

Course No. 3507/3508

**Contemporary
Japanese Culture
and Society**

Lecture No. 8

Exchange

Kōkan

交換

The old chicken and egg question

Do people make society?

Or does society make people?

人間は社会を作る？

それとも、社会は人間を作る？

**Of course it's a bit of
both... however,**

***Sociologists tend to
stress 'society'...***

***Anthropologists tend to
stress 'people'***



Emile Durkheim

father of
sociology
1858-1917

エミール・デュル
ケーム，
社会学の創設者

Perhaps the world's most influential social scientist

... Durkheim often refers to people as 'molecules', whose fate is determined by the nature of the society they are born into.

人間は社会に動かされる「原子」だ、とデュルケーム。

**“Originally society is
everything, the individual
nothing.”**

(Durkheim, *Suicide*)

Society → Individual

**「元々社会は全て、個人は無し。」
(デュルケーム、自殺論)**

社会→個人

An alternative approach:

One that starts from individual behavior, and shows society as the outcome or total of lots and lots of transactions between individuals.

Individual → Society

**オルターナティブな見方：個人と個人の間
のやり取りにより社会が成り立つ。**

個人→社会

The crude political level

Durkheimian thought implies that if a government intervenes in society, it can change individual people. Hence associated with big government, socialism.

Anti-Durkheimian thought tends to be associated with free-market capitalism. All those individuals struggling for gain will create a prosperous society.

A famous anti-Durkheimian

“There is no such thing as society. There are individual men and women, and there are families.”

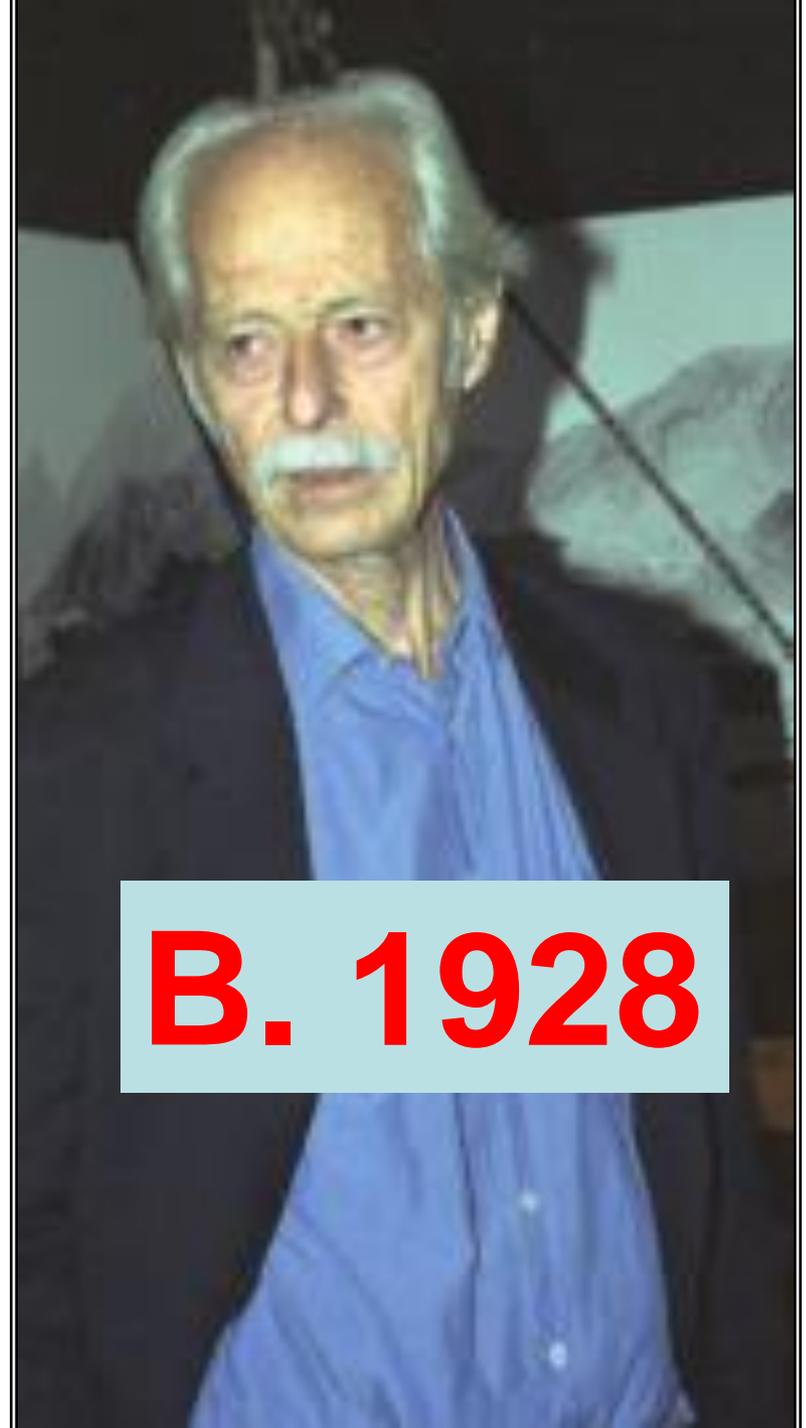
「社会というものは存在しない。個人の男女がある。それに、家族。」



Margaret Thatcher, then prime minister, talking to Women's Own magazine in 1987

**Academic anti-
Durkheimian:
Norwegian
anthropologist
Fredrik
Barth**

フレデリック・バー
ス、ノルウェイ人の
人類学者



B. 1928

Social analysis at micro-level: transactions between individuals and groups

今までは「日本の社会」を大型な機械のよう
に見て、平等主義や不平等主義をその
特徴として指摘したが、今回はマイク
ロ・レベルで調べる：人間や小集団の間
のやり取りのレベルで

“Transactionalism” 交流分析？やりとり論？

**Frederick Barth (フレデリック
バーズ)**

**Attempting to understand
society in terms of the
transactions (交換・やり取り)
between members of that
society.**

**Society as a game,
not a machine**

社会は「機械」ではなく、
「ゲーム」だとする

Durkheimian sociologists tend to see society as a kind of “machine” (with people as cogs and wheels)

バースの分析法では、分析の単位は「社会」ではなく、「個人」です。ディルクハイム派によると社会は人間を作る「機械」だ。

Control society theory tends to be heavily Durkheimian...

... since it portrays people as the passive objects of social control.

「管理社会論」はどうしてもデュルケームの影響が強い...

「われわれ日本人」...

デュルケーム的な発言形式

And indeed, Durkheimian thought is very common in Japan generally. When someone says “*ware-ware Nihonjin*” (“We Japanese... tend to think this way / do things this way...” that’s a Durkheimian statement. It assumes that society makes the individual, not the reverse.

バーズなどの交流分析派だと社会は
「ゲーム」で、人間はそのルールを
作ったり破ったりする. . . .

**Transactionalists like Barth
see society as a dynamic
"game" & people as active,
calculating players, who
make the rules and
sometimes break them.**

**What can we learn about
Japan from an analysis of
transactions?**

**さて、日本の社会を個人や小
集団の間の交換・交流を見れ
ば、何か分かるかな？**

Case Studies 事例

1. Thatching in Shirakawa 白川郷のわら屋根労働
2. Johnny Walker as seasonal gift お中元・お歳暮
3. Newspapers and regular customers お得意様
4. House rent and deposit 住居の資金・礼金・家賃
5. Bribes 賄賂
6. Valentine's Day バレンタイン・デー
7. Wedding presents
8. Big firm – small firm transactions 大企業・小企業のやり取り
9. Blood and organ donations 献血・臓器提供
10. Begging and charity

Case Study 1

Thatching transactions in Shirakawa

白川郷のわら屋根労働
交換

KANAZAWA

TOYAMA

白川郷

SHIRAKAWA-GO

GIFU

NAGOYA

-  新幹線
-  在来線
-  有料自動車道
-  国道



The “Hometown of Japan” 「日本のふるさと」



“Gassho-zukuri” houses



「合掌造り」の民家



Amid the tranquil rice-paddies

穏やかな稲田の中で

Lovely in the snow...



But it's not just the beautiful buildings and scenery that draw people to Shirakawa...the place is associated nostalgically with a communal way of life

しかし白川郷の魅力は美しい民家や自然環境ばかりではない...懐かしい共同生活と関連している

Ancient-style gassho-zukuri



天地根元造り



**Working together in the rice
paddies... 一緒に稲田で働いて...**

The *irori* 囲炉裏 (hearth) is the communal center



Extended families live together in the giant thatched houses.

Some have two or three *irori* (hearth), for different generations and family branches.

Status is marked by seating position at the *irori* relative to the *daikokubashira* 大黒柱, the central pillar supporting the roof.

Small bedrooms, to maximize body warmth in the cruel Shirakawa winter.

**(cf Tetsuro Watsuji 和辻哲郎,
lecture #2)**

***... on the cozy
togetherness of the
traditional Japanese
family, in its wooden
house with paper doors.***



**The warm glow of the communal
hearth...**

囲炉裏の周りから出る暖か～い光

**(Sometimes the light
comes from arc lamps
standing in empty
houses...**

**... put there to please
the tourists.)**

Thatching (*yanefuki* 屋根葺き)



... a grand, communal labor. The whole community works on one member's roof for about 3 days. Traditionally, each house supplies one person to work on the thatching.

Team photo



Key word:

RECIPROCALITY

相互關係

*** Long-term, communal
reciprocity**

***Unit: household, not individual**

***Debts remembered and repaid
after years or decades**

長期・共同的な相互関係: 交換の単位は個人ではなく、家庭である。「お返し」は数年間・数十年間後でも誰も忘れていない。



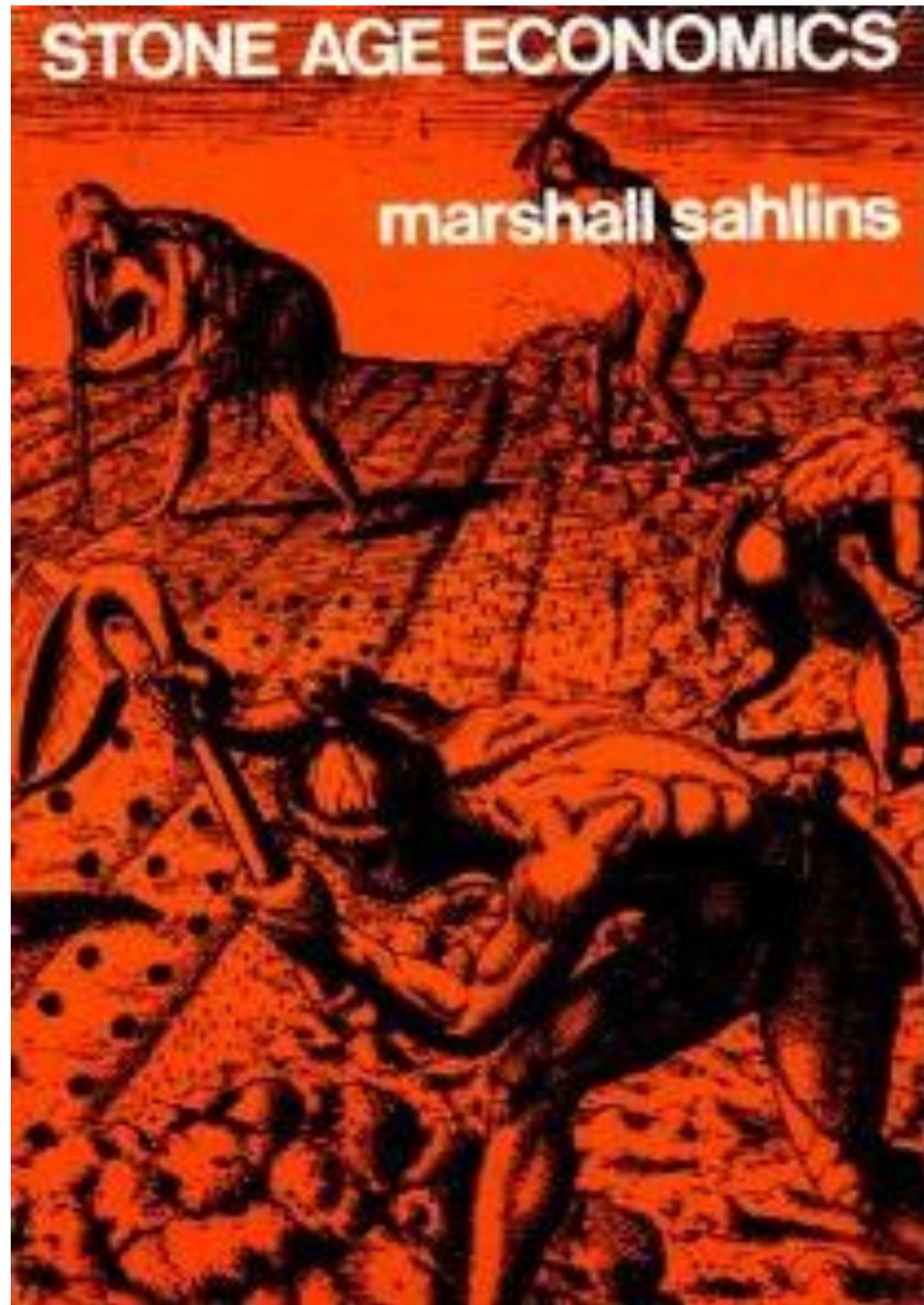
**Marshall
Sahlins,
economic
anthropologist**
マーシャル・サー
リンズ、経済人
類学者

Marshall Sahlins: 3 Kinds of Reciprocity

- 1. Generalized reciprocity**
- 2. Balanced reciprocity**
- 3. Negative reciprocity**
 - 1. 一般相互関係**
 - 2. 均等相互関係**
 - 3. マイナス相互関係**

(From his
1974
classic,
*Stoneage
Economics*)

『石時代の経済学』より



Generalized reciprocity

一般相互関係

A general understanding in the community that favors done will be returned. No need to keep score.

何かやってもらえれば、いつかお返しをするのが一般常識で、計算する必要はない。

Balanced Reciprocity

均等相互関係

If I do something for you, I want something equivalent from you. Deals, commerce.

何かやってもらえば、同じ程度のもの・サービスを返さなきゃ。

Negative Reciprocity

マイナス相互関係

I want something for nothing! When people try to get an advantage, e.g. in commercial negotiations or when fooling someone.

わざと人を騙したり、商談で自分に有利な結果を求めたりする場合。

Shirakawa thatching exchange

... halfway between 'generalized' and 'balanced' reciprocity? Long-term, mutual assistance. BUT score is kept. Families keep records of these events. Failure to supply labor will be remembered for a long time.

「総合相互関係」と「均等相互関係」の真ん中？一般常識ではあるが、計算はします。

Is it a gift or a commercial exchange – a ‘loan’ of labor? About halfway? Another grey zone, an intermediate transaction.

「プレゼント」？それとも、要返しの「ローン」？その中間？日本にはこういう「中間取引」が多い？

Case Study 2: Johnny Walker as a seasonal gift



The **Red** and the **Black**...

**They say eskimos have a
hundred words for “snow”...
in Japan there is a rich, rich
vocabulary of gifts.**

Gift-giving vocabulary

プレゼント用語

Shugi 祝儀 (gifts given to celebrate rites of passage, including pregnancy, birth, first eating of solid foods; coming of age, weddings and the 60th, 70th, 77th and 88th birthdays.)

Bu-shugi 不祝儀 (given on inauspicious occasions such as funerals)

Mimai (gifts given to encourage people who have fallen ill, or been victims of fire etc.)

Miyage (gifts given on one's return from a journey);

Senbetsu (farewell gifts)

Temiyage (visiting gifts);

- ***Otoshidama*** お年玉 (gifts, nearly always of cash, given by adults to children at New Year)

Otoshidama, grades 1 to 3 (2012)



<http://newyear.enjoytokyo.jp/question/>

Otoshidama for high-schoolers (2012)

自分の子供の場合

親戚・友人の子供の場合

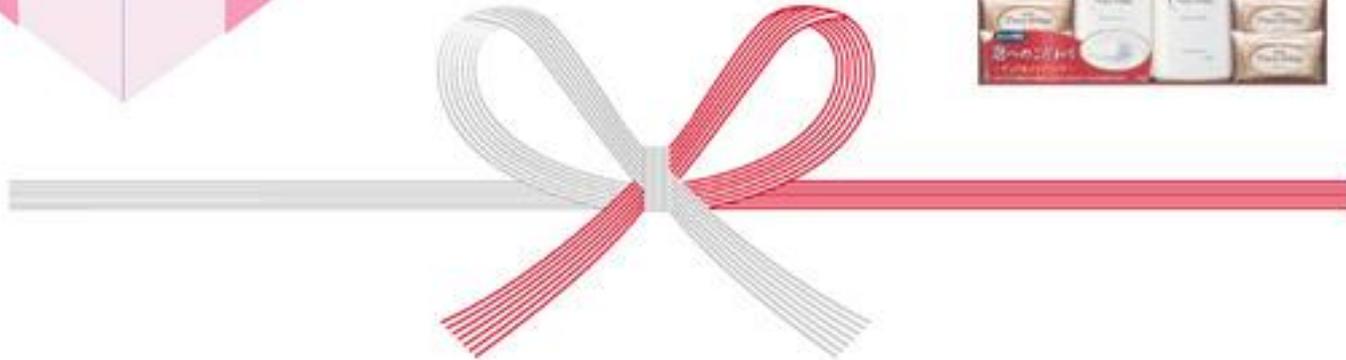


<http://newyear.enjoytokyo.jp/question/>

Chugen 中元 (midyear gifts)

Seibo 歳暮 (end of year gifts)

Chugen gifts





Meat for o-Seibo



- **In the 1980s, everyone knew that JW black cost ¥10,000 a bottle, and JW Red ¥5,000. They were standard ¥10,000 seibo/chugen (歳暮・中元) gifts. People have ¥5,000 lists and ¥10,000 lists.**

- **Being non-perishable, undated and with unchanging packaging, it could also be recycled without fear of embarrassment, an important consideration for a well-connected family that could face ruin if it consumed all the gifts it received without passing on a certain percentage.**

A famous paradox: when the British government finally succeeded in its campaign to get the Japanese government to cut tariffs on imports of whisky, one immediate result was a sharp decline in sales of whisky, especially Johnny Walker whisky.

- **Deregulation meant that now Black Label could be had for ¥7,500 in one shop, ¥6,750 in another. Red went for ¥3,500 or ¥2,990. Sales plummeted, for a fixed price had been a large part of its appeal as a gift commodity.**
- **(Nowadays it's about ¥2,500 for Black and ¥1,500 for Red... cheaper than buying it in Scotland...)**

***And the company introduced
Johnny Walker blue label (18
years old, extra-expensive) in a
bid to reclaim the prestige end
of the seibo / chugen market.***

Case study 3: Buying a newspaper

About 80% of newspapers in Japan are delivered to the subscriber's door. Only about 20% are bought at news-stands, station kiosks, convenience stores etc.

That means most people buy a newspaper because they generally approve of it – not because there is an interesting headline on the front page.

Soap powder...

... plays an important role in selling newspapers. Most sales of the national and local dailies are by subscription. Instead of winning new readers with sensational scoops, they do it by handing out free gifts: tickets to movies or baseball games, beer coupons, but most frequently, soap powder.

Making the impersonal, personal

The act of buying a newspaper is a simple commercial exchange, where A gives B money and B gives A a newspaper (balanced reciprocity).

But in this case, B tries to *create a long-term relationship*, where A will buy a newspaper every day for many months or years, so gift-giving is added to the transaction.

Loyalty doesn't pay

Some readers deliberately switch newspapers every year or so, to cash in on all the goodies you get when you take out a subscription. The newspaper you quit will make desperate efforts to win back your custom... very, very persistent salesmen.

客が取る新聞を変えると、捨てられた新聞のセールスマンはしぶとく客を取り戻そうとする

(O)tokuisama お得意様

A regular customer, an important customer. You might imagine that the otokuisama would get a better deal than a first-time customer but it's not always the case. The otokuisama never gets any more soap powder – just the newspaper.

The seller can rely on the otokuisama's patronage, so need not offer extra gifts.

Case 5: Renting a house

It is not easy to rent a house in Japan.

You need:

- 1. A guarantor (hoshonin 保証人)**
- 2. Pay a month's rent to the realtor**
- 3. Pay 1 or 2 month's deposit (shikikin 敷金)**
- 4. Pay 1 or 2 months' non-returnable key money (reikin 礼金) to landlord.**

**But that does buy you a high
level of security**

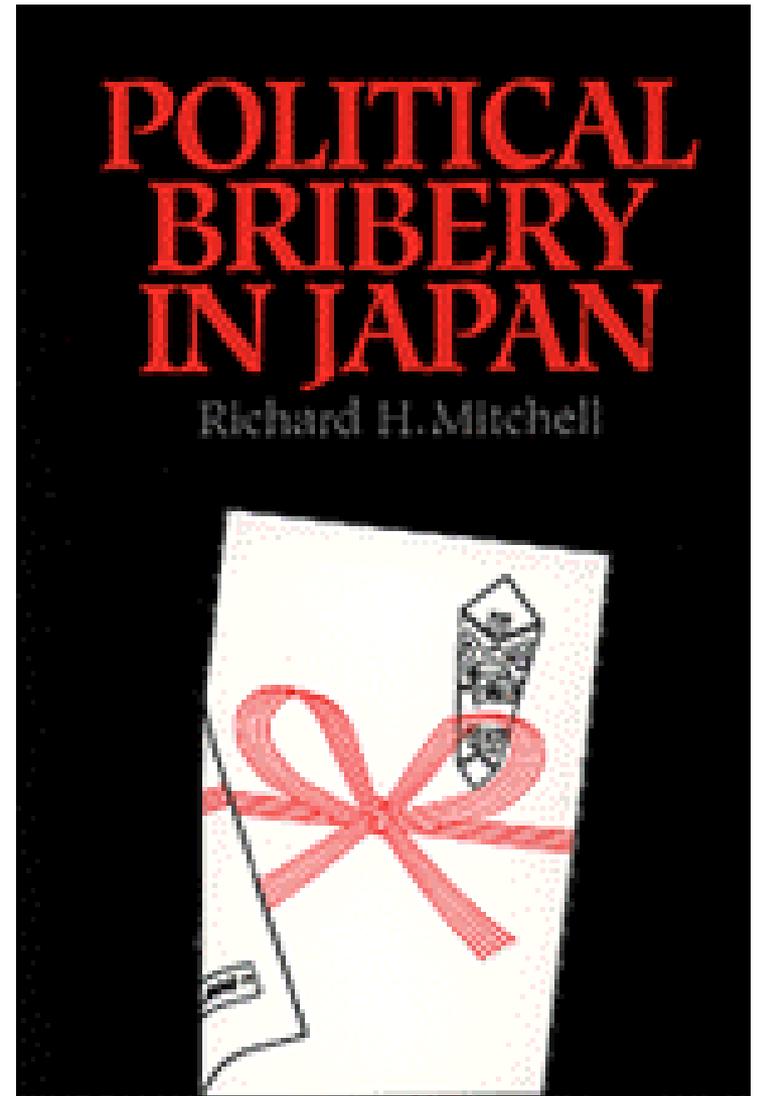
**Tenants' rights are remarkably
strong in Japan.**

**Case of my friend who was paid 60
million yen to leave.**

Case Study 6: Bribery

Japan has a lot of bribery scandals. Richard Mitchell traces the practice back to medieval times.

(U of Hawaii Press, 1996)



2 Types of Bribery

1. **PUSH BRIBERY** 押し出し賄賂

* The bribe is offered by someone hoping to get some kind of favor in return.

2. **PULL BRIBERY** 取り込み賄賂

* The bribe is demanded by someone as a condition for providing some service.

(Sometimes that distinction may become blurred... the bribe is offered, but the person offering it believes that it will be expected, or even demanded, if he does not make the first move.)

In Japan, pull bribery is very rare

... policemen do not demand cash to let you off a speeding ticket...

... civil servants do not expect to be paid off before they process your license application...

... in that respect, *Japan is one of the cleanest, least corrupt nations in the world.* 「取り込み賄賂」は少ない

... but push bribery is very common
押し出し賄賂はよくある

- **The Lockheed Scandal (1976)**
- **The Recruit Scandal (1988)**
- **The Sagawa Kyubin Scandal (1991-93)**

... cases of companies bribing gov't officials in hope of winning contracts or legal concessions.

P.M. Kakuei Tanaka

**500 million yen
from Lockheed
for fixing sale of
aircraft to SDF,
part of 2.4 billion
yen pay-off. 1976.**

田中角栄



Another way of dividing bribery into
2 types

EXPLICIT BRIBERY 明白な賄賂

It is clear to both parties that a bribe is being made, and what is expected in return.

IMPLICIT BRIBERY 暗黒な賄賂

It is not made clear – only implied. It may look like an innocent gift.

日本は暗黒タイプが多い

**In Japan, very often the bribe is
IMPLICIT.**

**You are invited to dinner or golf a
few times... treated to a trip to the
theater... a few months later, that
company applies to your office for
some kind of contract... without
mentioning previous transactions.**

Mitchell on bribery / etiquette

By the time of the Tokugawa shoguns (1603-1868), "gift giving was a long-established custom... the hairline between bribery and etiquette was difficult to ascertain" (p. 9). The rest of the book serves to underscore how elusive that fine line remains in spite of repeated legal reforms.

But the explicit type is not unknown

In Yamanashi prefecture (my Japanese hometown), political campaigners would never come to your door empty-handed... *that would be bad etiquette.* They'd have a couple of bottles of sake or some beer tickets.

Subtle variations

Some gifts are obviously cheap or expensive. Others are ambiguous. A beautiful wall hanging – it could be worth 10 thousand yen or 10 million yen. A popular gift for foreign businessmen, I am told.



Playing games



Sometimes the bribe is concealed in the form of betting – on games of mah-jongg, go, or golf. The bribe finds that his opponent is surprisingly willing to bet large sums of money even though he does not seem very good at the game.

恩と義理 On and Giri

**Words expressing
obligations to return
favours, pay off debts**

... an element of Japanese culture stressed by Benedict in *The Chrysanthemum and the Sword*.

Japanese people are seen as trapped in a web of obligations and debts of kindness.

Shame culture? 恥の文化？

“In the Japanese case (as opposed to the US) the cultural context in which political bribery takes place results in a different outcome: a politician caught taking a bribe may feel shame at public exposure but may not feel a sense of moral guilt. Moreover, political careers flourish despite convictions for bribery.” (Mitchell, p. 155). *A clear echo of Benedict’s theme of ‘guilt culture’ vs. ‘shame culture’.* Debatable.

No cookies allowed

In 2000, I spent six weeks in hospital undergoing a series of eye operations. The day I was finally discharged, I went to the nurse station to thank the doctors and nurses for looking after me. I offered them a box of cookies (I'd paid 3000 yen for them.)

The cookies were refused; I had to take them home with me.

This was part of a government anti-bribery campaign. It was a public hospital; therefore the doctors and nurses were public officials, and the new policy was that no gifts at all could be accepted.

賄賂阻止政策

I

(I later learned that it was customary in some parts of Japan to give large cash presents to the lead surgeon in an operating team before a major op. That, of course, could be a very serious moral hazard.)

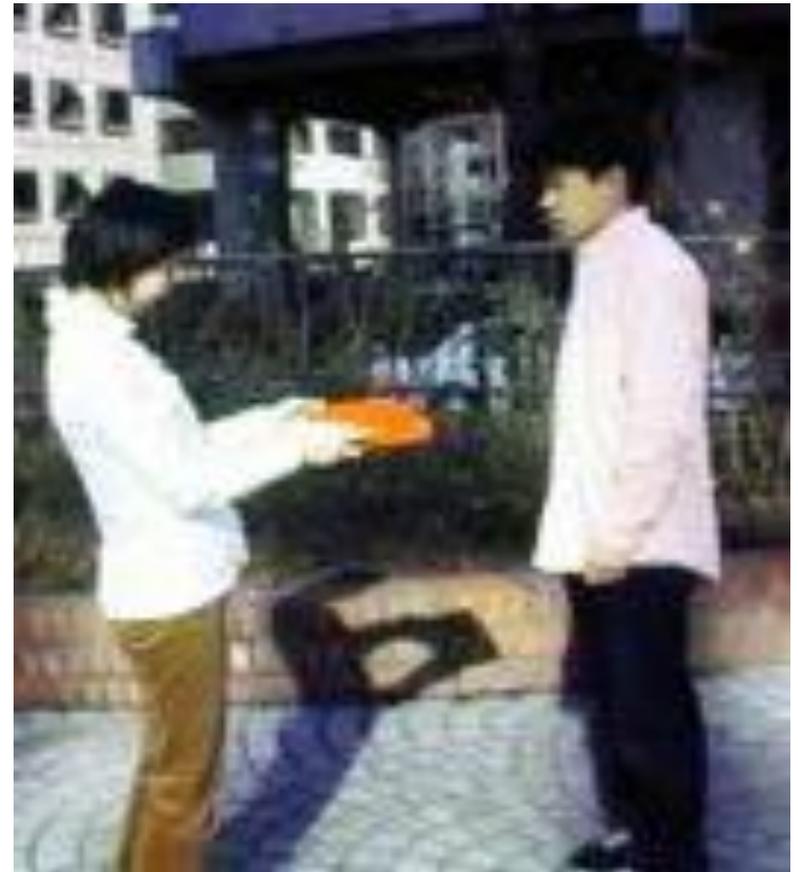
Case Study 7:

Valentine's Day

バレンタイン・デー

An imported + adapted tradition

British version	Japanese version
Boy to girl, girl to boy	Girl to boy only



British version	Japanese version
Flowers, cards, etc.	Must be chocolate



**(preferably
heart-
shaped)**

British version

**Japanese
version**

**Indirect,
anonymous**

**Hand-to-hand,
not anonymous**



... and may be rejected.



... which makes
giving the
chocolate
quite a nerve-
wracking
business.

Benedict would have loved this...

British style	Japanese style
Only romantic (or cruel)	Romantic & 'Giri choco' / friendly choco

義理チョコ An obligatory gift to a superior or colleague at work.

Interpreting chocolate

Does she really love you?

Or is it merely giri-choco?

本気のチョコと義理チョコを見極めるコツ。

**The real thing... fresh strawberries
handcoated in chocolate.**



Giri choco

義理チョコ



(Above) ¥300
giri-choco

(Left) ¥50 giri-
choco



**Young girls may give to dad, bro,
& many male + female friends**



British version

All done on one day

Japanese version

‘White Day’ one month later for

okaeshi お返し

This time it’s him to her, and it’s still chocolate but it’s got to be white.



製菓会社の成果

(Valentine's Day was introduced to Japan by confectionary manufacturers... hence the heavy stress on chocolate. Adding white day for giving white chocolate is another brilliant commercial coup. Cf Christmas, Halloween etc.)

V-Day in Britain and Japan

British version	Japanese version
Boy to girl, girl to boy	Girl to boy only
Anonymous	Not anonymous
Flowers, cards, etc.	Must be chocolate
All done on one day	‘White Day’ 1 month later for <i>okaeshi</i>
Only romantic/cruel	‘Giri choco’

**What does this tell us
about Japanese culture?**

***Does it confirm, deny or modify
stereotypical views of Japan?***

Students?

Giri-choco...

... seems to confirm Nihonjinron notions of an obligation-driven society.

Though note that giri-choco does NOT have to be reciprocated on White Day. There may be a hope/expectation of better treatment from the boss... we're in the zone between general and balanced reciprocity again.

On the other hand...決して「曖昧」な
連絡手段ではない

... V-Day practices seems to challenge the view of Japanese communication as ambiguous / vague / understated. The chocolate exchanges on V Day and W Day send a very clear message... whereas the British obsession with anonymity leads to all sorts of misunderstandings.

Case Study 8: Big firm small firm

大企業・小企業

Now here's an example of the opposite case: a transaction that is considered *impersonal* and commercial in many cultures, but is treated as *personal* in Japan.

逆に、商売の世界では「非個人的な取引」が個人的な扱いとなるケースもある。

- **The Nippon Keizai Shinbun (Nikkei), Japan's equivalent to the Wall Street Journal or Financial Times – a mass circulation broadsheet financial daily with a circulation close to 3 million.**
- **Every year, Nikkei publishes the Japan Economic Almanac, an English-language compendium of about 100 feature-length articles on various aspects of the Japanese economy.**
- **大企業：日本経済新聞社。毎年一冊の分厚い本の和英翻訳していた。**

A big job for a small firm

- All the articles have to be translated from Japanese, and for several years this big job was done by a small translation agency called Alpha (not its real name), with only two permanent full-time employees and a network of freelance translators including myself.

小企業：「アルファ」という小さな翻訳会社。

Alpha derived a third of its annual income from this single job, which took several months to complete.

アルファの年収の3部の1はこの一つの大型プロジェクトにかかっていた。

***but there was never
any formal guarantee
of payment...***

契約なし、単価未定

The man from Nikkei simply rang up at some point in the winter and asked the president of Alpha if she'd be able to help out with the Almanac again. She would agree, without any discussion of payment taking place.

- **The work would be done in the spring, and when it was finished the president of Alpha would have lunch with the man from Nikkei.**

- **Over coffee she would compare the amount of work done this year compared with previous years, review the amount paid in the past and suggest a figure for this year's job.**

- **The man from Nikkei would promise to think about it and on that note they would part. Invariably the price suggested would eventually be paid -- several months after completion of the work.**

- I asked the president of Alpha if it was OK to undertake such a big job without prior written agreement on terms. Her response was that an attempt by Alpha to establish a price beforehand would appear *katai* (硬い hard) or *tsumetai* (冷たい cold). This commercial transaction was to be presented as a friendly bit of give and take.

- **The reason why there was never any protest from Nikkei at the price suggested was that it was never more than a tiny fraction higher than the year before. It would be unfriendly for Alpha to demand a big increase, and unfriendly for Nikkei to refuse a reasonable request.**

- **Alas, when the bubble economy burst, forcing cost-cutting measures at Nikkei, they summarily removed the Almanac contract from Alpha and did most of the work in-house instead. The image of a personal transaction between friends was maintained only as long as it was perceived to be in the interests of the stronger partner.**

Cf Japan's auto industry

Detroit: Big auto firms make 60-70% of own parts.

Japan: Big auto firms make only 20-30% of own parts, buying the rest from subcontractors (*shitauke* 下請け) and sub-subcontractors (*magouke* 孫請け).

Note the family allusion: mago = grandchild.

The Keiretsu 系列 A Fictive Family

- **Sub-contractors are constrained from supplying more than one manufacturer, and their exclusive relationship with the one manufacturer is formally expressed by their membership in an industrial association such as the Kyoho-kai (a grouping of Toyota suppliers) or the Nissho-kai (Nissan).**

Toyota's Kyohokai

トヨタ自動車の「協豊会」

- 212 Companies**
- Established in the December 1943.**
- Head office in Toyota HQ in Toyoda city.**
- Name literally means “Society for Cooperating with Toyota.”**

- **The manufacturer will hold 20% or so of the stock in each supplier, and have several of its men on the board of directors.**
- **This special relationship is portrayed as mutually advantageous: in return for its loyalty, the supplier gains access to the technological resources of the manufacturer.**

But one of its main results has been to keep down the price charged by car part suppliers to car-makers... when times are hard, the maker can pass on the pain to the suppliers... *maintaining 'lifetime employment' at the big company while the little ones have to make cuts.*

**... and that is one reason for
the widening inequality
between employees of large
firms and small firms, which
we saw in the lecture on class**

大企業と中小企業の差が広がっている理由の一つはここにあり

Table 5: Wage differentials in manufacturing industry by size of firm, 1965-1995 企業の規模により賃金の差

Year	Over 1,000 employees	100-999 employees	10-99 employees
1965	100%	82%	78%
1970	100%	80%	74%
1975	100%	82%	73%
1980	100%	79%	70%
1985	100%	77%	69%
1990	100%	76%	68%
1995	100%	79%	69%

Source: Ministry of Labour White Papers, 1965-1995.

Case study 9

Blood transfusions and organ donations

献血・臓器提供

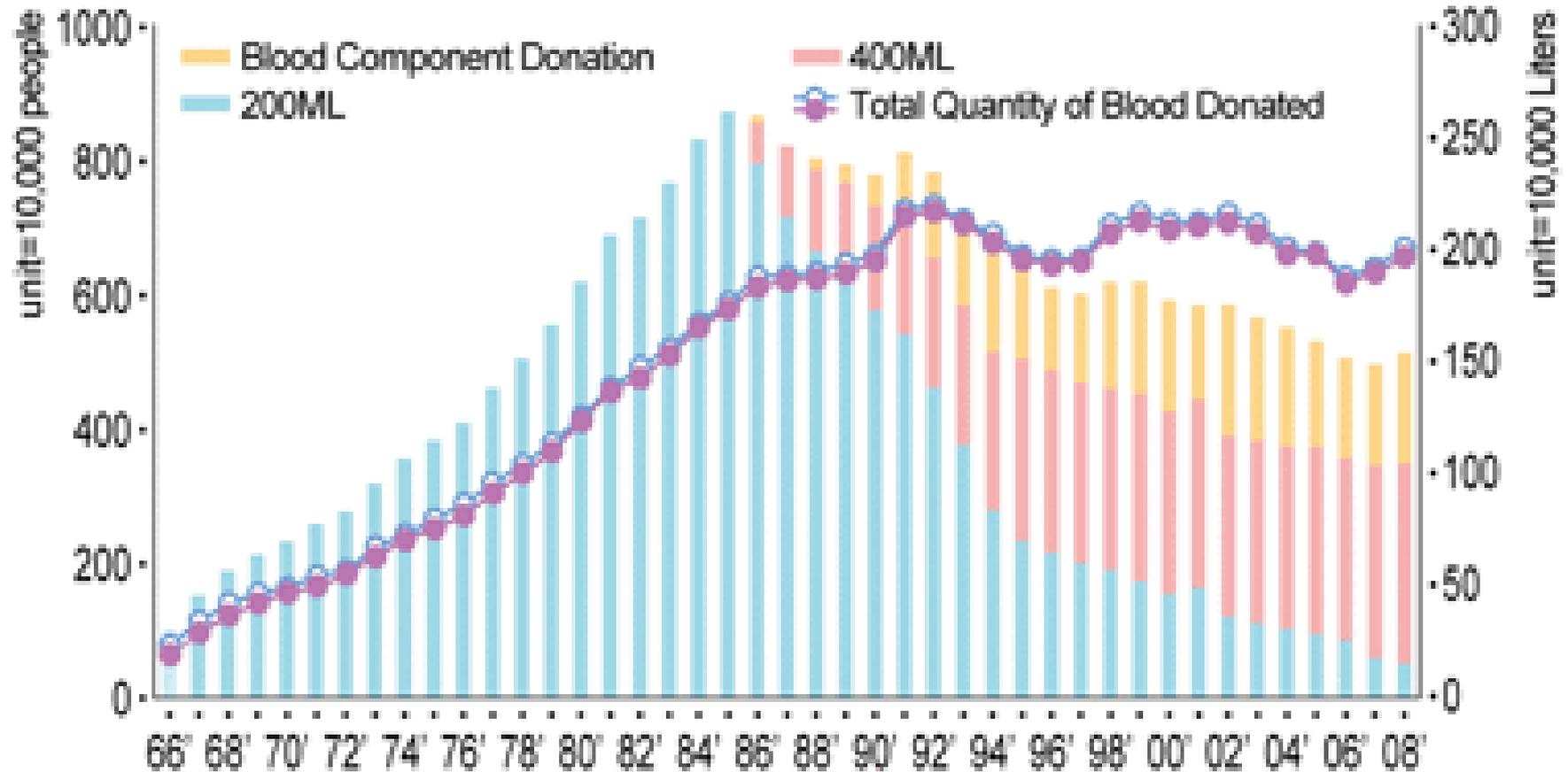
A Penguin Book
The Gift Relationship
From Human Blood to Social Policy
Richard M. Titmuss



**Richard
Titmuss,
*The Gift
Relationship:
From Human
Blood to
Social Policy*
1970**

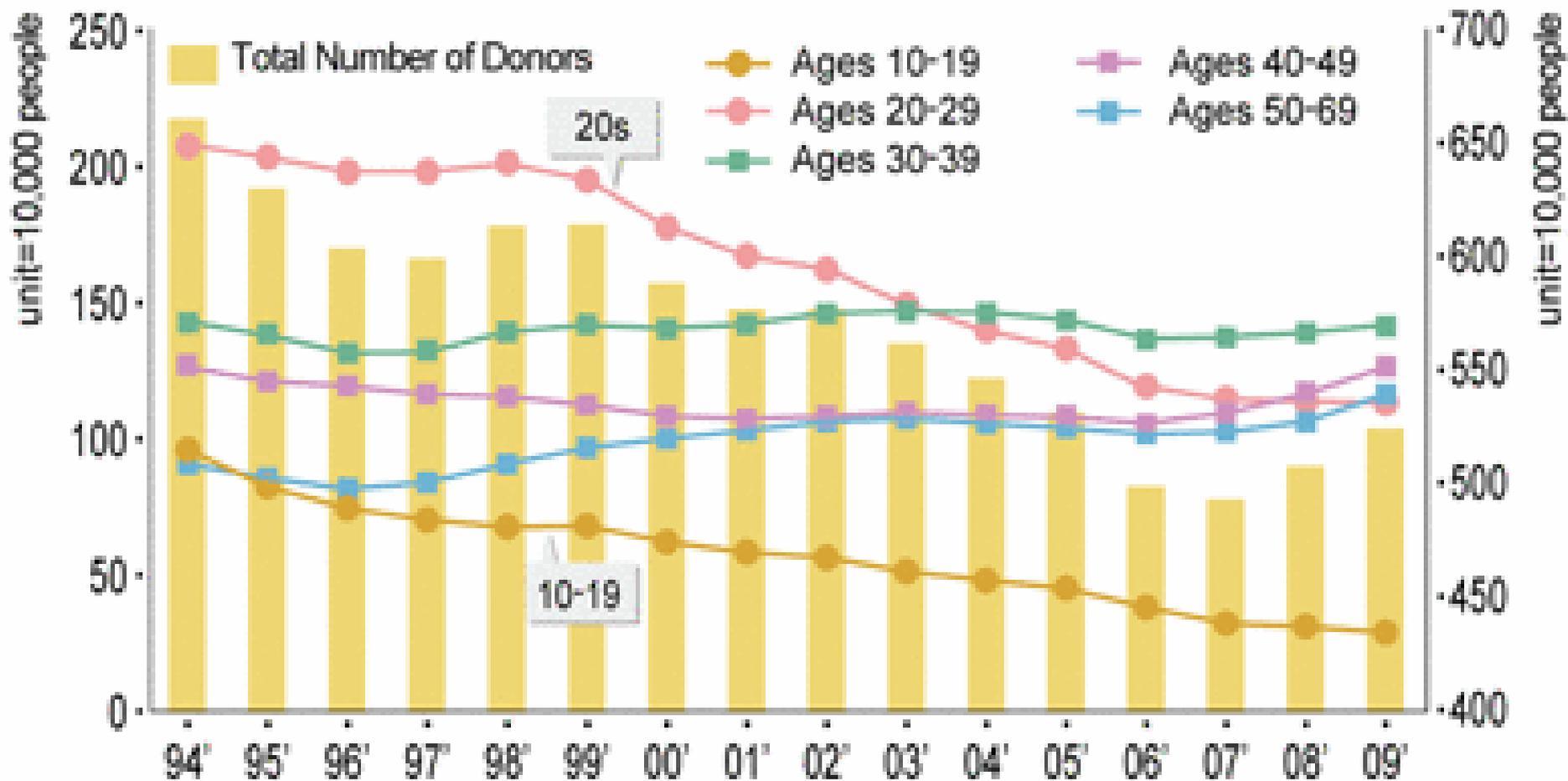
Titmuss cites the Proceedings of the Fourth Red Cross International Seminar on Blood Transfusion (Geneva: 1966), as reporting that 98% of all blood used for the transfusions in Japan was paid for (Titmuss, 175). Subsequent attempts to replace this system with a voluntary one have left the service with a perennial shortage of blood.

Total Quantity of Blood Donated and Number of Donors by Type

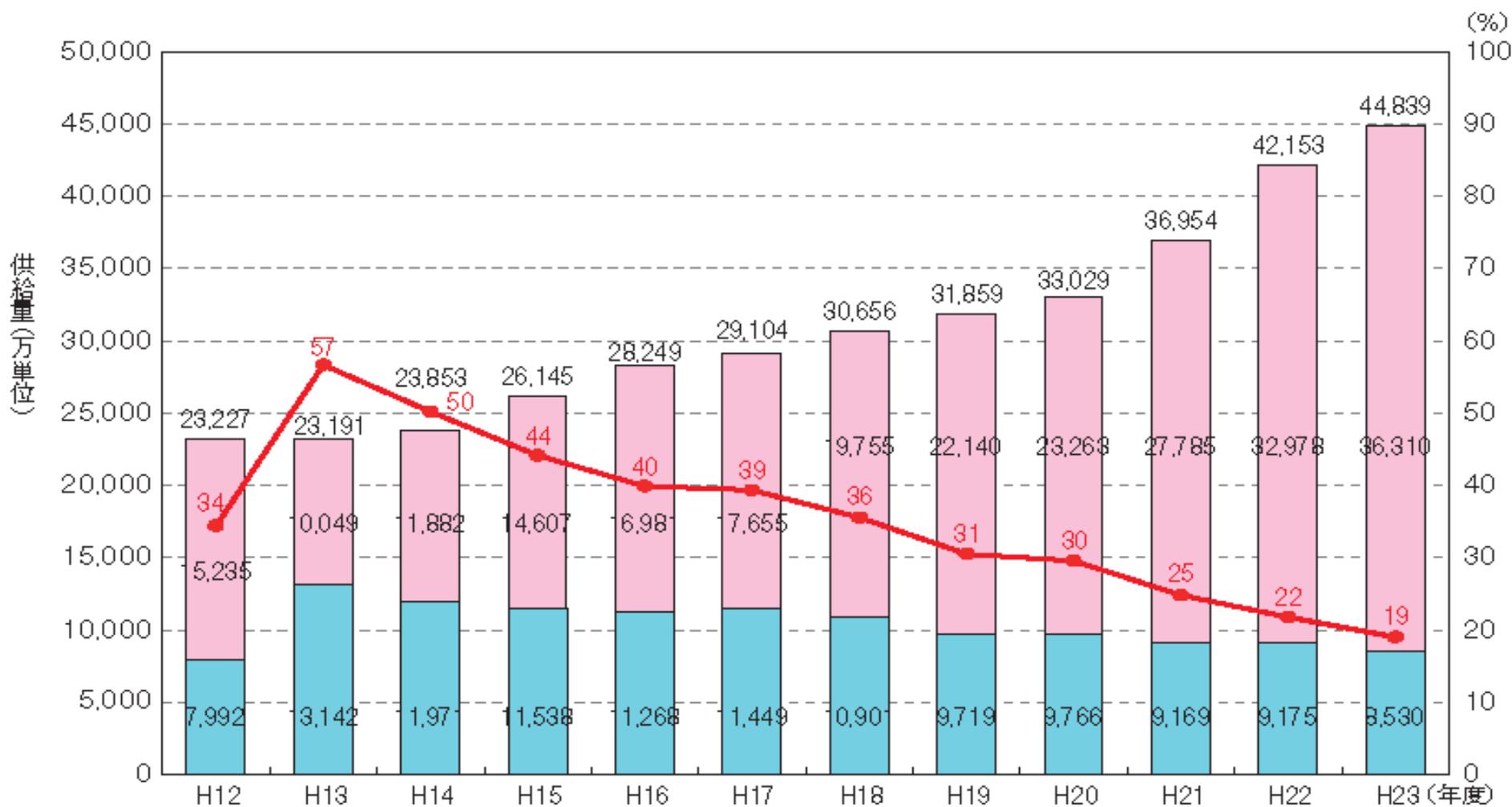


Japan Red Cross Society

Blood Donor Numbers by Age Grouping



Japan Red Cross Society



遺伝子組換え製剤

献血由来製剤

献血由来製剤の割合 (%)

Pink: Imported GM blood products

Blue: Domestically donated blood

Red: Self-reliance rate (2000~2011)

Case study 11

Begging and charitable giving

物乞い・慈善カンパ

Why is begging rare in Japan?

- 1. Japanese are proud, so they don't beg**
- 2. Japanese are mean, so they do not give money to beggars**
- 3. There are few people who are so poor that they need to beg**

Which one sounds more convincing to you?

Welfare vs. Charity

My wife Manami recently got an e-mail from an Australian friend, who had a handicapped daughter. The friend was asking her to sponsor her for jumping out of an airplane (with a parachute, of course!). The money she raised would go to an institute researching children's health problems.

Manami had no idea what it was all about!

Japan does not have an elaborate culture of charity.

Until recently, there were very few charities and social NPOs in Japan.

The work of looking after poor or ill people was left to the government.

On the other hand, most people do not begrudge the taxes they pay to finance health and welfare.

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