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Shared Abodes, Disparate Visions: Japanese Anthropology during the Allied Occupation

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During World War II, the US enlisted behavioral scientists to provide intelligence on combatant nations. In 1945–1951, when Japan was put under Allied occupation in the wake of military defeat, American anthropologists were dispatched to work for the Civil Information and Education Section under General Headquarters in Tokyo, under whose orders they carried out a number of social science surveys throughout rural Japan. The first of these anthropologists, Herbert Passin, hired a number of young Japanese survey assistants trained in the fields of anthropology, sociology, folklore studies and law. They conducted field surveys in farming and fishing villages. On the foundations of these surveys, the US established Japan studies, while Japan imported American-style cultural anthropology. In this article, I chronicle the specific contents of these surveys, while at the same time clarifying the process through which cultural anthropology was established at Tokyo University.

1. Introduction

Anthropology has come to define itself as the study of foreign cultures by means of fieldwork. The development of anthropology in every country begins with research into other cultures carried out in conjunction with exploration in remote lands, colonization, missionary work and such. Predominantly, fieldwork has targeted colonial subjects and national minorities. The exigencies of propagating the Gospel, colonial governance and other projects have often motivated research on foreign peoples. Despite its avowedly scholarly intent, fieldwork has not been able to avoid politicization, for it requires an institutional framework for its implementation and the solicitation of funds to conduct expeditions.

This writer's research focuses on the importance of fieldwork in the former colonies and occupied territories for the development of Japanese anthropology. In the course of my research, I discovered that several of the Japanese anthropologists who conducted fieldwork in Japan's prewar colonies went on to work for the US occupation authorities' Civil Information and Education Bureau (CIE) at General Headquarters (GHQ) after the loss of the Japanese empire. My research into the official documents of CIE then led to interviews with participants. Of particular importance was my visit to the East Lansing home of Ishino Iwao (b. 1921), Professor Emeritus at Michigan State University, in August 2003. During the war, Ishino had been confined as a Japanese–American at the Poston Relocation Camp in Arizona, where he participated in a survey conducted under the supervision of Alexander H. Leighton. Thereafter, he served in the US Office of War Information in

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Washington, DC, working on Japan strategy. At the recommendation of Clyde Kluckhohn (1905–1960), Ishino entered the doctoral program in anthropology at Harvard after the war. He also gained experience during a stint in Tokyo working for the CIE section of GHQ. Ishino's anthropological apprenticeship highlights the importance of wartime- and occupation-period Japan studies in the history of American-applied anthropology. In addition, Ishino's story can serve as a lens for viewing America's strong influence on Japan's reconstituted anthropology in the postwar period.

During the Second World War, the American Office of War Information and Office of Strategic Services commissioned behavioral scientists to analyze the cultures and patterned behavior of enemy nations. Such research provided a basis for wartime propaganda and occupation policies.[1] Owing to the publication of Ruth Benedict's (1946) *The Chrysanthemum and the Sword*, it is widely known that anthropologists participated in the war against Japan. Benedict is famous for her theory of Japanese culture, which attributed Japanese military aggression to cultural otherness. She based her theory on materials specifically gathered to decipher the behavioral patterns of the enemy. Ishino worked in Benedict's section of the Office of War Information. The experience inspired him to pursue specialized training in anthropology after the war. The GHQ documents housed in the National Archives and Records Administration (NARA) in Washington, DC, along with the testimony of Ishino and interviews with other participants, reveal that wartime Japan studies effected a major transformation in the research agenda of American anthropology.

Before the war, American anthropological research focused upon 'primitive cultures', mainly Native Americans. In the 1930s, the Yucatan research of Robert Redfield and John Embree's research in Japan took up literate societies as objects of investigation. During the war, Americans then utilized behavioral science (anthropological, sociological and sociopsychological research) to study adversary nations and populations under US military occupation. There was an especially notable increase in field surveys in the hotly contested Pacific Islands and New Guinea. Thus, the Pacific War was a turning point, setting the stage for American anthropology's postwar expansion into every corner of the world. Japan Studies, insofar as it represented research of a literate society using methods developed among Native Americans, witnessing a shift from non-literate to literate societies, also prompted a reevaluation of anthropological methodology.

After the publication of *The Chrysanthemum and the Sword*, Ruth Benedict passed away without having had a chance to visit Japan. Nonetheless, because anthropology was considered the foundational behavioral science for the analysis of wartime Japan, anthropologists were even more aggressively deployed to aid in the implementation of Allied occupation policies. Out of practical necessity, GHQ put Americans with Japanese-language skills in charge of Japanese assistants—sociologists, folklorists (*minzokugaku*), anthropologists and legal scholars—with good English-language skills. The methodology of American behavioral science was inculcated as the Japanese social surveys were conducted within its framework. In the wake of the 1951 San Francisco Peace Treaty, centers for Japan research were established throughout the US, absorbing the specialists who served their apprenticeships in occupied Japan. In Japan, the social scientists who adopted American

1. Behavioral science is a general term that covers three fields: sociology, social psychology and anthropology. American behavioral science reached a turning point during the Second World War, when it developed into a discipline aimed at analyzing information to develop effective tactics for the conduct of warfare.

behavioral science methodology while working on the surveys became university professors and continued to conduct research on the basis of this imported methodology.

Thus, in America, Japan Studies originated in the Pacific War, while the occupation years introduced the Japanese academy to American social science methodology. Jennifer Robertson and Sonya Ryang have previously discussed the outlines of American anthropological research on Japan (Robertson 1998; Ryang 2004). The extent to which postwar Japan Studies in the US are indebted to John Embree's prewar research in Suye-mura and Ruth Benedict's *The Chrysanthemum and the Sword* (itself a product of wartime strategic studies) have been well documented. Of the occupation-period researchers discussed in my study, Robertson mentions only Bennett and Ishino. Moreover, the occupation-period surveys of Japan are peripheral to her study. Robertson's analysis provides an overview of the concerns and trends in postwar Japan Studies, but does not touch upon the major theme addressed by this essay, namely, the relationship between GHQ policy and anthropology. Chapter 3 of Ryang's study deals with occupation-period anthropology, analyzing the ethnographies of Japan that emerged from the occupation surveys. Ryang mentions the participation of Japanese anthropologists as assistants on the surveys, working under the GHQ's Civil Information and Education Division (Ryang 2004: 80, 87). Ryang adequately charts the occupation's impact on the discipline, providing a systematic account of American anthropologists in the Japanese field. However, how the survey section of the GHQ's CIE division conducted its research in the name of policy has yet to be concretely analyzed.

In this article, I interrogate the nature of the relationship between GHQ policy and the survey projects. I also inquire into how Japanese and American anthropologists, as participants in the GHQ surveys, molded postwar Japan Studies. For during the occupation, American and Japanese anthropologists in CIE embarked on collaborative research that produced a Japan Studies that was clearly distinct from its prewar counterpart.

As CIE staffers, Japanese and American anthropologists played major roles in policy planning and surveys of public opinion regarding occupation policies. Although wartime research on Japan launched Japan studies, securing its beachhead, so to speak, the occupation period extended its perimeters, enlarging its scope. Based on my interviews with the participants, research in US archival records, as well as the publications and memoirs of American anthropologists and their Japanese assistants, this article will analyze hitherto unexamined materials to clarify the relationship between anthropology and the politics of the Allied occupation of Japan.

2. American-Applied Anthropology from Wartime to the Early Postwar Period

Ruth Benedict (1887–1948) began her anthropological research with the study of American–Indian cultures. On 28 June 1943, she was appointed head of Basic Cultural Analysis for the Foreign Information Division of the Wartime Information Bureau. Thereafter, she conducted cultural anthropological research with a mind to its applications. At first, she was called upon to cooperate in the training of relief workers dispatched to Europe by the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration. She also wrote reports on the cultures of Norwegians, Danes and Chinese residents in the US as a member of the Council of Intercultural Relations. That is to say, Benedict was engaged in the task of assembling basic information about other cultures even before she joined the Foreign Information Bureau; she continued in that vein throughout the war (Kent 1994: 83). Benedict's first project for the Wartime Foreign Information Bureau was to

write a cultural profile of Thailand. Benedict's predecessor was Geoffrey Gorer (1905–1985), who had researched Japanese national character at Yale University. At the Bureau, Gorer researched Germany and Burma (Kent 1994: 83).[2]

In April 1944, the Japan Section of the Far East Division of the Military Intelligence Service was charged with administering Japanese populations in American-occupied territories. They analyzed transcripts of interviews with captured Japanese soldiers and confiscated military documents. This work won the praise of the State Department, resulting in the August 1944 creation of an independent Foreign Morale Analysis Division.[3] Among the initial members of this organization were several second-generation Japanese–Americans who conducted research in cooperation with Alexander H. Leighton, including Ishino Iwao, Matsumoto Yoshiharu, Yatsushiro Toshio and Tsuchiyama Tamie. These men had assisted with the surveys of Japanese–Americans at the Poston Relocation Camp in Arizona, and then moved on to work for the Civil Information and Education Section in occupied Japan. Ultimately, this office would be comprised of 30 members, drawing its talent from wide range of fields, including cultural anthropology, psychology, psychiatry, sociology, political science and Japanese language/civilization (Kent 1994: 84).

In 1945, in anticipation of a Japanese surrender, the Foreign Morale Analysis Division shifted its responsibilities to drafting policies relating to postwar reconstruction (Kent 1994: 84). One of the hot topics of debate and research was the role of the emperor. Ruth Benedict began her 'Report 25: Japanese Behavior Patterns' in May 1945 and published it just before the atomic bombs were dropped (Kent 1994: 90). Before Benedict wrote 'Report 25', she submitted another report that broached the subject of the emperor's treatment; it was so compelling that it played a definitive role in the arguments against abolishing the emperor system after the war.

John Embree was the lone anthropologist studying Japanese agricultural villages in the prewar period. He conducted fieldwork for about a year in Kumamoto prefecture, Kuma-gun, Suye-mura. Embree's *Suye mura* (1939) was a foundational study for the comprehension of Japanese society and was utilized by every institution concerned with Japan strategy. *Suye mura*'s canonical status shows that anthropology-based Japan studies played a significant role in American wartime anti-Japanese propaganda. Even after the war, it was recognized at GHQ that anthropological analyses of Japanese society had an important part to play in propaganda.

Nonetheless, there were very few anthropologists in America who could understand Japanese at the time. It was becoming apparent that Japanese anthropologists who could understand English, and those in related fields, would need to be mobilized to conduct the public opinion surveys related to the occupying military's policies. The first of these policies, which provided the impetus for the surveys, was agricultural land reform. As part of the survey, the Japanese anthropologists, folklorists and

2. Geoffrey Gorer was an Englishman who studied Classical and Modern Languages at Cambridge University; he also studied at universities in Paris, Berlin and Florence. With the rise of the Nazis, he began to study sadism, but then became attracted to anthropology after traveling to French-occupied West Africa to study local customs and dances. He studied in America under Margaret Mead and Benedict. In 1937, he traveled to inner Tibet, where he wrote an ethnographical report on his survey of the Lepcha. During World War II, he was posted in Washington, DC, as part of the English mission. Based on his experience there, he published *The Americans* (1948). After the war, Gorer studied the taboos surrounding death and mourning, and published 'The Pornography of Death' in 1955, which exerted influence across many fields (Utsunomiya 1986: 19, 225–226).

3. On the research activities of Japanese Americans at the internment camps, with a focus on Tsuchiyama Tamie, see Hirabayashi (1999).

sociologists adopted the methodology of American anthropology. In the postwar period, they firmly established it as the research paradigm for subsequent surveys of Japanese society.

As the office responsible for educational and cultural policy, CIE promoted educational reform and was charged with conducting surveys of Japanese public opinion. Anthropologists were allocated to CIE's 'Published Reports of the Public Opinion and Sociological Research Division'. There, Herbert Passin played a pivotal role. In addition, John Bennett (1915–2003) was dispatched to CIE from the Anthropology Department at Ohio State University, while John Pelzel (1914–) was called to Tokyo from Harvard's Anthropology Department. Pelzel, upon his return to Harvard, was succeeded by Ishino Iwao.

Passin learned Japanese during the war at the University of Michigan's Army Intensive Japanese Language School. At the beginning of 1946, he arrived in Japan as a language officer in the military occupation. He was first posted to Hakata, where he monitored cable transmissions. When the head military officer for Japan's schools visited Hakata and saw Passin's resume, which included a degree in anthropology from the University of Chicago and experience with public opinion surveys, he recommended that Passin be transferred to CIE in Tokyo. His first task in the capital was to present a lecture on the state of affairs in world anthropology, at the request of the Japanese Society of Ethnology (Nihon Minzokugaku Kyōkai). In August 1946, Passin lectured in Tokyo, Kyoto and Sendai, affording him the opportunity to meet Shibusawa Keizō[4] and Yanagita Kunio[5] (Passin 1981: 199–200).[6]

Passin has recollected that his most important survey was conducted between 1946 and the first half of 1949 among some 30 farming and fishing villages. The men in charge of the actual survey work at this time were Japanese researchers in ethnology, anthropology, folklore, and sociology. Passin needed manpower to carry out the public opinion surveys for CIE, so he asked Shibusawa and Yanagita to introduce him to junior colleagues. Passin thereupon surveyed Japan's farming and fishing villages (Passin 1981: 201). Bennett and Ishino, as well as many of the Japanese researchers who cooperated with CIE public opinion surveys, must be counted among the guiding lights of postwar Japanese legal studies, anthropology and sociology.[7]

3. The CIE Survey of Japanese Society

Special mention of the CIE surveys were made in a roundtable discussion in the 1953 'Social Survey' issue of *Minzokugaku Kenkyū*. Here, the details regarding the localities and background of the surveys are related; the key participant was Seki Keigo. Below, I summarize its relevant content.

4. Shibusawa's grandfather was Shibusawa Eiichi, the founder of the First National Bank of Japan. Keizō followed in his grandfather's footsteps, eventually becoming the president of the Bank of Japan. He maintained a lifelong connection to ethnology, writing several ethnological studies of Japanese fisheries. After the war, Shibusawa became Minister of Finance, but was banished from public office during the purge. Thereafter, he served as the president of the Japanese Society of Ethnology.

5. Yanagita Kunio is regarded as the founding father of Japanese folklore studies.

6. Passin typed out his lectures in Romanized Japanese and had an assistant convert these into Japanese characters (Passin 1981: 200); these lectures were published in Japanese in 1949 (Passin 1949).

7. Takeuchi Toshimi (1969: 441), a consultant to the CIE at the time, has cited the following names as participants in these surveys: Suzuki Eitarō (rural sociology), Koyama Takashi (family sociology), Kitano Seiichi (family sociology), Sakurada Katsutoku (folklore studies), Seki Keigo (folklore studies), Ōtō Tokihiko (folklore studies), Ishida Eiichirō (ethnology) and Mabuchi Tōichi (social anthropology).

In June 1946, Passin approached Seki and Kitano to ask if they could round up some assistants because he wanted the cooperation of Japanese scholars to conduct social surveys. Then Seki enlisted the aid of Suzuki Eitarō, accompanied by the second-generation Japanese–American Matsumoto. Suzuki had been an assistant professor of sociology in the Department of Law, Economics and Literature at Keijō Imperial University in Seoul. He returned to Japan after the war, staying with his wife's family in Izu. Passin brought Kitano onboard with Kitano's understanding that he would work on a purely scholarly survey only indirectly connected to occupation policy.

Seki is known as a scholar of Japanese folktales (*mukashibanashi*), but for a folklorist, he had an amazing capacity for foreign languages. In 1938–1939, during his university studies, Seki participated in the Materialism Research Group (Yuibutsu-ron Kenkyū Kai) and read the Marx corpus in its original German. To aid the recovery efforts after the Great Kanto Earthquake in 1923, the Finnish government donated materials to Tokyo University Library, among which Seki found a catalog of Aarne folktales. Seki became interested in the classification of Japanese folktales, thereafter studying folklore under Yanagita Kunio by taking part in surveys of mountain and coastal villages (Seki 1981*b*: 96–98).

The public survey office found it difficult to conduct a survey with Americans alone, so a plan was devised to conduct the survey using Japanese scholars. Seki was entrusted with village youth associations (*wakamono-gumi*) and young men's organizations (*seinen shudan*), while Koyama was put in charge of families (*kazoku*). CIE conducted research into written materials in parallel with its fieldwork; the GHQ's CIE files contain English-language translations of tables of contents for prewar issues of *Minzoku* (Ethnology) and *Minzokugaku* (Folklore). Listed were the locations of materials relating to Japan's physical and cultural anthropology. We can well imagine that the translated titles of these scholarly articles served as a basis for the field surveys.

Now that the joint Japanese–American staff was assembled, Matsumoto, Passin, Caddy (a female researcher investigating neighborhood brigades), Koyama and Seki set off for Tsushima-mura in Izu, where Suzuki was domiciled. Together with Suzuki, they surveyed the neighborhood brigade system, festivals and rite, and village youth associations. Matsumoto wrote a brief English-language article about this project (Matsumoto 1949: 62–77).[8]

In September 1946, CIE held a conference to fix the survey's fundamental topics. The first item was 'Research into the Basic Structure of Japanese Society'. The second item concerned the designation of assistants and the survey of essential written materials. Third on the list was research into daily life at the household, village, city and national levels in order to analyze the basic outlines of culture areas. Koyama was put in charge of households, Kitano villages and Sakurada fishing villages, and Suzuki and Seki were responsible for producing a cultural map of Japan. Under 'national social problems' the following 15 items were listed: (a) population, (b) residential land, (c) communications, (d) family relations, (e) landholding and residential patterns (*chien*), (f) structure of national employment, (g) social solidarities (*shakai dantai*), (h) social stratification, (i) educational institutions, (j) social organizations related to religious life, (k) forms of national etiquette, (l) the nation's annual cycle of daily life, (m) culture areas, (n) rates of urbanization and (o) social structure of the Japanese state (*kokka*). Various reports were written for each of the assigned themes. Suzuki wrote reports on culture change and youth associations, to which he added his research cards upon submission of his materials.

8. This report exactly matches the contents of Seki Keigo's report (Seki 1981*a*: 170). It is likely that Matsumoto translated the survey cards submitted by Seki and then wrote his article. Tsushima-mura, the village where Suzuki Eitarō lived, was chosen in order to prepare for a farm-village survey to investigate the impact of land reform (interview, Suzuki Keisuke).

4. Survey Projects under the Auspices of GHQ

4.1 The Push for Agricultural Reform and the Farm Village Survey

Agricultural reform aimed at a fundamental overcoming of Japanese militarism. Along with *zaibatsu*-busting and labor reform, it was one of the three major reforms of the military occupation. It was the practical means for remedying a feudal system that supported prewar militarism. The notion that Japan had impoverished its farming villages by shifting the burdens of the 1930s economic downturn to rural areas, in turn driving immigration and the occupation of Manchuria formed part of the intellectual background to the policy (Dore 1953: 117). The 26 July 1945 Potsdam Declaration, the 2 September 1945 Instrument of Surrender and the 5 September 1945 Basic Occupation Directive issued by the Joint Chiefs of Staff to Douglas MacArthur were all cited as a basis for implementing agricultural reforms (Hewes 1950: 15). Soon after the occupation commenced, in October 1945, the military government solicited the advice of Tōhata Seiichi, a Japanese professor of agribusiness in Tokyo University's Department of Agriculture. Tōhata advised on Japan's land ownership system and conditions among tenant farmers. At the same time, in November of the same year, CIE initiated research into the question of which structural agricultural reforms would conform with military occupation policy (Hewes 1950: 15). The Japanese government also drafted an initial plan for agricultural reform and submitted it to occupation authorities toward the end of 1945. The Japanese plan, however, was considered insufficient, and an order to improve it was issued. Thus, land reform was planned and implemented under the initiative of the occupation authorities.

Because it was seen as a means to reform the feudal system that constituted the social origins of Japan's militarization, GHQ gave the highest priority to its land reform policy. The Natural Resources Section drafted the outline plan, listening to opinions from experts while implementing frequent surveys on the ground. Considering the necessity of an accurate and precise grasp of actual conditions in Japan for the implementation of agricultural reform, GHQ likely recognized that it would have to design its surveys with experts trained in specialized disciplines. The first task of the Public Opinion and Social Survey divisions was to conduct investigations for the purpose of land reform.

In May 1947, American Secretary of Agriculture Arthur F. Raper organized the farming village surveys conducted for agricultural reform as a commissioner of the Natural Resources Division. Raper requested the cooperation of CIE.[9] Thus, 13 villages were divided up and the survey begun (Figure 1). For a preparatory survey, Karako village, Hiki-gun, Saitama prefecture was selected. The first unit consisted of Raper, Kitano, Koyama and Akita (first name unknown), who were assigned NARA, Okayama, Fukuoka and Kumamoto prefectures. The second unit included Passin, Suzuki and Seki, who were assigned Kawashiro-mura in Shizuoka, Konda-mura in Hyōgo, Yoshida-mura in Shimane and Aioi-mura in Kagawa prefectures. The rationales for choosing the second unit's sites were varied. In Shizuoka prefecture, the question was how to dispose of tea-plantation land as the reforms were implemented; in Kondo-mura in Hyōgo, the problem was how to fix property lines for land that had been taken after the stakes had been burned down; in Yoshida-mura Shimane prefecture, the problem under investigation was the specific customary arrangements for tenants who worked on privately owned forest lands; Aioi village Kagawa prefecture attracted interest because its village elite had

9. Raper was a scholar of rural agricultural society. After the war, Raper returned to the US and conducted an audacious survey of land rents and tenant labor in the American South (Passin 1981: 202). After the Japanese land reforms were completed, Raper worked on land reform in Taiwan.

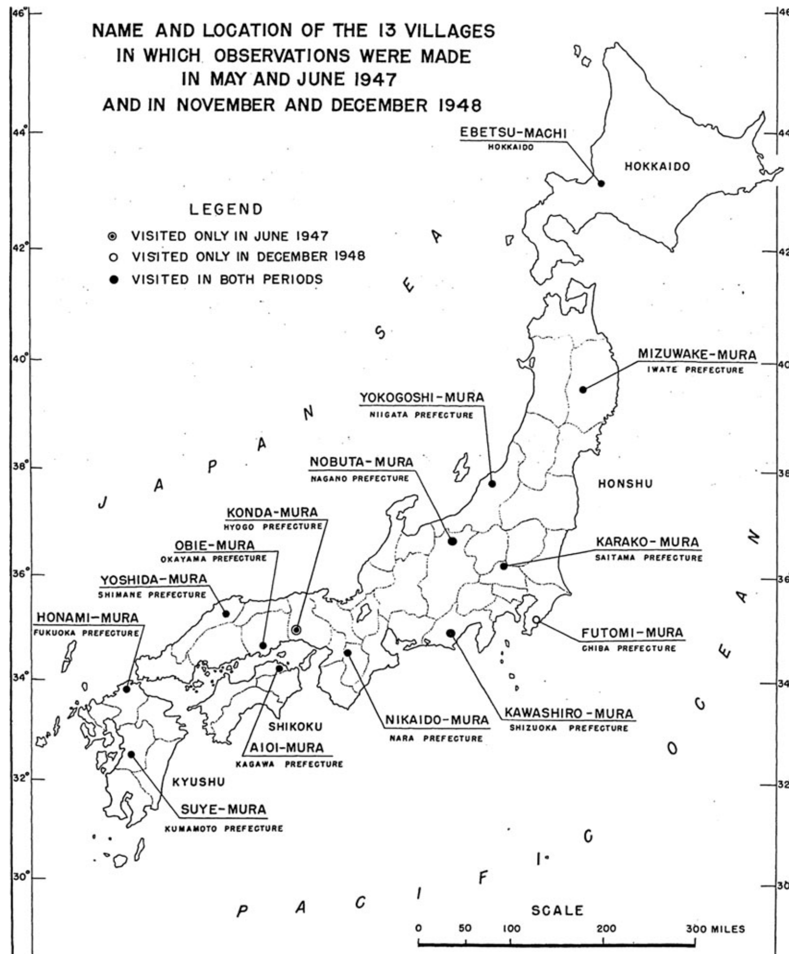

Figure 1. Villages Surveyed for the Agricultural Reforms.

Source: Raper *et al.* (1950): 50.

fallen from power to be replaced with a village head connected to the Socialist Party, making it into a model village for vigorous land reforms (Okada *et al.* 1953: 71). We do not know the exact reasons the first unit was assigned its particular villages, but the choice of Suye-mura in Kumamoto can be attributed to GHQ having a copy of John Embree's famous ethnography in its possession (Smith and Wiswell 1987: ii). During the war, Embree's *Suye mura* was required reading for Japan analysts and was included in the materials of the Army and Navy Japanese Language Training Institute.

In the above-mentioned roundtable discussion, it was related that villages surveyed to study social change accompanying agricultural reform did not include those experiencing attacks upon landlords or friction within the land councils that occurred during the land reforms. With the single exception of Aioi village in Kagawa prefecture, which was chosen for political reasons, villages were chosen for their distinctive social characteristics, insofar as this was possible. That is to say, we can understand these investigations as attempts to measure the impact of land reform on ordinary Japanese villages. It turns out that the American side wanted the survey to go beyond Suye-mura. Above and beyond the

initiative shown by Passin and the American anthropologists, the selection of sites reflected the opinions of their Japanese advisors, who were thoroughly conversant with conditions in the farming villages.

During the process of land reform, various acts of destruction were carried out, as well as battles over the selection of members of the land councils. In 1946, the Agricultural Policy Study Group compiled specific examples of complications and damage that attended land reform. Even with such examples in sight, CIE did not survey areas undergoing turmoil accompanying the land reforms. Rather, CIE gauged changes in rural farming villages via snapshots taken both before and after the land reforms. Thus, they preferred to survey agricultural lands considered archetypical of village Japan prior to land reform.

4.2 The Methods for Implementing the Agricultural Village Surveys

Before the survey began, targeted villages were classified into three categories: those in which tenant farmers, landlords or yeoman farmers predominated. GHQ intended to include villages with *burakumin* in each of these three groups. In addition, household registries in town halls were to be surveyed for information on out-migration, in-migration and births and deaths. In each targeted village, 100 households would be selected to answer questionnaires (Raper 1947).

The survey was not conducted to inform the drafting of agricultural reform plans, but was rather intended to provide GHQ with a social scientific analysis of how the already formulated policies were being received in the typical Japanese farming village. To accomplish this goal, a survey was conducted with a 15- or 16-item questionnaire, supplemented by the compilation of statistical data. The survey covered matters related to taxation, other public charges, population numbers, change and continuity, conditions pertaining to rural manufactures, harvest conditions, class structure (landlords, small holders, tenants), area of land under cultivation, education, land reclamation, currency-related matters, family support systems and conditions in nearby hamlets. In short, GHQ surveyed the results of agricultural reform at the village level. Moreover, the survey investigated the typical villager's opinions and attitudes toward land reforms; thus, subjective items and open-ended questions were included in the questionnaires.

The second survey was conducted when Raper returned to Japan in November 1948. This survey would target the same villages to investigate how agricultural reform was proceeding and to measure the extent to which social life had changed since the first survey. Because the first survey did not include any fishing villages, the mixed agricultural fishing village of Futomi, Chiba prefecture was added to the list, while Konda-mura was taken off the list. The first survey focused upon agricultural economics and the dynamics associated with agricultural reform, but the second survey added such topics as social structure, religion and education. A sample of a hundred was extracted from each village to implement an opinion survey focusing mainly on farm land problems (Okada *et al.* 1953: 72). This time, the survey was conducted in a very compressed time frame (about one or two days). Members of the Ministry of Natural Resources also participated, constructing detailed maps of agricultural land transfers and submitting them to Raper. In his recollections, Sakurada remained impressed by the survey methodology, whereby the investigation team—after finishing its work—would gather local leaders before departing and summarize their conclusions in the form of overall, summative analyses. In addition, Koyama Takeshi has recalled that the method became a touchstone for future research (Okada *et al.* 1953: 74).

4.3 Drafting the Rural Agricultural Survey Report and the 'Oyabun–Kobun' Paradigm

After the first survey was completed, a provisional summary report was drafted. A setting for its public dissemination was chosen. Nasu Hiroshi (Tokyo University's Department of Agricultural Economics), Tōhata Seiichi (Ministry of Agriculture, General Agricultural Production Research Institute), Tanabe Katsumasa (Bureau of Forestry and Agriculture, Lands Division), Yanagita Kunio (folklorist with expertise in rural societies) and Kagawa Toyohiko (A Union Movement and Christian leader)

were called upon to open the conference. Of particular interest is the participation of Yanagita Kunio. Various types of farming villages were chosen as survey sites. As one who investigated mountain and fishing villages in the 1930s, we can well imagine that Yanagita's impact on this selection was limited. Suzuki Eitarō and Kitano Seiichi had conducted surveys of farming villages since the 1930s and were members of CIE. Nonetheless, a report titled 'Observations of the Joint Family and Oyabun-Kobun (Master-Servant) Relationships as Related to the Application of the Land Reform Program' was appended as a supplement to their interim report (CIE 1947*a*).

One report in this appended document indicated that the bonds of the Japanese joint family (*daikazoku*) were loosening under the impact of the agricultural land reforms. Land tenure was associated with the composite (*ketsugō*) or extended (*kakudai*) family systems insofar as landlords were also main households while cadet households were tenants. This composite family featured a hierarchical structure. Main-family dominance and cadet-branch dependence were palpable; there was a parallelism between master–servant and landlord–tenant relationships. Beyond the fact that *oyabun–kobun* or *oyakata–kokata* relationship was the most visible feature of rural feudalism in Japan, the pattern could be seen in urban Japan as well. In addition to examples drawn from Tokyo's *yakuza* underworld, geisha quarters and houses of prostitution, the paternalism of employers toward employees operated on the same principle. Of the surveyed villages, Yoshida-mura in Shimane prefecture exhibited the most intense landlord–patron domination; mountain forest landowners and their tenants were strongly bound together by feudal ties.

The *oyabun–kobun* concept was taken from a 1937 Yanagita article titled 'Oyakata Kokata' (Yanagita 1990: 499–526). Yanagita's article argued that the household head's authority was not limited to the family. He wrote that landlords and tenants were referred to as '*oyakata kokata*' (parents and children). The patron–client connection rendered as fictive kinship in the form of a feudal patriarchal parent–child dyad was to be found in many Japanese settings, according to Yanagita. From this perspective, Kawashima Takenori, in 1946, published a paper calling for the reform of the Japanese family system as a prerequisite for the advance of democratization (Kawashima 1948: 5–6). As a call-to-arms for reforming the patriarchal family system in Japan, Kawashima's paper made a big splash when it appeared. At a time when there was no clear road map for actually achieving much discussed democratic reforms, it proposed a concrete step to be taken toward democratization. Nonetheless, even though Kawashima joined the CIE survey, his name does not appear among those of the advisors and assistants at the time of the second survey. It is likely that Kawashima's paper prompted Kitano Seiichi to relate agricultural land tenure and landlord–tenant domination–submission under the rubric 'patron–client'. After this survey, 'patron–client' (*oyabun–kobun*) became a keyword in the CIE. Kitano Seiichi contributed to this report as an assistant on the survey; moreover, he used this expression in a subsequent report. Thus, we can deduce that Kitano indeed wrote the report.[10] On the other hand, Kawashima Takenori, who elaborated the concepts of Yanagita Kunio with his analysis of the Japanese family system as the basis for feudalism, was the catalyst for the research of Bennett and Ishino (1963: 27–28).

In Passin's recollections as well, 'patron–client' is mentioned time and again as a keyword adopted by CIE. In his university days, Passin investigated rural sociology in southern Illinois. There, he spent

10. The report submitted by CIE included no bylines. However, Kitano Seiichi was a participating researcher who referred to the branch family's relations as tenants of main-family landlords (Kitano 1976: 19). This report is a shorthand draft of a keynote speech for the November 1949 'Remnants of the Feudal System' (Hōken Isei) meeting of the General Scholarly Conference of the Human Sciences.

time with African–American sharecroppers and Mexican agricultural workers. Based on this experience, he could have applied the patron–client theoretical framework to Japan. However, this general construct could not have brought Passin to an understanding of the Japanese *oyakata–kokata* system. Indeed, Passin carried out the surveys only after he learned about Japanese society from Suzuki Eitarō, Kitano Seiichi, Yanagita Kunio and Yanagita's disciples, who had all been invited to advise CIE (Passin 1981: 188–189).

John Embree's *Suye mura* played an extremely important part in the survey. Not only because it led to Suye-mura being chosen as a site for the survey but also because it made possible the detailed investigation of changes in population and economic conditions from 1935 (when Embree conducted fieldwork) through 1947. Accordingly, with Embree's 1935 report as a baseline, change could be measured by comparison to the statistics gathered throughout the country in all hamlets and villages in 1947 (CIE 1947*b*).

The materials on the American side show the political intent of the surveys by revealing that Americans were intent upon selecting villages with *burakumin* as survey sites. The point was to investigate the degree to which land reform had improved the lives of *burakumin*. This aim was related to codification and stipulation of constitutional human rights; as a symbol of social inequality, the *burakumin* problem was brought front and center.[11]

4.4 Fishing Industry Reform and the Fishing Village Survey

After the agricultural land reform, the Bureau of Natural Resources, Department of Fisheries, requested a basic survey from CIE for the purpose of fishing industry reform. GHQ policy had targeted the fisheries as next-in-line after land reforms. For the fishery rights survey, various types of villages representing a mix of marine industries were selected. In October 1947, the survey team went to Kamogawa, Abō township and Yasuda-machi in Chiba prefecture for preparatory work. Between then and December they barnstormed 10 villages to complete the survey by Christmas of the same year (Passin 1980: 144–155).[12]

11. The Ainu problem was not even considered in regard to agricultural land reform. Nonetheless, immediately after the war, an organized movement for the liberation of Ainu lands began. In January 1946, the Ainu youth Takahashi Makoto sent a petition to American Army 77th Infantry Division commander Major General Bruce to solve the Ainu problem. That same year, on 24 February, the Hokkaidō Ainu Association was founded. Thereafter they sent a representative to Tokyo, who petitioned for the liberation of their land to MacArthur's headquarters and the Ministry of Agriculture and Forests; they demanded the dissolution of tenants' rights on their allotted lands as well as land repatriation (Saitō 1947: 1930–1931). Even though trends in the liberation of Ainu lands movement were reported in the 1947 issues of *Minzokugaku Kenkyū* (Ethnological Research), the 1948 CIE surveys related to agricultural land reform took no consideration of the Ainu problem. Passin was the first to touch upon the Ainu problem in the CIE surveys, but only because an Ainu village happened to be near a survey site for the fisheries rights surveys of Date–Monbetsu. There, Passin met the adopted daughter, Yaeko, of the missionary John Bachelor, who is famous for his Ainu research. Thus, he heard firsthand about the discrimination problems facing the Ainu (Passin 1982: 145–172). According to Bennett's recollections, the CIE surveys concerning the Ainu were conducted from 1948 to 1949 regarding the 'population problem'. The CIE anthropologists thought particularly that Ainu population decline was 'a real problem'. As one would expect, there are no specific documents referring to the extent of collaboration between the CIE Ainu survey and the Japanese Society of Ethnology. However, in his Ainu report, Bennett appended 24 photographs of *inaw* ritual-implement production taken by Miyamoto Keitarō (Bennett 2002: 232–235). In 1950–1951, the society, with grants from the Ministry of Education Citizen's Research office and privately raised funds, formed a team to conduct a general survey of the Ainu. One can imagine that this project also received backup funding from the CIE.

12. Passin recorded his recollections in both Japanese and English (Passin 1981, 1982). These versions overlap for the most part, though one part differs. The above-mentioned section about the Ainu is not touched upon at all in the Japanese version, while the English version goes into great detail.

Regarding the hasty implementation of the fishery rights survey, Sakurada Katsutoku provides the following explanation. Immediately after the war, due to food shortages, fishermen began popping up in increasing numbers. Because of the postwar food shortages, evacuees and repatriated Japanese, along with people who did and did not understand their fishery rights, were all fishing the waters, creating much confusion. Moreover, a fisherfolk movement (*gyomin undō*), similar to the fishing villages' youth associations, became increasingly active. Sakurada suggests that the movement spurred the Natural Resources Bureau to take action. The Natural Resources Bureau abolished all hitherto existing fishery rights and established a new maritime grid. It was thought that a people's committee should manage the fishing grounds. Sakurada was troubled that American members of the Natural Resources Bureau understood fishery rights but did not understand privileged village access to the sea extending out from the shoreline, meaning that fishery reform policy might proceed without consideration of actual conditions in Japan. Therefore, the problem was investigated from many angles: the history of fishery rights, the division of fishing grounds, conditions of fishing-ground usage, distribution of profits, management of fishing grounds, fisherman's wages, methods for adjudication, etc.

The Bureau of Natural Resources requested surveys of economic history and public sentiment whose results would provide insight to otherwise unanswerable questions. To that end, 12 fishing villages were chosen. First was Hokkaidō's herring-producing Mashike and Date on the Gulf of Funka (Uchiura) the abundantly stocked bonito waters off Karakuwa in Sanriku (Iwate, Aomori and Miyagi), the codfish village of Izumosaki on the Sea of Japan and Komekami-mura in Kanagawa prefecture (a village divided by a fight over stationary fishing nets). In addition, Ōsaki in Aichi prefecture (where laver or *nori* was raised), Hinase in Okayama prefecture's Gulf of Seto that boasted a large number of archetypical small fishermen, Muroto in Kōchi Prefecture (an offshore fishery village) and Shikimi in Chiba prefecture that specialized in large-scale net trolling were added. This time, the survey was divided into three squads.[13] According to Passin's recollections, they set off for Hokkaidō in the winter. In Date and Monbetsu, near Rumoi, Japanese anthropologists, sociologists, fishing industry experts, economists and statisticians ate and bunked together in order to gather materials to carry out fishery reforms by GHQ (Passin 1987: 89).

As the last report of the survey, 'Some Aspects of the Fishery Right System in Selected Japanese Fishing Communities' was completed in 1948 (CIE 1948). This report was composed with Sakurada Katsutoku's and Takeuchi Toshimi's emphasis on the conservatism of Japanese fishing villages. The first chapter provided an overview of Japanese fishing-village culture and society. Consanguineous groups, main and branch families, neighborhood associations, young men's groups, fishing cooperatives, religion and postwar changes were all summarized. In chapter 2, the political economic history of fishery rights was summarized. The fisherman's association regulations from the Edo period through the Meiji period, as well as Fishery Law, were digested. In similar fashion, the nature of fishery rights, village leaders in fishery rights issues, fishery laborers and opinions about fishery rights were collated. Thereafter, the condition of each village's fishery management and its fishery rights were published as case studies.

13. Okada Yuzuru (ethnology, Tokyo Education University), Misu Mikio (livestock anatomy, Obihiro Animal Husbandry University), Ushiomi Toshitaka (legal sociology, Tokyo University), Tanaka Eiichi (geography, Rikkyō University), Takeuchi Toshimi (sociology, CIE) and others participated (cf. Okada *et al.* 1953: 75).

In addition, in what was probably information preceding the official report, there is a handwritten report titled 'Trends in the Fishing Villages' with Sakurada's byline written in English (Sakurada 1948). Here, we find a summary of fishery industries before the war and postwar trends. Especially in the postwar section, we find information at a much greater level of detail than in the above-mentioned reports. Some examples of this concrete reporting include the following items: due to the food shortages, the black market mobilized their vast capital reserves to order fishing boats; after the war, fish prices skyrocketed, increasing the wealth of fishermen; and lastly, when demobilized soldiers returned home, the number of households ordering powered fishing boats increased due to fathers and sons fishing the waters together once again. Another item of interest is that during the war, large fishing ships could not ply the waters, but after the war, mid-sized and large fishing boats went into production, and the fishing industry's employment of wage laborers revived. Thus, the motorization of fishing boats and the corporatization of the fishing industry were related trends.

Sakurada Katsutoku related how unforgettable the fishery rights survey was, it being his first experience with 'attitude surveys'. He recalled that the work was 'extremely crude and superfluous', remarking that opinion surveys were not particularly valuable (Okada *et al.* 1953: 75). Nonetheless, this survey was postwar Japan's first national scale survey of fishing villages. Before the war, Yanagita Kunio instituted a maritime village survey. However, because security concerns about invading outsiders grew stronger after 1937, the survey could not be continued. It was halted after about two-thirds had been finished (Yanagita, ed. 1949: 1). In a word, before the war a national survey of fishing villages could not be completed, but right after the war fishing villages could be visited and observed. This turn of events should have appeared advantageous even from Sakurada's viewpoint.

4.5 The Family Survey as the Basis for a National Census

After the fishery rights survey, in 1950, a request from the Economics Bureau to CIE came for a clearly established concept of the family and the household as preparatory for a national census. This request produced an actual family survey. Kōchi and Kagawa prefectures were selected as the sites for preparatory work. Sakurada, Takuchi, Kodera, Bennett and Passin took part. Mindful of regional differences, a farming, fishing and mountain village was chosen from each of the three selected regions of Kyūshū, Kinki and Tōhoku. The completed report was titled 'The Japanese Farming Family: From the Aspect of Social Function' (CIE 1950). The report described the basis of the Japanese family. Although it does not reveal whether it had any political intent, because the purpose of the survey was to fix a definition for the concepts 'family' and 'household' for the purpose of a national census, it took on a certain form. The organization of the report was as follows:

Chapter 1: Introduction
Chapter 2: The Structure of the Farm Family
  Definition of the family
  Japanese family structure
    (Average size of family, Generations in the family, Marriages within the Family, Relations among kin family-members, Family members in separate residential units)
Chapter 3: The Major Functions of the Family
  Child-rearing
    (Child-discipline/nurture, Choosing children's occupations, Choosing children's mates)

Household labor-participation
Oversight of household income
Divorce system
Inheritance and succession

Kodera Takashi later recalled that a standard 100-person sample was surveyed in each place, using a questionnaire composed of items related to pressing family issues. In some respects, this survey differed from the others. Firstly, each Japanese assistant was left to independently plan the conduct of the survey. Secondly, family relations and family sentiment were analyzed after breaking the population down by region, gender and generation as well as farming, mountain or fishing village. Certain findings—such as the one showing that, though male primogeniture inheritance had ended, three of four eldest sons still wished to succeed as household head—were described as having clarified matters of great interest (Okada *et al.* 1953: 77). Another important result of the survey was the translation into English of the Japanese concept 'family'. That is to say, years of accumulated Japanese research, once transposed into English-language concepts, enabled this report to be the first to use American-style sociological and anthropological analysis. Indeed, this report's research anticipated debates in sociology and anthropology about the sociological character of the Japanese family that continued through the 1950s and 1960s.

4.6 Mountain Forest Reform and the Survey

Lastly, the Bureau of Natural Resources requested a survey in connection with forest regulation reforms. Toward the end of the war and after, large-scale damage due to indiscriminant logging and flooding was pronounced. Thus, the Natural Resources Bureau wanted to add logging restrictions to the forest regulation reforms. However, this turn of events only provided the opportunity for conducting the survey. The survey itself was not handed down as an order from the uppermost levels of GHQ, but was planned in draft form by the Japanese researchers who worked as assistants for CIE.

After the survey was officially set in January 1949, the actual work continued from March through July. However, the nature of the CIE abruptly changed; now Americans were no longer able to spend long stretches of time away from Tokyo, meaning they could not conduct a wide-ranging nationwide survey. Even assuming researchers could get at the impact of logging limits on mountain villagers, there was much diversity within a given logging industry region. Kanuma city in Tochigi prefecture, and its surrounding areas, was thus selected for the survey. The plan was to obtain a comprehensive view of conditions in a logging industry entrepot city and the mountain villages behind it.

Many of the investigators harbored concerns about the conservative aspect of mountain villages. Lacking sufficient knowledge of forest industries, they commissioned Tokyo University's Shimada Kinzō to give a lecture on logging. They also had onsite conversations with the forestry association members, managers of the lumber mills and laborers.[14] An attitudinal survey was carried out by means of a detailed statistical roster and a sample of 300 people. The methodology involved gathering

14. Shimada Kinzō argued for a connection between agricultural land reform and forest industry reform. Shimada had just published a comprehensive expert report on the ownership system of mountain fields (Shimada 1948). It is clear that Shimada's writings were the basis for this survey, based on the list of survey items. In the same vein, Ishino and Bennett analyzed labor's feudalistic customs by drawing on examples from forestry (Bennett and Ishino 1963: 130–158).

detailed oral testimony, respectively, from members of the logging industry, mountain forest landholders, mountain forest laborers and leading men connected to the forestry industries as determined by the recollections of those in charge at the forestry association. Surveys by means of interview were time-consuming, but were made efficient by the use of jeeps. Lastly, a roundtable with Utsunomiya city residents connected to the logging industry and members of the alliance of forestry associations was organized to facilitate a group interview. However, with close to 80% of the survey completed, the CIE shut down the operation (Okada *et al.* 1953: 77–79).

While studying these survey materials, one should be mindful that the San Francisco Peace Treaty was finalized just before the survey was completed, thus the survey was abruptly brought to an end. Because of this, there are very few documents in the American government archives related to the forest surveys. Only materials from the first half of the survey have been archived. Nonetheless, Bennett and Ishino at the CIE used these materials to write their book. We can thus surmise that Bennett returned to his post at Ohio State University with the documents related to the forest survey. Having brought the documents back as personal property, he likely donated the materials to his university.[15] On the Japanese side, Seki Keigo used the forestry survey to write as well, and he based this research on his own field notes (Seki 1981*a*: 281).

4.7 Continuity from Prewar to Postwar: Evaluating the CIE Social Surveys

In the final analysis, the CIE surveys were conducted at the request of certain GHQ organs to investigate the social response to occupation policies as a basis for drafting subsequent policies and establishing goals for the reforms. American anthropologists decided the fundamental aims of the surveys, while Japanese advisors recommended sites for the survey appropriate to Japanese conditions. Japanese assistants conducted the surveys in Japanese. Sometimes the results were written up in English, at other times they were written in Japanese. The latter reports were then submitted in English by commissioned translators.

The researchers participating in the CIE surveys had many common features. For example, many of the folklorists participated in Yanagita Kunio's September 1934 through April 1937 mountain village survey and his May 1937 through April 1939 maritime village surveys. CIE requested researchers with experience among agricultural village surveys. Such a result seems to have come about. In addition, Suzuki Eitarō and Mabuchi Tōichi were posted at the imperial universities of Seoul and Taipei before the war. When these institutions were shut down, they humbled themselves by working for CIE in order to feed themselves after fleeing back to Japan.

Japanese survey workers often worked for CIE because they needed jobs to support themselves. At the same time, the desire to survey Japanese society always existed in the background. After the 1938

15. In addition, Ohio State University houses the GHQ survey reports. The US National Archives contain only a fraction of the forest survey materials. It seems likely that Bennett, as the survey's supervisor, brought back to Ohio State University the materials gathered up until the survey was shut down by the CIE. Importantly, Bennett's and Ishino's coauthored book is based on the occupation-period surveys of Japan, although they are biased by the later occupation-period documents housed at Ohio State University. The early occupation-period documents at the National Archives, from the CIE's farming and fishing village surveys, were not utilized. Looking at research based on the GHQ surveys from this perspective, we realize that the factory surveys conducted for the *zaibatsu*-busting policies were also of the late-occupation period (Abegglen 1958). Therefore, anthropological research concerning Japan published in the 1950s does not necessarily reflect the survey results of the whole occupation period. Late-period occupation surveys were also published as research reports purporting to cover the whole period.

General Mobilization Law was implemented, severe measures against spies and information leakage made agricultural village surveys impossible to conduct in Japan. Therefore, those researchers who wanted to conduct fieldwork chose to continue their work for the research organs of puppet governments. For example, CIE survey assistant Koyama Takashi (sociology of the family) was dispatched to Burma during the war (Koyama 1971: 2). Though he was not connected to CIE, Isono Seiichi has testified to similar circumstances. He wanted to study legal sociology, but because he could not conduct research in rural Japan during the war, he shifted his sights to the survey department of the Southern Manchuria Railway's northern Investigation of Chinese Customs division. In the end, Isono took a post in the Northwest Research Institute and decided to pursue field survey work in Mongolia. In sum, fieldwork in Japan became impossible during the late 1930s. This restriction provided a major impetus for social scientists who wished to conduct fieldwork to travel outside of Japan. Because Japan lost the war, social scientists also lost these alternative field sites; now they could resume research in Japan that had been banned during the war. Moreover, CIE's invitation to closely inspect conditions in Japan that had been changed by the war proved attractive.

Nonetheless, those researchers who found posts in the new postwar university system came to eschew CIE. For example, according to Suzuki Eitarō's son Keisuke, Suzuki's acquaintances advised him that it would be better to quit CIE since the goals of the GHQ were changing (in light of the Cold War). As a new CIE section chief took the helm, the former institutional climate that allowed the free conduct of surveys changed for the worse. In 1947, when Hokkaidō University opened a slot for sociology in its Department of Literature, Suzuki transferred. Thus, according to his son, Suzuki was intentionally distancing himself from CIE. Again, Kitano Seiichi, during the same time period, was hired as a professor of sociology and Kyūshū University in March 1948; thereafter, he had no connection with CIE. These cases are suggestive of the reasons why former GHQ staffers have been reluctant to speak about their experiences during the occupation.

5. The Japanese Society of Ethnology and GHQ

The Japanese Society of Ethnology was one of the Japanese anthropological associations established in the postwar period. On 20 November 1946, a planning document for an English-language 'The Encyclopedia of Japanese Folk-Society' appeared under the name of the society's president, Shibusawa Keizō. CIE's Herbert Passin and Matsumoto also appeared on the document as part of the editorial staff. Such an editorial project suggests that a strong link had been forged between GHQ and the Ethological Society.

To realize the plan, the GHQ provided funding to the Ethnological Society for hiring consultants. Despite the fact that it could not collect dues from its members or receive subventions from the state, the society's scholarly journal, *Minzokugaku Kenkyū* (Ethnological Research), returned to print in 1947. The temporary infusion of consultant funding into the Ethological Society for the English-language 'The Encyclopedia of Japanese Folk-Society' project was a great tonic for the society's rapid recovery. Incidentally, while the initial plan was to create an English-language encyclopedia about Japanese folklore and society, the compendium never appeared in English. It was finally published in a Japanese-language edition in 1952, the year the San Francisco Peace Treaty was concluded (cf. Nihon Minzoku Gakkai 1952).

In addition, the assistance that Oka Masao received to obtain his Vienna University doctoral dissertation from Austria again illustrates GHQ's close involvement in the Japanese Society of Ethnology affairs. According to a detailed resume of Oka's career, he was called before the GHQ's CIE section in January 1947. CIE chief Lieutenant-Colonel Donald Nugent handed him all five volumes of his

dissertation, titled *Kulturschichten in Alt-Japan*, which had been specially ordered from Vienna (Oka 1979: 486).[16] At the time, Vienna was under Allied occupation. Scholars in Japan had been aware of the centrality of Oka Masao's dissertation to anthropological and ethnological research on Japanese origins since before the war. Thus, there were many scholars awaiting a detailed introduction to the contents of Oka's repatriated doctoral dissertation. To meet this demand, *Minzokugaku Kenkyū*'s chief editor—Ishida Eiichirō—organized a debate on the topic of ancient Japanese history, himself acting as emcee. Oka Masao represented ethnology, Yahata Ichirō spoke for archaeology and Egami Namio reported for East Asian history (*tōyō shigaku*). The selected themes were 'Japanese State Formation and the Imperial House's Racial/Cultural Lineage' and 'Japan's Racial/Cultural Origins and Foundations'. This roundtable discussion was published in volume 13, number 3 of *Minzokugaku Kenkyū* (Sugiyama 1972: 557). The event, as the theme titles suggest, interrogated the Imperial Household's racial and cultural origins, taboo topics before the war. The publication of this issue called forth a large public response, and sales of the journal skyrocketed. After the seed, money for the proposed English-language 'The Encyclopedia of Japanese Folk-Society' dried up, it was only with difficulty that the society could continue publishing its journal. However, as a result of the brisk sales of the roundtable issue, the Ethnological Society's publishing expenses were put back in the black.

The far-reaching influence of the Austrian School's theory of cultural diffusionism was not actually a result of Ishida's and Oka's prewar study abroad in Vienna. Rather, the important factor was the postwar popularity of the discourse on Japanese origins. Oka's theory of Japanese ethnic origins, because it highlighted the regional characteristics of postwar Japanese society, became a fulcrum for comparative research on Japanese society. This discourse became the fundamental logic for integrating the ethnographies of all of Japan's regions. The methodology applied was the structural-functional anthropological survey. Today, the Austrian School's theory of cultural diffusionism is merely a topic of historiographical interest. However, because Oka reached the status of guiding light in the Japanese Society of Ethnology, those trained in anthropology after the war, however much they attempted to assimilate its theoretical insights, found in the theory of cultural diffusionism a ready-made impetus for research and a basis for its systematization.

Ishida was chief editor of *Minzokugaku Kenkyū* from 1947 through 1949. In the last issue for 1948, he announced that one goal of the journal would be to 'organize an overview of Japanese investigations of the peoples in "Greater East Asia" (*Dai TōA*)'. These surveys had been buried intact at war's end. Japanese colonial research may have played a subordinate role in the invasions and occupations of Asian nations, but the analysis of the political power that enabled survey work was kept separate from the scholarly appraisal of the surveys. Ishida first published an article on wartime Islam research; thereafter, articles on the results of Japanese research in Daxinganling (Heilongjiang Province), Inner Mongolia and Indonesia followed (Ishida 1972: 385–386).

GHQ was extremely concerned about the nature of the results of Japan's wartime anthropological research. As evidence, Passin himself introduced Japanese anthropological research on Taiwan in an article based on Okada Yuzuru's bibliography (Passin 1947). Regarding Daxinganling, there was

16. Oka wrote of it being 'sent from Vienna through the good offices of the American military' but did specify at whose request; the means by which it was returned is also unclear. The point of contact between CIE and the Japanese Society of Ethnology was the aforementioned Shibusawa Keizō/Yanagita Kunio team and Herbert Passin. Lieutenant-Colonel Donald Nugent taught at a school in Wakayama prefecture before the war, and was Passin's superior in postwar Japan (Passin 1981: 210). Regarding the return of Oka's dissertation, there is no specific mention, but it is likely a result of Passin's lobbying.

Imanishi Kinji's (Kyoto Imperial University) scholarly expedition. Upon completing the expedition and returning to Japan, Imanishi submitted his report to the Kwangtung Army, because it provided a geographical description of a strategically important region. The manuscript of the report, *An Account of Daxinganling Expedition*, was completed before Imanishi took up his post at the Northwest Research Institute. The report was thus scheduled for publication at Military Publishing House, but the manuscript and typesetting were destroyed in the March 1945 firebombing of Tokyo (Imanishi 1994*b*: 67). At the time Ishida was writing his editor's 'afterword', GHQ sounded out Imanishi about his expedition to Daxinganling. Because Daxinganling was on the Manchurian–Russian border, the US Military requested Imanishi's research via GHQ channels in order to obtain geostrategic intelligence on Inner Asia. According to Imanishi's recollections, 'the survey was intended as a scholarly enterprise, so I wanted to make the results public. When it became classified military intelligence, all of that hard labor went to naught.' However, through the help of an American, Imanishi's article was published, with maps inserted, in the American *Geographical Review* (Imanishi 1994*a*: 458).

GHQ was initially interested in Japanese anthropology for its practical utility as a means of carrying out public opinion surveys in order to implement the policies of the early occupation period. Steadily, by the time the San Francisco Peace Treaty had been concluded, the main point of concern had shifted to one of reviving the Japanese academy as part of a broad effort to restore Japan as a member of the community of nations. Such was the work of a subsequent US State Department Humanities delegation.

5.1 Ishida Eiichirō and the Foundation of the Cultural Anthropology Curriculum

From September 1948 through January 1949, a US State Department Humanities delegation arrived in Japan. CIE acted as the liaison. This advisory staff was charged with assessing conditions in the humanities in Japan's higher educational institutions. According to the mission's opinion paper, the various Japanese humanities fields had undergone a major conversion, having been reconstituted as American-style behavioral sciences. The mission's report duly summarized the humanities' role in prewar militarization. It then made suggestions for reform. But under the items 'sociology and cultural anthropology', it read: 'this is the least developed area among the all major fields in the humanities'. Grudgingly, the report commented that Japanese civilian associations had conducted valuable sociological and cultural anthropological research on the Far East's primitive peoples, as well as gathering important materials regarding Japan's folkways. But on the whole, sociology and cultural anthropology earned the contempt of the advisory committee, besides experiencing the hardship of falling into a no-man's-land between scholarly divisions in the Japanese academic world. The committee also regarded sociology and cultural anthropology as 'late developing' among Japan's scholarly pursuits. Now that the postwar had arrived, such laggard areas of study could receive a thorough housecleaning through outside intervention. It was anticipated that the reconstitution of the university system would provide the opportunity for putting these fields on a sound footing at last (Yamamoto 1950: 85–86). In the final analysis, the State Department mission viewed Japan's humanities through the prism of the American educational system. It recommended that sociology and cultural anthropology be strengthened in the restructuring of the postwar university system.

The impact of the Cold War entailed a steady shift from a reform-minded occupation government to one that sought accommodation with conservative political strength. One could say that 1948 saw the GHQ transition from progressive to antireform policies. Ishida Eiichirō, significantly, did not join CIE until June 1949, after the 'origins of the Japanese people' roundtable appeared (Sugiyama 1972: 557). Indeed, Ishida joined CIE as an advisor after Suzuki Eitarō and Kitano Seiichi, who were

employed as survey assistants, had resigned. Unlike his predecessors, Ishida's role was not that of an assistant. There are documents in the American government archives that reveal Ishida's background troubles; he had been charged under the Peace Preservation Law for being involved in Marxist thought and the Japan Communist Party. According to a document whose authorship is uncertain, CIE definitely wanted to hire Ishida as an advisor, despite interference from another agency (CIE 1949). Among these records is Ishida's pledge that he was not affiliated with the Communist Party. These documents suggest that CIE was dead set on hiring Ishida, to the extent that they forced him to sign this pledge.[17]

But why was CIE so committed to hiring Ishida in the first place? Firstly, Ishida had experienced confinement under the Peace Preservation Laws, so he was not implicated in the cooperation between Japanese ethnology and the war. In contrast, Oka Masao was involved in establishing the Ethnological Research Institute, founded in 1943 as an arm of state policy. Secondly, as Ishida chaired the aforementioned 'Origins of the Japanese People' debate, we can surmise that CIE took into consideration Ishida's leadership role in the Japanese Society of Ethnology since the war's end. Lastly, insofar as we can surmise that the Society's journal *Minzokugaku Kenkyū* was published under GHQ editorship, the relationship between the Japanese Society of Ethnology and the CIE was extremely close.[18]

There is no specific documentation detailing the CIE's intentions regarding Ishida. But we can hazard a guess based on the following: in 1951, Ishida joined the newly established Cultural Anthropology section of Tokyo University's Institute of Oriental Culture. On the one hand, he criticized Japan's wartime ethnology, while acting to introduce American-style cultural anthropology to Japan.

After Ishida returned to Japan upon completing his study of Austrian School ethnology, he worked at the Imperial University Institute for the Investigation of East Asian Ethnic Groups, beginning in 1940. He was commissioned to assist in the compilation of an 'ethnic inventory' of minority peoples in proximity to Japan, in areas of potential strategic importance. Ishida was responsible for investigating the Uilta of central Sakhalin and the Muslims of Chahar and Suiyuan in China (Mōkyō). Ishida was always uneasy about investigating strategically sensitive ethnic groups under military patronage. Even though he was promoted to department head of the Northwest Research Institute in 1944, Ishida stubbornly refused to go on surveys, focusing instead upon text-based research. After the war, Ishida's name was attached to surveys of the Hokkaidō Ainu and Tsushima, but not on most of the actual research reports. Ishida's research style was not field survey work *per se*, but rather bibliographic investigation.

Even during Ishida's period of employ with CIE, he had absolutely no connection with the surveys. This fact is likely connected to the changing role GHQ envisioned for anthropology during its wider shift in policy orientation. The social surveys of Japan described above were conducted during the first half of the occupation, fundamentally as public opinion surveys to measure the Japanese response to

17. According to Ishida's former students Kawano Motomichi and Konishi Masakatsu, Ishida told them that 'before the war the Special Higher Police (*tokkō*) did not break me, but after the war GHQ did', revealing tears as he spoke. At the time I discovered the pledge Ishida signed to work for the CIE in the government archives, I realized that this episode reveals Ishida's sense of regret for having signed the pledge.

18. Izumi Seiichi recalls meeting Ishida for the first time in 1948. Ishida recommended that Izumi join the GHQ to help edit *Minzokugaku Kenkyū*. Izumi held a position at Seoul Imperial University before the war, but after he was repatriated, he took work with a relief organization for repatriated Japanese, though he was still without a university post. Izumi recalled that he did not like the idea of working for GHQ just to put food on the table (Izumi 1972: 303). This anecdote is more evidence of the close connection between CIE and the Japanese Society of Ethnology.

GHQ policies. In 1949, the National Opinion Research Institute was created as an organ of the Prime Minister's Office. Thereafter, CIE's survey function was turned over to the institute.

CIE arranged the itinerary of the above-mentioned US State Department Humanities mission. The State Department representative on the Educational Facilities group, one Gordon Bowles (1904–1991), was deeply involved in establishing a framework for the new cultural anthropology curriculum at Tokyo University. Bowles, born the son of a Tokyo-based Quaker missionary, majored in biology and history at Earlham College, after attending schools in Japan as a youth. He was an English instructor in Tokyo's First Upper School from 1925 through 1927. At that time, Matsumura Akira was lecturing in anthropology in Tokyo University's College of Science. This was Bowles' initiation into anthropology. In 1927 he began graduate studies in anthropology at Pennsylvania University. After transferring to Harvard, Bowles conducted fieldwork from Southwest China to eastern Tibet. He obtained his degree in 1935. During the war, he joined a committee of specialists in the State Department's Far East Division. After the war, he played a major role as intermediary in US–Japan relations as a member of the above-mentioned State Department Educational Facilities group. At that time, the President of Tokyo University, Nanbara Shigeru, sat opposite to Bowles on the Japanese delegation, and eventually provided the catalyst for the creation of a cultural anthropology curriculum at Tokyo University (Matsuzawa 1992: 4–7).

Ishida authored the planning document to create the curriculum in cultural anthropology at Tokyo University. Ishida later explained that the curriculum would be cultural anthropology and not ethnology, because 'in the beginning of the postwar period, it was hard to erase the impression among intellectuals at Tokyo University that ethnology as a discipline had brought catastrophe upon Japan as tool of criminally aggressive war' (Ishida 1970: 17). There were criticisms that cultural anthropology was overly American; these charges were forcefully countered with the argument that cultural anthropology was a mansion with many rooms. While Ishida was working at CIE, he came across the theories of American anthropologist Alfred Kroeber and abandoned his former intellectual framework in favor of the American's methodology.[19]

Ishida's employment record is housed in the US National Archives, but one looks in vain for a research report written under his authorship. In other words, Ishida was not hired to work as an assistant for the surveys. His official status was that of 'consultant'. Apparently, Ishida read all of the latest American anthropology books and articles in the CIE library, and adopted the methodology of American cultural anthropology in the course of his labors. At Tokyo University's School of Education, a cultural anthropology curriculum was established, and Ishida taught in it while still posted to CIE. The intercourse between American anthropology and Tokyo University was brisk; anthropologists were dispatched to Japan from America, and Japanese students went to America to study abroad.

After the war, a robust pipeline would be built to connect the Tokyo University cultural anthropology curriculum to American anthropology. However, the catalyst was Ishida, who made good use of the Americans he met and the networks forged during his days at CIE.[20] In Japan, there was a widely held opinion that the Japanese 'ethnology' complicit in the war was consigned to oblivion while the

19. Based on the testimony of Sudō Kenichi, who heard Ishida lecture at Saitama University.

20. The anthropologist John Pelzel, formerly employed at CIE, came to Tokyo University in 1962. As a consultant for the Ford Foundation, Passin provided financial support for a number of Japanese anthropologists for trips to America and study abroad in the US.

American import cultural anthropology was born anew in the postwar period. However, if we look deeper, we can see important lines of continuity. Namely, that applied anthropology, created domestically in America and utilized for military aims during the war, was expanded in the postwar to serve the needs of US Far Eastern policy.

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