

The Iconic Action – a society coded by rituals

By Kuniko Miyanaga

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The Iconic Action
- a society coded by rituals -
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FORWARD

The book is aimed to decode the behavioral and the epistemological enclosure in the workplace in Japan. This theme came as a practical necessity in order to fit in my full-time employment position in Japan but still to maintain my integrity. I did not wish to laugh because my supervisor was laughing; I did not wish to bully a person because my supervisor did. Against my hope of being a group member based on fair rules but not on emotional one-ness, I kept failing in what they called ‘manners,’ which ruled the workplace, and which were what business leaders consider to be the extension of tradition that every Japanese to be born with. In spite of this assumption, however, the manners I inherited from my old-fashioned parents did not work. What my senior colleagues imposed was not manners but was what I call ‘ritual’ or more precisely ‘the iconic action’ which was the core social system in tradition. Taking ‘ritual’ as my working definition, I chose a comparative approach between ritual in religion and ritual in the workplace, hoping to explicate the implicit ritual rules in the workplace by applying a religious model of ritual in which the constituents and the structure were far more explicit and articulated.

In a comparative perspective with the religious model, the basic constituents of the work place have been explicated. In the mirror of this model case in religion, the hidden constituents of the manners in the workplace became comprehensible. Some observations in fact came like new discoveries. One of them was ‘the iconic space.’ The space where the iconic action takes place is captured in either imagery (elaborate) or diagram (simplified). As I considered this spatial organization of the individual actions to be a major constituent of practice of ‘ritual’ in the way I define it, I built a hypothesis of ‘ritual society,’ in which I identified the commonalities and a difference between religious and secular ritual. Thus, the book begins with Part I, which is dedicated to a model building of ritual in general through the understanding and the decoding of the iconic action in a religious group.

The data have been obtained from the direct observation of a contemporary religious group. The researcher analyzes and objectifies, and even speculates about, her observations by going out of her assumptions that may not have been comprehended otherwise. For this reason, E.E. Evans-Pritchard recommended to 'read history' in the field under his observation and then to read the archives in the light of the knowledge that the researcher has gained through his fieldwork. As every field is unique, Wendy James, a student of his, confirms his rule such as 'one field (requires) one theory.'

The particular religious group has been chosen again basically for the same reason for my choice for Ph. D dissertation. After I had looked for a new example by studying other contemporary religious groups, I decided to take this group again but for this time for a model building. The most important reason was again its open-ness to researchers. This time especially, because I was 'using' the group as an example but not at all in any cooperation with their recruitment activities. I made it clear, even emphasized, that my research would be done taking the group as a model case of ritual organization in my anthropological perspective, but not posing myself as the group's spokes-person. Unlike any other religious groups, the group fully approved my study and even helped me by accommodating and providing the knowledge and the occasions for participant observation that I needed to build a ritual model through typification. Besides, the group offered, in general, a high-level articulation of the doctrine both in ritual and the written documents. In descriptions and analyses, the book will explicate ritual as social construct. The process of creating 'ritual men, the Japanese' will be shown in both religious and secular rituals. The ritual system converts ideology into experience, collectively internalizes emotions and values without losing individual spontaneity, and demonstrates that the traditional society has been coded by the iconic action constructed on organized repetitions of actions. These actions are captured by observation and described in the analytical perspective of the observer. The argument by description from the concrete examples that the observer presents is incremental.

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Acknowledgement

Many individuals have influenced the writing of this book in one way or another. They will forgive me if I mention only a few by name.

I thank Professor Kenelm Burridge, who was my second teacher of anthropology after my first teacher Professor Michael Gilsenan, and who was my Ph.D. advisor at the University of British Columbia. Professor Burridge gave me the basic method, knowledge and training in the Oxford trend of anthropology. He is the student of Professor E.E. Evans-Prichard together with Professors Gilsenan and G. Leinhardt, and taught me his descriptive explication of the anthropological observation, which was one of phenomenological approaches and also was of Postmodernism in his development. Professor Burridge advised me, “Do not try to please your readers, but you please yourself.”

I owe Professor Israel Scheffler of Harvard University my knowledge of science in the philosophical approach and semiotics in linguistics in essence. I learned from him how to move between the abstract and the concrete. As a leading pragmatist and an academic descendant of Charles S. Peirce, he also exposed me to some basic philosophical notions, including that of the icon, which were indispensable in understanding the ‘new tradition’ in the contemporary global economic community. I thank him for his consistent teaching through his The Philosophy of Education Research Center of Harvard University over fifteen years.

In these years I met two scholars who helped my thinking on ritual, the iconic action. Professor Rodney Needham of Oxford University led me to the concept of ostention and ostensive definition, which were essential to understand ritual *and* observations in the field. The title of this book, *The Iconic Action*, was suggested by him and helped me where to focus my observation, explication and articulation. He also told me not to read any reviews but to concentrate on my own ideas.

Dr. Godfrey Lienhardt of Oxford University had been mentioned by Dr. Gilsenan of Oxford University as the best tutor before I met him. When I met Dr. Lienhardt, he did teach me (in his very unique way) what anthropology was and is, although it took a long time for me to be able to ‘use’ anthropology to make my crude observations comprehensible. I am in his trend of descriptive anthropology, a theoretical and methodological development of Evans-Pritchard. They are unique to focus on observations and the gains, and the interpretations of their meanings. I am hoping that this book is in their trend of descriptive anthropology articulated in ‘analytical description.’

I also thank Professor Peter Berger of Boston University, who would probably comment that this book should be the second part of my *The Creative Edge* with his forward, and that this should be entitled *The Closing of Individualism* in Japan.

I would like to thank Academic Institutes in sponsoring my continuing studies and my research, The Philosophy of Education Research Center of Harvard University, The Institute for the Study of Economic Culture of Boston University, The Institute of Anthropology, Ethnology and Museum Science of the University of Oxford, and The Edwin O. Reischauer Institute of Japanese Studies of Harvard University. Through these sponsors, I met many leading scholars who taught me what was academia, including Professor Andrew Gordon, Professor Theodor Bestor and Professor Hellen Hardacre in showing ‘thick description’ in their examples.

I would like to thank the *Sekai Mahikari Bunmei Kyodan* (World True Light Civilization Association – SMBK –) for permitting me to write this book from my own perspective. I appreciate their generosity in letting me make observations as a participant observer and in answering my questions. I must acknowledge that they are known among academic researchers for their openness. Also, I am grateful to my colleagues in the study of religion who initially recommended this group for my research.

In addition, I would like to thank my son, Mr. K. J. Miyanaga for helping my living in the United States and for teaching me how to manage homepage from the very beginning.

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PART I: Ritual in Religion

Introduction to Part I

The ultimate goal of this book is to decode ritual in practice in the workplace in Japan, via presenting a model case of ritual based on the example of a religious group. The analysis in the comparative perspective with the religious and secular models reveals implicit codes of ritual in general in practice. Including that ritual is the organized repetition of actions, the similarity of religious and secular ritual clarifies the nature of society which is coded by ritual or, more precisely, the iconic action.

The book describes and argues in a concrete example that ritual is a social construct which converts ideology to experience, and which programs the practitioner to embody the given ideology through the precisely organized repetitive actions. The projection of the diagram of the divine universe onto the group's local centers and its believers' households enable this process, as the actions taken in these spaces become an experience of the universe, the major part of the religious ideology.

In this Part I, the book demonstrates in description and analysis how ritual presents the religious ideology through repetitions. The scenes from the group's practice show that the presence of the spirits of the dead is suggested by the teachers and the senior believers through their interpretation. In conversation with the spirit, they feed the religious doctrine to the believer. In the vision of the experience in the universe, specific emotions such as fear and gratitude are evoked, and the associated values become part of the experience. The ritual constructs the repetition of this process, in the specifically-organized relation between the subject and the object or the signifier and the referent, which was conceptualized in terms of 'iconic signification' originally presented by Charles S. Peirce and recently developed by Israel Scheffler.

The book, however, takes one caution in the application of their concept. Ritual physically structures its practitioner to integrate these iconic significations, instead of providing him/her with an integration independent from the body such as syntax in the language itself. This structuring of the practitioner in ritual is uniquely done through an organized repetition in the way that the language does not. Ritual is the iconic action, enabled by iconic significations and structuring them by structuring the practitioner. Ritual converts the ideology in the language to experience to be felt and stored in the body through its repetition.

Thus, after a brief introduction of the example and the Post-War age, the book begins with the ritual scenes which show how heavily and precisely the ritual is dependent on the sanctions by the senior participants and the teachers, including their interpretations, explanations, guidance, threats, appreciations and other impositions of the implicit codes. The book proceeds to show the process of how these sanctions are given and how they constitute ritual experiences.

The following introduction of our example in brief shows that this group emerged in competition with the mainstream society in the continuing tradition of the iconic action. The group is one of numerous religious movements that emerged throughout Japan's modernization since the Meiji Restoration, which officially began in 1868. Both religious and secular sectors compete in an attempt

to retain tradition in modernity and incorporate it into their social systems. When ritual is collectively organized, either in religious or secular sectors, it is socially functional, and not at all a mere residue from the past. Japan presents typical examples, in which the religious sector is proud of its revival of moral tradition, and the secular sector of its economic success. In their competition after Japan's defeat in 1945, the religious sector took the initial lead competing with the mainstream, and the group radically presented itself in the prophecy of cleansing the nation from the defiled foreign influences.

Sekai Mahikari Bunmei Kyoudan¹ (SMBK) – the World True Light Civilization Association – emerged in the chaotic social situation under the first leader Kotama Okada, in 1959, and flourished, drawing unprivileged social members whose sentiment against the changing social values, or the demoralization of society, was as strong as the desire for economic benefits which they had not received. They could not afford medical care, as the most common problems were poverty and tuberculosis, besides the mainstream of the society appeared to be willing to give up tradition for survival.

The group continues to draw discontented members from the periphery, over the succeeding years from 1959 to 1974 (when he died) almost precisely overlapping the period of Japan's so-called high economic growth: Overtaking the United Kingdom and Germany in 1968, Japan's Gross National Product became the second highest in the free world. It was considered a miracle. The annual real growth rate was about 10% in average and the major industry shifted from the primary to the second and third industries [Yomiuri 1988: 34]². Although causing such problems as an exploding need for housing and infrastructures, the mainstream kept striving for a prosperous consumption-based society.

In spite of its apparent preference in wealth to tradition, C. Nakane's *Japanese Society* published in 1970, a million seller, witnessed how the business sector in the mainstream informally adopted ritual tradition, and analytically described how it functioned as the back-stage system in business corporations. Probably because her book in Japanese softened its critical perspective, her theory of 'vertical society' was adopted in numerous how-to business books, promoting glo-cal-ization of Japan. The mainstream also developed the secular version of ritual tradition as management technology, in the succeeding 'age of

¹ Sekai Mahikari Bunmei Kyodan 世界真光文明教団 (Originally named *L.H. Youkou Shi Tomo no Kai* until 1963)

² This book is a compilation of a vast number of "questions about life" given to the daily Yomiuri Newspaper column and their answers. The book reflects how the age was felt by the contributors who would potentially be attracted to SMBK and other religious movements. .

prosperity' (1974-1987), while SMBK continued to expand, until 1994 when Japan showed clear signs of economic decline.

The third and present leader of SMBK who started in 1994 was a reformer. He changed the doctrine by adding new concepts as part of the doctrine such as 'spiritual volunteers,' 'global standards' and pacifism, and approved, and even encouraged, the use of modern, medical science, which was practically banned until then. Under his reformation, however, the ritual maintains the original form in practice. Throughout these ages, SMBK offers itself as a complete model sample of how ritual is constructed, in its resilient, self-perpetuating system of the iconic action, and how the system converts its elaborate doctrine, containing cosmology and explanations, to be experienced through the iconic action.

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A. Ritual Experience

Symbolic Interaction

Bizarre Experience

The following is a scene from one of the local centers of SMBK. The ritual of purification is going on. It is an organized experience of the doctrine, which is designed to be presented to the practitioner in fragments and then to motivate him to assemble them into a consistent story. Assembling and interpreting bizarre experiences demand the learning of the doctrine for explanation. In this system, a newcomer is thrown onto the ritual occasion and must face such bizarre experience as spirit possession without any explanation.

Purification activities³ are in progress. The proclaimed goal is what the group defines as spiritual cleansing. Purification activities in the local center are a drama on stage, especially for a newcomer. The characters on the stage are three: the teacher who controls the scene, the believer who is assumed to be possessed, and the spirit that is assumed to be presently possessing the believer. Besides these three, the fourth character off stage is the audience watching the drama going in front of them, who are not currently on the stage but take turns to go up on the stage becoming either active or passive performer.

The teacher starts by trying to identify the spirit. Although the ritual experience appears bizarre to the newer practitioner, it is a well-organized one under the group's cosmology. Older practitioners are well informed with the explanations and the explanations from the doctrine. Ritual transfers the

³ Purification activityお浄め (*okiyome*)

knowledge to the practitioner in experiencing it. The teacher's 'investigation of the spirit'⁴ begins with the standard phrases:

Teacher (T): (Speaking persuasively) I would like to speak to the spirit possessing the body of Ms. (full name). Please shake your head vertically, if I am correct, and please shake your head horizontally, if I am wrong. Are you possessing because you are resenting? Or because you wish to be saved?

Believer's possessing spirit (BS): (BS writes some large letters on the tatami-mat on which she was sitting.)

T: (Watching intensively, T still cannot read them. Then, T tries to read the facial expressions of the believer.) By watching your face, (I must say that) you do not wish to be saved but appear to be angry. (Pause) Are you an animal spirit?

(Long silence)

T: Are you a human being?

BS: (Slightly nodding.)

T: (Seriously) You wish to be truly saved!

BS: (Shakes the head horizontally.)

T: (Disappointed.) Not correct? Then, what... (As BS started writing on the tatami-mat with her finger, T watches it intensively but cannot read well. BS stops writing.)

T: (In a serious tone of voice) It is you who suffer.

BS: (Writes one letter on the tatami-mat.)

T: So this person...

BS: (By waving her hand, tries to stop T.)

T: The ancestor of the (family name of the believer) family?

BS: (Nods.)

T: From (the first name of the believer), how many generations ago?

BS: (On the tatami-mat, writes + ⁵.)

T: Ten generations ago?

BS: (Busily shaking the head horizontally, in word says) No.

T: (In a serious tone of voice) How many generations ago?

BS: (Again writes + on the tatami-mat.)

T: (Ignoring BS's gesture) the divinity will save you.

The above lasted about three minutes up to here and continued for another ten minutes. The same subject matter repeats endlessly until it becomes established. Each piece of interaction is intensive, but the whole process progresses extremely slowly.

The drama involves a two-part interaction, where the two performers act out their roles determined according to the requirements of transmitting the divine

⁴ Investigation of the spirit 霊査 (*reisa*)

⁵ '+' in Japanese means ten.

light from one to the other. In this performance, the believer in the superior position as the teacher takes the active role as a purifier or transmitter of the divine light, and the other, who may be either a believer or a non-believer, takes the passive role as a receiver of this light. As the active performer controls the performance, her (in the case above) role is considered superior to the role of the passive performer. Each pair is asymmetrical, being differentiated into a superior and an inferior or the active performer and the passive performer.

The active performer is responsible for keeping the whole activity under control, and the passive performer needs to follow the direction given to him by the active performer. The activity begins with the prayer to the supreme divinity. The passive performer sits behind the active performer, both of them facing the shrine. The passive performer should try as much as possible to copy the gesture and the posture of the active performer. Then, when they bow, clap, make wishes, the passive performer tries to time his actions to synchronize as precisely as possible with those of the active performer. The active performer turns around, and with the authority and power of the supreme divinity behind her, recites the Prayer of Heaven, while the passive performer listens, remaining in a restricted physical posture with eyes closed and hands in the praying position.

The active performer holds up her palm above the ‘vital points’⁶ of the body of the passive performer. The divine light is believed to radiate from the palm of the active performer and penetrates the body of the passive performer through these points. The divine light is believed to induce the discharge of the polluting elements defined as dirt-poison. The forehead purification is believed to induce the possessing spirit, a kind of dirt, to emerge from its regular hiding places, that is, the various parts of the body of the passive performer. Under the forehead purification, according to the doctrine, the possessing spirit rises to the surface of the body of the passive performer. Responding to the request of the active performer, it is believed to become involved in communication with the active performer, either willingly or unwillingly, through the passive performer. The passive performer’s actions are interpreted by the active performer as meaningful ones taken by the spirit.

Ostensive Definition

Typically representing the ritual presentation of spiritual phenomena, the group’s purification activity presents the ‘ostensive definition’ of spirit possession. Richard Robinson [Robinson: 117-125], in his book *Definition*,

⁶Vital Points 急所 (*Kyusho*) See Figure 1.

defines 'ostensive definition' such as 'red,' for example, by presenting red things and 'round' by presenting round things. In the same way, spirit possession at the local center is defined by presenting the possessing spirit. The definition is experiential and makes sense, only when the experience is shared and agreed in practicing the meanings through actions. Believers recognize spirit possession in the person presently manifesting the symptoms of possession such as body movements, utterances and other features cosmologically shown. Even slight jaw movements are defined by the teacher as "You are trembling in a freezing Hell," being ascribed to their cosmology.

As a participant observer, I would like to insert my experience of the purification ritual here. I did not show any response to the purification ritual until I was specially introduced to Mr. S, who was one of several top believers. Teachers were critical of me that no response showed my stubborn personality and even heavier possession by the spirits than those who show the body movements. Against the teachers' frequent emphasis that the effect of purification cannot be different according to the person, Mr. S was well known as an excellent purifier. I visited his local center on an appointment, and he started the forehead purification immediately.

In the first several minutes, nothing happened as usual. Then, he started to sing a chanting-like slow song, which sounded uncomfortable to me. When I said to myself, "I do not like this song," it began to echo inside my head, which reminded me of the hypnotic experiences I had read and watched in the video. I thought in a momentary fear that I might have carelessly exposed myself to the occasion undefinable in my capacity. Then, my jaw trembled for a few seconds. He immediately responded by saying, "You are possessed by the spirit suffering in a freezing Hell." He was speaking to me but not the spirit this time. Then, he continued on chanting the same slow song. I decided not to resist even in the mind but let it simply go through the mind and body. (This is the way I experienced and felt.) My body stayed still, and I was calm, for the rest of the forehead purification. My understanding was that Mr. S wished to show to a researcher what the purification ritual could be and should be. When I opened my eyes, I realized that about the five believers present on the occasion had taken a close observation on me, and I could see their facial expressions of fear, although all of them remained calm.

In this ostensive definition of the possessing spirit, as body movements are defined as the signs of spirit possession, whenever any of them is observed, the active performer announces that this is the appearance of the possessing spirit by definition, and that he starts talking to the spirit. This is my understanding. The experience happens on one's body, but its definition and the meaning are

given by the doctrine through the active performer. The validity of the experience of the phenomenon in the ostensive definition is not objective but depends on the degree of the belief which has been achieved. This cannot be scientifically either proven or disproven, because the connection between the experience and the doctrinal interpretation remains hypothetical. It is the phenomenon beyond this world presented through the experience of this material world. In this perspective, by definition, every single action of the passive performer suggests the presence of the spirit.

The teacher speaks to the possessing spirit that is assumed, according to the cosmology, to be in the body of the believer under purification. The group's URL publishes the following "Questions & Answers – You Want to Know More":

Interventions by the possessing spirit change the physical appearance of the person. For example, the spirit of an old man (when it possesses a person) somewhat changes the possessed person - who still is the young or even the child - into an old man, whose features and personality become like an old man and who is speaking like an old man. If the spirit of a man possesses a female human being, she becomes somewhat masculine.

Spirit appearance means that the possessing spirit comes up on the surface of the person who is possessed. Although the spirit is still invisible, the (own) personality of the possessed person is repressed, and that (both) person's facial expressions and behavior patterns change into those of someone else's.

The audience who looks at the performing pair on the occasion sees the symptoms of the possessing spirit's trembling in the body of the possessed, although the spirit itself is invisible. Its presence is suggested in the trembling body of the passive performer. The trembling body, which is visible and which is part of the material world, symbolically suggests the spirit's presence, which is invisible and which is beyond the material world. In the ostensive definition, as a red thing shows red, a possessed body shows possession.

The woman opened her eyes. She looked nervously excited and said, "It is (an improvement that the spirit is) no longer violent . . ."

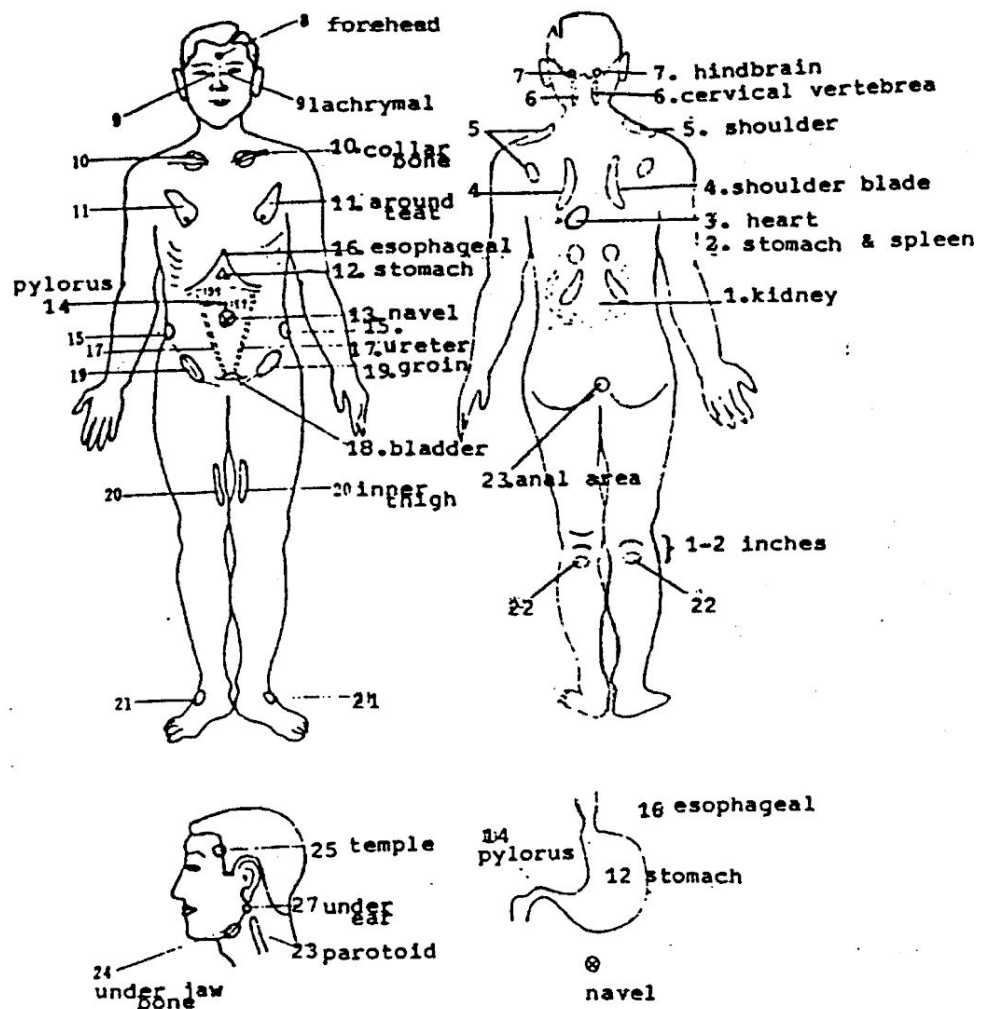
The long and intensive question-and-answer session ended. Almost the same questions and answers had been endlessly repeated and confirmed. The contents were interpreted and reinterpreted by the teacher, and denied again and again by the possessing spirit. The person who is considered possessed has been 'listening' to their conversation in his restricted position.

After this interaction between the two characters - the one who purifies the

other believer and the spirit in the body of the possessed - the performance becomes gentle. The symptoms of the spirit are gone. The teacher becomes more relaxed and open. From here, she talks to the other believer, a human being, not the spirit anymore; the believer who receives purification even lies down on the tatami-floor, using sitting pillows. In the first half of the cleansing, the audience watches precisely all that happens and listens to the words exchanged between the spirit and the teacher. Then in the second half the same audience also watches and listens to the words and deeds between the active performer and the passive performer, but this time, clearly between two human beings.

Figure 1-Vital Points (in English translation)

Diagram 1



Content of Ritual

Doctrine in Vision

After a bizarre experience of the doctrine in fragments through the purification ritual, the newcomer is introduced to the doctrine in well-organized lectures. This time, the learning of the doctrine is systematically presented with the text books. The three-day lecture sessions are waiting for him/her⁷ at three levels. The preliminary three-day lecture session, he is first invited to, is an intensive teaching and learning provides an organized explanation and a standard interpretation of what has been already experienced in ritual. “Experience first, understanding second” is a basic approach in the ritual comprehension of self-awareness and the world view. Although the doctrine gives the standard answer in general on these three days, individual believers then are pressed and guided to create their own versions of understanding allowing a long time from several months to some years, depending how their possessing spirits respond, or, more precisely, how the ‘responses’ of the possessing spirits are interpreted by the believer under the guidance of teachers and senior believers. By advancing from the elementary session to the advanced session, he is guided to assemble a life history of his own.

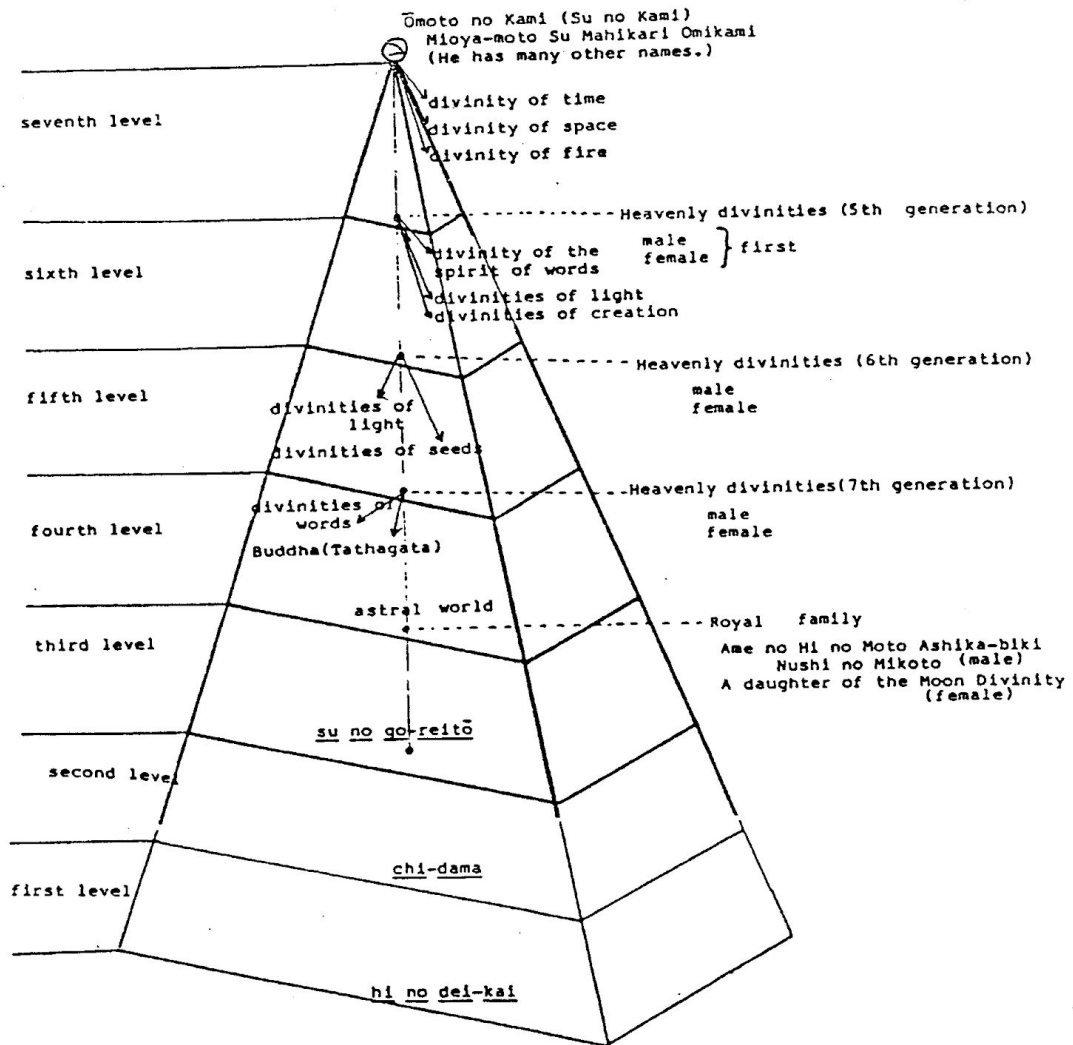
The elementary three-day lecture session is held once a month, in principle, although depending on the popularity of the local center, with newcomers from several to ten. The number of believers held in each local center varies greatly from a small gathering to over one hundred. The organizer is honored, when he is formally appointed as the Head by the group’s leader. The believer who has formally joined the group on the third day and who has received a talisman then advances to the intermediate three-day lecture session and finally to the advanced three-day lecture session. The ritual is a system which converts the doctrine written in a book form, or the inscribing practice, to an experience of each individual in the incorporated practice. The experience is made into an elaborate system of ritual on the repetitions of the organized actions. Since ritual experiences basically appear in fragments, the believer assembles them through their interpretations by applying the doctrine, actually in the same way as their active performer did in his ostensive definition of each fragment.

In these lecture sessions, the basic perspective of the doctrine in the

⁷ According to the common practice in English, he will be used for he/she from this point on.

textbook is given in the combination of the images of the divine universe and the divine history. Figure 2 is an elaborate version of the diagram of the divine universe, whereas the local center is made in a simplified model of it. Both of them indicate how the universe is constituted. The fuller explanation of the doctrine in Figure 2 is offered in the intermediate lecture session which recognizes the attendants as senior members of the group. Figure 2 outlines in vision the universe consisting of such beings as divinities, human beings, the spirits of the dead, including possessing spirits and beings in heavens and hells. Its detailed elaboration offers a dense view of the universe. The lecturers are ready to elaborate on their explanations responding to questions and opinions given by the attendants. Beyond both diagrams the cosmology is far more elaborate and complex; for example the status differentiation in each layer is said to be at least two hundred layers, and that one of the two hundred layers is again finely differentiated. Ultimately, no one or no being is equal to anyone else in this universe.

Figure 2 – Diagram of the Divine Universe (interpreted in English)



In its simplicity, the diagram articulates this structure of the universe in the form of a fine status differentiation among those beings. The total view of the universe is a seven-layered pyramid consisting of fine, asymmetrical networks of beings, in which the human and the material world are differentiated. As it was found out since the classic study of *Kula*, ritual weaves out the structure of the divine universe in the relationships among its participants, while there is nothing else but repetitions of the same series of actions and sanctions.

The hierarchy of divinities is a standard case in the Shinto universe in general. Following the Shinto way of formulating the hierarchy, in this group, the status differentiation is justified by birth, which is a basic determinant in the kinship-based social organization. Shinto gives a clear-cut image of inequality based on birth, such as age, sex, race and genealogy. Thus, the cosmology says that the divinities are born in different ways according to their statuses. The supreme divinity is the only transcendental figure that resides above the kinship map. (This structure is similar to the relationship between the group leaders and the believers.) The supreme divinity is of himself and is not born from anyone else. He is *Mioya-moto Su Mahikari Omikami*, usually referred to as *Su no Kami*, the supreme divinity. As is the case with the Shinto way of naming divinities, his name is a compact summary of his character: *mioya* means parent; *moto*, origin; *su*, lord; *Mahikari*, divine light (or true light); and *omikami*, great divinity. He is the greatest and the creator of the universe, and thus the parent and origin of all beings, who fills his universe with the true light that is the source of life. The scroll and the talisman in the local center transmit this light.

Under this Divinity, within the seven layers of the universe, in the seventh and the highest layer, the essential properties of the supreme divinity are distributed among three divinities, namely the divinities of time, space and life that have been born directly from the supreme divinity without a conception in a human way. The divinities of the sixth layer were born also in an un-human way from the divinity of life in the top, seventh layer. They are the divinity of the spirit of words, two divinities of light and two more divinities of life. The fifth layer has numerous divinities, including those of seeds specializing in growing different species of plants, and various divinities representing different aspects of light, having been born from the male and the female divinities in the sixth layer, one level above. Exceptions are the Sun, stars and galaxies. They were born in an un-human way from the divinities of time and space in the top seventh layer, and descended two levels down to the fifth level. Moon deities, rebels, are also located here.

A tremendous number of minor divinities in the fourth layer are born from the

divinity of the sun in the fifth layer. *Yu-kai*, or the astral world, is another name for this layer. The third level is *gen-kai* or the present world of human beings, who are considered bottom-ranking divinities. The only line of the royal family of Japan is born from the divinities of a higher layer. All others are born from a male and female couple of the third layer into the same layer, where they remain until they die and ascend to the fourth layer, the astral world.

Particularly, the fourth and the third layers offer a liminal stage of transition for the spirits of the dead to choose between good and bad. The configuration of this part of the universe explains the reason why the human beings suffer. They are set for discipline. Many of them rebel against the divine order by becoming a possessing spirit. Heavens and hells are located here to differentiate good and bad spirits after death. In the third layer which is the present world, human beings interact with the spirits of the dead. The local center offers a stage for them. On this stage, the universe of the finely differentiated inequality is reinforced through the interaction with the spirits in the ritual experience.

The moon deities in the fifth layer are presumably the rebels in the universe, that is the cause of disorder, and turn on the spirits of the dead and human beings against the rest of the divinities. The universe is considered to be going through a spiral progression of time through the repetitions of similar cycles. One cycle begins with the direct reign of the universe by the supreme divinity and ends with the catastrophic destruction of the human world. Each cycle completes with the annihilation of the existing world, a kind of creative destruction leading to the next cycle. Spirit possession is explained as a mistake made under the influence of the moon divinities. (Figure 3) The historical changes are local and confined in a small area between the third and the fifth layers of the universe.

Figure 3 – Divine History (Interpreted in English)

the divine universe, diseases are the quantitative representation of the same hierarchy between extreme purity and extreme defilement. Within the cosmology, in the local center on the ritual occasion, the purification activity is believed to transmit the divine light of purity, into the defiled human body through the vital points. The possessing spirit and the disease, both of which are the symptomatic expressions of defilement, come to be induced and discharged from the human body. Moist pleurisy, for example, is caused by accumulated urine, a defilement. Its cure is to induce urine by radiating the light of purity through the kidneys, urethra, and bladder. The purification activity is believed to cause such effects. Tuberculosis is a sign that the defilement is rotting. An intensive accumulation of defilement attracts possessing spirits, so that the heart disease is considered to be a sign of an extreme state of defilement and of possession by an extra-resentful spirit. Problems in and around the head are also a sign of defilement and also spirit disturbance related to the mistreatment of the family altar or the shrine. Neurosis is considered an ancestral warning as well as defilement and spirit possession. Diarrhea, runny nose, bloody nose, skin problems, and skin infections are the discharge of defilement. Ringing in the ears is the noise of defilement running in the brain as it accumulates. But when the defilement is running down towards the kidney, ringing is a sign of discharge. Cleansing over the anal area and under the ears is considered to induce discharge from the head. Hemorrhoids serve as the exit for the discharged defilement from the head and from other internal organs. Skin disease is an ideal way to discharge especially toxic defilement, because it saves the kidneys from possible damage when the discharge is intensive. Water eczema is a miraculous way to discharge defilement from the head through the feet, or from the center of the body through the most minor part of the body. The cosmology claims that medicines provided by modern medical science block the discharge, so its cure is temporary and only accelerates the accumulation. But, if this temporary cure is necessary, it should be done, and then the person should be purified and discharge the defilement from medication by intensively practicing the purification ritual.

This part of the doctrine connected to diseases is ritually practiced in the second half of the purification. While the first half is dedicated to forehead purification, the second half is healing. Except for purifying the forehead during the first half, the active performer touches and feels the body of the passive performer using his finger-tips to locate the problems. Thus, the purification activity consists of two parts as follows:

1. In the first ten minutes, purifying one's major spirit through the forehead (vital point No. 8 in Figure 1) vitalizes one's whole body. The body movements,

presumably caused by the possessing spirit, occur on this occasion. This part may be defined as ‘admonition’ according to the cosmology.

2. The succeeding forty minutes are dedicated to an intensive purification through the vital points and into the defiled areas. Figure 1 shows the location of the vital points. This part of purification may be described as ‘healing.’ During the performance, the passive performer relaxes himself. Often the passive performer is permitted, or even asked, to lie down. The performers are permitted to exchange their knowledge of the doctrine; in fact, most performers talk, but their conversation often diverges from the cosmology into private subjects. When the active performer is the teacher, the conversation becomes more like a lecture by the teacher, since the spirit is gone and becomes a confessional consultation by the passive performer. Again, ritual structures these whole activities, whereas the content is all ascribed to the cosmology.

In the long run, the believer through the ritual practice is expected and guided to build his personalized interpretation of ritual experience in consultation with both qualitative and quantitative explanations from the doctrine.

Thus, a believer confesses her progress:

In October, I took the elementary lecture session¹⁰.

After the session, I had to have purification almost every day . . . including a runny nose, wet cough, and itchy rashes all over my body. My body was discharging dirty things in my urine.

In three months, I lost eight kilograms, but I was perfectly fine. Some pressure behind my eyes disappeared.

I thought that the ‘principle of cleaning’ was a fantastic tiding in the world.

At the same time, I realized my own mistake in having defiled my physical body, which was originally a divine gift. [Endo 1978: 42-45]

In the same way as the spirit functions to guide the believer, diseases function to guide him into the order of the universe. When the disease is understood as defilement, the cure is also understood as purification. The doctrine has become the believer’s personal experience. In the local center, ritual offers an experiential occasion for healing. The believer experiences and even feels the order of the universe in purity and defilement through experiencing diseases and healing.

The Iconic Action – a society coded by rituals

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¹⁰ – and became a believer.

B. Iconic Signification

Non-conceptual Signification

Signification in Specificity

Ritual offers its practitioners the form or the frame of actions which enables them to experience the content, the doctrine which has been described in summary above. This content is experienced in the ritual frame of actions which offers the referential relations between the subject and the object organized independently from one another. These specific referential relations were originally observed and termed ‘iconic signification’ by Charles Sanders Peirce, and which has recently been developed by Israel Scheffler with an emphasis on its independent character from inferences. Scheffler observes that ritual connects and isolates the subject and the object in a unique and exclusive pair, so that the subject functions to signify, or point to, exclusively the object independent from inferences or theoretical connections. Scheffler attempts to recognize, capture and predicate what are habitually considered to be errors in science, including emotions, images and visions, and other ritual experiences which necessitate the presence of the body [Scheffler 1991 and 2010] .

In support of Scheffler, Joseph Toribio proposes a primary definition of Peirce’s icon as the non-conceptual signification of the object. His insistence on ‘icon-icity’ is that Peirce’s icon does not mean just a visual representation but means a non-conceptual representation either in images (when elaborate) or in a diagram (when simplified). This non-conceptual ritual representation extends to involve emotions which Peirce defines ‘sensual elements of thoughts,’ indicating directly and indirectly vision, images, sounds and music, which may extend to dancing and even scents and smells. The involvement of sensual elements makes Peirce’s hypothetical reasoning hypothetical, being enabled on specific referential relations. Toribio confirms this point in a slightly different angle that conceptual reasoning in the discursive language classifies the objects in general terms through ‘*canonical* decomposition’¹¹, [Toribio:179], which is inevitable in its analytic nature, but, then, loses specificity in the referential relation. In contrast, as is exemplified in ritual, in its non-conceptual representation, the icon, according to Peirce by Toribio and Scheffler, functions synthetically or holistically focusing on specificity in the exclusive referential relation. Instead of

¹¹ The italics by Toribio

being made into a general category within the classificatory system, Peirce's icon identifies the object directly in its unique and exclusive referential relation.

Resemblance

'Resemblance' articulates the specificity in the iconic signification, which is visually perceived between the subject and the object. Resemblance, when it connects icon and its referent, does not mean a 'family resemblance' of classification in the general terms of the discursive language, but means the recognition of the object directly in its unique and exclusive representation within the referential-pair relation. Resemblance is intuitive and may be simply felt by the observer only. This recognition of commonality by individual observers between the icon and the referent is the meaning of resemblance. Portraits and diagrams presented by Peirce as icons insist on an exclusive recognition of each other between the subject and the object or between the iconic signifiers and their specific referents. The iconic items used in ritual typically demonstrate this property.

From religious tradition in Western societies, the icon of a saint is a major example of this iconic signification, because the icon is not a portrait of any saint in general, but the specific character or the saint-hood of a specific saint. Icon not only represents the essence of the saint's uniqueness, but also carries his unique-ness. This commonality between the icon and the saint is neither conventional nor rational but is a magical one, as Wagner puts it [Wagner 2014:12-34]. What the icon refers to is this sainthood in which the icon resembles the saint. If the saint is a healer, his icon also heals. If his icon heals, the saint is a healer. If the saint is a guardian, his icon also protects the believer. If the icon protects, the saint is the guardian. In this connection, the icon of the saint is considered to share the same spiritual property as the saint is considered to have, and thus they resemble. It is even logical to say in this context that, in its non-conceptual function, the icon symbolically presents an experience of mystery-magic from the belief. The resemblance involves a belief beyond this world and may be simply *felt* by the ritual practitioner in the ritual context only for the moments of practicing ritual but may not be possibly objectified outside ritual. In other words, the experience of resemblance does not extend beyond the ritual occasion, as it is specific and non-conceptual but it is not a general concept of the discursive language. By this definition, resemblance cannot be experienced in abstraction.

In comparison, it must be noted that in an ordinary use of the word of icon as visual representation, the icon may be translated into a general concept which signifies a general category of the object under 'canonical decomposition,'

although, as Toribio correctly puts it, icon is a non-conceptual signification but not just a visual representation. A good example is the sign language of the deaf, which is often used as an example to refute Peirce, is a kind of discursive language and does not consist of icons of non-conceptual signification. The sign language is a visual representation of general categories, which is not the point made by Peirce. Each part of the body in the sign language, lacking iconic specificity to the referent, becomes a categorical reflection of the general classificatory system of the discursive language. The body is used as an abstract entity, which is subject to ‘canonical decomposition’ in Toribio’s sense.

Iconic Items

In modern Japanese society, one of the leaders of the world’s technological development, the talisman from our example demonstrates the same iconic signification between the icon and its referent in suggestion of the same ‘magical’ effect with the holder. The talisman is a combination of a locket holding a sign or the signature of the supreme divinity 7 and a chain to keep it around the neck. The talisman containing a sign-image or the signature of the supreme divinity 7 is believed to transmit the divine light. One of the senior believers explained to me how this sign resembles the supreme divinity. This signature in its undefinable shape resembles the supreme divinity, because it represents the supreme divinity’s undefinable nature. He says that the sign does not mean anything concrete but symbolizes the feature of the supreme divinity that is non-existent on earth and beyond our comprehension. In this sense, the 7 is simply the signature of the supreme divinity, and, in principle, anything else could have possibly been used as signature. Thus, the talisman, an icon, which is uniquely connected to the supreme divinity, also is believed to radiate the divine light. The cosmology justifies that the scroll and the talisman radiate the divine light in the same way as the supreme divinity does. It should be noted that the resemblance is unique and individual to the pair, so that neither the resemblance between the talisman and the supreme divinity nor that between the scroll and the supreme divinity suggests the resemblance between these two subjects or between the talisman and the scroll. These items individually go into a closed, referential relation with the supreme divinity but have no relation between themselves.

The meaning and the moral value of the divine light is associated with deep feelings of gratitude assimilated through the ritual experience. In every ritual action, the practitioner very sincerely imagines the supreme divinity, his universe, the divine light, and life and death. These imaginative experiences

evoke profound feelings in the practitioner. In ritual, the emotions are evoked being associated with the values that the icon signifies. Because the talisman is an individual asset, believers develop an extensive feeling of attachment and become committed to taking quite a good care of it. Every action for its care evokes even a deeper feeling which has been built up through their repeated practices in daily life. In every touch and every stroke, they adore the talisman and enjoy imagining the divine universe through their adoration. In this power of evocation, typically in our example, their initial fear of the possessing spirit, even this strong negative emotion, becomes neutralized and ultimately nullified through the repetitive performance of the purification ritual. In our example, this process is expected to happen as part of healing.

In the early days of the history of anthropology, anthropologists are attracted to the same condition about the iconic items as is reminiscent of Malinowski's classic ethnography about the Kula items. Although his interpretation is psychological, in his description, he says:

... To possess *vaygu'a* is exhilarating, comforting, soothing in itself. They will look at *vaygu'a* and handle it for hours; even a touch of it imparts under circumstances its virtue. [Malinowski: 529]

The *vaygu'a* evokes emotions. These emotions are believed to be good emotions because the meaning of evocation is simultaneously ascribed to the given cosmology which determines values. So, the item is considered to be the most effective offering to the spirits, as not only the spirit "can be put into a pleasant state of mind," but also, the item "make(s) their minds good." [Malinowski: 529] Thus, the natives "regard the *vaygu'a* as supremely good in itself, not as convertible wealth, or as potential ornaments, nor even as instruments of power." [Malinowski: 529] As it evokes emotions and values (being ascribed to the cosmology) at the same time, the item is also used in order to evoke good feelings on the occasion of dying.

This is most clearly expressed by a custom observed at death. A dying man is surrounded and overlaid with valuables which all his relatives and relatives-in-law bring in loan for the occasion...

All these beliefs ... indeed express the underlying emotional attitude: the comforting action of the valuables. It is applied to the dying as something full of good, as something exercising a pleasant action, soothing and fortifying at the same time. [Malinowski: 529]

This evocation of emotions, values and cosmology in one is a 'magic' to Malinowski, the father of modern anthropology, as well as to Wagner, a contemporary architect of computer games [Wagner 2014]. The talisman from our religious example is an iconic item, which is from the continuing tradition in the contemporary global economic community. The presence of icons in use indicates that ritual is in a regular performance, even in the modern, secular society, as it is discussed in Part II.

Embodiment of Values

According to the doctrine, without the talisman, believers are incapable of receiving a good amount of the divine light, nor are they protected from the possessing spirits that are recognized to appear during the purification activity. The doctrine makes the talisman holders spiritual elite, as this process involves a series of controlled evocation of the emotions, which is supposed to ensure that only with the talisman can the performer direct and control the divine light in a specific direction. The talisman also protects the holder from the intensive discharge of his own defilement, which the performance induces, and which may be highly dangerous. The holder may enjoy a reduced or slower discharge and may continue a normal life. In contrast, non-holders cannot have an effective discharge but simply accumulate the defilement or endanger life through an excessive discharge, if it happens. Only the talisman permits a safe breakthrough and an intensive exposure to the divine light, as it is believed.

In their firm belief, even washing the hands before touching the talisman evokes deep feelings and images of the divine light and the universe. Believers do this, even when their hands are not particularly dirty. The water is to purify and clean off defilement rather than to disinfect them in a medical sense, although the medical effects are not at all denied. By washing hands, in feeling the water against the hands, the believer is exposed to the value hierarchy of purity and defilement and feels it physically over his hands. In this way, as much as the associated emotions, the values are embodied.

Similar to the water example, images, more than other senses, evoke bodily sensations, when the context is specifically offered in the given culture. In a wider and more general perspective, Dan Sperber has an observation that, when this happens, they show a similar function to icons in ritual, as the culture specifies their contexts in similar ways as the iconic action does. In regard to the sense of smell, Sperber makes a point. Beyond his preoccupation with the inferential structuring of reasoning, in his description, he points to an image's superior connection to the object in the referential relation in the process of

embodiment. He says:

If I wish to recall the smell of rose, it is in fact a visual image that I invoke; a bouquet of roses under my nose; and in the same way, I will recall a church that smelled of incense, a pillow that kept the scent of patchouli, and I will almost have an impression that I sense that scent – a misleading impression, however, which will fade as soon as relinquishing the recollection of the object it emanated from, I try mentally to reconstitute the scent itself. [Sperber 1974: 116-7]

His observation suggests that recalling a smell becomes more permanently preserved when it is placed in the context of the vision of the occasion such as a church or a bouquet. In the extension of his argument, the feeling of water may be conditionally evoked via the image of the water. Such an icon as talisman presents itself as an occasion on which the image is readily offered to the holder. In this example, via talisman, ritual practitioners build up a habit to recall or evoke the bodily feelings and the values in a vision of cosmology in which the supreme divinity resides.

Our example indicates more clearly than general instructions by cultures that this process of establishing referential relations can be, and is, structured and offered in a systematized process in ritual. Establishing the relation between the icon and what it evokes, ritual sanctions are repeated until believers learn enough, for example, to be able to identify the invisible light by ‘reading’ icons, signs and indications. On the ritual occasion, they learn to see, act and feel properly as they are taught. The talisman holders assume that they know how to recognize the spirit and the divine light in reading suggestions on the material objects. As sanctions are precisely set, for believers, learning is a guided but emergent process.

In addition, in our religious example, the talisman holders are formal members and permitted to take the roll of both active transmitter and passive recipient. Non-holders are welcome, but are not yet members and are accepted only in the recipient roles as passive performers. The number of formal members with talisman is estimated to be about ten thousand by the group’s headquarters, and those without talisman to be about two hundred twenty thousand in 2016. The group is still slowly but steadily expanding since then and until now continuing the ritual tradition in the contemporary, modern Japanese society.

Missions of Icons

Emotions Categorized in Vision

In spite of its bizarre experience in the initial encounter, the system of ritual is precisely structured, in which the first constituent is the iconic signification. As for the crucial difference from the discursive language, which depends on the referential and the inferential relations, ritual lacks the syntactical system of categories of the inference. Instead, ritual offers the synthetic vision of the doctrine, which structures the practitioners of ritual themselves but not their reasoning processes in the discursive language. Assimilating this synthetic vision, the practitioners enter the hierarchy of the universe, where the icons evoke specific values and emotions. According to the doctrine, in this power of evocation, they are no longer ordinary individuals but achieve the position of a lower-level deity in the collective body of the universe as the vision articulates in its ostensive definitions.

Because of its visual character, the iconic signification is synthetic but not analytical. Instead of depending on the classification of categories in syntax, ritual depends on the belief in the visualized doctrine in every believer's customized ritual-experience. Susanne Langer argues the synthetic nature of imagery and vision, followed by Kippenburgh. Images "do not present their constituents successively, but simultaneously, so the relations determining a visual structure are grasped in one act of vision" [Langer 1942 (1993): 95]. Therefore, "the visual forms are understood only by perceiving the whole at once" [Kippenburgh 1987:3]. Typically in our example, at the local center which reflects the vision of the universe, icons function to evoke emotions and values simultaneously in one vision of the divine universe. The local center in ritual is made into a stage-setting, where believers experience emotions and values simultaneously and inseparably in one vision. The cosmology of the divine universe presents the image of the possessing spirit through the interpretation of its symptomatic appearances such as the trembling jaw and writing "+" on the floor in the scene of purification above. They indicate intensive emotions such as fear and the attachment to the past. The ostensive definition of fear, as an example, is enabled in the synthetic vision. Diseases, a quantified interpretation of the possessing spirit, are also an open portal to the cosmology, as it is commonly seen not only in the case of our example but also in the case of religious healing in general.

Capturing the very nature of emotions, Peirce defines them in this context of synthetic experience. He proposes an ostensive and experiential definition of emotions, taking the sounds of music as an example of iconic signification. He

defines emotions as:

Now, when our nervous system is excited in a complicated way, there being a relation between the elements of the excitation, the result is a single harmonious disturbance which I call an emotion. Thus, the various sounds made by the instruments of an orchestra strike upon the ear, and the result is a peculiar musical emotion, quite distinct from the sounds themselves. [Peirce: 337]

‘A peculiar musical emotion’ is evoked by the sound of music as it has been scripted in the scores. The specific sound signifies in evocation a specific emotion as it is scripted. Icons in ritual evoke emotions in a similar way but even more precisely organized through a systematic repetition. This evocation of emotions is not categorical. In music, evocations progress according to the score, and in ritual, they are to the vision. The scroll is a major icon which rules this process, and is the landmark as being the highest part of the local center. It is believed to evoke and does evoke such emotions in association with positive values as respect, thanksgiving, gratitude, even obligation and more, together in the vision of cosmology which ‘explains’ and legitimates these emotions and values. In its ostensive definition, these emotions and values are felt and understood as they are, rather than interpreted as the collection of ordinary categories of emotions and values listed above. The emotions felt in the repetitive actions of ritual in fact vary, when they are explained in the list of ordinary categories such as respect, thanksgiving, gratitude as stated above, but together are experienced in one solid category of ‘scroll-evoked emotions.’ This category is collectively experienced and shared, and, therefore, is public. Yet, various emotions may emerge for the person as his personal experience. Thus, in ritual actions, the emotions are collectively organized, categorized and shared but are also spontaneously felt. Embracing individual differences, the experience falls into one unified category of ‘scroll-evoked emotions.’ By looking at the scroll, these emotions are both spontaneously and individually evoked.

A point of emphasis is that this signification is visual, in a similar way as music is audial. Neither is in the language. There is no particular term or word for these ‘scroll-evoked emotions,’ for example. This means that ‘scroll-evoked emotions’ is a category articulated in vision. The category is visually signified by a specific icon. In non-conceptual signification, icon in general or the scroll in particular *is* the ‘term’ in place of the concept to independently signify this particular category of emotions in evocation. Thus, the action of looking at the icon or the scroll is to *read* what is signified by it right on there. What are read in

the closed referential relation between the signifier and the referent are the icon-evoked emotions and their associated values in one vision. Analogically, the icons in ritual are equivalent to concepts or key words in the discursive language.

Embracing Individual Differences

Peirce is aware of individual differences in regard to music received by individual listeners. He states that the cause and the effect in the example of music cannot be mechanically exacted, but is approximately defined such that the 'elements of excitation' and the 'single harmonious disturbance' are in a kind of artistic relation. It may sound vague to some heavily scientific minds but the ambiguous nature of emotions is precisely captured and defined. Ambiguity can be, and should be, defined strictly as ambiguity. Apart from ritual, but in science, Peirce even recommends the reasoning of 'abduction' or 'hypothesis' as the third inference with a new dimension that the first two deduction and induction do not have, by taking advantage of emotional ambiguity. This means that Peirce's concept of 'hypothesis' or 'abduction' is a way to predicate this artistic relation between the cause and the effect and to take advantage of the ambiguity inherent in this relation.

Our religious example also shows this same, emotion-related ambiguity, however, in ritual, ambiguity is fully contained in the given ritual context. Individual differences in experiencing emotions are collectively predicated in the shared category of emotions on icons, as it has been discussed in the example of the scroll. In their actions precisely organized on the ritual occasion, ritual practitioners learn to show their respect to the divine light from the scroll. In their actions, ritual practitioners individually experience their 'scroll-evoked emotions.' First, they must learn to attach good and positive feelings to their actions. Stating it in discursive language, this action should be connected, in repetition, to such emotions as respect and gratitude, and also repentance and apology in the case of invalidation of the code by crossing the light. Believers learn to repent and apologize with deep feelings under the guidance/sanction of the teacher and senior believers. In the densely repeated experience of such feelings, believers accept, in their deepest feelings, the cosmology which frames the meaning of their feelings in the image of values. In the repetition of ritual actions, these meanings are experienced through the feelings and the values synthetically in one vision of the divine universe. The icon is a trigger which instantaneously evokes this synthetic vision in ritual practice. All the emotions evoked by a specific icon are then able to fall into one category of the icon-evoked emotion, in this particular case above 'scroll-evoked emotion.' All of

the emotions that have initially been categorized in the discursive language become synthesized into a unified icon-evoked emotion.

Thus, the believers individually learn to spontaneously evoke the same emotion and the same value in the same vision of cosmology when experiencing the same specific icon. Although the focus on the cosmology may differ according to each believer, individual differences are accepted as being unexamined, as long as the emotions felt are received and defined in the same, one category of scroll-evoked emotion, for example, being triggered by the scroll. As a result, this single category embraces varieties of emotions experienced by individual believers, when they are analytically defined in the conceptual vocabulary of the discursive language. As Wittgenstein puts it, there is no way to feel the emotions of others. There is no way to measure objectively or compare the emotions experienced by different individuals and/or on different occasions. Embracing a wide variety of individual differences by each category, icons stand on their own unique relations between the signifier and the referent. Icons are defined in their referential relations to the doctrine in vision without a classificatory system in the abstract syntax to organize them. Each action in ritual such as looking at the scroll evokes a deep experience of emotions as guided by the teacher and the senior believers. Putting it in more general terms, the icon, when it is visually recognized, automatically functions as signifier. Each icon enables to experience an icon-evoked emotion automatically in this vision. Individual feelings are still spontaneous, but, at the same time, collectively fall into the shared category evoked by a particular icon. The iconic item such as scroll signifies the referent such as the emotions and the values in one vision of the divine universe. In one glance, the iconic item evokes the referent, as the signifier and the referent connect to each other in their exclusive relation.

Organized Like a Music Score

The ritual experiences are organized in the way that all of the experience of the iconic signification is repeated systematically. Iconic actions in the example of the talisman can be underestimated and reduced to simply a set of routine actions, unless they are associated with deepening the experiencing of emotions, which is associated with specific values, and which is powerful enough to lead the holder to self-change and even to a new self-formation. Similar to the music score, the list of the ritual actions is simply a note, but from this note these special experiences of emotions stream out once it is situated on the ritual occasion and is made to repeat. The talisman typically shows how the iconic signification is set up, and then, how it is maintained and solidified.

Maintaining the talisman as an example constitutes one of the major processes for assimilating this stream of ritual. It demands a complex but precisely-organized procedure in actions. By following the precise instruction, the holder takes care of the talisman as part of his daily practice. Every time when the believers touch it, they learn to connect the item to the divine light, to a specific positive emotion and to specific visions of the cosmology under the guidance of the teacher and senior believers, and then later by themselves. The treatment demands great care in positive emotions. In a meticulous repetition, the holders learn, stroke by stroke, to deepen and then elevate their 'talisman emotions' up to the point of synthesis in one unified 'talisman-evoked emotion.'

The list below shows ritual procedure and what ritual contains and offers. The ritual actions stream along with the list, evoking the moral emotions, as if the music score specifies how the music to be played:

1. Before touching the talisman, everyone must wash his hands well. By washing hands, the believer is exposed to the value hierarchy of purity and defilement and feels it physically over his hands. The value becomes embodied in the bodily sensation.
2. After washing, the hands must not touch any other objects (like a surgeon before surgery). If they do touch anything, the hands must be washed again. This principle is applied most strictly to the newly-initiated. The application becomes relaxed for senior believers who are considered to be in a more solid state of faith. The iconic action is not mechanical. The application varies depending on the condition of the person. Although the principle is collective, the application is more individual.
3. The locket which contains 7 written on a piece of paper must not be opened. Since the inside of the locket is purified by the group leader, it must not be defiled by contact with the defiled outside air. This condition shows the distribution of purity and defilement in hierarchy. The believer learns the value of respect to purity in the concrete and physical treatment of the item in his deep feelings of conviction, gratitude, or regret in case of invalidation.

Believers should not be curious what is inside the talisman. The feelings of curiosity are superficial compared to that of conviction and belief. Submission to the given, which is an action and a value at the same time, must be enjoyed in gratitude, an emotion. Although the word gratitude is often used in the doctrinal explanation, in ritual, the emotion (gratitude) evoked by the talisman is signified

by the talisman itself. No other word from the discursive language of inscribing practice should be applied. It is unnecessary. With the talisman, emotions must be felt and experienced deeply. They are the talisman evoked emotions, which talisman signifies.

4. The holder of the talisman must pay the monthly maintenance fee¹² in order for the leader to tie him to the supreme divinity. This is an obligation which should be fulfilled in a deep feeling of gratitude.

5. The talisman must be worn all the time, even in bed, in the washroom, and during the physical exercise. It should become part of the believer. He must feel it all the time even physically against his chest and even while he is asleep. The experiencing of the divine light must be part of his life.

6. The hinge of the talisman must be placed on the left side of the holder. When the talisman is kept in a cover, so the hinge does not show, the top side of the cover must be marked clearly. For example, if the cover is made of white cotton cloth, it may be marked x or + in red thread. Believers often spend time to create their own version of covers. While doing this, they try to deepen their feelings of gratitude and care of life stitch by stitch.

Believers usually have several covers which they wash and keep clean. This itself requires a great care and, in fact, is time-consuming. Old ones are disposed of and replaced with new ones. Often covers have lace materials attached for decoration. Women sometimes knit the materials for themselves rather than buy them from a shop. Every action involved is an iconic action.

7. The talisman must not be lent to others. It belongs strictly to the holder. (The relationship between the iconic item and its 'referent', whatever it may be, is exclusive, and only between them. Lending the talisman may confuse this relation.)

8. Talismans must not be piled on top of each other. Their individuality may be confused.

9. The talisman must be kept dry. For this purpose, it must be wrapped in five or six layers of plastic wrapping film (which is available for kitchen use) and sealed with cellophane tape before it is put into the cloth cover. The wrapping film must be changed often, especially, after

¹² Monthly maintenance fee is 1,000yen.

heavy perspiration.

Keeping the talisman dry requires quite an effort. Not only heavy perspiration, but even normal perspiration can go through layers of the plastic films fairly easily. For wrapping, the plastic wrapping film and cellophane tape sold in supermarkets are used. They are not purified but treated as practical objects. (The divine items and the non-divine items are strictly distinguished from each other.)

9. The talisman must not come into contact with any place which may have been stepped on. The floor, the ground, even the bed sheet and the blanket must be avoided even during sleep. The doctrine suggests that the holder make a pocket inside his underwear and keep the talisman in it. The pocket may be closed by a hook or a safety pin so the talisman does not slip out, even during sleep.

It is the Japanese way to place the mattresses and the mat covered with the bedsheet and blanket (often placed in a case) directly on the *tatami* floor. The sheet and blanket may be stepped on, although it is considered to be bad manners. If it touches such places, the talisman becomes defiled. Once it is defiled, it must be returned to the leader of the group to purify again. Defilement is a highly negative value.

10. The standard chain-necklace for the talisman may be replaced with a string when the chain causes skin trouble. A new chain must be purified before use. Believers usually personalize the necklace and become attached to it. In this way, adoration and the order of the universe are fostered and evoked.

Skin trouble is rather common and is considered a sign of high defilement of the holder.

11. The talisman must not be kept below the navel. The body has a hierarchy in purity and defilement which corresponds to the hierarchy of the universe. .
12. When the holder takes off his talisman, for example, for bathing:
 - (a) At home, it should be hooked on an L-shaped nail fixed on the wall only for this purpose. The talisman must be kept pure.
 - (b) On a trip, it should be kept in a special (purified) box which

should be placed on a sheet of paper (also purified) on a shelf.

Any failure to meet these conditions is considered defilement and is subject to a special version of the purification activity according to the degree of defilement. In repeating these cares, the emotions of the holder deepen and become spontaneous. The emotions are often felt in bodily sensations, in which the holder experiences them physiologically flowing from the depth of his being. They feel good and natural.

Iconic Evocation of Emotions and Values

In the mastery of ritual, in every action, emotions and values are evoked simultaneously and spontaneously in the vision of the universe. As the universe is a moral hierarchy in an expression of purity and defilement, according to the doctrine, every action is a moral experience. The talisman-related actions signify the divine light in their unique and exclusive relations which are established and maintained in the context that ritual offers. The process of evocation by the icon consists of a series of routine actions. It is mechanical, repetitive and even automatic when it is mastered, although it is not at all felt to be that way by practitioners. As it evokes tremendous emotions deepening in repetition, the process is individually established as the experience of life. Conditioned automation is achieved, which the doctrine explains that this means returning to the nature that has been missing from the modern and defiled lives of believers. It is not surprising to find this same rationalization for a tea ceremony and for flower arrangements in the wider context of Japanese society, and even for singing and dancing in the wider context of the global community. All of these are admired but confined in the special category of traditional art in modern society. It becomes clear, then, that ritual is natural and is inherent in traditional society, and is, indeed similar to art in modern society, in which the practitioners emotionally experience the given ideology. When the ritual practice becomes their life, the communal life becomes their identity.

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C. Iconic Space

In the Local Center

In the Diagram of the Universe

Another fundamental constituent that our model shows is the iconic space. In the form of a diagram, the structure of the vision of the divine universe is projected onto the iconic space, enabling ritual practitioners to act within this specific space, as the space directs their actions. Reflecting the vision of the universe in a diagram, every local center is designed to be an iconic space. The ritual experiences enable practitioners to assimilate those mutually independent referential relations in the vision of the universe, as actions are taken within, and according to, the diagram. The vision offered in ritual is projected onto the space for the actions to be taken in the way abstract concepts cannot. In this sense, ritual experience is synthetic. It is not analytical or does not serve analysis in the way as the grammatical syntax organizes the signifiers in a consistent logic of classification. The syntactical classification is categorical and general, and, thus, the signifier is more conceptual than visual. In ritual, instead, the diagram situates the ritual experience of the practitioners in the synthetic vision of the universe, so that they can experience the doctrine as it is reflected on this space.

In this setting, the local center and the divine universe are made to resemble each other. Reflecting non-conceptual signification by resemblance in brief, the subject (the local center) and the object (the universe) become interchangeable in their representation of the other. This means that, while the subject signifies the object, the object also refers back to the subject, in which these signification and reference-ing create a closed circuit together in their exclusive relation, thus, embracing and sponsoring all of the specific, referential relations individually experienced in ritual by practitioners.

In this all-embracing ostensive definition of the local center as a diagram of the divine universe, the material objects such as the building or the condo, which has been renovated into the local center, carefully (and meticulously) follow the given conditions. The standard setting of a local center has a shrine and the main room called *dojo*. It also has a bathroom, a side room, a kitchen, and a private room for live-in teachers. All of the spaces are carefully set up to create a diagram of the universe, according to which ritual actions are precisely directed.

The following is a concrete example of its stage setting. In the K local center

located in the suburb of Tokyo, for example, an apartment has been remodeled to fulfill the requirements. The screen-door partition between the two bedrooms has been removed to combine the functions of the main room. The entire floor of this room is covered with *tatami*¹³ mats, including the corridor (which is not a common arrangement for a regular Japanese house, but common in Shinto shrine buildings or Buddhist temples). The shrine covers one side of the wall. Although the shrine looks like a wall decoration of the main room, believers carefully distinguish it from the rest of the room and treat it like an independent room. When the apartment is large, and its ceiling is high, the shrine is made into a real room with an elevated floor. The size of the shrine varies greatly, but sometimes it is deeper than two meters and its floor is elevated about two-thirds of a meter above the floor level. It is prohibited to step into this shrine room. In the K center, the shrine is about three meters high, four meters wide, and half a meter deep, and is elevated about a half meter from the floor. The back wall of the shrine is covered with a golden wall-paper which brightly reflects the fluorescent light from the inside top of the shrine. During the night the shrine is hidden behind bamboo curtains. The dim light comes softly through them. Thus, the local center is carefully made into an iconic space to represent the universe in a diagram.

Diagram and Icons

The local center as diagram faithfully represents the structure of the universe. Inside, in the landscape of the iconic space, the iconic items are situated as landmarks. Specifically inside of the shrine, for example, a set of iconic items are situated in connection with the specific part of the universe. In the center of the shrine hangs a scroll, an icon in imagery, on which one of the leaders of this religious group has written words in black ink using a brush. The divine symbol 7 appears above the words. The words precisely follow one of the two formats: When the group's apartment is on the top floor with no balcony on the roof, the full name of the supreme divinity appears. If not, the scroll simply shows the words 'the divine light.' Beside the scroll, a statue of the divine creator of Japan is placed as a side figure. In front of the shrine is a low bench-like table to hold donations. All of the objects including these are precisely distributed according to the ranking of the space and direct ritual actions.

Along with the iconic items exemplified by these objects, the sections in the local center are all ranked according to their spiritual importance, exactly as the divine universe is differentiated. The shrine is the most superior section and the entrance the most inferior section. The statue of the creator of Japan, which is

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also an iconic item, must be placed on the side of the scroll, precisely farthest away from the entrance. That is, if the entrance is on the left side, the statue must be placed on the right side – as it is in the K center – and vice versa.

As ritual is performed following the instructions according to this space, the performers embody the order of the universe in every action they take, as the space embodies it. The actions embody it, as they are directed according to the spatial organization in its faithful embodiment. The shrine gives the point of origin for the divine light and for any activities in the local center. At the beginning and the end of purification, the pair of performers face together the shrine and offer prayers. During purification, the active performer shows the back to the shrine, so that the divine light, which is first received by the scroll, is then absorbed through the back and radiates from the palm to penetrate the vital points of the passive performer. As the doctrine explains in this way, performers precisely experience this iconic space.

Thus, repeating the main point in summary, crossing the invisible line of the divine light between the scroll and the back of the active performer is strictly forbidden. The teachers and the believers carefully watch for violations and give a warning every time it happens. As a matter of fact, careless violations occur fairly often, because it is easy to forget about the divine light which is invisible. Warnings are the reminders of the presence of the divine light and the law and order of the universe set by the supreme divinity. In the ostension of iconic items, the believers may safely and powerfully counteract iconic figures such as possessing spirits. In a proper performance of ritual, the performers must constantly be aware of their positioning in the iconic space between the scroll in the shrine and the entrance.

The ritual performance is enabled with the talisman only on the commitment and the mastery of this spatial differentiation, according to which the divine light is routed. Any action which invalidates this code of spatial differentiation is judged as the lack of commitment to his performance, indicating a low level of purity. Non-holders are welcome, but only in the passive and recipient roles. In this loose definition of membership and open-ness, the group is estimated to hold semi-believers at least ten times as many as formal members with the talisman. (The latter is estimated to be about ten thousand by the group.) But, without the talisman, according to the doctrine, they are incapable of receiving a good amount of the divine light, nor are they protected from the possessing spirits that appear during the purification activity. Only with the talisman can the performer direct and control the divine light toward a specific person, strictly according to the spatial ranking. The talisman also protects the holder from the intensive discharge of his own defilement, which

the performance induces, and which may be highly dangerous. The holder may enjoy a reduced or slower discharge and continue a normal life. In contrast, non-holders cannot have an effective discharge, simply accumulate the defilement or endanger their life through an excessive discharge. Thus, the divine order is imposed, practiced and believed in the iconic space and gives a justification to the status differentiation among believers.

Experiencing the Doctrine in Vision

The local center, shaped in the diagram of the divine universe, functions to embrace the referential relations individually acquired, and harmonize them collectively in the synthetic vision of the universe. By doing this, all of the referential relations which have been assimilated through ritual actions are harmonized under one vision. In place of inference or syntax in the discursive language, through ritual actions, the iconic space assembles the referential relations into a consistent whole by ascribing them into the vision of the divine universe. In ritual experience, unlike the grammar, what is offered in the iconic space is not a logical consistency, but the structure expressing the order of the universe. The order, being expressed in this iconic space, comes in a concrete vision but not in abstraction. A specific icon such as talisman for example evokes a specific emotion and a specific value, not in abstraction but both together in a concrete vision.

This vision of the universe is a hierarchical constellation of divinities distributed in the layers of the universe, repeating the doctrine in brief. As is in a jigsaw puzzle, ritual practitioners like the puzzle player individually pick up a piece and fit it into the whole. Every specific referential relation is a piece of the puzzle, which is not obvious of where to go, but which has to be guessed. No matter how each action appears to be fragmented, as long as ritual is continuously performed in the iconic space, inside the diagram of the divine universe, each action occupies some part of the structure, ultimately of the wholeness of the universe. Allowing time, believers are individually expected and guided to discover the proper positioning of referential relations in the vision of the universe. Through interactions with the possessing spirit and senior believers and teachers, and in the doctrinal studies, the believers locate themselves in the vision of the universe. In doing so, they slowly compile their personal life history, which is part of the history of the divine universe. The local center is the stage for all these activities in experiencing the doctrine in the repetition of ritual performance. The constellation of major icons visually represents the order of the universe, integrating all of the referential relations having been established in isolation from each other, into a synthetic vision.

Thus, the diagram of the local center functions to let believers experience the doctrine in the whole and the parts in one vision. Experiencing the doctrine in the iconic space, values and emotions are organized and embodied, and perpetuated in ritual repetitions.

Embracing Referential Relations

Iconic Significations in the Diagram

Consisting of referential relations, the ritual is organized and repeated in order to experience the synthetic vision of the universe. This is individually a trip to experience the values and the emotions in the collection of referential relations, and is also to experience the divine order according to the diagram. In this trip, ritual not only provides, solidifies, refines and perfects the exclusive and unique relations between signifiers (such as talisman) and referents (what is experienced in the vision of the cosmology), but also provides with the structure to harmoniously embrace all of referential relations in one vision of the universe. This orientation between the whole and the elements once puzzled a visitor from Europe, Kurt Singer. He was an economist ‘with the soul of a poet,’ and articulated this puzzling but charming epistemology of the people under his observation. Although these elements appeared conflicting to him from a Western point of view, surprisingly enough to him, the Japanese did not consider them to be conflicting. The people appeared to him totally indifferent to the inferential consistency in organizing the referential categories. From his stay in Japan in 1920s and 1930s, he described the Japanese mind orientation in his book *Mirror, Sword, and Jewel*, first published in German in 1934. Singer studied and adored the Japanese during a ten-year stay in these periods, but still remained a critical observer. In his critical view of the outsider, he writes:

The language and the literature of the Japanese are extremely rich in emotional shadings and in synonyms conveying subtle differences of meaning. The religious practice even of the ordinary man is highly complicated: he is liable to the Shintoist as a Japanese, Buddhist in face of death and suffering, Confucianist as a social being in general, personally often a Christian, and, as a man of science, a materialist. Behind the placid façade of correct demeanour he is apt to harbour a fleeting crowd of heterodoxies, doubts, sudden adventures, and variegated pastimes. Whatever he may be, he never resembles in ,

text-book as first approximations to the image of man. [Singer 1997 (1934): 47]

Singer continues, “the cause of what strikes as alien and impenetrable in Japanese mind is not the presence of a bewildering array of conflicting elements in their psyche, but rather the fact that no conflict is felt to exist between them” [Singer 1973: 48]. Referential pairs in ritual are independently valid apart from one another. Then, they can be perfectly put together in harmony in one vision of cosmology. When they are experienced together in this vision, there is no conflict felt in the mind of the practitioner; they are all harmoniously situated in the synthetic vision. Harmony here is not a loose and weak relation between the elements but indicates a solid and synthesized picture in the mind in which all of the constituents are seen at once, co-existing in the same landscape of mind without conflicts. In this picture, the viewers *feel* safe and secure to situate themselves and become part of the landscape offered in the cosmology, which functions and serves him, in fact, as his own space with icons.

Spatially organized in vision, the following three sections are a delineation of ritual actions for one visit to the local center, and are recorded and described in a format like a music score. Every visit going through these three sessions provides the experience of the order of the universe, to which all the actions are structured, as well as the simultaneous formation of referential pair relations. Intensive exposure to the doctrine starting with the three-day lecture sessions helps to assemble the meaning of experience. The meaning of ritual to a practitioner changes every time in participation, although the ritual itself remains exactly the same. By distributing all of the referential relations in the order of universe, the practitioner begins to live the doctrine. Every single action in the list below signifies a specific piece of vision which fits in the overall picture of the divine universe.

Entering the Diagram

Visiting the local center begins with the standardized ritual procedure of entering the iconic space. When performers enter the room, they find themselves on the lowest corner of the iconic space, where they take a preparatory activity such as signing the attendance book and making a donation. By doing these, they are already made aware of the order of the room, in which they are presently at the lowest corner. As they progress to prayer, they are instructed to show respect, which is the combination of value and emotion as the ritual is. They learn why they must respect, how to deepen the emotion, and also learn to connect them to a specific vision of the universe. In feeling respect, they

assimilate, in their bodily experience, the order expressed in the arrangement of the space. The experience is physically felt, because it is made through organized actions within the space of the diagram. Every bow, every clap, every silence has its meaning and its depth, when these actions are placed in the divine order in the local center.

1. Entering the room

1.1 Preparatory acts

- 1.1.1 A person signs the attendance notebook placed on a table in the side room, or at a corner of the main room near the entrance. The feeling of respect is expressed in formalized and polite manners.
- 1.1.2 The person writes a wish or words of thanks for the fulfillment of previous wishes on a small (about 10 x 20 centimeters) slip of paper also placed on the same table. Pens, pencils, and erasers are also provided on the table.
- 1.1.3 If the person is already a member of this religious group, an envelope (about 20 x 13 centimeters), marked with the name, is kept in a drawer by the table. The envelope has the individual's name on it. The person puts a donation (money) and the slip of paper into it. Blank envelopes are available for non-members, or they may bring their own.

1.2 Prayer on arrival

- 1.2.1 The person approaches the shrine, in the posture showing respect, sits on the legs on the *tatami* floor before a long table in front of the shrine, and places the envelope quietly on an elevated wooden container typically used in Shinto shrines as a table.
- 1.2.2 Prayer to the supreme divinity.
 - a) The person bows deeply twice with the hands held together and touching the *tatami* floor on the outer side of the palm. This hand position makes the group members' bow unique among other Shinto groups. In the regular Japanese bow, people support their weight by touching the *tatami* with their palms.
 - b) The person claps the hands three times. It is a common practice to clap hands at a shrine. However, it is usually twice, except in a high status shrine or on a special ceremonial occasion.
 - c) The person makes a silent wish from a bowing position.
 - d) The person claps four times in a regular sitting position.
 - e) The person bows once again deeply with the hands touching the

floor.

- f) The person bows once very lightly as if nodding to show the end of the prayer to the supreme divinity.

1.2.3 Prayer to the creator of Japan:

- g) The person bows twice deeply with the hands touching the floor.
- h) The person claps the hands three times.
- i) The person makes a silent wish from a bowing position with the hands touching the floor.
- j) The person bows once very lightly to show the end of the prayer to the creator of Japan.

In every action, the person should have the feeling of respect to deepen.

1.3 Greeting other believers

1.3.1 The person stands up, walks backward, still facing the shrine (in the position showing respect), to the other side of the room (the most inferior corner), sits and faces the other attendants in the room (all the others are between the shrine and this person, in front of the shrine, in a humble position for this person most inferior), and says to them the standardized words for greeting (to which the other attendants respond). “I thank very much that my paying visit for prayer is well taken today. Please, accept me in your good will.”

1.4 (Free time). The person waits until finds a partner for performance. In the side room, the person is free to chat, or do anything necessary. Eventually, the person joins purification.

Purification with Icons

These entrance activities lead to the major part of the purification. The following scene from the local center has been introduced earlier, showing bizarre experiences and guidance given by the teacher and senior believers. The experience of interaction with the spirits and of healing are randomly received except by the teacher and senior believers who know the constitution of the universe. The music score-like record of the scene outlines the scenario behind. These activities are interactive, sometimes even wildly, showing rich emotions, as every action is heavily loaded with values and emotions in the vision of the universe. As an icon evokes a set of associated emotions in one, in the iconic space, icons create a streaming vision of the universe. When refined, it becomes a stream of harmony, in which all of the referential relations are ‘framed’ and ‘orchestrated’ in one vision. This orchestration can be occurring any time

powerfully in the mind of an individual performer, even when the iconic space appears calm, in which individuals are gently performing their own stage of ritual. Until the believers make sense of the meaning and the structure of the universe, they simply assimilate individual pairs of the referential relation, which come independently from one another.

2.1 Opening

1.4.1 Both performers sit on their legs, facing the shrine, usually using the sitting pillows underneath, and pray to the supreme divinity. They both bow twice, deeply (showing deep respect) touching their hands to the floor.

- a) They both clap their hands three times. The person behind must synchronize with the person in front. By watching the person in front carefully, the person behind learns the behavioral and emotional one-ness with the person in front.
- b) Both make their silent wishes in the bowing position touching their hands on the floor. (Together in behavioral and emotional on-ness.)

1.4.2 The active performer in front, sitting closer to the shrine turns around and faces the other performer. Then, both say the standardized words for greeting. (The words to be pronounced together in one, sharing emotions and values.)

1.5 Forehead purification (usually ten minutes - interaction with the spirits may occur).

1.5.1 The passive performer, facing the other performer and the shrine, puts the hands in the prayer position with the palms touching together in front of the chest, and closes the eyes.

1.5.2 The active performer does the following:

- a) The active performer claps three times, showing the back to the shrine in order to receive the divine light on the back and transmit it to the other. The shrine is a station for transmitting the divine light, and the talisman for protection. It is worn on the chest and considered to maximize the holder's capacity for transmission.
- b) The active performer keeps the hands in the prayer position, and chants the Prayer of Heaven. This part of the prayer must be memorized and chanted without looking at the book of prayer.
- c) The active performer puts the hand over the forehead of the other, about thirty centimeters away, to transmit the divine light from the palm. The active performer may use either the right or left hand, but is generally encouraged to use the right hand.
- d) If the active performer intends to interact with the possessing spirit

of the passive performer, the active performer begins with a standard sentence, such as: “I am speaking to Mr. X’s Spirit (honorific) who is occupying the body of Miss Z (full name).”

- e) Then he may continue by saying, “If you agree with what I am going to say, please incline your head vertically, and if you do not, please shake it horizontally.”
- f) Then, depending on the response, the active performer continues the conversation for about fifteen minutes. As the example shown in the Introduction of this book, the type of conversation defined as admonition can go on for more than thirty minutes, if the possessing spirit refuses to calm down.

1.2.3. Ending the forehead purification

- a) The active performer announces the end of the forehead purification by pronouncing “Calm down,” three times, and tells the other to open the eyes.
- b) The passive performer opens the eyes.
- c) The active performer asks if the eyesight of the other is clear.
- d) The passive performer usually says, “Yes.” If “No,” “Calm down” must be said several times, and the same procedure is repeated.

1.6 Healing (about forty minutes).

- 1.6.1 The passive performer relaxes and sometimes lies down using the sitting pillows. The passive performer confides the other such problems as diseases, aching spots, psychological or family difficulties in detail.
- 1.6.2 The active performer puts the hand over each of the vital points of the passive performer for about three minutes each, from point to point, depending on the problem, and transmits the divine light. The action with the palm covers most of the major vital points in one visit, continuously repeating the same healing ritual. The passive performer concentrates attention to the vital point currently under the palm of the active performer.

1.7 Closing

- 1.7.1 (Same as “Opening” 3.1.1)
 - 1.7.2 Both performers thank one another using the standardized words. “Thank you for accepting my purification today.” “Thank you for purifying me today.”
2. (Free time) Often the person feels much more relaxed on this occasion, and enjoys conversing with others present. Some spend a long time chatting

cheerfully.

3. Leaving the room

3.1 Prayer on leaving. This part is basically the same as the “Prayer on arrival” (1.2) except for the part about donation, given to the supreme divinity (1.2.2) and the creator of Japan (1.2.3).

3.2 Departure greeting; the person sits on the legs by the exit (the same as the entrance), and says the standardized words. “Thank you truly for today.” Others may respond by bowing lightly or saying, “Thank you.”

Actions are standardized and strictly directed according to the diagram- spaced local center. As it is shown in “B. Symbolic Interaction,” purification is dramatic and relaxing, as it is acted out and interpreted through ritual, promoting emotions and values in the vision of the universe.

Marginal Activities in the Side Room

The following section is about activities in a marginal space in the local center, where informal members (without the talisman) get together slightly away from the formal area and enjoy their relaxed time being.

The side room is a relaxed space. In the K local center, as a typical case in a larger center, there is a space which may be called a side room where the materials for the preparatory acts are kept on the desk. Newly arrived persons, including both members and the non-initiated, reported their attendance by placing their names in a notebook prepared specifically for this purpose. Normally, formal members immediately proceed to the main room. Many others visited the center regularly for healing purposes only and had no intention of becoming members. For them, visiting the local center was an alternative to the State-sponsored modern medical system. After registering their attendance, visitors pick out their own envelope. These envelopes have their names, and are filed in boxes according to the Japanese alphabetical order. They slip a donation into the envelope and a sheet of paper on which they write a wish or words of thanks for the fulfillment of their previous wishes. The words are standardized and some examples are displayed on the desk. Then they are permitted to enter the main room similar to the believer. After the prayer on arrival at the shrine, some go back to the side room again and rest. They often sit around a table near the desk, chatting and drinking tea. In the K local center, this space is so small that it serves as a hall leading to another section of the apartment that it is always crowded with people, thus creating an atmosphere of success and business.

Although it is more relaxed, even in this side space, the relationship between

each pair performers, differentiated in the superior and the inferior roles, continues. In their relaxed manners, the differentiation still is behaviorally reinforced and doctrinally justified in the vision of the kinship map of deities in the divine universe. Thus, even in this casual time, the active performer previously in ritual is the superior and the passive performer the inferior. This status differentiation behaviorally continues still to correspond to the upper-lower (superior-inferior) differentiation of this room, although it is far less distinctive here than in the main room. Every participant experiences this principle of inequality through his ritual actions, until it becomes spontaneous and *feels* natural like breathing. As the person continuously performs ritual in the iconic space, inequality becomes a general principle. Then, even without explicit icons, inequality which has been embodied is acted out, as if the performers had been born with it. Inequality practiced and embodied through ritual is tangible, solid, unquestionable and divine, unlike a principle assimilated in abstraction.

The Iconic Action – a society coded by rituals

Kuniko Miyanaga

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D.Daily Ritual in the Iconic Space

Daily Life in the Diagram

In the Diagram of Household

Confirming one of the points already made, our example shows that ritual is not just a repetition but an organized repetition. The following section of the group's practice typically shows how the iconic space expands from such public occasions as local center to more private, individual households, definitively and precisely re-organizing the daily-life activities into iconic action. The family altar and the family shrine are the major iconic items indispensable for the expansion of the iconic space to the household. With these icons, as the doctrine leads, the household becomes a portal to the universe, where every daily life experience is re-organized into ritual in which every action is experienced in a cosmological meaning. The installation of these iconic items indicates advancement to a higher stage both spiritually and organizationally. When reaching this higher stage, believers are considered to be doctrinally purer, and, organizationally more senior. In these achievements, they receive respect and recognition. They will, then consistently, take the role of the active performer and enjoy the recognition as superior from other believers who remain at lower stages.

A three-day lecture session at three levels formalizes this process. Advancement among formal members begins formally with the three-day elementary lecture session when the person is given a talisman, is initiated, and formally becomes a believer. The elementary session is held once a month at most with more than ten attendants at a local center. Approximately, one out of five of these attendants joins the group as a formal member. After the initiation, when believers begin to appreciate the effort to compile their life histories, they are first told to attend the intermediate three-day lecture session and, then, to install a family altar, which is an icon to create an iconic space in the household. Through these steps, they become senior members. Then, they go on to the advanced level (three-day) lecture session and, when their spiritual advancement is recognized, they are given a family shrine, which honors and authorizes the iconic space in the household to expand into another purification site open like a

local center. The family shrine functions in the same way as the shrine in the local center, by emitting the divine light. With this iconic item, the household becomes a portal to the divine universe for those who practice ritual and also eligible to formally develop into a local center in the future, as it gains more people to join.

Unlike the family shrine, the family altar given before the shrine is considered neither to emit a divine light, nor to transmit the light. Instead, it establishes an exclusive relationship between the holder and the entire body of his ancestors, and ensures the one-ness between the living descendants and the deceased ancestors. It is a portal to the divine universe where active contacts with the ancestors is enabled, by offering a rare occasion in this world. The altar is designed to resemble the fourth spiritual layer with a bright florescent light installed inside (which is totally unusual in the wider society for any family altar) as a group's guide book says: "The altar should be bright, and real flowers instead of artificial flowers should be offered," so that the "altar should be as cheerful as the Paradise of Eden," because "the spiritual world is essentially a training occasion for acquiring the divine light." With the family altar, still living in this world, the ancestors guide, warn and even punish the descendants to learn about acquiring the divine light, visiting from the fourth and spiritual layer of the universe after death. [Sekiguchi K.:154].

In order to establish a proper relationship with the ancestors and also help them to be able to act properly, the conditions of the altar must be precisely fulfilled. The guide book gives a long and meticulous list of treatment equivalent to the talisman. Instead of citing the complete list with the explanation of the manners and the doctrinal justification, even a brief summary indicates its complexity and the demand of precision in implementation: that the name tablets of the ancestors have to be black with gold letters; that plain white tablets or paper tablets must be avoided; that one person must be given one tablet when he dies; that in thirty years after death, the person's spirit should join the collective tablet; that 'the notebook in the memory of the dead' must not be used as a substitute for the individual tablet (which is often a practice in the wider society); that a married couple must share a joint tablet; that brothers and sisters may share a joint tablet with their names written according to the date of birth from the right facing to the tabled; that the baby miscarried after the fifth month must be given a new name and must be treated the same as a full human being..." Intense emotions are evoked through interaction in the same way as it is done with possessing spirits. The book re-enforces that the order of the universe should be expressed in the manners of the kinship relationships of the family, especially with respect for the ancestors as they are the living spirits

residing in the family altar. Therefore,

What we should be determined is that the name tablets of ancestors in the altar do not mean just wooden plates. Those who do not know the situation in the spiritual world...would often repeat the behavior rude to their ancestors without knowing what they are doing to them. Such behavior causes ancestral warnings that are actually quite many.

The name tablet is the spiritual medium item which the ancestral spirit is permitted to possess. The wooden plate is offered there for a living spirit to possess. ... [K. Sekiguchi : 159]

With the installation of the family altar, the family members are now living with the spirits of the ancestors connected through the altar. When the family shrine is installed after the altar, the household becomes a perfect iconic space similar to the local center, where every action is precisely instructed according to the superior-inferior spatial ranking. In the household, the parent-child relationship and the husband-wife relationship are added more explicitly as part of the kinship map of the divine universe on earth. An individual member is now a fated member of the universe through one-ness with the ancestors in daily life which is perpetually repeating in ritual manners.

Ritual Interaction with Ancestors

What is essential to food offering is the best example of how meticulously and precisely the ritual codes are set. They are to treat the ancestors as if they were living in the household together with the living family members. The book emphasizes that, “as a matter of fact, the spirit without having the flesh does not munch on meals.” However, “In the same way as our body of flesh acts by the material nourishment from grains, vegetables, fish and meat, the spirit absorbs the *ki*¹⁴ energy from the food offered.” Therefore:

1. What is most important for care and thanksgiving to ancestors is the daily food offering. As it has been explained in the examples shown so far, the ancestors that cannot receive food offering are suffering from the feeling of starvation and the feeling of hunger. Many among the ancestral spirits that ask for care and thanks giving necessarily plead saying, “Please offer food.” [Sekiguchi K.: 155]

And:

¹⁴ Ki 気. The same character may be read *chi*, which is commonly used in English.

Food must be offered at least once a day every day without any break. ... It should be exactly the same as the food the family (of the altar holder) eats. Small plates and dishes must be prepared in advance and offer a small amount of the same food that we eat. [Sekiguchi K.: 156]

The ancestors are all ready to sanction their descendants for the negligence in the care or the lack of respect for them. The connection to ancestors demands and guides the living descendants to experience, and ultimately, to live, the divine order of the universe in one with the ancestors through the paired performance of daily ritual in the household. Although both shrine and altar require cleaning, prayers and food offerings, much more elaborate food offerings are involved for the altar emphasizing living with the ancestral spirits in the same household. Food must be offered in the same way as it is given to living families. Interaction with ancestors is as vivid as with the possessing spirits. Therefore, the secret is:

... The food offered must be prepared exactly in the same way as the food for the family is prepared, by roasting and cooking. ... Fruits must be skinned and cut in small pieces prepared for eating. [Sekiguchi K.: 156-7]

When the food is ready:

The bell should be rung twice for announcing the meal time. Then, the following must be said in a clear voice. "All members of so-and-so family, please take the meal. What I must clearly call your attention to is that you should say "all the members" but should not specify any names of the deceased. If you say "Grand-father and Grand-mother," no other ancestors can eat the food offered. The appropriate time for each offering should be between twenty and thirty minutes. [Sekiguchi K. : 157]

Preparing and offering food to the ancestors must be done in a deep feeling of thanksgiving in every action towards ancestors and divinities, and towards families and friends. In doing this, the whole universe is imagined in the ritual experience together with feelings and values, as the actions evoke the vision of the universe. The book particularly emphasizes that the experience in ritual action must be deeply felt from the heart. The book goes on to how and why for

daily prayers, the prohibition on making wishes, the instructions for the incense offering, the cleaning of the altar, the chanting and reading of divine words from the books of prayers, and the treatment of the name tablets of the ancestors at the time of food offering.

Food offering to the altar is as meticulously established as it is for the talisman. The instruction must be precisely followed in order to avoid 'warnings' and 'disturbances' from ancestral spirits, as they are ready to attract attention from their descendants by living with them in the same household. The doctrine says that fulfilling the requirements provides the descendants with essential security for life.

Ancestors and Descendants in One Body

In structuring one's life of the material life in the wider perspective of the spiritual world, individuals put their ancestors in the same position as that of the religious teachers. The ancestors readily interact with their descendants by sending warnings. The ancestors sanction their descendants by telling them what is right and what is wrong, and even by punishing them, sometimes severely, thus functioning to keep their descendants in the given, structured order of the divine universe. The ancestors have this relationship, because they embody and execute the value of family one-ness, and because their caring secures them to one synthetic relationship which embodies and expresses the order of universe in daily-life. If there is any negligence, the ancestral spirits warn their descendants by causing them trouble and diseases, even spirit possession. The book by the third leader also describes in detail throughout his book abundant examples from believers mentioning the kind of disturbances. An injury or problems on the thumb or on the toe are explained as ancestral attempts to attract attention from their descendants because the thumb and the toe are called 'parent fingers' in Japanese. Head injuries, hitting the head frequently and persisting headaches are ancestral attempts to attract attention towards the upper part of the body, indicating that superior ancestors are calling, because the word upper means superior in Japanese. Problems in the gastro-intestine area and the inability to eat in spite of a hungry feeling indicate the plea from ancestors who have not received food offerings. Eye problems are warnings against the negligence of ancestral worship, telling the believer to respect the superior, as the superior is called 'a person above the eye' in Japanese. The word 'above' means superior in Japanese, indicating the ancestor in this case. Dizziness warns against bad manners to the ancestor. If the person ignores the warning, it could become more serious. The book says that there is a rule in

ancestral warnings that any believer can easily tell whether the apparent sign is a warning from the ancestor or not.

The book continues on with Sekiguchi's explanation:

The first distinctive peculiarity is that disorders appear in the upper half of the body, especially above the neck. The second is that disorders are concentrated on the left side of the body. ... For this reason, especially with the ancestral spirit possession, disorders concentrate on the left side of the body: Broken bones on the left arm or the dislocation of the left arm from the joint, the stiff shoulder on the left side, the pain in the left side of the waist, for example. [Sekiguchi, K. :115-6]

The descendants' recognition of their mistakes and repentance are a process of healing, as it is assumed that those who live according to the divine order should be naturally healthy and that no spirits would be disturbing. The book introduces a typical example from a believer in response to his teaching through ritual practice:

On 12th in January, I felt good after having the seventh funeral anniversary for my late mother. Soon after this, the left shoulder of my husband became so painful that he could not even lift it. He said, "This should be a 'sixty-year-old-shoulder symptom' and should be better, if I rest well." But, his pain persisted without any change.

In February, my left shoulder became as stiff as possible and painful. Both my husband and I were feeling down, thinking "the left side, left side," but could not realize what it was.

February fifth, the day after the Festival for the First day of Spring, was my father's funeral anniversary. So, I chanted to the family altar *Book of Praise to Deity*¹⁵ and *Book of Consolation for the Spirit*¹⁶. While I was doing this, suddenly, the word 'thirtieth year' flashed in my mind. Although I had been thinking that it was the next year, it was this year, as I checked.

I apologized to my ancestors from my heart. Then, I felt my left shoulder less painful. "So, this was it!" I finally was made to realize it. At night, I said to my husband, "How do you feel about your left shoulder?" "I feel slightly better. But, I cannot lift it." He lifted his right arm.

On February 18th, the thirtieth anniversary was done perfectly. My

¹⁵ Book of Praise to Deity 神向賛辞 (Kamimuki Sanji)

¹⁶ *Book of Consolation for the Spirit* 弔霊 (Cho-rei)

husband's left arm gradually became able to lift. I am deeply sorry that I could not realize this for a long time. Truly, I must notice the ancestors' committed efforts of 'showing the patterns'¹⁷ before I receive their warnings. [Sekiguchi, K: 116-7]

With a series of experiences narrated by believers, the book thoroughly explains the doctrine related to ancestor worship. Warnings and punishments gain their meanings concretely in the context of ritual experiences. The basic doctrinal assumption, which becomes experientially validated in the ritual context, is that ancestors are guardians for their descendants, although, when the ancestral rites are not properly performed, they turn to sanction by harming them. This is the content that the ritual of ancestral rites promotes and ensures. The spirits of, and the warnings from, the ancestors are symbolically suggested in the material objects such as the body with a disease. The suggestions made are further interpreted by teachers and senior believers and by the holders of the family altar themselves at this level of mastery. At the beginning of the warning from ancestors, there is a sign. Then, the sign progresses to a warning such as disease or spirit possession. Adjustment is demanded by the ancestors that the descendants should recover the proper relationship with their ancestors, who, then, should return to the original position as guardians for the descendants. All of this is made by the installation of the family altar.

The doctrinal explanation in a book form, which falls into the category of 'inscribing practice,' can be read whether the readers agree on the content or not. In contrast, ritual in incorporating practice can be 'read correctly,' only if the symbolic suggestions made in ostensive definition are correctly 'judged' in the frame of the vision of the universe. When this happens, ritual experience becomes synonymous with experiencing life. Under the iconic space, each practitioner converts doctrine from inscribing practice to incorporating practice. In the vision of the universe, symbolically experienced in the diagram of the iconic space, the ritual experience becomes visibly readable, when correctly judged. Thus, the doctrine is individually experienced by each believer who lives and spends his life in the vision of the universe. The believers at this level of mastery now live surrounded by diseases and healing, the abundant signs of the spirits, divinities, the divine light and the images which constantly evoke the emotions and the values as the contents of the ritual experiences. Thus, they join the life in the divine universe through achieving one-ness with the body of ancestors. The believers are spiritually and emotionally secure in the organized ritual experience of one-ness with the ancestors that constantly suggest the gain

¹⁷ Showing the patterns 型示し (Kata-shimeshi)

and the loss of the protection according to the divine order.

Communitus in Modern Society

The social and the economic sides of this achievement of the group are basically two: One is that believers purchase a family tomb in group's headquarters in Izu peninsula, so that the group is financially stable dependent on its formal members in the same way as Buddhist temples commonly are. Two is that, by enforcing the family one-ness, the group promotes the common practice in the wider society that parents (future ancestors) in their old age should be taken care of by their children (their descendants). Those who have a family tomb in Izu foster the communal one-ness, sharing the same attitude, same agreement and the same judgment in life. The group is a community in sharing the ideology and the spirit for life and death, as it has been discussed by Victor Turner in terms of 'communitus.' The communitus, the communal spirit is ritually practiced and symbolically experienced, as well as believed. Although the community built on ritual usually survives as local culture in modern society today, as for internal stability and social cohesion, the system is outstanding. Our example is one of them.

In the iconic space, believers find themselves in the world of 'hierophany,' the experience of the divine universe on earth. Icons and actions evoke precise feelings and values as directed. The knowledge is experienced in actions; the actions take place with deep feelings of conviction. This closed cycle does not ever dissolve but only deepens, as long as the person performs ritual repeatedly. The ritual as a symbolic system is self-perpetuating and cannot change from within, since every possibility of deviating the system is precisely sanctioned and has been eradicated. By taking actions and feelings through organized experiences perpetually in the diagram of the universe, believers perpetuate a structured connection between images, actions, values and feelings. Emotions are individually felt, but experiencing them is shared and collective in the same, icon-related categories with other believers through the same repeated ritual performances. In other words, through sharing the categories, emotions are shared, become public and, ultimately institutionalized.

Among other anthropological examples on communitus, particularly of 'fear' which has been a chief negative emotion in our example, Claire Armon-Jones argues that emotions are connected to moral values and induce socially appropriate actions.

• • • In the Chewong case, their fables present a range of appropriate 'fear' objects such as 'the Malay, Chewong sickness and

forest tigers', these being objects from which members of the Chewong community are uniformly encouraged to 'flee without hesitation'(Howell, 1981). In the Ifaluk case appropriate 'fear' context take such forms as 'wandering away from the domestic area and visiting members of a higher rank without food'.[Harre:63]

She continues:

Of particular interest here is that in both societies the context deemed appropriate to 'fear' are intrinsically related to their respective moral systems. The moral rules of Chewong society involve 'sharing, reciprocity and respect for scarce resources'. Transgression of such rules results, according to Chewong belief, in the immediate return of those objects, such as the Malay, which are presented in the Chewong fables. The moral rules of Ifaluk society involve 'obedience within the system of ranking, non-aggression and "maluwelu" – tranquil co-operation (Lutz, 1981). Transgression of such rules, e.g., aggression against a peer, is understood to result in the immediate reappearance of those 'fear' objects, such as 'Tarita', that are peculiar to Ifaluk society. [Harre:63]

Armon-Jones' argument on 'fear' is a counterpart of our example, from a remaining, local tradition in the contemporary world. She points out that such emotion as fear is culturally prescribed and conditioned, and that it functions to sustain moral rules of society. [Harre: 64] In this process of social construction of emotions, she shows briefly but precisely that fear is culturally sanctioned and fostered. This example endorses our argument that ritual under the circumscribed space is designed to do this in a way that the given cosmology is experienced through iconic significations. This social construction is in fact enabled through precisely established sanctions. It is a human process, and ritual is a typical case. Ritual on the iconic signification, by faithfully re-presenting the stories contained in the cosmology, speaks of the logic of the community. Or, to put it in Victor Turner's terminology, ritual speaks of the 'communitus,' no matter how it appears to outsiders. In fact, communitus is so local that it often is disagreeable with the global standard. Our example, however, managed to clear Japan's contemporary standard for its declaration and implementation of absolute pacifism, although the group still continuously attracts negative appreciation because of involvement in spirit possession. Still today, the group slowly but steadily continues to grow and survive as becoming a subculture in

the modern technological society of Japan, one of the members so far leading in technology of the global economic community.

The Iconic Action – a society coded by rituals

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Transcendental Possibility of Ritual

Post-Modern Quest for Transcendancy

In spite of a rigid manifestation of communitas in the daily life in the iconic space, shown in our model constructed in the self-perpetuating structure, there is a Post-Modern quest for systemic and paradigmatic changes that ritual might be offering.

Dan Sperber discusses in *Le Symbolisme en General* in a wider context of culture in general and beyond ritual that the symbolic system basically spreads out of the reified and the one-way cycle of scientific reasoning in deduction and induction. In his rich suggestions and implications, he points out where the symbolic system slides out of the given cultural instructions in spite of the culture's seamlessly solid epistemological appearance of scientific inferences on the surface. Much earlier, Charles Sanders Peirce in this trend of thought discusses these going-out possibilities by proposing the concept of abduction. The concept goes beyond the common scope of Positivism or Rationalism, in his attempt to unlock the human mind from the fixations in established theories. In this sense, as Mat Bergman suggests, it is correct to appreciate Peirce to be an anti-Cartesian and an avowed realist at the same time. Originality is sought beyond the given paradigm through this human activity. This Peirce's perspective may lead us to an understanding why some apparently backward groups of people, who are engaged in 'magic' and 'spirituality,' insist that their old-fashioned approach to social and human activities, including ritual, is Post-Modern. In this trend, the revival of tradition and the re-evaluation of history flourished.

Along with these attempts, by going to an emotion or the 'sensuous element of thought,' the person possibly deviates from the given range of an established theory or the script itself and explores outside the closed cycle where science often is locked in. In this process, Scheffler observes that, in scientific theory, "although observation may indeed dislodge theory, theory may also overrule observation." [Scheffler: 1] In 'observation,' he invites focused attention on the referential relations which, he argues, may be possibly independent from the given inference that has been overruling observation. He proposes that religious ritual may inspire a scientist to dislodge theory through his religious and symbolic experience, because of its engagement in referential relations over against (reified) inferences during the ritual practice.

Focusing on this transcendental possibility, Peirce's introduction of the

term ‘abduction’ emphatically turns one’s attention to the referential relation as the focus of observation and, thus, as an essential component of this hypothetic reasoning. He emphasizes that, in predicating the world under observation, reasoning necessarily contains intuition which is inherent to the recognition of the reference. In doing this, philosophy explores the ambiguity outside the theory and, also, the ambiguity outside the theory-laden observations, “thus modifying the initial objects of attention.” [Scheffler 2009: 2] John Wisdom’s ‘ostentation’ [Wisdom 1953] and E. E. Evans-Pritchard’s ‘art’ both focus on this emphasis on referential relations in this sense, when scientists capture the moment of their observations that may dislodge the fixated theory in which they might have been trapped. This process is individual and necessarily involves intuition and emotions as its components. Then, the shift of the focus from inference to reference enables to capture the moment in which the objective (such as music) rules the subjective (such as emotions). Bergman correctly emphasizes Peirce’s “insistence on the determinative function of objects.” [Bergman: 215] Predication, when successful, does not project itself over the objective, but captures the reality of the objective. A new reality may have been introduced. Reasoning, then, is no longer deductive nor inductive but hypothetic. The relation between the signifier and the referent becomes abductive. This process of reasoning is both objective and subjective, and, thus, involves emotion or “*sensuous* element of thought.”¹⁸ Reasoning may hypothetically capture the objective world, when these emotions successfully dislodge the given delimitation of the subjective from the objective, in losing the established inferential instruction over observation in ritual experiences. This moment and the observation are hypothetical. Therefore, hypothetical reasoning explores the subjective in order to capture and, then, to predicate how the objective functions to determine the world as well as functions to determine the subjective. Scheffler recommends that ritual repetitively invites the performer to the moment of dislodge.

Self-Perpetuation over Transcendence

Half agreeing and half disagreeing with Scheffler, Kenelm Burridge in his *Someone, No One* insists that ritual outside of the Western ambience does not approve transcendental changes through individuals in the state of dislodge, that he calls ‘no one.’ Societies outside of the Western, especially the European ambience, situate their social members in the space where everyone has to be ‘someone’ with a social and collective self-identity and disables them to be in the

¹⁸ The Italics was made by Peirce himself.

'no one' state. By arguing how the potential 'no one' in non-Western society in five well-known examples from anthropology, Burridge creates a distinctive contrast between Western and non-Western societies, that in the Western ambience, religious ritual as counterpart of science may create a transcendental possibility within individuals ('no one'), where society supports them religiously, scientifically, and socially. In contrast, outside of Western societies, the persons become situated in the periphery of society and the transcendental momentum becomes nullified, except that their failed potential serves to heal their followers through their Shamanistic ritual practices.

Our example offers a perfect illustration for this argument. The group emerged on the creation of the entire social system by the inspired first leader, and went through its slight revisions by the third leader. Throughout these times, the ritual system remains the same and continues to serve their followers. The leadership for change, which is monopolized by the group leaders, is limited and remains internal to the group. As Burridge predicts, the group chooses to be a sub-culture in the periphery of society, being engaged in the Shamanistic healing. The group's system is resilient and self-perpetuating against changes, once established. Inside, what the ritual system offers to individual members is a long journey of self-change under the basically ever-lasting framework, within which their lives become an experience of the doctrine.

The offer of self-change within the framework of the religious system is more or less standard in the group dedicated to 'healing,' which is a religious term to express the journey of the embodied process of changes of the person. Although this embodied process is a challenge for anthropologists because of its being 'magical' rather than religious, a decoding attempt done by Thomas Cusardos, in his article entitled "Speaking in tongues as an anthropological paradigm," reports that, in the religious group under his study, believers go out of the regular language by speaking the language in their own private tongues. It is similar to a Freudian slip in the sense of going out of the code, although speaking in tongues is more than a momentary slip but ritually organized. It is a guided and spontaneous commitment to the unconventional moment on ritual occasions. It is an action to privatize one's own language against the given and fixed codes in the public language. The point in Cusardas' argument, however, that speaking in tongues is 'an embodied process of self-objectification' [Cusardas: 15] shows that there is the same 'someone' creations in the Western religion when the 'no one' moment is nullified, as the believer is led back to a normal state towards the end of the ritual. Following Merlo-Ponte, Cusardas argues that the lack of the clear-cut delimitation of the subjective from the objective, which may be referred to as a magic, should be neither primitive nor

Pre-objective. But, this ‘magic’ would rather be Post-objective, suggesting a development of Post-Modern ways of thinking beyond this clear-cut dimension of factuality.

Cusardas’s insistence on the guided experience of self-objectification has a follower in contemporary modern society among the system designers of video games outside religion. Given that the Post-Modern exploration in ritual is to find a ‘magic’ (like speaking in tongues), Rachel Wagner defines the similarity of ritual and video games to both ‘mark themselves’ as ‘scripted experience’ offered in ‘circumscribed spaces.’[Wagner: 12] Video games are a modern version of ritual to her, which is encapsulated in the game space. In spite of many differences, she insists that the magical context of the ‘circumscribed space’ enables the ‘scripted experience’ (similar to the magic of speaking in tongues) by connecting the person to specific experiences directly as scripted. In this game space, a person changes by playing a game aggressively but is expected to return to the regular state of self once the game is over. She emphasizes that dragging the game space outside of the game is ‘ugly.’ She concludes that ritual does a great job only within the given framework but should not go beyond.

Creation and Reformation of Ritual System

The originator Okada is a creative designer of the ritual system. He studied and actively adopted elements from other ritual forms in Shinto to design his own. He even traveled to Korea together with the Head of the Tsuruoka Hachimangu, a distinguished Sinto Shrine in Tokyo, an establishment, and Matsushita, the leader of the Michihiroki Shinto group, one of New Religion like SMBK, that had a number of believers among the upper-class population until 1945 – in order to learn from Shamanism there, which they considered more ancient than that in Japan. By offering a very revivalist ritual of healing, Okada actually created the social organization by achievement, in which every believer was given an equal chance for organizational advancement. Although it has been a case throughout the three leaders that installing a family shrine changes the household to an iconic space as well as honoring the holder and his family, there is a difference in the meaning between the first and the third leader. Under the first leader Okada, in the 1970s and the 1980s, this was an ultimate goal for believers both spiritually and organizationally. During this period, it was commonly practiced that, after reaching the advanced level, the owners of the family shrine was encouraged to invite their recruits and personal friends to their family prayer occasions and to purification. If they were successful in

recruitment, their homes were made into a purification site¹⁹, a formal branch belonging to their own local centers. When the number of recruits reached 100, their households achieved independence and themselves became a new local center. The owners of the shrine normally became the head. All regular believers could achieve these executive positions during the 1970s and 1980s, causing a rapid expansion of the group. In spite of his traditionalist-Nationalist position, this provision of equal opportunity for individual achievement matched with, or even ahead of, the Post-War time after 1945, when Japan started a new meritocratic society with the new Constitution under the guidance of the United States.

The third and present leader K. Sekiguchi is a reformer. In the 1990s under him, the group shifted to a slow expansion stage from a rapid expansion under the first leader. The major change was that the family shrine was given by the leader to honor an exceptional member to show the leader's appreciation of the member's spiritual advancement. No other conditions were required. Today, the purification site simply means a smaller local center. The third leader appoints the heads of the purification site as well as the heads of the local center and keeps these heads directly under his control. There is no longer a systemically prepared path for upward mobility through competition between members in recruitment. While the status gap between the administration and the regular believers is widened and fixed, such a risk is reduced that some inspired members with a large independent recruitment would organizationally compete with the leader. Until this change was made, there had been always a chance for the powerful heads of the local center with more than one-hundred followers to break off the group and become independent religious leaders by formally registering their group with the Government of Japan, then achieving the equal status of a religious leader with Sekiguchi.

Standing above his religious organization, the third leader also revised the doctrine based on his own inspiration. Originally, under the first and the second leaders, the spiritual goal in this whole process was to become a 'master of spirit' in the same way as shamans were traditionally trained in villages in Japan and Korea. Those spiritual masters among the believers also achieved a special recognition by the leader and became closely associated with him. Under the third leader, all of the believers became equally associated with the leader through the spiritual one-ness with him. In doing this, today, the achievement of higher purity has become the advocated goal instead of having the goal of a shaman-like spiritual master. Organizationally, the power is concentrated in the leader who leads both administratively and individually. In the shortest

¹⁹ Purification site お浄め所 (O-kiyome-jo)

description, the leadership shifted from Shamanistic to Charismatic, while believers all participate in the same ritual form throughout changes.

In the position of architect, the third leader also makes a slight revision in the form of the purification ritual. The role reversal within a pair of believers is repressed. Originally, the role reversal had been a common practice at the time of the first leader Okada and promoted a sense of equality among believers. Today under the third leader, by not reversing the roles, the superior-inferior status differentiation has become more fixed. After this, every performance of purification ritual is dedicated to perpetuate structural inequality through repetition. A clear-cut, one-dimensional hierarchy measured in purity and shown in the status differentiation perpetuates itself through the ritual practice under precisely organized strict sanctions. Thus, more clearly, the inspired leaders are the only transcendental figures who can stand above the system, whereas the rest, the body of believers, remains encapsulated in the self-perpetuating ritual practice.

This change indicates that the change has made the self-perpetuating ritual form completely parallel to the fixed picture of the divine universe, which is the content to be experienced in the ritual form. Under the third leader, ritual is completed in the sense that the form and the content are more rigidly parallel and self-perpetuating. In this ritual practice, the body of the believers is conservative by definition, and systemically self-perpetuating. Changes do not come from within, thus, no renovation either ideologically or systemically. The group chooses to be peripheral to the mainstream of Japanese society.

In contrast, endorsing Burridge's argument, Scheffler's quest, the transcendency, is suggested in his basically European model of ritual on the moment when the 'ambiguity' in his sense or an error is created in the discrepancy between the ideology and the system or between the belief in transcendental God and the self-perpetuating ritual form. This means that the transcendental ideology is encapsulated and offered in the self-perpetuating and non-transcendental ritual system so that the ritual practitioners experience the influence of the transcendental God through ambiguity.

In part II, these self-perpetuating features are developed and taken advantage of in the secular ritual in the workplace that has been adopted as management technology in the mainstream of contemporary Japan. While the sharing of the values and emotions creates a powerful work incentive and a committed work-force, the notion of creative destruction from within in order to enable continual renovation is not found in the ritual system. By encapsulating the potentially dynamic, innovative power of individuals within the systemic repetitions, society should remain peripheral in the global economic community in the position of

copier by importing new theories developed abroad.

The Iconic Action – a society coded by rituals **Kuniko Miyanaga**
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PART II: Secular Ritual – in Work Place

A.

B. Glo-cal-ization of Japanese Society

Ritual as Management Technology

Revival of Ritual Tradition in the Mainstream

Unlike limited interest in ritual in modern Western societies, Japan took a lead in both religious and secular social sectors competing with each other in the revival of the ritual from tradition. In the secular sector, large business corporations emerged to be its promoters in the mainstream Japanese society, which is a major member of the global economic community and which is Modern and secular in principle. Ritual continuing from the tradition is re-discovered in business as a dynamic management technology, at the same time presenting itself as a revivalist movement in the mainstream Japanese society. In business, the advantage is to create work incentives organized together in values, emotions and actions in the same way as it has been described above in ritual in religion. Creating a committed workforce in the organized repetition, ritual structures every member in the task group in a solid hierarchy. The federation of these task groups, also hierarchically distributed, constitutes the body of a business corporation. In business, the same ritual functions differently by offering the experience of power structure in the work-place, instead of that of spirits and the divine light. The ritual means is the same, but the goal is different. The comparative analysis of secular and religious ritual reveals the implicit features of the secular ritual which otherwise remain overlooked as part of the daily task routine in the workplace.

Under the newly ‘discovered’ ritual tradition in business, in the same way with our religious example, the work place is interpreted into an ‘iconic space.’ Under this space, employees must enter into a pair relationship with a ‘superior’ who instructs to the ‘inferior’ precisely how the values and emotions of inequality should be organized and embodied, even to the point where the assimilated actions become spontaneous and felt natural – as if employees recover their own nature which they have been born with but which they have been neglecting or even forgetting about. As it was emphasized in the case of religious ritual, vision is essential. Also in business, in the same way as in religion, the justification of the natural order is visualized according to the way the iconic space is organized. In viewing this order in vision, even in business, the ritual imposition of ‘embodiment’ goes further than a modern sense of ‘internalization.’ It conditions the person to be able to spontaneously evoke strong emotions that habitually trigger a bodily sensation such as shivering and watery eyes. The value with a bodily sensation is considered to be deeper and more truthful than that without it. Repetition makes evocation a habit. Under ritual, either religious or secular, values and emotions are collective and public, making a sharp contrast to the values ‘internalized’ by modern individuals outside ritual tradition. By them, values may be ‘internalized’ and ‘shared,’ but are still individually owned. In contrast, in the continuing ritual tradition, even in a modern society, values and emotions are public and collectively owned as our religious example demonstrates. In the extension of this observation, as it was correctly argued by Sigmund Freud, individuated ritual practice in modernity does not have social functions. In the workplace, employees express values and emotions that are ultimately owned by their companies. Business leaders in Japan are proud to present a concept of ‘glo-cal-ization’ which is, in essence, the revival of the tradition of ritual in the modern, global, economic community. This term upraises the continuity of the ritual tradition in the global economic community, that locality is now moving globalization forward instead of taking it backward. The local is not victimized by the global, but, instead, the ‘glo-cal’ should overwhelm the global.

Ritual Named Manners

In business, the same ritual functions to offer a different goal, the experience of the power structure. The business experience is not about the doctrine or the cosmology but of social reality. The ideology that ritual imposes is a principle of inequality. But, because this ideology remains implicit or contained in the incorporating practice of ritual itself, its understanding necessitates an anthropological analysis to explicate the implicit goal in the scientific

perspective. Evans-Pritchard in his ethnography of the traditional society of an African tribe, describes how the society continues to be 'accountable' [Douglas 2013] through decisions and actions by individual members. Instead of going into how a hidden, essential structure determines individuals, he discusses how the individuals' commitments, deviations and sanctions continue the society. He extracted the principle of society as human construct, as his successor G. Lienhardt also discusses. Similarly, in another trend of British anthropology, Chie Nakane's *Japanese Society* written and published in English has been the first clarification by presenting the pair relationship in the workplace as the principle of inequality, that she calls 'vertical society.' In her rather *de facto* description of the work relationships under her observation, the analysis clarifies the outcome of ritual actions. Although she does not discuss the process of how the inequality is produced, business leaders in the concept of glo-cal-izaion assume, more recently, that the process is an active application of ritual tradition in the modern, global community.

This process, which still remains implicit, is commonly recorded in the form of a procedural handbook of the task performance and shared by task groups. The handbook is a Japanese style of job manual, which is a music-score-like item-by-item record of a task performance from the beginning to the end, similar to our example of religious ritual. Japanese business leaders prefer the term 'manners' to a 'score' to describe the ritual procedure of a task performance, because, in manners, the values are conveyed by the action itself, as is typical in ritual. In the workplace also, the explanation and justification should be 'discovered' by each person. In ritual actions through a continual discovery, values are to be assimilated and embodied. In paying a constant respect and being deferential to the superior, the inferior persons choose the inferior positions to their superior(s). Outside of their practices, the value and the reality of the status differences are non-existent within the pair. Inequality is to emerge through their actions. Like the divine light, the status difference appears itself in the action through the recognition by ritual participants. The work place is a ritual occasion where the ideology of the asymmetrical pair relationship is embodied in ritual actions, and where all of the tasks are done based on these status differences. The meaning of the ritual actions is assumed to be self-explanatory in the ostensive definition. Japanese employees ostensibly offer themselves as good workers through total submission and deference to their superior(s).

Consciousness in the Natural Flow of Actions

Submission to the ritual context of the workplace ties the ritual

practitioner to the concrete occasion and encloses the person in the vision of concrete details. In my close contact, there has been an example of a male employee who was frightened when his new supervisor, who happened to be a woman, told him to rationalize the part of the procedure of his task. He asked, in a perfect respect and deference to the new female supervisor, "What is wrong (about my manners)?" His tasks had been ritually so perfected, he could not think of any reason to simplify the procedure. If, for him, there had been any reason, it has to be about his manners of the ritual action related to his tasks. His perfection might have been seen imperfect to the eye of the new supervisor. When she said that his manners were fine, but that she was asking to simplify the task procedure more purposefully, he was totally confused and said, "But, everything is done in perfection..." At the stage of ritual spontaneity, manners and the task performance are inseparable. As the ritual spontaneity in his task performance had been perfected, it was his pride and even self-identity. This procedural adjustment about his task caused him a considerable emotional turmoil, although he reached another stage of ritual perfection with what he considered to be the new procedure. This example is a typical resistance that the administration and the business leaders have been experiencing when they introduce anything new to rationalize the ritual procedure. The imposition of the new and rational task procedure put the ritual individuals in the task force under a double bind. This epistemological and psychological difficulty has not been clearly understood by business leaders. As they have been, they continue to try on finding possible answers through what they call 'trial and errors,' although, as long as the experience in the ritual pair relationships dominates the workplace, this attempt itself would be self-perpetuating. The answer so far is even to tighten the ritual manners and relationships.

In good manners, the ideal state of the Japanese especially in the image of business leaders is a task performance like a 'quiet stream,' as it was observed and described by Kurt Singer, where manners and ethos are refined and perfected to the point of automation to which Singer even applies the term 'unconscious.'

The ultimate purpose of this system of ritual-like customs seems to be the transformation of everyday life into a quiet stream, reflecting a state of mind that is close to unconsciousness: things are happening as in a pleasant dream, where every event is the fulfillment of a latent wish. Servant girls are talking to one another in the language of princesses; a bus-conductor

will excuse himself for having made the passengers wait, although the car starts with mathematical precision; the politest of guests, when parting, will apologise for having been very rude. No writer has described the charm of this way of life better than Lafcadio Hearn.²⁰ “It is like a dream in which people greet us exactly as we like to be greeted, and say to us all that we like to hear, and do for us all that we wish to have done — people moving soundlessly through spaces of perfect repose, all bathed in a vapory light.”[Singer 1997:66]

The ideal Japanese management in the sense of business leaders is to construct glo-cal-ization by taking the exemplar from tradition. In Singer’s description, servant girls and bus drivers exemplify the ‘manners’ that business leaders wish to promote. Singer was an economist “with the soul of a poet,” captures this situation through his observation. His book *Mirror, Sword, and Jewel*²¹, first published in German in 1934, describes the Japanese in his close observation in the 1920s and 1930s. Singer studied and adored the Japanese during a ten year stay in these periods, but still remained a critical observer.

As the stream of consciousness and actions flow naturally within the self-perpetual system on repetitions, those in the work place are tied to the concrete occasions and the concrete visions they are to experience. In my interview, a manager who was going to administrate the company headquarters in New York said to me, “Americans are stupid. When I interviewed candidates for an assistant manager, they could not understand my explanation of our company.” I asked him to repeat the same explanation for me. The explanation he gave me was one of the typical about the ritual performance in the task group. He told me a precise and detailed procedure from the very beginning. For any questions, his explanation became more detailed and even too meticulous for an outsider to make any sense just by listening to it. Experience had to come before explanation. I asked if the candidates had asked any questions. He said, “Yes. They all wanted me to outline our company. What is good about knowing the outline? Stupid. Can you believe most of them got MBA?” For him, the concrete procedural description of actions was what he considered to be business knowledge. I realized that he neither had the knowledge of the overall view of his company nor had imagined the necessity of it. I suggested that they should

²⁰ Lafcadio Hearn, *Japan an Interpretation*, London, 1904, pp.18-19 [Original footnote by Singer.

²¹

need the overview in order to situate themselves properly in the New York headquarters. He gave me a half surprised and half contemptuous look and said, "That is exactly what I have been doing in details." He lost his words and sighed, saying, "Again, I must interview to find my assistant, when I arrive in New York."

Learning by Copying Actions

This natural stream, however, does not emerge naturally. No matter how it is *felt* naturally, it is a social construct. In the same way as it is in religious ritual, it is the resulting construct of hard practice with heavy and rigid sanctions also in the workplace. The images and values of good and bad manners are distinctively held by the supervisor who takes the superior position within the pair, and, when any action is taken by the person inferior, the person in the superior position immediately makes it clear what judgment has been given to the inferior. In the little gestures such as the slight movement of the eye brow, the angle of the neck, the way the person looks at the inferior, a smile casted to the third party present on the occasion if not directly at the inferior (while, of course, the inferior is watching it), changing the position of a finger and so on, the superior conveys the judgment of a distinctive yes or no to the inferior. In order to do this, the superior constantly reads and judges the bodily actions of the inferior, and never misses a chance to let the inferior learn the meanings of the own actions, in the same way with the divine light in our religious example. In the same way as the light appears itself in the recognition by the observer, actions taken by the inferior become an ostension, when their meaning is defined and presented to the occasion as an obvious fact. The superior is entitled and also responsible to feed the inferior with good manners in bodily actions. As everyone says, in fact, the easiest way for the inferior to assimilate the proper manners is simply to copy the bodily actions of the superior in detail. When the manners come spontaneously to stream, besides a possibility of becoming a crone, actually the inferior may be able to develop his own version of ritual interaction slightly different from his superior, if the superior is a good teacher/educator who appreciates the inferior's character. This is the time when the inferior becomes qualified to be attached with his/her own inferiors, although the inferior may still remain under the same superior likely as most dependable and most trusted. Thus, the company culture is passed on to younger generations.

This process of learning by copying the bodily actions handicaps female inferiors. By assimilating through the iconic actions, she tries to join the collective values and emotions in the same way as her male colleagues do.

However, as the values and emotions, when internalized and embodied, are felt and expressed as part of the male superior's physiology, it is unfair to press a woman to feel and act naturally in the same way as he does. Two results are observed so far: one is to place women collectively under men, so that the women form pairs among themselves without involving men as men do among themselves; two is to use an individual woman's awkward copying of male actions as an excuse for delaying or even refusing her promotion to a superior position above men. Especially when some objective data show that she excels men in her job performance, this is a convenient excuse to exclude her from task groups. The following is commonly said negatively in the promotion interview. "You are perfect in your job performance. Your test scores are the best in our company. But, we are not fully convinced about your manners. This is unfortunate." If this is not said directly to her, it could circulate in the back stage fostering her negative reputation, which also counts negatively for her promotion. Male colleagues in her task group agree that she simply does not fit in her work place. The common phrase is "She breaks our harmony." This back-stage agreement forms a famous Japanese 'consensus' (*'konsensasu'*) 'Reputation' is a major part of this sense of 'consensus,' which every worker is 'naturally' concerned about.

Within the direct pair relationship, informally established words are used when the situation is serious. If the message by the gesture is not strong enough, or if the superior is truly upset, his words would be, "You have no manners." An equivalent expression in English may be "You are rude," with large R. In Japanese, the phrase should typically be "*Shitsurei da yo*" or "*Shitsurei ja nai ka.*" Another standard phrase but very much worse is "Do not make me angry. You will fear." ("*Ore wo okorase-ta-ra, kowai zo.*") This would fall like an ultimatum from the superior, and the inferior would already fear before any further actions are taken. With these utterances, the superior would become a difficult partner, emotionally in the similar way as a resentful spirit is to the possessed human being in our religious example. The superior is actually saying that he has been seriously hurt because of the bad manners of the inferior. The value judgment is emotional. The individual pair relationships, however, further develop especially among men based on forgiveness to foster even more intimacy within the pair. Through these interactions, the pair members become emotionally locked in to each other under a life-long employment, under which employees basically spend their life time within the same company.

Answering phone calls is an example of one of the first hurdles for the new members in the task group, starting with the instruction that the phone must be answered in perfectly good manners within three seconds. After the primary

training involving all of the newcomers, often, the youngest female member is assigned to take all the calls and pass them to other members. She is not often expected to go beyond this stage and is expected to leave the company happily for marriage, often with one of her male colleagues to reproduce the company manners in her household.

The technology to foster a strong and deep emotional bond with the inferiors is also learned through experiencing the way the supervisor does to the inferiors. By the time the person becomes a superior/supervisor, a major technology of sanctions which is expected to be mastered is to 'break' and 'tame' the inferior. The superior is expected to foster the deep and thick emotional bond with the inferior, which is a constant, psychological manipulation until it becomes established spontaneously to happen. Ritual offers the superior a chance to design the occasion on repetition in this person's own way to foster and evoke desirable emotions.

The following example shows a serious case that the male superior had not mastered the secret for manipulating the psychology of his men by the time he was promoted to a higher position. A new manager was shocked, when he failed in his initial attempt in starting pair relationships with his new inferiors. Unexpectedly, his colleagues newly assigned to work under him abruptly (to him) made an excuse one after another not to join the drinking party with him after their project was successfully completed. It was meant to be a reward from him to his men to celebrate the success and to foster intimate relationships on drinking and also meant to celebrate a good beginning of his task group. The drinking party means good food, good beer, sake, wines and whiskies, and free discussion even permitting criticisms and complaints from the inferiors, without offending the superior. Against the manager's welcoming to the occasion, one of his men complained to him, while the man was completely sober without alcohol, in an apathetic tone of voice, that he had not taken almost any sleep for two nights and three days of a hard work. But, what was more shocking to the new manager was that this person added that he had to go back home and sleep because his mother told him so. This was unthinkable to the newly-appointed manager. This man did not need alcohol to tell the new manager that the manager's authority was weaker than this man's mother's. He was straightforward, not even deferential. The newly-appointed manager panicked, because he thought that he was failing in building intimacy with his men, meaning that he had failed in a condition for further going upwards. The formation and the display of the emotionally committed relationships with the direct inferiors was an imperative for the upward mobility in the ritual work-place where he was.

Esoteric Communication

In the manner-based actions, the secular ritual in the workplace is as 'esoteric' as in religious ritual, as ritual participation is closed non-participants from the intimate embodiment and expression of the group values and emotions. The group communication system is closed, because ritual activities frame the participants to share their emotions in the closed and self-perpetuating structure. In the ostensive presentation of ritual actions, their meanings become obvious in actions, shared and readable. The meaning of the ritual actions is self-explanatory among insiders. No words are necessary. Japanese workers often mistake this transparency in the workplace for their being democratic, as they believe that transparency is a key word for democracy. The fact is in reverse, however, and that this insiders' transparency is the other side of non-transparency with outsiders. Ritual in its esoteric epistemology rigidly sets a demarcation between the insider and the outsider. This inside/outside distinction has been discussed by many including T. Watsuji, E. Hamaguchi and business leaders in terms of Japanese moral nature, and more analytically by C. Nakane, S. Kimura, and most recently G. Poole, all in the effort of explication of the social reality under their observation.

This reality which has been extensively discussed is not accidental but one of the results of the ritual system which is socially constructed on sanctions intentionally given by human beings to other human beings. In this process, in the secular ritual, in the same way as on religious occasions, the meanings of actions such as deference and the bodily expressions of emotions are observable to the ritual practitioners or in-group members but not to non-participants of ritual actions or outsiders. This epistemological separation automatically, in their act of observation, discriminates insiders against outsiders. Ritual practitioners are expected to master the ostensive presentation of their ritual actions, until these two parties spontaneously appear to be different to their eyes. This also means that what is obvious to the insider can be totally puzzling to outsiders. Nakane in her book from the position of observer reveals that, even though she grew up with Japanese business people, she still felt funny about the way that Japanese business people take particular postures to show their deference to the superior. But, from the perspective of the insider, when the action becomes spontaneously ostensive, the person is received truly as a group member by other members, and would willingly omit any person who is outside of his ritual in the same way as other members do. The person has learned how deeply to bend when bowing to the superior, where to place the hands in what

way, how to stand, how to sit, how to walk, how to hold the sake cup on the drinking occasion, in what posture to be sitting or standing, and, of course, how to speak properly in Japanese with an elaborate use of honorifics and implications. The person should have assimilated when to feel nervous and how to naturally express it. By this time, the person has also learned that it is a taboo to ask the question that the superior cannot answer. The interaction pattern is distinctive – a question from the inferior and a display of the knowledge from the superior. Every insider is feeling perfectly natural this way but unnatural and even unethical if the interaction is deviated from this set pattern. The deviation may automatically trigger anger, which is also considered to be a natural reaction.

I have had an experience that a common deferential posture among Japanese business people received a distinctively different ‘reading’ from another observer. A Behavioral Scientist from Australia read this posture as an expression of disobedience. He showed me a photograph of a young business man in the workplace in Japan, who was standing to his supervisor showing his deference in a typical and standard position (to me) with his head down, shoulders bending inward and his arms both placed on the sides of the body stretched straight down. The scientist said that the young man was rebellious in nature but hiding it from his supervisor, so that he is in the posture like a snake recoiling and waiting for a chance to pounce. Here are already two readings totally different from each other. No matter how many interpretations may be among outsiders, however, the insiders read the posture in one way within the shared range of values and emotions attached to this action. In ritual, as specific values and emotions are spontaneously evoked by specific actions, these specific values and emotions are the meaning of the action itself. There is no other meaning outside the ritual actions. No hidden desire is possible in the repetition of ritual conditioning. If he has any, he cannot be transparent to other members in his own group. In this case, he is a ‘funny outsider’ to his colleagues.

Ritual Group under Sanction

Outsider Inside

Being enveloped in the self-perpetuating ritual system, the workers have no access for the change of the ritual frame of actions and epistemologies. Its abolishment or even partial changes must come from outside and above. Those who are potentially able to initiate changes have not been able to find a way to

lead the Japanese to a new paradigm, although the people working in large companies are aware of this paradigm change especially in marketing their products in advanced countries. The frustration can be felt even more strongly among the workers dealing with global marketing than the domestic business leaders, because they have to deal with it in their own capacity, at the same time functioning in their ritually committed relationship with their colleagues. Against this reality, being left in the ritual task group, what is most feared is to become a 'funny insider' or 'outsider inside,' or a 'funny outsider inside.' I have an example of a 'funny outsider inside' from a former top administrator of one of the largest manufacturing companies. The example was the most competent accountant who refused to commit to the work-place interaction ritual. The administrator responded to my question, in a pause, whether there was anyone who survived without joining the ritual manners. Without giving me a simple answer, the former top administrator told me an anecdote, which sounded like some kind of confession in the tone of his voice. The person was given a nickname 'sleeping cat,' because he sleeps at his desk by the window (which is a corner for a deviant or odd person in the ritual, iconic space), while his teammates in his task group work hard trying to make perfect documents and reports especially towards the end of the year. He even takes a few days off in the busy season, but when he comes back to his desk, he spends only several days to complete his documents, finds problems in the documents already made by his teammates in his absence, fills gaps in them, and perfects all of the documents to be ready to present to the Government. No one including his teammates, who are also trained experts, can even figure out how this is possible. No doubt he is a genius.

I asked if the company wanted to keep the genius who refused to join the workplace ritual. The former administrator slowly said "Yes," but in his deep and introverted voice. In fact, his voice was conveying the true message of "No," as in the ritual communication in the incorporating practice, the gesture or the bodily expression counts over against the words in the inscribing practice, especially when both are given overlapping with one another. When this happens, as it has been discussed by many, the one in the inscribing practice is a formality (*tate-mae*) and the other in the incorporating practice is his 'true feeling' (*hon-ne*). He told me this anecdote above, as if he had been confessing some disgrace in his company against his faith in confidentiality and against his pride. I tried to find out more about this genius but could not find a second chance, because this former administrator became more and more reluctant, and even to the disgust of discussing it. Much later, when, taking a chance, I mentioned to him about this genius by his nickname 'sleeping cat' emphasizing my admiration and respect, in my sense, for the genius for his courage as being an odd, the

administrator almost exploded. Although it was very well understood by him that I used the nickname positively, it touched his old injury in his iconic system of evocation that company people mocked this genius by calling him such a name as sleeping cat (which could have been a silent dog, a gray rabbit or anything, as long as the message of exclusion is clear and shared among his colleagues). But, at least I realized that the most enthusiastic appreciator and promoter of this exceptional person was this former administrator I interviewed. And, in his attempt in promoting this genius, this administrator himself had to have an uncomfortable and difficult time with his colleagues in the administration. He ended this subject by vaguely suggesting in very many words that he was dissatisfied with the Japanese way of management, especially about an outstanding person who is automatically labeled conspicuous and odd instead of being appreciated outstanding.

Bullying the Insider Out

The following is a similar example in which one person is targeted by many, because he also showed his talent, and became conspicuous and, then, singled out. Bullying is not personal, but part of ritual as a social system. The example shows a powerful but implicit, back-stage code that the display of any outstanding talent is threatening, and that it may trigger a group sanction, although what happens normally depends on the politics between groups. An American woman who taught English in a Japanese company experienced a typical interaction which happened to come under her observation. She told me the anecdote as explaining why she left teaching in large Japanese companies, although she was paid well as a native English speaking teacher. Without being able to figure out its meaning, it happened abruptly to her and kept her in a shock. She said to me, "It was one of my most threatening experiences in Japan. Something was really profoundly wrong. I still do not understand."

In her class of twenty men in a large manufacturing company, one person was exceptionally good. She gave him a chance to display his excellent performance in English as a model for others to learn from. But, against her intention and expectation, the classroom fell into a deep silence for a few seconds. Then, the second best student laughed cynically in a deep and low voice. The person sitting next to him laughed exactly in his way with a delay in a half second. The wave of a cynical laughter went through the twenty students in about ten seconds, and the model person appeared to her slightly disturbed. However, the situation was much more serious than she thought. The man was disturbed. He was absent in the rest of the course, although all of the other students kept a good record of attendance, as if nothing had happened. He was

hurt for the reason that was unknown to her. A few pieces of knowledge she gathered through her observation were that the model person came from a secretary room assisting miscellaneous works for the company's top administration, and that the second best student was leading the other members in the class who were all from his Division in sales. Although none of the students had a close contact with others before joining the class, they felt close as the same Division members but felt remote and even competitive to the model student who was currently working close with the top administration, but who was not in a pair relationship with any particular top administrator. The American teacher did not realize, until she put the model student on a display, that appreciation and respect had been building up towards the second best student among the rest of the students. In retrospect reflections, she noticed that she insulted the second best student by not paying enough attention before the model student. This possibility did not occur to her that she should have admired first the second best student prior to giving honor to the best student. Before she learned that the second best person had a strong backer as his supervisor, an implicit code was remote to her that she should honor the most powerful person first and the most competent person second. Although this second's being made the first is a common practice, she had to learn it painfully through experiencing a ritual group, in which values are established and shared.

What shocked her most was the way the wave of laughter went through the whole class. The initiator made a subtle laughter which caused the collective reaction enough to lose the model man from the class. Against her initial intention to promote him, she actually gave his competitor, a hidden opponent, an excellent chance to get rid of him. But, until this happened, she was seeing a beautifully harmonious stream of cooperation in the class. Until this moment, no one even appeared to be competitive with others. Innocently, she offered an excellent chance to the second person to bully the best person. She did not know until then that the psychological sanction over one person by many is a standard in the ritual-men organizations. The model person had been in a delicate balance with the rest of the class, because he was already conspicuous from the beginning. Also, in retrospect, she recalled that her model man was apparently trying to keep his profile low until she put him on stage. Besides, an additional condition she did not know was that her presence as a special guest teacher was making the classroom more formal than it actually was. It took some time until the second best student was convinced that the class was in fact informal. When he was convinced, he started developing his informal network of pair relationships with the other members from other departments in his Division. Creating access to the colleagues in different sub-groups was a desirable

instrument in back-stage politics. Thus, when the chance came, he did not even have a choice but to show his leadership to the class. It was a test for him in reading the 'air (*ku'uki*),' which is the suggestion expressed in gestures among his classmates in forming the collective agreement. Successfully, he made it through the test. He displayed his ability in the backstage manipulation as part of his management skill, one of the basic conditions to become a leader among ritual men in his workplace.

If the teacher had been more knowledgeable, she might have noticed an ambivalent action the model man was showing from the very beginning. Although he could have taken the most superior position in the room, and although the others were deferential to him as the oldest in the class, from the beginning he gave himself the seat by the door which was supposed to be the lowest part of the room. The second best person, who was the oldest among the rest, also sat very close to the door next to the model man. This spatial order was kept by them throughout the course.

Although the exact meaning of the interactions between the model man and the rest of the group was still a mystery to her, one aspect clear to her was that the man was seriously hurt, because this event could have been seriously damaging to his 'reputation.' Further than this, she was sealed from the ritual communication as an outsider, although it was clear to her that the message by the laughter was conveyed exactly and deeply to the target person who was the only one who did not laugh besides herself. The crucial point was that, when he was excluded from this spontaneous group action, he was made to know himself as an 'outsider inside' in this class. This conviction made him leave with the deep feeling as if it had been the only choice for him.

Secular Icon and Iconic Space

Icons and iconic spaces are essential also for secular ritual, in the same way as religious ritual, producing the inside-outside boundary, the esoteric communication and the spatial order visualized in interactions among the in-group members. The iconic space imposes the principle of inequality in a visual image in the same way as religious ritual does by organizing the space into an expression of this principle. Esoteric communication is a product of organizing actions and interactions within, and according to, the iconic space. A slight difference exists between the secular and the religious modes of ritual, because the secular iconic space depends on secular icons. They represent the order of power in social reality. On a secular occasion, icons are ordinary daily-life items, such as desks, tables, chairs, pencils and pens in a case, photo-copying machines, shredders, painting in a framed painting on the wall

above the table, a small lace work on the table in the middle of the conference room, a tea pot and tea cups on a small wagon at a corner of the room, a trash bin and the door at one corner of the room. As the icons visualize the upper-lower spatial metaphor, the person who wishes to take the inferior position offers the upper side of the space to the superior person, by himself taking the lower side. In this action, the order is well confirmed by both inferior and superior persons. In other words, in these ritual actions of selection, the order is expressed and, in fact, is made to exist in reality. As it was typical in our religious example, also on the secular occasion, the door indicates the lowest part of the room, and the item which indicates the highest part is usually found at the farthest part of the room from the door.

The following example has been taken from the Z Company's headquarters on a high business street in Central Tokyo. Near the Company's main entrance and reception, there are eight conference rooms for about ten people each on both sides of the hallway which leads to several larger rooms at its end, twice as large for about twenty people. In a small conference room, on each side of the table, five chairs are placed. The farther side of the table from the door is superior. Sometimes, to make the highest spot distinctive, a framed picture is up on the wall. In this room with this particular kind of wall decoration, the chair under the picture is the highest, and the door is the lowest. If the visitor's status is higher than the Z company people, they would seat the visitor under the picture. Otherwise it is safer for the visitor to take one of the chairs on the lower side and wait. Needless to say, the visitor stands up as soon as the door opens and will be moved to the appropriate seating. In this company, there is another area as large as the total space occupied by the conference rooms, which is filled with twenty round tables with four to five chairs surrounding each. Subcontractors are invited to one of these tables in this area by the company people. By walking to the conference room through this area, visitors should feel superior that they are categorized in the upper class among visitors. Those seated at the table on the large floor are made to know that they are lower. In these spaces, the fine differentiation by the status is roughly re-categorized in two classes, upper and lower. Both classes of visitors contain pairs from a variety of companies that the Z Company has a business relationship with. A fine dress code and manners are associated with the iconic space beginning with such an ordinary action as that, for example, before the visitors approach the reception desk, they must take off their overcoats, and that they are expected to hold them neatly by the arms. Once made, any failure cannot be recoverable later.

In general, on the first visit, some icons may appear difficult to read. New

visitors are expected to misread iconic significations. For this reason, for safety, the visiting group usually includes at least one person who has been already familiar with the details of the manners of the company the group is visiting. Subtle differences can mean great. Although mistakes are rarely made among Japanese business people, because, once they are made, they can be fatal and unrecoverable. Building relationships is essential, so the ignorance of manners is already damaging.

A status inconsistency among women makes reading also difficult. Among men, usually the older in the pair is superior. However, an older woman is often paired in the group with her male and younger superior, as she takes a position of tutor or mentor in her inferior position to her younger superior. In such a case, she stands in the lower part of the room in relation to her young, male superior, making her position clear also to outsiders. Often all of the women are under the men in the group, so all of them calmly wait near the door, until they are told to come forward and sit at the table with men. Although the women are expected to sooner or later sit at the table even by themselves, the timing of their action matters. Invitation to the table may be given in words or in gestures, or even may not be given, reading the timing is a skill for participating in the ritual stream of actions. Often the manners are expected to be even better among women than men, because their perfect manners are believed to make them beautiful. Displaying beautiful women in perfect manners is believed to upraise the company image.

Desks in the Work Place

There is an example from a workplace showing the importance of the desk as an icon. Let an example speak from a concrete occasion. In a fairly small company, the head of a division was a woman, with fifty people working under her occupying three rooms. To the top room, a part-time male assistant newly joined after he had retired from one of the top largest companies. Because his new employer was much smaller than his former employer, and because the very top person of the new employer directly recruited him to help the head as consultant, he had been feeling himself superior to everyone in the division he was joining. On his arrival, he tried to situate his desk in the highest position of the room by moving slightly aside the desk which had been in use by the head of the division. The five present members in this room (who were the chosen five men working directly with the head among fifty members under her in the division) were shocked by his behavior. It could not have occurred to them that a part-time new employee would sit at the desk superior to their head. They stopped his action by blocking him and told him to sit next to their head. This

action, in turn, shocked the newly arrived, male consultant, although he quickly absorbed the 'new' ranking system that the head was superior to the consultant, himself, and that 'consultant' is a euphemism for senior assistant. This room, unlike conference rooms, had more items used for task performance such as a copying machine with faxing and other functions, a shredder and three small trash bins for different kinds of wastes. They were all placed in a wide space closer to the door. The desk nearest to this space was occupied by a very young man who deals with these items helping other members. Now the newly arrived consultant to the head was made to sit at the desk situated at the second highest position out of seven desks. As the head's desk was placed at the distinctively highest corner, the spatial message was clear that the new male consultant was working under her. The third person sat across from him, closer to the door from him.

The second happening was that, to another surprise to the formerly existing five members, he requested to hire a young woman to take his phone calls, but was again literally shocked, when he was told to take phone calls for himself from the phone placed on his desk. His following action was not clear if he was truly serious or if he tried to tease the female head, when he asked her to answer the phone for him. The head, sitting next to him, calmly explained that the phone on his desk was a direct line exclusive to him, so it could be better and more efficient without a person in-between, as all of the other phone calls had to go through the switch board. Although he looked miserable for a few days every time when his phone rang, he answered in the perfect manners with the perfect use of the proper language, as if he had intended to show a model case to his new colleagues.

Business Card

Above all of the furniture and business items, business cards are a distinctive icon, equivalent to the talisman in our religious example. It is portable and shows the name of the holder with his company name and his position. The holder's identity is externalized which has been once internalized and embodied in the emotions and the values. The person's identity now expressed in the words on the business card in turn binds the person as part of the objective reality in a code. The card goes everywhere with the holder and is presented to everyone the holder meets for the first time. Its handling follows a distinctively established set of manners and prohibitions. The failure in handling means a serious offence to the recipient of the card. It is absolutely insulting that the holder does not follow the manners properly, and that the holder's presence itself becomes unpleasant beyond an incident of the mistake. Even one failing in

presenting the card may be fatal with no second chance. If this person dared to present it later to recover the mistake which was made, it would simply be ignored. But, when it goes well, the actions stream from the highest person to the lowest, and the cards are exchanged in gentle manners in a welcoming mood. During the meeting, it is usually permitted to keep all the cards received on the table to match the speaker with the card, every time any person speaks up. The open gesture of memorizing the name of the card presenter is a good sign. In case the card is lost by mistake, requesting the second copy on the second occasion is truly bad manners and is in fact forbidden. Such actions as dropping the card on the floor can be fatal, depending on the status gap. The term 'bad manners' can be used as strong criticism in the back stage as an excuse to terminate undesirable persons, anticipated opponents, or a potential competitor while this person still is minor enough. Typically, the perfect manners for the business card must also be assimilated through watching and copying the example in the pair relationship in the group. Through learning in repetition, the actions should stream spontaneously and naturally. The person's identity is part of this stream and is spontaneously triggered by the iconic action either positively or negatively. An intimate relationship and an open communication between the superior and the inferior are indispensable for the ritual assimilation of good manners.

Breaking and Taming on Alcohol

Alcohol is another distinctive icon. It is a signifier of relaxation from the strict code of manners. The person on alcohol is expected to change not only manners but the personality. This change in manners and personality are puzzling to visitors from the society outside where people are expected to hold themselves intact in the same appearances and responses even on alcohol. These people often confess about Japanese business people that they feel that a different person jumps up from their friends with whom (they thought) they had been familiar. For Japanese company people, alcohol justifies to unleash the thoughts and the desires repressed under the strict code of what they call manners. The inferior person may speak and act in a rude way, as long as the inferior is aware that the superior-inferior order still remains even under the code of relaxation. With an approval from the superior on alcohol, the inferior becomes confessional and open. The inferior may begin with asking questions, including the kind that the superior may not be able to answer, asking explanations, asking the more detailed information about colleagues and the company, and even criticisms and complaints, loaded with the inferior's 'private' feelings.

The superior/supervisor is normally confident in guiding the inferior's negative

thoughts and emotions, especially because the skill in guiding the inferior(s) through drinking is a condition for further promotion in a supervising position. The 'breaking' and the 'taming' of inferiors on alcohol is a managerial skill. On alcohol, the supervisor behaves as if entitled to 'break' them using alcohol as an excuse. They are encouraged to open up and expose their 'real feelings' repressed under the 'masks' of manners that they are assumed to be wearing in the day time. The supervisor may go wild on alcohol, as long as the person is confident in restoring the relationship even in a better unity. The group members are encouraged or often teased on alcohol to unleash their true feelings. The supervisor has been trained, experienced and mature enough to listen and relate to their confessional disclosure. This is the genesis of 'emotional trust' between them. Their true feelings are expressed and shared as a group asset. This sharing of the 'private' knowledge makes their relationships special and exclusive.

Thus, ritual may be said to be a labor-intensive education in a one-to-one pair for teaching and learning of the tasks and the manners through repetition, which necessitates the superior to be able to show the model example in task performances and, in turn, the inferior to copy the superior's performing actions in every detail. The inferior is expected to reach the superior's level of actions like a natural stream, and the superior is expected to act as an exemplar. The relationship is intimate and committed, and the actions are felt tangible. What is expected to the supervisor in the end is to be a patronizing mentor to the inferior(s). Needless to say, the way each person deviates the day-time manners on alcohol is carefully studied by the other members on the occasion, but in a relaxed manner.

The relationship between the pair is reciprocal and is constantly going through a kind of 'creative destruction,' on alcohol. The presence of alcohol insures this reciprocal process to be on-going. The temporary breaking and the mending of the relationship on alcohol make a one-round ritual trip. In its repetition, the involved pair continuously deepens the emotional oneness which is considered to be an essential component of trust. The supervisor is expected to be rich in tactics in using this powerful icon, alcohol. The supervisor is expected to create an intimate task group whose members are committed under the supervisor's protection and leadership in the competition with other groups and the group supervisor's effort for the promising future promotion. The group should achieve a solid feeling of participation in one another and the shared goal in their tasks. Being fully informed, the group members are able to read all of the actions such as subtle body movements and fragmented utterances among themselves, because such actions densely repeat on their formal and informal occasions, making them ostensive. The supervisor would ask the team members to go to

drink after the working hours on a regular day, whenever the supervisor feels it necessary that the supervisor's effort of breaking the ice is now restoring their emotional security with the supervisor. It is understood that the group members must cancel any family commitments which have been made. The decision made by the supervisor should be the will of the team members. They are not supposed to have no other choice. This is the reason why the newly appointed manager in the example above had to panic, when his new inferiors all refused to join his drinking party. The abrupt expression of his men's true feelings without alcohol made him think that he was blocked from the major access for positively restoring the relationship, and the possibility of future promotion.

This system is fully backed up by the company, although the company pretends to follow the Japanese Government's occasional campaign against the drinking party to promote the formal code of democracy. The campaign habitually ends up with the informal system of drinking to continue more informally 'under the water.' Repeating the same point, it is informally but fully agreed that the full-time employment gives no private time, including after hours and weekends. The employees are expected to do over the weekend some unfinished work, or join baseball games organized between united task groups and some leisure activities. I asked just to be sure if they had a choice to stay home over the weekend without joining the activities. An assistant manager in the personnel department in the large company I have interviewed said, "No. They must join." And he added, "They are employed on the weekend, too. They are still our company people. Employment is always." In addition, I must also emphasize that the status differentiation cannot ever be negated on alcohol. The sober manner codes are temporally relaxed and shifted to the drinking manner codes on alcohol, but they are complementary parts of the same ritual system in the workplace. In the privileged permanent position, a person is not employed by hours. When the person joins the company, the person becomes an indispensable part of the company system, is given education both in classes and from his supervisor and either with or without alcohol, becomes a committed worker to accomplish the given group tasks as a team member, and will not be discharged, in principle, unless the person wishes to leave. Going up into the top administration through the layers of supervisory positions, it is a basic condition to be a skilled and competent teacher of ritual manners. Absence on these occasions, especially on drinking occasions, makes a person emotionally distant to the group, and ultimately, makes the person an outsider inside. It comes when the person finds colleagues' gestures unreadable.

Outside Groups Unmasked on Alcohol

When two groups from two different companies meet for sales or negotiations, alcohol is used for breaking the ice and building emotional trust, by relaxing the rigid manner codes and letting two groups temporarily merge as if they had been one group for a long time. The ritual course for the two-group meeting begins with the invitation and then progresses to the exposure of true feelings fostered in their transactions so far and about reputations. One ritual round consists of a beginning, a middle development and an ending which is well organized under alcohol consumption. Involving drinking, the meeting is usually held for dinner, and in a guest room in a restaurant in the vicinity, where one party must receive the other in the same way as they meet in their conference room. The host group must wait in the room according to the proper manners. Any details of unmatched manners between the two groups are carefully dealt with in advance by the team member who has already known the other group and who has fully informed. If it is the first time with the top person from the guest group, the business card exchange is the first hurdle to clear. The host group, either standing or sitting, makes the order among its members clear to the guest group so that the card is exchanged from the top to the bottom. For doing this, the host group carefully estimates the room arrangement before the guest group arrives and leads the latter smoothly and properly to be seated.

Then, having a course dinner, some host group members pour beer from the bottle to the guest members fulfilling the proper manners, and then serve the sake wine in proper manners. Then, reciprocating the alcohol serving, guest group members pour beer and sake to host group members and offer the sake cup to share in the similar manners in the tea ceremony, aiming to bring a union to the members from the two different groups. Opening up with emotions and opinions both positive and negative, the two groups go over the wall between them and speak as if they had been the same group members some time. As they exchange their true feelings, the emotional trust is building up. Sales persons commonly spend their after-hours for the drinking meeting with their customers and are well known for having a very little time with their families.

Towards the end of drinking, they come back to their formal side of the self, individually adjusting the emotional deviation under alcohol. The cycle streams smoothly, beginning with entering the room, going through showing 'deeper emotions' on alcohol from under the masks worn in the day time, and to coming back to the formal orientation again.

The Iconic Action – a society coded by rituals

Kuniko Miyanaga

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B. Procedural Justice in Ritual Practice

Justice by Emotion

Iconic Construction of Emotions

In the power of repetition, ritual constructs a committed workforce in sharing the experience of values and emotions, which are ostensibly presented in the collective vision with icons and in iconic spaces. This analytical perspective of ritual as iconic action answers some of the questions such as how emotions are socially constructed and how they are made observable. These questions are actually classical. What has been delaying both establishing and answering these questions is a popular conviction that emotions are totally internal and that, when they are externalized, emotions are no longer emotions. The negation of this aspect about emotions began with Rom Harre and his “An Outline of the Social Constructionist Viewpoint” and more recently Doyle McCarthy and his “The Social Construction of Emotions-New Directions from Culture Theory.” McCarthy presents a thesis that “culture is observable in practices,” and promotes a new direction against “consciousness” or “non-material social facts as traditionally conceived.” [McCarthy: 272] He emphasizes that “our research no longer focuses on emotions themselves, but on the *discursive operations that constitute our “emotional lives,” the cultural practices through which emotions are known, controlled, released, cultivated, and worked on.*”²² [AcCarthy 271] His thesis is that emotions should be identified externally in the cultural process, as they become observable while emotions are being generated through the discursive operations in this process. On this same point, even earlier R. Harre suggests a development from the theory of consciousness to the theory of practices. He presented a proposition, such that:

:

²² Italics by McCarthy.

There has been a tendency among philosophers and psychologists to abstract an entity – call it ‘anger’, ‘love’, ‘grief’ or ‘anxiety’ – and try to study it. But what there is are angry people, upsetting scenes, sentimental episodes, grieving families and funerals, anxious parents pacing at midnight, and so on. There is a concrete world of contexts and activities. We reify and abstract from that concreteness at our peril. [Harre: 4]

These are great propositions that appear to lead us to a new thesis that the emotions should be observed in practice or in the emotional actions, or through the discursive operation in the cultural process. However, without his own concrete examples, McCarthy is difficult to understand, although our ritual example described in the analytical perspective should endorse his observation. Harre compiled a book with examples from different cultures collected by his colleagues in the field, however, the terms and the definitions of emotions from different cultures had to face the hurdle set by Needham discussed in Introduction of this book. These concepts were so culturally bound, it appeared impossible to assemble them into an integrating category of emotions.

As an observer of emotions, Harre is trapped in a vicious cycle such that, when we see an action of a category of emotion, we are observing the action in the interpretation by the category. As E. Kant argued on human cognition, we cannot observe without categories. When we see an angry person, we must already know what the anger is. Otherwise, we cannot define that this person is angry. The attempt of shifting a focus from category to practice does not solve this epistemological problem.

The actual challenge made by Harre and McCarthy for us is slightly different from what they articulate. The challenge is still Kantian and is on how we represent ‘this feeling that I am feeling inside now’ by something which is external and which is not ‘this feeling.’ The challenge converges to signification, indicating how to connect the concrete feeling, which is absolutely individual, to the categorical representation, which is general and collective. If no one feels in the same way as someone else does, as Wittgenstein remarks, the category of emotion is not possible. If so, how do people in our religious example and task groups in Japan *feel* and claim in their feeling that they collectively share their emotions? On this crucial point, as it has been discussed in Part I, ritual gives an answer in iconic signification. Icons in its vision of values and emotions present an all embracing and focused category, such as the ‘talisman (-evoked) emotion’ and the ‘scroll (-evoked) emotion.’ Applying this understanding, from the work-place in secular ritual, the business-card (-evoked) emotion, the desk (-evoked)

emotion and the alcohol (-evoked) emotion constitute categories to signify concrete emotions. Ritual structures the relations which enable the iconic signification between the object external and the emotion internal, or between the signifier and the referent. The matrix of relations, which is a cosmology in religion and which is the power structure in business, is projected to the iconic space and visualized. In this vision, values and emotions are evoked by icons and acted out in ritual actions. Thus, the category of emotions is observable, even obvious, but under one restriction such that this is enabled only among the insiders. The sharing the same ritual in repetition is the condition which enables this epistemological process to be valid. In conceptualizing the iconic categories of emotions, the talisman-evoked emotions are evoked by a specific icon, talisman, and that the correct definition of this word is available ritually only in the ostention of this icon. This is where the emotions become observable, but under one condition. The observer must share the same category of emotions through the ritual experience of icons. These emotions are observable through the iconic experience of emotions among the ritual practitioners. The concrete icon bound by the specific cultural and local context of the practice in the religious group is the talisman called *omitama*, and the icon on the Japanese business occasions is the business card, *meishi*. Both fall into the universal and the integrating category of icon. Just be sure, what is observable is the ostensive definition in iconic action of the talisman and that of the business card, but that the category of icon is not. The category of icon is an abstract concept, but it validly signifies the concrete icons such as the talisman and the business card.

Each icon signifies through evocation involving more than one emotion, if they are defined in the discursive language. For example, *meishi* may evoke a variety of emotions when they are translated into words in the discursive language. Here is a list, starting with pride ‘that I am a full-time and life-time employee of the largest company which is well-known as the number one in our industry’; superiority ‘that I am superior to most of the population in Japan as its company man’; masculinity ‘that I am a man who has achieved what a man is expected to do’; achievement ‘that I have achieved a position in the top cohort of the Japanese workforce and am still achieving’; ambition ‘that I should be able to reach the top position soon’; hope ‘that I can look forward to good future in my life’; security ‘that I am economically secure with a good wage under the life-time employment with a good retirement allowance and pension’; dependency ‘that I am permitted to be emotionally dependent on my supervisor who understands me and gives me a good job provision and care’; happiness with family life with a beautiful wife and children, and even more. The emphasis may differ according to the individual, but still as long as evoked by the icon, this emotion is the ‘same

icon-evoked' emotion, and this ritual category is shared.

Trust in Emotion

In ritual defined as the iconic action, people in the core workforce live under the privileged life-time employment by internalizing, expressing and reading the shared emotions that iconic objects are consistently evoking. Ritual demands the execution of tasks based on the emotional commitment, which business leaders call 'trust.' Laws and legal considerations are called for in the employment only when this ritual-based emotional trust is lost or non-existent. If someone speaks all the time of legal fairness, he is already rejecting emotional trust and excluding himself from operations in the given group under ritual cohesion. Instead, if this person wishes to be safe in his workplace, the secret is to display how he values the *feeling* of fairness without mentioning the content of fairness itself. His showing his emotions will be well accepted as his commitment to the group identity, and, thus, he should remain included. The statements in Japanese contracts are appreciated when they are not exactly focused on the legal issue but when they subtly express emotional commitment to the issue over (even against) the legal process.

As it is widely believed and practiced in Japanese society, where there is ritual-based trust, there is no need for a contract in documents. The legal statements often indicate in their deliberately-made vague expressions that this document of statements is not necessary except for formality. In an extension of this logic, full-time employees do not have a contract in precise documents with their employer(s). As part-time workers and sub-contractors are under a contractual relationship with the employer(s), the contract-based employment is considered inferior to that without a contract.

It has even been a historical tendency among the Japanese that they are not talented in objectifying the rules of actions in abstraction. Major laws have been either imported or imposed from abroad throughout their history. Their preference for ritual is distinctive; if, today, they were forced from outside or above to give up on ritual, they would be left with the skeleton of relationships and procedures, which may be described 'bureaucratic,' and which to them are absolutely dry, flat, standoff-ish, cold and even inhumane. For the same reason, the Japanese dislike the use of manuals, in spite of the fact that their ritual consists of a precisely routinized procedure identical to manuals. The difference is that ritual promotes abundant emotions and commitment whereas manuals are mechanical and objective. The Japanese, especially business leaders, fear that society would fall into apathy without the ritual promotion of emotions, in spite of a constant pressure that they strongly *feel* from the global economic

community to create an open society, which is assumed non-ritual. Fairness and the legal sense of factuality, which are necessary conditions for Open Society, are not necessary for, and even against, ritual operation. Ritual practitioners in emotional trust wish to remain with ritual commitment and visual representations rather than going to rule-based and rule-building relationships. The underlying principle is simple, the given human relationship as the supreme value. The relationships are structured and spontaneous in ritual actions. It *feels* so secure in ritual that positive values flourish in the mind simultaneously with supportive and positive emotions, and that they are shared by the superiors and the inferiors of the practitioner.

Native Concepts of One-ness Reactivated in Business

On secular occasions, some 'native concepts' have been adopted in the position of ideology in the workplace to predicate the emotional commitment. Although the ideology formally is supposed to be a democratic legal procedure, when it is substituted by ritual, the emotional commitment at work ultimately produces 'trust' between two parties, but is dedicated to the teaching and learning of the tasks between the supervisor and his people under him or between the superior and the inferior in the ritual pair. The ritual education is a labor intensive process, which requires the empathetic assimilation of actions, emotions and values, until they become ritually embodied. Concretely, the values and the emotions are acted out and felt by the members, being insured in the one-ness of the pair, and ultimately of the group, when it is achieved.

In the Japanese context, as it has been very much discussed, popular native concepts such as '*amae*' (unconditional dependency like the one between the mother and the child), '*isshin dotai*' (one-ness between two persons) and '*wa*' (group harmony) function as key words in the work-place ideology. In addition to these, a modern imported concept of ethos (collective sentiment) has been adopted, although it has been transformed to *etosu*, another native concept in Japanese. All of them point to the social cohesion or 'trust' based on an emotional commitment and indicate one-ness between the two parties involved in an asymmetrical pair-relationship in a closed ritual-based group orientation.

The famous concept of *amae* by Takeo Doi²³, beyond his original theoretical explanation as mutual dependency, even suggests that this dependency stands on the ability of unconditional submission similar to the mother by the child. The child copies the mother with no other choice available beyond her behavior, emotions, values and knowledge in a sympathetic self-imprint. In *amae* in the workplace, the task assimilation is done on an

²³ DOI, Takeo.

unconditional submission similar to that between the mother and the child, which is ideally offered to those who submit themselves to the ritual repetition of shared experiences. Because Doi's original theory of *amae* is critical of drawing the mother-child relationship into the workplace, instead of the word *amae*, the Japanese word '*i-sshin do-tai*'²⁴ meaning 'one heart, one body' is preferred, when the supervisor chooses to describe his successful and good relationship with his men. If a supervisor says to the man (or the woman²⁵) that they are *isshin dotai*, it means that they have developed an emotion-based trust because of one-ness in thoughts and actions besides emotions between them. This is a compliment which may promise a good future for the people under the supervisor, if the supervisor has a good future with the supervisor's supervisor one level above, and if the inferiors know how to respond to this sort of evaluation. Although *amae* is basically a word to describe childish behavior even when it is applied to the workplace, *i-sshin do-tai* is a word for adults which does not apply to a child.

While *i-sshin do-tai* applies to a pair in a direct relationship, a similar concept '*wa*', another word favored commonly by top business people, refers to the one-ness of a group. Breaking *wa*, a person becomes subjected to the group sanction, which is infinitely similar to *ijime* bullying, but which is assumed as legitimate sanction. In the 21st Century, under the globalization of values²⁶ especially the U.S. based, social rules, *ijime* is now recognized to be a crime, although, until 2000 in the 1990s, it was a common statement from opinion leaders that the person who becomes subject to *ijime* (-sanction) is to blame. This sentiment that the person bullied has a good reason to be bullied still is informally held ('under the water') and continues. Thus, today, *ijime* in the front stage is formally denied and illegal, whereas *ijime* in the back stage functions even more deeply and skillfully than it has been. Although democracy in the front stage does not ever justify ritual sanctions in the back stage, *ijime* is implemented as a punishment and discipline for the adjustment of wrong doings in the implicit ritual context of the workplace. For the newcomers, practices of this *ijime* sanction on alcohol might have been a kind of games to play, however, with a recent Government guidance to reduce job-related alcohol consumption may lead this practice even more to the back stage, where the real sanction may abruptly begin even without alcohol. If so, the relationship between the supervisor and the men (and the women) would be psychologically tougher than

²⁴ Isshin-dotai

²⁵ I am using 'he' instead of 'she' as pronoun to represent both a man and a woman, following recent practice in English, as I have in this writing so far..

²⁶ Although most Japanese would not like to admit this, the main pressure comes from the US diploamcy.

ever before. Although it has been intended to relax the workplace by reducing the work in the after hours, the practice of the same ritual sanctions would minimize the privileged workforce, serving the reduction of the personnel cost. The privileged workforce under the life-time employment with a large retirement allowance and a pension will be slimmer and even more for elites. The Icons will be even more powerful among them. The rest of the workforce remains with the same enumeration and without privileges will expand in number and do the same works less costly. Ritual will be even strengthened among the privileged core, and, even among the rest, those who do well in ritual practice would be preferred, although their practice does not promise privilege or the good future in promotion or retirement.

Today, harsh ritual sanctions are recognized as crime, when they are legally established as an intentional offense and when they are recognized by the third party with clear evidence, in the way as people say in Japan, 'being brought up above the water.' Intention is a hard legal issue to establish in an accurate proof where everyone lives for submission and adjustment to the given group sentiment but not for their independent will as a modern, 'legal personality.' In groupism, the group is the legal personality but not an individual. Besides, there is no active awareness about the fact that these secular, ritual sanctions are identical to *ijime* in their patterns in actions for the group exclusion and the group's giving psychological damages to the one who has been singled out. The Japanese *konsensasu* treats this *ijime* bullying as if it was independent from the standard group-maintenance sanctions. The reality is that it is the tip of an ice burgh of groupism in practice.

Language of One-ness

As a faithful representative agent of culture, Japanese language promotes a sense of one-ness between the subject and the object. What is most difficult for the Japanese in learning English is a practice of delimitation of the subjective from the objective, or setting the object outside of the subject. In their backstage, native English-speakers teaching English in Japanese colleges commonly confess their frustration with their Japanese students' inability of delimitation. Japanese students easily confuse the subject and the object. An English speaker said to me, "Those who cannot learn such an elementary aspect should not be in my classroom. There is no space for them. My five-year old child can do it without any difficulty."

In reverse of English's delimiting the subjective from the objective, Japanese promotes a continuum between the subjective and the objective. The Japanese language and culture faithfully reflect each other. Here is an example:

Putting a hand in cold water, in both languages, the speaker would say, “Oh, cold.” Here, English offers two different statements between a subjective feeling and the objective reality.

The water is cold. (1)
The water feels cold. (2)

Subjective and objective are clearly distinguishable in English. In contrast, in Japanese, the meaning of both sentences in English above is expressed by the first sentence only.

The water is cold²⁷. (1) (*mizu ga tsumetai*)

The subjective meaning of the second sentence “The water feels cold. (2)” may be expressed by the same first sentence, “The water is cold.(1)” In this case, one Japanese sentence “*mizu ga tsumetai*” expresses two meanings in the English sense, both “The water is cold,” and “The water feels cold.” When English comes to the bodily senses, it insists on delimitation of the subjective from the objective. In contrast, Japanese does not. Instead, Japanese naturally pushes the speaker towards removing delimitation between the subjective and the objective. The Japanese sentence, “The water is cold,” is both objective and subjective.

In our Japanese example of “The water is cold,” the subject of the sentence specifies the concrete location – but not a cause – where the speaker experiences cold-ness. If the concrete location is the water, where the cold feeling is felt, the sentence goes:

The water is cold. (1)

If it is the hand, where the cold feeling is experienced, the sentence goes;

The hand is cold. (3) (Meaning “The hand feels cold,” in English)

If it is the foot, where the cold feeling is experienced, the sentence goes;

The foot is cold. (4) (Meaning “The foot feels cold,” in English.)

These Japanese sentences cancel the delimitation between the subjective and the objective so that they become continuum. These sentences directly relate such words as harmony, one body one heart, and ethos, the concepts popularly

²⁷ The water is cold. = *mizu ga tsumetai* (with *ga* to indicate the subject of the sentence)
(The) water = *mizu*
-cold = *tsumetai*

used among business people, including the well-educated layer in the work-force.

If the person speaks Japanese in an English way, simply because he can do it linguistically, his Japanese (and the speaker) becomes too 'dry' or direct, and emotionally hurts. When Japanese is analytically spoken, it becomes unsympathetic and loses one-ness. The sentence in English, "The water feels cold," can be translated in an analytic (and therefore, modern and sophisticated) sentence in Japanese such as

Watashi-ha mizu-wo tumetaku kanjiru.

(I water cold feel

⇒ I feel water cold.)

Or *Mizu-ga(wa) tumetaku kanji rareru*

(Water cold is felt

⇒ Water is felt cold.)

In written Japanese, in a book form, analytic Japanese is also acceptable and commonly used. The difference between the synthetic and the analytic forms of Japanese is that synthetic form evokes emotions but that analytic form does not, or if it does, far less. As Japanese conversations are designed for emotion sharing, the analytic form is rarely used.

Language of Stratification

Besides cancelling delimitation and promoting one-ness, Japanese contains an elaborate system to differentiate the speaker according to the superior-inferior status difference. As it is a major part of ritual manners, business books are constantly published on this issue, in spite of a common worry that it has been disappearing with new generations. This worry would become true, unless supervisors and seniors in the teacher's position maintain and even develop their teaching skills and enthusiasm, rather than depending on new generations, who have been in fact well prepared for ritual assimilation of knowledge and skills.

One of those books is entitled *How to Use Japanese*. Its first example is "*naruhodo desu-ne*", meaning "I see," or "I am convinced." The book first criticizes that the word '*desune*,' which is added to give a connotation of politeness, is a failure, and that this failure adds a funny pretentious connotation to this expression. Then, the book presents a better alternative, which contains a clear form of honorific for 'to say' such as *ossharu*, offering a sentence "*ossharu to'ori-desu*" ("Exactly. You are right.") The use of the honorific positions the other person to be the superior and the speaker to be the inferior, whereas the use of the polite form in the original sentence does not position either party in

the asymmetrical pair relationship. It is a common misuse experienced not only in younger generations that the polite form is mistaken for honorific, although the former is an equalizer rather than an asymmetrical differentiator.

Another example is a sentence “*ryokai-desu*” (“I understand”). The book reports that this expression is now popular among the young, but warns not to use it to the superior. The alternatives are *shochi-shimashita*, *kashikomari-mashita* and *uketamawari-mashita* with an honorific connotation which differentiate the speaker as inferior and the other person as superior. The book strongly recommends to stop using ‘*ryokai-des*.’

“*Go-kyoryoku shite-kudasai*” (“Please give us your cooperation.”) is also banned by the book, because the prefix *go*, which is honorific, originally intended to elevate the other person functionally elevates the speaker in this grammatical misuse. The book recommends the sentence “*O-chikara-zoe wo o-negai itashimasu*” (“I would like to ask your cooperation.”) with the honorifics *o* here which are both correctly elevate the other person to the superior position and the other words used in the sentence have either honorific or polite meanings. Altogether, the sentence is crystal clear that it is said from the inferior to the superior. The book emphasizes that the original sentence is rude by invalidating the manner code, and that the readers of the book should graduate from such a primitive code invalidation, and then adds that this proper expression should be pronounced genuinely sincerely from the heart. The sentence which situates the pair in an asymmetrical relation must be used in an emotional commitment.

The book even suggests a strategic use of the asymmetrical differentiation by the use of the language. The sentence “*Fubenkyou de kyoushuku-desu*” (“I feel ashamed of my insufficient study of knowledge.”) can be used, not only when the other person is too difficult to understand, but also when the other person is citing wrong figures, and even when the other person is quoting from a wrong source of information. It is recommended to first take the absolutely inferior position using this sentence of apology, and then ask or even present the correct figures or information. The initial positioning of the speaker himself allows him to lead the dialogue without offending the other person. The similar application should vary.

The book even suggests a revival of the use of the traditional expression which is no longer popular today. “*Ashi-wo mukete nerare-masen*,” (“I cannot sleep with my feet (towards you),” is highly recommended to pronounce towards the person who has been truly kind or helpful to the speaker. The book explains that the expression derived from the custom that people traditionally slept with their head closer to the family altar and their feet away from it, as part of the iconic

spacing of the household. The book says, “If you are Japanese, you definitely would wish to use this expression.” [Sugimura:18] This is an ultimate promotion of glo-cal-ization.

Mention-Selection, Action Selection

The common denominator of the examples drawn from the book above is that the utterance is a ritual action which positions the speaker in the asymmetrical pair in interaction with another person. The recommendation made is for the ritual practitioner to empower the own ritual practice by properly choosing the expression to elevate the other person to a superior position. The book lists typical mistakes made by elevating the speakers themselves to a superior position or presenting themselves in an equal position. Both cases insult the other person, one by reducing the other person below the speaker and, two, by elevating the speaker to the equal position. The book also emphatically teaches that the choice and the presentation of a proper language structure should be synchronized with proper gestures and emotions, which are part of the ritual manners. The teaching of this book and the popularity of this kind of books reveals that stratification in ritual actions is neither natural nor instinctive, but it is cultural and has been acquired through committed teaching and learning, which has to make the workplace labor intensive.

However, when the ritual use of language is refined to the level of automatic, it is felt natural as if speakers had been born with it, and as if they had lost it in alienating modern education. In this conviction, when a particular reference is mentioned in the ritual performance, Scheffler’s insistence on the referential relations to signify directly and exclusively its particular referent may release persons caught in the reified inference, because the ritual reference does not require an inferential reasoning process to ‘make sense.’ In contrast, our Japanese examples show above, that the practitioner becomes committed to the position signified by the utterance like a fate without having no other possible positions open. These differences exemplify what Burridge discussed in terms of ‘no one.’ In short, Scheffler’s ritual may produce momentary ‘no one,’ whereas the Japanese iconic action is enclosed in the self-perpetuating ritual frame, in which everyone has to choose to be someone. As Burridge discussed, outside the European ambience, ritual or the iconic action positions people in the already prepared positions to be someone.

You are a Germ

The following case is from a corporate ‘ritual man’ in his early thirties being full-time employed in a large company reacted abruptly and strongly against the

word *baikin*. The word is commonly used in group bullying starting with primary schools. In practicing an English conversation, when he intended to say, "My father is sick today," instead, he said, "My father is disease today." His translation from Japanese to English was grammatically correct, but what he said was different from what he wanted to say. Trying to make it humorous, I made a mistake. I said, "You just said that your father is a disease," and "Your sentence in English sounds similar that your father is *baikin*." Instantaneously, he was infuriated. He said angrily, "I cannot tolerate anyone calling my father a *baikin*." He repeated this sentence without giving me a chance to say anything else. The word *baikin* evoked his anger. His reaction had been absolutized in the referential relation between the subject and the object. Later, he told me that he had been subject to group bullying in his high-school time, and that this word was part of it.

By selecting one of his emotions specified by the word, ritual fixed his reaction and encapsulated him in its established referential relation between the word and the emotion, without letting him to explore any other inferential reasoning possibilities. The word mentioned is conditioned to select through evocation anger and associated negative emotions, which may be categorized as *baikin*-evoked emotion. If this emotion converges to anger, the feeling of anger evoked by this word may be Anger with the large A, and the word *baikin* can be referred to as the Anger Icon-word or Anger Icon, although it may contain such emotional elements as shame and powerless-ness mixed into anger, creating the domain of ambiguity. Although the referent has been preselected and fixed, Scheffler would still insist that ambiguity should be identified to take advantage in going out of this fixation.

The discovery of a domain of this possibility requires a special category of individual that Kenelm Burrige describes 'transcendental' [Burrige 1979], who may dare go out of the given social context to identify this ambiguity and who is capable of landing in society again, thus becoming the initiator of social changes. In supporting Burrige's argument applied to the Japanese example of ritual society, we have found and will continue to find that ritual is constructed and practiced to repress even a suggestion of ambiguity between symbols (human-made) and the objective reality. Endorsing Burrige again, there is no social condition found in Japanese tradition which actively supports and promotes these transcendental individuals even in its today's modernity. Burrige argues that potentially transcendental individuals in non-Western world become readily peripherized and lose the potential for changes. The centralized political power and the economic activities under the Governmental guidance, difficulties in entrepreneurship, technology over science and method over theory

all indicate the social preference of ritual formation of group relationships over values and respect for factuality. This preference shows itself in culture and especially in the collective epistemology that it promotes in ritual. It indicates the cultural preference in security over change in Japanese society.

The native concepts mentioned above are directed to perpetuate the given connection between what is mentioned and what is selected. When a person is 'mentioned' by the group to have broken *wa*-harmony, its members simply 'select' to sanction over and against him, without asking why, which is assumed to be understood and shared. Needless to say, this group sanction blocks transcendental cognition. The reason for the sanction beyond his breaking *wa* is never to be given nor to be asked. But, the person who is mentioned immediately becomes subject to a group-sanction, as if it were written between the lines or incorporated in the context of ritual practice, and as if everyone including the victim should be able to read it. Similarly, on another occasion, for example, if the supervisor says to a person working under supervision that they are *i-sshin do-tai*, the person instantaneously knows without any further reflection what action this person should take in the given context. Both parties act, think and feel within the same given context. If the person is unable to do these, the person is an outsider inside.

If the ritual context is re-captured in the perspective of mention-selection following Scheffler's suggestion, the ritual practitioner is open to a possibility of re-analyzing his ritual framework from outside, obtaining, and standing in, the same viewpoint of the architect of ritual. G. H. Mead insisted here on abstract discourses as the means of going out of one's cultural context. Then, the cultural communicators can find each other outside of their closed systems. In a similar perspective, Pierre Bourdieu's precise descriptions in his recent works on embodiment and taste [Bourdieu 1984, 2010] add a critical momentum to the social equilibrium by showing that *habitus* is a social system into which everyone is destined to be born. Although Bourdieu's description concentrates on the result and the static structure rather than the process, his description is meant to reveal that *habitus*, or social environment, is not absolute, but is human made, and, thus, relative. In revealing the ritualist nature of the contemporary class society, his description offers its practitioner to see his practice from outside, so that the practitioner himself may identify the way out through objectification in abstraction, and then possibly identify a new practice, if this possibility is predicated in social reality. Ritual possibly offers a way to do this, if its members could become transcendental architects by gaining a perspective to observe themselves from outside. Then commitment to ritual context becomes a choice instead of a 'fate.' Abstract concepts including mention-selection give a

chance for the ritual practitioner to stand in the position of the architect of the system, in contrast to the above-mentioned native concepts in function as part of the self-perpetuating ritual system.

The Iconic Action – a society coded by rituals

Kuniko Miyanaga

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Ritual Implementation of Procedure

Modified Fairness

Japan's social and historical tendency is showing in its glo-cal orientation, in the conflict or disagreements between legal fairness and ritual trust in the process of implementing the formal legal system through the informal ritual process. Procedural justice is done on emotional trust, which is established on the submission to the asymmetrical relationships of a group, rather than in the contract between the legal personalities involved. The ritual process of fairness stands on the emotional trust, which is identified and evaluated by the employer, whereas the employee's commitment, submission and devotion to the given position are taken for granted. Trust is in the person's emotions and printed on the heart but not on paper. Thus, as widely assumed, the contracted employment is considered to be inferior to the non-contracted employment. This principle is popularly held by employers but is also widely and firmly held among employees, confirming the superiority of emotional trust over that in paper. The ritual principle of inequality rejects the contract in paper on both sides of employment.

The Rule Book

Instead of the contract in paper, what is called the Rule Book²⁸ functions by representing the glo-cal combination of the formal and the informal. The privileged non-contracted elites have this rule book instead of the contract in paper and a job description. The Rule Book is an agreement established by the body of the company administration and employees in cooperation. It is a written document agreed between the two groups, the body of the top administration identified as the company and the rest employees under them. The Rule Book covers the essential working conditions such as enumerations, working hours, the time to begin and end within a day, retirement conditions in general for all of the life-time elite employees. In item-by-item description, the Book outlines the workplace as a social system under some legal restriction, but,

²⁸ Rule Book 就業規則(shu-gyo Kisoku)

at the same time, is designed to sponsor the workplace as iconic space, without giving content of the work (such as in the job description). Substituting contracts between two legal personalities, the rule book functions like a contract between the two groups, the group of employers and the group of employees..

The preparation of a rule book is an obligation for the employer according to the Labor Standards Act since 1947. As it was established under the American guidance shortly after the end of World War II, similar to the Japanese Constitution, the labor Standards Act is idealistic, and the conditions for the law enforcement are aimed to be fair for the employer(s) and protective of the employees. As for the implementation of the Act, the Ministry of Health and Welfare publishes a model sample of the Book on line [MHW March 2019] with precise description with explanatory guidelines that is altogether 89 pages long. The table of contents begins with general principle to detailed descriptions:

(Chapter 1) General Provisions including: 1. Purpose, 2. Scope of Application and 3. Compliance with Rules,

(Chapter 2) Employment, Placement etc.: including 4. Employment Procedure, 5. Document Submission for Employment, 6. Test Period, 7. Clear Statement of Work Conditions, 8. Position Transfer, and 9. Leave of Absence,

(Chapter 3) Job-performance Rules including: 10. Job Performance, 11. Compliance Rules, 12. Prohibition of Power Harassment in the Workplace, 13. Prohibition of Sexual Harassment, 14. Prohibition of Harassment concerning Pregnancy, Childbirth, Maternal leave, Care-taking Leave, etc, 15. Prohibition of Any Other Harassments beside listed above, 16. Protection of Personal Information, 17. Time Recording of Starting and Ending of the Daily Work, 18. Late-coming, Early-leaving, The Day of Absence etc.

(Chapter 4) Work Hours, Absence from Work and Day-off19~21

(Chapter 5) Vacation etc....22~30

(Chapter 6) Enumeration31~48

(Chapter 7) Pre-set and Voluntary Retirement and Discharge49~51

(Chapter 8) Retirement Allowance....52~54

(Chapter 9) Safety, Sanitation and Disaster Compensation....55~60

(Chapter 10) Work Training....61

(Chapter 11) Awards and Sanctions....62~64

(Chapter 12) Status Change to Non-fixed Term Contract....65

(Chapter 13) Public Welfare Notifier Protection....66

(Chapter 14) Side Job, Multiple Job Taking....67

This model sample which has been created by the Ministry of Health and

Welfare, and which itself has no legal enforcement, is used for the intervention by the Ministry under the name of guidance. Under the legal and the formal system, the Ministry's guidance also functions to enforce an informal process of compromises that both company and employees agree upon. In principle, the model sample is the guideline in concrete terms to show what sort of system between the body of the employer and the body of the employees should be ideally established and stipulated in the workplace. Although it does suggest its idealistic inclination, for example, in the long section on the prevention of harassments, the underlying combination of formal and informal itself is a promotion of the ritual system in its procedure.

Code of Compromise

Although the Rule Book stands in place of the combination of the job description and the contract, it is usually practiced with unwritten compromises. Often, it is created exclusively by the body of the employer and is applied in a partial implementation of the content. Under the ritual conviction in emotional trust, consulting with the Rule Book especially at the time of a job application and interview is not practiced. The applicant's asking the precise legal conditions written in the Rule Book puts the candidate in the category of the contracted employee and disqualifies from the privileged non-contracted elite position. Even for the contracted position, the person who is over-concerned with the precise legal conditions even before being employed is likely judged undesirable and unfitting in the ritualist workplace. The concern about the trust on the paper (including the Rule Book) is habitually judged to be expressing his distrust in the employer, which is against the ritual manners. Expressing distrust in the job interview in advance to employment can even disgust the interviewer, representing the employer for the occasion. Under this condition, it creates a great chance for the candidate to have a person inside who wishes to attract the candidate to the company, and who leaks the basic conditions to the candidate. This is a 'pull' in function. This active use of the pull motivates the candidate ready to be quickly integrated into the principle of inequality and the iconic action in the workplace after employment.

There are numerous examples of this kind. (In my own, I also have a similar experience that I am going to describe below.) A female executive who was specifically promoted to be the head of a research institute first experienced that her request for legal clarity about her employment conditions in a written form, in fact, infuriated the owner-president of the college to which her institute was attached. This incidence was whispered to her by the owner's right hand person and the backstage number one at the negotiation table, but was never brought up as an issue to any formal occasions. Her asking for the written trust was received

as her serious lack of an emotional trust and was absolutely insulting to the owner-president. After all, she compromised to take the non-contracted, privileged position, because she believed that the contract could have been written in these same conditions as she was given in his trust in heart. But, soon she regretted it. The twists of the oral commitments were made almost immediately after she arrived in her position not by the owner-president but by his right-hand man. Every time a slight change was made through the ritual procedure, making a great difference in the result. The contract written on the paper, if there had been any, would have simply confused her executive colleagues who were locked into their ritual trust, as they were so accustomed to maneuver the system through a gap between the formal and the informal. They were so skilled in the ritual implementation of the legal procedure that it would not have occurred to them that they were fabricating lies. Often enough, she found herself in the position to implement the top decisions which she herself considered to be unfair. Soon she had to realize that her disagreement with the top administration in their ritual handling of employment such as their habitual cancelling of their oral commitment became impossible to manage. Finally, she decided to give up her privileged position of career in the administration.

Then, her letter of resignation upset those in power. Her writing was too factual. Although the letter was diplomatic, it appeared to them outrageous because it was not following the standardized sentence such as “I am resigning for a personal reason.” Factual statements were against ritual manners even on the legally required documents. Ritual did not operate on factuality. She had to admit that factuality was not a code in ritual, but that the code of compromise was. Being encapsulated in emotional trust and relational group operations, everyone else had been committed to the other group against her.

Faithfully taking this informal code of compromise into account, the formally rigid conditions to validate the Rule Book are diluted, when it is put in practice. Formally, the Labor Standards Act defines the three conditions to validate the Rule Book, which present a precise process to be fair on both sides in employment. Not only for the creation of the Book but also every time for revisions, firstly, the employer must have a hearing occasion with the representative of the employees for agreement on the contents, secondly, register the Book at the Labor Standards Inspection Office for monitoring over implementation, and thirdly disseminate the content of the Book to the employees for open operation. The Act defines the procedure of dissemination²⁹ – the third condition – in three ways, including, the display of the Book in an

²⁹ 106条労働基準法施行規則52条の2

open and public area in the workplace as one way, the distribution of a copy of the Book to the employees as another way, and the installation of the reader machine in an open and public area for any worker to be able to read the electronical record, as the third way.

In reality, the enforcement of the Labor Standards Act is not as rigid or idealistic as it is written. Out of the three conditions to validate the Rule Book, the first and the second conditions may be negligible, as long as the third condition of dissemination is done. Besides, dissemination is sufficient as long as the Book is kept in an open and public area in the workplace. The employer is not responsible whether all of the employees are familiar with the content. According to the court presidents, Masashi Utsumi, a labor and security attorney, reports that the Rule Book, which was not registered but which was disseminated, has been judged valid by the Osaka High Court, in 1966 (Kokuyo case).³⁰ In a similar case, more recently in 2009, Utsumi publishes an article about the case [Utsumi 2016]³¹ in which the Tokyo District Court judged that the Rule Book was disseminated, because workers could read the Rule Book any time, when they wished to. In this case, it was in a book form kept open to the public in the workplace and was judged valid, although the company neglected the other two conditions including the registration at the Labor Standard Inspection Office and setting up hearing occasions with the employees' representative(s). As Utsumi emphasizes that dissemination is more essential than the other two conditions. Endorsing the cases he refers to in this journal, Utsumi also reports that the Supreme Court judged in 2003³², that the Book in this case was invalid, because dissemination was completely neglected, although it had been registered properly and agreed upon with the representatives of the employees.

In Reality

I have some examples from my work experience of how the Rule Book was treated on both sides in employment. As an employee, I was told that this document should rule everything I might have to do under my employment, although no clear descriptions were found about the manners with my superior and inferior colleagues in my work place. The relationships with them which were essential in my employment had no rules to depend on but ritual manners to be discovered from the practice imposed by my supervisors and senior colleagues. When I entered my work place shifting from abroad, every single old

³⁰ 昭和41年<コクヨ事件 大阪高裁 昭和41年1月20日

³¹ キャンシステム事件 東京地裁 平成21年10月28日

³² フジ興産事件 最高裁 平成15年10月10日

member was acting as if they had been my supervisor, waiting for me to discover the way I should fulfil my manner obligations properly with them. Since I had spent a long time abroad, at this time, it was impossible to guess quickly enough exactly what they wanted me to express in my gestures. When I nodded and said “Yes,” I was half a second too late, and the person in the position of supervisor already turned to another person. Apparently, I was judged, as if saying, “No,” and he ignored me for the rest of the meeting, which was a typical sanction. Under my observation, a senior colleague gave away his gesture instantaneously in response to the gesture (and some words) given by the supervisor. This is a typical example from the difficulties that newcomers experience in a new work place and that they are expected to learn from these lessons (that seniors are giving kindly and painfully). Spending many years abroad, my case became more distinctive than transfers within Japan. Honestly, I tried hard not to be an outsider inside. But, my refusal to join the back-stage group bullying, which was a major part of manners, seriously backfired.

The following anecdote was told by a retired business person. She was then a good advisor personally to her younger friends who were still in their leading positions. One of them had to tell ‘her personal advisor’ about her experience of the one-sided revision of the Rule Book by a colleague, who had established a close position with the owner-president of a company, and who was the backstage number one. At that time the Rule Book was blank on the matter which her younger friend was urgently dealing with. Upon her request, the backstage number one urgently created the related section overnight and gave it to her next morning. He was proud that he could fill this necessity fast, and also indicated that he did her a favor, which should be highly appreciated. If he had wanted a negative sanction over her, he could have ignored her request. He would not have needed to work overnight unless he liked her to come under his umbrella. He skillfully created a message between the lines that this favor he did for her was a special one, and that it should be reimbursed in their future. In the standard manners, her collegial relationship with him was solidified through his action, and their cooperative relationship had developed in their silent reciprocity. As a team, they were supposed to have achieved a more intimate collegial relationship in ‘trust’ and ‘commitment’ to one another. The rules created in this section of the Rule Book would continue to apply over all of the employees until he would have created more revisions. In this process, it must be noted that no one was in the position of decision maker. He and she simply responded to the necessity, the given situation. The Book was neither registered nor disseminated. No hearing was held. Yet, the Book existed with the new addition, as if the section had already been in the Book for a long time. Thus, the

Book was under a permanent revision, so that any rules could have been added according to the necessity. In other words, the rules could be revised or added, when the necessity arrived. Since the young executive had not experienced this overt ‘privatization’ of the Rule Book in her previous work place, she had to come to her personal advisor for consultation.

Formally Legal, Informally Ritual

The model sample of the Rule Book supports the informal side of the employment by giving a special emphasis to the two small sections. The articles 10 and 11 appear to be an attitudinal endorsement of the ritual manners. Although the Book even says that these sections are not obligatory (not legally required), but emphasises on the other hand that they actually function to ‘validate’ the ritual manners in practice in the workplace. The direct translation from this section is as follows:

Although the codes of Job Performance and the items of Compliance Rules are not obligatory, the Rule Book must hold a list of what the company wants the employees to follow, because this list functions greatly to keep the workplace in order. [Translated by Miyanaga]

The words “not obligatory” in direct translation means in action “not legally enforced.” These sections are not formally or legally required but are essential to keep the workplace in order. It means that these sections are essential but informal. For enhancing this informal status, this additional note is placed outside of the lines within which these two articles appear.

The article 10 *fukumu* (服務) ‘job performance’ may mean ‘assimilation into the given obligation’ in a more direct translation. With this connotation, it can be read ‘obedience, submission and dedication to the assigned and obligatory work.’ The content is about work ethics.

10 Job Performance: Workers not only must be aware of responsibility attached to the position and sincerely achieve the given tasks, but also must obey the company’s instructions and orders, and make efforts for efficient job performances and to keep the workplace in order. [Translation by Miyanaga]

The work ethics condensed in the Article 10 is delineated in a list of actions. The Article 11 *junshu jikou* is ‘items to be pursued’ in a direct translation, although the contents actually describe how the work ethics in the

Article 10 should be applied. These sections are not a simple list of items. These two sections together side by side present the ‘spirit’ of ritual manners and their implementations, unlike other sections.

11 Compliance Rules: Workers must keep the following rules.

- 1 Facilities or materials of the company should not be used for any other purposes without a permission.
- 2 Such unfair actions must not be taken as taking advantage of the given tasks for self-interest and unfairly borrowing money or materials, or receiving gifts, from others.
- 3 Must concentrate on the given tasks during the work, and must not leave the assigned work place without a legitimate reason.
- 4 Must not take any actions damaging to the company’s honor and credit.
- 5 During the employment and after discharge, must not leak the classified information of the company or of the client that has been accessed through the given position.
- 6 Must not work on alcohol.
- 7 Must not act in any way undeserving to be a worker.

[Translation by Miyanaga]

The serious consideration of responsibility in a position provided by the company, sincere achievement of given tasks, obedience to the company’s instructions and orders, efficient job performance (in the Article 10), keeping up the honor and the credit of the company and deserving to the worker of the company are to be put in action through the ritual manners. The words and phrases used in the model sample are somewhat vague and un-exacted, to leave the practice to ritual performances. For example, the phrase “not to take any conduct undeserving of being the worker” can apply every single action depending on the way the supervisor is in a pair relationship. Bad manners, when they are interpreted that way by the supervisor, can be un-deserving the company for which the worker is working. The vagueness of the terms and phrases in the contract or the agreement is a common practice and is deliberate, in order to give a ‘leg space’ to ritual implementation. The terms and phrases serve to fit the document in the legal framework, but also approve implementation through the ritual manners when they are in action. The list of items which constitute most of the model sample of the Rule Book, in fact, offer the music score-like framework which awaits the ritual practitioner to fill between the lines through the actions of manners under the guidance of the

ritual supervisor.

An underlying justification why this combination of the legal system and the ritual system has been implemented is that the former, which is the formal, democratic system, officially does not recognize the ritual system as part of the social system. It is supposed to be a private practice (not formal, not even informal) but is more 'essential.' Formally, the manners are non-existent. Business leaders insist that the manners are not a system, or not even an ideology. Manners are manners, which are a natural part of the human being, especially for the Japanese, to be born with. For this reason, manners should be embodied in the individual. This condition means, in general and particularly to business leaders, that, for an individual in a position prior to becoming a full-fledged social member, the individual must first learn (or recall) proper manners to be a proper human being. This justification obscures the conflicting gap between the formal and modern democratic system which stands on the fact-based, legal operation of values, *and* the informal ritual system, which structures people onto the power hierarchy based on collective sharing of emotions and values. The latter is the manners to replace the former by the insiders in the workplace.

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C. National Promotion of Ritual Groupism

Ideology of Power in Ritual Manners

The formal and legal side of the democratic system is implemented through the informal and ritual side of imposition of ‘manners.’ The nation-wide education system implements this combination of the formal and the informal. First of all, starting early, the education system imposes a national engagement in the iconic action, as socialization. The top achievers in the early academia, who are also well socialized young people, are welcome to the top stratum of the workforce. Secondly, the system promotes the conviction that the power and the authority always have ‘the’ correct answer to the question. Through them, the answer to the question is always available and is only one. This conviction extends to another conviction that the answer is always only one and definite, that this only and definite answer is exclusively held by the power and the authority, and that no one should even seek any other possibilities outside the given answer. These conditions serve to justify the formation and the stratification of the pair in the workplace, authorizing the supervisor and the already-made answers. Instead of cosmology, in the workplace, the secular iconic action justifies the formation of asymmetrical pair relationships and promotes the ideology of where the power and who the authority is. In both secular and religious ritual, ideology is framed and promoted in the repetition of actions until it becomes embodied by the practitioner. Normally in Japanese ritual, the ideology is projected on to the iconic space, which directs actions, and where values and emotions are individually embodied and collectively shared. In this process, the ideology turns into the personal epistemology of the practitioner prepared and offered by ritual, the iconic action.

As mannerism is an inherent side-effect of any repetitive system, the ritual system’s self-contained, repetitive structure has been increasingly becoming the frustration of business leaders and the Government. The task performance in the workplace programmed by ritual manners or the iconic action is labor intensive. Although business leaders should have anticipated this problem a long time before, they recognize it now that Japan appears to have been falling behind in

productivity and cost performance. Japan is not catching up with the Global economic community which has been evolving into post-modernity from the modern and material production of goods into the marketing of knowledge through Intelligent Technology even to Artificial Intelligence. A main focus in the development and marketing is the ability of outreach, which ritual does not have, as well as precision, which ritual does have. Although, within the self-perpetuating ritual system, change comes from outside and requires a strong leadership, business leaders and the Government themselves cannot change their ritual orientation or even do not wish to change in spite of their critical attitude, because they are the champions of the ritual system which is even becoming tighter under the combination of the ritual system and the legal system. The ritual manners are so essential to them that they cannot think or have not thought of anything to go beyond it. In fact, this situation, at the same time, points to the very weakness in the Japanese modern education. What they should do, but do not, realize is that the global evolution's initiators still are '(transcendental) individuals' by Burridge and Scheffler, whom Western societies support in sciences and arts, but whom Japanese ritual and education are dedicated to repress. Those individuals are the momentum to go out of the fixation, by believing in and seeking more than one answer to one question. They release themselves from collective epistemology in this process and transcend groups, society, a paradigm or what is given and fixated. The ritual system is self-perpetuating in repetition, and transcendency through the consultation with the fact external to the system has never been an interest in education in Japan. Especially, early education, which is designed to select future leaders in the workforce, promotes obedience to the given power and knowledge through examinations and individual evaluation. Going out of the system and achieving a new perspective are not the focus of education, ending in self-perpetuation.

Nation-Wide Formation of Modern and Ritual Meritocracy

Against the global evolution into the Post-modern paradigm, education in Japan has continued to promote a combination of modern determinism and traditional or that of democracy and ritual. This nation-wide system is formally justified by the democratic principle of equal opportunity for social achievement. Developing through the second half of the 20th Century, the system has been established that the top stratum of the early academia shifts to the top stratum of the workforce at the time of graduation from the university. The primary stratification of the workforce is done through the competition in early education starting with the pre-school before the primary school and completing with the entrance to a top university. Achievement in the academic success by

entering and graduating from a top university still is a condition for the privileged position under the assumed life-time employment in large private corporations and the Government bureaucracy. As for promotion, at the time of entrance into a large company, the person's future is categorically chosen by the employer according to the already-achieved academic career. In other words, candidates must first be in the categories of the academic career preferred by the employer. Once employed, in a secured position without discharge or lay-off, this top stratum is expected to compete in building merits for a higher career position which brings a better enumeration with a bigger retirement allowance and pension, besides higher prestige.

This system of early academic selection of the work force promotes the combination of the modern democratic principle of equality and the implementation of ritual inequality. Promoting the a-symmetrical social structure and its practices, the top stratum constitutes the most powerful body of ritual practice. The number of the large companies among manufacturers for example, which hold more than 300 full-time employees, and which produce the annual gain more than three *oku yen*,³³ constitutes 0.3% of the total number of the business corporations, and these top 0.3 % companies employ approximately 30% of the total number of workers³⁴. Being a full-time employee of a large company means an elitist in Japan's workforce, and employment is prestigious, and the person is loaded with pride in any position as being an employee. The personal identity is in his company. This commitment and pride motivates the person to be a good company man or woman and presses the person to further advancement within the top 0.3%. As they have been winning strictly within the given frame of education, they take no-matter-what conditions in their work place to win in the advancement to higher positions. The resultant excessive commitment to the given and the negative indifference over innovations and creations in spite of a dedicated campaign by business leaders are symptomatic of this nation-wide education. Exactly for the same reason, at the same time, they are hungry for anything new, if it is already tested in the markets enough for them to believe that they can also win or even overwhelm the original inventor in the variety and the excellence of application. They are eager to copy and adopt the new and apply to the situation already familiar to them, often with a new

³³ More precisely: For manufacturers - more than 300 employees or more than the capital 3 oku yen capital. In whole sale – more than 100 employees or more than the 1 oku yen capital. In retail – more than 100 employees or more than 5 sen man yen capital. In service-moer than 50 employees or more than the 5 sen man yen capital. (Based on *Chushou Kigyō Hakusho, Annual Report on Middle and Small Businesses 2017*, by Small and Medium Enterprise Agency.

³⁴ The Small and Medium Enterprise Agency. *Annual Report*, 2015.

improvement. They do not hesitate to take the second place in innovation remaining safe, whether they admit it or not, and justify in their traditional notion that the newness comes from abroad, but in the modern time from the United States and Europe. Japan is a top payer of their patents.

Dialogue in Ritual Manners

This nation-wide early-academic selection serves to create the masters of the iconic action, although on the surface this appears to be irrelevant to social achievement. This education system is considered to be faithfully democratic by offering equal opportunity for social achievement to everyone. The entrance examinations to the higher level of education offer one clear answer to every question asked, and that the knowledge is available for anyone to assimilate before the examination. The examination is transparent and equally open to everyone, so that it is fair. Formally satisfying the democratic principle of equal opportunity this way, the method of memorization informally fits in a basic ritual principle, 'Action first, thinking second.' Memorize now the given knowledge as it is, and think later. This ritual principle encourages to seek the already made knowledge and to absorb both old and new in fragments without discrimination. Sorting it out, if (and only if) necessary, should be done later. This is typical of the ritual acquisition of knowledge, as shown in Part I in our religious example, in which the learning in fragments is part of the organized system of teaching and learning). The ritual learning follows the way as a child absorbs and adopts whatever comes from the parents without discrimination, analysis or criticism. This is natural. As the teacher is like a parent to the students who are like the children, the teaching and learning through memorization in Japanese education conditions all of those who are involved. In our example of religious ritual in Part I, the assimilation is done through symbolic experience of the knowledge, whereas in the school education it is done through memorization. Both are non-discriminatory absorption of the authorized knowledge in fragments.

In education, it is clear who gives the knowledge and who the recipient is. Similarly, it is clear who asks questions, and who has answers. The examination offers only one correct answer to each question, and that the answer is held by the teacher, the authority in the classroom. In Japanese optimism, it has been established and continually re-enforced that every issue has an answer held by the authority, and that implementation is delegated by the top authority to the person in the position of teacher at all levels from the preschool to the primary school through the task groups in the workplace. In the discrimination in the early academia, the authority is the Ministry of Education and Science, and in the work place, the authority is the corporate administration. Needless to say, the

same structure of question-answer applies when the question is about ‘manners.’ In the education system, children are aware that the answer is only one, and who holds it in the classroom, while teachers and mothers are fully aware who sets this answer for the teachers. The Ministry of Education and Science provides the standards for the textbooks and examines their quality to be used in the classroom. The creation of the annual entrance examinations is often delegated in the back stage to private specialists outside academia, who often follow more faithfully the guideline provided by the Ministry than teachers. Thus, the teachers at all levels and the publishers of textbooks and exercise books are engaged in guessing the possible range of questions and prepare the answers for the coming examinations, while the children and students are busy memorizing all of the answers provided by their teachers.

In the classroom as well as in the workplace, one of the very bad manners is to ask a question that the teacher cannot answer, as this is not supposed to possibly happen. The answer is assumed to be clear and obvious to everyone. No questions should be asked, unless it is known in advance that the teacher is fully knowledgeable in the subject area.

The education system is self-validating. Similar to the Olympic Games, no one questions the validity or the meaning of a hundred meter race, which is a system designed for competition, and is valid and meaningful for the purpose of competition. The Olympic player runs to win, so does the student in Japan. The end justifies the means. Memorization is the required, basic method of the examination, covering all of the subjects including history, languages, literature, social studies, mathematics and sciences. If a high school student asks the meaning of equations in mathematics or the molecule model in chemistry, or the validity of experiments in science, good and experienced teachers would say, “Do not be suspicious, but just memorize whatever is said in the textbook.” Within the given unit of time, the point of competition is the speed in recollecting and identifying the expected answers for the given questions. This basic orientation continues unchanged, although criticisms and propositions for changes are constantly brought up by some liberal educators and independent scholars.

In the workplace in these manners, it is appreciated, if the question offers the supervisor or the superior a chance to display knowledge and competence in job performances. But, this is the end of the ‘dialogue’ and no further questioning is appreciated. In other words, the ‘dialogue’ in ritual manners is one question followed by one answer and is done between the superior and the inferior. Any further development is a taboo, because it could run out of the ritual manner code, suggesting a possibility that a person might be able to identify a social

space outside of the iconic space. Under this code, refuting the superior is the worst manners. Arguments and quarrels are assumed as the same activity, except for the difference in their intensity. Arguments are relatively milder compared to quarrels. Both are equally against the peaceful relationship in the workplace, because they break the *wa* (group one-ness) harmony. To fulfil these conditions in asking a question, the inferior must already know that the superior has an answer for it. Any questions and answers beyond this structure is a quarrel. Continual argumentation in the Western style is a quarrel, because it overflows the asymmetrical structure of the pair involved. Being in an intimate relationship with the supervisor is advantageous for the group members, they necessarily compete to achieve one-ness with the supervisor.

Learning Democracy in Ritual Manners

To illustrate this situation, some older people have an observation. Among them, a high-school president, who is over seventy years old from the Post-War generation, and who has been known for his leadership in liberal education, says in his public talk that high-school students today are “abnormally obedient.” Following this powerful phrase, the speaker also remarked that the students today cannot initiate their own actions, unless they are precisely instructed. In spite of the frustrations among business leaders, they are the new generations society has been eagerly creating. They are at the opposite pole to the transcendental individuals and are already-made ‘ritual men.’ Under my observation also, their mothers are dedicated to teach their children the way to achieve in the given system by submitting to the authority. The mothers are not given any other choices, because they wish social successes for their children, and also because they wish their successful effort to be recognized and appreciated by their husbands, relatives, and friends, creating a good reputation. Here, some liberal teachers’ promotion of freedom and equality, even freedom of thought and speech, or equality between teachers and students as human being, would put children and mothers under a double-bind. No freedom of speech is promoted in the classroom throughout lower education except by some liberal teachers who are conspicuous in their workplaces. By the time children have reached the age to think of entering a large company, they are already conditioned to adjust themselves to the given pair relationships in the work-place. Rather than being torn between ritual and fairness or between reality and ideology, the choice might be much easier and more rewarding when the person chooses submission to the authority rather than freedom.

Showing the same social trend in another example, primary school children, who used to be noisy chatting in the train on their excursion day, today all neatly

line up to go on to the train, sit in the train in an pre-instructed order quietly, then go out neatly forming lines with the cues from the accompanying teachers, and walk in lines following their teachers. This is a common sight in the suburbs of Tokyo today. The pendulum is swinging towards more conservative-ism, meaning ritual routinization. The personality is formed precisely following the authority, by submitting to the given instruction. This is how glo-cal-ization is domestically progressing.

Although it is a tiny slice of the huge social situation, the scene from a high school classroom is another example, showing the practice of democracy through assimilating the ritual procedure. Since the youngest voting age has been lowered to eighteen years old, it has been reported on TV that some high schools offer an occasion to pre-practice the voting activity. The classroom space is made into a voting site, with desks and chairs which are organized to create a route for student voters to go through from the entrance to the exit passing a group of students sitting in dignity who are supposed to be appointed monitors by the local government on the voting day. The procedure is precisely set up, and students should follow it precisely as instructed. They must walk in to the site politely, present the postcard with the name for identification, be sure that the name is found and checked on the list, receive the slip, proceed to a carrel to write the name of the selected candidate on the slip, proceed to put the slip in the box in front of the monitors, and go out from the exit. Students are instructed that they must carefully shop all of the candidates and select their own before they go to the voting site. The students are taught how to behave in the proper manners on the occasion following the proper procedure rather than to discuss in the classroom the differences in opinions among the candidates or the meaning of democracy and of voting activities. The TV news apparently preferred showing the routinized and behavioral assimilation of democracy through manners to reporting students' discussing the meaning of democracy, although the TV news viewers have no way of knowing if the discussion had ever taken place or not. As everything has to be delineated in the ritual procedure, the new introduction of the Information and Computer Technology curriculum from the primary school nation-wide will follow the same pattern of knowledge assimilation, in spite of the Government's advocating their creation of a new innovative generation.

Individuals in Exile

As the member of a group, isolation from a task group is a heavy and definitive sanction. This sanction labels the individual in isolation as a permanent loser. The nation-wide engagement in ritual manners and groupism

isolates specially-talented individuals. Social members are the citizens of a group and are trained to spontaneously form a group by sharing the same manners. This condition itself is enough to single out a talented individual such as 'sleeping cat' who finds much faster and easier to do the work by himself without his teammates. The gap between himself and his colleagues is too wide for either side to reach the other. If the sleeping cat's talent had been limited and only slightly superior to his colleagues, he should have been able to make a good supervisor to lead his less talented colleagues through ritual manners and drinking parties. But, in reality, he was outstanding; he was not interested in the drinking party. The ritual formation of a task group was a waste of time and even destructive to his talent. As group intimacy is a basic condition for the task-group, his non-committed membership made him typical of an outsider inside.

The retired-executive who told me about the anecdote of the 'sleeping cat' was himself exceptional to be able to recognize and appreciate the individual talent which appears far above the group. For being outstanding above his colleagues, he spent more than ten years abroad as the head of a prestigious research institute attached to one of the top universities in the United States and was financed by his company. His position was highly honorable and new in the history of his company. But still some groupists remarked in the back stage that he was in exile abroad. He developed his talent to recognize and appreciate the talents of others, by staying in, and learning from, the society where outstanding individuals, rather than groups, are appreciated as prime mover for innovation which means ultimately to transcend the given which normally the group inherits and continues.

Another talented person, this time in engineering, told me about himself. In another interview, a male, who had just retired from a famous electric appliance manufacturing company, replied that he himself had been in isolation from any groups under the same supervisor throughout his employment until his retirement. The supervisor did not impose any ritualistic commitment over him except for a good relationship between themselves. As his company appreciated his unique talent, a technological skill, his supervisor kept a distance to him, but protected him well from bullying by other group members. He did not advance to any supervisory or administrative position and remained a regular worker, which is a position commonly described as 'flat employee' with a derogatory connotation to a person of no further promotion. Under the hierarchy, he remained flat at the very bottom without having any honorable title to be printed above his name on his business card (which was an icon of pride) in spite of his talent that is good enough to keep him employed. This sort of business card was

supposed to evoke shame instead of pride by those who remained in their groups, hopefully looking forward to future promotion.

Anticipating the future of an individualist, it has been commonly observed that a newly-joined employee becomes extremely nervous, when he is left alone outside of any task groups, because of his talent. Even in the case that he is able enough to be a group by himself (like the example above), it is widely assumed to be a sign that his future is not a concern for his employer. Although the basic salary is secure and the retirement allowance and the pension are promised, a negative condition attached to this privilege position without promotion is that he lives the rest of his life as a permanent loser. As being an individual, life becomes a shame, from the viewpoint of those who remain in groups. Even in the case that the new member does not have anything wrong about manners, he might have been in this position of 'scapegoat' by chance. He may be 'innocent,' but being in isolation is a sanction. People in groups simply assume that he has been put in this position for a negative reason that is unknown to them yet.

There are, however, some people who positively have decided to be a permanent loser (whom I discussed in my *The Creative Edge* in terms of 'passive individualism'). The person in the following anecdote, who stays in a position with no future promotion, lived quite comfortably, once he psychologically overcame this group sanction. He positively and voluntarily accepted this position from his early stage, because he wished to enjoy his private time with a secure income. Although everyone else might have thought that his life should have become a shame as a permanent loser, for him it was not. By preference, he accepted his position as a good choice and volunteered to be a 'hungers-on' – in a similar way as some people in our religious example in Part I who enjoyed all of the services without commitment. He belonged to a task group as an unambitious and minor member in spite of his age in the senior category, but without receiving sanctions except for being labeled as 'family man' in a derogatory connotation similar to 'sleeping cat.' His example shows that, as the major sanction is psychological, once this is overcome, the permanent position secures his life with his family outside the company. The increase in the number of employees in this category is what business leaders fear presently most – the employees in this category, still privileged but apathetic in the group. They may be even proud of their clever decision to receive full-time security for a much reduced workload. Under the present system, apathy or incompetence cannot be a sufficient reason for discharge, but enough to keep him at the bottom layer of the privileged cohort of the company hierarchy.

In spite of the fear of business leaders, the recent campaign and guidance by the Government to reduce the work hours and the workload may even relax

privileged employees, but the excess from their workload has been going to the layer under less privileged conditions. Yet, this situation would not generate the mass social change from ritual to something else in spite of the worry among business leaders about the falling productivity. Again there is no blue print or even a simple vision for the next stage after ritual actively held by the Government, while the ritual system continues to be self-perpetuating without offering momentum for change from within. The imported business theories do not seem to be agreeable with the Japanese workplace. Although educating supervisors to be better and gentler mentors in pair relationships should improve the working conditions, the task performance based on the pairs will continue to be labor intensive and frustrate business leaders who wish to recover a top position in the per-capita productivity competing in the global economic community. This is the reason why they keep searching for a possibility for social-system changes, while they themselves are encapsulated in their self-perpetuating ritual manners.

Job Shift to Another Ritual

Since 2014, the labor market has been activated in job shifts among older generations who have already achieved a certain merits and demerits in their work places. This has been discussed by the media that the glo-cal-ization is now moving into more Western type of open society, but this is not true. A major reason for this change is a labor shortage of Japanese workers. Another reason consistent behind the mobility is the 'Love it or Leave It' work place condition under the closed ritual system. Until 2014, those who wished to leave could not find recipients for transfer. After 2014, as the labor shortage has created more offers, job shifts have become available for those who have been locked into their current positions against their desire for leaving. A labor shortage resulted from a good economy, the mass retirement of baby boomers and the decreasing population among younger generations opened a new labor market which attracted those who had been ready to leave their current positions. Even privileged non-contracted positions have gone into the market, welcoming the employees presently under the inferior work conditions or the workers who are discontented with the lack of appreciation for their job performances. Offers have been expanded from the more preferred categories to less preferred categories in order to attract the desired number of new workers from outside of the company, although the preference itself was and still is clear and unchanged. Japanese men have been most preferred and imported foreign male workers most un-preferred. In-between, there come Japanese women and, then, robots.

Within the category of Japanese men, the discrimination for new university graduates against those in older generations has distinctively been relaxed. Better work conditions pronounced by job shifters include higher wages for less work hours in a secure employment. Yet privileged and non-contracted positions are still highly competitive, while contracted positions are more available and also more open to women.

Although these offers have added an unprecedented type of mobility to society, this mobility does not lead to a change from the ritual orientation in the task group to something else. The newcomer's successful integration into a slightly different ritual system appears to be the key to a successful job shift. The Japanese commonly observe that those who fail in their job shifts do not fit in their new 'company atmospheres.' That is described in the Japanese term *shafu*, literally meaning 'company wind,' but figuratively indicating the group communication style in the ritual manners based on the shared emotions, the 'stream of consciousness' (by Singer) or the group *etosu* (ethos). The natural stream of consciousness is a product of the ritual sharing and the expression of the embodied values and emotions which should be 'naturally' experienced in the iconic space. If the new ritual is felt natural similar to the former work-place, adaptation should be easy. It has been also reported that those who are psychologically bound to the former ritual procedure manifest emotional difficulties and even a block against joining the new task group feeling unnatural. Leaving their old ritual, 'job hunters' seem to go into another ritualist workplace. As every workplace is 'programmed' in slightly different manners, newcomers sometimes find the gap between the new and the old places is too wide. It has been also reported that for the newcomer, teaching a task as a member of the group is best given in one-to-one mentorship by the supervisor or a senior member of the group. By retaining this orthodox method of ritual mentorship, the new work place successfully attracts and patronizes the new comers in its caring manners. Learning by copying behaviors and attitudes associated with the task, in their new pair relationships, the newcomers must acquire a new set of ritual manners in the new iconic space. Drinking parties are still popular in function in the same way, but seemingly more for taming than breaking under this situation. The newcomers are still expected to join the drinking occasion frequently until he becomes more accustomed to the new environment and new colleagues. Candidates similar to the person nicknamed 'sleeping cat' seem still to have a difficulty in finding an employer who can appreciate their kind of outstanding and unusual talent that over qualifies in the ritualist workplace, because they are too independent to fit in the system based on ritual manners.

In retrospect, a similar labor market situation and popular job shifts were

experienced in 1990, following the big campaign for the new age with the rise of a generation of 'new human species.' Rising tides of social changes were widely discussed by the media, although the media campaign for the new age ceased shortly after the labor shortage ended, leaving some small changes within the system. For the privileged non-contracted employment, at this time, the preferred categories of employment were expanded, distinctively from *the* University of Tokyo to a group of top universities, although this relaxation did not change the principle of the early selection of the workforce through academic achievement. However, also in retrospect, the overall situation did not change by the reformations such as the creation of by-paths for those who have a unique talent to enter some top universities without going through the regular entrance examination, and building new high-schools for returnee students from abroad. The media's original campaign in 1990s such that Japan was changing into an American-type-of affluent society rather quickly diminished, and became replaced by "Think twice before your decision for your job shift." The women who had been preferred and employed over against foreign men became subject to discharge, and some were, in fact, bullied out, especially those who had achieved careers competing with their male colleagues. The administration policy was clear. As the cost of the woman in the non-contracted position was equal to the man in this category, her discharge should enable the employment of several women at the level of a contracted position. Without support from their male colleagues, those privileged women were even easier to bully out than men, once they were singled out from their task groups.

The status differentiation through the early selection through the academic achievement counted even more strictly for promotion and wage increase. Research shows [Honda:110] that, besides the class difference between the four-year university graduates, two-year college graduates, and high school graduates, the status differentiations among universities and also that among high schools became even more rigid, creating finer and more closed categories against unsuccessful achievers. The finer differentiations were distinctive enough to statistically show the inverse relations clearly with the wage differences. These new trend show the more precise application of the categorical selection among the employees according to the early academic achievement.

In the extension of the academic differentiation of the workforce, the placement of employees according to additional examinations given within and by the company is a standard part of career advancement. Selection by examinations continues lifetime. Today, it is common among companies to set the bottom line for upward promotion according to the examinations they value.

English fluency is especially highly regarded, for which the Test of English for International Communication (TOEIC) is commonly used to set the categorical difference in the same way as the early academic selection does at the entrance to the company. The achievement of merits through examinations continues throughout the lifetime.

The Iconic Action – a society coded by rituals

Kuniko Miyanaga

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EPILOGUE

Anticipating today's difficulty more than a few decades ago, a young businessman offered himself to experientially see how wide the gap could be between the society of the iconic action and the society of rules. He challenged a mission to locate himself in the global society outside of his company, aiming to show how a self-proclaimed, committed groupist-ritualist like himself should be able to identify the third way between the ritual and the global, when he became individuated outside of his workplace. He wished to do this by unleashing his talent in the global economic community, instead of submitting himself to a slow pace of group task performance. He had a conviction that he was running ahead of the time, being followed by a silent majority who was holding an overwhelming desire to keep up with global evolution. He had no doubt that this time would come in the near future. Yet, at this time, the system of the iconic action, self-perpetuating and self-binding, was putting the group members in the workplace under an epistemological double-bind including this young business man himself. He believed, however, once he was properly individuated he should be able to transcend this double-bind and amalgamate the two systems. Then, having him as an exemplar, other group members should be able to manage even more efficiently through the global situation. Courageously enough, he threw himself in this ambitious experiment that he designated. He asked his company a three-month off from his line of work to do research on the Western theories of labor management, which was almost immediately approved to his encouragement.

The following is one of the highlights of his experiences. After the initial culture-shock, he achieved extremely successful relationships with local business people, which appeared as if he could have been able to be a leading figure in the globalization of business at least in his own company. A failure, however, came unexpectedly. The following is a confessional email to one of his friends who valued and supported his experiment from the beginning to the end.

I am now accustomed to American relationships. But, now, in turn, I frequently experience conflicts with the Japanese. I have become too 'dry'

in my communication style with my colleagues and superiors and run into quarrels with them all the time through email. [Translated by Miyanaga]³⁵

He also e-mailed the reason for quarreling with one of the men working under him remaining in the headquarters of his company in Japan.

I realize that I translate my Japanese thinking into English, and then again back to Japanese, when I am speaking with the Japanese. Of course, this has to end up with quarrelling. [Translated by Miyanaga:]

By saying “Of course...” he was saying, in the briefest, he lost his feeling of one-ness, which should have spontaneously sprung up from his heart. But it no longer did. Those who were working under him had already suffered from the absence of their supervisor. Then, it happened.

One of my men neglected to contact me for two days. I made him phone me here on the East Coast of America from Tokyo. On the phone, he said that he had to rest for two days because of his calculus.

If I had been speaking in my (original style of) Japanese, I would have said spontaneously and fluently like a natural stream, “Oh, I am sorry to hear that.” “Are you all right now?” “Do not worry about the job...” However, after I translated it into English (and then to Japanese), these sentences changed completely: “It is all right to rest for sick-ness.” “But, please tell me now what you did to delegate your tasks?” “Tell me how you dealt with the customer services, the report to a supervisor, and the project control and your risk management necessary for these.” “If you were too sick to deal with them for yourself, why did you not ask to help from someone else?” “Analyze the situation immediately now and report to me on the phone about priority items and possible treatments, within three hours.” I spoke to him so intensively, he, a fully grown-up man, started crying. (Probably because he felt disappointed with himself, not because he resented me.)

I was shocked for the moment. But, it was too late. I regretted that I created a deep gutter between us. [Translated by Miyanaga]

His man could not bear the sudden ‘paradigm shift’ of his supervisor, which hit him from abroad on the phone. Japanese, which had insured emotions and

³⁵ MIYANAGA, Kuniko. 『英対話力』 (*The Power of Dialogue in English*) 青土社 Tokyo, Seido-sha, 2012. Translation by Miyanaga.

relationships between the two, was suddenly and unexpectedly shifted to something else which was totally unfamiliar to the man working under this supervisor/superior (now in America), although they were still speaking in the same language.

‘One-ness’ between these two men was removed. To the inferior, this happening was received as sanction, although to the superior it was an accident. The removal of the emotional support from the superior was a major sanction, which was standard under a ritual relationship and emotionally damaging, even cruel. This sort of sudden removal could not have happened when both parties were acting under their shared iconic space. As soon as the supervisor spoke Japanese in a way foreign to his man, however, the ritual system malfunctioned. The supervisor’s paradigm shift from the traditional Japanese ritual to modern American rational management gave an unrecoverable blow to his man. It spontaneously happened to the supervisor, and as he spoke so intensively (against his usual Japanese manners), his man even had to cry (which was extremely unusual without alcohol). This happening ended with the possible worst – the supervisor’s deep conviction that he had made ‘a deep gutter’ between himself and his man. In fact, even more seriously than his man, the supervisor himself was wounded by his mistake. Both men individually dismissed themselves from the relationship because of their incompetence of fulfilling the fundamental requirement in the pair relationship. His speaking Japanese thinking in English spontaneously evoked wrong expressions, that he had never even thought of, when he was in the iconic space thinking and speaking in Japanese. Without drinking sharing a *seke*-cup with his man, the supervisor should not ever have deviated from their iconic action. Although, today in retrospect, the supervisor exemplified a common problem that the man of the iconic action could not function outside of the shared iconic space, this was exactly what he initially planned and was confident to overcome. He did even better than he planned in his confrontation with American business but failed on the Japanese end with his man in the way he never anticipated.

The third person outside of their pair relationship may wonder why they could not still function properly under the situation, and this question points exactly to the problem of the system built on the iconic action. The supervisor could have said the same thing but could also have given such a condition as a sick leave with an expression of sympathy. To an extent the supervisor himself was also responsible for emergencies including this rather mild one, he should have made an arrangement with his supervisor for a temporary substitute or assistant prior to his going abroad. But, he did not. His man should have, and could have, asked for the temporary assistant and then taken a sick leave.

But, neither of them possibly found this solution within their epistemology of the iconic action. As emotions were woven into the iconic action and organized under the iconic space, outside of this space, the person could not *feel* in the same way he was *feeling* in his shared iconic space. Since the supervisor lost his 'iconicly' and emotions by living in the English-speaking environment, Japanese words, once translated into English, lost emotions and their associated values and visions. Japanese in the direct translation of emotionless language, that was (his) English, was also emotionless. Japanese, the language to support the iconic action was lost. Both his English and his Japanese translated from English had to be *felt* to him absolutely.' This dry-ness is his definition. And, the reason is simple, that English did not have the power of evocation to him. The emotions that had been embodied in him through his iconic action could not have been evoked by speaking English. English lacks icons for the iconic action. So to him, English was dry by definition, having no emotions such a natural feeling as sympathy.

The third person, however, could think of a possibility to restore the situation by giving his man another phone call and cancel the original statement and changed to such 'command' as, for example, "Please, take care of yourself first, and do the tasks when you come back including the ones stated in my conversation before. Do not worry about it. I should make necessary arrangements. You would not receive any negative appreciation. Do not worry. Rest and recover first." He could have added a heavy apology, but this would have been trivial.

In reality he did not. In fact he could not. When he went out of the shared iconic space, he actually sealed himself out of this space. His functional inability indicated that the ritual system on the iconic action was made self-perpetuating through the actions of the participants. Against his enthusiasm and actions, his attempt in individuation was unsuccessful. He 'naturally' had to sanction himself by dismissing himself from the position of participant in the Japanese relationship. His deep feeling of failure was shared by his man, who even cried because of it. The supervisor's understanding of his man, "Probably because he felt disappointed with himself, not because he resented me," shows the supervisor's sharing the same feeling of failure in social and iconic performance, for which his man had to cry. The supervisor himself was so deeply injured by the failure that, instead of trying to fill the 'gutter,' he dismissed his ambitious attempt in identifying the 'third way.'

When he later made a successful job shift, he transferred to another work place of the iconic action, although the new position was even more prestigious and secured with privileges. Thus, the iconic action continues by discharging

those who do not love his work place. The only choice is 'leave it,' if they cannot 'love it,' finding a better place of the iconic action.

The Iconic Action – a society coded by rituals

Kuniko Miyanaga

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