みんぱくリポジトリ
国立民族学博物館学術情報リポジトリ National Museum of Ethnolo

Religion and Family : Structural and Motivational Relationships

メタデータ	言語: English
	出版者:
	公開日: 2009-04-28
	キーワード (Ja):
	キーワード (En):
	作成者: De, Vos, George
	メールアドレス:
	所属:
URL	https://doi.org/10.15021/00003359

SENRI ETHNOLOGICAL STUDIES 11 1984

Religion and Family: Structural and Motivational Relationships

GEORGE DE VOS

THE PURPOSE OF AN INTERDISCIPLINARY APPROACH

In this volume we are juxtaposing two concepts widely studied in social science—that of religion and the family. Our objective is to explore their relationship to one another in the religious traditions of East Asia. It would be presumptuous to consider that we are attempting any exhaustive discussion of either. We have sought to bring together scholars who have been considering religion or the family separately in a diversity of disciplines, directly in religious studies, or indirectly in history, sociology, anthropology or psychology. What we hope to do in the following chapters is to sample some of the concerns of recognized Asian and American scholars who are specialists in these various disciplines. By bringing together the following chapters, we may be able to suggest some interesting perspectives that need further systematic exploration, perspectives that might not result simply from individuals pursuing work in their own given field.

Although we are looking at some historical considerations of religion in East Asia, we are by no means attempting any chronology or study of the development of religious ideas. Although we are examining some specific tenets of folk religions and the major doctrines of Confucianism and Buddhism, we are attempting no integrated interpretation of belief systems. Although we are looking at the institution of the family in East Asia, we are attempting no systematic discussion of family institutions, past or present. However, by juxtaposing the topics of family and religion, which, as Melford Spiro points out, have been inherently intertwined from the dawn of human existence, we are seeking out some possible present relationships of these social institutions in three highly evolved Asian cultures, China, Japan and Korea. In two introductory chapters by Melford Spiro and myself, we will attempt some overview from the standpoint of structural anthropology as well as from psycho-cultural or psychodynamic perspectives. Then in the following chapters we shall turn to a number of more specific approaches to both indigenous cults and the so-called great traditions of East Asia.

RELIGIOUS TRADITIONS IN EAST ASIA—SOME FUNCTIONAL CONSIDERATIONS

East Asia today manifests both the living continuity of folk traditions and religious beliefs that originated before written history on the one hand, and on the other hand, very powerful continuing influences of universal creeds and ideologies that developed with literacy and civilization. One finds mingled in the minds of many Asians both the continuity of shamanistic beliefs and the more universalistic traditions embodied in Buddhism and Confucianism.

Unfortunately, within our present scope, we cannot consider the role of Christianity in East Asia or the more recent influence of Marxism. Both creeds have acted to instigate revolutionary social movements during the modern period. We are also not considering the very important phenomena related to so-called new religions which have made their appearance in contemporary Asian societies and are deserving of separate treatment in another work.

Religion as Orientation of Self in Time and Space

There have been numerous functional studies in anthropology concerned with religious beliefs as they serve to integrate the individual in his social group. These are usually synchronic studies of a particular culture. However, when we approach religious beliefs historically through time we also observe that different religions may also be a disintegrative source of conflict until a new equilibrium is established with a new ascendancy of a given creed within a changing social tradition. Both integrative and disintegrative influences can be observed in Asian religious history, although integrative considerations are usually emphasized when a culture is examined retrospectively.

Emile Durkheim in his study, *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life* [DURKHEIM 1947], described how religious beliefs and practices embody the collective representations of the group; that is, to say, religious beliefs exist prior to the individual and in infancy through childhood become embodied in the thought processes and forms of language which serve as communication within the society. From early childhood, the individual learns to conceptualize in both religious and secular patterns that afford intercommunication within his social group. Religious beliefs and practices, in effect, orient the individual within social "time" and social "space" as conceptualized within his culture. In this Durkheimian framework, one analyzes how religious beliefs and practices relate to the relative social cohesion of the group. Sharing of religious beliefs strengthens collective bonds, whereas loss of religious communality is related to a general attenuation of social norms which could ultimately result in a condition of anomie or normlessness and a loss of moral tonicity within the social group.

The functional approach of Malinowski [1948, 1974] and some others considered religious beliefs and practices as expressions of basic human motivations, both social and personal. In *Magic, Science and Religion* [MALINOWSKI 1948] Malinowski attempted to demonstrate how beliefs in the supernatural could be "instrumental"

in magical practices or "expressive" of dependent needs. In either case, these beliefs assuage deep insecurities and anxieties in both primitive and modern man. Clyde Kluckhohn in *Navaho Witchcraft* [KLUCKHOHN 1944] delineated both latent and manifest functions of particular religious beliefs. Some he saw as socially integrative, some not. Some are personally adjustive, some not. By his thorough study of witchcraft beliefs and practices, he indicated how particular beliefs can reflect both social and psychological functions.

Sigmund Freud in *The Future of an Illusion* [FREUD 1928] discusses the relation of religious beliefs to underlying psychological processes. In this tradition, Melford Spiro in the following chapter examines some of the latent functions of religious beliefs as related to personality variables involving primary family relationships.

In what follows in this introductory chapter, I shall briefly refer to the functions of religious beliefs in reference to the collectivity, families as well as individuals, in East Asian societies.

Religion as Group and Individual Continuity

Viewed temporally, religious beliefs are representations of a collective sense of purpose and continuity. The group in which the individual finds himself is *self-consciously related* as its members share a sense of its past and future. Past generations are part of the social self as it is developed within any social group. One's antecedents are traced back in time to origins represented in some form of sacred mythology defining the origin of the group. Such a mythology foreshadows the increasingly more secular forms of history and legend that become recorded with the inception of writing. Nevertheless, it is well to note that no matter how historians seek for what is termed "objectivity" in recording the past, there remains implicit in their writings a sacred dimension. The tracing of history continues to represent collective values related to group belonging. Collective memory of the past, oral or written, embodies present and future purposes and ideals. Religious representations continue to give temporal direction to human purpose.

Man from his earliest period performed what are now seen as graphic or plastic arts or built astronomical architecture to help predict and control the future. Divination as well as the supplication of divine guidance has been common in all religious systems. Magical practices precede or substitute for "scientific" practices in relation to the future, be it in man's concern with unpredictable natural events or the stock market governing complex modern systems of economic distribution. Modern economists do not use the scapula of deer nor the entrails of chickens, but they do call on doctrinal guidance when they are expected as specialists to be able to predict future trends.

Ritual and ceremony generally commemorate mythological occurrences. They dramatize the collective concepts of origin or later periods of tribulation and reaffirmation that mark the collective memory of the group and in some ceremonies, future goals. The group's integrity is continually reaffirmed by recalling specific past temporal events which are reflected in future hope and purpose. Particular historical

invasions, cleavages, dissentions, and changes of power relationships are deformed so as to conform to the present sense of continuity and group belonging.

Religions conceptualize time quite differently as related to both individual and group continuity. For example, there are notable differences in cosmology between the linear concepts of time found in Western religions, whether Judaism, Christianity, or Islam, and the cyclical concepts of Buddhism. The Western conception is basically "millinarian" in seeing an eventual end to the present world, with a final judgment of humanity in which individual continuity is affirmed. In Buddhism, in contrast, there are cyclical reincarnations of being, rather than the eternal continuity of the same conscious self.

Religion as a Definition of Social Space and Social Organization

Religious beliefs seen as representations of the spatial dimensions of society help define interpersonal relationships as well as relationships with the environment. Within the group, myths designate why systems of social differentiation have come about and why they remain. Religious beliefs affirm the system of differentiation and stratification according to age, sex, family, clan, classificatory lineage, caste, and class. Social roles are sanctified by rituals of transition that move the individual from one designated role to the next throughout the life trajectory, as well as by rituals that reintegrate the deviant into the group [VAN GENNEP 1960].

Another specially integrative aspect of any religious belief system is the articulation of the earthly member of the group to the supernatural. Ancestors remain integrated geographically as well as socially within the living community. The dead may take on a variety of disparate social roles, benevolent or malevolent. Religious beliefs represent the interaction of the living and the dead, be they demonic or saintly.

Additionally, as Durkheim well contended, religious representations provide, more or less personalized embodiments of causality and power operative within the natural environment. Such culturally continued beliefs both delineate the realm of magic and effect one's attitudes toward more scientifically controlled observations of the laws of nature. Religious and magical concepts of power precede physics, and religious geography and geology precede more secular knowledge of the dimensions of space as well as time.

Lloyd Warner in his study of Australian aborigines [WARNER 1958] provided us a classic example of a structural-functional approach to the understanding of religion. He analyzed the dreams, rituals, myths of Australian aborigines in both their temporal and spatial conceptualizations. He showed how ritual dramatically integrates aboriginal concepts of the past, called "dream time." It provides representations of the ecological area in which the community lives, including how the flora and fauna of the surrounding world are categorized and related to human organization by so-called totemic concepts. Ritual also dramatizes the kinship organization of the community including its relationship with the dead, traced back ancestrally into the dream time of mythological beings. All elements of aboriginal life are integrated in the collective religious representations of the group. These are artistically trans-

mitted by dance, cosmetic alteration of the body, carvings on wood and stone, rock paintings, songs, and mythic tales.

In this volume, we gain brief glimpses of such interrelated systems of thought. The various chapters touch upon Asian folk beliefs and practices and demonstrate how the universalist concepts of Confucianism and Buddhism came to be transmuted into specific meanings within Chinese, Korean, and Japanese cultural traditions.

Political or economic practices are sanctified by religious representations which help bind and formalize agreements, especially when they involve changes in status or role. The dynastic successions in China, Japan, and Korea were legitimated by sacred means. Ascension to political power is universally marked by ceremonies of transition in which an individual is symbolically ordained and made worthy of new office. This sanctification is supposed to qualify the individual as well as to symbolize the consensus of the group.

Some religious practices are "therapeutic" for the group as well as for the individual. There are shamanic ceremonies, as indicated in the chapters by Kendall and Sasaki, (Chapters 3 and 4), through which a religious practitioner returns the ill person or the deviant to proper and expected role functions. The shaman will often also resolve the interpersonal difficulties that are diagnosed as a source of physical malaise. Such therapeutic practices have strong representations in folk religions universally. In Asia, shamanistic traditions are operative and well utilized even today as medical practice. Such therapeutic functions were sometimes also found historically, in Buddhist practice, but generally speaking its representations were and are today more directed toward moral malaise than are the methods or concerns of practicing shamans. Whether the malaise is diagnosed as physical, moral, or both, therapeutic practices of a medico-religious nature function at the same time to reintegrate the individual and resolve tensions existing within his social group.

There are other ceremonial practices of a religious-legal nature that ostracize. Religio-juridical ceremony can exclude given individuals who are considered toxic to proper functioning of the group. Every society devises some system of punishment or exclusion as a means of social rectification. Very often, this system will evoke religious sanctions as part of its procedures.

Newly introduced religious beliefs, especially of a universalist variety, can be revolutionary for the society. They can become a visible source of conflict by introducing new concepts which seek to reorder the system of life and its meaning. However, when these effects of religious change occur gradually, they are considered reformist rather than revolutionary. For example, the effect of Confucianism in Korea is progressively lowering the status of women from the beginning of the Yi Dynasty, occurred so gradually that there was little conscious attention paid to how conflicts over inheritance were progressively being resolved in the direction of male inheritance patterns.

Looking back historically, social scientists usually deal with religious traditions only when they have become well established; therefore, they usually consider them as functionally integrative for the society in which they are found. However, looked at

longitudinally from the inception of any new religion, one gains more perspective on how religions can change family functions or bring about tensions that did not exist before their introduction. In some of the following papers, we touch tangentially upon such topics, especially in discussing the relationships of Confucianism to Buddhism as these religions influenced family interaction patterns. Lancaster (Chapter 9) suggests how Buddhism has had periods of conflict with concepts of family integration. Ozaki (Chapter 6) documents how Taoist practitioners moved toward greater separation from ordinary family life in pursuit of their religious goals. Both Buddhism and Taoism have constrained individuals to leave the family and to retreat from the social world in seeking for personal salvation, no longer defined as the exercise of a family role.

This social structural approach to religion and the family as it interacts with family definitions and roles is well exemplified by Suenari (Chapter 11) discussing a pattern found in a contemporary Taiwanese village where there is a continuity of traditional ancestor worship. Suenari provides for us a description of how ancestor worship operates as part of a complex social pattern. The economic functions of the Chinese family are well described as part of this pattern. The worship of the dead can also be viewed as a pattern of distribution of goods.

Religious functions within the domestic unit demonstrate folk conceptions as well as Confucianist principles. The god of the hearth or fireplace is worshipped as part of the preparation of the eating of food. Other deities are conceptualized as observers of domestic functions who would negatively sanction behavior that strays from the socially expected. Numerous cooperative religious activities take place within the domestic compound.

Suenari traces all these patterns of reciprocity and distribution that revolve around ancestral worship. Participation in ancestral worship helps internalize a sense of obligation in respect to property obtained through inheritance. Succeeding the deceased ancestor entails a reciprocal obligation to continue property into the next generation within the family. In these Chinese practices the relationship between gods and worshippers is contractual. The somewhat instrumental offerings are tokens of a bargain with the deity by which the worshipper's wishes are to be fulfilled. Suenari cites Margery Wolf's analysis [WOLF 1974] of this bargaining: if the divination practices seem at first to indicate negative omens, the individual will "up the ante" until there is some indication that the god has finally agreed to fulfill what is sought for in the future.

Religious practices are also forms of instrumental cooperation to common purpose in the lineage unit. There is economic sharing; the shares within any cooperative enterprise are carefully calculated. In effect, in Taiwan there is little difference in how a business and a religious venture are conceptualized.

Suenari attempts a comparison between the Chinese family observances and those of Japan and Korea. He finds obvious differences in the forms taken by ancestor worship in the three societies. The Japanese corporate *ie* household assumes most of the functions, which may be handled disparately in Taiwan. The ie is a religious

unit of worship and also the unit of life crisis rituals. The so-called *dōzoku*, which appears in parts of Japan as main and branch family relationships, is quite different from the compound fraternal units of the Chinese family in Taiwan. In northeastern Japan, for example, it is only the main household that is responsible for ancestral ritual. The descendants of branch households send a representative to attend the ritual at the main household rather than seeing this ritual as directly pertaining to their own ancestors of the branch household who are not considered as direct ancestors of the main household. Suenari perceptively notes that relationships with the ancestors in Japan are based more on a continuity of emotional feelings than on instrumental contracts. Ancestors are worshipped even though secular gain is not implicitly promised, as it is in Taiwan. The Japanese with primogeniture do not emphasize sharing in ancestral worship. The Chinese do, since inheritance is equally distributed among children.

Suenari notes that the Korean situation, at first glance, seems to resemble the Japanese. However, in the Korean instance, there is much more direct emphasis on Confucian formalism than is found in the typical Japanese household, which uses Buddhist services. When Koreans gather at the household of the eldest son for rituals of commemoration celebrating the anniversary of the dead ancestors, the responsibility for the ceremony is committed to the eldest. This is also true for the Japanese, but there is sharp difference to be noted in the consciousness of the participants. In the Korean case, the ancestor is seen as an ancestor of all those assembled rather than only as ancestor of the main household.

Comparing the three Confucian cultures, Suenari sees the Korean as adhering most closely to the prescribed Confucian manners to be observed by the living toward the dead. The Koreans, in other instances, are intermediate between the Japanese and the Taiwanese in observed practices. As for the Japanese, the emotional incentives for participation seem more important than the instrumental purposes which characterize the Chinese household. The Chinese and Japanese are further apart in formal religious terms. The Chinese family is a symbolic summation of relationships at various levels, including those beyond the immediate domestic one, whereas the Japanese do not formalize as religious units beyond the immediate household or ie.

What Suenari does not analyze is how some quasi-religious functions related to a psychological sense of security or life dedication, in the Japanese case, are found to extend to occupational units that are not related to the family whereas such religious feelings never seem to be extended in this way by the Chinese into the business or occupational worlds. This lack of emotionalized loyalty and dedication to fictive kinship or mentorship patterns, so often found expressed in the Japanese business world in a quasi-religious way, is lacking in both the Koreans and Chinese.

Laurel Kendall (Chapter 3) uses a social structural approach to explain the differences in the shamanistic activities of Korean women as *mansin* or *mudang* in Korea versus the male and female *tang-ki* of Taiwan. In the Korean instance, shamans, who are overwhelmingly women, perform rituals that involve high gods and ancestors, whereas in Taiwan it is the men and male shamans who deal with the power-

ful high gods while the female shamans minister to women's particularistic concerns such as childbirth and the prevention of illness in growing children. In effect, the Korean women's ritual dominion manifests a greater range of authority and responsibility in family life than the more specifically mothering concerns of the Chinese female shamans.

Seen in historical perspective, Kendall's comparative contentions are related to the fact that one can find in the Korean family system the progressive Confucianization that occurred between the fifteenth and seventeenth centuries which lowered the status of women in the family [DEUCHLER 1977, 1980]. Prior to the Yi Dynasty, women tended to live in their parental home with their husbands during the first several years of marriage. They then joined their husbands' kin as "mothers," matrons in charge of their own household area. They inherited a share of their own parents' ancestral tablets. Not having a son was therefore not a liability nor the birth of a daughter a reason for lamentation as in the case of the more strictly patrilineal Chinese families. It was the neo-Confucian reformers in the Yi Dynasty who slowly constrained women to lose their rights of inheritance, and this Confucianist control also set more rigorous standards of modesty and chastity. In the area of ritual practice, however, the Korean woman maintained more status and unlike the Chinese woman, was less defined as polluting and unworthy of religious communication with the high deities. As Lee points out (Chapter 12) the separate domain of the wife is manifested symbolically in the two part structuring of the Korean house.

Sasaki's chapter on spirit possession (Chapter 4) in Japan does not directly relate the functioning of shamans in Japan or Okinawa to these issues of family function or women's status. However, he cites Lebra [1974] who discusses the relatively higher status of Okinawan women as related to their spiritual specialization both as shamans and priestesses. Also Sasaki documents how Japanese women as shamans inferentially are closer in function to Korean women than to Chinese in their relating to higher deities and in their range of spiritual competence. Chinese female specialists have longer reflected the more limited possibility for ritual authority. The Chinese women were circumscribed to strictly uterine concerns and could not deal with representations of the family beyond these functions in relation to the supernatural.

The more broadly efficacious *kut* of the Korean shaman was therapeutic and integrative insofar as it was used to ameliorate natural loss, help recovery from illness, and resolve domestic quarrels. A kut could be used more broadly also to revitalize the household symbolically as a unit. There were religious representations of purification of a dwelling and its inhabitants, exorcism of the sick, and the removal of pollution and malevolence. The functions of celebrating a cult god's birthday or purifying the household or defending the community against possible malevolent ghostly incursions have in Taiwan been the prerogative of male shamans. This split in function in Taiwan was interpreted perceptively by Ahern [1975, 1978], who suggested that pollution beliefs limiting the ritual role of women provide a symbolic rationale for the subordinate social status of Chinese women. Women could deal only with the lowly and unclean in the supernatural hierarchy. The ritual concerns

of birth, death, and menstruation all had polluting aspects, which were due to the fact that they represented ruptures of social integrity as well as the integrity of the body. In the Chinese system there is a strong conceptualization of women as incoming brides breaking the boundaries of the family as potentially disruptive strangers. This perception was directly related to anxieties over inheritance patterns. In contrast, the underlying bilaterality still to be perceived in both the Korean and Japanese affiliative concerns with the relatives of the wife as well as the relatives of the husband seem to be less emotionally alarming. For the Korean woman, pollution is only a temporary condition during the menstrual cycle, not inherently sullying. When not in an immediate polluted state, Korean women can worship the gods and can be possessed by high gods as well as by the more lowly ones dealing with specific female functions.

Wolf [1972] also suggests why Chinese women are seen as potentially more destructive to family functions and integration . She reasons that as wives of husbands who potentially inherit equally, women are more readily perceived as sources of domestic strife, since they may be seeking to forward the special interests of their own husband over the other brothers. In the Korean and Japanese households, where unequal inheritance is aimed more toward primogeniture, the senior heir inherits the house and a major share of the household lands. Other sons are expected to establish independent households. The underlying tensions of women competing with one another cannot be as disruptive as in the case of the Chinese.

In sum, the Chinese unilinear family pattern, with equal inheritance of sons, extends much further back historically than does the Korean or the Japanese. A Confucianist insistence on the more lowly status of women is a sentiment that took root progressively in Japan and Korea only in more recent centuries. Women lost status and prerogatives with their loss of inheritance and the more insistent shift to patrilocal residence. In effect, the Confucianization of family life as influencing family ritual in Korea is less complete than in Japan or China. The ritual acts of women manifest a greater range of authority and responsibility in household and family life than is true within the Chinese family system. In Japan, the mother-in-law exercises actual power and status, but not through religious ritual (see Tanaka, Chapter 15).

RELIGION AS EXPRESSIVE OF HUMAN MOTIVATION

The same religious representations that can be analyzed in a social structural framework concerned with social cohesion or role affirmation can also be observed as expressions either of human emotional needs or, conversely, of motives of an instrumental nature. A motivational analysis of religious expression is complementary to a social structural analysis of religious beliefs and practices. In a psychocultural approach, one attempts to discern how personality features normative for a given culture are reflected in the particular nuances found in specific religious traditions. In this sense, religious beliefs and practices are expressive of culturally prevalent

psychological features as well as reflective of universals of human psychology found everywhere. Not only are religious beliefs and practices expressive for adults but they are formative throughout childhood in the patterning of social adaptation and psychological adjustment characteristic of a specific culture.

A psychocultural approach looks at religion as related to human motivation in both expressive and instrumental ways. Let us briefly delineate these functions. In the "expressive" or emotional dimension, religious beliefs and practices represent dependency and a need for nurturance and protection, the seeking of affiliation, the assuagement of isolation, a need for harmony versus discord and violence, a need for self-acceptance versus debasement, and a basic need to give meaning to suffering and to seek forms of release from human afflictions. On an instrumental level, religion is related to questions of power and dominance, to a need for achievement, the attainment of adequacy, a need for self-regulation, and a means of cooperation among fellow beings toward common purpose.

A psychocultural approach interrelates a so-called "emic" analysis of consciously experienced concerns with an "etic" analysis of unconscious or latent religious functioning underlying the human experience from birth to death within society [KLUCKHOHN 1944]. The psychocultural approach also examines patterns of thought in various cultures, including their particular patterns of religious symbolism, mythology, or magical practices, to see not only how they reflect the concerns of daily experience related to family structure, but also how these beliefs and practices still embody the experiences of childhood including psychosexual developmental crises occuring within a given culture. The "logic" of particular beliefs and practices continues to give evidence of the precausal, affectively directed thought patterns characteristic of earlier periods of childhood cognitive development. Such "magical thought" embodies precausal patterns well described by Piaget [1930, 1932]; that is, contiguity in time or similarity of appearance or function are conceptually fused. Metaphorical similarities become causal identities. In early folk ritual in Japan, for example, urination was thought to bring on rain, and sexual congress in the rice fields was thought to induce agricultural fertility. In Chinese practice today, the burning of symbolic paper money is a down payment to a deity for obtaining one's wish. The degree of focus on precausal linkages of events overweighing more adult concerns with moral consequences is proportionately different for different religious systems. Ideally, in Confucianism, for example, little heed is given to what is considered "magic" or mystic concerns and attention is directed instead to moral sensitivity and role responsibility. Ecstatic experiences are considered disruptive. Taoism, in contrast, allows for the irrational and seeks for "meaning" in forms of thought considered undisciplined to the Confucianist (see Tu, Chapter 7).

Seen developmentally in human psychology, the various motives and interpersonal concerns reflected in religious expression start with the panhuman experience of helplessness which is part of an initial experience of separateness arising with the dawn of consciousness. The progressively more self-conscious human never overcomes a

need for some form of *dependence* on outside power for nurturance. This sense of deep *need for nurturance* is also reflected negatively in an existential *fear of nonexistence*, that is, the basic sense of death—a threat to the continuous existence of the self—which is an early conscious experience. There is also a deepening awareness of how one's own helplessness is juxtaposed to the presence of external power, be it conceptualized naturalistically or in supernatural terms. Some of the early childhood representations of fearful power, whether thunder, or fire, or the aggressive behavior of giant adults, remain embedded in religious representations throughout life (Spiro, Chapter 2). From childhood, the human consciousness begins to locate power as an attribute of awesome outside objects or beings. This sense of awe starts early and the human never completely overcomes a need to relate to such external powers as a means of assuring personal security.

The conceptualization of power never becomes completely secularized in most explanatory systems. A belief in divine benevolence affords deep emotional security and comfort for most human beings. Conversely, the potential of evil force in the supernatural causes one to seek divine protection. Early animistic representations of power are found in various folk beliefs. In the Japanese case, *kami* is vaguely conceptualized as representations of power in sacred mountains, impressive trees, or other unusual manifestations of nature. Deity can be represented in vague concepts of fertility, generativity, sometimes personalized and sometimes not. Power also becomes represented in particularly awesome individuals who become deified objects of worship. Such was the case of the courtier Sugawara, whose death coincided with what were interpreted as malevolent occurrences in the capital during the Heian period. He was propitiated by building a shrine to this now awesome kami.

Some forms of security are gained in the process of cognitive growth by a developing sense of instrumental control through knowledge. The seeking out of explanations for the workings of nature are means of assuaging anxiety. However, the cognitive system of causal knowledge provided within a culture remains inseparable from religious thought except when secularization processes provide alternative modes of thought. A religious system blending magic and science gives the individual some sense of regularity in experiencing the outside world, and affords some hope for control over the awesome powers of nature. Knowledge becomes progressively instrumentalized and related to systems of prediction as well as to immediate control. A religious system very often is developed toward cosmological levels in which knowledge of astronomy allows for the prediction of future events. The need for control through knowledge is continually related to man's manifestly inadequate control of nature, which despite all efforts, remains unpredictable and threatening. Specialists in prediction develop, who through various means of control, such as astrological signs, practice various forms of prediction of the future. Here religious belief becomes thoroughly mingled with magical practices. This intermingling is especially apparent in curative practices for illness, when the individual seeks medical assuagement to guarantee or restore health.

Religious concepts often suggest instrumental means of maintaining relation-

ships with awesome power, whether conceptualized as impersonal or personal. When personalized, religious practices are, in effect, acts of submission and entreaty to sway divine will or purpose. Humiliation of the self or ascetic practices are means toward having one's humble wishes granted. As Suenari (Chapter 11) points out, in Taiwan, religious practice is directly envisioned as a contractual type of relationship with a deity. It is evident how similar the methods used to gain benevolent care from the supernatural are to those attempted in regard to the powerful living within one's own social world.

When we look at various societies, we note that the type of control and security obtained through development of knowledge of the world can become heavily secularized. Explanations are progressively developed in naturalistic terms and lose their religious representations as modes of explanation. In some systems, such as that developed under Confucianism, the immediate influence of the supernatural becomes of secondary concern to human control and regulation. Confucianism maintains its providence in the realm of moral and ethical problems, that is to say, in regard to the type of causality that exists in human interaction. The consequences of behavior in a social system continue to be conceptualized in moral terms. In effect, as Tu discusses in Chapter 7, there is the development of a sense of social belonging as related to various consequences of behavior in the social system. The proper exercise of one's family role is made central to moral behavior. In Buddhism and Taoism, conversely, the individual may seek for religious resolution, leaving the family and its obligations in order to realize personal religious salvation.

The seeking out of knowledge acts as a means of security when one is dealing with the most awesome experiences of human life, namely, birth, sexuality, and death. These very emotional experiences, as are illness and threats to subsistence, when witnessed must be given some kind of representation which aims at regulating them. Experiences of this nature are never free from a sense of individual incapacity and anxiety. Folk cults, such as Shinto, particularly represent concern with generativity and fertility, whether they be agricultural or familial. There is anxiety about crop failure and the need for continuity through successful childbirth and surviving the illnesses of childhood. It is in the realm of these awesome forces of birth, sexuality, and death that concepts of purity and pollution remain most firmly embedded in religious practice. Humans witness bleeding or the physical decay and pollution of death as frightening occurrences that are both emotionally and socially disruptive. The activity expended in religious behavior focuses on one's affective and intellectual control and assures the return of regularity over chaos, of continuity over annihilation.

The human needs and motivations which Buddhism seeks to fulfill in these respects contrasts directly with those involved in shamanistic folk religions. Buddhism provides a more universalist cosmology and sense of order while suggesting withdrawal from expressive needs as a means of salvation. In folk cults, relation to power is sometimes envisioned animistically as in the Japanese concept of kami. In Buddhism one turns from such instrumental or expressive concerns with external power to a

more internal sense of guilt related to a need for self-control over inner impulses and urges as well giving up one's dependent needs on others.

Human desire in any form is the cause of suffering in others. Human unhappiness is caused by lack of self-control in social relationships. Such a sense of moral causality is properly related to internalized guilt, since the individual consciousness is held responsible for improper actions. In Shinto the improprieties can be mechanically incurred without volition. In Buddhism there is a profound recognition of the karmic effects of self-interest, both instrumentally and expressively conceived. In Shinto there is less concern with guilt, and attitudes about behavior are resolved by attention to greater education which will avoid negative consequences. In Confucianism the ethical directives discussed by Tu are put in terms of self-development and avoidance of selfishness. There is less statement about the negatives of sin or pollution and more emphasis on affirmative action rather than assuagement of inadequacy or impurity.

All forms of religions reconcile the individual to his particular circumstances and perceived destiny. On an individual expressive level, they are used to *reconcile problems of internal conflict.* It has only been in the more revolutionary religions of Christianity and Marxism in recent Asian history that religion has been used with great force to *rebel against the status quo.* Such a statement would be an overgeneralization for the past, however. There are many examples in Asian history in which Buddhism or neo-Confucianism was used as a critique of the existing society and in which individuals who followed the dictates of these religious philosophies sought to reform corrupt practices in society. The seeking for reform can come in conflict with the state. Although never becoming the impetus of a successful social movement both Buddhism and Confucianism in Asia were periodically used by social critics to point up the inadequacies of the contemporary social system.

Turning to other, more instrumental considerations of religious belief, we see how religious representation becomes related to *internalized forms of responsibility* and life purpose. As the individual internalizes the normative system of his society, he is given a personal sense of purpose which he or she can relate instrumentally to achievement goals in one's life course (Koh, Chapter 16). These achievement goals may be defined both individually and collectively. The individual internalizes a sense of responsibility and a need for self-control. One's behavior is not simply determined by the presence of a dominating external power, but a sense of control ideally is moved inward as an internalized code. This code of regulation applies to one's self without the continual intervention of outside constraints.

Religion functions to bolster a *sense of personal adequacy* as well as assuaging *fear of failure*, in the achievement of life goals. The individual often senses himself to be inadequate, and in his own sense of imperfection seeks out *means of assistance* from the supernatural in reaching toward what he conceives to be the ideal level of competence. Moreover, individuals, to varying degrees within any religious system, feel themselves incapable of becoming fully responsible socially. In the Confucian system there is a great deal of emphasis upon attaining a satisfactory level of self-

control and responsibility. Buddhist beliefs vary in this regard from sects such as Zen in Japan that emphasize acquisition of self-regulation and a capacity of finding internal strength, to those such as Shinshu that consider human beings inadequate needing some form of assistance from the outside. These differences are termed *jiriki*, or self-reliance for strength, and *tariki*, or reliance on outside strength, by Japanese Buddhists.

In the domain of emotional needs religious representations in some contexts take on a deeply *affiliative meaning*. They represent a search for deepening *intimacy and understanding* and act as an assurance for the individual against isolation and neglect. Individuals may find represented in their religious practices bonds of closeness as they share in the mutual worship of the supernatural. One finds oneself bonded with others who are adherents of shared beliefs. There is a common sense of social belonging that unites the religious community expressively as well as instrumentally as they seek out joint purpose. A need for belonging and group identity is assured by common religious practice. In East Asia such ceremonies take place within the family; in the West under Christianity they are more individualistically conceived. Whereas relationships to the supernatural are somewhat nonreciprocal because of vast inequalities of power, relationships among fellow adherents to a religious sect stress horizontal bonding as well as the vertical relationship with the supernatural. In ancestor worship, such as that which is continued in Confucianism, the affiliative bond remains within the family. In Christianity the so-called Christian brotherhood of the church is religiously more important than individual family units. Monasticism is a type of affective withdrawal that comes in conflict and therefore, must be reconciled with the family as an institution (Koh, Chapter 16).

In Western individualistically oriented traditions, the problems of human isolation are given very direct representation. It is expected that religious conversion can be used to assuage a deep sense of alienation and problems of loss of meaning usually associated with loss of intimate forms of human attachment. The relation of the Christian to his God is manifestly separate from his relationships to others within his family. The resolution of a sense of alienation or isolation is more often resolved in Asian traditions by a symbolic reincorporation of the individual within the family [DE VOS 1980].

Religions have an evaluative dimension by which one judges oneself emotionally in reference to one's own standards of self-acceptance as well as in reference to standards of social acceptability. One's behavior is evaluated positively or negatively in respect to religious regulation. There are a variety of conceptualizations that define acceptability. The most pervasive are the aforementioned concepts of purity and pollution. In respect to these concepts, behavior is evaluated as bringing one closer to a possible communication with the deity or making one unworthy of contact and constraining others to reject one as being in a state of pollution. In Confucianism, the individual who fails to fulfill social obligations is seen as reprehensible and, if all efforts at reform fail, worthy of social ostracism. In Buddhism, the concern becomes more internalized and similar to the Christian tradition in which there are

concepts of sin which remove the person from the potential of salvation. Karma is passed on from past incarnations. Sometimes the afterlife is represented as a place for purging to remove the taints of bad behavior.

In folk religions such as Shinto, conditions of transgression or pollution tend to be mechanically defined, not necessarily related to intentionality, whereas in religious representations of guilt there are questions of moral intention that must be judged. The religious community, in effect, to certain degrees judges its members in accordance with their adherence to social regulations held sacred by the group. Since there are inevitable periodic lapses, most religions have practices that are restitutive, whereby the individual is restored his or her proper functioning.

In Shinto ritual, there are forms of exorcism of pollution whereby the individual is cleansed and returned to a state of relative purity. In certain instances, however, and under certain conditions, these impurities are considered to be inherent to the individual and cannot be removed. Such representations reinforced the development of a caste system in Japan whereby those born of a polluted family were inherently ritually impure and comprised the Eta caste. In other instances, individuals' behavior could cause them to be outcast into the pariah group known as Hinin. Members of this group, however, under proper conditions could be restored through a ceremony of *ashiarai*.

Considerations of purity and pollution were used, as indicated above, to lower the status of women. Menstruation caused women to be in a state of impurity; sexual practices also led to impurity, as did the process of birth. Death in most societies is ritually polluting as well as materially contaminating, through decay, to those who come in contact with the dead.

All *religions regulate aggression*; they regulate how or under what conditions there can be proper expression of hostility and destructiveness. Conversely, they promise the eventual attainment of forms of *harmony and peace* that are considered an expressive need in all societies. One sees represented in religious beliefs concepts of ideal harmony as well as representations of the sources of discord and unhappiness among individuals. Every religious system embodies concepts of taboos of killing or intra-group destructiveness, whereas they may condone destructiveness directed outside the group under religiously nonpolluting circumstances. The religious system gives moral justification to certain forms of aggression while proscribing others. In this sense, all religious systems regulate harmony and discord on an expressive as well as on an instrumental level, setting up regulations for cooperation and competition within and between societies.

Religions set *boundaries on sexual expression*, defining degrees of relatedness in the family. Religious beliefs enforce incest taboos and define the times and occasions and age of maturity at which sexual practices are condoned.

Religious beliefs offer *explanations for suffering* and may even provide a sense of purpose for the enduring of affliction. In brief, both bodily pleasure and malaise are religiously defined. Religions impose regulations on the individual, but also provide periodic *release from regulation*. One notes in the chapters in this volume, a variety

of discussions showing differential emphasis in Asian religions in the tolerance of emotional expression through religious conceptualization. Whereas Confucianism aims in its concepts of self-regulation toward the establishment of harmony within society, Buddhism is more concerned with internal experiences which cause suffering for the individual or the collectivity. Buddhist concepts in this sense are more concerned with emotional expression and self-regulation, whereas Confucianist concepts are more related to the instrumental aspects of social responsibility.

THE ADAPTABILITY OF FOLK BELIEFS TO THE GREAT TRADITIONS

Chapters 3, 4 and 11 examine continuities of folk belief in contemporary Korea, Japan and Taiwan. These beliefs and practices preceded the introduction of the so-called "great traditions" of Confucianism and Buddhism in East Asia causing two-tiered systems of elite and folk beliefs—a topic examined in some detail by Lancaster in Chapter 5.

Chapter 4 by Sasaki deals only with present day shamanic practices. Some historical notes are perhaps necessary here to acquaint the general reader with what is known historically about Japanese folk beliefs now generally termed "Shinto". In matter of fact, it is somewhat erroneous to use the word "Shinto" to describe all folk religion in Japan. The word Shinto itself is borrowed and only appears at the time in which literacy allowed for the writing down of native mythology in Chinese script. We are introduced to Japanese folk religion in ancient times through two basic works: the Kojiki and Nihon Shoki or Nihongi. At the time of writing, many of the shamanistic traditions had already been somewhat altered or modified by centralized religious practices. There is less direct evidence of the shamanistic origins of some beliefs than was true for the contemporaneous Korean states. So one must not judge as Japanese folk belief the usages of the state cults of "Shinto" operative at the time that they are first represented in writing.

One cannot say that the Kojiki and the Nihongi are sacred books resembling the Bible in all its attributes. Nevertheless, just as the Bible is, in effect, a genealogy that justifies and validates the lineage of certain families so too does the writings in the Kojiki and Nihongi reaffirm the mythical origins of the imperial lineage and by extension, the sacred lineages of the major families politically dominant at the time the works were written. The Kojiki and Nihon Shoki chronicle the age of the Gods which were a prelude to the latter legends which accounted for the foundation of the imperial system. Some indirect glimpses can be gained from these writings as demonstrated by Sofue in Chapter 14, which allows us to understand better the life and society of early Japan.

Basically Shinto, as it came to be called, was a form of nature worship built on beliefs which are called "animistic" by anthropologists. Divine power was diffusely conceptualized. There was no personalized specificity to the word "kami" which is usually translated as "god(s)" or "spirit(s)". What was "kami" was superior quality or power as held true for Polynesian concepts such as "mana" or even the concept

"numen" found in Roman belief. Nor was Japanese homage to the beautiful personalized as was true in Greek or Roman myths. The spirit of Kami in early shrines received no personification or concrete representation, but early on we find, just as described by Suenari in Chapter 11, a propitiation of the Kami of the hearth and Kami governing other domestic functions. Central to Japanese beliefs were ritual purity and ceremonies that had much to do with insuring cleanliness through the removal of taint. Abstention was a means of obtaining ritual purity, and in early Japan, there was even a family of specialized hereditary abstainers called "imibe". Beliefs were not uniform throughout Japan but with the coming in of political centralization there was some attempt at a more organized presentation of ritual. The original cults were concerned specifically with the domestic household; separate villages or clans often held commonly an ancestral concept of the "ujigami". The main concern was with fertility of the natural environment as well as family continuity.

The "uji" of the Japanese had similarity to the Roman concept of the "gens". The leader of such a clan-like unit was respected as the "ujino kami" or the head of the clan who was the chief worshipper of the ujigami, the clan god, perhaps conceptualized as a founder or a forefather from whom they all traced their lineage.

One question which arises is how much did the early cult behavior resemble the later developed ancestral worship discussed in the chapters of Part IV.

Looking at the first chronicles, there is no question that they were compiled as validations of the contemporary social structure. They had specific political intentions as well as serving the religious function of establishing origins for the group. Sansome [1958: 28], suggests that the earlier observances in Japan were extremely simple and certainly not as elaborate in function as those practiced by the Chinese of that period. The purifying ritual consisted of sprinkling of water and the waving of branches or wands as purifiers. There is suggestion that there was certainly no sacred edifices of any permanent nature, most likely a small plot of ground was purified for the occasion. There may have been worship in front of an ancestral tomb, tree or stone thought to have a special quality of holiness.

Sansome [1958: 31], lists the pollutants chiefly dirtiness of person, of clothing, menstruation, intercourse, childbirth, disease, wounds, and death. The drawing of blood was polluting. The original Japanese word Kega which means wound, refers to defilement and in modern language the word "Kegare" refers to being stained. It is interesting to note how in the mythology Susanowo, in fighting with his sister, pollutes her rice fields by tossing in them the skin of a piebald horse flayed backwards. This had no specific meaning to the Japanese who diligently wrote down the myth. They did not know why this would be particularly polluting. However, if now we refer to the shamanistic traditions of northeast Asia we do find that shamans there used a pure white horse that was flayed front to rear. The skin was put on an armature of twigs to allow the shaman to ride to the sky in his communication with the supernatural. In effect, Susanowo, by using a horse's skin with black spots removed by backward flaying performed a symbolically reprehensible reversal of ritual in order

to cause greater pollution aimed at his sister. No shamanistic continuity of thought was available to the Japanese reporters writing the myth. To discover meaning one must examine practices of shamanism cross-culturally to reestablish what had disappeared in Japanese practice. There is much in the folklore of Japan which Sansome [1958: 33] considers demonstrably of Korean origin.

What is interesting historically, is that Shinto, as it became termed after the introduction of literacy, learned to live in accomodation with the newer great traditions introduced by contact with Korea and China. Sansome [1958: 77], considers how Buddhism and Confucianism actually served to restimulate, in some way, the ancient cult activities and helped systematize them as they sought accomodation. One reason for their persistence, I would content, is that indigenous shrines served to validate in a religious sense family positions in the political structure of the society. Such validation of old lineage could not be as readily derived from the recently introduced beliefs from the continent. Rather, the newly introduced priesthood could not chance to offend the ruling families too greatly by any active suppression of the ancient cults which were in effect their forms of ancestor worship. For this reason "shinto" retained its hold on ancestral religious practices.

In the written documents, it's obvious to see that many of the rituals that were done at the behest of the nobility remained native rather than Chinese in form and function. In the first written account of the prayer for harvest, one notes that it was done in a thoroughly Japanese manner of ceremony under the supervision of officers of state whose titles and functions however, were borrowed from Chinese practice. The foreign influence had not succeeded in diminishing the position of the sovereign as the direct intermediatary between the nation and the gods, or in weakening the religious beliefs of the ordinary people at this time. The performance of the great ritual of the harvest was done not only in the capitol but in the provinces as acts of government as well as acts of worship and Sansome notes that over three thousand shrines throughout the country received offerings in this occasion. This attests to the fact that the indigenous cult was, by no means, in eclipse at this time. Again, there is recording of a great purification liturgy through surviving texts in the 9th century which reflects the myths of the Kojiki concerning concepts of purity.

Although there were brief periods of hostility when Buddhism was first introduced to Japan, before long the native divinities began to be recognized as avatars or manifestations of Buddhism. The cosmic Vairocana was identified with the sun goddess and Shinto shrines were often put under the charge of Buddhist monks. Many Buddhist emblems became representations at Shinto sacred places.

Shinto remained adaptive, it offered no positive resistence to Buddhism but passively incorporated what would allow it to survive. We must also look to the Japanese mentality in this regard in that Japanese were not concerned, and never have been, with precise points of logic or exclusiveness in thought. The survival of Shinto was marked too because many of the large shrines, not only the Great Shrine of the Imperial Family at Ise but other shrines of the Fujiwara regents and of the families that were later to become part of the Bakufu who kept on devotion

at their family shrines such as Kasuga. These places maintained a splendor of ceremony and a wealth which supported a Shinto priesthood as celebrators marking the greatness of the family of the politically dominant. Buddhist priests would be asked to go to these Shinto shrines to recite passages from Buddhist scriptures. To refuse probably would mean a symbolic refusal to acknowledge the worldly power of the family of the supplicant.

The very simplicity of Shinto in belief and observance made it not a direct rival to Buddhist thought. Informally, the Buddhist adherents if not the monks could also continue native beliefs. This topic will be discussed further by Lancaster in Chapter 5.

In the context of the content of native cults, one must note that the tradition of possession experiences referred to by Sasaki in Chapter 4, is probably continuous from the prehistoric past. It still appears as a very telling part of newly established religious cults. One can note, in some of the very large so-called new religions, such as Tenrikyo, Tensho-kotai-Jingukyo or Rissho-Koseikai, which have appeared over the past 150 years in Japan, the shamanistic "possession" suffered by the foundress or founder as a characteristic noted to substantiate the religious beliefs of following generations of adherents.

THE GREAT TRADITIONS AND THE FAMILY IN EAST ASIA

In the religious teachings of the great traditions which developed in China and spread to Korea and Japan, what is the relationship of the individual to the family? What is the conceptualization of the self as related to the family and how is this relationship viewed as part of religious meaning within the individual? What is the relationship of family membership to religious practice and dogma? What is the relationship of family membership to psychological security and other functions provided by religious adherence and belief? Looking at the relation of family structure to religion, what is the interaction between given forms of religious belief and the family as an institution? Do religions in East Asia support the family as an institution, or in seeking for religious answers and purposes, is the individual brought into conflict with the family? Chapters by Lancaster, Tu, Fujii, and Bito touch upon these questions.

Confucian answers and the use of Confucian ideas in China and Japan reflect basic differences between these two cultures. Chapter 8 by Bito, is a description of neo-Confucianist ideals prevalent in Tokugawa during the 16th century. Bito rather succinctly summarizes some incisive thoughts relating the family as a social institution to the forms and ideas of neo-Confucianism as they were accepted, rejected, or modified in Japanese usage. His main point is that scholars of Confucianism in Japan almost invariably deny a basic proposition of the Chu Hsi school. Whereas Chu Hsi emphasizes the absorption of basic principles *into the self* in order to discover one's basic nature, the Japanese philosophical commentators see that the *outer behavior* "residing in reverence" accomplishes all of one's moral training. The so-called

penetrating principle of going into the self is not considered because it is enough to unconditionally devote oneself *behaviorally* to the given social norm and the role to which one dedicates oneself in the feudal service of one's lord. This espousal of proper behavior as the ultimate expression of virtue is still found today reflected in Morita therapy [REYNOLDS 1976], a specific form of psychotherapy developed out of Zen Buddhist principles. It is not considered important therapeutically to resolve the inner experience of malaise; rather, what is resolved is an incapacity to act properly in accordance with one's role expectations. The measure of proper virtue is behavior, not thought. Thought can interfere. One learns as well as possible to be "selfless" in one's expected behavioral role.

Bito sees that the Japanese concept of the family has not changed since the eighth century. He too, affirms that the ie system is basically different from the conception of family espoused in the Chinese lineage system. The ie as a unit of social organization and social morality in Japan is not based on concepts of strict kinship but displays many of the characteristics of an artificially contrived social organization formed to preserve the household occupation rather to continue it directly through blood lineage. Bito points out how it is possible for a non-kin member to succeed in the continuity of the ie so that, in given circumstances, the first son as head of the household is circumvented when his succession would be to the detriment of family business or property. The corporate concept of the Japanese family has as its requisite the appointment of an appropriate heir who will maximize the functioning of the ie rather than the automatic succession of someone strictly on the basis of birth. Kinship is a principle of family continuity that can be modified in given circumstances. One does not acquire, according to Bito, the qualifications of a member merely by being born into a family. One becomes a full member only after some form of achievement and actualization. Looked at anthropologically, the family, strictly speaking in Japanese conceptions, is characterized not only by status acquired by birth but by a combination of acquired and achieved status. In China, in contrast, one is born into a family and thereby given rights and obligations which become the basis of all social activity. The realization of self is not specifically in the continuity of a given occupation; rather the individual has some choice as to how to actualize himself, which may take a different form from that previously taken by other family members. What is required is obedience to the father to ensure the lineage rather than the continuity of a corporate household defined occupationally or professionally. It is relationships that are respected rather than one's ability or qualifications. Bito, interestingly, points out how in Japanese the very concept of filial piety itself has to be expressed by a Chinese-derived loan word. There is no "Yamato" language word for it. Bito paraphrases Tsuda, a prominent scholar of history and thought, who argued that the reason the Chinese regard filial piety as the basis of morals is because they view all morality as based on the dyadic relationship between individuals. He contrasts this with the Japanese view in which it is the individual's relationship with the group that is the prime consideration. The basis of morality in respect to the ie lies in the performance of one's designated role within the group.

Bito describes how the samurai developed the concept of a pattern of loyalty. It must be noted that the samurai differed basically as administrators from the gentry of China. Japanese feudalism developed in a way different from the continuity of power in China. Bito speculates that the shift from Buddhism to Confucianism in the Tokugawa period was due to the fact that the attempted centralization that occurred under the Tokugawa regime led to some functional similarities to the bureaucratic system extant in China. Under the Tokugawa shogunate samurai retainers were organized into a bureaucratic network that ruled the nation. Like the gentry, the samurai were not a true nobility, but there was no examination system as a qualifier to office. Rather, they were a set of hereditary warriors who by the end of the fourteenth century preempted the power of the former court and the nobility with its large landholdings. The samurai continued to draw their power from local communities and maintained a hierarchical system of loyalty in which individuals were designated roles as they demonstrated ability to perform during the course of the Tokugawa period. However, as the samurai were gradually assembled into castle towns where the *daimyo*——"big names" among the feudal samurai——were headquartered, Confucianist writings on bureaucratic government became more germane to the centralized system that was developing. Nevertheless the relationship between the shogun and the various daimyo, and then between each daimyo and his retainers preserved the feudal characteristics of inherited loyalty. The retainers who served the daimyo were regarded as followers of the daimyo's clan. The samurai ie or corporate household included others beside those of the hereditary lineage, which was kept intact by adoption when necessary. Merchants and craftsmen as well as farmers also became organized into corporate ie and widely used adoption and direct mentorship as modes of continuity. This system of group loyalties was a precedent for today's set of specific loyalties toward a "company president" and his retainers which flavors the structure of modern corporations and business in Japan. The pattern of occupational morality based on loyalty is extended beyond direct kinship.

During the early part of the Tokugawa period it was not necessary for samurai to devote themselves to any Confucianist study. However, those who had some special interest in learning or wanted to be scholars themselves had accessible to them Confucianist scholars. These Confucianist scholars as well as Zen priests with their esthetic as well as ascetic practices were the teachers and mentors of members of the samurai class. Studying Confucianism became useful for acquiring a position but was not essential to the acquiring of an administrative post, as was true in China with its examination system. Learning for the samurai was somewhat irrelevant to actual politics but helped validate status in the Weberian sense [WEBER 1954]. Confucian ethics could be used also as validation of an ethical code which gave some expression to the religious sensibilities of an individual. Such a code gave him a sense of purpose and regularity in the performance of duty, permitting actualization of the self through the exercise of social duties and roles, in a manner Tu describes in Chapter 7.

In reference to Chinese religious sensibility Tu distinguishes cogently between the

state of being religious and religion as an institution with objectifiable dogmas. The sense of being religious involves a sense of self-identification and of self-purpose in relationships and interaction with others. It is the characteristic of the Chinese sense of self located, not in a structure or a normative concept of the individual, but more in a sense of process in which the self is continually transformed and developed in social interaction. The "self-transformation," therefore, is transactional rather than located in some kind of "individual" entity that takes on new structural characteristics. In both China and Japan self relates to social role. Bito in discussing the ie as a basic group sees the Japanese concept of self in relation to the total group per se, whereas Tu emphasizes that the self in China is conceptualized in specific dyadic relationships rather than totally as an aspect of group membership. For example, the Chinese father-son relationship is an interaction through which the self is developed, whereas for the Japanese it is the role of son, perhaps a first son, or the role of head of family that is actualized in relation to the group or ie as an entity. For the Chinese (Hsu in [MARSELLA, DE VOS and HSU 1984]), the self is perceived not as structure but as process widening into progressively larger circles of relationships. It is not located in an enclosed world of private thoughts and feelings. Another point made by Tu in discussing the nature of the self is that there is no dichotomy in the Chinese self-concept between the sacred and secular. For a Confucianist, the self is not actualized in a religious separation or departure from society but in a continual return to one's social interaction, with higher and deepening awareness of the meaning of relationships.

There is a profound difference in the Taoist dichotomy related to being within the society and being outside of it (Ozaki, Chapter 6) as well as the Buddhist sense of departure from society (Lancaster, Chapter 9). In Chinese thought as a whole, therefore, one notes a split between those who are more oriented religiously in their self-concept toward a Confucianist type of self-awareness and those who take on a sense of leaving the family that was historically practiced in certain Taoist sects as well as those following the Buddhist tradition that came into China from its Indian source.

Ozaki, using historical sources, tries to answer the question whether or not Taoism always implied some retreat from the social world and the family or whether this practice, noted as the regular state of affairs for Taoists during the Tang period, was developed historically. Ozaki comes to the conclusion that certain social pressures as well as the influence of Buddhism changed Taoist practice from one in which Taoist religious practitioners or priests could live in a family context to a type of attitude in the Tang period by the seventh century in which Taoists took on some of the characteristics of traditional Buddhism in respect to separating oneself from the immediate social world. Ozaki also suggests that the intervention of state policies in religious practice may have been strongly instrumental, causing Taoists priests to take on these special practices of removing themselves from family life. However, considering on balance the other influences bearing on this trend, Ozaki concludes it was the influence of Buddhism itself on certain of the Taoist sects that was most

instrumental, since these influences predated government intervention. Hermits and monks were emulated by Taoist priests. The character for "house" used by the Taoists was given two further meanings, one being "love of the family" and the other, interestingly enough, being "all existence." Therefore, the characters for "chu-chia" meant leaving the love of parents, wives, and children in order to strive to study, but it also meant giving up all existence as the ultimate removal of self from society. Such concepts, clearly of Buddhist influence, grew in certain of the Taoist sects but not in others. Ozaki has also selected certain other symbolic characteristics to show that the Taoists, nevertheless, continued respect for the meaning of filial piety in that they did not shave their heads. The shaving of the head was one of the central issues that Confucianists held against the Buddhists because it violated the classic concept that one's body in its totality, including skin and hair, were given by the parents and that it was the obligation of the individual not to damage this gift in any way. However, Ozaki rejects this explanation as the sole reason for Taoists not shaving their heads. He favors rather as the prime motive for not cutting one's hair the Taoist belief that the spirit resides in every part of one's body including the hair. Ozaki also points out that Taoists kept their family names in many instances, whereas Buddhists symbolized their sense of continuity with their teacher rather than their family by using the character for "shaka" (or the living Gotama) as their surname.

Fujii (Chapter 10) attempts to show how aspects of ie thinking in Japanese culture had great influence in the appearance of what might be termed certain "indigenous" developments in Japanese Buddhism from the latter part of the fourteenth century during the Kamakura period. Chinese Buddhism, according to Fujii, took on some other cultural characteristics as it moved from China and Korea into Japan. The Japanese tended to confound local religious features with Buddhist practice, a tendency especially apparent when popular Buddhism became diffused through the various reformist sects of the Kamakura period. A peculiar form of continuity taken by Japanese Buddhism was what Fujii terms its "founder worship," in which reforming monks themselves became the objects of worship and were venerated as sacred alongside the Buddha. In certain Kamakura sects not only did an image of the Buddha and Buddhist names of ancestors occupy the center of the family altar, but these were joined by images of the sect founder.

Fujii indirectly discusses how continuity of inheritance in Japanese Buddhist sects showed ie corporate characteristics: that is, the Buddhist establishment as an ie continued by adopting an individual who became the "family" head, although blood lineage was seemingly also used. The fact that this succession was possible in the reform sects suggests that Buddhism as practiced in Japan was not, in effect, in any way antithetical to the family, but conversely, that it accommodated itself to a great extent to the ie family structure of Japanese society even if the monkhood offered a means for individuals to escape from the ordinary expectations of society. What no one at our conference discussed was how Buddhism offered some children of the poor the only means to practice a form of social mobility by acquiring education. Becoming a monk was also a means of avoiding military conscription and other duties

imposed by the government. It was characteristic of the period of Buddhist reform that many individuals who became monks were from the poorer classes of the society, whereas previously Buddhist faith and practice were more the province of the elite. Nichiren, one of the most influential of the reformers, in his own autobiographical writings attests to the fact that he self-consciously saw himself as someone who had come from what he termed the "sudra" level of Japanese society to take on religious leadership. Studies of how the spread of Buddhism in Japan was related to shifts in Japanese social structure bear further work by historians.

Finally, again from the standpoint of emotional expression, one must note that religious systems in some form or other are related to patterns of psychological release which can be attained periodically through ritual activity. Some expressions of a need for power as well as some forms of sexual release by those who are in a usually powerless status position can be found in trance cults in most societies. Organized religious systems try to contain trance or ecstatic experiences so that they do not become socially disintegrating. It is to be noted that both the Buddhist and Confucianist higher traditions frown upon such types of religious activities. They continue to appear, however, in the folk cults and are certainly represented in shamanistic practices. Trance or possession experience allows for altered states of consciousness wherein the individual "gets out of his own mind" and can either consciously or unconsciously participate in types of experience not condoned for his usual status or sense of self. We notice two types of trance experience in Japan. One type is that used by a medium through whom a deity expresses a communication. Mediumship differs from shamanistic practices, of the second type, since the shaman is not merely a medium but has some form of power to help heal and cure which goes beyond simple states of being passively possessed.

Ecstasy, properly considered, is to be distinguished from trance, in that the ecstatic state is very often a sense of experiencing within the self external forms of power or external experiences which the self is enlarged to encompass, in a psychedelic sense. In true trance, however, the individual does not remain present while being possessed. His body and mind are taken over so that he himself does not directly experience the power that is being exercised. In trance, those aspects of the self that cannot ordinarily be released are not consciously experienced. In ecstasy, more is experienced than is usually tolerated within the boundaries of consciousness [MARSELLA, DEVOS and HSU 1984].

ANCESTOR WORSHIP IN EAST ASIA

As touched upon in Parts III and IV of this volume, ancestor worship remains a principal feature of religious sensibilities in East Asia. It is found embedded in indigenous cults, but with the coming of literacy ancestor worship is preempted by the so-called "great traditions." Confucianism as discussed by Tu (Chapter 7) and Bito (Chapter 8) becomes a very direct social morality in which ancestor worship as religious practice is more concerned with social performance of the living than it is a

means of ensuring a benevolent relationship with the powerful dead. In indigenous religion, there was a great concern about possible malevolent consequences should ancestor worship be neglected. Under Confucianism, ancestor worship becomes a moral imperative maintaining the social forms and symbolizing inheritance practices within lineage structures. Whereas ancestor worship in China and Korea became and remained Confucianized, in Japan concern with ancestral tablets became attached to Buddhist memorial practices offering respect to the dead. In effect, Buddhism plays the same functional role in Japan as the more direct, self-consciously organized Confucianism does in Korea and China.

In Part IV, Fujii (Chapter 10) discusses how Japanese family structure has historically altered the forms taken by Japanese Buddhism. Succession within religious sects comes to resemble the succession practiced in the Japanese corporate ie. In this sense, it is looser forms of Japanese ancestor worship that gives a particular cultural stamp to Buddhism in Japan. Suenari (Chapter 11), Lee (Chapter 12) as well as Morioka (Chapter 13) point up the social and cultural functions of ancestor worship and how these functions have continued in some instances into the modern age but in other instances have been radically altered with contemporary modernization of family life within industrial societies.

Suenari is obviously an exponent of functionalism in analyzing a contemporary form of ancestor worship in Taiwan, where it is obvious that the Chinese lineal system is still in force and not being altered by modern experiences. The inheritance pattern has not changed in contemporary Taiwanese society in as obvious a manner as in post-war Japan where primogenture has been abandoned. What Suenari further delineates in his chapter is how various household functions are conceptualized as governed by deities ranging from the god of the hearth, the fireplace, through more elevated deities related to other family functions. As indicated, this parallels the description of such personalization of household functions found within the Korean household.

What Suenari stresses throughout is that one cannot separate the economic functions of the household from their ritualization in religious practice. Ceremony governs forms of reciprocity and distribution; it sanctions obligations and role responsibilities in respect to property and ensures proper exercise of inheritance from one generation to the next. He also notes that in comparison with Korean and Japanese motivational characteristics, the Chinese are more concerned with the instrumental, economic functions of ancestor worship, while the expressive, emotional concerns with the dead mark Korean and, especially, Japanese practices.

Morioka in similar fashion to Suenari, makes a manifest functionalist approach to religion by suggesting that ancestor worship in contemporary Japan is changing with a progressive shift from unilateral lineage system to a more bilateral orientation current among urban nuclear families. He specifically singles out as a continuing dynamic function of ancestor worship a legitimization of succession related to the maintenance of political as well as religious authority in the household. Second, he stresses the stabilization of intergenerational relationships, in effect making a psy-

choanalytic-type interpretation of how ancestor worship resolves ambivalent feelings of an individual toward a living parent (see also Spiro, Chapter 2). Morioka stresses, however, that in the Japanese inheritance system inheritance can take place while the previous head is still alive so that the resolution of ambivalence toward a dead ancestor is less important. Nevertheless, this relationship of ancestor worship to the emotional stabilization of intergenerational relation remains a potent force.

Morioka indicates now some ancestor worship still has the function of family unification or the strengthening of cohesion in times of stress, although the nature of affinity may have shifted more in a bilateral direction.

Morioka suggests another psychodynamic function in ancestor worship for people in the poorer strata of society; for them the worship of ancestors may relieve tension concerning their present low status and ensure against future disaster or misfortune. According to karmic principles one has to rationalize one's present impoverished position as due to bad karma in the past. The rationalization that occurs very often is that a previous generation did not worship properly; hence, in order to ensure the family's prosperity in the future, one has to maintain a more proper form of ancestral worship.

What Morioka points out very graphically in his functionalist analysis is how the Japanese concept of ancestor worship is stretched very readily to include individuals who, properly speaking, are not true members of one's lineage. In effect, this flexibility in regard to ancestor worship is a direct reflection of the flexibility in adoption which maintains "family" occupational continuity through the generations. Morioka also points up that some memorialization of the dead remains the single important inducement for many contemporary Japanese to maintain a Buddhist affiliation. The Japanese may have almost no concern for Buddhist dogma or Buddhist beliefs; nevertheless, the necessity to memorialize the dead keeps allegiance to one's Buddhist sect for ceremonial purposes. Finally, Morioka points up that the weakened influ ence of established religions has led numbers of contemporary Japanese to accept some new religious form. Curiously enough, some of these "new" religions have reintroduced ancestral memorialization as a means of satisfying this continuing need among their constituents. But as definite as the major change in memorialization is the obvious bilaterality that has come to the fore in contemporary Japanese families.

In Lee (Chapter 12) the points made elsewhere (Chapter 3) about the relative maintenance of status within the household by Korean women despite the pressures of the Confucianist patriarchical orientation is reflected in the physical independence accorded Korean women in the allocation of space within the Korean house. The inheritance system remains a form of modified primogeniture, with unequal distribution among the male inheritors. The first son receives the superior share, since he is allocated the responsibility of care for the parents within the stem family system still extant in Korea. The Korean housewife is sufficiently "pure" to perform rituals to the household deities, unlike the lower status afforded Chinese women described in Kendall's comparative analysis in Chapter 3. Nevertheless, the Confucianist principle that ancestor worship is a male function is evident in the division of ritual acts

in the Korean family. The male family head is the exclusive person responsible for ancestral worship.

Lee documents how the more restricted space of city living has influenced the division of roles among family members, especially in the working class but in the middle class as well. Whereas some forms of labor for the Korean housewife have diminished, her psychological responsibility as wife and mother has been increased.

The household deities are disappearing in the urban apartment. A number of educated women have converted to Christianity, Buddhism, or some form of new religion. Household religious practices have dropped out. Nevertheless, shamanistic rituals are maintained by specialists moving into the urban scene.

The forms of ancestor worship practiced have become much simplified or changed from their traditional modes. Younger men have lost knowledge of how to write ancestral tablets, and they must resort to the use of photographs. The elaborately conceived ceremonial table with its many dishes is now not well prepared. Nevertheless, Lee points out that ancestor worship has maintained some popularity among urban people and is used as a means of bringing together rural and urban dwellers in order to mark the continuity of family integrity. Ceremonies are excuses to bring families together; they are occasions for social interchange among relatives now widely separated geographically.

Lee makes a final comment that the practice of Korean religion, especially that centered around ancestor worship, is really a supplication for family prosperity rather than conceived of as a form of character formation for individuals. This is true for Korean practices of shamanism, Buddhism, Confucianism, or even Christianity. In this sense, despite the so-called modernization of the Korean family, religion remains in an emotional sense very deeply expressive of traditional cultural patterns.

THE SENSE OF SELF AND SOCIAL ROLE IN RELIGIOUS EXPRESSION

In the final part of this volume, "Women's Role and Status in the Family," we have three chapters that, in effect, turn more directly toward an examination of motivational patterns of a psychocultural nature rather than a functional analysis of social structure. Sofue (Chapter 14) relates the known anthropological material that strongly suggests that the fundamental family group during the eighth century was one of bilateral kindred in which both patrilineal and matrilineal principles could be seen as operative. Inferentially, the lower the individual's social status, the more prevalent the bilaterality, whereas patrilineality was increasingly stronger the higher the class. There is good evidence for both dual virilocality and uxorivirilocality as prevailing patterns at the dawn of literacy in Japan. From the ninth century on women's status became gradually lowered and by the time of the takeover by the samurai class in the fourteenth century, the position of women became very similar to that existing in China at this period. The feudalistic period in Japan accentuated the lower position of women among the dominant samurai, the class that made specific use of Confucianist ideology. Therefore, we find in Japanese

history some parallels to what we have stated was extant among Koreans with the ascendency of Confucianism through the Yi Dynasty.

Sofue skillfully considers the expressive relationships of family members depicted in Japanese mythology and literature and suggests that the major preoccupation to be noted in the early mythology was about sibling relationships. This suggests intrafamilial patterns in which intergenerational concerns were much less evident than jealousies and sexual tensions among sibs and half-sibs of the same generation. Sofue contrasts this preoccupation with that of the modern period, in which the fantasy life expressed in literature and the mass media focuses very heavily on the mother-son dyad. The close psychological focus on a lack of resolution of dependency and nurturance needs between mother and son suggests certain specific continuing tensions within the Japanese family, marked by the continuing disciplinary as well as nurturant influence of the mother into adulthood. This differs from an Oedipal relationship, in which tensions are directed toward the dominant paternal figure. What we see is that the lineage system as practiced in Japan may be formally patrilineal but the focus is upon the powerful and emotionally expressive role of the mother which is also transmuted into the instrumental performance of males, as I have pointed out elsewhere [DEVOS 1973; Chapter 5]. Japanese society with its "socialization for achievement" depends heavily upon the internalization of standards and role expectations through the self-sacrificial definition of the woman's role. Thus a quasi-religious sense of security and purpose remains located in the performance of role expectations rather than expressed through a concern with formal religious doctrines in many Japanese families.

Chapter 15 by Tanaka reinforces these contentions directly by a detailed consideration of maternal authority in the Japanese family. Tanaka stresses the strong sense of dependency and need for nurturance which continues in the male role as these needs are transferred from the mother to the wife. Through satisfying such needs, the woman gains a very strong moral authority within the Japanese household. The woman's domain includes nurturant care of family members on a daily basis, as well as some care for the ancestors in the domestic setting. The man's domain is almost exclusively outside the house. The woman within the household maintains the moral integrity of the family. More than that, the woman's role is highly internalized, with a "Confucianist" dedication to the role which goes beyond that found either in China or Korea. There is the practice of the Confucianist ethic without the continuity of self-conscious Confucian ideology.

In the last chapter (16) by Hesung Chung Koh, we find a detailed examination of the personal motivation related to the assumption of a specialized religious role by contemporary women. Koh examines the various expressive emotional motives, especially related to the sense of affiliative loss which stimulates individuals to take on the role of a Buddhist nun. She further compares and contrasts the social status characteristics and social background of women in Korea who become Buddhist nuns with women who become shamans as reported by Youngsook Kim Harvey [1979]. Koh makes a very cogent comparison of social structural characteristics and family

background which differentiates the individuals becoming Buddhist nuns from those becoming shamans. The nuns were all of upper middle-class status, whereas the shamans were drawn from lower middle-class families. Common to all those becoming Buddhist nuns is a deep sense of role dedication. There is an emphasis on role performance even though there are extenuating circumstances that make these women feel that they cannot perform the normal role of woman through entering the married state. It is interesting to see in the autobiographic essays how each woman combined different elements of Christian, Buddhist as well as Confucianist considerations in her choice of vocation, without seeing them as contradictory or exclusive of one another.

Looking at these considerations from the standpoint of expressive motivations discussed in this chapter, we see how much affiliative loss enters in as an ordeal to be overcome in these womens' lives. Interpersonal love is transposed into a love for Buddha or love for Christ. The concept of affiliation is transmuted in totally religious terms. Koh states also these women's need for self-acceptance and self-respect as an expressive emotional concern. She says of one nun, "Through her synthesis of belief, she found courage to meet life's challenges and maintain her *self-respect* as well as justify her life-style."

What is also apparent in all five cases cited by Koh is that becoming a nun meant overcoming strong family opposition. Considering the deep attachment to family, it is impressive how they were able to persevere in the choice of a religious vocation. Again to be noted in this small sample is that all the nuns were eldest daughters, a sibling position of particular responsibility in the Asian household. When Koh compared the mudang with the nuns, again it was apparent that the role of eldest daughter was represented in five of the six cases cited by Harvey [1979]. In each instance these women were intelligent, strong-willed, and self-reliant. Again comparatively, the women cited by Harvey experienced severe internal conflict, but it is to be noted that the conflict occurred at a different stage of the life cycle for those becoming shamans. The nuns had their period of ordeal in their mid-twenties, while the shamans faced a crisis in their lives and resolved it by becoming a mudang during their mid-thirties. The symptoms of illness in the mudang tended to be more in the direction of what are usually termed psychopathological problems; there appeared psychosomatic symptoms or symptoms of mental illness such as hallucination or seizures.

What is overwhelmingly apparent in both sets of individuals is the unusual amount of tragedy and highly charged emotional experience, the most excruciating being the death of close family members or lovers. Another feature which may be typical for postwar Koreans, generally, but was noteworthy among the families of those becoming shamans was the frequent moves in which the individual sought for some more stable financial situation. In their case histories one notes a great deal of physical displacement and insecurity about economic survival.

Koh summarizes the same focus on cultural values found in both the nuns and in the women becoming shamans, although the emphasis was somewhat different

between them. The three principal values found as important in all the cases, were first, a deep sense of filial piety. There were in these women a strong sense of dutifulness and the acceptance of responsibility for the support and care of others. Concerning the value of chastity in premarital experience, there was a striking difference between the nuns and the shamans. The nuns showed high value for chastity; those becoming shamans had been more expressive sexually and had developed liaisons which sometimes brought them into social disrepute. Nevertheless, both nuns and shamans expressed the value of role dedication. All the women were seriously concerned with the role of women and took seriously the expectation that a woman is to be a wife and mother, even though in their personal vocational choice there may have been a rejection of their own ability to fulfill this role. In the case of the shamans, the women assumed the role of economic provider in instances where their spouses were incapable of fulfilling it. What we find in all these cases is no manifest rejection of the status accorded women in society; rather they attempted to take on unusual roles as religious specialists, the better to fulfill a sense of responsibility, despite an inner feeling of incapacity to play the woman's role as it is usually expected. Throughout the lives of these individuals, there was an implicit adherence to Confucian ethics which attests to the depth of Confucian values in contemporary Korean culture. In approaching such cases on a biographical level, we note the necessity to take into account more than simple social structural characteristics in understanding religious behavior. The fact that religious motivation is expressive as well as instrumental is well documented in Koh's biographies.

In sum, in the following chapters we can observe in Asian traditions some universal functions of religion as related both to social structure and to motivations of an expressive or instrumental nature, which are part of human personality, whether in Asia or elsewhere.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

AHERN, Emily

1973 *The Cult of the Dead in a Chinese village.* Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press.

1975 The Power and Pollution of Chinese Women. In M. Wolf and Witke (eds.), *Women in Chinese Society*, Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, pp. 193–214.

1978 Sacred and Secular Medicine in a Taiwan Village: A Study of Cosmological Disorders. In A. Kleinman *et al.* (eds.), *Culture and Healing in Asian Societies*, Cambridge, Mass.: Schenkman Publishing Company, pp. 17–39.

DEUCHLER, Martina

1977 The Tradition: Women during the Yi Dynasty. In S. Mattielli (ed.), *Virtues in Conflict: Tradition and the Korean Woman Today*, Seoul: Royal Asiatic Society, pp. 1–48.

1980 Neo-Confucianism: The Impulse for Social Action in Early Yi Korea. *Journal of Korean Studies* 2: 71–112.

DeVos, George A.
1973 *Socialization for Achievement: Essays on the Cultural Psychology of the Japanese.* Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.
1980 Afterward. In David Reynolds (ed.), *The Quiet Therapies,* Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, pp. 111–135.
Durkheim, Emile
1947 *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life.* Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press.
Freud, Sigmund
1928 *The Future of an Illusion.* London: Hogarth Press.
Harvey, Youngsook Kim
1979 *Six Korean Women: The Socialization of Shamans.* St. Paul, Minn.: West Publishing.
Kluckhohn, Clyde
1944 *Navaho Witchcraft.* Boston: Beacon Press.
Lebra, William
1974 *Okinawan Religion: Belief, Ritual, and Social Structure.* Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.
Malinowski, Bronislaw
1948 *Magic, Science, and Religion.* Boston: Beacon Press.
1974 *The Foundations of Faith and Morals.* London: Oxford University Press.
Marsella, Anthony, George DeVos and Francis Hsu
1984 *Culture and Self.* London: Methven.
Piaget, Jean
1930 *The Child's Conception of Physical Causality.* London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
1932 *The Moral Judgment of Children.* London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner.
Reynolds, David
1976 *Morita Psychotherapy.* Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.
Sansome, George
1958 *The History of Japan to 1334.* Stanford: Stanford University Press.
Van Gennep, Arnold
1960 *The Rites of Passage.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
Warner, W. Lloyd
1958 *A Black Civilization: A Study of an Australian Tribe.* New York: Harper and Row.
Weber, Max
1954 Class, Status, Power. In C. Wright Mills and W. W. Gerth (eds.), *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology,* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, pp. 154–165.
Wolf, Margery
1972 *Women and the Family in Rural Taiwan.* Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press.
1974 Chinese Women: Old Skills in a New Context. In M. Z. Rosaldo and L. Lamphere (eds.), *Women, Culture, and Society,* Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University, pp. 157–172.