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**Journal**

Current Anthropology, 63(6)

**Author**

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**Publication Date**

1961-12-01

Peer reviewed

## *Value Attitudes toward Role Behavior of Women in Two Japanese Villages*

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THE recent accumulation of intensive data on Japanese rural culture has revealed many regional differences in Japanese values and attitudes. Scholars concerned with Japanese culture are more aware that they must distinguish between what is broadly characteristic of the society as a whole and what is specific to smaller segments. The full range of variation, however, is still far from clear.

The purpose of this paper is to demonstrate the value of using standardized projective tests, such as the Thematic Apperception Test, in studying intercommunity differences. Specifically, this paper reports results obtained by comparing TAT data from two Japanese communities in what is termed southwestern Japan. One is occupationally concerned with farming, the other with fishing. The over-all results obtained from the two villages are similar in many respects, but they also reveal certain consistent differences in attitudes concerning role behavior in the primary family.

### INTRODUCTION: HISTORICAL COMPLEXITY IN THE CHANGING PATTERNS OF FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS IN RURAL JAPAN

Japanese scholars (Ariga 1940; 1948; 1955; Ariga, et al. 1954; Fukutake 1949; 1954; Izumi and Gamo 1952; Kawashima 1948; Ogyu 1957; Omachi 1937) characterize pre-Meiji<sup>1</sup> rural social organization as having two principal variant forms: a northeastern pattern emphasizing kinship and pseudo-kinship relations, and a southwestern pattern giving a greater role to communal organizations not based on kinship. Although attitudes and values concerning the social position of women varied greatly within the northeastern pattern, they emphasized a relatively low position for females within a hierarchically organized patriarchal family structure (Befu and Norbeck 1958). In the southwestern area, the status of women was somewhat higher; there was a greater tendency toward bilateral kinship, and familial and other relationships were less strongly hierarchical (Okada 1952). Within the range of these broad regional variations there were many local differences in status and social values related to specific occupational groups (Beardsley 1954; Cornell 1956; Donoghue 1957; Hulse 1947; Shino 1953; Nagai and Bennet 1953; Smith 1956). Throughout Japan, for example, the status of women tended to be higher in fishing villages than in farming villages.<sup>2</sup>

It is beyond the scope of this paper to speculate at any length as to the pos-

sible genesis of regional and occupational variants. Suffice it to say that large sections of northeastern Japan were populated in recorded history by pushing out the Ainu by force. The warriors were the dominant group. A basic agricultural tradition did not predate the ascendancy of the feudal warrior tradition with its kinship structure. In contrast, the southwest region had been agricultural from before the dawn of recorded history. Interaction among farmers using large irrigation systems induced modes of cooperation not limited solely to considerations of kinship.

Similarly, socio-economic factors can be seen as operative in differentiating fishing communities from others. The occupational function of men and women in fishing communities was such that the wife tended to take more direct day-by-day authority in the household. Her relationships to her own parents were better maintained, and unilateral patriarchal ties did not tend to develop as strongly as in farming communities. Nor would the relative poverty and isolation of fisherfolk allow them to give much heed to thought of bettering their social status by emulating the patterns of their social betters concerning the relationships of the sexes.

Communities historically differed in the degree to which they were influenced by the values of the socially superior samurai, or warrior, class. During the Tokugawa era (ca. 1600-1868), samurai values based on the Confucian ethical system, modified to conform with the traditions of Japanese society, were stressed by government officials in codified writings. Individual behavior had become thoroughly regularized in these written statutes of the Tokugawa regime, and the codes were frequently implemented by official moral exhortations. It is noteworthy that the position of women among the samurai during the Tokugawa period became lower than it had previously been (Hearn 1904; Sugimoto 1925).

Bellah (1957) has noted that the samurai system of values bears more than a superficial resemblance in certain respects to the ethics of protestantism found in northern Europe after the Reformation. Virtues such as diligence, frugality, and self-denial, practiced in consideration of long-range goals, were central in certain religious sects of that time. Bellah cites good evidence that certain popular ethical religious movements in late Tokugawa times helped to spread among certain segments of merchants and farmers values originally held by the warrior class. These values were particularly attractive to the wealthier landowners and merchants, who saw in the emulation of the practices of the samurai a means of gaining social prestige among their neighbors.<sup>3</sup>

After the Meiji restoration in 1868, the samurai class was officially abolished. Service as soldiers was required of all male citizens. The traditional values of the old samurai class were not abandoned, however, but were fostered by the government for the nation as a whole. After a temporary infatuation with Western thought, the leaders of the new state redirected Japanese governmental ideology toward the more traditional Confucian-derived samurai values. These values, including the assignment of women to a social position much inferior to that of males, became an integral part of the moral education

imparted to all commoners through the newly established compulsory education in the public school system. The "samurai" values also served as a foundation for the new Japanese civil code. With increased communication, rural Japan, previously having had little direct contact with government except through the local feudal lords, became permeated with new ideas. Among other things, rural modes of marriage selection were replaced with samurai ideas as to what was proper and fitting. The type of arranged marriages characteristic of the samurai, which had not previously existed in many villages, became widespread (Ariga 1955). As the tempo of communication increased, long held local marriage practices tended to drop out with increasing rapidity.

In spite of some government pressure to the contrary during the turn of the century, the more industrialized urban areas were already showing the effect of increasing contact with Western ideas of individualism. One may safely say, however, that for most individuals attitudes toward family relationships did not change radically or abruptly. It has only been in the wake of the second World War that a large number of Japanese have given clearly observable evidence of radical changes in their concept of the family.

The recent attempt to reorganize the country in a spirit of political democracy after World War II brought with it a concern with individual liberty which serves as a rich intoxicant to the youth of the nation on a scale not experienced before. The effects of this more recent infusion of Western thought are yet to be assessed. Along with changes in every area of life, the position of women was elevated to full equality before the law (S. Wagatsuma 1950). Many younger Japanese are attempting to find new ways of relating to one another in newly defined role relationships. To do so without tension, however, they must overcome strongly implanted traditional behavioral patterns of expression that still surround them at every turn.

It is in urban areas, particularly, that changes are noted in the relation of the sexes. While such changes are increasingly manifest in rural areas as well, rural life tends to remain more conservative than that found in the city; for individuals most interested in changing their ways migrate to urban centers in large numbers, permitting the home community to maintain some semblance of conservative economic and social stability.

#### THE COMMUNITIES STUDIED<sup>4</sup>

The farming hamlet of Niiike lies on the lower slopes of a hill, an ancient burial mound, some 20 miles west of Okayama City in Okayama Prefecture, a central agricultural region of southwest Japan. It has a population of 130 persons in 24 households. In addition to full time farmers, there are 12 salaried men working in nearby urban communities, and 69 women and children. Livelihood depends primarily on the cultivation of rice, barley, wheat, and a rush used in making floor mats. Each family weaves *tatami* mats from the rush between the periods of heaviest labor demands. It has become an important money crop. As farm villages go, the people of Niiike are fairly well-to-do (Beardsley et al. 1959).

Sakunoshima is an island located at the entrance of Mikawa Bay in Aichi Prefecture. This region is also within what is termed the general southwestern area. The island consists of two communities. The eastern one which we studied has a population of 618 individuals in 138 households. From sometime in the 13th century to the end of the Tokugawa period (1868), the island of Sakunoshima was on a central route of water transportation connecting Edo (Tokyo) in the east and Kyoto and Osaka in the west. The subsequent development of land transportation and the use of larger steamships diminished the usefulness of this small island as a stopping-off place. At present, the inhabitants eke out a living by fishing or farming on a small scale. Some of the younger individuals spend a number of years working away from home on the mainland nearby or by traveling as far as the Keihan district of Osaka, Kyoto, and Kobe, for menial work. The fields are small and not adequate for raising rice. Only wheat, potatoes, and some vegetables are grown. Self-sufficiency in food is impossible, and therefore fishing is an indispensable supplementary industry. About 68 percent of the total households are engaged in some form of fishing in addition to farming. In general, the whole family usually makes a joint effort toward assuring their livelihood—men working on fishing boats or in the cities; some of the younger women working in nearby industries on the mainland; the married women working in the field and at home.

These two communities which are the subject of comparison in our study differ considerably in their economic and occupational functions and historical backgrounds, as well as in the nature of their contact with the world outside their immediate community. In addition to what has been noted above, the farming community self-consciously traces its founding to samurai. This historical view of origin probably contributes heavily to coloring the attitude values held by the individuals of this village. The fishing people have no such tradition of alignment with a higher class. They maintain relationships to certain family members who at various times migrated to port cities such as Yokohama or Osaka. These ties are maintained bilaterally and occasional visiting occurs.

In general, the attitudes expressed in the farming community of Niiike well exemplify what has been said by Beardsley (1959) and many others concerning the centrality of the concept of the family or "household" (*ie*) as the cornerstone of rural social life and the conceptions of clearly defined social role found in the Japanese family.

The adult seen as a family member rather than as an individual has been the guiding principle of behavior within Japanese society. The Confucian ethic promulgated by the Shogunate during the Tokugawa period emphasized family solidarity and the authority of the family male head over his family. It also reinforced subordination of those of "branch" family lineage to the head of the main family in an extended family system. Another principle was the hierarchical order maintained among members of the primary family itself: children subordinate to parents, young siblings to elder, and women of an inferior status to men. Under this system children should show lifelong obedience to

the wishes of their parents, especially in matters of marriage and life goals, and a wife should remain always modest and reserved, completely devoted to the family of her husband. She should be subservient as a bride and self-sacrificing as a wife and mother.

Niike is regionally within the area of the more egalitarian, less hierarchical southwestern rural pattern discussed above. Nevertheless, the value of maintaining patriline and the subordinate position of women is evident on the questionnaire and opinion schedules administered along with projective techniques.<sup>5</sup> It is also found in the phrasing of some answers to projective test problems that a number of individuals gave definite evidence of using concepts usually attributable to the samurai class.<sup>6</sup> They thus gave some direct evidence that the aforementioned tradition stemming from samurai who gave up their role as warriors to settle down to an agricultural life is still alive in their thinking. It may be that some of the "puritan-like" appearance of social life in Niike in certain contrast to other documented and reported agricultural communities is attributable to the effects of this tradition.

In contrast, the fishing community studies on Sakunoshima showed much less evidence of samurai-Confucian attitudes in family relationships. The social status of the fisherman itself has always been generally low. Women vis-à-vis their menfolk do not assume much of a deferential role.<sup>7</sup> Relationships within the village seemed more relaxed. There is evidence of considerable drinking by some of the men in contrast to its relative absence in more puritan Niike (Beardsley 1959).

*Analysis of TAT Materials: The Nature of the Sample* (Cf. DeVos 1959)

Differences in the attitudes between the inhabitants of Niike and Sakunoshima appear generally throughout the projective test material. In this paper we have selected for illustration four areas from the TAT which point up certain differences in attitudes toward women's status:

1. Differences in attitudes toward an arranged marriage and a love marriage.
2. Differences in attitudes toward sexual relationships.
3. Differences in the fantasies of self-assertion and the expression of violence in conflicts involving women.
4. Differences in concern over conflict between wife and husband's mother.

The records we are considering in this report include 807 TAT stories from 80 individuals in Niike and 385 stories to the same cards from 35 individuals in Sakunoshima.<sup>8</sup> There are some discrepancies in the average number of cards per individual due to the sampling procedure used with the TAT.

To gain a wide variety of responses, 18 different cards were used in three different sets, including from 12 to 14 cards each. The design using sets A, B, and C was constructed so as to obtain at least two-thirds of what was seen as the more important "standard" cards from each subject tested. The total number of cards used was in this manner increased to 18, and a number of ex-

perimental cards were tried on small samples. The total of individuals and cards, therefore, in the two villages, showed some discrepancy. In addition to the variation caused by using alternate cards, there was also loss of material or partially invalid records in a few instances. The material herein described is taken only from cards that were common to both Sakunoshima and Niiike and used in the same proportion of cases. In most instances these cards were modified from the original Murray Set in human features, clothing and background; they included Cards JM1, J2, 3BM, J3F, J4, J5, J6M, J6F, J7M,<sup>9</sup> J7F, J8M, J13, and J18. Also included in the core set used in the entire survey were three original cards called J9, J12, and J21. Two additional cards were modified from a set developed by Waseda University, J11 and J22. (See plates on pages 1211-1212.<sup>10</sup>)

The methods of sampling used for the TAT, as well as for the other survey instruments used in the cities (the results of which are not here considered), was to use the National Census tracts and to do block sampling, very much as has now been done in American national political polls since 1948. In the villages an attempt was made at blanket sampling to include a good proportion of the total population with all the various elements represented. In the hamlet of Niiike approximately two-thirds of the inhabitants were sampled. Only in three or four instances were there refusals by specific individuals; the others were simply sampled on the basis of the total registry of the village, with individuals proportionately sampled according to their age groupings. In the fishing and mountain villages a similar method was followed, although in each instance the proportion of the total village sampled was far less. In Sakunoshima less than one-fifth of the population was sampled with any of the instruments. Our chief concern was seeing that age and sex distribution of the total village was proportionately represented in those obtained.

#### *Attitudes Toward a Love Marriage or a Family Initiated Marriage*

The samurai ethic emphasized marriage as a mode of insuring the continuity of the family. To state the Confucian position in the extreme form, marriage was essentially a means of having sons to continue the family name and proper worship of ancestors. Marriage was a matter concerning the family primarily and only secondarily was supposed to consider the personal interest of those who marry. The name of the family (*ka-me*) was carried by male members. Usually the eldest son would inherit the family property and assume the duty of maintaining respect for the ancestors of the family. The younger sons either remained in their elder brother's household after marriage, or established branch households.

Marriage, under the pre-war Japanese civil code, was officially as a matter of fact the simple act of changing the registry of a woman from that of her own family to that of the registry of the family of her husband. This act of changing registry had to have the agreement of the head of the family up to the age of 30 for men, after which time they could become independent. For women, absolute submission and self-denying service to the new family were the highest

virtues. Search for, or pre-occupation with, one's own happiness was sheer selfish indulgence. Love or passion, leading to marriage, could upset the entire social order as an act of "uncontrolled egoism." Such behavior was considered as anti-social, selfish, even indecent, in a sense very similar to the Western attitude toward extramarital affairs.

The recent social and political changes in Japan have increased its tempo of change toward the individualistic idea that marriage is a mutual concern of the marriage partners, not their families. In recent attitude surveys, such as that conducted by Stoetzel (1955), a surprising number of young Japanese—close to 50 percent—state in answer to a direct question that marriage is an individual affair. This is true in both urban and rural areas. One would, from such results, presume that individually rather than family initiated marriages are on the increase. Steiner (1950) quotes statistics from areas near Tokyo that would support this supposition. Another report, by De Vos and Wagatsuma (1958) based on material from the farming village considered in this report, demonstrated that there was a tendency to accept the *idea* of individual marriage for love in response to direct presentation of problem situation items requiring a direct answer, but the TAT test stories given more spontaneously by the same villagers did not tend to support such a positive acceptance of a love marriage. Rather, when stories of love marriage were constructed by the subjects, they tended to view such marriages as ending in some form of failure. In the problem situation test responses, the emphasis was not on how the marriage subsequently turned out but on the "right" to enter into such a marriage on the part of individuals. This emphasis on individual rights has become part of the conscious value system of modern Japan—whether it can be emotionally implemented or not. As a point of fact, in the farming village, Niiike, herein considered, only one such marriage had been attempted in recent history, and it did end in a failure.<sup>11</sup>

If we compare these rather negative attitudes toward love marriage with the results obtained in Sakunoshima (from the ethnographic data as well as the projective instruments), we find in contrast a more relaxed and freer attitude toward love and marriage in the fishing village. Our TAT evidence essentially substantiates the impressions gained more informally by observation and interview in both villages.

In Niiike, from our total of 807 TAT stories obtained from 80 individuals, there were 42 instances in which there was some explicit spontaneous reference to the circumstances of marriage (See Table 1). (The cards used in no instance necessarily suggest a theme about marriage per se.) In 13 cases the reference was to some form of arranged or family-type marriage, and in 24 cases the reference was to a love marriage or to an individual-type marriage. Only three of the 13 stories mentioning arranged marriage showed tensions existing between individuals, whereas in only two cases mentioning a love marriage was there absence of tension. Most often (10 stories) a love marriage was depicted as ending in some form of failure.

In Sakunoshima the evidence is of a different nature. In 385 stories to the





JM1



J2



3BM



J4



J5



J6



J7M



J7F



J8



J9



J11



J12F



J13



J18



J22



J21

TABLE 1. EXPRESSIONS OF TENSION IN TAT STORIES IN WHICH THE CIRCUMSTANCES OF MARRIAGE ARE EXPLICITLY MENTIONED

|  | Niiike |     |             | Sakunoshima |     |             |
|--|--------|-----|-------------|-------------|-----|-------------|
|  | M      | F   | Totals      | M           | F   | Totals      |
| Total number of persons  | 36     | 44  | 80          | 17          | 18  | 35          |
| Total number of stories  |        |     | 807         |             |     | 385         |
| Total circumstances of marriage stories<br>(Proportion of total number of stories) | 22     | 20  | 42<br>(4.9) | 7           | 12  | 19<br>(4.9) |
| <i>Arranged marriage</i>   |        |     |             |             |     |             |
| No tension   | 3      | 6   | 9*          | 1           | 4   | 5           |
| Tension  | —      | 3   | 3*          | 1           | 3   | 4           |
| Indefinite   | —      | 1   | 1           | —           | —   | —           |
| Totals   | 3      | 10  | 13          | 2           | 7   | 9           |
| <i>Love marriage</i>   |        |     |             |             |     |             |
| No tension   | 1      | 1   | 2*          | —           | 4   | 4           |
| Tension  | 14     | 8   | 22*         | 4           | 1   | 5           |
| Eventual conformity to family<br>pressure  | (2)    | —   | (2)         | (1)         | —   | (1)         |
| Conflict without outcome   | (4)    | (3) | (7)         | (2)         | —   | (2)         |
| Successful persistence   | (3)    | —   | (3)         | (1)         | (1) | (2)         |
| Eventual failure of love<br>marriage   | (5)    | (5) | (10)        | —           | —   | —           |
| Totals   | 15     | 9   | 24          | 4           | 5   | 9           |
| <i>Other</i>   | 4      | 1   | 5           | 1           | —   | 1           |

\* Chi-square, Yates Cor.  $P > .001$ 

same cards obtained from 36 individuals there was some mention of marriage circumstances in 18 instances. The distribution between tension stories and stories without tension in respect to either a love marriage or arranged marriage shows no differences in Sakunoshima. A qualitative examination of differences in the stories is highly suggestive of the nature of the differences between attitudes in the two villages.

For example, in Sakunoshima we find a 19-year old girl giving the following story to Card J4:

Saku. woman, age group "a," 18-24.

They are dancing together. They will live together. They will marry, in the future they will get along all right.

A 55-year old woman in Sakunoshima gives this story to the same card:

Saku. woman, age group "o," 50-64.

Two of them. They are looking at something. This is a well-drawn picture. They are looking at something passing by outside from the window. Looking at their lives (what are they thinking?). They are thinking of marrying and living happy, as the people they are looking at. Both of them are working laborers. They came to love each other. They will marry, live happily, work together, I suppose.

There is marked contrast between these stories and those given in Niiike. The following three stories were given to Card J13 in Niiike:

Niiike woman, age group "a," 18-24.

He got married for love with a woman in spite of opposition by his parents. While they were first married they lived happily. But recently he reflects on his marriage and the manner in which he pushed his way through his parents' opposition . . . and the present wife . . . he wishes his present wife would not exist . . . he attempts to push away the feeling of blame within his breast. One night on the way home he buys some insect poison and gives it to his wife in drink and she dies. What he has done weighs on his mind. He gives himself up to the police. He trustfully told his story to them. He reflects on how wicked he has been in the past. He completes his prison term and faces the future with serious intent.

Niiike man, age group "m," 35-49. (Summary)

A young man regrets his love-marriage with a maid of a bar who cajoled him. He regrets his marriage when he sees her slovenly attitude.

Niiike man, age group "m," 35-49. (Summary)

A husband is addicted to drinking and comes back home to his slovenly wife who is sleeping. He had married her as a result of a love relationship. They are divorced, they each go on to terrible ways—the woman becoming a procurist, the man contracting an infectious disease. He goes to prison and eventually kills himself on the railroad tracks.

These stories are of an extreme nature indicating by their moralistic tone and graphically depicting the terrible end to which a person can come who goes contrary to an arranged marriage. No such stories appear in Sakunoshima. Instead, stories of a love marriage of a positive nature appear in Sakunoshima proportionately more often than in Niiike. It must be noted, however, that the proper traditional arranged marriages also are represented in the Sakunoshima stories. One cannot say, therefore, in comparing the two villages that one subscribes to arranged marriages as proper and the other to love marriages, but rather that the fishing village shows less emphasis on arranged marriage as the only proper way and are more optimistic as to the outcome of a love marriage. Both villages show the actual presence of Japanese traditional core values concerning an arranged marriage.

#### *Comparison of General Attitudes Toward Sexual Relationships in Niiike and Sakunoshima*

In addition to the stories considered in the previous section relating to circumstances of marriage, there are numerous other stories in which the principal concern is some form of heterosexual relationship. These stories when considered in separate categories again demonstrate consistent differences between the two villages in depicting problems in heterosexual affairs or love relationships. There are 31 stories in Niiike depicting nonmarital love relationships between young individuals. Fourteen of these stories depict the result of a conflict between a child and a parent, in most instances with no resolution. (See Table 2).

Card J6M

Niiike man, age group "y," 25-34.

A mother scolds her son on account of his indulgence in female company. The son is antagonistic toward his mother.

Card J18

Niiike woman, age group "t," 12-17.

A parent and son quarrel over son's love affair and the parent strangles the son to death.

Card J9

Niiike woman, age group "m," 34-50.

A son was scolded by his father about his love affair. Finally he will leave home.

TABLE 2. HETEROSEXUAL RELATIONSHIPS IN STORIES GIVEN TO 10 TAT PICTURES IN SAKUNOSHIMA AND NIIIKE

|   | Niiike |     |        | Sakunoshima |     |        | Significance* |
|---|--------|-----|--------|-------------|-----|--------|---------------|
|   | M      | F   | Totals | M           | F   | Totals |               |
| Total stories given on 10 cards**                                 | 257    | 273 | 530    | 170         | 180 | 350    |               |
| Total stories on heterosexual relationships ±                     | 31     | 24  | 55     | 18          | 11  | 24     | Not sig.      |
| Proportion of total stories                                       |        |     | 10.5   |             |     | 7      |               |
| <i>Nonmarital love relationships</i><br>(marriage not an outcome) |        |     |        |             |     |        |               |
| Essentially involving parent-child-conflict                       | 7      | 7   | 14     | —           | —   | 0      | P < .001      |
| Aggression-violence   | 2      | 1   | 3      | —           | 1   | 1      |               |
| Separation  | 1      | 1   | 2      | 1           | —   | 1      |               |
| Rejection of women  | 5      | 7   | 12     | —           | 2   | 2      | P < .01       |
| Totals  | 15     | 16  | 31     | 1           | 3   | 4      | P < .01       |
| <i>Nonmarital triangular</i>                                      |        |     |        |             |     |        |               |
| Man-two women   | 1      | —   | 1      | 1           | 1   | 2      |               |
| Two men-woman   | 8      | 5   | 13     | 3           | 2   | 5      |               |
| Totals  | 9      | 5   | 14     | 4           | 3   | 7      | Not sig.      |
| <i>Extramartial triangular</i>                                    |        |     |        |             |     |        |               |
| Husband's affair  | 4      | 2   | 6      | 7           | 3   | 10     |               |
| Wife's affair   | 1      | —   | 1      | —           | 1   | 1      |               |
| Totals  | 5      | 2   | 7      | 7           | 4   | 11     | P < .05       |
| <i>Transient sex relationships leading to:</i>                    |        |     |        |             |     |        |               |
| Regret or reform  | 1      | 1   | 2      | 4           | —   | 4      |               |
| Demoralization or suicide   | 1      | —   | 1      | 2           | 1   | 3      |               |
| Totals  | 2      | 1   | 3      | 6           | 1   | 7      | P < .05       |

\* Significant Difference of Proportion of heterosexual relationships in stories between Niiike and Sakunoshima.

\*\* The 10 cards are J2, 3BM(J3F), J4, J6M, JM7M, J9, J11, J13, J18, J22.

Excluding Circumstances of Marriage stories shown in Table 1.

There are no comparable stories in the Sakunoshima sample. In addition there are 17 other stories in Niiike of various other tensions in a love relationship. The most prominent group include 12 stories in which a woman is rejected by her lover in one way or another. Only one story appears of this kind in Sakunoshima. The remaining stories depict either some violence of a man toward a woman or a separation.

There is no notable difference between the two villages in the manner of depicting nonmarital triangular relationships. These nonmarital triangular relationships are characteristically two men who are quarrelling over a woman.<sup>12</sup>

In contrast to the Niiike trends, the principal concerns in the stories depicted in Sakunoshima are extramarital triangular affairs involving a husband (father) or transient sexual relationships of various kinds.

Card J11

Saku. man, age group "o," 50-64.

The mother looks sad over something. This is her son but as her husband is not seen so she is sad . . . I see the hat and the briefcase of her husband but she looks very sad . . . I guess she is sad because her husband's conduct is not good. (?) The child is sorry for the mother and is worried too. (?) They were good in the past. They were well off, had a child but now the husband's conduct is not good (*soko ga warui*: meaning women's affairs), and the wife is sad and the son is worried. If the husband reforms himself, the son and the wife will be happy.

In the Niiike sample, seduction is depicted as leading to an unhappy marriage and regret. In Saku., seduction or casual sexual contact is seen as leading to regret or to some personal demoralization of the individual concerned but not to marriage.

Card J13

Saku. man, age group "y," 25-34.

This does not look like too good a place. This young man was seduced by a prostitute and a woman taking the initiative. They did bad play in such a place, I suppose. This young man had never done such a thing before, I think. From now on . . . he will be interested in such things and will become a delinquent . . . well, I think that's all that it is. The woman is urging him to sleep with her and he is at a loss, not knowing what to do, I guess. (?) He becomes a delinquent and then reforms himself again. He will become a serious person again.

In the extramarital relationships depicted in both villages in all but two instances, it is a man who is going to a mistress or having some affair, causing unhappiness at home. Characteristic throughout these stories in both villages is a moralizing attitude taken by the teller as to the consequences of sexual behavior on the future of the individual.

In summary, in spite of certain over-all similarities, the differences in the stories are sufficient to indicate marked differences in what is the concern of the two villages toward sexual behavior. In Niiike the focus is on the effects of going against the moral code in respect to arranged marriage and to obedience to parental figures. Tension between parents and child over sexual behavior is not a theme in Sakunoshima. They are more concerned with the infidelity of the father as well as depicting themes of transiency and irresponsibility in sex leading to evil outcome. These results are clearly in line with the other attitudinal differences in the two villages concerning aspects of the Confucianistic ethical code concerning marriage.

*Perception of Women as Capable of Violence or Aggression*

It is clear that the traditional Japanese ethical ideal is that women were under no condition to express a violent or aggressive attitude toward their husbands. However, under the duress of extreme circumstances, violence could be turned toward the self in the form of suicide to preserve one's honor, or

toward one's children if the greater honor of the family or some over-riding obligation would make it necessary. By examining in some detail two of the TAT cards calling forth expressions of violence or aggression between individuals, one can readily document differences in the two villages concerning the underlying attitudes towards a woman's capacity for aggression or violence. The two cards most suited for this analysis are Card J18, which depicts a woman figure readily interpreted as choking either another woman or a man, and Card J13, often interpreted by the Japanese, at least, as a situation of quarrel or discord between husband and wife.

*Situations of Violence on Card J18.*

Stories to Card J18 involve either themes of violence on the one hand or some form of affiliative concern, such as illness or the reunion with a beloved, on the other hand. The contrast in these stories between Niiike and Sakunoshima emphasize the intensity of feeling a mother is expected to have about seeing her son become a responsible adult in the traditional culture. Such feelings, while not absent in Sakunoshima, are of proportionately few occurrences in the stories. To illustrate, see Table 3.

In Niiike although there is little difference between the total percentage of stories of violence given in the two villages to this card (48 percent in Niiike to 46 percent in Sakunoshima), there are markedly more stories involving the chastisement of a profligate son in Niiike as compared with Sakunoshima.

J18, Niiike man, age group "t," 12-17.

A mother struggles to death her prodigal son and she will be imprisoned.

J18, Niiike man, age "a," 18-24.

A mother chastises severely her son who played a trick on a child next door.

J18, Saku. man, age group "m," 35-49.

A mother scolded her son and . . . the son always asked for money and played all the time. He did not want to work. She could not stand to see the attitude of her son any longer and chastised her son very severely. Though she did, the son did not change his mind. But, I think, he will reform himself later, perhaps when the mother gets sick or he loses his mother. He has no father. The father died when he was small.

J18, Saku. man, age group "t," 12-17.

There was a parent and her child. The child became a delinquent and was doing bad things every day. The mother was told about her child by somebody and chastised her son very bitterly. The mother looks at her son's face and shed tears. She said, "Why do you like to make trouble around here?" The mother began chastising her son frequently.

From these examples it is clear that men see a woman in violence in the act of disciplining her child. The chastisement is depicted as not simply the expression of an uncontrollable anger or fury involved in being punitive or disciplinary, but the deep sense of responsibility to society for the behavior of one's child is inferred as forming a background for the story. The bad behavior of a child, especially when it is directed against societal norms, may threaten the reputation of his parents or their sense of responsibility to society. In the traditional Confucian pattern, the parents and their children are emotionally tied together and are not quite differentiated out of the psychological unity of the family. Therefore, what children do, be it positive or negative, may have a direct emo-

TABLE 3. STORIES ON TAT PICTURE J18 IN NIIKE AND SAKUNOSHIMA

|  | Niike |     |        | Sakunoshima |     |        | Significance* |
|--|-------|-----|--------|-------------|-----|--------|---------------|
|  | M     | F   | Totals | M           | F   | Totals |               |
| Total stories to Card J18                        | 22    | 26  | 48     | 17          | 18  | 35     |               |
| Total stories of violence                        | 14    | 9   | 23     | 6           | 10  | 16     | Not sig.      |
| <i>Severe or violent chastisement of a child</i> |       |     |        |             |     |        |               |
| (Mother or step-mo. to son)                      | (4)   | (5) | (9)**  | (2)         | (1) | (3)    |               |
| (Mother or step-mo. to daughter)                 | (3)   | (2) | (5)**  | (2)         | (3) | (5)    |               |
| (Mother or step-mo. to child)                    | (2)   | (1) | (3)    | —           | (1) | (1)    |               |
| Totals   | 9     | 8   | 17     | 4           | 5   | 9      |               |
| <i>Mercy killing</i>                             | 2     | —   | 2      | —           | 1   | 1      |               |
| <i>Quarrel and aggression between adults</i>     |       |     |        |             |     |        |               |
| Woman to woman                                   | 2     | —   | 2      | 1           | —   | 1      |               |
| Woman to man                                     | —     | 1   | 1      | —           | —   | —      |               |
| Wife to husband                                  | —     | —   | —      | 1           | 2   | 3      |               |
| Man to man                                       | 1     | —   | 1      | —           | —   | —      |               |
| Man to woman                                     | —     | —   | —      | —           | 1   | 1      |               |
| Husband to wife                                  | —     | —   | —      | —           | 1   | 1      |               |
| Totals   | 3     | 1   | 4      | 2           | 4   | 6      | Not sig.      |
| Total stories of positive concerns               |       |     |        |             |     |        |               |
| <i>Expression of affection</i>                   |       |     |        |             |     |        |               |
| Mother to son                                    | 2     | —   | 2**    | —           | 1   | 1      |               |
| Mother to daughter                               | —     | 2   | 2**    | 2           | 1   | 3      |               |
| Mother to child                                  | 2     | 3   | 5      | 2           | 1   | 3      |               |
| Totals   | 4     | 5   | 9      | 4           | 3   | 7      | Not sig.      |
| <i>Concern over illness</i>                      |       |     |        |             |     |        |               |
| Mother to son                                    | 1     | 1   | 2**    | —           | 1   | 1      |               |
| Mother to daughter                               | —     | 9   | 9**    | 2           | 1   | 3      |               |
| Mother to child                                  | —     | 1   | 1      | 3           | —   | 3      |               |
| Totals   | 1     | 11  | 12     | 5           | 2   | 7      | Not sig.      |
| Other  | 3     | 1   | 4      | 2           | 3   | 5      |               |

\* Significant difference of proportion of stories on J18 between Niiike and Sakunoshima.

\*\* Differences in stories concerning chastisement of sons or positive concern in relation to daughters in Niiike.  $P < .05$  (Fisher's Exact Test).

tional influence upon their parents. Or parents may experience what their children do almost as if done by a part of their own ego. Accordingly, when their children's behavior is negative and threatens their own ego-ideal, they may react by chastisement, which may primarily mean the expression of their resentment against the uncontrollable part of themselves. It may also happen that parents even want to kill their children, which actually means strongly punishing themselves, in order to be faithful to their ego-ideal and maintain their psychological security. (The stories of chastisement in Niiike have a more



extreme and severe tone than those found in Sakunoshima). Parents expect children to behave according to the parental aspirations which would cause them to be successful and brighten the reputation or honor of their parents and the lineage. Thus, all that is required of children may be phrased in terms of the fulfillment of their parents' sense of duty and responsibility to their family and society. Parents may not know how to cope with a situation in which a child so goes against the expectations of the parents as to overcome their failure of responsibility. One method would be to disown the child (*kando*); the extreme situation in fantasy at least would be to kill the child who has failed in his duty.

In the traditional pattern, parental pressure, expectation or control, is exerted more strongly on a son than on a daughter because important social status and roles were usually limited to men and much more social responsibility was required of them than of women. One may also point out that when children act against parental expectation, it is more often their mother than their father who is exposed to a strong sense of failure.<sup>13</sup> The mother coming in as an outsider into the family has to demonstrate her capacity by being very responsible for the correct upbringing of her children.

In Niiike an interesting contrast between the attitudes of mother and daughter as compared with son is to be noted throughout the TAT material. On Card J 18 in stories of affection or concern over illness where the sex of the figure is explicitly noted, the mother is most often seen as concerned over the health or well being of her daughter. There are many fewer stories of such affectionate concern over a son.<sup>14</sup>

Throughout the remainder of the Niiike TAT material, the mother-daughter relationship is idealized as one in which the mother is lovingly concerned with the health and well-being of her daughter. When a negative relationship appears it is in most instances attributed to a step-mother or a mother-in-law. The mother-daughter relationship is pictured as invariably warm and expressive (in contrast to the mother-in-law relationship). On the other hand, the mother is more often seen in a disciplinary role toward her son. On this card the mother's desire to see her son grow up properly can be seen as leading to violence on her part, if the son does not conform to expectations. In Sakunoshima such a difference in mother's behavior toward son and daughter is not in evidence in the stories.

Emphasis on a son as an object of chastisement by a mother occurs in Niiike but not in Sakunoshima. Instead we note in Sakunoshima on Card J18 that there is as much aggression expressed by a woman toward a daughter figure or toward another adult. Whereas this card evokes several stories of aggression between adult married individuals in Sakunoshima, in Niiike no such stories occurred. It is to be noted that in three of the Sakunoshima stories a wife is seen choking her errant husband.

If we examine more specifically the stories of violence between adults, we note that, even in these stories, certain differences between Niiike and Sakunoshima are apparent. In Niiike when a woman is seen as violent or aggressive,

she is depicted as either being insane or a widow (unusual social statuses in which role expectations are more relaxed), as for example, in the following stories to card J18:

Niiike man, age group "a," 18-24.

A mother strangles to death a woman who tempted her innocent son. Mother becomes insane and dies. The son begs his mother's forgiveness.

Niiike woman, age group "t," 12-17.

A woman and a man fight. The woman is insane and does not know what she is doing.

Niiike man, age group "s," 65 or over.

Mother strangles to death her small child because she is bound to some *Giri* (obligation) and has no other solution. She will commit suicide.

Niiike man, age group "a," 18-24.

A widow strangles another widow in their quarrel over money.

On the other hand, in the following stories told by Sakunoshima villagers, a woman kills both herself and her child because her husband is poor, which can be considered as violence directed toward her husband, and a woman fights with another woman over a man they love, and a wife is really aggressive toward her husband.

Saku. woman, age group "o," 50-64.

Due to the poverty or the idleness of her husband this woman is going to kill her child and commit double suicide. Both will die.

Saku. man, age group "a," 18-24.

It's terrible. The hands are not normally shaped . . . a parent? . . . well, I don't know. In their past, this woman bore this woman an ill will and now she is trying to vent her spite. A love affair . . . a rivalry, I mean . . . She cannot live happily because of her ill will toward this woman.

Saku. woman, age group "y," 25-34.

They are married. As the husband was playing the prodigal . . . drinking all the time and doing gambling, playing with his mistress . . . So, the wife tries to grip his throat. He will change his mind and become a good husband.

Saku. man, age group "a," 18-24.

Well, trying to kill somebody? Oh . . . they are married couple. The husband deceived his wife. This is the husband who deceived his wife and is going to be killed by his wife.

No comparable stories of a wife's aggression toward her husband appear in the entire Niiike TAT sample.

#### *Themes of Discord on Card J13; Perception of Active and Passive Attitudes in Heterosexual Relationships*

Considering the stories given to Card J13 (a card depicting a woman lying on bedding with her breasts exposed in the background and a man standing in the foreground with his arm thrown before his eyes), solely from the standpoint of aggressive or passive behavior of the principal figures, a striking difference appears between the two villages.

In Niiike in a domestic quarrel, or in other situations as well, a man is much more apt to be pictured as active, even violent or aggressive toward a woman. In Sakunoshima there is more tendency to depict a woman as sexually aggressive; or in a quarrel situation between husband and wife the man is pictured as

either helpless or passive in relation to the woman. In only one story in Niiike is the woman depicted as scolding or dominant in any respect. Instead the husband is pictured by a number of men as regretting the marriage and initiating divorce as a consequence. In Sakunoshima in eight out of ten stories, the wife is asserting herself, or the husband is depicted as weak or helpless in the quarrel. Examples:

Niiike man, age group "m," 35-49.

I don't know . . . how shall I think. I want to do this later. (Rejects card, card is given to him again after finishing the sequence.) A young salaried man lives with his young wife. His wife is a vainglorious woman, so that he cannot support them with his salary. One day the young man came back home late at night. His wife became sulky and did not speak to him, showed contempt in her attitude. Her husband was really angered and began to feel himself miserable. He thought in his anger that his marriage was a failure, and he cried with mortification. . . . He is at a loss whether he should start a new life or continue to live with her. He is afraid that if he divorces her, he will miss her, but he will divorce her just the same.

In contrast we find the following examples in Sakunoshima.

Saku. woman, age group "y," 25-35.

In this family a husband came home later than usual. The wife had gone to bed alone. The husband had been drinking, that's all. He will apologize to his wife for having come home drunk. Yes, he will apologize.

Saku. man, age group "m," 34-50.

A husband and a wife quarrelled. They are still young. The husband is working in an office. Sometimes he drinks a little *sake* on the way back, and his wife complained about it. It is not a serious quarrel at all, and they will be on good terms again. They will live as ordinary people. He is now excited and wishes he could go out somewhere again, but he cannot do it. He is thinking, "Why cannot she act a little more gently toward him."

Saku. man, age group "o," 50-64.

This must be a husband and wife. Looks like a petticoat-government situation (*kaka-denka*). Therefore, they always quarrel. They cannot have a good child that way. The woman is sleeping, you see. They have often been quarreling like this. This is not a good family. Anyway, this wife is egocentric (*wagamama*). They will come to no good in the future. The husband has come back from the office and is crying.

It is noteworthy in regard to the question of initiative between men and women that whereas five individuals in Niiike saw a man or husband in picture J13 acting violently toward a woman, there is no single person in Sakunoshima who saw a man in this picture as violent in the same manner. Following are examples of stories of the man as violent or aggressive in Niiike.

Niiike woman, age group "t," 12-17.

A husband killed his wife because the wife complained too much about his low salary. He regrets it very much.

Niiike man, age group "y," 25-34.

A man kills a woman who is a dancer and entertainer because she rejects him when he makes advances toward her. He runs away.

Niiike man, age group "t," 12-17.

A man who is rather licentious carries a woman to his room and perspires because it is hot. He forced her to come, bewitched by her sexual charm.

Summarizing the results of Card J13, they strongly indicate that in a heterosexual relationship in Niiike the man is seen as taking the initiative in behavior. In contrast in Sakunoshima there are numerous stories indicating a

TABLE 4. COMPARISON OF PRINCIPLE THEMES IN NIIKE  
AND SAKUNOSHIMA ON CARD J13

| A. Distribution of Major Thematic Categories  |       |     |        |             |     |        |
|---|-------|-----|--------|-------------|-----|--------|
|   | Niike |     |        | Sakunoshima |     |        |
|   | M     | F   | Totals | M           | F   | Totals |
| Total responses   | 20    | 22  | 42     | 17          | 18  | 35     |
| <i>Main emphasis in the stories:</i>  |       |     |        |             |     |        |
| <i>Concern over death and illness</i>   |       |     |        |             |     |        |
| Wife  | 4     | 9   | 13     | 2           | 5   | 7      |
| Mother  | 1     | 5   | 6      | 2           | 3   | 5      |
| Totals  | 5     | 14  | 19     | 4           | 8   | 12     |
| <i>Emphasis on aggression or violence</i>   |       |     |        |             |     |        |
| Husband to wife   | —     | 2   | 2      | —           | —   | —      |
| Man to woman  | 2     | 1   | 3      | —           | —   | —      |
| Totals  | 2     | 3   | 5      | —           | —   | —      |
| <i>Sexual aggressiveness</i>  |       |     |        |             |     |        |
| Man to woman  | 1     | —   | 1      | 1           | —   | 1      |
| Woman to man  | 2     | —   | 2      | 2           | 1   | 3      |
| Totals  | 3     | —   | 3      | 3           | 1   | 4      |
| <i>Marital quarrel and discord</i>  |       |     |        |             |     |        |
| <i>Wife dominant</i>  |       |     |        |             |     |        |
| Wife scolds   | —     | (1) | (1)    | (2)         | —   | (2)    |
| Wife ignores  | —     | —   | —      | (2)         | —   | (2)    |
| Husband apologizes or reforms<br>behavior   | —     | —   | —      | —           | (1) | (1)    |
| Husband defeated or helpless  | —     | —   | —      | (1)         | (2) | (3)    |
| <i>Husband dominant</i>   |       |     |        |             |     |        |
| Husband scolds  | (1)   | —   | (1)    | —           | —   | —      |
| Husband regrets, considers<br>divorce   | (2)   | —   | (2)    | —           | —   | —      |
| Husband divorces  | (4)   | —   | (4)    | —           | —   | —      |
| Wife apologizes or reforms  | —     | —   | —      | (1)         | —   | (1)    |
| Mutual reconciliation   | —     | (2) | (2)    | —           | —   | —      |
| Totals  | 7     | 3   | 10     | 6           | 4   | 10     |
| B. Total Stories of Aggression, Discord, and Illness, Depicting Relative<br>Activity or Passivity in the Relationship** |       |     |        |             |     |        |
| Man Active)   | 8     | 3   | 11)    | 1           | —   | 1)     |
| Woman passive or sick)**  | 5     | 14  | 19)**  | 5           | 8   | 13)**  |
| Man passive)  | 2     | —   | 2)     | 3           | 4   | 7)     |
| Woman active)**   | 2     | 1   | 3)**   | 4           | 1   | 5)**   |
| Mutual  | —     | 2   | 2      | —           | —   | —      |
| Other   | 3     | 2   | 5      | 4           | 5   | 9      |

\* Fisher's Exact Text,  $P < .01$ \*\* Chi-square,  $P < .05$

dominant attitude on the part of a woman. In addition, both groups have stories depicting the wife as ill or dead to this card, but such stories are much more evident in Niiike and are given in a preponderant degree by the Niiike women to this card. This evidence falls in line with that previously cited and emphasized the different perceptions of role relationships in the two villages.

*Concern over the Mother-in-law Relationship*

In viewing their family system self-consciously, the Japanese are well aware that the point of greatest difficulty between family members is in the relationship of a young bride to her mother-in-law. There are many accounts and incidences of conflict between a mother-in-law (*shutome*) and her daughter-in-law or bride (*yome*). A mother-in-law is seen as prone to torment or maltreat her daughter-in-law who comes from another family, and who must therefore be indoctrinated into the different ways of living in her new home. Numerous instances of tension in this relationship are found in Japanese novels, family court cases, and everyday life.

It is not peculiar to the Japanese to find that a mother develops a very strong emotional attachment to her son which tends to cause her jealousy of her son's bride who is perceived as possibly taking her son away from her. However, this tendency seems to be accentuated by many factors peculiar to the traditional hierarchical pattern of the Japanese family. A woman's status is held inferior to a man's and her self-assertion of any kind is severely circumscribed. She is bound to be dutiful to her new parents-in-law. The mother-in-law in her turn has come to realize status in the family through her son whom she has reared to take over the family responsibilities. Once an outsider, she becomes the most vigilant of all in seeing that the family's interests are maintained. The son has always been for her a means of self-realization, and it is only with difficulty that she allows him to be detached from her as a primary object of love. In a traditional family a young bride is in no position to alienate her husband away from his mother because the marital bond is not conceived as a primary relationship between a husband and his wife. It is more in the nature of a family contract. The mother, however, is well aware of the potential intimacy between the new couple which will act as a wedge between her and her son. In effect the wife's role is very much defined as is that of his mother in terms of its maternal solicitude and emphasis on the nurturant relationship to the husband. These factors combine to make an old woman feel that her role, her position, her self-assertion through her son, are all threatened and endangered by the young bride.

When we examine the spontaneous TAT stories in Niiike and Sakunoshima we note that there is ample evidence of a different degree of concern in the two villages as to this difficulty.

In personal discussions with the Nichiren priest who was the head of the parish in which Niiike village was located, it was obvious that he saw as the main problem in his parishioners this particular conflict. He stated that over 90 percent of the individuals who came to see him in his district were either

mothers-in-law concerned with the new brides of their sons, or new brides coming to complain bitterly against the unnecessary harassment of the mother-in-law.

In Niiike which was the first village sampled by us with our psychological techniques, we included a TAT card depicting an older and younger woman figure. The results to this card were so unvarying in producing stories of a mother-in-law harassing a young bride that we deleted the card from the series given in the fishing village. It is therefore impossible for us to compare the two villages in regard to the stories on this card; however, stories of a mother-in-law tended to be stimulated by other cards in our series in Niiike to a much greater degree than was true in Sakunoshima.

In Niiike there were 11 stories in which there was explicit mention of a mother-in-law, whereas in Sakunoshima there were only two such instances. In Niiike these stories were given on the number of cards in which the mother-in-law was introduced into the story although not actually appearing on the card. Although absent she was deeply involved in the story of what was happening between the two principal characters. In Sakunoshima the two stories involving a mother-in-law occur on a picture (card J9) in which there is depicted a family scene allowing for one of the individuals directly depicted to be interpreted as a mother-in-law. It is interesting to note that in Sakunoshima, in the two stories given, there is only one of these stories in which there is actual conflict between a man's mother and his wife; in the other story, on the contrary, the mother is seen in a conciliatory role in a conflict between man and wife.

Saku. man, age group "y," 25-34. (Card J9)

They are the member of a family and the elder brother made some mistake and his mother and sisters are worried. . . . I guess he made some mistake concerning his wife. . . . Well . . . after all, the relationship between his wife and his mother is not good. If I look at the face of the mother, I feel that this family is not harmonious and the young sisters are sorry for their elder brother and they are worried, too. (future?) Thanks to the sisters, the mother's anger will be calmed down, the elder brother's anger will be calmed down and they will not be worried any longer. The elder brother is sad, not knowing which side he should take, his mother's or his wife's.

Saku. man, age group "y," 25-34. (Card J9)

A husband and a wife quarreled and well . . . his mother came out and is calming them down. This is their young daughter, crying, embraced by the wife. The quarrel will be solved happily . . . the man is a prodigal and his wife was about to leave the house, taking their child and the quarrel started.

In Niiike, on the contrary, the mother-in-law is described directly as an aggressive, scolding person in most of the stories. In four stories the mother-in-law scolds her daughter or is aggressive to her. For example:

Niiike woman, age group "a," 18-24. (Card 3BM)

She was scolded by her mother-in-law, she cannot talk to husband, leaves him and cried but eventually comes back.

Niiike woman, age group "y," 25-34. (Card J3F)

A mother-in-law is not satisfied with her daughter-in-law. The daughter-in-law will leave home and tell the story to her own family.

When a conflict takes place with a mother-in-law in the traditional setting there is no guarantee that the husband will attempt to protect his wife, but he

will most likely remain inactive in some way. He will remain inactive or in certain circumstances take his mother's side against that of his wife. This is the case when the emotional attachment to the mother on his part and loyalty to the family is greater than any feeling that he may have of affection toward his wife. Many Japanese women know this possibility in the event of a conflict. In a story told by a young woman under 34 in Niiike, there is a quality of wishing that a husband would be assertive against his mother and take the part of his wife.

Niiike woman, age group "t," 12-17. (Card J4)

A husband is feeling violent against his mother who is jealous of the couple and his wife tries to stop him, she talks to his mother. The couple decide to live separately from his mother.

In actuality it would be highly unlikely that a man would move away from his mother in a rural village and take up separate living with his wife.

Finally, there are two rather fanciful stories demonstrating rather extreme attitudes toward the yome-shutome conflict.

Niiike woman, age group "a," 18-24. (J3F)

Ghost of a dead bride comes back to haunt a severe mother-in-law.

Niiike man, age group "s," 64 plus. (J6M)

A mother and a son are going to visit the grave of her dead daughter-in-law (his dead wife). The family relations will become better than they were before.

In the first of these stories the dead bride can only get back at her mother-in-law by haunting her after her death. In the second story the picture is interpreted inadvertently as the subject in a situation in which a son and mother visit the grave of the dead daughter-in-law and by so doing the family relationships become better than they were before, which almost implies that the daughter-in-law was a cause of possible distance of relationships between mother and son. The evidence from the TAT stories would strongly support what was suggested by observation, namely, that in the fishing village the role of the mother-in-law was not one of a guardian of family custom as was true in Niiike. With the relationship between husband and wife considered primary, she had no unusual authority over the wife, who in her own home tended toward autonomy from the older generation to a degree not realized in the farming village.

#### SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

Starting with the hypothesis that differences in social status and role of women would be reflected in projective psychological materials, the authors compared TAT stories told by people of two Japanese rural villages: one, a farming village in which it was obvious from other evidence that traditional samurai-influenced values were still held with considerable firmness; the other, a fishing village which seemed to be relatively free from emphasis on these values. The major findings of the TAT material well support the hypothesis.

First, in considering circumstances in marriage it is apparent on the basis of the TAT material that the farming village still harbors attitudes suggesting that marriages other than an arranged marriage cannot be considered proper

in nature. The folk of Sakunoshima, on the other hand, seem to feel much freer and optimistic in regard to attachments based on a love relationship.

Secondly, in comparing attitudes toward heterosexual relationships generally, the evidence suggests that love relationships in many instances are seen as leading to difficulty with parents in the farming village. In the fishing village, on the contrary, such concerns do not seem to have much weight.

Thirdly, in the farming village the marital relationship depicted suggests a dominant and sometimes aggressive attitude on the part of the man toward the woman, with little to indicate the possibility of assertion toward the husband on the part of a wife. In the fishing village, on the contrary, there are suggestions in the stories that women can be seen as aggressive, or even violent, in relation to their husbands. In the farming village a woman when seen as aggressive characteristically is depicted as venting rage or inflicting a severe chastisement on the errant son. The fishing village, on the contrary, shows no distinction between sons and daughters in this regard, but suggests a less sexually differentiated role attitude toward children.

Fourthly, in the farming village the hierarchical role of the mother-in-law is much in evidence in the fantasy stories. On the contrary, in Sakunoshima there is very little evidence of a dominant role position on the part of a mother-in-law.

In each instance the evidence is consistent with the picture of greater emphasis on lineage and hierarchical relationships defining role relationships between the sexes in the farming village as compared with the fishing village. The fishing village throughout shows much more emphasis on more freely conceived and less structured relationships in family role relationships. In the fishing village there is more willingness to perceive love and aggression expressed between individuals regardless of specified traditional sex or family roles. It is suggested that these differences between the two villages considered are samples of different value emphases related to functional differences in social organization found in various occupations as well as regions in Japan. In certain areas and in certain segments of the population, the position of women has been higher and less emphasis has been put on formal social roles, status, and lineage. The pattern most often considered traditionally Japanese was by no means as universally dominant as certain authors would lead us to infer.

The purpose of this presentation is methodological—not theoretical. We sought to demonstrate the efficacy of a standard projective technique in assessing the nature of differences in adult social roles. The variables considered, strictly speaking, were not personality variables, but the relative prevalence of social attitudes within a community. We did not seek within the scope of this paper to elaborate upon the social or cultural causes of the differences found.

#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup> This period runs prior to the restoration of the emperor in 1868 and the beginning of Japan's emergence from feudalization into the modern industrial era.



<sup>2</sup> Our comparative study of two rural villages discussed in this paper was conducted in the southwestern region of Japan; our differences are between farming and fishing folk, not between broad regions and their possible variations. This latter comparison necessitates comparison of a number of representative villages from the northwest with the southwest.

<sup>3</sup> Bellah uses the point of view of Max Weber in analyzing the relation of Japanese religious beliefs to the readiness of the Japanese to industrialize in the Meiji era.

<sup>4</sup> Both Niiike, the farming hamlet, and Sakunoshima, the fishing village, were studied by members of the Interdisciplinary Research Group under the direction of Professor Tsuneo Muramatsu, Professor of Psychiatry, Nagoya National University. De Vos, as a Fulbright research scholar, participated in the organization and implementation of the field work in three villages and two cities during his stay in Japan from 1953 to 1955. Subsequent analysis of village projective material by De Vos and Wagatsuma was continued at the University of Michigan in cooperation with the Center for Japanese Studies under a Faculty Research grant, as well as a grant from the Ford Foundation in 1955-57. Subsequent work has been conducted by De Vos and Wagatsuma at the University of California with the assistance of a research grant from the National Institute of Mental Health. This paper covers only one aspect of this large scale research project and represents only the interpretation of the present authors. Further work by the Japanese Interdisciplinary Research Group on the urban material as well as other rural material may suggest certain subsequent modifications in interpretation. Previous to the research of the Interdisciplinary Group from Nagoya, Niiike village had been studied by various members of the Center for Japanese Study in the University of Michigan. The results of these studies, including the detailed ethnographic account by Beardsley done on Niiike, have been incorporated in the volume, *Village Japan* (1959). The ethnographic material on Sakunoshima is to be published by other members of the Nagoya Interdisciplinary Research Group who are responsible for it. It is beyond the scope of the present paper to go into more detail concerning the ethnography of either of these two villages.

<sup>5</sup> The Human Relations Interdisciplinary Research team administered a social status questionnaire; the "F" scale translated from that used in Adorno, *et al.* in their study *The Authoritarian Personality*; a similar type a liberal-conservative attitude scale (the "J Scale"); and a Family System scale ("J II Scale"). In addition to the Thematic Apperception Test, a Problem Situation Test, and the Rorschach were the principal projective test instruments used. Results with the other instruments will be reported subsequently (De Vos 1961). Results of studies with attitude schedules will be published in Japan. De Vos and Wagatsuma in a separate paper, "Recent Attitudes Toward Arranged Marriage in Rural Japan" (1958), discuss in detail, using both the TAT and the Problem Situation Test (as well as material on questionnaires done in various sections in Japan), differential findings concerning attitudes and how they are dependent on the instruments used. The TAT characteristically elicits value material on a lower level of direct awareness than instruments that allow the subject more consciously to relate his answers to present day social expectations. Papers on guilt (De Vos 1960) and psycho-cultural attitudes toward death and illness (De Vos and Wagatsuma 1959) based on the TAT results have already been published. A more detailed over-all summary and integrative evaluation of the results with Rorschach, Problem Situation Test, and Figure Drawing, as well as TAT, is contained in an article soon to be published (De Vos in press).

<sup>6</sup> In answer to a Problem Situation Test question, for example, a few men answered one of the items by suggesting a responsible family head would "*kinshin*" if a member of his family did something disgraceful. This term refers to a samurai practice of withdrawal from public life for an appropriate period to expiate for one's own improper behavior or the mistakes of a subordinate. This term is a relatively technical one and of a nature that we would not expect to find used by rural folk.

<sup>7</sup> This picture presented by Sakunoshima in regard to the relationship of the sexes is not dissimilar from that presented in detail by Norbeck in his monograph (1954) on a fishing village, Takashima. It is to be noted that Norbeck found arranged marriage to be a very recent custom, gaining ascendancy in the last two decades with universal education in the schools. It became increasingly "improper" to have marriage initiated without the formalities of the go-between work-

ing between the two "families" concerned. Older practices are still in the memory of the elders in the village, however.

<sup>8</sup> The TAT here discussed in respect to only two villages was actually used in five settings, two cities and three villages, and a total of over 800 individual records were obtained. The TAT was not used specifically simply for eliciting the differences of role variations as discussed in the present paper. The particular analysis reported here is simply one of many that will ultimately be made from the total body of material available. The opinion schedules finally obtained numbered close to 2,500. With the exception of representative families selected out for intensive study, no one was tested with the entire battery. On a random basis individuals were given two of the projective tests used in the battery.

The method of scoring the TAT used is explained in detail elsewhere (H. Wagatsuma 1957). A system of categories for scoring the manifest content is punched out on a McBee Key Sort card containing the total primary story material. For the present study the primary scoring by Wagatsuma was checked over in concert with De Vos. Special care was given to rechecking results on any categories that were the basis of differential interpretations. This method of scoring the TAT has subsequently been used with a series of group projects with graduate students where a more involved system of cross checking was used. The method has proven to be highly reliable once the scorer accepts the basic premise that only *manifest* content is scored. Interpretive evaluation is solely on the basis of the manifest content.

<sup>9</sup> J7M was used as an alternative card with JM7M.

<sup>10</sup> Cards J3F, J6F, JM7M are not illustrated.

<sup>11</sup> There are individuals who have left for the city from this village. Since they were out of the community, they were not tested or interviewed, nor do we have facts concerning their personal histories.

<sup>12</sup> This is in contrast to the type of triangle situation usually depicted in American stories.

<sup>13</sup> Generally speaking, this is because an emotional bond between a mother and her children is much stronger than between a father and his children, and in the Confucian pattern, moreover, the role of woman is specifically that of disciplining the children in the name of the father. Ideally, the father should not have to interfere with the children except in exceptional circumstances.

<sup>14</sup> It is to be noted that it is more usual to see this figure as a female figure in Card J18, but in Japan long hair is not unusual in young males so that the figure can be interpreted quite readily as that of a young man.

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