

**Morioka Kiyomi :**  
**From a Structural to a Life-Cycle Theory**  
**of Religious Organization**

NISHIYAMA Shigeru

My first sociology of religion course in graduate school was taught by Morioka Kiyomi. His scholarly style left such an indelible imprint on my own thought processes that I am to a considerable extent a "Moriokan." I doubt, therefore, that I am suited to undertake a critical review of his work. The challenge to try was accepted, however, because if the attempt is not made now, I may never be able to objectify thoroughly the "Morioka within myself." Of course, the task far exceeds my limited, immature capabilities; but having accepted, I intend to examine matters as dispassionately as possible in order to appraise the import of Morioka's work in the sociology of religion not only for myself but also for all engaged in this field in Japan. I hope, further, to identify whatever problems may remain in his treatment of major themes and to offer, for what they may be worth, my own responses to them.

*Early influences.* Before taking up his theories, I had better touch briefly on his background and development. On 28 October 1923, Morioka was born the eldest son of a rather well-to-do farm family living in the Shimo Awa hamlet attached to the village of Ōyamada in Mie Prefecture. Because his family, like others in the community, was a supporting

---

Translated by David L. Swain, with the kind permission of the author and of the editor, from "Morioka Kiyomi: Kyōdan kōzō ron kara kyōdan shūki ron e" 森岡清美～教団構造論から教団周期論へ, *Kokusai shūkyō nyūzu* 国際宗教ニューズ 17/1-2 (1979): 55-73.

household of a temple belonging to the Buddhist True Pure Land sect (Jōdo Shinshū Honpa Honganji-ha), he grew accustomed from an early age to the chanting of the "Shōshinge."<sup>1</sup> This family background was perhaps not wholly unrelated to his later decision to do research on the True Pure Land organization.

After graduating from his own prefecture's Mie Normal School, he enrolled in Tokyo Higher Normal School in 1943. In 1945 he entered the Philosophy Department of the Tokyo University of Literature and Science. There he studied sociology under Okada Yuzuru and for his senior thesis wrote "Nōson shakai no ichi ruikai" [One type of rural society].

*Graduate study.* Following graduation in March 1948, he remained at the university, on Okada's recommendation, as a special research student until March 1950. This brief period was extremely important for Morioka in several ways. During this time, he penned his first article, "Dōzoku ketsugō ni kansuru ichi shikō" [A preliminary view of the extended household body] (1948).<sup>2</sup> This marked his debut as a scholar. More important, the basic ideas and scholarly perspectives that were to distinguish his later work, whether in religious or family studies, all began to appear in this period.

In January 1949 he began what was to become a series of studies on Shinto with his article "Miyaza to sonraku shakai no kōzō" [Rural social structure and shrine parish organization], later expanded and revised as "Sonraku no kaikyū kōzō

- 
1. The "Shōshinge" is the name given the last 120 verses of volume 6 of the *Kyōgyōshinshō* [Teaching, practice, faith, and attainment], the main doctrinal work produced by Shinran, traditionally regarded as the founder of the True Pure Land sect. —Transl.
  2. The terms *dōzoku*, *dōzoku ketsugō*, and *dōzoku dan* all refer to the extended household group, that is, a body comprised of a main house and its branch houses and considered as a social unit. For more on the *dōzoku dan*, see p. 149, note 1. —Ed.

to *miyaza*” [Class structure and the *miyaza* system in a village] (1954a).<sup>3</sup> A year later, in January 1950, he began studies of a rural Christian church in the Gunma Prefecture village of Shimamura—again launching what would become a continued program of research on Christian churches. Soon after, in March of the same year, he made a systematic analysis of the organizational structure of the Takada sect of True Pure Land Buddhism; this too was the beginning of a series of inquiries into True Pure Land bodies.

*Mentors.* In all these efforts Morioka was in various ways building on the labors of Aruga Kizaemon and his colleagues whose research on the household (*ie*) and the extended household (*dōzoku*) was then at its zenith in the world of sociology. This influence was particularly evident in Morioka’s application of household and extended household theories to his study of True Pure Land organization.

In that connection it may be noted that Aruga and Nakano Takashi, both of whom had from prewar days engaged in household/extended household research, became a professor and full-time lecturer, respectively, in the Sociology Department of Tokyo University of Education when it was founded in 1949 soon after the end of the war. Their presence presumably exerted some influence on Morioka’s research methods in those days.

In addition, since urged by Okada in 1947 to do his senior thesis on the family life-cycle, Morioka had been reading widely on theories of the family life-cycle in the literature of American rural sociology (1973e, p. iii).

*Publications and positions.* It was not until the 1952–54

---

3. *Miyaza*: a Shinto parish organization comprised of specific households (in some cases, of men or women in certain age groups) that perform certain rituals in honor of the parish kami (*ujigami*). —Transl.

period, however, that the results of Morioka's years as a special research student were published. Articles appearing in this period include his "Chūsei makki honganji kyōdan ni okeru ikkashū" [The Honganji organization of the late medieval period as an assemblage of households] (1952, 1953a), "Nihon nōson ni okeru kirisutokyō no juyō" [Acceptance of Christianity in a Japanese rural community] (1953b), the previously mentioned "Sonraku no kaikyū kōzō to miyaza" [Class structure and the *miyaza* system in a village] (1954a), and, on the sociology of the household, "Kazoku kenkyū no ichi shikaku: Kazoku shūki no riron to hōhō" [One perspective on family studies: Theory and method in the study of family life-cycles] (1953c).

In April 1950 Morioka became an assistant at Tokyo University of Literature and Science and continued teaching first there, then at its successor institution, Tokyo University of Education, for the next twenty-eight years. He was the last dean of the latter institution's humanities division until Tokyo University of Education closed in 1978. Currently, he is a professor in the liberal arts division of Seijō University (Tokyo).

*Character.* Morioka is industrious and methodical; his work is done promptly and accurately. An exceptionally productive scholar, his works during the twenty-eight-year period from 1948 to 1976 consist of 14 edited or authored books and 191 articles (see appended list of his main writings). His output thus averages 1 edited or authored book every two years and some 7 articles per year. These figures do not include such things as articles of less than five pages, book reviews, public lectures, panel discussions, critiques, bibliographies, newspaper articles, pieces used by publishers in promotional material, lecture summaries for monthly reviews, or high-school text materials.

Moreover, Morioka maintained his level of productivity even

during the 1968–70 period of campus turmoil when he served as university trustee and during his 1974–78 deanship. Such constancy witnesses to his exceptional powers of self-discipline and time-management.

While still a special research student, Morioka received Christian baptism in 1948 from missionary Theodor Jaeckel of the German Evangelical Church. Many people have therefore regarded his Christian faith as the formative force behind his character and qualities, and some even speak of “the puritan Morioka.” But this is not necessarily the case. According to his own recollections, he was endowed with the character and attributes that inform his work long before his contact with Christianity; indeed, they prompted him to approach the rationally oriented Protestantism with which he felt some affinity. Even so, according to the preface of his *Gendai shakai no minshū to shūkyō* [Religion and people in contemporary Japanese society], his Christian faith was in any case “the main factor in the development of my perspective on religion” (1975c, p. iv).

#### CHIEF CONCERNS

As already noted, Morioka’s research activity began about 1947, and by 1950 the basic ideas and perspectives characteristic of his work had already emerged.

*Shinto.* In looking back over his career, Morioka points out that about 1947 he was stimulated by the household-organization research then in its ascendancy to study his own native rural community from that perspective, and in fact he spent some time observing his native community. He abandoned this notion, however, because he felt the household-organization approach more appropriate to communities in the northern part of Japan’s main island and less to the region of his birth. Instead, he attempted an analysis of class structures of the neighboring rural community of Mibuno as

reflected in its shrine parish organization (*miyaza*). The results of that early research effort were published in his 1949 article "Miyaza to sonraku shakai no kōzō" [Rural social structure and shrine parish organization].

*Buddhism.* Having abandoned research on the household as such, Morioka embarked on serious, practical inquiries into other aspects of household and extended household theory. His subsequent series of studies of True Pure Land Buddhist organization were in fact an extension of this original shift in focus. This series began with "Bukkyō kyōdan no kōzō" [Buddhist organizational structure], written while he was still a special research student, and continued with his work on the Honganji organization of the late medieval period as patterned on household/extended household relationships (1952, 1953a). From 1952 he conducted surveys on True Pure Land temples of the Ōtani sect located on the Noto peninsula (on the Japan sea coast north of Osaka) and, from 1956, on True Pure Land temples of the Takada sect in Fukui Prefecture. These studies were brought to fruition in a graduate thesis in 1962 and published under the title *Shinshū kyōdan to "ie" seido* [The Shin Buddhist orders and the *ie* system] (1962d).<sup>4</sup>

Morioka subsequently produced many articles on True Pure Land organization, later compiled in a volume entitled *Shinshū kyōdan ni okeru ie no kōzō* [*Ie* structures in True Pure Land organization] (1978f).

In terms of research perspective, the later "*ie* structures" volume is not fundamentally different from the earlier "*ie* system" work. But the thoroughly empirical research in the sociology of religion, based on the household and extended household theories presented in the "*ie* system" volume, was a genuine innovation in Japanese religious sociology; indeed,

---

4. *Ie*: family and/or stem family; household and/or extended household. —Transl.

it is no exaggeration to say that this work was the first truly *sociological* sociology of religion produced in Japan.

*Christianity.* Morioka's studies of Japanese Christianity began in January 1950 with his investigation of the Methodist church in Shimamura. In time they came to embrace such questions as the reception, penetration, and establishment of Protestantism and the patterns of change it experienced in Japanese rural society.

In 1953 he wrote an article on the Shimamura church entitled "Nihon nōson ni okeru kirisutokyō no juyō" [Acceptance of Christianity in a Japanese rural community], and later another, "Chihō shōtoshi ni okeru kirisuto kyōkai no keisei" [The establishment of a Christian church in a small local city] (1959a), a study of a Congregational church in the Gunma Prefecture town of Annaka. These were followed by a monograph on a Methodist church in the Yamanashi Prefecture village of Kusakabe, "Nihon nōson ni okeru kirisutokyō no dochakuka" [Indigenization of Christianity in Japanese rural society] (1965b).

Despite the affinities among these objects of research on Christian churches, however, there were some discrepancies in the way methods and concepts were applied, so the articles as a whole lack the theoretical consistency seen in Morioka's studies of True Pure Land Buddhism. In the "acceptance" article on Shimamura, for example, he utilized M.J. Herskovits' theory of acculturation and thus focused on "alterations in local customs involved in the interaction of Christianity with established folk religion" (1959e, p. 195). The church-sect typology of Liston Pope and Walter Muelder was employed in the "establishment" study of Annaka to depict Christianity's "change to a religion of the household." A critical application of David O. Moberg's theory of life cycles in religious organizations was made in the "indigenization" article (on Kusakabe) to treat "the process by which the

church comes to occupy an established position within the institutional structures of society" (1965b, p.5).

The degree of internal correlation and overall integration of concepts and methods achieved in these articles was less than adequate, as Morioka himself recognized. It was not until much later, in 1972, that he achieved conceptual clarity and consistency regarding the phenomena of reception, penetration, establishment, and change in the case of an imported religion. In that year he wrote "'Gairai shūkyō no dochakuka' o meguru gainenteki seiri" [A conceptual examination of the indigenization of foreign-born religions] (1972e).<sup>5</sup> In this article various issues pertaining to a religion of foreign origin were organized within a coaxial framework. One axis dealt with the degree of change: was change limited to nonessential aspects, or did it penetrate to matters of substance? The other axis involved relations to other systems in the recipient society: did the newly introduced religion take a negative-rejecting or an affirmative-accepting stance toward its values and behavioral patterns? Within this broad concept of indigenization, Morioka distinguished four possible types: isolation, indigenization, clandestinization, and submergence. Unfortunately, he has not subsequently carried out empirical studies using this framework, so its usefulness has not been clearly confirmed.

*Religion and state.* Following his 1962 "ie system" study, Morioka began introducing new perspectives into his studies of Shinto shrines and Christian churches. One was a new emphasis on the importance to shrine studies of relations to state power. Another was his realization of the need to deal with the effects on shrines and churches of the intense population mobility that stemmed from the remarkable rate of urbanization spurred by Japan's rapid economic growth in the

---

5. A contribution to a discussion initiated by Sakurai and Ozawa (1971). —Transl.



1960s.

Notable among studies taking state power into account was his "Meiji makki ni okeru shūroku jinja no seiri" [Local shrine mergers in the closing years of Meiji] (1966b, 1969b). Here Morioka sought "to trace the process through which such major events as the abolition and amalgamation of shrines took place, not because of changes in community structure but because of the intrusion of state power, in order to assess how the community adapted structurally to this imposed change" (1966b, p. 2). This led him to analyze the shrine merger process first in Mie Prefecture and, second, on the national scene. In a 1975 article, "Jinja o meguru jūmin kanjō to kanryōteki gōrishugi" [Bureaucratic rationalism and local residents' sentiments regarding shrines] (1975d), Morioka discussed the refusal of governmental authorities to approve local residents' desires to construct new shrines. The sense of problem evident in this work is essentially the same as in his "local shrine mergers" articles (1966b, 1969b).

Studies of shrines and churches affected by urbanization and population mobility include "Kinkōka ni yoru chiiki kōzō no henka" [Change in neighborhood structure due to suburbanization] (1964), "Chiiki shakai no jinkō idō to kirisuto kyōkai no kyōsei" [Population mobility in local communities and Christian church strength] (1966c), and "Kinkōka ni yoru jinja shinkō no henbō" [Transformation in shrine worship due to suburbanization] (1968e). Each of these studies was based on extensive questionnaire surveys, and in this respect differed from Morioka's previous work. Of these three, the 1966 and 1968 studies sought to ascertain "what alterations in the shrines stemmed from suburbanization-caused changes in community social structures" (1968e, p.75). This was done by focusing on local shrines in the suburban areas of Tokyo where population growth rates at the time were highest. In the 1966 study, churches related to the United Church of Christ in Japan and located in various in-

dustrial, inner city, residential, suburban, and hinterland areas were selected and their membership increase/decrease compared on the basis of the supposition that "there is a close correlation between population movement and church membership fluctuation, the latter being basically controlled by the former" (1975c, p.161).

*Theoretical synthesis.* During the 1960s when campus turmoil was widespread, Morioka's work expanded to cover a variety of topics; at the same time he began to move from treating Shinto, Buddhism, and Christianity as separate objects of research to taking a larger view in which more general and comprehensive principles of religious phenomena could be articulated. This shift is evident in his "Toshika genshō to shūkyō" [Urbanization and religion] (1968f). Here he clearly elaborates, from a general perspective, how Shinto, Buddhism, and Christianity each has its "social basis" in local community, household, and individual respectively, and then explains how this "base" undergoes change or even collapses under the impact of urbanization.

As for expansion of research interests, Morioka during these same years published various articles on theory, survey methods, research trends, religion in general, and folk religion. Space limitations prevent listing specific titles, but the range of his interests may be seen in the accompanying table (table 1).

Since his 1972 survey of Myōchikai, Morioka has engaged in studies of various new religious organizations such as Tenrikyō, Konkōkyō, Ōmoto, and Risshō Kōseikai.<sup>6</sup>

---

6. The Myōchikai study, set up as one part of a project sponsored by the Japan Committee of the Institute for Religion and Social Change under the chairmanship of the late Hori Ichirō (then a professor at Seijō University), was guided by Morioka, who in turn coopted Nishiyama Shigeru and Moroto (née Inoue) Aiko as assistants. It was carried out for a one-week period beginning 12 September 1972, a team of students from Tokyo University of Education providing most of the labor. The results appear in Morioka (1976b), Morioka and Nishiyama (1978i), Nishiyama (1976), Nishiyama (1978), etc.

TABLE 1

Morioka Articles Distributed by Topic,  
1948-76

Year of Publi- cation	Sociology of Religion							Other Sociology				Total	
	Theory, methods, research trends	General	Shinto	Buddhism	Christianity	New religions	Folk religion	Theory, methods, research trends	Family	Extended house- hold, community	Other	Articles	Books (edited and authored)
1948										1		1	
1949												0	
1950										1		1	
1951										1		1	
1952				1					1			2	
1953				1	1				1			3	
1954			1	2	1				1	2		7	
1955				1					1	1		3	
1956		1			1			1	1	1		5	
1957				1					1	3	1	6	
1958				2						2		4	
1959				3	1					1		5	
1960	1			3				1	1			6	
1961				1								1	
1962	1			1	1				2			5	1
1963		1		4					4			9	
1964			1						5			6	
1965				1	1		1		4			7	
1966			1	1	2				4			8	
1967	1	1		3	2				11			18	1
1968	2		2	3				2	7			16	2
1969		1	1	1			2		6			11	
1970		2		1					5			8	1
1971		1							4			5	
1972	1	3		1	1		1		5			12	2
1973	2			1	1				3			7	1
1974							1		9			10	2
1975		1	1					1	4		1	8	3
1976				1	2	2	2		9			16	1
Total	8	11	7	33	14	2	7	5	89	13	2	191	14

Source: Morioka 1977f.

Note: The sociology of religion articles number 82 (42.9%), the others 109 (57.1%).

For types of material excluded from consideration, see above, p. 170.

Having turned to the new religions rather late in his career, Morioka has so far produced few articles on them, but what he has produced contains hints of conceptual and methodological innovations that make one look forward eagerly to the results of his further work on these religious groups.

Thus far, articles on the new religions include "Myōchikai kai'in no shūkyō ishiki" [Religious consciousness among Myōchikai members] (1976b), "Minshū shūkyō no kyōso ni okeru karisumasei" [Charisma in founders of popular religions] (1978b), "Shinshūkyō no chihō denpa to teichaku no katei" [A new religion's diffusion and establishment in a local community] (1978i), and "Shinshūkyō no seidoka katei" [The institutionalization of a new religious movement] (1978j). All three 1978 articles are concerned with the institutionalization process in the new religions, but they embody two distinctive approaches.

The article on founders and their charisma (1978b) is a study undertaken from the theoretical standpoint that sees religious organizations as tracing a life-cycle. Beginning with the emergence of charisma, a breakthrough occurs, tradition is transcended, and something out of the ordinary comes into being. This starts "from the appearance of the founder and his or her circle of disciples, continues through the formation of a religious organization, its systematization, bureaucratization, and institutionalization, and goes on to its fossilization" (1978b, p. 242). This is a study, then, of the institutionalization process as it pertains to religious organization seen in the context of society as a whole.

By contrast, the "a new religion" article (1978i) analyzes the faith and organization of one new religion, Myōchikai, with respect to the conditions and processes of its spread to, penetration of, and establishment in one particular local community (the Yunohama district of Tsuruoka city in the prefecture of Yamagata). The analysis depends on the combining of three variables: the character of this new religion,

the structural peculiarities of this local community, and the personal qualities of those in leader and follower roles.

Thus the “charisma” article (1978b) and the “institutionalization” article (1978j) take up the institutionalization of religious organizations within society as a whole, whereas the “a new religion” article (1978i) deals with the institutionalization of a new faith in a particular community. All three, however, may be regarded as the working out of Morioka’s intention to “consider indigenization as an expression of faith” (1965b, p. 3) while drawing on Moberg’s concept of “life-cycles in religious organizations.” The dynamic grasp of religion evident in Morioka’s studies of new religions contrasts sharply with the static structural analyses in his series of studies on True Pure Land Buddhism, but it goes back to and is informed by his sequence of studies on the acceptance of Christianity (1953b et seq.).

*Topical analysis.* In the 1970s Morioka compiled much of his past research in book form. First came *Nihon no kindai shakai to kirisutokyō* [The development of the Christian church in the modern society of Japan] (1970b), followed by *Religion in changing Japanese society* (1975a), and *Gendai shakai no minshū to shūkyō* [Religion and people in contemporary Japanese society] (1975c). The first of these three was based on his series of Christian studies. The last brought together a number of discursive essays previously published in scattered sources, essays embodying his perspectives on religion in present-day Japan. The remaining volume drew from his occasional articles on Japanese religion earlier published in English.

At this point let us look at the distribution of Morioka’s works according to topic, referring to table 1. Of a total of 191 articles, 82 (42.9%) fall within the sociology of religion category. Of 14 full-length books (whether edited or authored), 6 (42.9%) are on sociology of religion topics. The

reason that less than half of his books and articles pertain to sociology of religion is that from the 1960s he has devoted an increasing number of articles to sociological studies of the family. Of the 109 articles on sociological topics other than religion, 89 (81.7%) are family studies. This strong interest of his goes back, of course, to the senior thesis theme suggested by Okada and to the article he published as early as 1953, namely, his "One perspective on family studies" (1953c). Morioka began devoting his major energy to this field, however, only after publishing his "*ie* system" volume (1962d). This work constitutes a watershed between his completion of the True Pure Land studies taken up under Okada's direction and his response to the escalation of social concern for family problems provoked by Japan's rapid economic growth. His concentration on family studies ran from 1953 to the 1973 publication of *Kazoku shūkiron* [A study of the family life-cycle] (1973e).

Among his 82 sociology of religion articles, the largest group of 33 (40.2%) deals with Buddhism (mostly True Pure Land Buddhism). Next is Christianity with 14 (17%), followed by general religious studies, 11 (13.4%); theory and methodology, 8 (9.8%); Shinto, 7 (8.5%); folk religion, 7 (8.5%); and new religions, 2 (2.4%). Quantitatively considered, these works show that Morioka's attention has obviously been directed toward True Pure Land Buddhism and Christianity. Substantively, however, his compelling interest has been not so much in the specific religions themselves as in investigating them so as to derive more general sociological patterns. This interest likewise appears to have led him to focus primarily on aspects of religion (such as religious organization) amenable to the derivation of such regularities.

#### ACADEMIC APPROACH AND RESEARCH METHODS

*The logic of social facts.* From his mentor Okada, Morioka inherited an academic approach that is essentially Durkheim-

ian. In this approach the objects of sociological research are cognized in terms of their "external" and "limiting" attributes and treated as "social facts" which, in distinction from personal phenomena, are to be observed as things. This is, in a word, the approach known as sociologism. Behind this Durkheimian sociological method lies a conservative view of society aptly caught in Miyajima's description of this approach as "an awareness that social facts are independent of the will and behavior of the individual person, that they possess a firm reality which resists the influence of individuals. This method seeks to follow out the logic of social facts less in terms of society as constituted by the intentional behavior of autonomous human subjects than in terms of the givenness of what is allotted to individuals" (in Durkheim 1978, p. 290).

According to Durkheim, social facts, "far from being a product of the will... determine it from without; they are like molds in which our actions are inevitably shaped" (1938, p. 29). These "molds," in the language of Berger and Luckmann, constitute "society as objective reality," which is to say, "institutions." These scholars see Durkheim as undertaking his inquiries from the perspective of "society as subjective reality," that is, the individual, but as lacking a grasp of "the [dialectical] relationship between man...and the social world" (Berger and Luckmann 1966, p. 78; cf. Takasaka 1976) that would enable him to retrace the moments in which meaning is, on the one hand, externalized and objectivated in the *institution* and, on the other, legitimated and internalized in the *individual*. For this reason the Durkheimian method, though somewhat ineffective for analyzing social phenomena in respect of genesis and change, is appropriate and useful for analyzing them in respect of their established, structural features. Since Morioka's studies of True Pure Land Buddhist organization were directed precisely toward such features, the Durkheimian approach and method was eminently suitable.

Morioka's affinity to Durkheimian thought comes out

clearly in the preface to his “*ie* system” book: “My intention is to treat Buddhist organization as one branch of extended household studies” (1962d, p. i) and, approaching the study of True Pure Land organization from that perspective, to draw on the household system as “the mold for its organizational structure” (1962d, p. ii). What led him to adopt this viewpoint he explains as follows:

After Ôtani Kozui had resigned his post as chief abbot of Honganji temple and gone to Shanghai,<sup>7</sup> he wrote a scathing characterization of the True Pure Land organization: “They claim to have the power to reverse the course of the whole world, but in fact lack the power even to reverse the headlong rush with which the organization is heading for deterioration.... This cannot be attributed merely to my own incompetence; even if the ablest takes my place, the result will be the same.” This indictment he mailed to readers in his home country.

The pessimistic outlook expressed in this denunciation is not one I share. I suspect, moreover, that most members of the True Pure Land organization would agree.

What did capture my attention is the indication that the head of the organization is powerless to reverse its course, that beneath the rapid flow of events there is an awesome force—operating like an inexorable law—which no one can resist.

This research is directed toward just that point: the proposition that the larger the religious organization, the more likely that there will be a law-like movement transcending individual wills. The task here contemplated is to grasp the nature of that power within the history and reality of the religious organization (1962d, p. i).

---

7. Ôtani Kôzui (1876–1948) was the 22nd head of the Nishi Honganji temple of True Pure Land Buddhism. He resigned in 1914 due to financial scandal and went to Shanghai where he conducted business in China and the South Seas. He advocated a nationalistic ideology and supported Japan's wars in China and the Pacific. –Transl.



"An awesome force...no one can resist," "a law-like movement transcending individual wills"—these express "social facts" in typical Morioka style; they are the kinds of things he expects sociology to discover and confirm. He seems to have an uncommon trust in the existence of such law-like qualities hidden behind phenomena.

*From regularities to middle-range theories.* Morioka's determination to uncover the general, universal, regulatory principles underlying phenomena probably stemmed in large part from the rationalism rooted in his character and attitude toward life. All this accorded with the Christian world view that sees "God's order" permeating the phenomenal world. It seems safe to say that his work has indeed been sustained by the firm belief that all existence has a rational order and that if appropriate procedures are followed, rational understanding of all things is possible.

Such a rationalism is reflected in Morioka's personal preferences. As a student he enjoyed, and was good at, geometry and grammar. Geometry possesses a rationality articulated with straightforward clarity and coherence; Morioka later regarded this discipline as the model for all scholarship. As for sociological research method, the ideal type devised by this logic-emphasizing scholar comes out in his article "Riron kōsei e no sekkin" [An approach to theory construction], (1968i), written under the influence of Zetterberg's *On theory and verification in sociology* (1962).

But rationality and logicity are not the only distinguishing features of Morioka's scholarly work. Logic, unfettered, at times soars to spacious but specious speculation and to the spinning of "grand theories." Morioka, however, does not indulge in such excesses; he dislikes the poverty of grand theories, the emptiness of speculation. He prefers the sober and more honest pathway of empirical verification that begins with "confining one's perspective to dimensions where phenom-

ena exist" (1968i, p. 219) and then "generalizes from the lowest level, rising, via empirical verification, to 'theories of the middle range' " (1962d, p. 5).

*Relationship between sociology of religion and sociology.* Morioka's sociology of religion, then, is both logical and empirical; it is also thoroughly sociological. This is only natural for Morioka, as he is a student of religion because he is first a sociologist. Here lies both his strength and his weakness. The present situation in which sociology of religion constitutes a specific and limited subdiscipline within the general discipline of sociology will, Morioka thinks, "continue for some time; but in the long run sociology of religion will probably be parceled out into theories of movements, groups, organizations, systems and the like, and eventually disappear" (1978k, p. 5). He contends that religious phenomena should be viewed in terms of these more comprehensive perspectives. The ideal is that religious organizations should be compared, for example, with industrial, governmental, and educational organizations to yield a highly abstract "theory of organization" and, conversely, that religious organizational theories should constantly be checked against and understood in terms of more general organizational theory. Morioka's point is that the sociological study of religion is *sociology* of religion, and hence that the scholar's fidelity must be to sociology as the research method more than to religion as the research field.

For a more concrete definition of what sociology of religion is and does, the following excerpt from his "ie system" volume is pertinent:

In my opinion the sociology of Buddhism is not concerned with investigating Buddhist social phenomena in general. It selects, rather, Buddhist groups as phenomena for investigation. Politics, law, morals, economics, art—all these phenomena are more than merely Buddhist; but they must be regulative in and of Buddhist groups, they must be borne by Buddhist

groups in order to qualify as proper objects of research for a sociology of Buddhism (1962d, p. 6).

If "Buddhism" in the above quotation is replaced by "religion," we have a good statement of Morioka's understanding of sociology of religion as of that time. In the preface to the same volume he writes, "What I have tried to do in this book comes under the heading not of the study of religion but of the study of *religious organization*" (1962d, p. iii, emphasis in original).

Today, as he applies himself to developing a sociology of charisma, Morioka would doubtless wish to enlarge the scope of this prescriptive definition. But he continues to attach great importance to the human association as "form" in Simmel's sense of the term, so it is hardly to be expected that any new definition will depart radically from the position that religious phenomena are to be viewed externally.

*Response to critics.* Since Morioka's stress is on the *sociology* of religion, it is only natural that he is roundly criticized by scholars who advocate sociology of *religion*. He has taken their criticisms seriously, and in his "indigenization" article reflects, "My studies of religion heretofore have been mainly studies of religious organization; they have tended to be studies of groups devoid of their religion" (1965b, p. 3). Again, "the empty externality of my approach has been exposed," and it is clear that a new approach is required, one that will lay hold of religious phenomena with "more attention to the internal side" and consider them "in terms of faith" (1965b, pp. 3, 4). With Morioka's turn from studies of the organizational structure of True Pure Land Buddhism to studies of Christian indigenization processes and, more recently, to the life cycle of "new religion" organizations and the charisma of their founders, occasions for sensing the need for such a new approach have perhaps increased.

EVALUATION AND ISSUES OUTSTANDING

*A lasting contribution.* Morioka's major contribution to the sociology of religion in Japan consists in his having joined reliance on a clearly defined theoretical frame to empirical verification, thus producing the first genuine *sociology* of religion in this country. His scholarly work is not merely the investigation of vaguely conceived relationships between "religion and society"; it is above all the sociological study of religious phenomena (or sociology that takes religion as its object of study). He has no part in that mode of scholarship that is content to offer an abstract, if not speculative, introduction and then mechanically apply the theories of some well-known foreign scholar. Morioka's sociology of religion always begins with a discipline-oriented frame that is tested and confirmed as he accumulates empirical data directly related to concrete realities, and then draws out general propositions.

This characteristic is clearly evident in his studies of True Pure Land Buddhism, especially his "*ie* system" and "*ie* structures" volumes (1962d, 1978f), the former of which, in particular, will long be remembered as a monumental work in the field of empirical sociology of religion in Japan. It is difficult to overevaluate this work as regards its clear conception of the problem to be investigated, its logical consistency, and the thoroughness of its empirical analyses. Morioka's successors in the field will find it most difficult to surpass the standards set by this work.

Our purpose here, however, is not to extol him by elaborating on these difficulties. In the remaining paragraphs we will note, rather, what we personally regard as problematic points in Morioka's sociology of religion as well as issues awaiting future attention.

*Making room for the religious factor in the object.* First of all let us consider the most characteristic feature of his work: the

central place given to sociology in his approach. It has already been pointed out that Morioka understands his task as one of studying religious organizations, not religion as such, but that in recent years he stresses the need for a new approach that will overcome the tendency toward "empty externality" and toward studies of religious organizations as "somehow devoid of religion" by taking more seriously the "internal side" of religion.

That this new emphasis emerged in connection with his studies of Christianity is hardly accidental. The Christian churches in Japan, especially the Protestant churches, have not yet acquired the kind of firmly fixed structures found in True Pure Land Buddhism; hence, the structural analysis he had applied to this Buddhist body is not well suited to the study of Christian organization. If the object of inquiry is still in an amorphous condition, that is, lacking full-fledged structures, the Durkheimian approach that perceives social phenomena as things and abstracts institutional molds loses its force. This problem became increasingly serious as Morioka took up the study of new religious organizations. New wine must be put into new wineskins. Morioka's new wineskins consist of the conceptual frame adopted to consider the indigenization of an imported religion, the diffusion and establishment of a new religion in a local community, and the more recently employed life-cycle theory of religious organizations.

The crucial shift in analytical focus was from static structures to the dynamic processes of change that occur with the passage of time. Of particular importance was the bold conception that sought to make a dynamic analysis of the religious organizational process in its entirety, beginning "from the appearance of the founder and his or her circle of disciples, continuing through the formation of a religious organization, its systematization, bureaucratization, and institutionalization, and going on to its fossilization—a life-cycle theory of religious organizations aimed at acquiring

universal regularities" (1978b, p. 242). This cyclical concept, however, is an idea yet to be tested. Apart from one recent article (1978j), there is, unfortunately, insufficient indication of how the cyclical process is to be dealt with in concrete terms.

The shift from static structures to dynamic processes has doubtless extended the effective range of Morioka's sociological methodology, but the question remains whether it enables him to overcome the problem of "empty externalities" and religious study "devoid of religion" and thereby to treat the "internal" aspect of religion in a way more appropriate to the nature of religious faith. The answer to this question is more than likely half negative and half affirmative. On the affirmative side is the fact that in dealing with religious founders and their charisma, Morioka has recently plunged directly into the teachings and world views of the founders themselves—an approach not seen in earlier studies. On the negative side is the fact that in his questionnaire-employing demographic studies of Shinto shrines and Christian churches, studies conducted since 1960, there is a kind of "empty externality" and "religionless quality" different from that seen in his "*ie* system" work. This may be, after all, an inescapable handicap in an approach that studies human associations as "forms" rather than as religious organizations. So long as one adheres to a strictly sociological approach, the perception of religion will necessarily remain external; conversely, any attempt to deal with the internal aspects of religion will necessarily overstep the bounds of sociology's theoretical frame. This is the dilemma of the *sociology* of religion—a stubborn problem that is not Morioka's alone but is confronted by all, including the present writer, who propose to carry forward the sociological study of religion. It is also worth mentioning, however, that sociologists, who have a clearly defined methodology, are fortunate that they can occupy themselves with this kind of problem.

*Making room for the value factor in the subject.* Another problem in Morioka's sociology of religion is that of subjectivity and objectivity. Max Weber gave classical expression to this problem in his proposal for "value-free" sociology. On this matter Morioka holds that "it is especially important in sociology, where the object of study itself provides so little help in preserving objectivity, to exclude value judgements from logical operations. But the choice of perspective from which to treat the research object is controlled by some subjective value-premise" (1978k, p. 7). Morioka thus acknowledges that the standpoint from which one approaches an object of study inescapably involves some prior value-judgement. What, then, is Morioka's own value-premise?

In order to answer this question, one needs to consider the intellectual climate in which Morioka began his work. The principal factor in the immediate postwar years, one he shared with many scholars, was the practical issue of the "democratization" of Japanese society. The dominant focus in sociological circles was on "household studies," and many were concerned with the "legacy of feudalism" and "pre-modern elements." These latter problems were to be overcome, of course, by "democratization," which, therefore, was a widely popular value-premise. Even the pioneer in household studies, Aruga Kizaemon, though willing to see in the household/extended household phenomenon "distinctively Japanese characteristics," opposed the idea of designating these characteristics as "feudal" or "premodern." The most representative advocate of democratization, Fukutake Tadashi, relied heavily on Aruga's work in formulating his typology of rural communities.

Morioka was not a democratization extremist. But he began his research on True Pure Land Buddhism in the climate described above, and his treatment of the *ie* or household system as the prototype of this body's organizational structure definitely manifests a negative attitude.

His ideal image of a religious organization is one in which individuals with a personal faith are bound together in brotherly and sisterly solidarity to form a community of believers. The greatest hindrance to the realization of such a community are the *ie* system upon which religious organizations are modeled and the commonly found local community principle of unity derived from that of the household and extended household. This negatively understood "prototype" is clearly evident in his "*ie* system" book (1962d). In another work he writes, "Though a researcher should deal solely with objective realities and refrain from expressing his own subjective views ...in this volume I have at times stepped outside this role" (1975c, p. iii). In the "*ie* system" volume as well, here and there passages occur in which he steps over this boundary. To cite a couple instances:

It is not enough for us to condemn the thoroughgoing institutionalization of vertical relations among the temple priests as a betrayal of religious principles. We must also reflect on the irony that this betrayal, built into the structures of the organization, is done in the name of repaying the kindness of Shinran. This exemplifies the proverb, "Even thieves are not utterly lacking in principle" (1962d, p. 619).

The lust for fame at work here has nothing to do with faith in the power of the Other (*tariki*). This clever contribution system brings together the human weaknesses of self-denial and selfishness. Who can guarantee that this system is not destroying, at its very foundations, faithful support for the head temple? (1962d, p. 169)

With the exception of *Gendai shakai no minshū to shūkyō* [Religion and people in contemporary Japanese society], a collection of articles "written for cultured and religious persons and the general public" (1975c, p. iii), value-state-ments disappear from Morioka's works produced after the 1962 "*ie* system" book. From that time on he worked hard,



under Zetterberg's influence, to improve the precision of his research methods and thus was most probably inclined to suppress or altogether forego any "overstepping the bounds" in order to make explicit value-statements. Moreover, after his "*ie* system" book (1962d), he concentrated more on family than religious studies, and even in his religious research made increasingly extensive use of questionnaire methods. These shifts in focus and method probably served as a constraint on "overstepping." In his 1978 "*ie* structures" work (1978f), for example, there appear virtually no instances of "overstepping," though the research theme and standpoint are the same as in the 1962 "*ie* system" work.

The pros and cons of value-statements rest, in the last analysis, on the judgment of each individual scholar. But if radical "overstepping" is suppressed or completely avoided, if articles are made impossibly dull and senseless because a boundary that should have been overstepped was not and a value-standard or sense of problem thus diluted or lost, this is certainly as problematic as radical "overstepping."

Morioka's works as a whole are by no means lackluster or pointless, but a few, produced since he adopted questionnaire methods in the 1960s, are not entirely free of this danger. Is there, after all, no way to avoid the tendency for scholarly works to become less "interesting" as they are made more "scientific"?

The two problematic points and consequent challenges we have noted in Morioka's works are, of course, no less problems and challenges for all who work and write in the field of sociology of religion. I am sensitive to these issues partly because, like Morioka, I too am engaged in religious studies as a *sociologist*, but even more because of the profound impression his approach to knowledge made on me when I was in graduate school. He and the other professors in the sociology department of the now defunct Tokyo University of Educa-

tion subjected us to rigorous and disciplined training. It is thanks to this training that I find myself able to continue in the sociological enterprise. For the same reason, this attempt to objectify the “Morioka within myself” has been far from easy.

### **Brief Biographical Sketch of Morioka Kiyomi**

#### *Birth*

28 October 1923 as the eldest son of a farm household in the Shimo Awa hamlet of Ōyamada Village, Ayama-gun, Mie Prefecture

#### *Education*

1943–45	Tokyo Higher Normal School
1945–48	Tokyo University of Literature and Science (TULS), Philosophy Department
1948–50	TULS, special research student

#### *Employment*

April 1950	Appointed professorial assistant, TULS
March 1952	Promoted to full-time lecturer, TULS
January 1953	Reassigned as full-time lecturer of Tokyo University of Education (TUE, successor institution to TULS), Humanities Division
October 1954	Promoted to assistant professor
April 1956	Appointed director of graduate research
May 1974	Promoted to full professor
October 1974	Named to TUE Board of Trustees, later reelected
April 1977	Appointed dean of Humanities Division
March 1978	Retired from TUE in connection with its closing
April 1978	Appointed full professor, Liberal Arts Division, Seijō University (Tokyo)

#### *Degrees*

June 1961	Litt.D. (Dissertation: <i>Shinshū kyōdan to “ie” seido</i> , 1962d)
-----------	---------------------------------------------------------------------

#### *Academic Awards*

March 1954	TULS Memorial Award for “Nihon nōson ni okeru
------------	-----------------------------------------------

- October 1963      kirisutokyō no juyō" (1953b)  
 Japanese Association for Religious Studies Anesaki  
 Memorial Award for *Shinshū kyōdan to "ie" seido*  
 (1962d)
- November 1974      Third Odaka Memorial Award in Sociology for  
*Kazoku shūkiron* (1973e)

### References and Chief Sociology of Religion Publications of Morioka Kiyomi

- BERGER, Peter L. and Thomas LUCKMANN  
 1966      *The social construction of reality: A treatise in the  
 sociology of knowledge*. New York: Doubleday (Penguin  
 Books, 1967).
- DURKHEIM, Emile  
 1938      *The rules of sociological method*. Chicago: University  
 of Chicago Press (Free Press Paperback, 1964).
- 1978      *Shakaigakuteki hōhō no kijun* 社会学的方法の基準  
 Japanese translation of *Les règles de la méthode  
 sociologique* by MIYAJIMA Takashi 宮島 喬. Tokyo:  
 Iwanami Shoten.
- MORIOKA Kiyomi  
 1948      Dōzoku ketsugō ni kansuru ichi shikō 同族結合に関す  
 る一試考 [A preliminary view of the extended house-  
 hold body]. *Shakaigaku kenkyū* 社会学研究 2/1: 73-88.
- 1953      Chūsei makki honganji kyōdan ni okeru ikkashū 中世  
 末期本願寺教団における一家衆 [The Honganji organiza-  
 tion of the late medieval period as an assemblage of  
 households]. *Shakaigaku hyōron* 社会学評論 9: 41-51  
 (1st half).
- 1953a      Chūsei makki honganji kyōdan ni okeru ikkashū 中世末  
 期本願寺教団における一衆家 [The Honganji organiza-  
 tion of the late medieval period as an assemblage of  
 households]. *Shakaigaku hyōron* 社会学評論 10: 50-  
 59 (2nd half).
- 1953b      Nihon nōson ni okeru kirisutokyō no juyō 日本農村  
 における基督教の受容 [Acceptance of Christianity in  
 a Japanese rural community]. *Minzokugaku kenkyū*  
 民族学研究 17-2: 1-14. Reprinted in 1959e.

- 1953c Kazoku kenkyū no ichi shikaku: Kazoku shūki no riron to hōhō 家族研究の一視角・家族周期の理論と方法 [One perspective on family studies: Theory and method in the study of family life-cycles]. *Katei saiban geppō* 家庭裁判月報 5/2: 39-80.
- 1954a Sonraku no kaikyū kōzō to miyaza 村落の階級構造と宮座 [Class structure and the *miyaza* system in a village]. *Shakai kagaku ronshū* 社会科学論集 1: 110-161.
- 1954b Machino-machi kawanishi ni okeru shinshū montō no kyōdan naikon 町野町川西における真宗門徒の教団内婚 [Religious endogamy and Shin Buddhist parishioners in Machino-machi, Ishikawa Prefecture]. *Jinrui kagaku* 人類科学 6: 219-232.
- 1954c Nōson kyōkai keisei no shakaigakuteki tachiba 農村教会形成の社会学的立場 [Rural church growth in sociological perspective]. In *Nōson dendō kenkyū shiryō* 農村伝道研究資料 [Materials for the study of rural evangelism], no. 2. Tokyo: Nihon Kirisuto Kyōdan Shuppanbu.
- 1954d Shinshū no nōson fukyō to kirisutokyō dendō 真宗の農村布教と基督教伝道 [True Pure Land rural propagation and Christian evangelism]. *Fukuin to sekai* 福音と世界 9/9: 25-31.
- 1955 Shūkyō seikatsu 宗教生活 [Religious life]. In *Noto: Shizen, bunka, shakai* 能登～自然・文化・社会 [Noto: Nature, culture, society], pp. 210-244. Tokyo: Heibonsha.
- 1956a Nihonjin no shūkyōteki shinsei no tokushitsu 日本人の宗教的心性の特質 [The distinctiveness of the Japanese religious mentality]. *Fukuin to sekai* 福音と世界 11/1: 8-13.
- 1956b Jidō no ningenzō no chōsa ni tsuite 児童の人間像の調査について [Investigating the images of people held by children]. In *Gendai nihon ni okeru kirisutokyōteki ningenzō* 現代日本におけるキリスト教の人間像 [Images of Christians in present-day Japan]. Tokyo: Nihon Kirisuto Kyōdan Senkyō Kenkyūsho.
- 1957 Hida no kebōzu 飛騨の手坊主 [The untensured priests of Hida]. In *Hōken shakai ni okeru shinshū kyōdan no tenkai* 封建社会における真宗教団の展開 [Develop-

- ment of the True Pure Land organization under feudal society], pp.205-238. Tokyo: Sankibō Busshorin.
- 1958a Jūsōteki jidan kankei 重層的寺檀関係 [Stratified temple-household relationships]. *Shakai to denshō* 社会と伝承 2/1: 1-9.
- 1958b Shinshū jī'in no sōzoku seido 真宗寺院の相続制度 [The inheritance system in True Pure Land temples]. *Shakai to denshō* 社会と伝承 2/3: 101-113.
- 1959a *Chihō shōtoshi ni okeru kirisuto kyōkai no keisei* 地方小都市における基督教会の形成 [The establishment of a Christian church in a small local city], with SHIMPO Mitsuru 新保満. Tokyo: Nihon Kirisuto Kyōdan Senkyō Kenkyūsho.
- 1959b Tera rengō no shoruikei 寺連合の諸類型 [Types of temple associations]. In OKADA Yuzuru 岡田 謙 et. al., eds., *Ie: Sono kōzō bunseki* 家～その構造分析 [The household: A structural analysis], pp. 321-346. Tokyo: Sōbunsha.
- 1959c Kinsei shinshū kyōdan no kiso kōzō 近世真宗教団の基礎構造 [The basic structure of the True Pure Land organization in the late feudal period]. *Nihon bukkyō* 日本仏教 4: 14-29.
- 1959d Shinshū kyōdan kenkyū no hōshin 真宗教団研究の方針 [The course of research on True Pure Land organization]. *Shakai to denshō* 社会と伝承 3/4: 1-7.
- 1959e Nihon nōson ni okeru kirisutokyō no juyō 日本農村における基督教の受容 [Acceptance of Christianity in a Japanese rural community]. In *Meiji shi kenkyū sōsho dai 2 ki* 4: *Kindai shisō no keisei* 明治史研究叢書第2期4～近代思想の形成 [Meiji history research series, 2nd period, 4: The development of modern thought], rev. ed., pp.193-240. Tokyo: Ochanomizu Shobō.
- 1960a Kinsei shinshū honzan no yūshi kankei 近世真宗本山の猶子関係 [The foster parent-child relationship at the head temple of the True Pure Land sect in the late feudal period]. *Shakai to denshō* 社会と伝承 4/1: 18-30 (first half).

- 1960b Shinshū daibō o meguru gōriki soshiki 真宗大坊をめぐる合力組織 [A Shin sect local cathedral as a social system]. *Shakai kagaku ronshū* 社会科学論集 7: 1-87.
- 1960c Shūkyō chōsa no mokuteki to hōhō 宗教調査の目的と方法 [Purpose and method in religious surveys]. In "Sengo ni okeru shūkyō chōsa no jitsujō" 戦後における宗教調査の実状 [The state of affairs in postwar religious surveys], pp. 3-14. Tokyo: Monbushō Shūmuka (mimeographed).
- 1960d Kinsei shinshū honzan no yūshi kankei 近世真宗本山の猶子関係 [The foster parent-child relationship at the head temple of the True Pure Land sect in the late feudal period]. *Shakai to denshō* 社会と伝承 4/3: 107-115 (second half).
- 1961 Ie to shūkyō 家と宗教 [The household and religion]. In *Kōza kindai bukkyō* 5: *Seikatsu hen* 講座近代仏教 5～生活編 [Series on modern Buddhism, vol. 5: How people live], pp. 50-64. Kyoto: Hōzōkan.
- 1962a Buddhist orders and the Japanese family system. *Orient / West* 7/1: 55-59.
- 1962b Shūkyō kyōdan no shoruikei 宗教団体の諸類型 [Types of religious organizations]. In *Shūkyō dantai ruikai chōsa no kaisetsu* 宗教団体類型調査の解説 [Interpretation of research on various types of religious bodies], pp. 8-80. Tokyo: Monbushō Shūmuka.
- 1962c Kirisutokyō yōji kyōiku no shakaiteki haikai キリスト教幼児教育の社会的背景 [The social background of Christian education for little children]. In *Kirisutokyō yōji kyōiku no genri* キリスト教幼児教育の原理 [Principles of Christian education for little children]. Tokyo: Nihon Kirisuto Kyōdan Senkyō Kenkyūsho.
- 1962d *Shinshū kyōdan to "ie" seido* 真宗教団と「家」制度 [The Shin Buddhist orders and the *ie* system]. Tokyo: Sōbunsha.
- 1963a Shūkyō dantai 宗教団体 [Religious bodies]. In *Tamagawa hyakka dai jiten* 30: *Shakai, katei* 玉川百科大辞典30～社会・家庭 [Tamagawa encyclopedia, vol. 30: Society, the household]. Tokyo: Seibundō Shinkōsha.
- 1963b Ji'in honmatsu seido no kakuritsu 寺院本末制度の確

- 立 [Establishment of the system of central and subordinate temples]. In AKAMATSU Toshihide and KASAHARA Kazuo 赤松俊秀・笠原一男, eds., *Shinshū shi gaisetsu* 真宗史概説 [Outline of the history of Shin Buddhist orders], pp. 336-344. Kyoto: Heirakuji Shoten.
- 1963c Ji'in bunpu to kō, jidan kankei no shosō to kinō, shinshū to sonraku seikatsu 寺院分布と講, 寺檀関係の諸相と機能, 真宗と村落生活 [Temple distribution and the kō association, features and functions of the temple-household relationship, the Shin sect and rural life]. In AKAMATSU Toshihide and KASAHARA Kazuo 赤松俊秀・笠原一男, eds., *Shinshū shi gaisetsu* 真宗史概説 [Outline of the history of Shin Buddhist orders], pp. 352-373. Kyoto: Heirakuji Shoten.
- 1963d Kyōdan kikō no henkaku 教団機構の变革 [Structural reform in Shin sect organization]. In AKAMATSU Toshihide and KASAHARA Kazuo 赤松俊秀・笠原一男, eds., *Shinshū shi gaisetsu* 真宗史概説 [Outline of the history of Shin Buddhist orders], pp. 469-479. Kyoto: Heirakuji Shoten.
- 1963e Taisen no shūketsu to shinshū kyōdan no saihei 大戦の終結と真宗教団の再編 [End of a world war and the reorganization of the True Pure Land sect]. In AKAMATSU Toshihide and KASAHARA Kazuo 赤松俊秀・笠原一男, eds., *Shinshū shi gaisetsu* 真宗史概説 [Outline of the history of Shin Buddhist orders], pp. 519-528. Kyoto: Heirakuji Shoten.
- 1964 Kinkōka ni yoru chiiki kōzō no henka 近郊化による地域構造の変化 [Change in neighborhood structure due to suburbanization]. In *Kinkō toshi no henbō katei* 近郊都市の変貌過程 [Process of change in a suburban city], pp. 31-98. Tokyo: Kokusai Kirisutokyō Daigaku Shakai Kagaku Kenkyūsho.
- 1965a Honganji no kaken to "ie" seido 本願寺の家憲と「家」制度 [The constitution of the Honganji and the Japanese family system]. *Tōyō bunka kenkyūsho kiyō* 東洋文化研究所紀要 35: 77-92.
- 1965b Nihon nōson ni okeru kirisutokyō no dochakuka 日本

- 農村における基督教の土着化 [Indigenization of Christianity in Japanese rural society]. *Shakai kagaku ronshū* 12 社会科学論集 12: 1-82 (first half).
- 1965c Haka no nai ie: Bosei no ichi sokumen 墓のない家～墓制の一側面 [Households without graves: One dimension of the grave system]. *Shakai to denshō* 社会と伝承 9/1: 13-19.
- 1966a Kirisutokyō no dochakuka 基督教の土着化 [The indigenization of Christianity]. *Asoka* おそか 59: 26-30.
- 1966b Meiji makki ni okeru shūroku jinja no seiri 明治末期における集落神社の整理 [Local shrine mergers in the closing years of Meiji]. *Tōyō bunka* 東洋文化 40: 1-50.
- 1966c "Chiiki shakai no jinkō idō to kirisuto kyōkai no kyōsei" 地域社会の人口移動と基督教会の教勢 [Population movement in a local community and Christian church strength], with KUMAGAI Sonoko 熊谷苑子. Tokyo: Nihon Kirisuto Kyōdan Senkyō Kenkyūsho (mimeographed).
- 1966d Aru tsujimoto no kiroku ある辻本の記録 [Family record of a Buddhist temple patron]. In *Shinshū shi no kenkyū* 真宗史の研究 [A study of the history of Shin Buddhism], pp. 761-790. Kyoto: Nagata Bunshōdō.
- 1967a Jinkō no chiiki idō to shūkyō dantai no dōtai 人口の地域移動と宗教団体の動態 [Local population mobility and religious organization statistics]. *Asoka* あそか 72: 32-40.
- 1967b Nōson ni okeru shūkyō kōdō to kazokuteki chi'i 農村における宗教行動と家族的地位 [Household status and religious behavior in rural society]. *Shūkyō kenkyū* 宗教研究 192: 33-54.
- 1967c Kyōdan no kōzō 教団の構造 [Religious organizational structure]. In TAMAMURO Taijō 圭室諦成, gen. ed., *Nihon bukkyōshi* 3 日本仏教史 3 [History of Japanese Buddhism, vol. 3], pp. 169-247. Kyoto: Hōzōkan.
- 1967d Bukkyō kyōdan no henshitsu 仏教々団の変質 [Qualitative change in Buddhist organization]. In TAMAMURO Taijō 圭室諦成, gen. ed., *Nihon bukkyōshi* 3 日本仏教史 3 [History of Japanese Buddhism, vol. 3], pp. 306-



318. Kyoto: Hōzōkan.
- 1967e Les religions contemporaines du Japon: Coexistence et conflit. *Revue française de sociologie* 8: 348-354.
- 1967f Toshika jidai ni okeru jinkō ryūdō no mondai 都市化時代における人口流動の問題 [The population mobility issue in a period of urbanization]. In *Toshika jidai no kyōkai* 都市化時代の教会 [The church in a period of urbanization], pp. 21-42. Tokyo: Nihon Kirisuto Kyōdan Shuppanbu.
- 1967g Nihon ni okeru shūkyō shakaigaku no hattatsu 日本における宗教社会学の発達 [Development of the sociology of religion in Japan]. *Shūmu jihō* 宗務時報 17: 1-17. Translated as "Development of the sociology of religion in Japan, 1900-1967" in MORIOKA, *Religion in changing Japanese society* (Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 1975), pp. 171-184.
- 1968a Shinshū kyōdan ron: Shinshū kyōdan e no teigen 真宗教団論~真宗教団への提言 [A view of Shin Buddhist organization: A suggestion to the True Pure Land sect]. *Shinshū* 真宗 773: 4-11.
- 1968b Kinsei bukkōji kyōdan ni okeru honmatsu kankei no tokushitsu 近世仏光寺教団における本末関係の特質 [Characteristics of relationships between central and subordinate temples in the Bukkōji sect of Shin Buddhism in the Tokugawa period]. In KASAHARA Kazuo 笠原一男, ed., *Hōken, kindai ni okeru kamakura bukkō no tenkai* 封建・近代における鎌倉仏教の展開 [Development of Kamakura Buddhism in the feudal and modern periods], pp. 314-345. Kyoto: Hōzōkan.
- 1968c Industrialization and Shinto. In *Continuity and change: Proceedings of the second international conference for Shinto studies*, pp. 141-146 (Japanese text, pp. 137-141). Tokyo: Institute for Japanese Culture and Classics, Kokugakuin University.
- 1968d Kaku kazokuka to kisei shūkyō 核家族化と既成宗教 [Nuclear family growth and established religion]. *Daihōrin* 大法輪 35/8: 26-33.
- 1968e Kinkōka ni yoru jinja shinkō no henbō 近郊化による神社信仰の変貌 [Transformation in shrine worship due

- to suburbanization], with HANASHIMA Masazaburō 花島政三郎. *Nihon bunka kenkyūsho kiyō* 日本文化研究所紀要 22: 71-132.
- 1968f Toshika genshō to shūkyō 都市化現象と宗教 [Urbanization and religion]. *Shūkyō kyōkagaku kenkyūkai kiyō* 宗教教化学研究会紀要 2: 31-49.
- 1968g *The sociology of Japanese religion*, ed. with William H. NEWELL. Leiden: E. J. Brill. For an earlier version of 1967g, see pp. 3-12.
- 1968h Religious behaviour and the actor's position in his household. *Journal of Asian and African studies* 3/1-2: 3-12. Reprinted in MORIOKA and NEWELL, ed., *The sociology of Japanese religion* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1968), pp. 25-43.
- 1968i Riron kōsei e no sekkin 理論構成への接近 [An approach to theory construction]. In YAMANE Tsuneo and MORIOKA Kiyomi 山根常男・森岡清美, eds., *Gendai shakaigaku no kihon mondai* 現代社会学の基本問題 [Basic issues in contemporary sociology], pp. 215-238. Tokyo: Yūhikaku.
- 1969a Shinshū jōkōji-ha no seiritsu 真宗浄興寺派の成立 [Establishment of the Jōkōji sect of Shin Buddhism]. In *Nihon jōdokyō shi no kenkyū* 日本浄土教史の研究 [Historical studies of Pure Land Buddhism in Japan], pp. 593-606. Kyoto: Heirakuji Shoten.
- 1969b Meiji makki ni okeru shūraku jinja no seiri (2) 明治末期における集落神社の整理 [Local shrine mergers in the closing years of Meiji, no. 2]. *Shakai kagaku ronshū* 社会科学論集 16: 1-118.
- 1969c Kazoku no shūkyōgakuteki kōsatsu 家族の宗教学的考察 [The family in religious studies perspective]. KOYAMA Takashi 小山隆 et al., eds., *Katei kyōiku shidō jiten* 家庭教育指導事典 [Dictionary for family education guidance], pp. 70-75. Tokyo: Teikoku Chihō Gyōsei Gakkai.
- 1969d Kinkō kazoku to shūkyō 近郊家族と宗教 [The suburban family and religion]. *Tomo* 友 3/6: 1-14.
- 1969e Contemporary changes in Japanese religion. In Norman BIRNBAUM and Gertrud LENZER, eds., *Sociology and*

- religion: A book of readings*, pp. 382-386. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall.
- 1970a Shūkyō hōjin no okonau jigyō 宗教法人の行なう事業 [Non-religious activities by sects registered as religious juridical persons]. In *Shūkyō hōjin no okonau jigyō chōsa sōgō hōkokusho* 宗教法人の行なう事業調査総合報告書 [Comprehensive survey of the non-religious activities of sects registered as religious juridical persons], pp. 1-18. Tokyo: Bunkachō.
- 1970b *Nihon no kindai shakai to kirisutokyō* 日本の近代社会とキリスト教 [The development of the Christian church in the modern society of Japan]. Tokyo: Hyōronsha.
- 1970c Ie to no kanren de no shakaigakuteki bunseki 家との関連での社会学的分析 [A sociological analysis of Japanese religion in terms of the household]. In IKADO Fujio and YOSHIDA Mitsukuni 井門富二夫・吉田光邦, eds., *Sekai no shūkyō 12: Nihonjin no shūkyō* 世界の宗教 12・日本人の宗教 [Religions of the world, vol. 12, Religions of the Japanese], pp. 143-159. Kyoto: Tankōsha.
- 1970d Préférence pour le mariage non-mixte parmi les Amidistes "Shin" du bouddhisme japonais. *Social compass* 17/1: 9-20.
- 1971 The impact of the physical movements of population on Japanese religions after World War II. *Acts of the 11th conference*, CISR, pp. 189-211 (with SHIMPO Mitsuru 新保満).
- 1972a Gendai shakai ni okeru shinkō, mushinkō, mushinron 現代社会における信仰・無信仰・無神論 [Religion, non-religion, and atheism in contemporary society]. *Gakujutsu geppō* 学術月報 24/12: 2-6.
- 1972b The changing family and Buddhism in post-war Japan. *East Asian cultural studies* 11/1-4: 88-96.
- 1972c Kindai shakai ni okeru kirisutokyō no hatten 近代社会におけるキリスト教の発展 [The development of Christianity in late feudal Japan]. In KASAHARA Kazuo 笠原一男, ed., *Ajia bukkyō shi nihon hen 8: Kindai bukkyō* アジア仏教史日本編 8・近代仏教 [History

- of Buddhism in Asia : Japan, vol. 8, Late feudal period Buddhism], pp. 77-138. Tokyo : Kōsei Shuppan.
- 1972d Kazoku patān to dentōteki shūkyō kōdō no kunren 家族パターンと伝統的宗教行動の訓練 [Family patterns and training in traditional religious behavior]. *Shakai kagaku jōnaru* 社会科学ジャーナル 11 : 71-97.
- 1972e "Gairai shūkyō no dochakuka" o meguru gainenteki seiri 「外来宗教の土着化」をめぐる概念的整理 [A conceptual examination of the indigenization of foreign-born religions]. *Shichō* 史潮 109 : 52-57.
- 1972f Hōkatsu shūkyō hōjin no okonau jigyō 包括宗教法人の行なう事業 [Sects' institutionalized activities in non-religious spheres]. *Shūmu jihō* 宗務事報 29 : 51-71.
- 1972g Shūkyō shakaigakuteki ni mita gendai ni okeru kyōdan no arikata 宗教社会学的にみた現代における教団の在り方 [How religious organizations are doing in the modern period as viewed from the sociology of religion]. "Korumosu shirizu" 2 : 44-58 (mimeographed).
- 1973a Kisei bukkyōkei ichi shōkyōdan dokuritsu no shin'i to ronri 既成仏教系一小教団独立の心意の論理 [Grounds and process of the separation of a small local Buddhist body from an established sect]. In *Sonraku kōzō to shinzoku soshiki* 村落構造と親族組織 [Village social structure and kinship organization], pp. 511-547. Tokyo : Miraisha.
- 1973b Iesu ni shitagaishi meiji no josei イエスに従いし明治の女性 [Meiji period women who followed Jesus]. In KASAHARA Kazuo 笠原一男, ed., *Nihon josei shi* 6 : *Kindai josei no eikō to higeiki* 日本女性史 6～近代女性の栄光と悲劇 [History of Japanese women, vol. 6 : The glory and tragedy of women of the early modern period], pp. 281-321. Tokyo : Hyōronsha.
- 1973c Shakai hendō to shūkyō 社会変動と宗教 [Social change and religion]. In OGUCHI Ichi and HORI Ichirō 小口偉一・堀 一郎, gen. eds., *Shūkyōgaku jiten* 宗教学辞典 [Dictionary of religious studies], pp. 244-249. Tokyo : Tokyo Daigaku Shuppankai.
- 1973d Shūkyō shūdan 宗教集団 [The religious organization].

- In OGUCHI Iichi and HORI Ichirō 小口偉一・堀一郎, gen. eds., *Shūkyōgaku jiten* 宗教学辞典 [Dictionary of religious studies], pp. 305-310. Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Shuppankai.
- 1973e *Kazoku shūkiron* 家族周期論 [A study of the family life-cycle]. Tokyo: Baifūkan.
- 1974 Naze wakamono wa eki ya uranai ni kakawaru no ka なぜ若者は易や占いにかかわるか [Why do young people involve themselves with augury and divination?] *Gekkan ekonomisuto* 月刊エコノミスト 74/6: 60-66.
- 1975a *Religion in changing Japanese society*. Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press.
- 1975b Seikatsu bamen no tenkan: Shūkyō, shinkō to sutoresu 生活場面の転換～宗教信仰とストレス [Switch in life situation: Religion, faith, and stress]. In *Sutoresu gaku nyūmon* ストレス学入門 [Introduction to the study of stress], with KATŌ Masa'aki 加藤正明, pp. 233-241. Tokyo: Yūhikaku.
- 1975c *Gendai shakai no minshū to shūkyō* 現代社会の民衆と宗教 [Religion and people in contemporary Japanese society]. Tokyo: Hyōronsha.
- 1975d Jinja o meguru jūmin kanjō to kanryōteki gōrishugi 神社をめぐる住民感情と官僚的合理主義 [Bureaucratic rationalism and local residents' sentiments regarding shrines]. *Nihon jōmon bunka kiyō* 日本常民文化紀要 2: 1-49.
- 1976a Kindai nihon ni okeru "sosenkyō" no tōjō 近代日本における「祖先教」の登場 [The appearance of "ancestor religion" in early modern Japan]. *Chūō gakujutsu kenkyūsho kiyō* 中央学術研究所紀要 5: 24-45. English translation: The appearance of "ancestor religion" in modern Japan: The years of transition from the Meiji to the Taishō periods. *Japanese journal of religious studies* 4: 183-212.
- 1976b Myōchikai kai'in no shūkyō ishiki 妙智會会員の宗教意識 [Religious consciousness among Myōchikai members]. *Kikan gendai shūkyō* 季刊現代宗教 1/5: 169-185.
- 1976c Yanagita Kunio ni okeru senzokan no tenkai 柳田国男における先祖観の展開 [Developments in Yanagita

- Kunio's view of the ancestors]. In SHIMODE Sekiyo 下出積与, ed., *Nihon shi ni okeru minshū to shūkyō* 日本史における民衆と宗教 [People and religion in the history of Japan], pp. 31-53. Tokyo: Yamakawa Shuppan.
- 1976d *Nihon no kindai to kirisutokyō* 日本の近代化とキリスト教 [Japan's modernization and Christianity]. "Gekkan chaperu awā" 月刊チャペルアワー 62: 1-13 (mimeographed).
- 1976e *Hōza to shinshū monto no oza* 法座と真宗門徒のオザ [The Risshō Kōseikai *hōza* (group counseling circles) and the True Pure Land adherents' *oza*]. *Shinri to sōzō* 真理と創造 10: 98-103.
- 1976f *Shinshū kyōdan no tera to jūshokuka* 真宗教団の寺と住職家 [Temples and the households of priests-in-residence under the True Pure Land organization]. In *Nihon shūkyō shi ronshū* 日本仏教史論 [Treatises on the history of religion in Japan], vol. 2, pp. 475-510. Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan.
- 1976g *Nyūshin no setsumei riron*: Shoki nihonjin kirisuto shinto no ba'ai 入信の説明理論～初期日本人キリスト信徒の場合 [A theory to explain conversion: The case of early Japanese followers of Christ]. *Shūkyō kenkyū* 宗教研究 230: 1-21.
- 1977a *Junkyō to Junnan* 殉教と殉難 [Dying for one's faith and dying for one's country]. In *Nihon ni okeru sei to shi no shisō* 日本における生と死の思想 [Thought about life and death in Japan], pp. 156-170. Tokyo: Yūhikaku.
- 1977b *Shakai hendō to shūkyō* 社会変動と宗教 [Social change and religion]. *Tōyō gaku jutsu kenkyū* 東洋学術研究 16/2: 55-78.
- 1977c *Purotesutanzumū no denrai to hatten* プロテスタンティズムの伝来と発展 [The introduction and development of Protestantism]. In KASAHARA Kazuo 笠原一男, ed., *Nihon shūkyō shi* 日本宗教史 [History of religion in Japan], vol. 2, pp. 285-308. Tokyo: Yamakawa Shuppan.
- 1977d *Kokka shintō no keisei to tenkai* 国家神道の形成と展

- 開 [The formation and evolution of State Shinto]. In KASAHARA Kazuo 笠原一男, ed., *Nihon shūkyō shi* 日本宗教史 [History of religion in Japan], vol. 2, pp. 309-334. Tokyo: Yamakawa Shuppan.
- 1977e The appearance of "ancestor religion" in modern Japan. *Japanese journal of religious studies* 4: 183-212.
- 1977f Gendai shakai no jissōteki kenkyū 現代社会の実証的研究 [Empirical study of contemporary society]. In *Tōkyō kyōiku daigaku saishū ronbunshū* 東京教育大学最終論文集 [The last monographs from the Tokyo University of Education], pp. 192-206. Tokyo: Tokyo Kyōiku Daigaku Shakaigaku Kyōshitsu.
- 1978a Zokkan shinkō to kirisutokyō: Ishinki urakami kirishitan no ba'ai 俗間信仰とキリスト教～維新期浦上キリシタンの場合 [Popular belief and Christianity: The case of the underground Christians of Urakami during the Meiji Restoration]. *Kikan nihon shisō shi* 季刊日本思想史 5: 75-93.
- 1978b Minshū shūkyō no kyōso ni okeru karisumasei 民衆宗教の教祖におけるカリスマ性 [Charisma in founders of popular religions]. In IENAGA Saburō and KOMAKI Osamu 家永三郎・小牧 治, eds., *Tetsugaku to nihon shakai* 哲学と日本社会 [Philosophy and Japanese society], pp. 241-265. Tokyo: Kōbundō.
- 1978c Ie no shūkyōsei sōbō katei 家の宗教性喪亡過程 [The process whereby the ie loses its religious character]. In SAKURAI Tokutarō 桜井徳太郎, ed., *Nihon shūkyō no fukugōteki kōzō* 日本宗教の複合的構造 [The composite structure of Japanese religion], pp. 311-333. Tokyo: Kōbundō.
- 1978d Shūkyō ishiki to kinō no henka 宗教意識と機能の変化 [Change in the consciousness of and functions of religion]. In HIGUMA Takenori 日隈威徳, ed., *Tōron: Shūkyō no shinsei—Shakai henkaku e no kakawari* 討論～宗教の新生・社会変革へのかかわり [A discussion on new life in religion: Involvement in social change], pp. 28-41. Tokyo: Ōtsuki Shoten.
- 1978e Kokka shintō no seiritsu: Kan to min no tairitsu 国家神道の成立～官と民の対立 [The formation of State

- Shinto: Confrontation between the authorities and the people]. In KASAHARA Kazuo 笠原一男, ed., *Raibaru nihon shi: Kindai nihon no futari no shuyaku* ライバル日本史・近代日本の二人の主役 [Rivals in Japanese history: Two people with major roles in early modern Japan], pp. 296-328. Tokyo: Hyōronsha.
- 1978f *Shinshū kyōdan ni okeru ie no kōzō* 真宗教団における家の構造 [Ie structures in True Pure Land organization]. Tokyo: Ochanomizu Shobō.
- 1978g *Hendōki no ningen to shūkyō* 変動期の人間と宗教 [People and religion in a period of transition], MORIOKA Kiyomi 森岡清美, ed. Tokyo: Miraisha.
- 1978h *Shakai hendō to shūkyō* 社会変動と宗教 [Social change and religion]. In MORIOKA Kiyomi 森岡清美, ed., *Hendōki no ningen to shūkyō* 変動期の人間と宗教 [People and religion in a period of transition], pp. 1-22. Tokyo: Miraisha.
- 1978i *Shinshūkyō no chihō denpa to teichaku no katei* 新宗教の地方伝播と定着の過程 [A new religion's diffusion and establishment in a local community], with NISHIYAMA Shigeru 西山 茂. In *Shūkyō to shakai hendō* 宗教と社会変動 [Religion and social change], pp. 135-192. Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Shuppankai.
- 1978j *Shinshūkyō no seidoka katei* 新宗教の制度化過程 [The institutionalization of a new religious movement]. In *CISR Tokyo kaigi kiyō* CISR 東京会議紀要, pp. 132-155. English in *Proceedings of [the] Tokyo meeting of the international conference on sociology of religion*, pp. 217-245; revised version in *Japanese journal of religious studies* 6 (1979): 239-280.
- 1978k *Shakaigaku wa naze hitsuyō ka* 社会学はなぜ必要か [Why is sociology needed?]. In YAMANE Tsuneo, MORIOKA Kiyomi 山根常男・森岡清美 et al., eds., *Tekisuto bukku shakaigaku 1: Nyūmon shakaigaku* テキストブック社会学1～入門社会学 [Sociology textbook 1: Introduction to sociology], pp. 1-13. Tokyo: Yūhikaku.

NISHIYAMA Shigeru 西山 茂

1976 *Shūkyōteki shinnen taikei no juyō to sono eikyō* 宗



教的信念体系の受容とその影響 [Acceptance of one type of religious creed and its influence]. *Shakai kagaku ronshū* 社会科学論集 23: 1-73.

- 1978 Shinshūkyō no juyō ni yoru dentōteki shūkyō jissen no henka 新宗教の受容による伝統的宗教実践の変化 [Change in traditional religious practice in consequence of accepting a new religion]. In MORIOKA Kiyomi 森岡清美, ed., *Hendōki no ningen to shūkyō* 変動期の人間と宗教 [People and religion in a period of transition], pp. 132-165. Tokyo: Miraisha.

- SAKURAI Tokutarō and OZAWA Hiroshi 桜井徳一郎, 小沢 浩  
1971 Gairai shūkyō no dochakuka o meguru mondai 外来宗教の土着化をめぐる問題 [Issues concerning the indigenization of foreign-born religions]. *Shichō* 史潮 108: 68-82.

- TAKASAKA Kenji 高坂健次  
1976 Gendai america ni okeru chishiki shakaigaku no tenkai 現代アメリカにおける知識社会学の展開 [Developments in the sociology of knowledge in contemporary America]. In TOKUNAGA Makoto 徳永 恂, ed., *Shakaigaku kōza* 11: *Chishiki shakaigaku* 社会学講座 11 知識社会学 [Series on sociology, vol. 11: Sociology of knowledge], pp. 44-67. Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Shuppankai.

- ZETTERBERG Hans L.  
1962 *On theory and verification in sociology*, 3rd ed. Tobowa. New Jersey. Bedminster Press.