

YANAGAWA Keiichi and ANZAI Shin 柳川啓一・安齋 伸 eds., *Shūkyō to shakai hendō* 宗教と社会変動 [Religion and social change]. Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Shuppankai, 1979. Hardbound. x + 303 pp. including a 22-page bibliography of Japanese-language works on religion and social change. ¥2,400.

In recent years a number of works have appeared that deal with religion and social change. Among them are Ikado Fujio's *Kamigoroshi no jidai* [The age of decide], Robert Bellah's *Beyond belief*, Thomas Luckmann's *The invisible religion*, Morioka Kiyomi's *Hendōki no ningen to shūkyō* [Man and religion in a changing era], the Association for the Study of Religion and Society's *Gendai shūkyō e no shikaku* [Perspectives on contemporary religion], and Bryan Wilson's *Contemporary transformations of religion*. One may regard these publications as bringing to light the difficulties involved in determining, with regard to rapidly changing contemporary society, the place of religious phenomena and the way they are evolving. One may also view them as arguments for specific theories developed on the basis of case studies. The book under review likewise manifests these two aspects. It is probably inevitable that the various writers grappling with this fundamental but formidable task do not necessarily hold a common view

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as to how social change is to be treated. This, however, corresponds to the present state of affairs in religious studies and is also attributable, perhaps, to the fact that the book was intended from the outset to be not a unified study but a collection of papers.

The book as a whole is divided into three parts. The papers, in six chapters, constitute parts 1 and 2. Part 3 contains not only an account of the "Conference on Religious Consciousness in Changing Societies" which was held at the University of Hawaii and which served as the occasion for this publication, but also a bibliography of Japanese-language works on religion and social change published up to the beginning of 1970. In this review I propose to concentrate on the papers. I shall introduce each one briefly, adding a few comments as I go along.

In chapter 1, "The origin and development of the new religions," MURAKAMI Shigeyoshi identifies the distinctive characteristics of fifteen religious bodies in light of their relationship to three historical periods: the period of transition from the Tokugawa to the Meiji government, the period of the pre-1945 emperor system, and the post-war period that saw a sudden upsurge in religious organizations. With great clarity he depicts how religious bodies carried on under the constraints of government power, especially the power of an emperor system based on the myths of the *Kojiki* and the *Nihon shoki*. He also shows what made for the developments that occurred in the postwar milieu when religious bodies were freed from such constraints.

Chapter 2, "Modernization and the transformation in Japanese people's sense of religious values" by MUNAKATA Iwao, takes up the problem of the profound influence that modernization has had on uninstitutionalized cultural values and seeks to ascertain how the sense of religious values has changed under the conditions of the late modern period.<sup>1</sup> His methodology relies on a typology of religious social character. The traditional and basic religious culture of the Japanese people, in contrast to the transcendentalist type associated with Christianity, is classified as an "immanentist religious culture" in the sense that the divine is universally present. What is distinctive of the immanentist type is the notion that man and nature, man and the spirits, are united

1. For an English version of this paper, see Munakata Iwao, "The ambivalent effects of modernization on the traditional folk religion of Japan," *Japanese journal of religious studies* 3 (1976): 99-126. — Ed.

in a stratified but continuous circle. With the advance of modernization, however, the symbols that supported this basic religious culture began to disintegrate. The traditional immanentist type of religious culture changed into a latent-immanentist type borne by the middle-aged stratum of the population, people for whom it was no longer possible to have the kinds of social experiences that would enable them to develop the traditional type of religious orientation. Among the youth, moreover, a post-immanentist type of religious culture developed. On the basis of this typology the author then proceeds to analyze the ambivalence relating to particularism and universalism in the consciousness and behavior of the latent-immanentist type, and the ambivalence resulting from the almost total lack of mechanisms for symbolic expression in the more universal, post-immanentist type. The latter, he argues, involves phenomena to be understood as signaling the emergence of a new and positively evaluated type of religious culture. One problem in this paper is that at no point does the author explain why the conditions of the late modern period entail the preservation of immanence. Is this not a point at which it becomes evident that there are fundamental problems in a logic built on the presupposition that the greater the modernization, the greater the universalism? Moreover, is it not the case that just as a counterculture movement has appeared among today's youth, so too we can discern in the postmodern period a strongly magical, anti-rational tendency? Whether immanence is preserved in these various dimensions is a point that calls for further clarification.

Chapter 3, by MORIMURA Nobuko, is on "The religious consciousness of youth in present-day Japan." The data analyzed are drawn from surveys of national character and various statistical materials. Her analysis makes clear the tendency to steer clear of the established religions in favor of developing some form of "invisible religion." She also shows that Japanese religious behavior is characterized by its emphasis on the annual cycle of ritual activities, and that when religious consciousness is analyzed in relationship to this characteristic, religious behavior can be understood as a matter of practice oriented to the sustaining of life. Japanese religious life, the life of faith, is further described as spiritually immature in that it relies heavily on magic and displays a prominent tendency to seek tangible, this-worldly benefits. This leads her to declare that religious consciousness "in the true sense"

does not yet exist. Questionable in this paper is the lack of clarity regarding what is under study in the religious consciousness of youth and the author's highly subjective view of Japanese religion. I think it would have been better to begin by making a factor analysis of the statistically shown differences among the various age groups.

The fourth chapter, coauthored by MORIOKA Kiyomi and NISHIYAMA Shigeru, is entitled "The diffusion and indigenization process of a new religious movement in a provincial area." It presents a case study of Myōchikai members in the Yunohama district of Yamagata prefecture. The authors begin by constructing a hypothetical framework in terms of which to understand how a new belief system spreads, penetrates, and takes root in a traditionally oriented locality. This is accompanied by an analysis of concrete changes in this society. These changes are considered under the headings of industrial structure, political structure, and religious features. With regard to the last, the authors show that during the years following defeat in war when Reiyūkai and Myōchikai were being propagated, social instability and the weakening of traditional local group controls over the norms of daily life necessarily resulted in corresponding structural changes in the religious dimension. The conditions brought about by these structural changes provide the factors in relation to which Myōchikai belief spread, took root, and established itself. Beginning with a hypothetical framework which they then verify, the authors have turned out a paper that has to be reckoned one of the most advanced in present-day Japanese sociology of religion. I am troubled, however, by one thing. Is it not through linking the religious world view contained in this religion with its organizational growth and with the carrying out of practical activities that the subjective factors motivating propagation and indigenization are to be found? As this matter receives theoretical and empirical clarification, we can look forward, I believe, to the opening of a new horizon in the sociology of religion. In this paper, for example, the "visible evidence" for prophetic knowledge of the conflagrations that struck the community gave Myōchikai believers religious legitimacy and a conviction of salvation. May it not be, however, that this religious "magnetic field" can come to constitute a kind of "myth"? Is it wrong to think of this conviction as motivating believers to lead others to faith, and of this state of affairs as resulting in the formation of a subjective but commonly held world view among the faithful?

Chapter 5, ANZAI Shin's "Traditional belief and imported religion," is a field report on a community located on the island of Miyakojima in Okinawa. The author describes the view of salvation in Kangakariya belief, part of the traditional Yahdas belief system. He also goes into the social meaning of this view of salvation and into several features of the central community ritual known as *muto*. In addition to the traditional belief, characterized by decline and secularization, other forms of religion have been imported, notably the Spirit of Jesus Church, the Roman Catholic Church, and Sōka Gakkai. The author presents an analysis of the conditions relating to their acceptance. He suggests that people select and adopt a religion in accordance with the life-interests that emerge in consequence of their social status, economic condition, and life history. This paper reads much like a collection of fieldwork notes. It is to be hoped that the interrelationships among the various factors will receive further elucidation in some future publication.

Chapter 6, NAKAMAKI Hirochika's "The logic of change in religious systems," presents an analysis based on fieldwork undertaken in the Hokkaido community of Tokoro. In this paper religious change is treated systemically. The question in the author's mind as he conducts his analysis is: when social change occurs, how do religious systems change? The term "system" is conceptualized as a publicly recognizable general process that comes into being supported by a will-objectifying model that on the one hand connotes a desire for harmony, and on the other functions to restrain conflict. The problem explored is that of the role played by social factors and will in the maintenance, modification, and extinction of religious systems. The religious systems of Tokoro are classified into: (1) the folklore system supported by a rather loose model, (2) the Shinto shrine system with its area by area organization, and (3) the Buddhist temple and Christian church system based on the principle of voluntary membership and free competition. Changes in each type of religious system are analyzed in detail. The analysis of the process of change in the shrine system is particularly acute. It shows us that rites which first began in the households of early settlers changed into community rites; that these in turn, for the sake of community integration, were made into community shrine rites; and that when a higher status *sonsha* or village shrine was subsequently being established, a model arose that, depending

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on how thoroughly its implications were followed out, made for a competitive or harmonious relationship between this and other villages. The study also covers correlative changes in the fishing industry system and in folklore, the problem of the temperament of the leader of traditional Buddhism in the context of the voluntary membership religious system, the principle on the basis of which the relationship between the Buddhist temple and its supporters grew up, and the matter of social strata and their overlapping sect memberships. The question I would like to raise with reference to the relationship between change in the religious system and change in the social structure is: what gave rise to the spirit of conflict? In the same connection I am afraid I found the author's account of the social conditions that made for harmony a bit thin. He takes up the matter by way of folklore analysis, but I think it necessary to examine the relationship between the shrine and changes in community life. Clarity with regard to the actualities of conflict and harmony can only be expected as a result of such an examination.

Treating both new and traditional religious bodies as well as the religious value system and religious consciousness of the Japanese people, this book is not only richly varied in content but also highly sophisticated in its treatment of the data analyzed. For these reasons each paper, in its own way, is enlightening. The thread I see running through all the papers is the idea of exploring phenomena distinctive of the world of religious culture under the secularized conditions of present-day Japan. As scholars plumb the contents of the papers brought together in this volume, it should become possible to formulate a comprehensive theory and then to proceed to comparative research. In this sense the book under review occupies an important position in the study of contemporary religion.

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