#### Course No. 3507/3508

# Contemporary Japanese Culture and Society

### Lecture No. 6

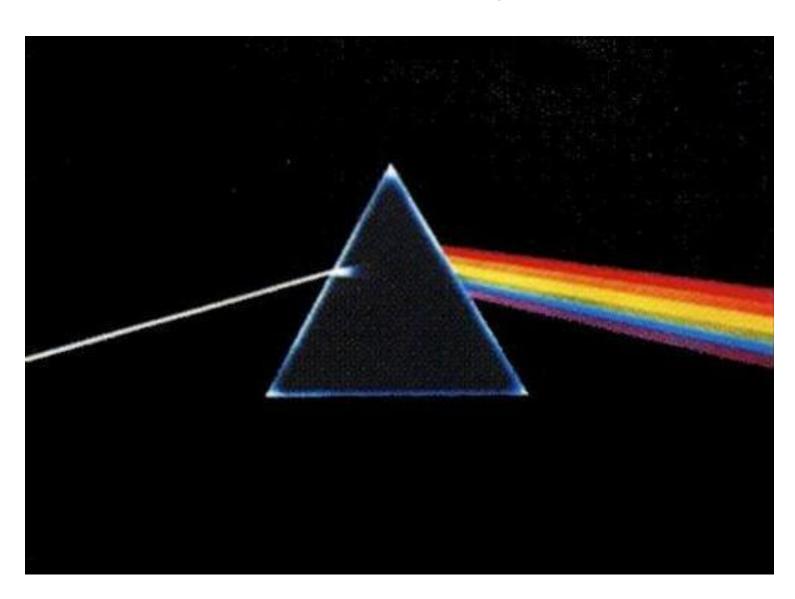
# Social control Shakai Kanri 社会管理

#### In the last lecture...

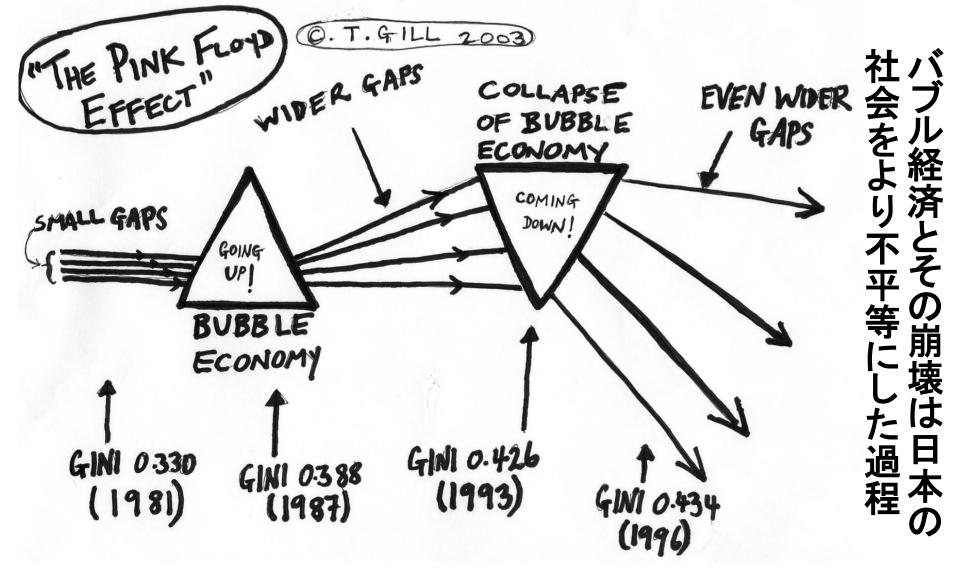
We discussed the widening inequality in Japanese society.

不平等化現象

### 'The Pink Floyd Effect'



「ピンク・フロイ -ド効果\_



How the bubble economy and its collapse made Japan a more unequal society

#### Resulting in:

- Higher unemployment
- More personal bankruptcies
- More people on welfare
- More homelessness (offset in recent years by spread of public homeless shelters and poverty businesses)

Growing inequality and economic pain poses a challenge to another much-discussed aspect of Japanese society:

# Social control 社会管理

 Japan has enjoyed the image of a wellordered society of well-behaved people. We would naturally expect the postbubble economic troubles to put pressure on that orderly society, driving up crime rates and anti-social behavior as people at the bottom of society try to get back at those at the top.経済格差が広がれば、社会管理が難しく なるはずだが...

### First, though...

... let's take a look at the original model of Japan as a control society – a model favored by many Japanese social scientists, especially on the left.

まずその「管理社会」モデルを検証したい。

### Japan: A Control Society? 日本は「管理社会」ですか?

Part of Japan's image, especially in the high-growth days when people believed in *Nihonjinron*, was that of a well-controlled society.

高度成長と日本人論の黄金時代の日本像の一部は「よく管理された社会」というイメージでした。

## "Good Control"

Sometimes that sounds good – low crime rate, well-ordered society, safe and peaceful.

「いい管理」のイメージ:秩序が安定・犯罪率が低い・安全・平和的。



# Everyone working together



# For the good of all



# QC サークル

(That last slide shows a successful "QC Circle", which has been awarded a prize for working out a better way to make radar antennae. QC = Quality Control. Dedicated team work to improve product quality is often seen as a key part of Japan's industrial success.)

# Good social group -> good industrial product

い社会集団→

いし製品

### "Bad Control"

Sometimes it sounds bad – mindless obedience and conformity. Hence images of 'ants' and 'robots' in some foreigners' discourses.

「悪い管理」のイメージもある。何でも命令 どおりする・個性がない・「ロボット」や 「蟻」という差別的なステレオタイプさえ見 える。

#### Robots like humans...



**Inventor** 

**Robot** 

# Humans like robots?

Daimaru department store elevator girl... 8 hours a day in a small metal box speaking scripted words in a programmed voice



# Japanese ants

"The Japanese are like ants: they stay up all night working hard, trying to figure out how to screw you in the morning."

日本人は蟻(あり)のようなものだ。一 晩中働いて、朝になったらどうやって 相手を騙すかをたくらんでね。



**Edith** Cresson (former prime minister of France), 1991

#### Asked to explain her comment...

"I said [the Japanese] worked like ants. Ants work a lot, it's true... We [i.e. French people] can't live in miniscule apartments like that, spend two hours commuting to work. And work, work, work, and have children who will work like beasts. We want to keep our social guarantees, live like human beings, as we have always lived." 「働きすぎの日本人は野獣と変わらないさ。」 You Americans are living like grasshoppers, right? But Japanese are like ants. They only know how to work.

「あなたたち(米国人)はバッタように生きているか?そうでしょう!でも日本人はアリみたいなものさ!仕事しか分からないよ。



If a Japanese comes to New York, he works until midnight, 1 a.m., 2 a.m. Then at 4 or 5 in the morning he'll switch on the light and get ready to work again.

「日本人がニューヨークに 来る場合、午前零時、一 時、2時まで働くよ。そし て4時か5時あたりはまた 電気をつけて仕事再開 の準備が始まる。」 The late Rev.
Sun Yat Moon,
addressing
the Unification
Church in
New York

# Japanese tadpoles 「おたまじゃくし」の日本人

"The Japanese behavioral principle is like that of tadpoles. Neither theory nor logic nor ethics underlies or informs Japanese behavior. Quite simply, a Japanese looks around and does what others are doing; that is the principle of action. Hence, Japanese have trouble with theory, logic, and ethics; they cannot argue or debate."

"The tadpole society is a product of the Ministry of Education. It is of course easy to administer a society of tadpoles.... The Ministry of Education decides what is good to think, while denigrating individual opinion. Individuality is punished, and no one is encouraged to think on one's own. And things are getting worse."

### Katsuichi Honda 本多勝一, 1991

Katsuichi Honda (b. 1932), star Asahi Shinbun journalist whose longrunning column, Hinkon naru Seishin, ('The Impoverished Spirit', 1974-1992) was republished in over 20 volumes. One of the most influential left-wing social commentators in Japan. An English-language selection was published in 1993.

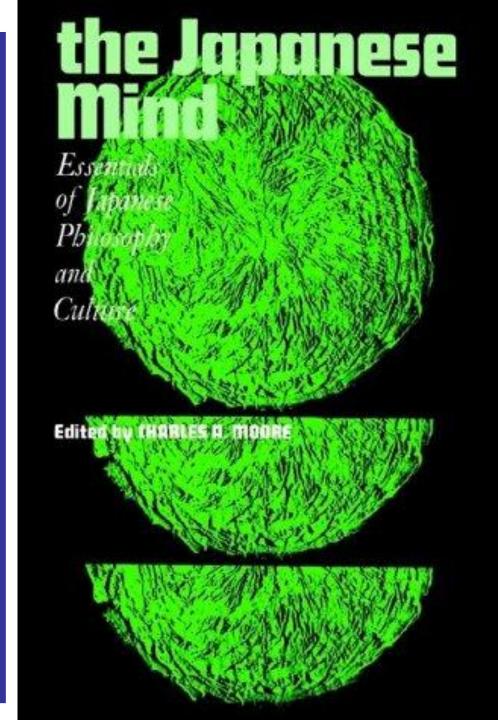


# 本多勝一、 『貧困なる 精神』

# Intellectual Nihonjinron: Illogical Japanese?

Japanese have "a mentality unfit for abstract thinking" (Yukawa Hideki) ... and "a weakness in ability to think in terms of logical consequences" (Nakamura Hajime),

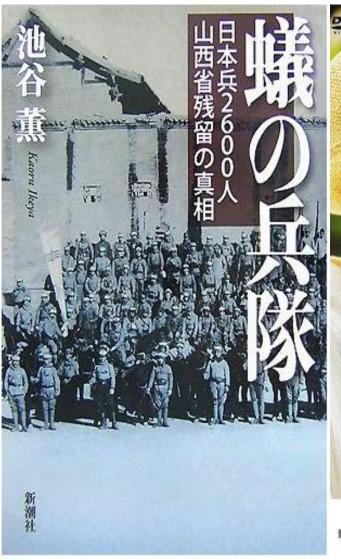
日本人は「抽象的に考えることに向かない」(湯 川秀樹{?}、「論理的な因果関係で考えること は不得意(中村はじめ{?}) 出所: The Japanese Mind: Essentials of Japanese Philosophy and Culture, ed. **Charles Moore** (1967), p. 56 (Yukawa 湯川) p. 143 (Nakamura 中村)



## Strange bedfellows

So the image of dehumanized citizens/workers, dominated by their superiors, driven by herd instinct, is favored by internal left-wing critics of Japan as well as by foreigners upset by Japan's economic success.

# Kaoru Ikeya, *Ant soldiers* book [2007] + film [2005]





由西省残留問題"に正面から斬り込んだ長篇ドキュメンタリー

**About WW2** soldiers abandoned in China ... links two popular **Japanese** images: ants and soldiers

# Japan's control society: A legacy of militarism?





... or did existing characteristics make it easy for Japan to drift that way in the 1930s?

### The military metaphor 軍隊隠喩

- No doubt the fanatical obedience of Japanese soldiers during WW2 still influences images of Japan.
- ・第2次世界大戦で見られた日本兵 の熱狂的な服従は今でも日本のイ メージに影響あり

### The military metaphor 軍隊隠喩

- But is that because contemporary Japanese society really shows armylike control?
- ・それは、現代日本社会も軍隊的な社会管理があるから?

### The military metaphor 軍隊隠喩

- Or is the image of Japanese society as a military-style organization just an out-dated stereotype?
- ・それとも、社会組織を軍隊的な組織として見なすことは単なる時代遅れの隠喩ですか?

# So... is Japan a 'control society'?

... and if so, what does that mean?

#### Let's take a look at how six Japanese theorists have grappled with this theme.

#### Social control theory 1: Ikuo Arakawa 荒川幾男(1970)

『管理社会』 Kanri Shakai The Control Society

(講談社 Kodansha, 1970)

#### Social control theory 1: Ikuo Arakawa 荒川幾男(1970)

「『管理するもの』と『管理されるもの』とがはっきり分けられていて、管理エリートがすべての実権をにぎり、管理されるものは窮屈な組織のなかの下積みに閉じこめられて...

The 'controller' and the 'controlled' are clearly differentiated, with a controlling elite holding all authority and those controlled being smothered under restrictive organizations...

… 機械の部分品のように操作され、自由を失っている…未来が決定されている感じ、一口でいえば、疎外感であろうか。」

荒川幾男、『管理社会』、1970年。

... They (the controlled) are manipulated like parts of a machine, deprived of their freedom... they have the feeling that their future is decided, in a word, they have a sense of alienation."

Ikuo Arakawa, *Kanri Shakai*, 1970, p. 12.

#### Left-wing nostalgia

- Like many left-wing Japanese critics, he shows a nostalgia for the rural village society of the past, when people were not forced into rigid, depersonalized hierarchies.
- (Was village society really that much warmer and more humane than industrialized society? Debatable.)

荒川の管理社会のイメージは60年代の高度成長時代を反映している。田舎から外れた人間が大都市に移って、非人間的な会社や組織に吸い込まれて、上からの管理に抵抗できない。産業の機械化、社会の匿名化とその中の個人の無力さがテーマになっている。

Arakawa's model reflects the trends of the high-growth 1960s. Huge numbers of people left the countryside to work in large, impersonal companies that largely controlled their lives.

#### Urbanization

Country	1950	1960	1970	1980	1990	2000
UK	84	86	88	89	89	90
US	64	70	74	<b>74</b>	<b>75</b>	77
France	56	62	71	<b>7</b> 3	<b>74</b>	76
Japan	<b>50</b>	63	<b>71</b>	<b>76</b>	<b>77</b>	<b>79</b>
S. Korea	21	28	41	57	74	82
China	13	16	17	20	27	32

Source: United Nations Population Bureau http://earthtrends.wri.org/text/POP/variables/448.htm

# The rural past is much closer in Japan than in other industrialized countries... the industrial revolution came later.

#### Arakawa key words

Urbanization 都市化

Industrialization 産業化

Factory 工場

Machinery機械

Factory as machine 機械としての工場

Workers as parts 部品としての労働者

Powerlessness 無力

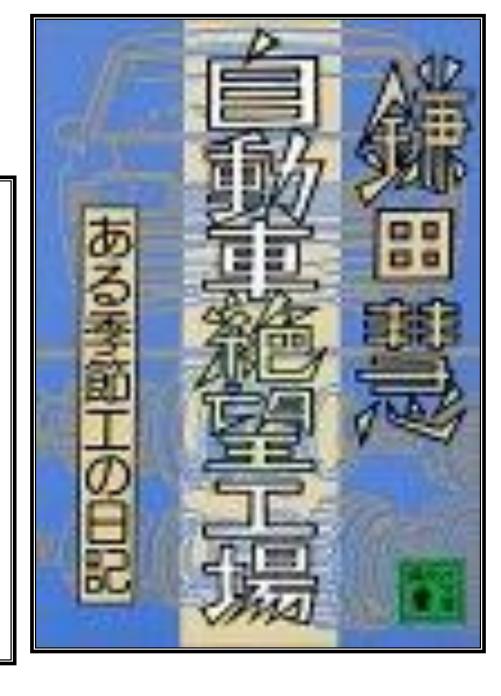
Alienation. 疎外感

### Factory life exposed

Satoshi Kamata, Auto Factory of Despair

自動車絶望工場 一ある季節工の 日記

鎌田 慧,1973



#### English version:

Kamata, Satoshi. *Japan In the* Passing Lane: An Insiders Account of Life in a Japanese Auto Factory. New York: Pantheon Books, 1982.

#### This does sound militaristic!

- Kamata describes hellish conditions in Toyota factory, where teams of workers were goaded to compete against each other in the struggle to improve competitivity.
- Workers were not even allowed to go to the toilet except at authorized break times.
- 「おしっこ禁止」. . . やはりトヨタは軍事的 だった?

#### Irony...

The introduction to the US version stresses the fact that workers remained loyal to the company despite having to work longer hours for less pay than US workers... the myth of the loyal Japanese worker gets a boost. (Not what Satoshi Kamata intended at all!)

#### What makes workers loyal?

# A story from Sunderland and Yokohama in the days of the bubble economy

In the late 1980s, Nissan Motor opened a new plant at Sunderland in **Northeast** England.



### A center of the British shipbuilding industry



#### High unemployment

- ... the decline of the shipbuilding industry left Sunderland with a lot of people out of work
- 造船業の長引く不振でサンダーランドに長期失業者がたくさんいました。

#### And then came Nissan! そこで、日産参上!



#### A Daily Mail project

The motoring editor decides to compare the lifestyles and economic circumstances of 2 Nissan workers: one in Britain, one in Japan.

He interviewed a British Nissan worker in Sunderland; I interviewed a Japanese Nissan worker in Oppama (near Yokosuka).

デイリーメール新聞の特別プロジェクト: 日英自動車工場労働者比較

#### **UK Nissan worker:**

Totally devoted to the company, which saved him from permanent unemployment. Works on holidays, does unpaid overtime. Earns one-third of a comparable Japanese Nissan worker. Accepts no-union policy.

イギリスの日産マンは会社に忠実!賃金は日本の日産マンの3部の1なのに…

#### Japanese Nissan worker:

Earns three times as much, owns a house worth close to a million pounds (though it is an ordinary wooden house in Yokohama). Is a member of the company union, negotiates for better pay every year, sometimes goes on strike... and says he would happily move to another company if the terms were better.

#### ... but that is very unlikely...

.. because of the seniority pay system (年功序列制度)... which can be read (1) as an expression of the company as family; or (2) as a strategy by employers to stop workers from quitting and going elsewhere.

# Now back to the main story...

#### For Arakawa, one size fits all...

... he makes no attempt to distinguish Japan from other capitalist states. But later control theorists do tend to mark out a special kind of social control in Japan.

荒川はあくまでも「資本主義の社会」を話す。日本は別に他の国家と変わらない。後の管理社会論者は日本の独特な社会管理を探る。

#### Social control theory 2: Rokuro Hidaka 日高六郎 (1980)

『戦後思想を考える』 Sengo Shiso o Kangaeru Thinking About Postwar **Thought** (岩波新書 Iwanami Shinsho 1980)

#### It's not like 1984...

オーウェルの『1984年』は一つの極端な管理社会のモデルとして捉えられるが、そういう露骨な権威主義を日本に適用すれば

George Orwell's anti-utopian novel 1984 is one model of a hard-line authoritarian state, but Hidaka says it wouldn't work in Japan. If one tried to make a police state in Japan...

- 「...権力の永久支配ではなく、むしろ権力の動揺と混乱を招きます」(106 頁)。
- "...rather than establishing the eternal domination of the authorities, one would invite destabilization of authority and chaos" (p. 106)

Japanese people will rebel against harsh authoritarianism (there is a long tradition of popular rebellions in Japan). So Japanese people are controlled by subtler means...

日本には露骨な権力主義に反乱する伝統がある(農民の反乱... ええじゃないか運動、など)。だからより巧みな社会管理が求められる...

...a combination of cultural and educational brainwashing and material affluence makes them obey authority instinctively and without the threat of heavy penalties for deviance.

文化的・教育的な洗脳 + 裕福な生活により、人が本能的に権力に従う。罰則がいらない!

#### "SOFT CONTROL"

"Domination of the masses is carried out not in a hard way but a soft way; not in a unified way but in a multifaceted, multipurpose manner."

「大衆支配は硬いしかたではなく、柔軟なしかたで行われる。一元的ではなく、多 面的多用的に行われる。」 "In particular, control of everyday life, culture, education and consciousness is important."

「とくに、生活、文化、教育、意識の管理が重要になっている。」

Rokuro Hidaka 日高六郎 (1980)

## More like Huxley's *Brave New World* than Orwell's 1984

オーウェルの『1984年』のように引用されてはいないが、オールダス・ハクスリーの『素晴らしき新世界』はむしろ日高のモデルに近いと思われる。

#### Rokuro Hidaka 日高六郎



#### Hidaka Key Words

Soft control 柔軟な管理 Brainwashing 洗脳 教育 Education Affluence

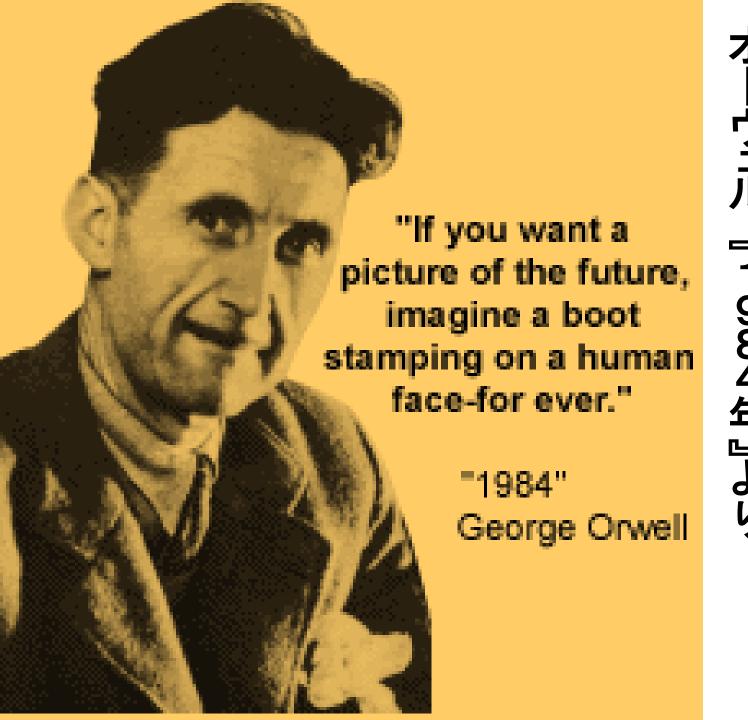
#### By the way...

For those of you who have not read Orwell and Huxley... I recommend both of them!

#### **George Orwell, 1903-1950**







オーウェル、『1984年』より像してください」いつまでも踏みつけているブートを想い来のイメージならば、人間の顔を

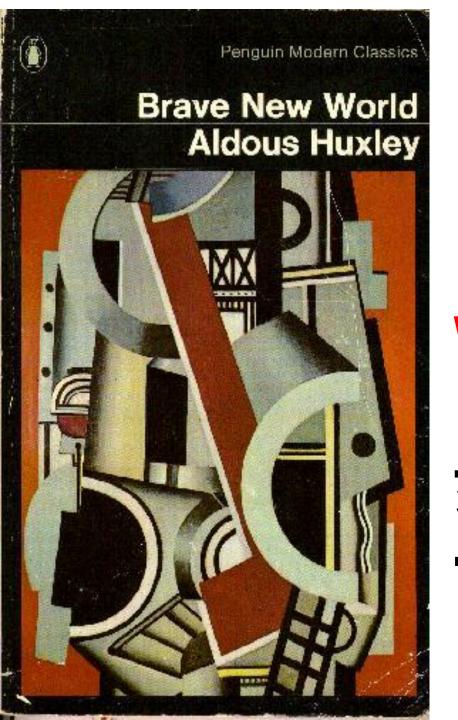
A severely authoritarian state with perpetual surveillance and a rule of fear; cf Stalin, Hitler



#### **Aldous Huxley**



オルダス・ハックスリー 1894-1963



### Brave New World 素晴らしい新 世界 1932

#### Softer control

 In Brave New World, people can enjoy themselves – in fact they are encouraged to use feel-good drugs and to have sex with as many partners as possible. But marriage and the family have been abolished... embryos 胎芽are cultivated in test tubes and then the babies are brought up in large groups, divided by social class.

## 2 fictional models of a control society 2つの管理社会のモデル

Orwell: *Authorities force obedience* by the threat of violence 暴力の脅しでむりやり国民を権力に従わせる

Huxley: Authorities make people want to obey by brain-washing them and letting them live in material comfort 洗脳+物質的な余裕で国民を権力に従いたいものにする

Orwell: An authoritarian control state

オーウェル: 権威主義管理国家

Huxley: A consumerist control state

ハックスリー:消費主義管理国家

If Japan is a control society...

# ...is it more like 1984 or *Brave*New World?

#### Social control theory 3: Akira Kurihara 栗原彬 (1982)

『管理社会と民衆理性』

Kanri Shakai to Minshu Risei

The Control Society and Popular Rationality.

Shinyosha 新曜社 1982

#### Social control theory 3: Akira Kurihara 栗原彬 (1982)

Kurihara Akira takes the idea one step further. He claims to identify "a mechanism of internalized [obedience to] domination" in the Japanese consciousness.

栗原の管理社会論ではその内面化がさらに一歩進んで、日本の国民は「内面支配のメカニズム」 (同:xii)に、人形のように操られて自発的に服従するものになってしまっている...

Kurihara sees all industrialized societies as control societies (in the sense that the state intervenes in economic and social life), but cites instinctive loyalty to the emperor and values associated with him as special to the Japanese case.

経済プロセスに国家が介入するという意味で、 近代国家はみな管理国家だとする。ただ日本 型管理社会の場合、「天皇制的発想様式」とい うもう一つの強力かつソフトな社会管理のメカ ニズムがあるとしている。

# Four key characteristics of Japanese internalized control 日本の内面支配メカニズムの4特徴

- 1. Vagueness in drawing moral boundaries
- 2. Extreme concentration of values in the political centre
- ①物事のあいまい化
- ②「中央」への価値集中

- 3. A systematic division between speech and thought
  - 4. A strong tendency to divide social groupings between 'us' and 'them'.
  - ③本音と建前の使い分け
  - ④「われわれ」と「かれら」という認識枠といった発想様式が、をかたちづくっているというものである。



#### 栗原彬 Akira Kurihara

心理学的な社会観理論 + 日本人論の味付け Psychological control theory with a Nihonjin-ron flavor

#### Kurihara key words

Internalization 内面化 内面化 Internal domination mechanism 内面支配メカニズム Emperor system 天皇制的発想様式 Us and them われらと彼ら

Honne and tatemae

本音•建前

#### Social control theory 4: Kokichi Shoji 庄司興吉 (1989)

管理社会と世界社会

Kanri Shakai to Sekai Shakai

The Control Society and World
Society

(University of Tokyo Press 東京 大学出版会, 1989)

#### Social control theory 4: Kokichi Shoji 庄司興吉 (1989)

A bleak view: control society is "permeated by general and oppressive control"

「全般的かつ抑圧的な管理のいきわたる社会」 Japanese state-level control is a replica of American control over global society

日本国内の管理社会は世界社会のアメリカによる制覇を国家レベルで再生されるもの

#### Part of the human condition...

In all 'advanced' countries, not just Japan, the higher the level of learning gets, the stricter the social control becomes. (p. 244).

日本にかぎられず、いわゆる「先進」社会には知識の程度が上がれば社会管理も硬くなる。彼の言葉でいうと先進社会は「知識化の基礎のうえにたえざる管理化の進展する社会」(同:244)。

#### A little too pessimistic?

Shoji assumes that advances in technology help the state to strengthen surveillance and control of the people, but lately that view has been called into question.

しかし、テクノロジーの発展によって中央政権 がより徹底的に国民を管理できるという「常 識」が最近問われるようになってきた。

#### Technology can liberate, too...

The Internet is a good example. Yes, it can be a tool of control, but it can also enable individuals to share information and exchange opinions away from the eye of the state.

特にインターネットのお陰で、個人と個人の間の、管理しにくい連絡ができるようになったし、個人が膨大な情報を調べられるようになったので、この展開は必ずしもビッグ・ブラザーに有利だと限らない。

#### Shoji Key Words

**Universal (not limited to Japan)** 一般的(日本人論ではない) Political 政治的 Anti-American 反米 Wary of technological progress テクノロジーの進歩に疑問

#### Social control theory 5: Saburo Shinohara 篠原三郎 (1994)

『現代管理社会論の展望』

Gendai Kanri Shakai-ron no Tenbo

The Prospects for Contemporary Control Society Theory

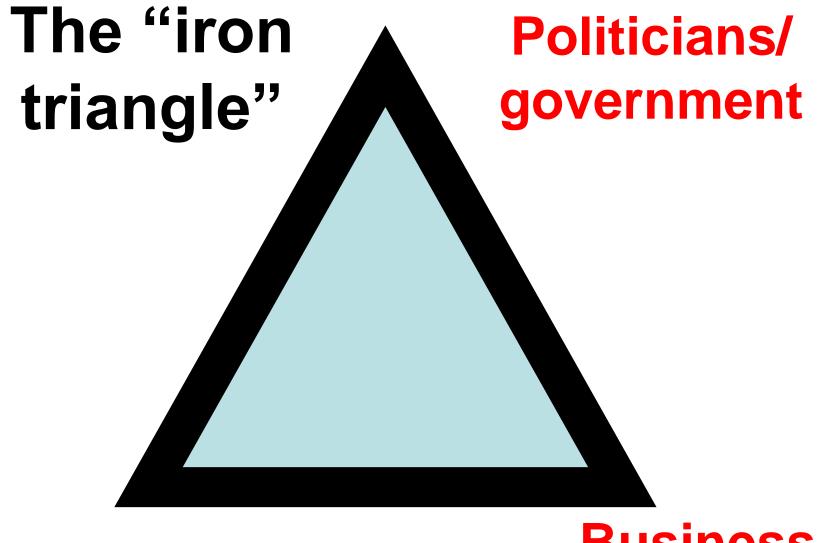
(Kouchi Shobo こうち書房 1994)

#### Social control theory 5: Saburo Shinohara 篠原三郎 (1994)

Shinohara views the business corporation, rather than the state, as the chief locus of social control.

In the various ways in which reward and punishment are used to inculcate worker loyalty, and in the vast interlocking shareholdings which link major corporations together, he sees an overwhelmingly powerful control center.

This is also a theme of the discourse on the control society in the Japanese popular media, which usually puts corporate capitalism in a three-way nexus with politicians and bureaucracy, the so-called 'iron triangle'.



**Bureaucracy** 

**Business** 

The triangle has no centre, leading to questions as to where the centre of authority and responsibility is to be found. Karel van Wolferen argues in The Enigma of Japanese Power, (1990) that there is no such centre, leaving Japan as a fundamentally flawed state.

# THE ENIGMA JAPANESE POWER

THE FIRST FULL SCALE EXAMINATION OF

THE INNER WORKINGS OF JAPAN'S POLITICAL/INDUSTRIAL SYSTEM

#### Karel van Wolferen

The most forestelly and convincingly argued critique of Jupan to appear. A learned study that encompasses Japanese political, economic and social life... Engine must be read it may become a teachstone for the 1990s."

- San Francisco Chronicle

Van Wolferen's best-seller. On the back cover it says "In Japan, nothing is ever as it seems."



While I believe that is to overstate the case, there is no doubt that the extremely powerful bureaucracy and relatively weak legislature in Japan have greatly complicated issues of power and responsibility over the vears.

#### Social control theory 6: Yoshio Sugimoto 杉本 良夫 (1997/2003)

"Friendly Authoritarianism" (Chapter 10 of An Introduction to Japanese Society).



#### Soft Control「ソフト管理」系

"Japanese society has various forms of regimentation that are designed to standardize the thought patterns and attitudes of the Japanese and make them toe the line in everyday life."

「日本の社会には色々の統制仕組みがあって、 その目標は日本人の考え方や態度を標準化 させて、日常生活で習慣を守るようにすること である。」(ギル訳) "While these pressures exist in any society, in Japan they constitute a general pattern which one might call friendly authoritarianism."

「こういうプレッシャーはどこの社会にでも存在するけど、日本においては総合的なパターンになっていて、そのパターンを「親しい権威主義」とでも呼べるでしょう。」

"It is authoritarian to the extent that it encourages each member of society to internalize and share the value system which regards control and regimentation as natural, and to accept the instructions and orders of people in superordinate positions without questioning."

「権威主義というのは、管理・統制が自然として見なす価値観を社会の各構成員に内面化させて、その構成員が上司の指導や命令を問わずに受け入れるようにさせようとするというところにある。」(杉本245頁)

#### No mention of the Emperor

Like Akira Kurihara, Sugimoto stresses internalized control. But unlike Kurihara, Sugimoto hardly even mentions the emperor. (Only 2 pp. in a 300pp. book)

国民が共通価値観を内面化しているという主張は栗原彬(論者3)と似ている。でも栗原は「天皇制」の影響を強調するところで、杉本はほとんど天皇制に触れていない。300頁の『日本社会入門』には、直接「天皇」「天皇制」を話すのは2頁だけ。

#### ... I tend to agree.

For better or worse, the emperor does not play much part in the lives of most Japanese today. Kurihara seems outdated here.

私は納得。よかれあしかれ、天皇を重大な存在として見なす日本人がごく少数だと思う。栗原論はその点、時代遅れ?

# 4 features of friendly authoritarianism 「親しい権威主義」の4つの特徴

- 1. Mutual surveillance by small groups
- 2. Visible, tangible authority
- ① 小集団内の相互観察
- ② 見える、触れる権力

- 3. Manipulation of ambiguity
  - 4. Moralizing and mind correctness
  - ③ 曖昧さの操作
  - ④ 説教と「心の正しさ」

# ① Mutual surveillance within small groups小集団内の相互観察

#### | At school: the han 「班」system.

Small groups compete both academically and socially (good grades, good manners).

At work: QC Circles QCサークル

Really the quality of the workers is being controlled.

# ① Mutual surveillance within small groups小集団内の相互観察

In local society: neighborhood associations (chonaikai, jichikai)

地域社会には:「町内会」や「自治会」。

Descended from the wartime 'tonarigumi'隣組(neighborhood watch) system... while cleaning up, doing fire drill, holding festivals, combating crime etc.... People are also spying on each other.

- ② Visible and tangible power 見える、実態的な権力
- . More than 40% of Japanese police are based in koban, chuzaisho and hasshutsujo「交番」「駐在所」「派出所」 - small local police boxes scattered throughout society. Police tour the community, picking up information... junkai renraku「巡回 連絡」another spy network?

### ② Visible and tangible power 見える、実態的な権力

2. Teachers sometimes visit pupils' households (katei homon 家庭訪問). They are supposed to discuss the kids' progress with parents... but they also check out the home. **Empty whisky bottles? Untidy** living room? The teacher as social spy.

# ② Visible and tangible power 見える、実態的な権力

The authoritarian social environment: signs everywhere!

"Don't rush to board the train"

「駆け込み乗車をやめましょう」

"Please stand behind the white line."

「白線の内側にお待ちください」

"No Entry"

「立ち入り禁止」

You feel authority everywhere you go.

Cf Ichiro Ozawa and the Grand Canyon in 'A Blueprint for a New Japan', 1994.



Ozawa says that if the Grand Canyon were in Japan, it would have a huge fence running along the side, festooned with signs warning people not to get to close to the edge due to the danger of falling to your death. But in Arizona they don't even have a fence.

Ozawa approves of the American way – it is grown-up, whereas Japan treats her citizens like stupid children.

#### Debatable!

### ③ Manipulation of ambiguity 曖昧さの操作

- "Ambiguity ... enables those in positions of authority to interpret various situations at their discretion." (p. 278)
- E.g. 1 Peace Constitution but soldiers in Iraq, Afghanistan
- E.g. 2 Ability to imprison people for up to 23 days without trial in police cells.

# ③ Manipulation of ambiguity 曖昧さの操作

In the case of labor relations, people are often employed without a written contract, leaving many conditions to the discretion (sairyō) of the boss (上司の裁量)

#### 1. Physical correctness

At school: kids learn to sit the right way, stand the right way, bow the right way, clean the classroom.

At work: employees learn the right way to greet a visitor, address the boss, exchange name cards etc.

2. Emotive moralizing

School songs, company songs, prefectural songs... the national anthem.

Singing together promotes group consciousness.

集団で歌うと集団意識が一層高まる。

- 3. A community of sanctions制裁の 共同体
- Ultimate sanction is jōshiki 「常識」or common sense, the right way of doing things. If you are hijōshiki 非常識 you will be condemned by the moral community (seken 「世間」). Inculcates conservatism.

4. 平等的な競争のイデオロギー **Ideology of Egalitarian Competition** The establishment encourages people to believe that everyone has an equal chance to succeed in society if they try hard (Risshin shusse 立身出世) . Hence social

losers blame themselves, not

winners or 'society'.

E.g. Japanese believe in the fairness of university entrance exams (questions are thought to be objective). In fact, chances of success are far higher for the daughter or son of a professor than for the daughter of son of a laborer... no concept of 'positive discrimination.' Hence the myth of equal society affects behavior, attitudes (cf lecture on equality/inequality.)

**Net result:** 

A docile, easy to control population.

#### Sugimoto: Friendly authoritarianism p.257 / 284

	Type of Control			
Sphere of control	<b>1</b> Mutual Surveillance	<b>2Visible &amp; tangible</b> power		
Law	Family register, resident cards	Koban (police box)		
Community	Neighborhood associations	Police household checks		
Business	TQC movement	Long hours, unpaid overtime		
Education	Han groups	Corporal punishment, home visits		

#### Sugimoto: friendly authoritarianism

	Type of Control		
Sphere of control	<b>3Manipulative</b> ambiguity	<b>4</b> Moralizing & Mind correctness	
Law	Constitution, police cells	Shimatsusho (apology letters)	
Community	Gift-giving practices	Sanction of seken 世間	
Business	Unaccounted expenses; dango	Company songs, company mottoes	
Education	Textbook authorization	Classroom cleaning; military attention	

#### 杉本257頁(97年)284頁(03年)、和訳byギル)

	管理の種類				
管理の分 野	①小集団 の相互観 察	②見える、 実態的な 権力	③曖昧さの操作	④説教と 「心の正 しさ」	
法律	戸籍、住 民票	交番	憲法など	始末書	
地域社会	町内会、 自治会	巡回連絡	贈与・贈り物	世間	
企業	QCサー クル	サービス 残業	接待、談合	社歌、社 訓	
教育	班制度	体罰、家 庭訪問	教科書公 認制	教室掃除、 気をつけ	

#### UC Students:

- How do the police compare with those back home?
  - Is Meigaku more strictly controlled than your UC campus?
  - How does public behavior compare between the US and Japan?
  - Do you feel Japan is a strictly controlled society?

#### Meigaku students:

Does your family take an active part in the neighborhood association? Did your school teacher make home visits often? Did it bother you? Do the police visit your house? Do you know the words and tune of the Meigaku school song?

### Meigaku students:

Does it bother you if you are expected to stand up and sing the national anthem (Kimigayo 君が代)at some event? Would you salute the Japanese flag (Hinomaru)?

#### **UC Students:**

Does it bother you if you are expected to stand up and sing the national anthem (*The Star-Spangled Banner*) at some event?

Would you salute the Stars and Stripes?

#### Meigaku students:

Does it bother you what the moral community (seken 世間) thinks?

How important is *jōshiki* (常識; 'commonsense' or 'respectability') to you?

Do you feel Japan is a strictly controlled society?

#### **UC Students:**

Does it bother you what people around you think of you?

How important is it to you to be 'respectable'?

Do you feel America is a strictly controlled society?

