means the unity be expressed in the phrase 'we, members of the same group'. This effective approach is taken in order to overcome rational distinction of status. It brings about continuous contact between persons. And possibilities of continuous human contact enter into every field of personal life whether private or public. So the power of the group permeates not only into the individuals' behaviour but also into his ideas and his way of thought. Once this happens, it often becomes difficult to distinguish a borderline between social and private life. One may regard this phenomenon as a dangerous invasion of individual dignity but from another standpoint, this any give stability to group consciousness. As a matter of fact, in Japan the latter trend is stronger. How often will Japanese parents talk about their home and love affairs to their colleagues? How often does marriage occur within a community or within one's place of work? How often does one's family join in the company's excursions? All these phenomena arise because the employees do not have any place for their social life except in their jobs or village. This I will call unilateral participation. All individual matters can only be received within this framework. The basic type of this kind of group is found in the so-called *ie* dealt with earlier in section II. To take another example in Japan, the bride and a mother-in-law should be cleared up only within the *ie* and the bride must try and resolve any difficulties without getting any help from parents, brothers, relatives or neighbours. What impressed me deeply about Indian village life was that a bride can go back to her native home for a long period of time and her brothers often visit her. She can get continuous help from her own parent's family. She quarrels with her mother-in-law in a loud voice so that neighbours can hear her and come to help her. Japanese women cannot imagine such a state of mutual help among brides. Even in a simple case as this, we find that the social function of those who have the same status (in this case bride) is manifested and that this function works within the framework of a household. But in Japan, in contrast, "parents join in their children's quarrel" and we have an absolutely contrasting structure, which I will discuss in the next section.

III

Contrast with India

In India, there are many rules involving each parent's status in the household life (for example, a wife must not show her face, nor talk to her husband's elder brother or father). But these are all concerned with an individual's behaviour and they are common throughout the whole society or at least within each caste. They do not differ from house to house. So compared with the Japanese *ie*, Indians are much less restricted by the customs and rules of each house. I was surprised to see that the Indians' ideas and ways of thought are much clearer and much more individual than those of the Japanese, even if they are members of the same family.

Such moral ideals as husbands lead, wives obey* and "man and wife are one flesh" are found only in Japan. They are good examples of the strong emphasis on integration. The power of the head of the family in Japan which was once regarded as the characteristic of the family system, can be said to be far stronger than that in India. For a Japanese can extend the head's power to each family member's behaviour, ideas and ways of thought. We can show that the head-of-the-family's absolute power which prevailed in Japan prior to modernization was a feudalistic vice and had some power in preventing the modernization of our society. I should like to mention here that although the head-of-the-family's power is often regarded as his own power, in actuality it is the social group, *ie*, which itself holds the power of integration and this power restricts each member's behaviour and thought including that of the head of the family.

Japanese people have a sort of hostility against the traditional family system. But in India the family is by no means a vice or enemy. I think this difference rises just because the family system in India may restrict one's life economically and morally but it never touches his ideas nor ways of thought. The participation of family members is not an emotional one as it is in Japanese *ie* and those" members which live together or form a joint family do not become a close community like an *ie*. Individuals within a family have many strong social connections with people outside the family.

*This is indisputably true also of India—Ed.
The characteristics of a Japanese community shown in *ie* is also seen in large enterprises if you look at them as a social group. A social group is organised on the basis of lifetime employment system and the work made central to the employees. Newly employed people are in the same position as a newly born member or a bride when she marries into a family. Such industrial enterprises have company residences, recreation programmes for the employees' families, systems of presenting monetary gifts in the case of an employee's marriage, and in the case of child birth or death. All these things show that the company's responsibility touches employees' private life in their family. What surprises me is that this type of connection with the individual life of the worker is most advanced in the biggest, most modernised and progressive companies.

Feature of Enterprise Management

Since the Meiji Era, the predominant feature of enterprise management is the principle of "lives of enterprises depend on the members". The employer and employee are "bound in one by fate" and the relationship between person and person is similar to the relationship between husband and wife. So such a relationship is not a purely contractual one between employer and employee, for employee is already a member of his own family and all members of his family are naturally included in the large company 'family', because employers do not employ only labour, as shown in the expression 'marugakae'. So the characteristics of Japanese enterprise as a social group are the following: first, it is itself family-like and secondly, it incorporates the principle of interfering in the employees' private life for the family is part of the enterprise. The second follows from the first.

This interference in their private life means to restrict the employees way of thought, their ideas and their behaviour and they are put in the same position in the enterprise as they themselves are put inside their own family. What we have to pay attention to is the fact that this tendency has continued throughout the Meiji, Taisho, Showa, pre-war and post-war periods by employers and administrators. Wherever it has been employed, it has been successful. The examples of this success include the "Japanese National Railways Family", as was advocated principally by President Shinpei Goto; the spirit of Sangyo-hokoku-kai during the war where it was argued, "the factory is the place where the true object of labour is practised and where we can serve the nation/ Cooperation is the only way to accomplish this. Be helpful between old and young and be cooperative between neighbours. Share pleasure and pain with familiarity in one family..." (quoted from "A Draft of Rules of Labour", ed by Ministry of Munitions and Welfare, February 1945) and "the spirit of loving a company" or "neo-family-ism." It seems that in modern and progressive management, they want to let "the spirit of loving a company" spread among employees not by emphasising it directly but by getting it as a result of their management, for example by saying "whether the spirit of loving a company is great or not is the barometer of business control". Sometimes complete opposite expressions are used such as "love your company" and "the spirit of loving a company should disappear." But there is no doubt that the intention in both cases is the emotional participation of employees in the company. Also even labour unions which have developed greatly after the war consist of men from various types of works and status such as staff and factory labourers, and all form separately in each enterprise. (From one point of view it is like Sangyo-hokoku-kai without a president.) Those who are working in this type of enterprise are to stay within this community whether they like it or not (before the war, the manager had a right to dismiss an employee without reason). Even if they wish to move from one company to another, there is no means by which they can do so even when there is no seniority rule in fixing the amount of wages and salaries. There is no horizontal contact between companies as for example in craft unions and no information or assistance can be obtained from another company. (It is just like Japanese brides coming to the parents-in-law's family).

Village Community

A great deal has been said about the isolation of Japanese village community. From my point of view, if we consider enterprises in urban districts as social groups, then the basic human relationship within them and the quality of such groups are very similar to those in rural society. I do not have enough space to deal with rural society here, but I can point out the following characteristics which are useful parallels for our discussion. In Japan, the isolation of Japanese villages and the strong boycott against members who do not conform Maruhachi-bu, for example) are the two basic characteristics of rural life.

A community's consciousness of integration based on effective participation in the community itself, forms a closed society with strong isolation. Family tradition and company tradition are developed on this base and they are further emphasised as a sign of consciousness of integration, as unity is strengthened more.

The strength of this framework and the isolation of a community formed by the consciousness of integration create a gap between themselves and those who are outside the framework, although both may have the same qualifications. On the other hand, they shorten the distance between two people with the same qualifications within one framework. This also prevents the organisation of groups formed by the people of the same qualifications in different enterprises. In such a social system the more stable the society is, the weaker the consciousness of identifying their professional qualifications with those of other people of similar sort. Meanwhile, discrimination between 'our members' and 'other members' is put in force.

Local Human Relationships

If the "we" and the "other" consciousness once becomes strong, then we see the development of extreme human relations with no one but "our members" as human beings. The very person that rushes to get a seat pushing strangers away might offer his seat to an acquaintance (especially to a person whose status is higher in his work) even if he is totally exhausted from his work.

A good example of this attitude seen in a community is the attitude of Japanese towards those other Japanese who live in an isolated stand or special area (tokushu buraku). Those separated from the main and cannot easily identify their position. The Indians attitude towards untouchables or towards those who speak different languages or to a caste different from themselves is apparently similar to that of the Japanese but in fact it is the same. For India "we" and "other" are not distinguishable terms.
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for groups of different qualities. They consider that the group A, B and C form one society in all, in which one happens to be in A and the other one in B. A, B and C are put on the same level or the same quality in sociological sense, even if they are differently ranked. But for the Japanese, "we" is all. For the Indian, it is simply the recognition of one among all.

The Japanese attitude is commonly regarded as the absence of sociability. It is derived from the organisation of our society and its basic human relations. I want to emphasise especially that there is no place in which we can create sociability in such a framework or organisation of a community as I explained earlier. Sociability means to act tactfully when one meets various kinds of individuals. If one is in a community in which consciousness of integration is aimed, it is just as though one is poured into the same mould and one is forced to get in contact with the other person whether one likes it or not. One can only get social stability in so far as one follows the aim and intention of the community in which one lives. One knows one's fellows well enough. So there is not much functional value in sociability itself. Most Japanese do not know the pleasure of competing with a man from an entirely different community and they spend their life without getting any severe trial. Individuals or individuality have very little chance to develop themselves even though they may not vanish.

Narrow Living Range

When human relations are created and trained (socially) in this way, the characteristics of such relationships must be that they are local and tangible. To be local means each group has its own strong characteristics and each member's living range is narrow and it often tends to be limited within a group. (It is better to use the English word "local" here than the Japanese word 'chikisetsu'. The English word contains not only a geographical but also a social meaning. 'Inakappe' expresses the meaning of English lo. call very well, i.e., not to know much about the things other than the things themselves or not to be used to such things.) This localism is seen everywhere. Statesmen organise a clique by themselves, but they do not know about other cliques. Newspapermen play the role of offering information. Scholars and intellectuals always organise a group and they develop their own terminology and way of thought. Yet they cannot communicate with a third person or other groups even though they are of the same quality. Sometimes it is impossible for them to communicate with the people of other groups. This is a special feature within Japanese society and among Japanese. What can we expect between Japanese and foreigners? After the war Japanese became very fond of taking a trip to different places abroad. Many of them travel with a group. But such a change means just changing places physically. The still remain within their own community. This shows how very strong localism is among Japanese.

To be tangible is the same thing as to be local. In order to overcome instability derived from the different status of members of the group, one must continuously emphasise consciousness of integration. This consciousness is often appealed to, emotionally, so the direct tangible contact between person and person is needed and this contact must be maintained all the time. From this, we can draw the following two characteristics:

First, human relations are controlled by actual behaviour and how they make contacts with others. Because of this, we have surprisingly delicate expressions and means of expressing relationships, which are almost impossible to be translated into other languages. On the other hand, it develops a sense of haughtiness and leads to flattery which becomes a common attitude for Japanese. A direct negative answer "no" is never used except by superior to inferior.

Secondly, the effectiveness of human relations is directly proportional to how long and how deeply these contacts have been kept. In every community in Japan, new members stand at the lowest status of the hierarchy. This is because the period of their contact with that community is the shortest. As a result develops the seniority rule. And these rules dominate our society more strongly than nepotism in other societies. The individual's status in a social group depends on the duration he keeps the contact with the group. This actual contact is itself the person's social capital. And the capital by its very nature cannot be transferred to other groups. So it is a great loss for individuals to change his group from A to B. Even if the seniority rule is abolished and one can get the same or higher salary when one changes job from A to B, there still remains a social loss in the loss of his contact.

Duration of Contact

This direct contact depends on the duration but at the same time it is also important how it is actually preserved. Sometimes it is disadvantageous for one to be separated physically from the community even though one belongs to it. In fact it often happens that human relations are estranged because of physical separation. For the person who has been working in Tokyo, to be away from Tokyo means not only geographical absence but rather the absence from his fellows. "The person who leaves gets more distant day by day" symbolises Japanese human relations quite adequately. This is where the pathos of farewell cups of water comes from. The only reliable persons in our social life are colleagues in our work because we are able to contact them every day.

Loneliness, uncertainty and impatience of Japanese living in a foreign country are peculiar phenomena throughout every occupation. Japanese are always afraid of being forgotten by friends in Japan when they are abroad and they fear that their colleagues may be promoted while they are absent. This is like a feeling of exile. They write letters as much as possible in order to keep contacts with fellows in Japan. But for those in Japan, those abroad are far away people and sooner or later they stop writing to them. The only contacts that will remain will be business contacts. Those abroad wait and wait for an order from their company to return to Japan. Finally they cannot accustom themselves to their work and colleagues for a length of time. If one comes back from a tropical country, people will laugh at him as "tropical dollard". This is apparently a real social disadvantage for him.

If there are a group of Japanese working in a foreign country, they often form a small group among themselves. These small groups are a miniature of those existing in Japan, and have just exactly the same structure and organisation. These groups, too, are different from the society by which they are surrounded; so the characteristics become more clearly exhibited. Their first interest is in
this group of Japanese living abroad, and they still try to get contact with each other even though they may be quarrelling with each other. This is the result of the local and tangible attitude of Japanese social groups discussed above.

In a community in which the qualifying position is the prime factor of structure, unity can be kept by a network transcending distances of space and time. Indians, Chinese and Europeans can live and work in foreign countries without any fear or impatience. That is because they still continue to belong to the previous network. Besides, this network never interferes with the individuals' behaviour and way of thought. They can associate freely with indigenous people and they can also join in the local and indigenous community. So it is quite possible for one to belong to more than two communities.

Unilateral Society

Japanese community and human relations have always a unilateral structure. One may often belong to more than two groups but one of them must have a priority over the other. As typically seen in the case of Chinese, people of other countries put the same importance on their groups. There is no way to distinguish which is more important. For Chinese it is not contradictory to belong to more than two groups at the same time for these groups are different in quality.

But for Japanese to say that Japanese becomes intimate with another group involves a sense of moral blame. Japanese often say that this kind of attitude is a good point and marks Japanese fastidiousness. Another point of view also, typically Japanese, is "a loyal retainer would not serve a second master". It is natural that they cannot serve two masters, for they devote themselves wholly to one.

I used the word "unilateral society" as a sub-title of this essay. I wanted to symbolise the above point by this word. It does not only mean that individual's participation in a group is unilateral, but the relationship between individual and individual is also settled unilaterally. The way of uniting various groups is also strongly unilateral and the mutual relationships are also unilateral. I will describe these points fully in the next section.

IV

The Vertical Organisation of Human Relations

As we have discussed so far, a group based on situational position forms a world closed by the 'frame' and creates its own cohesion by the total affective participation of its members. If this is a small group, there is no need for any particular organisation to tie the individual member to it. But if the group is large, an organisation is necessary and inevitable. Interestingly enough, this form, has a common type throughout every Japanese social organisation. And we will call this form 'vertical' organisation.

Theoretically, the forms of human relationships are divided into 'vertical' and 'horizontal'. For example, the former will be 'parenthood' and the latter 'brotherhood'. The same can be said of the relations in the company: superior and staff vs colleagues. As a social organisation both relationships are important elements in forming the total system, yet in various societies their relationships vary.

On the assumption that a social group includes members of different status, the means to tie the members will logically be the 'vertical' relation. By 'vertical' relationship, we refer to the means by which A and B who are not of the same status or line are tied together. To compare this with the horizontal relationship, we use the term 'set' as referring to the tie between X and Y who have a common status or who are on the same line. When a group is formed by a common qualification among the members, then a 'horizontal'; homogeneous relation functions. An example of this 'horizontal' relation is theoretically class organization such as caste in India and the example of the 'vertical' relationship is symbolized by the 'oyabun-kobun' system.

Ranking System

'Vertical' relationships spring naturally from the nature of social group structure in Japan, when it becomes especially emphasized. This is the real structural principle which ties group members together. When this occurs, individuals with identical qualifications within a group are affected by the 'vertical' nature of the tie. As a result, such 'differences' are recognised and stressed and form the amazingly delicate ranking system. For example, workers who have the same ability and qualifications will be discriminated by age, year of entrance, order of entrance or period of service; university professors may be ranked by the order of appointment; in the old army, discrimination by rank among the officers was quite vivid and subalterns were ranked in accordance with the order of their appointment. Among diplomatic officials, the differences between the first and the second secretaries are far from ordinary imagination and the order of their passing the foreign service examination creates ranks among them.

Such examples are innumerable. Thus the fact that such discrimination by rank is always recognised and exists, even among those with the same status or of the same class indicates that it is the direct concern of the group members and is apt to be given greater importance than differences of occupation, status or class. As a matter of fact, rank by seniority has a very surprising use in a social group.

Seniority ranking is so important that it disturbs ordinary administration based on efficiency in modern enterprises. The rank of the staff seems to be decided by the order of entrance into a firm (provided that they have the same level of education). Then it can be said that it is established by the consciousness of the staff themselves rather than by managers. For example, in some companies groups are formed by those who enter the company in the same year. The formation of this group creates and emphasises the rank and seniority amongst the staff and even encourages it. If one group member is promoted, the rest will be so upset that they will all demand 'if he can be promoted we should be promoted, too'. If he is a junior, the fuss will be even greater. This surprisingly strong consciousness of rank the manager cannot overcome even in an administration of efficiency. As far as can be observed, the Japanese consciousness of 'I can do it, too' is so strong, because it is a result of a restricting one's objectivity in regard to one's self and the identification of the person with the group. Therefore, any objective measurement presented by the management will not be understood (although some companies are said to have introduced a measure of promotion by examination which seems to be reasonable). The management is driven to promote several individuals from the same year. But since only one chief is needed for a section, it becomes unavoidable to also create a position of assistant or
acting position in order to deal with the ranking. Comparatively large businesses with a long history can be said to have a stronger ranking because of their stability and intensity as a social group. In other words, the smaller the businesses or more recently established, the more the business is capable of changing the seniority ranking into payment by ability.

The fixity of the ranking supersedes the kind of job which the people do. The year in which the new employees enter the company is seen as the principal means of selection. This may also be because of the fact that the individuals are employed before training without being designated to any particular kind of job. Only employment is offered by the company. Thus on neither the management side nor the employee side do we have the idea of a 'profession' and this actually results in further strengthening the idea of 'ranking'. Theoretically, the 'horizontal' (professional) and the 'vertical' ranking relations can be said to be in opposition to one another.

**Vertical Ranking**

To those who do not care much about the 'vertical' principle of ranking relationships, this Japanese consciousness may seem strange, just as in the same way in Japanese eyes the Indian caste system seems strange.

Once when I was a visiting lecturer at the London University, I was talking during tea with my colleagues in social anthropology. One professor who had just come back from the United States said to me, "By the way, Chie, I met Professor X (a Japanese) who knew you." He turned around to the others and said, "It was so interesting. He said he was an ethnologist, so I asked him if he knew Miss Nakane. Then he replied, 'Very well,' stopped a moment and said—the British colleague added jokingly—but she is my junior!" Then the others all burst out laughing.

My British colleague tried to make clear what he meant: "I saw a man from a status society. But he is really nothing but a Japanese." He had never been to Japan nor did he know very many Japanese but he had heard of such a society as an anthropologist. He thus made a keen observation even though he had only seen one Japanese.

Now let us compare British human relationships with those of the Japanese. From my experience, e.g., at the London University, all university teachers from lecturer to full professor are what is called 'colleague' and colleagues in each faculty call each other by their first name, without distinction of seniority. They, of course, use such terms as 'professor' or 'doctor' before a third person (such as students), but once the colleagues get together, they use first names and the world becomes their own with familiar conversation and relaxation. This may not be true in old faculties and it may also partly be a personal phenomenon. However, a Japanese would find two separate worlds among professors and among students. But within each world they would be quite united in familiarity.

On the contrary, such a group in Japan is distinguished by ranking. Thus the distinction between professors and students is lessened, and the impression given may be as if they were homogeneous. But in fact they are tied by amazing 'vertical' relationships such as professor, assistant professor, instructor, assistant and student. A professor is often closer to his followers such as instructor, assistant and student than with his own colleagues or considers these relationships to be more essential than between other people of the same status. (Thus, leaking information out of the faculty meeting seems to be a good example of this type of function).

The same factors are seen not only in human relationships in a university but in many other fields. A good example of this is the response of Japanese army officers who were captured by the British in Burma after the war. British army accommodated them separately according to the international convention, reflecting their own system. The Japanese officers who were treated well are said to have felt quite uneasy because they could not receive such treatment while watching their men suffering from heavy labour and hardship. Officers and men are deeply attached by the 'vertical' relationship.

Such a Japanese attitude associated with the system of 'vertical' organisation inevitably discourages the growth of group consciousness based on common status such as officers, university professors, labourers, etc. This has a result of even weakening the relationship of one such group with another neighbouring group outside their own. Here we have the rise of clan consciousness to replace the consciousness of kind.

The total image of this society is not that of a horizontal stratification such as by caste or classes, but a vertical stratification by enterprises, or universities. This social stratification is seen by western sociological theory in horizontal terms. However, the point is that in actual society this stratification is unlikely to function and that it does not really reflect the social structure. In Japanese society, those who are struggling are not capitalists, managers nor labourers but A Company and B Company. Competitors are not in vertical relations to each other but are rather those who are standing near to each other. The struggle develops among those who are compatible with each other, not among those who are in opposition.

The features of structure of unions, their existence and their movements in Japan (which seem peculiar to foreigners) cannot be understood without such an analysis. Opposition between management and labour is commonly seen to the extent that each has its own problem. Yet in Japan labour-management conflict never develop into a strike to shake the whole society. The reason for this should certainly be investigated in the group structure and the nature of total Japanese society.
dual groups (as I described in the previous section) and also creates isolation among some groups.

This 'vertical' movement throughout the society penetrates into individual group and breeds sectionalism within a group and even into individual ranking. The true enemy is always found among the colleagues. On the other hand, one's superior or junior must always be friends. One puts all one's efforts to this 'vertical' relationship for the accomplishment: of his purpose. The more this Vertical' relation functions, the more the 'horizontal' relationship is weakened inversely and even lead: to a negative function. To pull one's leg', or 'A tall story catches much wind' expresses such negative functions.

Continuous Tension

Considering people living in such an organization, it can be said that they live in continuous tension and struggle. However close the ties between the superior and his men, it differs from the type of familiarity among colleagues and inevitably produces tension of a kind. Besides, the colleagues are the enemies. One thus becomes all by oneself and isolated. When one has to struggle, one has to do so all by oneself. Moreover, the emotional element is strong in this relationship, so that we can assume that there is a waste of emotion and even nervous exhaustion which are never seen in other societies.

Inter-Group Structure

ORGANIZATIONS, the structure of which are based on 'vertical' functions are quite evidently different from those based on 'horizontal' functions or based both on vertical and horizontal ones. I explain the two different types of organization, X (the vertical function), and Y (the horizontal function) as follows: supposing that both organizations are composed of a certain definite number of persons such as a, b, and c. They will take a form as shown in Figure 1. That is to say, in Y, a, b and c compose a triangle or reciprocal relationships while X represents a baseless triangle. The more complicated development of both X and Y is shown in Figure 2, which makes the differences clear. The differences between them are: (1) members of X are related together only by existence of a, while those of Y are related reciprocally, and (2) the structure of X is open to outsiders while that of Y is closed. In other words, the participation of a new member h is accepted in X whenever he gets a contact with any person a, b, c, d, e, f, and g. In Y, however, participation influences all the members. But once h is admitted, he stands absolutely equal to the other members in Y. Therefore, the form of group composition in Y is always constant, while there are limitless possible variations in X (for example, see Figure 3).

(3) Though X can have innumerable variations of composition and can easily accept outsiders, it is inelastic in that there is no alteration of positions among individual members within the organization. Once a person participates in a group through his contact with a certain member of the group, he and his relationship with the member (and also the time when he gets his contact) are added to and fixed within the net work of the organization. In Y, on the contrary, position of a (and of each member) is to be taken over by another member. In other words, this type of organisation lasts even without a. But in X, a is the cardinal point of the whole organisation and the absence of a makes it impossible for the rest to compose the group organisation. In these circumstances, we find an important problem about the type of leadership. I am going to describe example mainly X in relation to leadership hereafter.

The Type of Leader

First, it should be noted that the replacement of the leader in X is very difficult even if not impossible, and there can be only one leader. That is to say, in this type of structure, two or more persons can never stand on an equal level nor occupy an equal position. Furthermore, the relationship between the leader and other members is by no means of the same quality. The relationship between a and b (or c) is not equivalent, to that between a and d (or a and g). d is connected with a only by the mediation of b. That is, lite dissolution of b from a immediately separates c or d from a. Domination of a over d (or c, f, g) lasts as long as b and c exist, and the more superior a is to b, the more influential the domination of a over d and e. Therefore, the nuclei of this type of group structure are in the relationship between a and b, and a and c. The dissolution of either of them inevitably causes internal disruption. The existence of the leader a (and a b and a-c relationships) in X has incomparably more importance than that in Y in the maintenance of the group. However firm and graceful (urawashi is the Japanese expression) the unity of a group may be, the sudden death of the leader (oyabun or great oyabun) is a fatal threat to its continuance and almost inevitably brings about oie-sodo meaning troubles inside a group of familialistic structure concerning succession and inheritance.

It is said that the weak point of the Japanese army in actual fighting came out when a leader of a platoon was killed in action. The death of a leader which is the loss of the cardinal point of the platoon turned the rest of the soldiers into a mere crowd of men and brought down their serious war potential and morale sharply. But in the British or American armies, a new leader is created at once, so the order of a platoon is maintained till nobody but one is left alive. The absence of the base of the triangle or the absence of functions of The base prevents the maintenance of the b-c relationship without a, and even breeds hostilities between them. In the past, Saint Honen had asked his disciples to stay apart from each other, when he found that they tended to quarrel in his absence.

Dissolution of Group

The dissolution of this group organisation comes not only from the death (or absence) of a but from the rupture of the a-b and a-c relationships. For example, when b subordinates (kobun) increase in such number that he can exert a significant influence upon the group activities, the group comes in serious danger of dissolution, especially when c stands for a against b. The existence of a cannot stop the internal discords at all, and discords may well develop into an uncontrollable serious disaster. For it hardly ever happens that b forms an alliance with a or c. It is not only due to the narrow-mindedness and hot-bloodedness of the three but due to the structural limitations that two or more persons cannot stand on the same equal level and there is only one position of leader. This collapse results either in the exclusion of a (usually followed by c) from the group — this situation is usually described as 'forcibly taken over by servants (banto) —or in the establishment of a new independent group by b and his relatives and followers. Whether d and g follow c when they are excluded or joins b's followers by making contacts with b, d, or e depends on the strength of the c-f and eg relationships. In this example, a new adjustment becomes possible at the bottom level.
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The structure of the baseless triangle, however, has such strong functions at its nucleus that it is almost impossible for new members to get into the nucleus however capable they may be. It also makes it impossible to unify the two different baseless triangles which form their respective nuclei. Those groups which were once the components of the same stem group, for example the two groups b and c in Figure 2, which dissolved because of the death of a, would not be able to reunite themselves without changing their own structures. However, even if groups b and c had developed separately with similar purposes, it would be really and also structurally very difficult for them to get together. The unification of two groups is possible as an absorption of one group by the other. Even if the term 'alliance' is advocated, it would be used as merely a form of expression and usually would not reflect the real structure.

No Oligarchy: One Leader

For instance, we Japanese have never experienced oligarchy throughout the whole history of Japan. There has always been only one leader. It is not easy for two different groups formed for the same purposes and activities to co-operate even for a short while in accomplishing their work. This was exemplified very well in what happened—it was extremely dishonourable from the outsider's point of view—in the annual events on the memorial day of Atomic Bomb Victim last year. Two different memorial services for the victims of atomic bombs were offered in the Yaizu (Shizuoka-ken) by two different organisations at the same place at the different times of the same year. The organisations were severely criticised by the families of the deceased and other people. As shown above, because of the internal structure of the groups and the state of relationship between them, the achievement of the purpose itself is distorted and outsiders begin to question their true social responsibility. This is the main reason why factionalism in the political circles is often regarded as a vice.

As mentioned above, the group structure of X is always in danger of disruption and has one fatal defect, namely, impossibility for it to make any alliance with others. But X is strong as a functional group in that it surpasses Y in commanding and mobilising the energies of its members when it operates successfully, because it has the central point of focus within its internal organisation and individuals around the focus are emotionally related together. It is said, therefore, that vicissitudes are much more frequent in X compared with Y.

No Concept of Contract

This instability of the internal organisation is compensated for by the existence of a framework or permanent environment. A group can maintain itself even after the destruction of its internal hierarchy, because individual members still remain within its framework. Therefore, I am not saying that every group in Japan always keep an hierarchical organization on a baseless triangle pattern, but that it contains such a structure as to lead human relationship to form such a tendency during the period when the group is becoming more and more strong. I think that this common structure (the basic principle for the establishment of human relationship) exists latently and in all social groups in Japan.

A framework which is the minimum condition necessary to the existence of social groups is, for example, a kumi (which is the functional group of neighbourhood), or a buraku in rural area or modern bureaucratic organisation or business corporations in cities. Within these frameworks there always exist complicated variations of baseless triangles which are invisible to outsider. Though the 'invisible' organisations inside these frameworks have not unimportant functions, they are by no means strong enough to destroy the whole groups. But in a group without the framework or with a very weak one, on the contrary, the life of the group wholly depends on the organisation of its 'baseless triangle' which is therefore inevitably strengthened to exercise a powerful control over its members. That is, such groups are typically found in circles of politicians, or gangsters and also clearly found in groups of fishermen, all of which are dependent on small unstable centres. These groups are usually the target of severe criticism. Their organisations are regarded as feudalistic carry-overs because they have such names given to them as oyabun-kohun or exclusive cliques.

Should these baseless triangles be abolished, they will be taken over by another organisation. Only two alternatives are possible theoretically. One is the adoption of an horizontal relationship system. But these relationships are by no means better than oyabun-kohun relationships, for they have much in common with 'nepotism' and are in danger of being monopolised by some particular group. Moreover, Japanese would not be able to adopt them because of their special character. The other method is the introduction of contractual relationships, which the late J F Kennedy applied when he established his administrative power, for example in selecting Rusk and MacNamara, who had nothing to do with Kennedy nor with the Democratic Party. Such a means of selection cannot be applied without the concept of contract, which is the main reason why the states of political circles in Britain and the United States are superior to that of Japan. From my analysis, however, it is almost impossible to find the concept of contract among Japanese.

Life-Long Employment

The difficulty in establishing contractual relationship of the western type in Japan is clearly found in various fields, particularly in employment relationship. The increasing persistence of life-long employment in modern Japanese industries inspite of up-and-down changes in the supply of labour is due, f believe, to this difficulty in establishing contractual relationship, causes of which should be sought both among employers and employees. The managerial side seems to have developed the system of life-long employment as a means of retaining labourers (especially skillful labourers).

Most employees can easily recall their own bitter experiences as employees or partners who had only recently joined, and were not included in the vertical relationship inside their organisation. Almost all these difficult experiences come from defective emotional human relations. Good relationships cannot be kept between a leader and other members or among individual members outside the framework for some employees neglect then duties while others prevent completion of work by obstruction. It is a favourite practice of the Japanese to put leaders into trouble by saying that they wish to leave. Others bandy about their resignation letter when they do not succeed in getting their own way, whether in earnest or as a mere threat. But in any case, such
a person enjoys an egoistic satisfaction from his behaviour. Such people do not seem to be responsible for the attainment of their common purposes. Even if they feel that their purpose may be attained, they have an emotional tendency to attach more importance to their feelings than to their purpose. They do not care to keep their contracts for they have no idea what such contracts actually mean. This is also true in academic survey teams which have been frequently organised since the war. And this is also found within parties of mountaineers and explorers.

Such Japanese parties are very different from those composed of Frenchmen or Italian, which I know well. In a French or Italian team, first a team is given the name of the leader, and made up not only of members of the leader's university or his disciples but of those whom the leader selected and engaged as specialists suitable for the purpose of the team. It always happens that some of the members are complete strangers to the leader. Once a contract is made between a leader and the other members, the members are subject to the leader as far as the survey is concerned and the relationship between them is kept to the end. For example, a cameraman, however famous he may be, takes pictures strictly under instructions from his chief who may be younger or less famous than himself. But members can do anything they like such as going out in the evening even during the period of the survey when they are off duty and this does not affect the attainment of academic purposes. They need not even ask the leader's view at all about their behaviour outside the actual terms of survey. Only within the survey, the leader can attain his purpose by giving the orders that he wishes to the members.

Team Constitution

But among the Japanese, a team comprised of various people who had nothing to do with one another before will fail almost without exception. Even if they proceed, they suffer greatly from the unexpectedly slow progress of their work and they feel exhausted through the absence of affective human relationship within the group. Such a team almost always comes to have an internal quarrel, and the leader becomes nothing but a target of complaints. Even respectable professors in Japan would acquire a bad reputation in such a situation by quarrelling with one another like cats and dogs in the presence of natives and foreigners. No one would expect any fruitful results from such an organisation, however capable the members and however abundant the money they use in attaining their object.

But in contrast to this method, a team of one aged senior professor as leader and his disciples would be a very successful survey team. It would attain an academic purpose even without money and no matter how difficult the circumstances. This is due to the positive attitude of the members who are willing to sacrifice themselves for their leader and the sympathy of the leader towards the members which is derived from his deep affection for his dear disciples. And in this type of relationship, the leader is usually controlled to quite an extent by the members, though invisibly. The power of the leader is much less than that in an European team. It sometimes happens that a capable leader of high academic achievement cannot give full play to his ability. For a leader is there, not in order to lead the survey or to achieve the purpose of the survey but just in order to keep good relations inside the team. The team is 'our team' somewhat similar to Gemeinschaft.

Not of European Type

A team of Europeans is, on the contrary, its leader's and the members take up some part of the work under their own care in order to increase the prestige of the leader, very similar to Gesellschaft. But once the work is finished and the members return home, they become strangers to one another. The Japanese, however, have a strong tendency to keep all their lives within their communal framework, based upon their original team membership. In fact, it can be said that no Japanese would be able to finish the survey successfully without such a feeling.

The human relationship symbolized in oyabun-kobun is commonly found not only among politicians and gangsters but also among persons of progressive thought, those who are self-confident and are respected by others for their high culture, professors lecturing on western economies and societies, and organisation men in leading business enterprises. This firmly-rooted type of human relationship cannot simply be called feudalistic nor can it easily be changed by industrialization or influences from Western culture. It could be strengthened by the feudal system but not made by it. It should be remembered that it is latent and firmly-rooted in the heart of every Japanese. It may or may not come out in its extreme form, that would depend upon the social conditions.

Qualifications for Leaders (Oyabun)

The difficulty in establishing a rational or abstract contractual relationship between persons derives from the fact that human relationships are established in personal, direct and man-to-man contacts. As already discussed, this is closely connected with the dependence on 'vertical' relationship. That is to say, 'vertical' affective relationship forms a more dynamic unity than relationship between persons of equal qualifications (such as between brothers and colleagues). Protection results in the feeling of dependence, paternalism is rewarded by loyalty. They are not exchanges of equivalents. That is the reason why the emotional elements tend to become intense in 'horizontal' relationship and why the behaviour of individuals are likely to be influenced by these elements. This type of relationship restricts leaders (oyabun) as well as subordinates (kobun).

Though usually believed to be a formidable system of organisation, an oyabun is in fact more restricted from fully exercising his ability as a leader than leaders in other societies. (For example in the case given above of a leader of survey team). An oyabun's sentimental sympathy toward his kobun is expressed in the term 'paternalism'. It comes from his understanding of the kobuns for he is very anxious to receive their opinion and wishes. In fact, a so-called good oyabun has such a strong tendency. That is, the more generous he is, the better kobun he would become.

The characteristic of super-subordination found in this leadership is clearly shown in the Ringi system, well-developed in Japan. Superiors do not intrude their ideas on their juniors, but the juniors spontaneously lay their opinions before the superiors and have them adopted. This is also found in letting a bureaucratic organ administer policies and in adopting the employees' creative ideas in enterprises. If the thorough adoption of this method is possible, superiors need not be intelligent. (From this it may be concluded that the promotion system based on seniority principle is not as absurd as is usually believed). In fact, men of
average ability are preferred as superiors or oyabun to men of genius. Too bright and capable superiors come to be obstructive to juniors or kobuns, for such superiors would destroy the raison d’etre of junior or kobuns. Kobun always wish their oyabun to depend on them as they do on their oyabun. What oyabun does and thinks need the understanding and approval of his kobun. The understanding of and generosity to men are the necessary qualifications for leaders in Japanese society. No one can be a leader however powerful, able and rich he is, unless he grasps his kobun emotionally so as to be intimate and ‘vertically’ connected with them. Therefore, think that no charismatic leader may be expected to come into existence in Japan. A typical leader in Japan is not a Napoleon but an Oishi Kuranoske.

**Functioning of Group**

The functioning power of a group is not due to the ability of the oyabun himself, but rather to whether he personally attracts capable kobun and controls his group well enough to activate their whole abilities. In fact, those called great oyabun always have very attractive personalities. Kobuns work for their oyabun because of his appealing personality and not because of his commands. The words, ‘out of respect for my face’ have a power beyond any rational judgment. The soldiers, though believed to have died crying “Banzai” for the Emperor, are said, in fact, to have fought bravely for the respectable captains of platoons who had usually been sympathetic to them.

In business enterprises, top managers or superiors are expected to have such qualifications for their leaders. There is no other country where the problem of personalities of managers are discussed so seriously by employees and by society at large as in Japan. As shown in their expression, “Lives of enterprises depend on their members”, managers themselves have always been seriously concerned about the problem of men, which is an important problem to be solved for effective management. Did Napoleonic ever pay so much anxious attention to his soldiers or do the managers in the United States to their employees? Is it necessary for them to do so?

We hardly need refer to the oyabun-kobun relationship among gangsters, when we can find such strong affectionate connections between managers and employees even within modern enterprises. According to the superintendent of an orphanage, children who have once been in a circle of gangsters are very likely to go back there, however often they are taken to the orphanage. The reason is that they are received in the circle with deep understanding and love which can hardly be expected from the orphanage or foster parents. This strength, and the emotional elements of oyabun-kobun relationship provide an Utopia for the weak. It is also worthwhile paying attention to the fact that new religious groups which became active after the war depend on the organisational basis of emotional, vertical and face-to-face relationship under their leaders. This vertical relationship based on forcible conversion (shakufuku) in Sokagakki and parent-and-child (oyako) relationship in Nichikoseikai are typical. Every adherent is organised into a lightly-knitted network and become immersed in the knowledge that he is no longer alone. Vertical relationships exist basically in those traditional religious groups of long history as well, although this tradition is a little different from that of the new religious groups. For instance, the present individual followers of the Shin sect are organised into one group not through their common belief in the creed of the sect but by virtue of the vertical inheritance of their belief from their fathers and grandfathers. The vertical relationships appear conspicuous even in those groups which seem to be established on the seemingly abstract bases like that of belief. It must be added that in their organisations the vertical principles as found in the traditional religious groups, the general principle and it naturally brings about numerous vertical schisms to the society. This necessitates an organisation which binds together these mutually isolated sub-groups. In Japan such an organisation developed to a very high degree of completion as an administrative organisation. Each piece of machinery is tied together by the organisation at its top. The administrative network extended itself without any difficulty from the topmost to the bottommost of each group transmitted by the vertical route and internal structure. This complete bureaucratic development, unique in the world, spread throughout Japan.

In fact, this development comes not only from the powerful control of the Edo Bakufu but also from the special structure of Japanese social groups. During Tokugawa the policies of Bakufu and Han reached every house even in remote villages in mountainous areas. This permeation of administration is striking contrast to that of China and India in the same period. Moreover, I should like to add that the Tokugawa Regime was dependent on horizontal division into the three major occupational and status groups, viz samurai, farmers and merchants, including artisans. The vertical administrative division was divided into numerous (about 300) Han. Its outstanding feature was the co-ordination.
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of 'vertical' and 'horizontal' organisational principles in administration, irrespective of moral judgment on which groups were superior or inferior.

**Elaborate Administrative Network**

This elaborate development of administrative network, in which the commands of the central authority flowed into and permeated every small corner, inevitably strengthened the power of the central authority. On the other hand it enabled the central authority to be much more high-handed and on the other it implanted fear and disgust against the governmental power in peoples' minds. While people kept on saying "Let yourself be bound and controlled by people with longer lingers than your own," they always at the same time felt a strong repulsion against all commands from above. For example, as I have already mentioned, Japanese cannot stand any contractual obedience to their chief*, as is commonly found in European teams. Even if they obey, they continue to complain about the injustice and domination of their chiefs power (for they never understand forms of obedience based on contract) or else they enslave themselves totally to their chief both physically and spiritually.

This repulsion against authority or against superiors comes from the extreme, or we can even say primitive, principle of 'equality of man' which is based not on rational reasoning but on aspiration, and which, therefore, is opposed to the ultimate undeniable differentiation of men according to their abilities and qualifications. The 'Democracy' which the Japanese understand and prefer is based on this principle and differs in quality from that in traditional western ideas. This principle favours the tendency to put both officers and soldiers, or engineers of high specialisation and unskilled workers into one common category group. This unnatural union necessitates the development of paternalism, loyalty and relations of oyabun-kohim in order to cover the internal division. The negative functioning of this principle brings a denial of the principle of the division of labour, creates a desire to climb above one's status and encourages a tendency to unnecessary competition. This results in a dis-equilibrium throughout the whole society.

In contrast, the surprisingly frequent social mobility in Japan shows us that 'vertical' relationships are not incommensurable with this principle of equality. For example, an efficient functioning of vertical relationship promotes frequency of mobility. Though usually regarded as a post-war phenomenon, families' movement up and down the social scale have been found in villages from the Edo era up to present. Excluding special cases such as country samurai, there are very few families which have occupied the upper-class for more than three generations together, and even fewer those for five successive generations. Though so-called good old families, families of high status, and landlords seem, at a first glance, to have remained so through many generations, but when one looks at it more closely, one see that this is not really so. The history of ups and downs of each family within one village is extremely complicated but social mobility is apparently more frequent in Japan than in villages in any other country.

**Social Mobility**

The same is true about social mobility in big cities. The high mobility in cities may be gathered front the Japanese people's belief in the social image that sons from rich families are generous and unlikely to succeed in the world because of their lack of suffering, but those who make tremendous efforts in spite of their sufferings from poverty will never fail to be successful Graduates from Tokyo University are by no means comparable to those who graduate front Oxford University. The graduate from Tokyo University gives an equally high position to other graduates, whether sons of petty shop-keepers, poor farmers, businessmen, or professors Higher education has such an important function as even to abolish the differences of social strata or to reduce them to a very minimum. But the characteristics of Oxford University come from the fact that sons of gentle-men usually go to Oxford, but sons of labourers would not be able to move up from their low status even by graduation from Oxford. This is to say, in England the universities have nothing to do with social mobility among different strata. Therefore, we have i contrast of either academic cliques or class as of significance in these societies. Academic cliques are usually denounced because of the power of influence outside universities but their merits of enhancing social mobility are usually neglected.

Though I do not deny the Utopia of a society without stratification nor cliques, I must admit that the ability of people is the last thing to be compared with the other differences. A society composed of people of varying ability must be organised according to certain rules. And I think that academic cliques (vertical) or social ratification (horizontal) are just two different methods of organising people together. What we can do looking at these two methods is to try to reduce the closed nature of cliques or strata as far as possible, rather than just to deny their existence completely.

High social mobility and competition among men of equivalent status to raise themselves made a great contribution to rapid modernisation of Japan, especially towards industrialisation. That people are always trying to move upwards motivates people to work hard and raise productivity. This is a great stimulus to increasing competition. Moreover, the development of vertical organisation and administrative machinery have something in common with modern bureaucratic organisation. It can be said this is a very modern aspect, even while it looks eudahstic described as an oyabun-kohim relationship. In other words, 'vertical relationships in themselves are by no means bad, if they develop into a fixed institution by eliminating personal competition. They may also be associated with methods of personnel management in which as many people as possible have the opportunity of entering each vertical group.

**Wasteful Competition**

There are however some defects in the competition among people of common status and in frequent ups and downs, both of which comes from vertical organisation, even though in the early days they contributed to Japan's modernisation. It need hardly be said that they waste people's energy. It is a well-known fact that several Japanese firms dealing with the same kind of goods rush to one foreign buyer in overseas trade and enter into a suicidal conflict with one another. Such a waste increases national liabilities. Almost all farmers start growing cabbages because cabbages make more profit in one particular year. As a result, they let them rot in their fields in the following year. Once a certain publisher issued a series of cheap paper hacks. All the other publishers decided to issue their own series. And some writers are asked by different publishers, to write books with almost the same contents. No one is satisfied unless he does exactly the same
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thing as other people. Each one wants to win the competition and refuses to be left behind but cannot recognise that all his efforts mean waste of time and energy on the national level.

The existence of high social mobility, especially of one which is increasing, has rather unfortunate aspect. A number of parents who were not able to enter universities and remained in lower social classes have an extremely strong desire to let their sons enter universities. This strong desire among parents to get their sons to enter universities acts very strongly as an aim for children to become socially mobile. In the newspaper today we found several cases of suicide performed by those candidates who failed to enter Tokyo University. Such a reason for suicide is beyond the understanding of most non-Japanese.

There is no society in which everybody can be upper class. All societies need graduates from middle schools as well as those from universities. However, in Japan where the motivation for vertical upward movement is strong, to remain in a low stratum as signified in the term 'lower layer' lays a heavy psychological burden on people. For those remaining in a low stratum are in a way failures or losers. Moreover, they must give aid to each other within the caste... they do not regard themselves as failures nor losers. Moreover, they must give aid to each other within the caste and to some extent depend on it. But in Japan as I have already mentioned, there is no group among people of common status. To be alone in a low stratum is a very heavy burden for the people to fear.

He Who Hates a Buddhist Priest
Harms His Surplice

I have already pointed out several times in this paper that Japanese people find a great difficulty in eliminating personal and emotional elements from social relations. We cannot look at our society in a detached way for every Japanese is very likely to supplement every human relationship with personal, emotional ties. I do not say that there is no emotional element found in human relationships in other societies but these affective elements are much more common and important in Japan than in other countries. This continual emotional involvement is a good contrast with impersonal 'cool' behaviour of business-like Americans. It may be said that the Japanese are too hot-blooded or too naive in this sense. The heading of this sub-section excellently symbolises such a Japanese character. For they do not have the ability to distinguish men from the clothes that they wear. And this is the fatal defect in certain branches of knowledge especially in the social sciences.

Lack of Critical Sense

The first point I want to take up is the lack of true critical sense among the Japanese. The unfavourable treatment given to critics and their criticisms in Japan is deplorable. When an author is given a favourable comment about his work, he immediately concludes that the critic likes him, and unfavourable comments put him in a rage. The rational criticism of a work immediately provokes the emotional exchange of likes and dislikes between the author and the critic. Moreover, barring a few exceptional persons, critics and reviewers themselves often use emotional expressions in their comments. They also comment on authors' attitudes and personalities and describe them emotionally, such as 'This work caught my fancy', 'I doubt whether the author knows what he is doing', The author should receive more experience', 'The author's friends appeared to be such and such persons', and so forth. Styles and contents of these reviews are determined by the human relationship between the author and critic. To tell the truth, critics often make unfavourable comments on those unknown to them, or those who do not have the same standpoint. But they usually speak well of their friends, cliques and especially senior friends. They always tend to finish their reviews by saying conventional smooth things (I also tend to be tired of receiving emotional attacks which come from sincere criticisms). The only other thing they do is to refuse to write reviews. But after all the whole thing ends eventually in just embarrassing the readers. It does not bring profit to the society at large that reviews are not to be trusted.

This emotional involvement is to be seen also in the relationship between Japan and other nations as well as between persons. When a person comes back from abroad, or when he meets a Japanese fresh from Japan during his stay overseas he is always asked, "What do they think about Japan now?" I do not deny the existence of such feelings, but what is the point knowing about them? Other people do not have any common feelings about things like Japanese people. When Japanese discuss international problems (especially those involving Japan) they always add this emotional element. They concentrate more on the attitudes to be taken by Japan or another countries' feelings and attitudes towards Japan rather than analyse various concrete developments. Outsiders cannot get anything worth while from such discussions. What ordinary readers want to know about international problems are not the moral standards but records and commentaries explaining the real international trends. And these trends must be reliable. If a person wants to insist on his own judgment he should prove it logically but not emotionally.

This lack of logic is found in conversation even among Japanese themselves. There is no dialectic development in their conversation. Conversations are given form by the social relationship between the speakers. They take a form of either one-way lecturing or going round and round without progress and agreement. This is closely related to the fact that people are vertically organised into groups and they do not stand on the same level of qualification. A thesis and its anti-thesis are based on their quality and opposition which are also the basis for developing a synthesis. Because of the lack of these three elementary stages, Japanese can always have a conversation but cannot have a discussion.

No Ability to Abstract

From two examples of criticism and discussion it can be said that Japanese are lacking in ability to abstract and use logic because both these depend on the quality which is the opposite of emotion. Emotion is direct and concrete. An emotional culture develops the delicacy of emotions and various forms of expression, for example, in a Noh play. On the other hand, elaborate plots and minute settings are lacking in every aspect of emotional culture. This is a great disadvantage for the development of novels and paintings, and especially in music and sculpture.

From my point of view, this is also a fatal weakness in the development of social sciences. It is closely related
to the character of Japanese that the standards of social sciences are much lower compared with the high standards of natural sciences. In natural sciences, scientists can eliminate sentiments from the process of experimental manipulation of data, for they cannot expect emotion of test tubes, of formulas, or of mathematical calculations. But in social sciences, as the object of observation is human beings, it is very difficult to distinguish men from their clothes unless research workers keep strictly scientific attitude toward them. To have a certain ideological attitude seeking for the solution of problem is not wrong but it becomes a defect if it turns the colour of a surplice from black to red or blue, or if it makes people unable to distinguish what men wear from the spirit which animates them. Men can be trained to distinguish clothing from its own. But at present I am sorry that there are very few Japanese who have this ability. I hope that people will gradually succeed in acquiring this quality.

It will be time for Japanese society to change its structure when all Japanese people will be able to distinguish men from their clothing and to establish labour unions by occupational classification. Even if it is impossible to improve the whole of Japanese social structure in one blow, it is still worthwhile to improve the social structure slowly.

Plan for Slower Growth

Japan's Economic Deliberation Council, a consultative organ to the Cabinet, has submitted a medium range economic plan for the country covering the five-year period from 1964 through 1968. The plan was prepared to correct imbalances caused by excessive economic growth in the process of the 10-year income doubling program inaugurated by the Ikeda Cabinet in 1961 in various phases of economy, such as deterioration in the corporate capital composition, the belated start of small business and agriculture and the sharp soaring of consumer prices.

Under the medium-range economic plan, the real average annual economic growth rate in the coming five years is placed at 8.1 per cent. This growth rate has thus been set at a level lower than the average annual growth rate of 10.7 per cent (real) in the past three years. The Council has judged it necessary that the Government should adopt a policy of squeezing the expansion of demand for improving the balance of international payments and stabilizing consumer prices.

Assuming that the national economy grows at the average annual rate of 8.1 per cent in the five years under review, the gross national product in the target year 1968 will reach 29,210 billion Yen based on the prices in 1960 (Yen 27,866 billion based on the prices in 1958), or comfortably higher than the fiscal 1970 target of Yen 26,000 billion under the income doubling programme. It is also expected that national income per capita in fiscal 1968 will reach Yen 300,000 (about $830).