

Development of Empirical Sociology and China Studies in Japan

Shigeto Sonoda

Introduction

The following book, *The History of Sociology* 『社会学の歴史』 written by Prof. Okui Tomoyuki 奥井智之, is an authentic textbook for beginners to understand history of sociology in Japan, but if you read from the very beginning to the end, no names of Asian sociologist are referred to.



It is often said that the concept sociology was created by Auguste Comte. And then, Herbert Spencer, other German sociologists like Max Weber, and the French sociologists like Émile Durkheim developed and formed the first generations. After World War II, the US became the center of sociological investigations. Therefore, it's really rare for Chinese students, as well as Japanese students, to know about the history of their own sociology.

Both China and Japan share a strong sense of identity that sociology came from somewhere else of the West, and they think that most of Chinese scholars and Japanese scholars are still using, looking at, sociological theories as something to be borrowed from the West. But, if you look at the history of Japanese sociology and Chinese sociology very closely, you can see some connections. But there were some conditions for such connections to take place.

Today, I'd like to focus on how Japanese sociology has had to do with the China studies, and how the sociological imagination of the Japanese sociologists about China has been shaped in different time in different forms.

Dawn of Japanese Sociology: 1890s

When it comes to the history of Chinese sociology, the name Yan Fu 严复 has been referred as a person who introduced the concept of sociology to the intellectual climate in China. When it comes to Japan, Ernest Francisco Fenollosa has been frequently mentioned as a so-called *Oyatoi-gaikokujin* お雇い外国人, invited scholar

from foreign countries who introduced sociology to Japan. In other words, Fenollosa is the first scholar who had the official talk about sociology at the University of Tokyo. Professor Toyama Masakazu 外山正一, the first President of Tokyo Imperial University, was a close friend of Ernest Francisco Fenollosa, and they're truly the first generation of the introduction of Western sociology in Japan. Thus, sociology has been categorized as so-called Western scholarship, or *yogaku* 洋学 in Japanese.

But the second generation like Takebe Tongo 建部遯吾, a professor of sociology at the University of Tokyo, was a bit different from the first generation.



Takebe Tongo (1871-1945)

Takebe tried to create his new so-called systematic sociology (*Taikeiteki shakaigaku* 体系的社会学) by combining Western theories and, interestingly, Neo Confucianism he learnt from his childhood. Toyama was trained as a Western scholarship, but Takebe received huge influence from the Confucianism because he was trained in a *hanko* 藩校, a school managed by *han* 藩[domain], and many of the *hanko* taught Confucianism, especially Neo Confucianism. Thus, it was natural for Takebe to borrowed ideas from Neo Confucianism, and he tried to merge it with the Western theories. If you had an opportunity to read his book, you will find that his book is so abstract because he tried to create “universal sociology” 普通社会学 by himself, while he didn't show any interest in applying some theories to understand Japanese society.

He tried to brush up his abstract sociology by digesting different schools of sociology in the West. He himself had an opportunity to go to France, and he knew a lot of things about Auguste Comte and Durkheimian school.

Interestingly, the introduction of sociology took place almost at the same time between Japan and China. Japan proceeded a little bit to China, trying to introduce some basic translated concepts. For example, if you look at left, you can see the picture of Kang Baozhong 康宝忠, who is said to have served as a first scholar on sociology, teaching the class of sociology at Peking University. Kang had a chance to come to Japan and stayed at Waseda University and learned and digested some basic concepts about sociology. At your right, you can see the picture of Tao Menghe 陶孟和, who also contributed a lot to the development of Chinese sociology. Tao had an opportunity to come to Tokyo Normal High School (*Tokyo Koto Shihan Gakko* 東京高等師範学校),

which later became University of Tsukuba. But later, after his going back to China, Tao went to London School of Economics and Political Science to get a PhD.



Kang Baozhong (1884-1919)



Tao Menghe (1887-1960)

Thus, in the very beginning of sociology in two countries, there were connections. But the connection was a bit one-sided. Chinese learned from Japan, but Japanese learned almost nothing from China.

On your left hand below, you can see the picture of Dr. Endo Ryukichi 遠藤隆吉, who is also a unique guy. He tried to combine Confucian teachings with *yogaku*, but he didn't like the government-supporting disciplines 官学. So, he set up several private schools and promoted private education in Japan.



Endo Ryukichi (1874 -1946)



Ariga Nagao (1860-1921)

Endo Ryukichi and Ariga Nagao 有賀長雄 were the students of Toyama and they were the same generation of Takebe Tongo, but they didn't stay at university. They changed the disciplines, too. For example, Ariga started from his study on sociology, when he visited Austria. But later, he changed his disciplines of sociology to statecraft studies and he became interested in international law. Ariga and Endo were the first-generation sociologists who tried to translate the history of sociology written in German, French or English into Japanese. And two intellectuals from China tried to re-translate translated Japanese concepts into Chinese. As is well-known, sociology was translated into Japanese as *shakaigaku* 社会学, which was “exported” to China and they started to

use *shèhuìxué* 社会学 as a Chinese translation of sociology.

Founder of Empirical Sociology in UTokyo: Toda Teizo

The third generation of sociologists, notably Toda Teizo 戸田貞三 (1887-1955), who was a good student of Takebe, however, changed the line of scholarship of sociology. He's the first sociologist who promoted the localization of sociology, and he declared that the main mission of sociology in Japan was to understand Japan and create its own theoretical framework based on their empirical findings.

Previous two generations didn't show interests in promoting understanding about the Japanese society. They were more devoted to creating abstract theories, rather than applying the theories to the local conditions in Japan. But Toda, who became the third Director of *Tobunken* 東文研, changed the nature of the Japanese sociology into very modern one. In fact, he is the first sociologist who used that Japanese census data which was conducted in 1920 to argue the nature and size of Japanese households.

Toda was so much interested in empirical studies, rather than creating abstract concepts. And this is partly because of the opportunities of his going to Chicago and learn what Chicago school did at the time. Toda tried to introduce American-style programmatic utilitarian positivist approach, while previous two generations were more interested in metaphysical nature of sociology in Europe. After Toda, Japan sociology became more and more Japanized, and his students became the first generation who tried to understand the nature of Chinese society from sociological perspectives.

Two Students of Toda Teizo: Makino and Fukutake

Two scholars below are the core figures who tried to combine Japanese sociology with China studies. On your left side, you can see the picture of Professor Makino Tatsumi 牧野巽. His familial background has to do with his scholarship. Makino's father is a well-known scholar on Chinese classics, Makino Kenjiro 牧野謙次郎, and he himself was very knowledgeable about Chinese classics.

You know Fukutake Hall in UTokyo, right? Fukutake Tadashi 福武直, whose picture you can see on your right side, has some familial relations with Fukutake Soichiro 福武總一郎, who donated a lot of money to *Johogakkan* 情報学環.



Makino Tatsumi(1905-1974)



Fukutake Tadashi (1917-1989)

Fukutake was a descendant of relatively rich family in Okayama Prefecture. Professor Fukutake deceased in 1989, when I was a research assistant (*Joshu* 助手) at the Department of Sociology at the University of Tokyo.

Makino Tatsumi received a very traditional training of Chinese classics. Prof. Fukutake was more knowledgeable about Western scholarships and, before he conducted researches on rural villages in China, he translated some papers and books written in German language into Japanese.

Their nature was very different from each other, but the commonalities are that they're both the students of Toda and that both of them were more interested in doing empirical researches than investigating theories.

Both Makino and Fukutake have published collected works. You can see the picture of seven volumes of the collected works of Professor Makino Tatsumi below. *Studies on Chinese Family* 『中国家族研究』, *Studies on Clan in Early Modern China* 『中国近世宗族研究』, *Some Issues on Chinese Social History* 『中国社会史の諸問題』 are the book titles. He was interested in China, but not contemporary China. This is one of the very unique commonalities of empirical sociologists at a time. Professor Makino utilized documents written in classical Chinese. He used historical documents with sociological frameworks to argue the nature of Chinese families and clans.



7 Volumes of Collected Works by Makino Tatsumi

Tatsumi Makino and His Chinese Study

Do you know why Makino showed little interest in contemporary China? Because he was very sensitive that his scholarship would be utilized by the military forces in Japan. So he intentionally tried to disconnect what he's doing and what Japan was doing. The same can be said to the case of Prof. Shimizu Morimitsu 清水盛光, the author of the book *Study on Chinese Society* 『支那社会の研究』.

Prof. Shimizu's position in Japanese sociology is very similar to that of Makino. Professor Shimizu had worked for Mantetsu Research Department 満鉄調査部 before moving to the Institute of the Humanities at Kyoto University 京都大学人文科学研究所 after World War II. I had an opportunity to send a message to Professor Shimizu

before his death. He replied to me in a very short private letter. I asked him why he was interested in China studies, because he was the first generation of China studies with sociological perspective. Professor Shimizu confessed to me that he didn't want to remember these old days, because what he tried to do was a kind of nightmare. He knew that the military forces, or militarism in China needed knowledge about China. However, in order to make a living, he had to do research to increase knowledge about China, which gave him a dilemma.

Data accessibility was another reason. More importantly, Fukutake and other empirical sociologists did some empirical studies, but they heavily depended on local translators. When it comes to the written texts, they were more knowledgeable, but when it comes to oral aspects of Chinese language, they had difficulty. That's why Shimizu and Makino heavily relied on classical documents to do their own empirical studies of Chinese society.

Sociology of Fukutake Tadashi

Fukutake was completely different from Makino and Shimizu. Fukutake is the last generation who had a privilege of conducting fieldwork in China. Actually, Fukutake was a multi-talented scholar.

I still vividly remember when Fukutake's funeral was taken place at Aoyama Cemetery. The former Prime Minister Koizumi Junichiro 小泉純一郎 came, because Fukutake was the central figure of the promotion of social welfare. Fukutake had many faces and I guess he's the only one who could publish such large-scale collected works. When he retired at the age of 60, University of Tokyo Press published 10 volumes of his collected works. He served for Univ. of Tokyo Press 東京大学出版会 and the cooperatives at the University of Tokyo 東京大学消費生活協同組合 as President.



10 Volumes of Collected Works by Fukutake

Fukutake was a very well-known scholar with very extensive network. Fukutake was one of the core figures of *Todai Toso* 東大闘争, who was one of the supportive members of Prof. Kato Ichiro 加藤一郎, President of Todai when the conflict took place. If you read the names of the book titles, you see that most of the books deal with methodologies, missions of sociology, and many related articles on understanding

Japanese villages and Japanese society.

Probably you'll be very surprised to know that this book on Chinese rural society, *The Structure of Chinese Rural Society* 『中国農村社会の構造』, is the first book in his academic life. In other words, books on Japanese rural villages followed his writings on Chinese rural villages. Later in his life, Fukutake had an opportunity to go to Indian villages and tried to compare China and India, about which I am not going in detail. His book, *The Structure of Chinese Rural Society* was published in 1946. Remember that Fukutake was born in 1917. It is only when he was 29 years old that he published the book on Chinese villages.

Fukutake's Chinese Study

Fukutake visited China, namely Suzhou in Jiangsu Province, five times. The first visit was in March, 1940. Second time, August and September, 1940. Third time, March to May, 1941. Fourth time, April, 1942, and finally the last time of his visiting Suzhou was in August 1943. So, he almost all the time was rather short period, because he had many obligations at the University of Tokyo. But by utilizing 5 times opportunities of his visiting Suzhou villages, he made very minute observations.

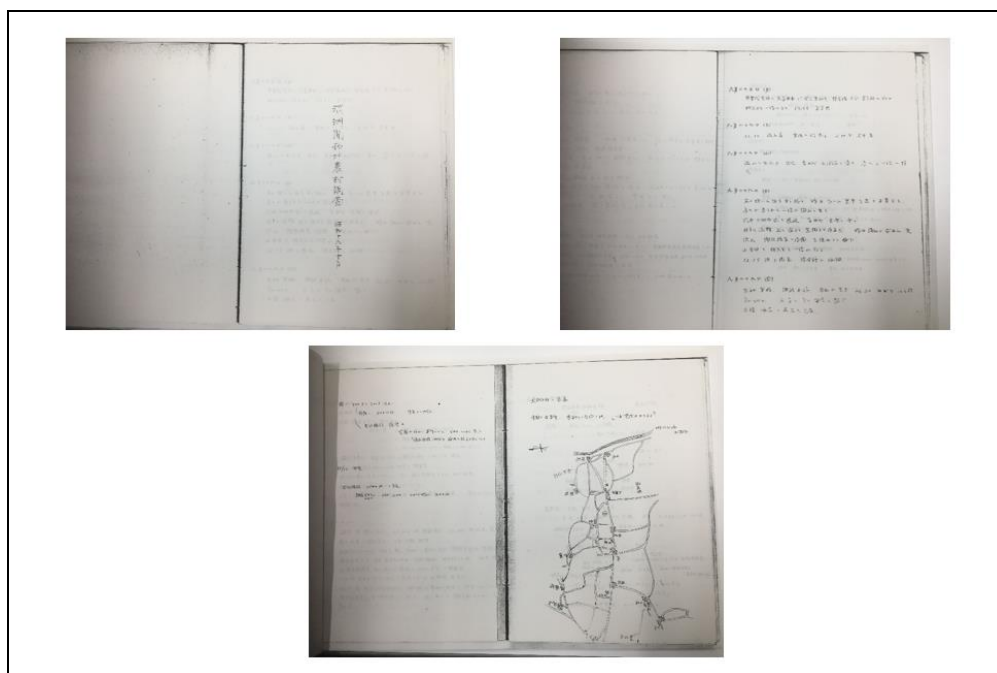
He used two research methods: one is observation and the other is interview. But when he was conducting interviews, he utilized local translators. Otherwise, he couldn't conduct any interviews.

His family was in Okayama, but he was in Tokyo Imperial University in Tokyo, so whenever he went to Suzhou from Tokyo, he visited his home on his way to Shimonoseki from which to go to Shanghai. In Shanghai, he met local translators and some Japanese guides who made some preparation for his visit to Suzhou. When he described rural villages in central part of China, Huazhong 華中, he utilized these two methods, but when it comes to the researches on the northern part of China, Huabei 華北, he utilized only documents which were documented by the Japanese scholars who stayed in the city of Beijing, or Beiping 北平 at the time. They kept the so-called collection of document of North China Survey 北支慣行調査資料, which later was published by the Iwanami Publishers.

At that time, the documents were confidential, but Fukutake could utilize these documents because he was a special student (*tokkensei* 特研生 in Japanese) of Tokyo Imperial University who were free from military duties.

When Prof. Fukutake deceased in 1989, his students investigated what sort of books and handwritings were kept in second house in Nagano Prefecture, because Prof. Fukutake had a second house in Nagano Prefecture. Whenever he wanted to write a book and write a draft, he went to the second house in Nagano, where he kept a lot of many handwriting materials. Because Professor Hasumi Otohiko 蓮見音彦, Chair of Department of Sociology when Professor Fukutake deceased, knew that I was studying about China, he kindly made a duplication of Prof. Fukutake's handwritings for me.

And the below are some pictures of materials that I'm still keeping in my office.



Photocopies of Handwritings of Prof. Fukutake

On your top left, you see the name of *Survey on the Villages Developed by the Japanese Emigrants in Manchuria* 満州開拓民農村調査. And if you look at his handwriting, he might find that he was a very careful guy, taking notes of a lot of things he observed. His handwriting of the map is still vivid. He did the same things in Suzhou, too, though Prof. Fukutake didn't have an opportunity to publish a paper by using this data of Japanese emigrants in Manchuria.

One of the uniqueness of Prof. Fukutake is that he has a career as a professional sociologist, especially an empirical sociologist, started from his commitment to the studies on China, not on Japan. In other words, after he's coming back from China, he shifted his interest from Chinese villages to Japanese villages. Later, he visited different parts of Japan, and he tried to divide Japanese villages into two types; one is called northeast type (*tohoku gata* 東北型), and the other is called southwest type (*seinan gata* 西南型). He was tactically using these schemes, because he had his own experience to make a rough idea of what the structure of rural villages in China was.

He tried to see how China and Japan are different, even though both villages are commonly referred as “feudalistic” or “traditional.” He had clear eyes to see the differences. The following is his findings of difference between Chinese and Japanese family, clan, and village.

Criteria of Comparison	Characteristics
Family	
Composition of Family	China has more collateral families.
Paternal Power	Japan's paternal power is stronger.
Household	China's family can be easily divided by household.
Inheritance	Eldest son's single inheritance is common in Japan, while equal distribution among sons is common in China.
Clan	
<i>Honke-Bunke</i> (Main/Branch) Relations	Unequal in Japan, while equal division of household in China.
Head of the Clan	Head of honke (本家 main family) will be in charge of the management of the clan while the oldest among the oldest generation will be in charge of clan management in China.
Property of the Clan	There is no property of the clan in Japan (Most of the property belong to main family. China has many clan properties.
Principle of Formation	There is a hierarchical order among families in the clan but there is only hierarchical order among generations in China.
Village	
Village Property	Many village properties in Japan, only a few in China.
Boundary of Villages	Clear in Japan where villagers' identity toward community is strong, while vague in China where villager's identity toward family is strong.
Village Shrine	Clan's god can be a community's god in Japan, while clan's god and community's god are totally different in China.
Farming	Very small-scale farming in both countries, but Chinese farming is less productive per land.
Owner-tenant Relationship	Contract base in China where owner-tenant relation is evidently class relations. Japan's owner-tenant relation shows paternalistic characteristics.
Self-governance	Fewer cooperative relations in China. Self-governance in China is weak, too.
Source: Sonoda (1993:21)	

Table Comparative Analysis of Rural Villages in China and Japan by Fukutake

World War II Period as a Paradoxical Time

The time of World War II was really a very paradoxical time.

While Toda didn't show strong interest in understanding China, but his following generation, like Fukutake and Makino, couldn't ignore China, because of the Japanese commitment to military invasion to China. Japanese sociologists at that time

had been innocently trained as a professional sociologist to understand China.

On the other hand, some students in outer Japan (*gaichi* 外地) came to Tokyo Imperial University to study sociology. For example, Prof. Chen Shao-Hsing 陳紹馨, who received education on sociology at the Tohoku Imperial University by Prof. Shinmei Masamichi 新明正道. He is said to be the founder of Taiwan sociology. Ding Kequang 丁克全, who received education on sociology at the graduate school of Tokyo Imperial University, had taught sociology before 1957, when sociology was prohibited in China, at Dongbei 東北 area in China. Lee Man-gap 李萬甲, a Korean scholar, who is a second first generation of teaching sociology at the National Seoul University, also received education at Tokyo Imperial University.



Chen Shaoxin (1906-1966) Ding Kequang (1914-1989) Lee Man-gap (1926-2010)

These scholars can be called “connectors” between UTokyo and the other national universities in Taiwan, Korea and China. But I'm sorry to say that almost none of the youngsters in these countries know their names. Some Taiwanese historians know about Professor Chen, who was named Yamanaka when Japan ruled Taiwan, because Taiwanese had to have a sir name of Japanese style. Right after World War II, he converted his family name from Yamanaka to Chen.

Not only Mainland China but also Korean Peninsula and Taiwan were also connected with Tokyo Imperial University. But after the World War II, these connections were lost and forgotten.

Losing Interest in Asia in Post-war Japan's Sociology

Let's see the post-war situation.

On your left hand below, you can see the picture of Professor Kagami Mitsuyuki 加々美光行, who is a graduate of the Department of Sociology at University of Tokyo. One of the well-known works by Professor Kagami is his analysis of Cultural Revolution in 1960s, who utilized documents to argue that “new China” was trapped by traditional concept of blood relationship. Of course, it was impossible for him to go to China and conduct interviews, thus he utilized several documents to understand how blood relationship were utilized for criticizing “class enemies” during Cultural Revolution. After his graduation from undergrad program, Prof. Kamami started to

work for Institute of Developing Economies (*Ajia Keizai Kenkyujo* アジア経済研究所), whose head quarter is located in Chiba Prefecture now.



Kagami Mitsuyuki (1944-)



Hishida Masaharu (1951-)

The same can be said to the case of Prof. Hishida Masaharu 菱田雅晴, who is 10 years senior to me. He's now a leading scholar of Chinese politics. But when he was an undergrad, he received influence from Professor Takahashi Akira 高橋徹, a leading sociologist at the University of Tokyo. After his graduation, he started to work for JETRO (Japan External Trade Organization) because he couldn't find a post within the academia nor a professor who could guide his research on China.

These professors, Kagami and Hishida, promoted China's studies in Japan, but, at least in the early stage of their scholarship, they lost connection with the department of sociology. Why? There are several reasons behind.

First of all, Asian studies, especially China studies in Japanese sociology, became marginalized. After World War II, many sociologists negated, denied, and criticized Japanese colonialism and militarism. These mentalities functioned as not keeping the memories, but to forget them. Scholars including Fukutake intentionally tried not to speak out what they had done.

Secondly, because of difficulty of conducting fieldwork in Asia, especially in China since 1957 when Chinese Communist Party banned sociology because they recognized that sociology is "science for bourgeoisie." Unless sociological researches develop in China, it will be quite difficult for outsiders to understand Chinese society.

The third reason, which has to do with the changing nature of Japanese society, is that, as Prof. Marukawa mentioned in his last week's lecture, many social scientists including sociologists and economists paid more attention to the developed societies as a model after World War II. To put it differently, as Asian societies including China were developing societies, it was difficult for ordinal sociologists to find good rationale to do research on China. As you can see in the case of Fukutake clearly, social scientists were more interested in the change of their own society. In case of Fukutake, after his coming back from China to Japan, he energetically studied a lot of issues about democratization of rural villages in Japan.

I think it's a good thing for Japan to have China experts who have a good

command of Chinese language. Fukutake and Makino had difficulty in making communication with Chinese in Chinese, which is a reason why they heavily depended on translator as well as written documents. But in order for you to be an area study expert, you cannot help learning foreign languages that you are studying. Kagami and Hishida are good at speaking Chinese, but unfortunately, once they acquired linguistic skill, their connection with the Japanese sociologists became weaker. Sociology and area studies, which China study is a part of, were not in good terms.

China's Opening-up and Its Impact on Sociological Studies on China

But such situation has changed, especially after China's opening-up.

In 1979, May, Deng Xiaoping suddenly declared the revival of sociology in China, and just before the declaration, Japanese sociologists were invited to China to know the revival of Chinese sociology. Fukutake played a very vital role in connecting Japanese sociologists and Chinese sociologists.

Now everyone almost forgot about this episode, but Fukutake, after his retirement from the University of Tokyo, sent a large number of his books to the library of Chinese Academy of Social Sciences. It's before the Institute of Sociology was set up. Chinese scholars appreciated Fukutake's contribution and set up *Fukutake Tadashi Bunko* 福武直文庫 (*Fuwu Zhi Wenku*) to show their appreciation toward Fukutake.

One year after the Japanese sociologist delegation to China, the Japan-China Sociological Association was established in 1980. Again, Fukutake played a vital role. He promoted that kind of exchange, but he deceased ten years after his first visit to China in 1979 after World War II. Since then Aoi Kazuo 青井和夫, on your left side below, who taught sociology at the University of Tokyo, took the Fukutake's position and he had served as President of Japan-China Sociological Association for a long time.



Aoi Kazuo (1920-2011)



Fei Xiaotong (1910-2005)



Lu Xueyi (1933-2013)

I had an opportunity to talk with Prof. Aoi why he was so energetically supporting activities of Japan-China Sociological Association. His answer was straightforward and very moving. He said, “Sonoda-kun, you should keep it in mind that Japan did something wrong to China. So, we have to do something good to China now.” I guess that such sentiment must have been shared by all the members of the first

and second delegates of Japanese sociologists to China.

Luckily, Fei Xiaotong 费孝通, who is in the center above, and Lu Xueyi 陆学艺, who deceased seven years ago, knew that rural issues in China are so important. Prof. Fukutake started his career as a rural sociologist, and when he visited China, rural issues in Japan was not so serious. Prof. Fukutake has changed his interest from rural development to the national development, or the creation of welfare state in Japan. But Fei Xiaotong and Fukutake had a very good partnership. They passed their missions to the hands of Profs. Aoi and Lu, which created a lot of collaborations between Japanese sociologists and Chinese sociologists. Thus, from the beginning of 1980s to late 1990s, Japanese and Chinese sociology could enjoy honeymoon period.

Tominaga Ken'ichi's Visits to Nankai University

One of the most impressive episodes for me during this time is Prof. Tominaga Ken'ichi's visits to China. He was invited to Nankai University in 1984, 36 years ago. He was invited Nankai to teach a course on economic sociology which is Professor Tominaga's specialty. The below are six pictures of different professors who became a big name of sociologists now.

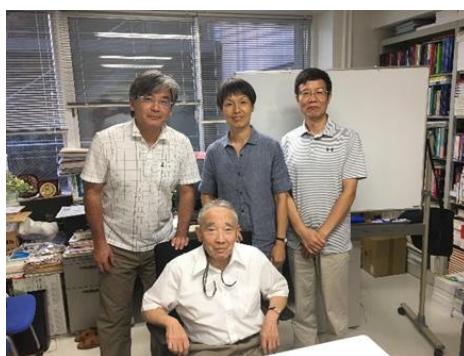


Students of Prof. Tominaga at Nankai University

They attended two-months-long lecture by Professor Tominaga on economic sociology. They wanted to understand the “secret” of the economic development of Japan after World War II, so they visited our residence frequently to ask so many questions to Prof. Tominaga. These questions include Japan's development policies, people's attitudes toward education, and so on. They put too many questions for Professor Tominaga to take a rest, but he seemed to be very happy to have a lot of discussions with promising young Chinese sociologists.

In the pictures below, Prof. Zhang Jing 张静, Chair of Department of Sociology

at Peking University, is just standing next to me. On her right side, you see the figure of Professor Jing Yuejing 景跃进, a political scientist in Tsinghua University. They were a couple and the classmates of the six professors in the pictures above. The picture was taken in 2017, two years prior to Prof. Tominaga's death. You can imagine how Prof. Tominaga was appreciated by his promising young Chinese sociologists.



Prof. Tominaga (front, center) and Profs. Zhang (back, center) and Jing (back, right) at Prof. Sonoda's office in 2017

Prof. Tominaga visited Nankai University three times. In his autobiography, Prof. Tominaga mentioned about his visits to Nanaki, describing them as most impressive academic experiences he has ever had.

How Should We Study Social Inequality in China?

Another hidden episode that I still remember about this honeymoon period is a collaboration between Japanese sociologists, especially UTokyo professors and scholars in Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (CASS) on social inequality issues.

Professor Lu Xueyi knew that China needed some survey and research to grasp what's going on about increasing social inequality. So, he organized a research team in CASS to know what to do to study social inequality in China.

Prof. Lu knew that Japanese sociologists have carried out SSM (Social Stratification and Social Mobility) surveys several times since 1955. So, research team members were interested in how Japanese scholars could successfully get money to conduct national-level survey as much as four times.

Secondly, they had some difficulties in creating conceptual schemes on social inequality. As you know, China is a socialist country, and the concept of "class" is an official concept. But it was a bit risky to use the concept of "class" when analyzing enlarging social inequality because socialism is officially negating social inequality caused by the class. Then the question is, what category can and should be used in studying social inequality? They wanted to hear some lessons from Japan.

Therefore, they invited Prof. Seiyama Kazuo 盛山和夫, who was Chair professor of the Department of Sociology and expert in social stratification, and me in

1999.

We were told that they had already invited two researchers from abroad; one is Prof. John H. Goldthorpe, a British sociologist and Prof. Eric O. Wright, a US sociologist. Goldthorpe is a Weberian and Wright is a Marxist. Their approaches to social inequality issues are different, and it seemed to me that Prof. Lu's research teams were considering which approach is more appropriate for China, a Weberian approach or a Marxist approach.

They eventually chose the former and they published a book titled *Research on Contemporary Chinese Social Stratification* 『当代中国社会阶层研究报告』 in 2001. Even though you cannot see any names of Japanese sociologists, but I can see many influences of Japanese sociological concepts in their book. That's what happened during this honeymoon period.

Some Works of UTokyo Researchers

Then, what sort of researches have been conducted by sociologists in Tokyo school after the opening up in China? The following picture shows some of the sociological books published by professors or former students of the University of Tokyo.



Books on Chinese society written by professors/students of UTokyo

On your left side above, you see the front page of the book titled *Industrialization and Community Life in China* 『中国の産業化と地域生活』, edited by Professor Aoi Kazuo. This is a collection of chapter papers written by Chinese and Japanese sociologists, who closely worked together to understand family life, local governance, welfare arrangements, education in local communities in China. They stayed at the same city, shared the same aspects of social life to write their independent chapters. Basically, they relied on qualitative data rather than quantitative data. *Patriarchy in East Asia* 『東アジアの家父長制』, written by Professor Sechiyama Kaku 瀬地山角 who is now teaching at Komaba campus, is also using qualitative data. My book

titled *China, An Unequal State* 『不平等国家 中国』, on your right side, is based on the extensive survey covering four different cities of Tianjin, Shanghai, Chongqin and Guangzhou, which I think is a very exceptional book.

Final Episode: Odaka Kunio's Occupational Sociology

The biggest change of the University of Tokyo took place when Toda, the third generation of sociologists in UTokyo, changed from metaphysical sociology to empirical sociology in 1920s. The nature of Japanese sociology changed. But one of the uniqueness of the University of Tokyo is that, even though students were encouraged to do some empirical researches, they were also strongly encouraged to know about sociological theories. I still vividly remember, when I was undergrad, I was asked to read many theoretical books on sociology. And later, I was asked what concrete facts I was interested in. Thus, theory is still important in the mainstream sociology at the University of Tokyo.

I'd like to conclude this lecture by introducing the case of Prof. Odaka Kunio 尾高邦雄, who was a mentor of Professor Tominaga.



Odaka Kunio (1908-1993)

When Prof. Odaka became eighty years old in 1988, I was a research assistant at UTokyo. We had a small party to celebrate his 80th birthday. Professor Odaka asked me about my specialty. I said, "I'm interested in China affairs." Then he said, "Oh you're interested in China? When I was of your age, I did research in China. So, I know how difficult it is to master Chinese. Good luck!"

Some years later, Prof. Odaka's former students edited three volumes of his collected works. Interestingly, the first paper in his collected works is the one which explains how he developed his own career as a professional empirical sociologist. Odaka is very similar to Fukutake in the sense that both received a lot of influence of Western theoretical sociology. In fact, Prof. Odaka translated Max Weber's book *Science as a Vocation* into the Japanese when he was very young.

Prof. Odaka was interested in occupation and he tried to create occupational sociology by himself. But why did he want to do so?

He left his passage like this:

“When I was drafted in the autumn of 1944, I was sent to the Army Hospital, because I was sick. I was released from it immediately, though. This was the time when I was reluctant to continue to study about theory or methodology, and I wanted to do something empirical. Right at the time, I was invited by the Navy and I studied to do ethnic research in Hainan Island, which is located south part of China. I spent one month to do research on family practices of the locals and it was the most enjoyable time in my life.”

Prof. Odaka started his career as sociologist from theoretical sociologist who was knowledgeable about German sociology, but later, he was reluctant to do it. It is through his commitment to ethnographic research in Hainan Island, China, that he realized the importance and enjoyment of conducting empirical research.

My professor Tominaga criticized Professor Odaka for his lack of theoretical interests, but this is an answer for my professor's criticism. Odaka lost his interest in talking too much about abstract, theoretical things after his visit to Hainan Island. He realized the importance of knowing something local, knowing something empirical, knowing something concrete. Odaka as well as Fukutake is still regarded as one of the founders of empirical sociology not only at UTokyo but in Japan. Fukutake and Odaka started their carrier as an empirical sociologist through their commitment to China studies, which contained a lot of contradictions and tragedies.

That's the end of my lecture. Thank you very much for listening.

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