A Study of Social Consciousness
in the Fishing Village of Mirotsu,
Kishu Peninsula, Wakayama Prefecture, Japan

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INTRODUCTION

Traditional lifestyles and values are subject to an ongoing process of change in contemporary Japan as a result of continuing urbanization, industrialization and high economic growth. The effects of such changes are particularly apparent in highly urbanized areas of the country which, in turn, represent a catalyst for change in population demographics throughout the nation. Small and remote rural communities have been relatively immune to the direct results of urbanization and industrialization but they have nevertheless been significantly affected in a secondary way as substantial numbers of the younger generation leave for larger urban areas, being either unwilling or unable to sustain the lifestyle traditional to their home areas. Such demographic changes are bound to affect both the economic and socio−cultural characteristics of rural areas as reflected in the social consciousness of their remaining inhabitants.

The social consciousness of a people refers to the attitudes and values they uphold as evidenced by the ways in which they conduct their lives. People are strongly influenced by both the physical and social/cultural environments to which they are introduced at birth and to which they are

continually exposed during the course of their lives. The process of enculturation ensures that people are likely to adopt the ways of thinking and behaving characteristic of their family and the larger communities to which they belong. The moral values, general life values, and attitudes toward the local community and the world beyond are shaped by learning processes which are both formal (the official educational system) and informal (as a result of living in the community).

The values and lifestyle associated with the traditional occupation (s) of small, rural districts are likely to be adopted to a greater or lesser extent by all members of the community. Religious attitudes and beliefs prevalent in the community are likely to be significant determinants of social consciousness and relate to the perceived relationship between man and God, man and nature, and between individual and community, local and distant. The present study was predicated on the assumption that the social consciousness of inhabitants of small, rural, traditional communities would be greatly influenced by the physical and socio−cultural environments in which they live.

Previous studies of social consciousness in Japan have been conducted by the Statistical Office of the National Character Survey Committee under the direction of Chikio Hayashi (1961−1982). The National Character Survey Committee has been examining the social consciousness of the Japanese people at five year intervals since 1953. The Committee reports a declining trend in traditional values in favour of a more individualistic orientation although younger people still adhere to a significant degree to traditional values. Giri−ninjyo remains a very strong characteristic among the Japanese people despite this gradual change toward a more individualistic stance (See Benedict, 1946, in this regard). While some variation may exist from community to community, the general implication of these reports is that the

social consciousness of the Japanese people remains more or less uniform across the nation.

On the other hand, the General Research Group of Human Relationships in Japan (1962) under the direction of Tatsuo Muramatsu suggested that social consciousness varies in relation to the district in which people live and pointed, in particular, to differences between inhabitants of urban and rural areas. The authors of this report suggested that inhabitants of farming villages and fishing villages were more likely to submit to tradition and authority than their urban counterparts. Kimoto (1960) argued that inhabitants of fishing villages generally tend to be independently minded and efficient, implying that these qualities were somehow related to the particular districts in which the people he surveyed were living.

Minami (1953) suggested that the Japanese character would vary significantly in relation to the historic social structure or system to which a community was heir. Although the Japanese social structure is formally capitalistic in orientation, Minami argued that its basis is pre−modern, non−individualistic, and inclined to authoritarianism with an emphasis on giri−ninjyo as the basis of human relationships. He identified a so−called "model personality" associated with the occupations of farming and fishing, respectively. Minami's notion of different model personality types associated with different occupations suggests that social consciousness, as a higher level phenomenon, might vary for similar reasons.

Fukutake (1960) examined people in different occupational settings in an attempt to describe the overall social consciousness of the Japanese people. He concluded that the former educational system encouraged the Japanese people to place a high priority on traditional customs and to subordinate themselves to authority.

Despite such reservations about the viability of such a project, it did

prove possible to conduct a comparative survey of small rural districts with fishing and farming heritages, respectively (See Hattori, 1994). Unlike earlier studies by other investigators, the present study used a variety of techniques including a questionnaire, interviews and observational sessions. In accordance with suggestions offered by Professor Akira Hoshino (1990, personal communication) critical sub−categories related to social consciousness were considered to be: (1) attitudes toward traditional Japanese values; (2) attitudes toward individualistic values; (3) attitudes toward religious beliefs; (4) attitudes toward the traditional occupation of the community (fishing, farming); (5) attitudes toward district life; and, (6) attitudes toward communities and people outside the local district.

The wider purpose of the original study was to determine whether variations in social consciousness exist between small rural districts differing in geographic location and major traditional occupation. It was expected that different heritages and occupations (e.g., farming vs. fishing) would foster differences in social consciousness among members of such communities. Accordingly, data were obtained from the coastal fishing villages of Mirotsu and Uragami and the inland farming community of Ryumon, all located in Wakayama Prefecture (See Figure 1). A preliminary report of overall findings was prepared by Hattori (1994). The present report offers a more detailed analysis of the data obtained from residents of the village of Mirotsu.

The traditional fishing village of Mirotsu is located in Susami−cho, Nishi−murogun, Wakayama−Ken (Kishu Peninsula, on the Pacific Ocean) (See Figure 1). The village currently has a population of about 380 inhabitants and all villagers are directly or indirectly involved or influenced by the traditional occupation of fishing in one way or another.

On the basis of the sub−categories of social consciousness proposed above, it was expected that Mirotsu residents would be both traditionally
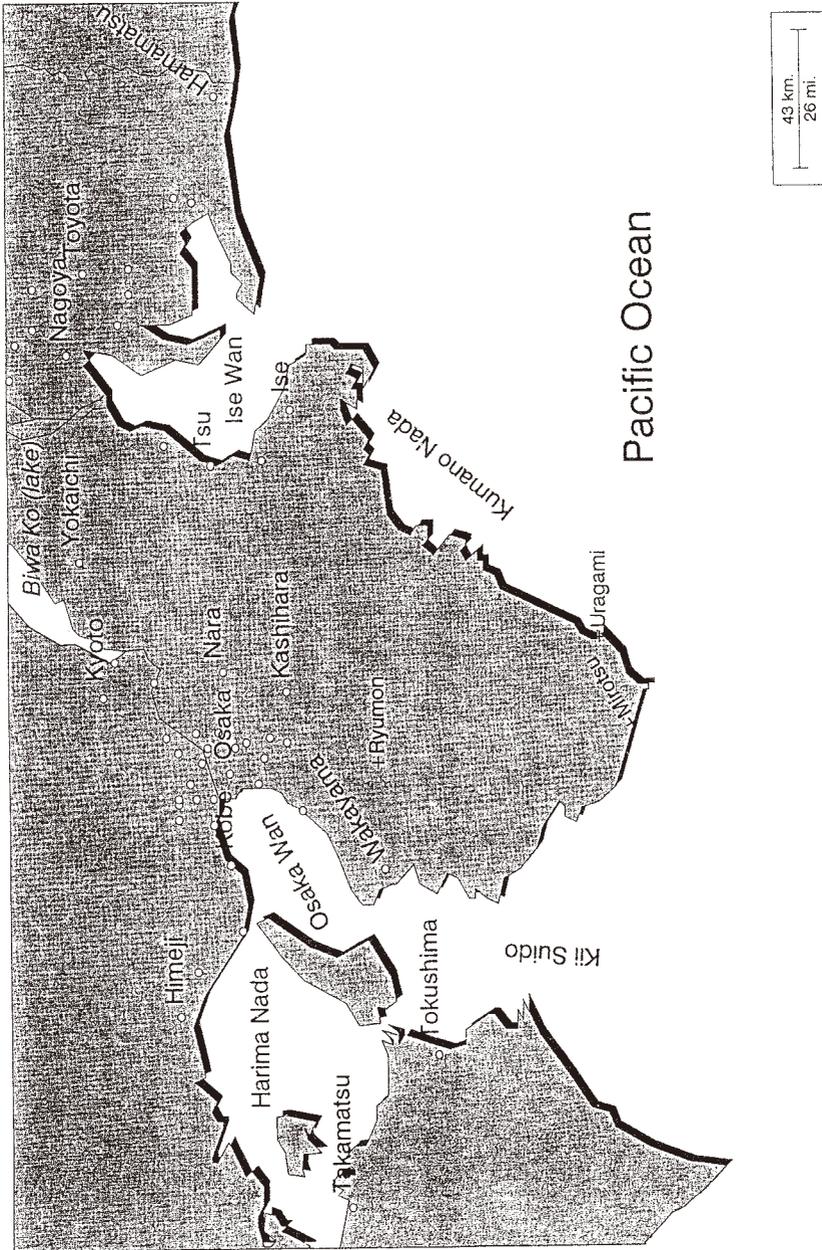
Figure 1. Mirotsu and vicinity.

and individualistically oriented but with a greater emphasis on the former. It was also anticipated that traditional religious values would be important in people's lives and that fishing, as the major occupation of the region for centuries, would be a dominant focus of residents' lives. As a small, rural, traditional community, it was expected that people would be more focussed on the local community and traditional values but still open to some degree to the world beyond the local Mirotsu district.

METHODOLOGY

Participants

A total of 90 residents of the fishing community of Mirotsu participated in this study. Demographic details of this sample may be seen in Table 1. Although more or less equally distributed by sex, a substantially greater proportion of the sample was above 50 years in age. The majority of respondents were educated under the present educational system. A substantial majority were involved in the fishing industry and were born in the local area.

Survey Materials

The questionnaire was originally administered in Japanese and consisted of a series of 22 demographically related questions plus a set of 39 items comprising a social consciousness survey to which participants could respond using a 4−point scale with (1) indicating agreement with the statement, (2) agreement to some extent with the statement, (3) disagreement to some extent with the statement and (4) disagreement with the statement. A 4−point rating scale, as opposed to a 5−point scale with a central value,
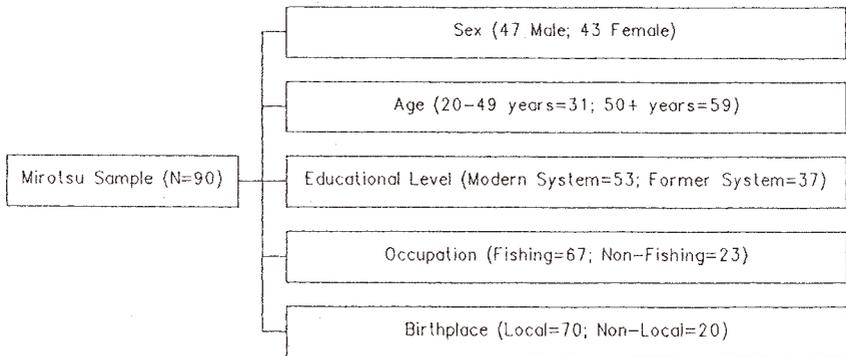
	Sex (47 Male; 43 Female)
	Age (20–49 years=31; 50+ years=59)
Mirotsu Sample (N=90)	Educational Level (Modern System=53; Former System=37)
	Occupation (Fishing=67; Non–Fishing=23)
	Birthplace (Local=70; Non–Local=20)

Table 1. Demographic characteristics of respondents comprising the Mirotsu sample.

was used to counter the tendency of participants to indicate a neutral stance toward each item. These 39 items in English translation may be seen below.

1. If I have no children, I would like to have an adopted son to inherit my house.
2. If possible, I would like to have grandiose marriage and funeral ceremonies.
3. I would like the eldest son to assume responsibilities for ancestral tombs and parents' funerals.
4. I think household finances should be managed by the wife.
5. An arranged marriage is preferable to a love marriage.
6. I feel obligated and indebted to others who have done something to help me (ongaeshi).
7. I believe the birth place, nationality, etc. of the marriage partner is important.
8. Wives should be able to work outside the home.
9. If you really believe in an idea, it is acceptable to proceed with it with-

out regard for the opinions of others

10. Grown children should be able to lead their own lives instead of having to look after their parents or have to take care of family tombs (kuyo).

11. I would be willing to develop natural resources even if the environment is harmed as a result.

12. If I am older but still in good health, it is acceptable to live by myself or in a nursing home instead of having my own family take care of me.

13. Troublesome action by a family member causes loss of face for other family members.

14. It is preferable for husbands to help with household chores and the care of children.

15. I prefer to use tables and chairs and bed and mattress instead of tatami and futon.

16. I cannot lead my own life without concern for what others may think.

17. I visit ancestral tombs at the traditional time of the year and on the anniversaries of family members' deaths.

18. I worship at the family butsudan/kamidana every day.

19. In times of difficulty, I should pray to God

20. I have respect for Christianity

21. I believe in life after death

22. I often have thoughts about dying

23. I want to contribute to the welfare of other people and society at large.

24. Fishing is the most important aspect of my life.

25. Family gatherings are not important to me.

26. I am contented with the present conduct of the fishery in this district.

27. I hope fishing can continue as an occupation in this district in the future.

28. I think the younger generation do not want to work in the fishery because the work is too hard.

29. In this district, fishing, as a form of labouring work, is preferable to other occupations.

30. I think education is extremely important for children.

31. Having social contact with others occurs more often in this community than in other communities.

32. I like to participate in various district associations and groups.

33. I prefer to have intimate relationships and/or friendships with people in this district.

34. I do not want to reduce the number of school teachers in this district even if the number of school students should decline.

35. I prefer the local district environment over other areas.

36. I am not often optimistic about life in this district.

37. For breakfast I prefer bread and coffee over gohan (rice) and misoshiru (bean soup).

38. I would like to travel abroad if the opportunity arises.

39. I naturally discriminate against other people because of the circumstances of their birth or situation.

These 39 survey items were developed to explore, in turn, traditional values within the community, individualistic values within the community, religious beliefs, attitudes toward the traditional occupation of the region, consciousness of and attitudes toward the local community, and consciousness of and attitudes toward the world beyond the local district.

Procedure

Respondents were recruited during the summer of 1990 by visiting each household in Mirotsu and asking whether family members above 20 years of age would be willing to complete a questionnaire on social con-

sciousness in the Mirotsu district. Among cooperating households, only one individual usually responded but two completed questionnaires were sometimes received from a single household. Respondents were asked to complete the questionnaire within two weeks. Questionnaires were then collected by a volunteer research assistant resident in the village who, in turn, forwarded them to the experimenter for subsequent analysis.

In addition to data generated by the questionnaire, unstructured interviews were also conducted with 11 individuals in the community who had completed the questionnaire. Non−systematic observations were also made of community life in general over a period of one week. The evidence from these two additional sources was taken for contextual reasons to help in the interpretation of questionnaire data.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Once all questionnaire data were received, basic descriptive statistics were calculated (mean, standard deviation) for each of the 39 items based first on all respondents regardless of demographic sub−category and then on demographic sub−categories within the sample of 90 respondents for purposes of comparison. Values for items stated negatively were reversed to ensure that the sentiment expressed by respondents for those items was evaluated in a manner consistent with items stated positively. For the purpose of these analyses presented in graphic form below, items were arranged under the six sub−categories originally considered to relate to the overall phenomenon of social consciousness (traditional values, individualistic values, religious beliefs, occupational values, local district values, and extra−district values). The statements corresponding to each item may be found in the Methodology section above. The larger the mean value for a given item, the

more strongly the attitude, quality or behaviour denoted by that item can be said to be represented in the sample. A vertical line on each graph at the mid−point of the scale (2.5) may be taken to indicate a moderate level of a particular attitude, quality or behaviour. Values toward the lower end of the scale indicate the characteristic in question is not strongly represented among respondents.

AN OVERALL DESCRIPTIVE ANALYSIS OF SOCIAL CONSCIOUS-NESS AMONG THE MIROTSU SAMPLE (N=90)

Figure 2 presents the mean values for all respondents (N=90) for the 39 items of the social consciousness questionnaire organized under the six proposed sub−categories.

Traditional Values.

It is clear that residents prefer to maintain traditional values, especially the traditional Japanese idea of ongaeshi (Item 6) which appears to be strongly cherished by respondents. This can be taken to mean that villagers are very sensitive to human relationships (giri−ninjyo). Present family relationships continue to be important to villagers (Items 13 and 25). Respondents feel to a considerable degree that ancestral worship (kuyo) should continue to be the responsibility of the eldest son (Item 3). The wife continues to be seen as the appropriate manager of household finances (Item 4). However, arranged marriages (Item 5) and grandiose marriage and funeral ceremonies (Item 2) do not seem to be of excessive importance to respondents.

Individualistic Values.

While traditional values continue to be strongly upheld in general, respondents also exhibit a moderate commitment to individualistic values. In particular, villagers seem willing to proceed with an idea in which they strongly believe even if this might meet with the disapproval of other mem-
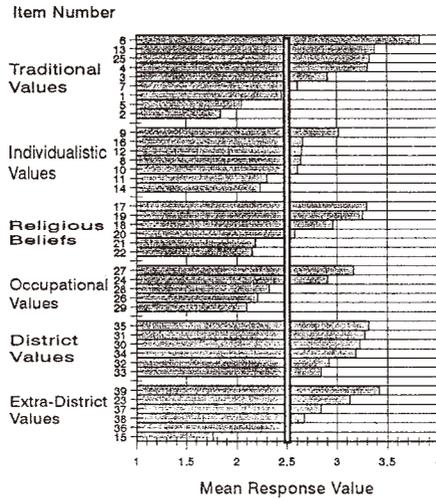
Item Number

Figure 2. **Mean Values of all Mirotsu respondents (N=90) to the 39 items arranged in terms of proposed sub–categories.**

bers of the community (Item 9).

Religious Beliefs.

Religious beliefs can be seen to exert at least a moderate influence on the lives of respondents. Respondents support the idea that ancestral tombs should be visited on a regular basis (Item 17) and also that regular worship at the butsudan/kamidana is important (Item 18). They also support the idea that prayers should be offered to God in times of difficulty (Item 19).

Occupational Values.

Values related to fishing as the major occupation of the community continue to be of at least moderate importance for respondents. Respondents want fishing to continue in the future (Item 27) and consider to a greater than moderate degree that fishing is the most important aspect of their lives (Item 24). However, respondents have some dissatisfaction with

their lives in the fishery (Item 26) and would seem to prefer other sources of employment if possible (Item 29).

District Values.

All items related to district values are moderately to well supported by respondents. Respondents appear to be quite strongly attached to their district. They feel that social contact with others occurs more frequently in their community than in other communities (Item 31) but are not exclusively committed to relationships or friendships only within the Mirotsu community (Item 33). Education is considered to be important in the community (Items 30, 34). Respondents like to participate in various associations and groups (Item 32).

Extra-District Values.

Respondents agree quite strongly that they tend to discriminate against others on the basis of birthplace and situation (Item 39). However, they simultaneously wish to contribute to the social welfare of others even beyond Mirotsu (Item 23). They exhibit some openness to other traditions (Item 37) but are strongly committed to tatami and futon (Item 15).

SUMMARY.

The overall impression conveyed by Figure 2 is that Mirotsu remains a community still very much bound by the traditional way of life but also open to other possibilities beyond those normally afforded by the local community. Respondents seem to be realistic about the changes which have affected or are likely to affect their community in the future but would prefer to maintain many aspects of the traditional way of life if possible.

COMPARISONS AMONG DEMOGRAPHIC SUB-GROUPS

The attitudes, values and behaviour of Mirotsu respondents depicted in Figure 2 do not necessarily suggest that all respondents, regardless of de-

mographic sub—category, think alike about the issues involved. To determine whether, in fact, some heterogeneity of opinion exists in the Mirotsu community, sub—groups of respondents were identified on the basis of sex, age/generation, educational background, occupation (associated with the fishery or not associated with the fishery) and birthplace (born locally or born elsewhere). A series of t—tests for independent groups was conducted for the 39 items arranged under six categories thought to relate to social consciousness to determine whether statistically significant differences existed between the demographic sub—groups. Although the discussion of sub—groups below emphasizes statistically significant differences on selected items, it can be confirmed by reference to the appropriate figure whether or not the characteristic in question was weakly, moderately, or strongly represented in the respondents under comparison.

MALE VS. FEMALE

Figure 3 represents a comparison of the mean values for male (52%) and female (48%) respondents for each of the 39 items under six sub—categories.

Traditional Values.

Males were more inclined than females to support the idea that the eldest son should take responsibility for ancestral tombs and parents' funerals (Item 3, $p \leq .05$).

Individualistic Values.

Males were more inclined to support the idea that you should proceed with an idea if you really believe in it (Item 9, $p \leq .05$).

Religious Beliefs.

Females were more strongly committed than males on five out of the six items in this category. Females were more supportive of the idea of visiting ancestral tombs (Item 17, $p \leq .01$) and worshipping at the family
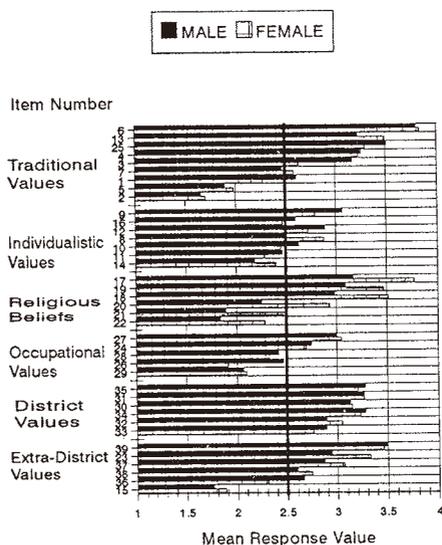
Figure 3. Mean values of male and female respondents to the 39 items arranged in terms of proposed sub – categories.

butsudan/kamidana (Items 18, $p \leq .01$). Females also exhibited greater respect for Christianity (Item 20, $p \leq .01$). Females were also more inclined to pray to God in times of difficulty (Item 19, $p \leq .05$) and to believe in life after death (Item 21, $p \leq .05$).

Occupational Values.

Males were somewhat more contented than females with the present conduct of the fishery in the Mirotsu district ($p \leq .05$).

District Values.

No statistically significant differences were found between males and females in regard to items in this category.

Extra – District Values.

Females were more in favour of contributing to the welfare of other people and the society at large than were males ($p \leq .05$).

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Summary.

Overall, it can be said that males are more traditionally and individualistically inclined than females although females place greater emphasis on religious beliefs and behaviour than males. Males tend to be more contented with the fishery.

YOUNGER GENERATION VS. OLDER GENERATION

Figure 4 represents a comparison of the mean values for members of the younger and older generations for each of the 39 items under six sub-categories. It should be noted that 67% of the respondents were members of the older generation (50 years or greater) versus 33% in the 20 to 49 years age range.

Traditional Values.

The older generation was more inclined to support the idea that in the absence of children, an adopted son should inherit the household (Item 1, p $\leq.01$). The older generation was also more inclined to the view that the wife should be responsible for managing household affairs (Item 4, p$\leq.05$).

Individualistic Values.

The younger generation was more accepting of the idea that grown children should be able to lead their own lives (Item 10, p$\leq.05$). Likewise, the younger generation was more receptive to the idea that husbands should help with household chores including the care of children (Item 14, $\leq.05$).

Religious Beliefs.

No statistically significant differences were observed between the generations in regard to items relating to religious belief.

Occupational Values.

The older generation was more inclined to the view that fishing should continue in the future (Item 27, p$\leq.05$). The older generation was also
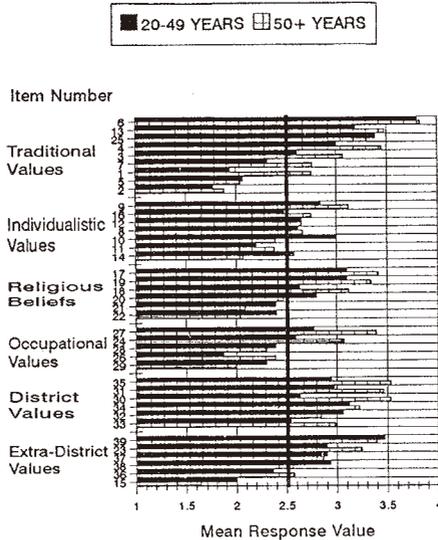
Figure 4. Mean Values of younger and older respondents to the 39 items arranged in terms of proposed sub – categories.

somewhat more satisfied with the fishery in the Mirotsu district than was the younger generation (Item 26, p≤.05).

District Values.

The older generation agreed more strongly than their younger counterparts that education is extremely important for children (Item 30, p≤.01). The older generation showed a stronger preference for the local environment compared to other environments than did the younger generation (Item 35, p≤.05).

The older generation also felt that social contact with others occurs more often in the Mirotsu community (Item 31, p≤.05).

Extra–District Values.

No statistically significant differences were found between the generations for items under this category.

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Summary.

Members of the older generation are more traditionally oriented, more attached to the fishery and to the local district than their younger counterparts.

EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND

Figure 5 represents a comparison of the mean values for sub−groups exposed to different educational experiences. Education under the modern system (post−World War II) was experienced by 59% of respondents while 41% of respondents were educated under the former pre−World War II system.

Traditional Values.

Those educated under the former system were more strongly supportive of five out of nine items under traditional values. In particular, they were more inclined to think that: troublesome action by a family member causes loss of face for other family members (Item 13, $p \leq .01$); household finances should be managed by the wife (Item 4, $p \leq .01$); the birthplace and nationality of the marriage partner are important (Item 7, $p \leq .01$); in the absence of children, it would be good to have an adopted son inherit the household (Item 1, $p \leq .01$); the eldest son should assume responsibility for ancestral tombs and parents' funerals (Item 3, $p \leq .05$).

Individualistic Values.

No statistically significant differences were observed between those educated under different educational systems for the items under this category.

Religious Beliefs.

Respondents educated under the former system were more inclined to the view that they should worship at the family butsudan/kamidana every day (Item 18, $p \leq .01$) and pray to God in times of difficulty (Item 19, $p \leq$
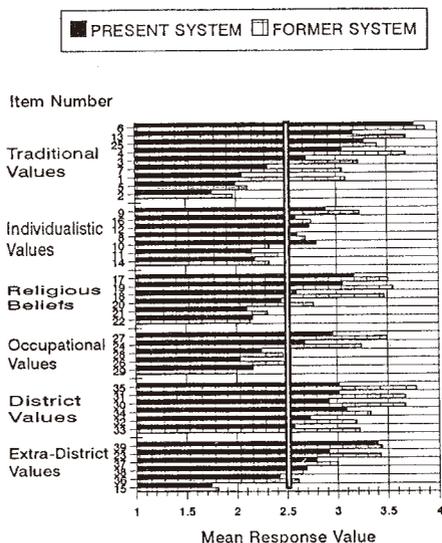
Figure 5. Comparison of mean responses by educational background
to the 39 items by proposed sub–categories.

.05).

Occupational Values.

Those educated under the former system were more desirous of having fishing continue as an occupation in the Mirotsu district in the future (Item 27, p≤.05) and felt that fishing is the most important aspect of their lives (Item 24, p≤.05).

District Values.

Those educated under the former system had a stronger preference for the local district over other districts (Item 35, p≤.01), felt that social contact with others occurred more frequently in the Mirotsu community than in other communities (Item 31, p≤.01), thought that education is extremely important for children (Item 30, p≤.01), and had a greater preference for personal relationships and friendships with people in the Mirotsu district (Item

33, $p \leq .05$).

Extra — district values.

Those educated under the former system were more strongly inclined to want to contribute to the welfare of other people in society at large (Item 23, $p \leq .05$).

Summary.

In general, people educated under the former educational system (pre—World War II) had a higher regard for traditional values than those educated under the present system. This is particularly true with respect to traditional family—centered customs. Religious beliefs and behaviour play a more significant role in the lives of those educated under the former system. They attach greater importance to the fishery than those educated under the present system and are more attached to the local district.

FISHERPEOPLE VS. NON—FISHERPEOPLE

Figure 6 represents a comparison of the mean values for respondents associated (74%) or not associated (26%) with the fishing industry in Mirotsu for each of the 39 items in the social consciousness questionnaire.

Traditional Values.

No statistically significant differences were found between fisherpeople and non—fisherpeople for the items under this category.

Individualistic Values.

Non—fisherpeople were more inclined to accept the idea that wives should be able to work outside the home (Item 8, $p \leq .05$).

Religious Beliefs.

Non—fisherpeople felt more strongly that ancestral tombs should be visited at the traditional time of the year and on the anniversaries of family members' deaths (Item 17, $p \leq .05$) and they worshipped more frequently at
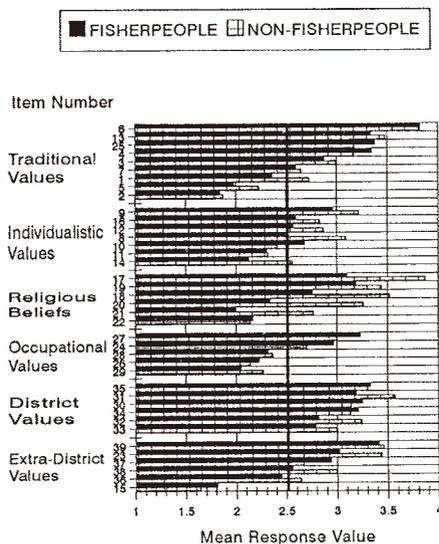
Figure 6. Mean Values by occupation to the 39 items arranged by pro-
posed sub — categories.

the family butsudan/kamidana every day (Item 18, p≤.05). They also had
more respect for Christianity (Item 20, p≤.05), and a stronger belief in life
after death (Item 21, p≤.05).

Occupational Values.

No statistically significant differences were observed between fisher-
people and non−fisherpeople for the items under this category.

District Values.

No statistically significant differences were observed between fisher-
people and non−fisherpeople for the items under this category.

Extra−District Values.

No statistically significant differences were observed between fisher-
people and non−fisherpeople for the items under this category.

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Summary.

Non−fisherpeople were more open to wives working outside the home and also seemed to be more strongly influenced by religious beliefs.

BIRTHPLACE: LOCALLY BORN VS. NON−LOCALLY BORN

Figure 7 represents a comparison of the mean values for the 39 items of the social consciousness questionnaire in terms of the birthplace of respondents. It should be noted that a large majority of respondents were born locally (78% local vs. 22% non−local).

Traditional Values.

Those born in the local district exhibited a greater preference for the eldest son assuming responsibility for visiting ancestral tombs and parents' funerals (Item, 3, p≤.05), a stronger belief that nationality and birthplace of
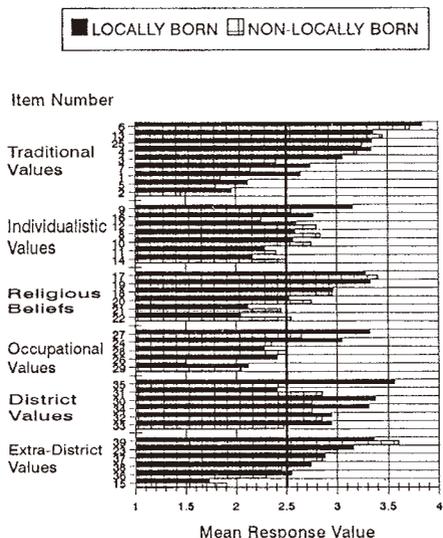

Figure 7. Mean values by birthplace to the 39 items arranged in terms of proposed sub−categories.

the marriage partner are important considerations (Item 7, $p \leq .05$), a stronger preference for having an adopted son inherit the household in the event of no children (Item 1, $p \leq .05$), and a greater preference for more grandiose marriage and funeral ceremonies (Item 2, $p \leq .05$).

Individualistic values.

Locally born people were more inclined to the view that it is acceptable to proceed with an idea in which you really believe without regard for the opinions of others (Item 9, $p \leq .05$).

Religious Beliefs.

No statistically significant differences were observed between those born locally and those non−locally born for the items under this category.

Occupational Values.

Locally born people were more contented with the present conduct of the fishing industry in the Mirotsu district (Item 26, $p \leq .01$), more inclined to hope that fishing could continue as an occupation in the Mirotsu district in the future (Item 27, $p \leq .05$), and more agreeable to the statement that "fishing is the most important aspect of my life " (Item 24, $p \leq .05$).

District Values.

Locally born people showed a stronger preference for the local environment over other areas (Item 35, $p \leq .01$), agreed more strongly with the view that education is extremely important for children (Item 30, $p \leq .05$), and had a stronger preference for maintaining the present number of school teachers in the district even if the number of students should decline (Item 34, $p \leq .05$). Locally born respondents felt more strongly than their non−locally born counterparts that social contact with others occurs more frequently in the Mirotsu community than in other communities (Item, 31, $p \leq .05$).

Extra−District Values.

No statistically significant differences were found between locally born

and non—locally born respondents for the items under this category.

Summary.

Locally born people are more traditionally oriented, more attached to the fishery and the local district in general than their non—locally born counterparts. Although locally—born people are more inclined to traditional values, they are also capable of being more individualistic under certain circumstances.

FACTOR ANALYSIS

In order to determine whether the sub—categories taken to be indices of social consciousness actually represented an appropriate summary of sources of variability in the data set, a factor analysis followed by varimax rotation of extracted factors was applied to the complete data set based on 90 respondents. A summary of factors extracted, their associated eigen values and the percentage of total variance accounted for by each factor can be seen in Table 2. A graphic representation of items correlated with each factor at a value of $r \geq .50$ is presented in Figure 8.

From Table 2, it is apparent that 9 factors were extracted, each with an eigenvalue ≥ 1.00, but collectively they did not account for more than 50% of the total variance in the data set. The remaining 50% of the variance is not attributable to any specific sub—set of factors. Only the first six factors are discussed below in detail.

Factor 1 — Fishing Village Tradition.

Items 3, 4, 24, 27, 31, 34, and 35 were all positively correlated with this factor at a value of $r \geq 0.50$. Factor 1 accounted for 10.78% of the total variance in the data set. Items 3 and 4 fell under the original sub—category of "traditional values", Items 24 and 27 under "occupational values", and

Table 2. Factor analysis summary table showing eigenvalue, percentage of variance for each factor, and cumulative percentage.

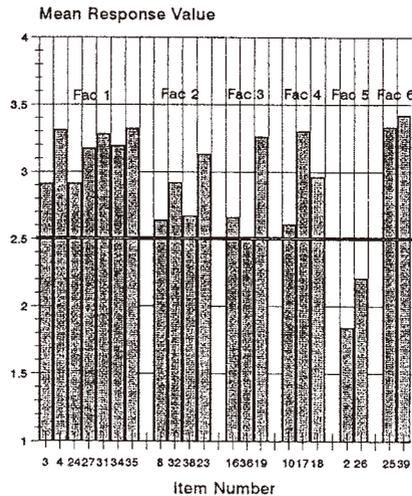| FACTOR	EIGENVALUE	% OF VARIANCE	CUMULATIVE %
1. Fishing Village Tradition	4.2	10.78	10.78
2. Intra/Extra-District Orientation	2.76	7.08	17.86
3. Pessimism/Optimism	2.3	5.9	23.76
4. Individualism/Realism	2.01	5.16	28.92
5. Discontentedness	1.72	4.4	33.32
6. Exclusiveness	1.71	4.39	37.71
7. Unnamed	1.57	4.03	41.74
8. Unnamed	1.51	3.86	45.6
9. Unnamed	1.47	3.77	49.37

Figure 8. Results of factor analysis (with varimax rotation) applied to social consciousness survey data (N=90).

Items 31, 34 and 35 under "district values". Factor 1 suggests social consciousness of the inhabitants of Mirotsu is informed to a significant degree by adherence to traditional values associated with the fishing industry and a sense of attachment to the local district.

Factor 2 — Intra/Extra–District Orientation.

Items 8, 23, 32, and 38 were all positively correlated with this factor at a value of r≥0.50. Factor 2 accounted for 7.08% of the total variance in the data set. Item 8 was originally categorized as an "individualistic value", Items 23 and 38 as "extra–district values", and Item 32 as a "district value". This factor suggests that the social consciousness of Mirotsu residents is influenced to a moderate degree by orientation to the local district and to districts beyond the local area.

Factor 3 — Pessimism/Optimism.

Items 16, 19 and 36 were all positively correlated with this factor at a value of r≥0.50. Factor 3 accounted for 5.9% of the total variance in the data set. It should be noted that Items 16 and 36 were originally stated in the negative but original scores for these were reversed during data analysis to be consistent with other items used to assess the characteristic in question. Item 16 was originally categorized as an "individualistic value ", Item 19 as a "religious belief", and Item 36 as an "extra–district value ". Overall, this factor suggests that social consciousness depends to some degree on the degree of pessimism/optimism felt toward the present state of the community.

Factor 4 — Individualism/Realism.

Item 10 was positively correlated with this factor while Items 17 and 18 were negatively correlated, each at a value of r≥0.50. Factor 4 accounted for 5.16% of the total variance in the data set. Item 10 was originally categorized as an "individualistic value" and Items 17 and 18 fell under the "religious beliefs" category. This factor suggests that the social consciousness of

Mirotsu residents is determined to a degree by a tendency to be individualistic and realistic which may, at times, be inconsistent with traditional religious beliefs and practices.

Factor 5 – Discontentedness.

Items 2 and 26 were both negatively correlated with this factor at a value of r≥0.50. Factor 5 accounted for 4.4% of the total variance. Item 2 was originally categorized as a "traditional value" and Item 26 as an "occupational value". This factor suggests that dissatisfaction with traditional grandiose ceremonies and the fishery inform the social consciousness of Mirotsu residents to a degree.

Factor 6 – Exclusiveness.

Items 25 and 39 were both positively correlated with this factor at a value of r≥0.50. Factor 6 accounted for 4.39% of the total variance. Item 25 was originally characterized as a "traditional value" and Item 39 as an "extra–district value" and both were originally stated in the negative in the questionnaire but values were reversed for purposes of analysis. This factor suggests that social consciousness in Mirotsu is determined to a degree by a tendency toward exclusiveness.

Summary.

In general, the results of the factor analysis suggest that the original categorization of the 39 items was helpful in summarizing significant determinants of social consciousness in the inhabitants of Mirotsu village. At the same time, the analysis indicates that the determinants of social consciousness are multiple and complex, resisting easy reduction to a small sub–set of explanatory factors. More than 50% of the variance in the data set could not be accounted for by the nine factors extracted, suggesting a complex interplay of variables underlying the phenomenon of social consciousness.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Overall, the results of this study indicate that the traditional Japanese idea of ongaeshi is still strongly cherished by Mirotsu villagers. Residents are very sensitive to human relationships (giri−ninjyo) as Benedict (1946) and Hayashi (1982) had earlier suggested and feel that social contact with others occurs more frequently in their community. They are also inclined to participate in various associations and groups in the community. However, there is some indication that they feel that close friends or relationships in the local community can sometimes lead to problems which may make village life less satisfactory than they would like. Respondents continue to feel that the eldest son should assume family responsibilities in the traditional way and that the wife should manage household affairs including finances. Although traditional values in general are a greater determinant of social consciousness amongst villagers, individualistic values are not absent as evidenced by the belief, particularly among men, for example, that one should be able to proceed with an idea in which one firmly believes.

Comparisons by demographic sub−category reveal some differences of opinion among Mirotsu residents. Those of the older generation, who are also those, for the most part, who have been educated under the former educational system, are more inclined to traditional values than their younger counterparts educated under the modern system. This represented a confirmation of Fukutake's (1960) observation that Japanese social consciousness is strongly influenced by the system under which people have been educated. The present study also revealed that people born in the local community are more strongly attached to the fishery and to the local community in general. Religious values seem to be stronger determinants of social consciousness among women than among men but women also exhibit more in-

terest in the world beyond Mirotsu than do men.

In short, Mirotsu remains a community still strongly influenced by traditional values and the traditional occupation of fishing. However, it also seems to be a community in transition. Those who subscribe to traditional ways are more likely to be members of the older generation educated under the former educational system. Changes in social consciousness are bound to come as those with more modern views and expectations command a greater proportion of the population of the district in the future.

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