

VALUE ORIENTATION INNATE TO JAPANESE FARMERS*

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I

Shortly after World War II, land reform (1946-1949) was carried out throughout Japan. This occurrence, together with the reform of the land tax of 1873-1882, was one of the most significant events in the modern history of Japanese rural society. However, as many scholars have pointed out, the reform itself was incomplete, having been executed on the initiative not of the peasants but of external authorities.

The water for irrigation and the forests were excluded from the objects of reform. In addition, the tenanted land (owned by resident landlords) of less than 1 *chō* (1 ha) was left untouched. As a result, ten percent of the entire farming land in the country remained under the control of the feudalistic tenancy system, even after the reform.

In spite of this fact, however, Japanese villages have undergone profound and serious changes since the reform, especially in their mode of production and distribution of power among their members. The introduction of chemical fertilizers and agricultural machines has accelerated these changes, particularly the shift of power among generations. In the politics of the rural community landlords have lost much of their influence, while the middle-class farmers have strengthened their standing to the extent that the leadership of a *buraku* (rural community) is now in their hands. In this sense, it is true that the Japanese rural community has undergone a big change since the war.

On the other hand, if one looks into the life of an individual member of the rural community, he will find there exists a contradicting fact—that the farmer's daily activity and ideas of value on which his activity is based

* This article is the English translation of "Nōmin no kachikan" (Value Orientation Innate to Japanese Farmers), in Sonraku shakai kenkyūkai ed., *Sengo nōson no hembō* (Villages in Change after World War II), Tokyo, Jichōsha, 1958. In translating, several corrections have been made over the original script with the intention to make it more understandable for the English readers. For the same purpose some footnotes are added and some eliminated from the original article.

have changed very little. Often his daily activity reflects the traditional ideas of value. Though, as already mentioned, the important posts of a *mura* (or *son*) or *buraku*¹ have moved from the hands of old landlords to the new middle-class farmers in many communities, the duties and authority attached to those posts have hardly changed. Even less changed is the farmers' attitude toward those posts and those in the posts. In other words, though the persons occupying the influential or leading positions have changed, the concept of those positions has remained almost the same in the Japanese rural community.

Ironically enough, it is a fact that the new organization of some *buraku* has been established on the firm base of this old concept, while in others the new elements of postwar *buraku* have even been strengthening the remaining old organization of the village. Thus, a careful study of an individual member and his life is indispensable to such studies as the structural analysis or the study of *Gemeinde* (community) for the Japanese rural community.

Social science being a behavioral science, tries to understand society as a system. To say more concretely, it seeks to grasp a society as the integral system of various positions and status. As every position or status contains a corresponding role in itself, the society is, in other words, an integral role system.² In reality, it is a certain person that represents the status and realizes its corresponding role. At the same time, however, the person is always expected to follow his status role in his behavior. In order to keep his status, he must play the expected role satisfactorily. Thus, the role behavior of an individual corresponds to the role-expectation of the society, which is the ideal or value of the society. In brief, the ideal or value of a society is systematized into the role-system and thus internalized in its members in roles as their norm. The norm held in an individual consciousness, therein becoming his system of ideas, controls his explicit behavior.

The concrete contents of the value thus systematized in a society and internalized in its members is prescribed both by the goal of the society and

¹ *Buraku* is the minimum unit of the Japanese rural community, consisting, on the average, of 20-50 households. There exists some exceptional *buraku* with residing households of 200-300. It is more usually called *mura*. Japanese *buraku* with its self-governing organization of the residents is more similar to the European village than to the rural community in the U.S.A. In most cases five or six *buraku* are organized into one legislative unit of *mura* or *son*, while an exceptionally large *buraku* makes one *mura* by itself.

² Since human behavior is initiated not only by the notion of roles but by that of motivation, prescribing a community simply as its system of role behavior is a process of abstraction. This approach is, however, useful enough for our present object, i. e., the study of social structure and *Gemeinde* of a village.

its actual environmental conditions. In other words, it consists of both the peculiar, concrete element of the specific society in time and the general, abstract element of the "societas" existing above time. The norm has to be chosen from these alternatives.

In its long history the Japanese rural community established the patriarchal, *gemeindlich* role-system. The reasons for this development are not to be discussed here. What is to be emphasized is the fact that this role-system has developed itself into a tradition. The reform from outside, however thoroughgoing it has intended to be, has never succeeded in creating a new system. Only the members of the community themselves will be able to initiate the reformation.

At present the study of Japanese rural society may have two directions—one is purely scholarstic, i. e., to establish the general theory over the object of study; the other practical, i. e., to use the study for the purpose of improving the living standard of the village farmers. When one faces the reality of farmers' suffering caused by very poor conditions of labor and living, he cannot help emphasizing the practical direction of the study. Needless to say, much has to be done for improving the living and working conditions of the farmers. At the same time, for the true solution of the problem, reform initiated by the farmers themselves is indispensable. Not only the apparent social system of the community but its latent value system have to be reformed. The true reform of Japanese rural society will be completed only when its members succeed in creating a new value system of their own.

From this point of view, we have been engaged in the positive study of the value system of Japanese farmers. Naturally, our efforts have been directed toward the understanding of their value system, its present form and the phases of its change, rather than writing out a prescription of a new value system for them. It is our belief and hope that the prescription is to be written by the farmers themselves in the near future. In this report we intend to single out the values internalized in the farmers by referring to the investigation we have made as part of our positive study.³

³ The following reports by the author are closely related to the contents of this article: (1) "Nōmin no shakai ishiki" (Farmers' Social Consciousness—A Case of Niike-buraku, Okayama-ken), 1955 (unpublished). (2) "Sansō no kachitaikei to nōmin no shakai ishiki" (Value System of Mountain Village Farmers and Their Social Consciousness—A Case of Gyōnimbara-buraku), 1955 (unpublished). (3) "Okumikawa no sonraku kōzō to nōmin" (Village in the Heart of Mikawa: Its Social Structure and Farmers—A Case of Gyōnimbara-buraku), 1955 (unpublished). (4) "Kachitaikei e no shakaigaku-teki sekkin" (A Sociological Approach to Value System), in *Aichi-daigaku bungakuronō*, Vol. 12, 1956. (5) "Kazoku ni okeru dentōteki kihan to sono hōkai" (Traditional Norms and Their Decline in a Family Institution), in *Aichi-daigaku bungakuronō*, 10th Anniversary

II

The value system of an individual innate in his consciousness becomes explicit only when he makes a choice over some concrete matter. Thus, it is best understood through the careful participatory observation of his daily behavior and systematic hearing of his life-history. However, since these methods take a long time, the questionnaire method, though not the best, must be employed for the urgent case.

In the questionnaire method, the same questions are asked to a certain number of the community members, and an assumption is made based on their answers.⁴ The number of the questions to be asked has to be limited, while the actual situations in which the members make a choice are limitless. Consequently, the frame of reference or conceptual scheme for the situation-setting becomes important in the questionnaire method. The frame of reference is established due to the assumption that it is possible, by changing the concrete settings, to place the latent situation, existing invariably as a constant, behind them. Thus, how to set the frame of reference or conceptual scheme is that in which we are most interested.

The data in this article is for the large part collected by using the following two schemes: one is the scheme originated by Florence Rockwood Kluckhohn in her "Dominant and Variant Value Orientations,"⁵ and the other the conceptual scheme for family system which is of our own creation. The theoretical background of these frames has already been explained.⁶ Therefore, avoiding repetition, only its main points are to be discussed here for the reference to the following chapter.

Issue, 1957. (6) "Shokugyō-kan kara mita nōmin no shakai-teki seikaku" (Farmers' Ideas for Occupation and Their Social Character), in *Shakaigaku-hyōron*, Vol. 7, Nos. 3-4, 1957.

- 4 Strictly speaking, what is singled out by this questionnaire method is not the value system of one community as a whole but of the interviewees who answer the questions.
- 5 F. R. Kluckhohn, "Dominant and Variant Value Orientations," in C. Kluckhohn and H. A. Murray ed., *Personality in Nature, Society and Culture*, 2nd ed., London, Jonathan Cape, 1953, pp. 342-357.
- 6 Concerning the theoretical background of F. R. Kluckhohn's scheme and the Japanese family system, refer to the previously mentioned two articles by the author, "Sociological Approach" and "Traditional Norms" respectively.

Referring to the levels of systematization of conceptual schemes, T. Parsons makes the following classification and concludes that the last level is most appropriate: (1) *ad hoc* classificatory systems, (2) categorical systems, (3) theoretical systems, and (4) empirical-theoretical systems. (T. Parsons and E. Shils ed., *Toward a General Theory of Action*, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1952, pp. 50-51). According to this classification and grading, the level of Kluckhohn's scheme corresponds only to the level (1), while our F Test is equivalent to the level of (2) at best.

According to F. Kluckhohn :

"... the first fundamental assumption upon which the conceptual scheme is based is: There is a limited number of basic human problems for which all peoples at all times and in all places must find some solution. The five common human problems tentatively singled out as those of key importance can be stated in the form of questions:

- (1) What are the innate predispositions of man?
 - (2) What is the relation of man to nature?
 - (3) What is the significant time dimension?
 - (4) What is the valued personality type?
 - (5) What is the dominant modality of the relationship of man to other men?
- ...and the second major assumption of the conceptual scheme that the variability in solutions is variability within a range of possible solution."⁷

People's attitudes differ from one another according to their answers to these five questions. Those questions could be reworded as follows in terms of value orientation :

1. Orientation to what innate human nature is.
2. Orientation to man-nature relation.
3. Orientation to time.
4. Orientation to what valued personality is.
5. Orientation to orientation of human relations.

By employing these as a frame of reference Kluckhohn engaged herself in studies on the value system of various peoples in the world.

On the other hand, referring to the above-mentioned frame of reference, we established a new conceptual scheme in our questionnaires called

Table 1. Scheme of Value Test

Categories	Sub-categories	Items	Question no.
Environment	Super-natural environment	God or Soul	1, 11
	Natural environment	Nature	23A, B, C
	Social environment	Substance Reality	2, 12/3, 13 4, 14
Human beings	Human nature	Substance	21A, B, C/8, 18
		Fate	5, 15
		Immortality of soul	7, 17
	Human relations	Relationship Authority	6, 16 9, 19
	Human behavior	Action	10A, 20A
		Judgment	10B, 20B
		Motive	10C, 20C
		Expression	10D, 20D/10E, 20E
		Result	10F, 20F
Time	Time	Time	22A, B, C

⁷ F. R. Kluckhohn, *op. cit.*, p. 346.

Value Test. As seen in Table 1, it consists of three categories—Environment, Human beings, and Time dimension. The first two have three sub-categories for each: Super nature, Nature, and Society under the category of Environment; and Human nature, Human relations, and Human behavior under the category of Human beings. Furthermore, these sub-categories are classified into various items.

Among the sub-categories for Environment, Super nature and Society are of our creation, while Nature corresponds to the second orientation of Kluckhohn's frame of reference. As for the category of Human beings, our sub-categories of Human nature, relations and behavior are equivalent to her first, fifth, and fourth orientations respectively.

As already mentioned, the purpose of our study was to grasp the traditional values of Japanese farmers by using this conceptual scheme. Here came in the question of what we assume their traditional values to be. Self-effaced heteronomy was concluded to be our assumption and all the questions were made in this reference. It was also decided to include contrasting opinions based on the egoistic, autonomous value as "battery" which the respondents turn against themselves. After holding several pre-tests, the following 39 questions are finally employed in the questionnaire.⁸

1. I believe in the existence of something like a god or soul, even if nobody can prove it positively.
11. There cannot exist something like a god or soul.
- 23A. Man should live in harmony with the Nature.
- 23B. Man is powerless in the face of the Nature. Therefore, he should be subjugated by it.
- 23C. It is human power that controls and rules Nature.
2. An individual can live only when a society exists. Therefore, if the situation so demands, the former has to be sacrificed for the maintenance of the latter.
12. It is individuals who form a society. The formers must be considered first.
3. There is no devil in human form in the world.
13. Don't be too ready to trust a stranger.
4. Wars and troubles will never cease being in this world.
14. Someday all the wars and troubles will vanish from this world.
- 21A. Human beings are good in nature.
- 21B. Human beings are evil in nature.
- 21C. A human being, when he is born, is neither good nor evil. As he grows up, he becomes good or evil.

⁸ The multiple choice method (actually choosing one among the three alternatives) is employed in relation to the following questions: Questions 23A, B and C concerning the Nature. Questions 22A, B and C concerning the Time dimension. Questions 21A, B and C concerning the Human beings.

8. It is one's environment and not his own will that makes him either good or evil.
18. It is one's will and not his environment that makes him either good or evil.
5. Man is controlled by fate. He shouldn't resist it.
15. Man is not controlled by fate. His life entirely depends upon his efforts.
7. A human soul continues to live even after one's physical death.
17. A human soul ceases to exist after one's physical death.
6. Traditional "superior-inferior" order of human relations is necessary for maintaining the order of society.
16. Everyone is equal. There should be no such thing as superiors or inferiors.
9. The best way is to obey the words of one's superiors.
19. It is an act of cowardice to obey blindly the powerful or the strong.
- 10A. An act which has caused others to suffer is bad, even if it is done with good will.
- 20A. An act of good will is always good whatever result it brings about.
- 10B. What the public or society condemns is considered to be wrong, even if one as an individual believes it right.
- 20B. What one believes to be right is right even if the public or society denounces it wrong.
- 10C. I think of something in terms of "good or bad," before considering whether it is to my advantage or not.
- 20C. It is human nature to think of whether it is to my advantage or not before considering whether it is good or bad.
- 10D. Thinking is more important than acting.
- 20D. I don't respect a man of words but of deeds.
- 10E. I respect a man because of his title rather than for his deeds.
- 20E. I respect a man of action whether he is titled or not.
- 10F. I prefer having a small number of sons and daughters if enough earning is guaranteed.
- 20F. However clever an individual is, he cannot cope with the cooperated efforts of many common people.
- 22A. The past through which one has lived is the most important thing.
- 22B. Pleasure comes after suffering. I am looking forward to the future.
- 22C. Neither the past nor the future is very important. Only the present is worthy of thinking.

(The number attached to each question shows the order of questions asked in the interview).

The preceding questions are the general scheme to be applied to any people or society in the world. However, admitting the fact that deep in Japanese life, especially in its village life, the value closely related to the traditional patriarchal familism remains dominant, the questionnaire about

the family value was added to our investigation. This questionnaire consists of two large categories, i. e., Institutional characteristics and Human relations. According to the idea of the patriarchal or genealogic family system, the first category is classified into the following three sub-categories: (1) Ideal aspect, (2) Realistic aspect, and (3) Means of continuing the familial line. Furthermore, the first sub-category is divided into such items as Respect of family name and Ancestor worship; the second sub-category, such items as Primogeniture, Successive generations living in the same house, and the *dōzoku*.⁹ Finally, under the third sub-category come such items as Parent-child relation, Husband-wife relation, and Bride-mother-in-law relation. (Refer to Table 2).

Table 2. Scheme of Family Test

Categories	Sub-categories	Items	Question no.
Institutional characteristics	Ideal aspect	Respect of family name	9
		Ancestor worship	10
	Realistic aspect	Succession by eldest son	12, 43
		Multiple generations living together	41, 42
Family group (<i>dōzoku</i>)		44	
Means of continuing familial line	Marriage	15, 45, 14	
	Adopting a child	11	
Human relations	Parent-child	Parent-child	13, 46, 47
	Husband-wife	Husband-wife	48, 49, 50
	Bride-mother-in-law	Bride-mother-in-law	51, 52

Since the setting of situations related to the human relations is comparatively easy, a considerable number of questions, both general and specific, were prepared concerning this category. After the pre-tests, the following 19 questions were selected from a large number of questions prepared for the questionnaire.

9. It is understandable for a parent to cut his connection with his son or daughter who has disgraced his family name.
10. The ancestral tablet must be treated with utmost respect.
12. The eldest son should succeed his father's estate, which has been handed down from generation to generation.

⁹ *Dōzoku* is a group of families tied closely through the daily relationship of mutual aid. In most cases, the main family leads the group, consisting mostly of its branch families. Since most of the families in a group have blood-tie in patriarchal line, it can be called a kind of kinship system. There also exist some *dōzoku* which include no-kinship families among its members. Thus, two contrasting theories are established as to the uniting power of the group; one emphasizing genealogy and the other daily relationship of mutual aid. The intensive studies have been made on the problem by Professors Aruga, Kitano and others, and it is said to be the key to the true understanding of Japanese rural community.

43. The eldest son should succeed his father in business.
41. The successor and his (or her) spouse should live with their parents in the same house.
42. It is the successor's responsibility to take care of his parents.
44. In dealing with an important family matter, the members of the family concerned should consult with those of the related main and branch families.
15. In proceeding on marriage, much attention should be paid on the family background or familial situation of those concerned.
45. Rather than making their own decision, young people should entrust their parents with the matters of their marriage.
14. If a bride is too much out of harmony with the family tradition, she should be divorced.
11. In the case of a family which has no successor, a child should be adopted and grown to be the successor.
13. It is obligatory for children to be dutiful to their parents.
46. It is an unquestioned right of the parents to be taken care of by their children in their old age.
47. Children should not contradict their parents.
48. A husband should not do any kitchen work.
49. Even after the death of her husband, the wife should remain faithful to his cause.
50. A wife should always be obedient to her husband.
51. A bride should respect her mother-in-law even more than her husband.
52. A bride should try to obey her mother-in-law even when the latter seems to be too tough or unreasonable.

(The number attached to each question shows the order of questions asked in the interview).

This questionnaire is named Family Test or F Test.¹⁰

III

Both of these questionnaires were used for our investigation on the actual conditions of the Japanese rural community, carried out in the summer of 1955. Before going into the result of the survey, we would like to touch upon a general view of the *buraku* (community) which we investigated.

The object of our investigation was one of the communities in Kami-

¹⁰ The reason for the difference between the number of questions and the figure attached to them, and also between the scheme and actual order of questioning is as follows—in practicing this investigation these questions are organized into one part of a large questionnaire. Concerning the organization of the entire questionnaire, see the article written by our co-operator Yoshio Makino, "Shakai-ishiki-sokutei no tameno shakudo kōsei" (System of Scales for Measuring the Social Consciousness), in *Aichi-daigaku bungaku ronsō*, 10th Anniversary Issue, 1957.

tsugu-*mura*, Kitashidara-*gun*, Aichi Prefecture. Kamitsugu-*mura*¹¹ is situated at an elevation of approximately 700 meters above the sea level where the Ina Road, which connects Toyohashi with Iida, leads with curves to Nagano Prefecture. This *mura* (or *son*) as an administrative unit consists of 16 *buraku* scattered in the mountains, with 323 households and 1,777 inhabitants in total, as of the investigation date.

Motomachi, the core *buraku* of the Kamitsugu-*mura* located along the Ina Road, was one of the important station-towns in Tokugawa Era together with Shinshiro, Taguchi and Ebi. It had kept many old buildings constructed in the prosperous Tokugawa Era until it was almost completely destroyed by fire in April, 1956. As two railroads, namely Chūō-line and Iida-line, were constructed, however, the Ina Road lost its importance and at the same time Motomachi lost its role as a station-town, and fell into decay. Today, except those living in Motomachi which has turned into a shopping area, residents in other *buraku* are making their living on farmland (the average size of which is 4 *tan* [about 40 a.]¹² per household), rich forest, sericulture, and other miscellaneous side-works.

The *buraku* we investigated is called Gyōnimbara and is situated about 300 meters north of Motomachi, the northern tip of the *mura*. The *buraku* contains 49 households and 43 of them are farmers.

For a general study of community structure, the investigation was made on each household as a unit, but as to the value orientation, the theme of this article, we made investigation on 153 individual residents, both sexes between 20 to 80 years of age registered officially. Because it was impossible to interview 18 of these persons, due to illness, disability, senility and absence, the actual number of persons interviewed was 135.¹³ Studying the data obtained from the questionnaires, the following conclusion was made on their value orientation.

Value Test

A method of poll type answer was adopted in our investigation. However, confused by the "battery" type questions included in the questionnaire,

¹¹ It was combined with Shimotsugu-*mura* in April, 1956, and now it is called Tsugu-*mura*.

¹² Since the farming in Japan is done by all the members of a family, it is necessary for a household to own more than 8 *tan* of farmland in order to make living by agriculture only. Therefore, the farmers of this village, who own only 4 *tan* on the average, must do some side-work in addition to farming. Their living standard is very low.

¹³ In the interview for F Test, four more people are excluded, three of them being unable to be interviewed and one responding with too many "D.K." (don't know). Consequently, the number of respondents we dealt with was 131.

not a few people showed the same response to both affirmative and negative questions of the same issue. In the stage of summing-up, we classified those who gave affirmative answers to traditional attitude as traditional type, those who supported "battery" questions as anti-traditional type, and those who showed the same response to both affirmative and negative questions as "unstable" or "middle" type. The result of this classification is shown in Table 3.

Table 3. Result of Value Test.

Sub-categories	Items	Question no.	Traditional type (%)	Unstable type (%)	Anti-traditional type (%)
Super-natural environment	God or Soul	1, 11	67.17	18.32	14.51
Natural environment	Nature	23A, B, C	49.62	30.53	19.85
Social environment	Substance	2, 12	46.56	38.93	14.51
		3, 13	49.62	35.87	14.51
Human nature	Reality	4, 14	41.22	35.11	23.67
	Substance	21A, B, C	23.66	70.99	5.35
		8, 18	16.03	30.53	53.44
	Fate	5, 15	29.78	34.35	35.87
Human relations	Immortality of soul	7, 17	25.95	40.46	33.59
	Relationship	6, 16	42.75	27.10	30.15
	Authority	9, 19	17.56	34.35	48.09
Human behavior	Action	10A, 20A	25.95	48.85	25.20
	Judgment	10B, 20B	43.51	41.98	14.51
	Motive	10C, 20C	54.20	34.35	11.45
	Expression	10D, 20D	21.37	35.11	43.52
		10E, 20E	2.29	26.72	70.99
	Result	10F, 20F	22.14	43.51	34.35
Time	Time	22A, B, C	11.45	42.75	45.80

Looking into each category of the questionnaire, the findings are as follows:

As to the category of Environment, 67.2% of the respondents believed in a super-natural existence like a god or soul. Although this evidence alone does not give us enough reason to classify them as traditional type, it can be said that those who deny the super-natural existence (14.5% of all the respondents) are against that which is traditional. The number of people classified in the "unstable" type is few as far as this item is concerned (18.3%). It seems the majority of respondents are stable in opinion, whether it is affirmative or not, over the problem of a super-natural existence.

Concerning the category of Natural environment, 31% of the respondents are harmonious "middle" type and 49.6% are of the obedient traditional

type. With respect to their stands for Social environment, the majority are regarded as traditional type in which essentially the society is emphasized over the individuals and in reality the individuals obey the former, trusting its good will. In this connection those who consider living to be a struggle were regarded as traditional type, since more people supported the "battery" question of this item when compared to other items. It may be said that this result shows the farmers' longing for peaceful life. On the other hand, regarding all three questions under the category of Social environment, the fact that 35 to 39% of the respondents are classified as the "unstable" type shows their uncertain attitude toward society.

In conclusion, it can be said that the majority of the farmers in this community believe the existence of gods or souls, are obedient to natural power, take self-effaced attitude toward society, and long for peace.

Under the category of Human beings, many respondents fall into the "unstable" type. In relation to the value orientation on human nature, about 71% of people think that men are born neither good nor evil and that men become either good or evil as they grow older. While 53.4% of respondents are classified as anti-traditional type holding that the human nature is decided not by the environment but by his own will. Many, rejecting the fatalistic attitude, support the idea that there exists no such thing as fate for man and that his life can be changed if he makes enough efforts to do so. Many think that death means the end of everything, and very few support the doctrine of immortality of the soul. Based upon these facts, it is concluded that the values of the farmers in general are anti-tradition-directed. As mentioned before, however, comparatively many respondents fall under the classification of the "unstable" type. This might be caused by the fact that the contents of these items were too complicated for them to respond with dichotomous choice.

Regarding Human relations, the tradition-oriented people who approve the order of superior-inferior occupy the majority, and only a few fall under the "unstable" type. On the other hand, such attitude toward authorities as "Yield to the powerful" seems to have been rejected even among them.

As for Human action (under the sub-category of Human behavior), the percentage of respondents who emphasized the importance of intentions is almost the same as that of those who attached importance to results, though herein appeared the highest percentage of the "unstable" type among the questions of dichotomous choice. This result shows their difficulty in taking any definite attitude toward the matter.

Concerning such items as Judgment and Motive, where it is necessary for the respondents to consider outside factors, many people show the

attitude regarded as traditional type. On the other hand, in relation to such items as Expression and Result which can be decided without considering outside factors they supported the answers classified as anti-traditional type.

The last category is that of Time. Here many people emphasize the future, but the same number of people also regard the present as very important. The percentage of people who emphasize the importance of the past is very low. Another unpopular case is that of those who take the anti-traditional attitude regarding motives.

In brief, the value orientation of the members of Gyōnimbara-buraku is tradition-directed concerning human relations and such environments as super-nature, nature and society, while anti-traditional attitudes are seen in their values related to human nature and action. Unstable responses are seen in the field of human nature. On the contrary the responses for human relations are most stable.

As you may suppose from the fact that there are many "unstable" type answers, quite a lot of contradictions are seen in an individual's value orientation according to the item to be questioned. However, when one takes the actual situation into consideration, anyone's value orientation cannot exist without contradictions. Besides, the value orientations do not necessarily have the same importance for both individuals and groups. The reason why those value orientations can be integrated into a system despite

Table 4. Order of Dominant Value

Question number	Order			Total sum
	1	2	3	
10D	7	14	6	83
20E	6	11	12	75
10C	6	8	8	62
1	7	5	3	53
18	6	5	8	53
6	6	5	7	52
15	7	3	7	51
2	6	6	1	49
17	6	4	3	45
3	6	3	5	44
21C	5	5	4	44
4	5	3	4	38
5	4	5	1	36
14	2	8	2	36
23A	3	5	3	33
19	3	4	5	32
20F	2	6	4	32
10F	3	3	4	28

the above fact is that some value orientations are dominant over others. Then, what are the dominant value orientations of the farmers we investigated?

In order to solve this problem, we took up those questions to which the respondents gave affirmative answers only, and we tried to put them in order according to their degree of importance. Table 4 shows the frequency of each item ranked up to the third. In addition, we gave points to each item in a fixed way¹⁴ and put them in order by priority of the sum.

The item ranked first is "Thinking is more important than acting." The second item is "I respect a man of action, whether he is titled or not," and the third "I think of something in terms of 'good or bad,' before considering whether it is to my advantage or not." As understood from this fact, items dealt with rules of action are regarded very important among the respondents. Items following are "I believe firmly in the existence of something like a god or soul even if nobody can prove it," "It is man's will and not his environment that makes him either good or evil," and "Traditional order of superior-inferior in human relations is necessary to maintain the order of the society."

Thus, the following conclusion is drawn on the value orientation of the members of *Gyōnimbara-buraku*:

They believe in the existence of something like a god or soul; support the order of traditional superior-inferior in human relations; strive to become good men, and consider whether something is good or bad before they put it into action.

Family Test

This questionnaire was originally organized to be used as a scaling method. However, it was later found that unification among the categories was not enough. Because of this, it was decided that, employing a method of dichotomous answer¹⁵ the result was to be summed up according to each category or item, just as was done with V Test. The result is shown in Table 5. It is clearly shown that the traditional values are strongly supported with regard to all the categories and items.

First of all, we would like to refer to the Institutional characteristics.

¹⁴ Calculation was done by giving 5 points to the first rank, 3 points to the second, and 1 point to the third.

¹⁵ In the original F Test, the following five responses were adopted: "strongly agreed," "agreed," "uncertain," "disagreed," and "strongly disagreed." Here we classified the responses of "strongly agreed" or "agreed" as traditional type, those of "uncertain" as "middle" type, and those of "disagreed" or "strongly disagreed" as anti-traditional type.

Table 5. Result of Family Test

Categories	Sub-categories	Items	Question no.	Traditional type (%)	Middle type (%)	Anti-traditional type (%)	D. K. (%)	
Institutional characteristics	Ideal aspect	Respect of family name	9	52.67	15.27	32.06	—	
		Ancestor worship	10	97.71	2.29	0	—	
	Realistic aspect	Succession by eldest son	12	70.23	18.32	11.45	—	
			43	64.12	21.38	14.50	—	
	Means of continuing familial line	Multiple generations living together		41	78.63	16.03	4.58	0.76
				42	85.50	9.16	5.34	—
		Family group (<i>dozoku</i>)	44	82.45	9.92	6.87	0.76	
		Marriage		15	54.96	25.19	19.85	—
				45	50.37	25.96	23.67	—
	Human relations	Parent-child	Adopting a child	14	56.49	16.79	25.96	0.76
			11	91.61	4.58	3.05	0.76	
Husband-wife		Parent-child	13	99.24	0.76	0	—	
			46	90.84	3.82	5.34	—	
			47	40.46	29.77	29.77	—	
Bride-mother-in-law	Husband-wife	48	43.51	20.61	35.88	—		
		49	55.72	35.12	9.16	—		
		50	58.01	18.32	23.67	—		
Bride-mother-in-law	Bride-mother-in-law		51	54.21	29.00	16.79	—	
			52	46.57	21.37	32.06	—	

Of all the items under the sub-category of Ideal aspect, Ancestor worship received 97.7% support and this item is ranked second of all the questions. The percentage of support for the Respect of the family name was 52.7%, a little lower than we had expected, possibly due to the slightly radical expression of the question. Regarding the Realistic aspect, the item which emphasized the duty of supporting, "It is the successor's responsibility to take care of his parents," obtained 85.5% support, the highest percentage. And the doctrine of lineal family expressed in the item, "The successor and his (or her) spouse should live with their parents in the same house," received the second highest percentage of support. On the other hand, support for the item, "The eldest son should succeed his father's estate which had been handed down from generation to generation," was about 70%, a little lower, and the item "The first son should succeed his father in business," received a much lower percentage of support. The traditional value emphasizing the consciousness of the family group (*dōzoku*) gained 82% of support.

The percentage supporting the traditional value on Marriage, however, was rather low (50% to 55%), and such attitudes as "entrusting their parents with the matters of the marriage" and "much attention must be paid to the family background or familial situation of those concerned" are not widely supported. The item "In the case of a family which has no successor, a child should be adopted and grown to be the successor," received 92% support, which shows that those questioned value greatly the perpetuity of the family.

The traditional value concerning human relations within the family is not supported much, with the exceptions of 99.2% support for Question 13, "It is obligatory for the children to be dutiful to their parents," and 91% support for Question 46, "It is an undoubted right of parents to be taken care of by their children in their old age."

Especially we should note that the percentage of support for the following two questions is less than 50%—one dealing with the traditional relationship between a bride and her mother-in-law, namely, "A bride should try to obey her mother-in-law even when the latter seems to be too tough or unreasonable," and the other "A husband should not do any kitchen work," which deals with the relationship between husband and wife at home. Here also the traditional value is gradually losing its meaning in the daily living of the rural community. In the same way the supposedly very conservative parent-child relationship, i. e., "Children should not contradict their parents," was supported by only 40% of the total.

Studying these responses to the questionnaire, we concluded as follows:

The traditional values concerning the family have deeper roots in the Institutional characteristics than in the Human relations. Referring to each item of both categories, the traditional values are highly supported in the items dealing with abstract conditions or ideals of a family rather than with actual situations. This shows the fact that the changes in the mode of daily life, caused by various environmental changes, are gradually breaking down the traditional norms.

The traditional norms of marriage, relationship between a bride and her mother-in-law and relationship between husband and wife, where some human rights used to be often ignored, are also losing people's support. When we take these facts into consideration together with the result of V Test, we may say that the so-called modern self-consciousness is growing in the minds of the Japanese farmers.

IV

Our data concerning the value orientations of the farmers we investigated are almost fully covered in the preceding chapters. The following two points are singled out from the results of our investigation—one is that, in general, traditional values are strongly supported by the farmers; and the other that the behavior of the farmers in daily life, however, proves the decline of the traditional values. Although there are some questions left in the former point, which we must consider more carefully, much attention should be paid on the second point. As mentioned in the very beginning of this article, improvement of the rural life and the happiness of the rural community members are not to be brought in from outside, but only the members themselves are to realize them with their efforts. Here came in the problem of who should be the carrier of the new values. In this connection, some readers might find this article of ours dissatisfactory since it ends merely explaining the general value orientation of the farmers we interviewed. Of course, we were aware of the limitation of our report and knew that it was possible to a certain extent to seek after the persons with new values by using index of sex, age, academic career and social status. The reasons we did not use this method at this point were: firstly, that there were very few cases of investigation recorded in Japan and secondly, that the analysis of sex, age, and others would be superficial without the concurrent analysis on the community structure as status system. Here a question of a new method of structural-functional analysis is to be brought forward, but our present situation does not allow us to use this new method. Besides, in connection with the correlation of the various environmental

factors, the comparative study with other communities, especially the urban community, will be very meaningful. This type of study imposes on us a difficult task of acquiring very refined techniques for its practice. Such a task cannot be carried out without a deep insight into the new ideas, the enormous efforts and the sincere cooperation among the scholars engaged in the study of this field. It will be our great pleasure and honor if this report can prepare the ground for its realization.