

New Religion and Rural-to-Urban Migration in Japan

日本における新宗教と農村—都市移動

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This article focuses on how the emergence of New Religions in Japan is related to her Modernisation, demonstrated by the indices of Rural-to-urban migration. In order to clarify the significance of Rural-to-urban migration and its involvement in New Religion, I will first present the historical background concerning the emergence of them, and then I will define what I mean by the term New Religions. Next, I will review and critique some of the previously published studies that discuss Rural-to-urban migration and its involvement to New Religions. Finally, in my concluding remarks, I suggest that Urban-migration is one of the valid indices to distinguish New Religions from the so called 'New New Religion' as well as 'New Spiritualism' that appeared in the 1970's from those New Religions that had been flourishing beforehand in Japan.

本稿は、日本の新宗教の出現がとくに村落—都市移動を指標とする近代化と関連しているかを検証することに焦点をあてている。農村—都市移動が新宗教への加入を説明するのに有効かを明確にするために、まず、歴史的に新宗教出現の社会的背景を示し、この成果を基に新宗教とは何かを定義する。次に、農村—都市移動と新宗教への加入を扱った先行研究をレビューし、最後に、1970年代後半から教勢を伸ばしてきた「新・新宗教」および現代の「スピリチュアリズム」（島菌氏の新霊性運動）と新宗教とを区別する際に、農村—都市移動が有効な指標となることを述べる。すなわち新宗教は都市移住経験者を対象としており、新・新宗教およびスピリチュアリズムはその下の世代を対象とした社会現象であるということである。

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Modernisation vs. Post-modernisation (近代化とポスト・モダン)
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I . Introduction

This article focuses on how the emergence of New Religions in Japan is related to her Modernisation, demonstrated by the indices of Rural-to-urban migration. In order to clarify the significance of Rural-to-urban migration and its involvement in New Religion, In Chapter 2, I will first present the historical background concerning the emergence of them, and I will define what I mean by the term New Religions in Chapter 3. Next, in Chapter 4 I will focus on the social background of the urban migrants through related research studies. In Chapter 5, then, I will review and critique some of the previously published studies that discuss Rural-to-urban migration and its involvement to New Religions. Finally, in Chapter 6, of my concluding remarks, I suggest that Rural-to-urban-migration is one of the valid indices to distinguish New Religions from the so called ‘New New Religion’ as well as ‘New Spiritualism’ that appeared in the 1970’s from those New Religions that had been flourishing beforehand in Japan.

1. The Emergence and Development of New Religions and New New Religions in Japan

In the middle of the 19th Century Japanese religious history was dominated by Buddhism, and had been since the early years of the Tokugawa Shogunate that ruled Japan from 1603 to 1867. The Shogunate, in order to prevent recruitment into banned religions, such as Christianity and various Buddhist sects, forced people to resister at their local Buddhist temples from 1635; a practice which was referred to as Terauke-seido. Despite this imposition, however, many New Religions emerged, examples of which

include Nyorai-kyo (‘Tathagata Buddha Religion’) in 1802, Fuji-ko (‘ko’ means lay group), Kurozumi-kyo in 1815, Tenri-kyo in 1838 and Konko-kyo in 1855. This emergence of Popular Religions has continued to this day. To explain the emergence and significance of this socio-religious phenomenon, the term *Shin-shukyo* (‘New Religion’) has been used since the 1970s by Japanese scholars. Before the 1970s, the term *Shinko-shukyo* (‘Newly arisen religion’) was employed in both academic and journalistic writings, sometimes with positive but almost always with negative implications. In this article, I shall seek to clarify the concept of New Religions in Japan. I shall do this first by looking at the history of New Religions, and then by looking at how scholars have studied them.

New religions in Japan began to emerge 66 years before the Meiji Restoration when Isson Kino (1756-1826) founded Nyorai-kyo in present day Aichi Prefecture after she underwent a possession experience in 1802. She preached salvation after death through the benevolence of Tathagata Buddha or Nyorai¹. Another religion emerged among the Fold Beliefs that surrounded the Mt. Fuji cult², when a mountain ascetic (‘Shugen-sha’) who called himself Miroku (‘Maitreya’) - he believed he was the reincarnation of Maitreya Buddha - announced that he would fast in a cave on Mt. Fuji in order to save people. His teachings spread to other mountain ascetics who organised lay men’s groups (*ko*) that attracted members from the merchants of small businesses and farmers around the present day Tokyo area. Later, after the Meiji Restoration, these *ko* were superseded by Fuso-kyo³, Maruyama-kyo⁴ and Jikko-kyo⁵.

The Shinto tradition also saw the emergence of New Religions. The third son of a local Shinto priest,

Munetada Kurozumi (1780-1850), founded a New Religion called Kurozumi-kyo⁶. One year after he had a revelation experience in 1814 he evangelised his new interpretation of Shinto and its rituals in present day Okayama Prefecture.

Tenri-kyo was founded by Miki Nakayama (1798-1887), the wife of a bankrupt farmer, when she revealed the presence of a god named Tenri-o in 1838, in present day Tenri City in Nara Prefecture. Konko-kyo was founded by Bunji Akazawa (1814-1883); following a series of hardships in his family and a serious illness in 1855, Akazawa began to evangelise the teachings of a god he called Tenchi-Kane-no-Kami ('The Great Golden God of Heaven and Earth') and to deny the legitimacy of other folk deities. Later, Akazawa was recognised by himself and his followers as a living god⁷.

During the Meiji era (from 1867 to 1910), under the control of the Meiji government, most of the newly emerged religions were placed in a residue category of *Ruiji-shukyo* ('Quasi-religion') or sometimes '*Inshi-jyakyō*' ('False religion'), in order to indicate that they were inferior to the approved religions, such as Shintoism, Buddhism and Christianity. Some of these New Religions merged into one body and/or modified their dogma in order to gain approval from the government. As most of these New Religions, such as Kurozumi-kyo, Konko-kyo, Fuso-kyo, Maruyama-kyo and Jikko-kyo were endogenous, they were categorised as Shinto, and given the sub-category of *Kyōha Shinto Jyu-sampa* ('The Thirteen Factions of Shinto'); thus separating them from the traditional Shinto headed by the Emperor and the State. In 1885, Tenri-kyo became the last, namely the thirteenth, religion in this category. Later, researchers of New Religions studied both the *Ruiji-shukyo* and *Kyōha Shinto Jyu-sampa* religious

groups⁸. New religions, thus, sprung out of Buddhism, Shinto and Folk Beliefs and later, they gradually formed religious bodies under governmental control.

The approach of the Pacific War of 1941 to 1945 led the military government to enforce control over the *Ruiji-shukyo* and other ideological groups through State Shinto. However, the emergence of New Religions could not be prevented and during this time many more emerged, although many also suffered oppression. Omoto was persecuted twice, in 1921 and again in 1935, Hitonomichi Kyodan (present day Perfect Liberty Kyodan⁹) in 1936 and Soka Kyoiku-gakkai (present day Soka Gakkai) in 1943. Their leaders were imprisoned because the authorities feared their power among the people.

After the defeat of the Second World War, freedom to establish New Religions in Japan was guaranteed and many New Religions sprung up rapidly. One such religion was Jiu ('The Seal of the Emperor and/or the Cosmos'). At first, Jiu was founded as one of a Shinto club called Kodo-daikyō ('The Great Teachings of the Japanese Emperor') by an entrepreneur who managed a cattle farm and a mine developing company. The religion insisted on service to the Japanese Emperor in order to engender unity of management and religion. In 1941, the religion changed its name to Jiu. Then, in around 1943, Yoshiko Nagaoka (who died in 1983), an esoteric Buddhist medium, succeeded as leader. At the end of the Second World War, she was recognised as Jiko-son ('The Great, Shining Leader of Jiu') because she proclaimed that she had received a revelation concerning social reformation and that the Emperor must rule over everything under heaven. After the War, the religion proclaimed the fall of Japan through natural disaster and the American

authorities asked the police to arrest the leader and other members in 1947.

Another religion that emerged during this period was Tensho-Kotai-jingu-kyo, which was established in 1943 by a farmer's wife, Sayo Kitamura (1900-1967), who was believed to be possessed by a supernatural being. This religion was famous for its practice of Muga-no-mai ('Selfless dance') which was performed in public. These performances attracted many journalists, including Soichi Oya (1900-1970), who named the religions that emerged just after the War *Aprés shukyo* ('A religion that emerged soon after the War')¹⁰. It was in this social context of the separation of state and religion that the '*Rush Hour of the Gods*' - the title under which MacFarland published his book on Japanese New Religions in 1967 - began. At this time, the term *Shinko-shukyo* ('Newly arisen religion') was widely used not only by journalists but by scholars as well.

The New Religions used the word *Shin-shukyo* to refer to themselves during a period when they were trying to establish an alliance of their own. In the end, however, the term *Shin-shukyo* was not used and the new alliance, established in 1951, was called Shin Nippon Shukyo Rengo ('The Federation of New Religious Organizations of Japan'); abbreviated to Shin-shu-ren - a term well known in Japan). In order to overcome the negative image associated with the term *Shinko-shukyo* that was used by the mass media, the term *Shin-shukyo* was thus created¹¹.

The membership of Rissho-Kosei-kai, Reiyu-kai and Soka Gakkai expanded as rapid economic growth continued from the early 1950s until the oil crisis in 1972¹². After this period, journalists and scholars reported on the new wave of religious consciousness and the New Religions. A nationwide NHK survey in 1981 reported on the 'Reoccurrence of Religion' among the people from around 1975, after the period

of rapid economic growth in Japan. It was reported that teenagers showed the strongest interest in the existence of 'the other world' or 'UFOs'. For example, 76 per cent of teenagers firmly believed in or might believe in the existence of life after death, compared to the average figure of 54 per cent.

It was during the 1970s that a new type of New Religion emerged, and scholars such as Nishiyama called these relatively New Religions 'New New Religions', in order to distinguish them from the established New Religions. New New Religions developed prominently and rapidly in the 1970s and 1980s. Shimazono, taking into account 'Post-modernity' in Japan, also adopted a new label by calling the New Religions which developed before the 1970s *Kyu-shin-shukyo* ('Older New Religions'), in contrast to the later ones which he also labelled *Shin-shin-shukyo* ('New New Religions') to take into account the context of 'Post-modernity'. In order to highlight the difference in organisation and religious practice between these two groups of religions, he also referred to the pre-1970s group as 'Salvation Religions' and the post-1970s group as 'new spiritual movements and/or culture'. Within this latter group he included not only established religious bodies but also New Age movements, Neo-Paganism and the Healing culture as well¹³.

The term 'New New Religion' was originally used by Nishiyama in 1979¹⁴, in his 'play on words'¹⁵. He later defined New New Religions as: first, putting strong emphasis on mysticism and magic; second, creating a syncretistic fusion with various different religious elements; three; developing their strength from the early 1970s onwards; and, at the same time four, having a nationwide reach. Later, Nishiyama found that similar characteristics could also be applied to New Religions that developed during the Taisho era, when Japan went through its first stage of

Modernisation¹⁶. To explain these similar socio-religious phenomena that emerged between the Taisho and the post 1970s periods, Nishiyama used the term *Rei-jyutu-kei* ('Spiritual and magical New Religions') - putting emphasis on their spiritual and magical nature - and used the term 'New New Religion' as a sub-category for post 1970s New Religions¹⁷.

Recognising the different types of New Religions that emerged between, before and after the 1970s, Inoue warned of the abuse of the term 'New' New Religions without the necessary studies dealing with the understanding of these religious organisations¹⁸. Peter Clarke also pointed out the difficulties of the chronological distinction between 'New' and 'New New Religions' as well as between old religions and New Religions. Moreover, Peter Clarke questioned the validity of the definitions of 'New' and 'New New Religions' in relation to such aspects as Spiritual healing, a belief in a living god, Syncretism and Millenarianism, quoting the typology of Sects proposed by Bryan Wilson, namely, Manipulationist movements¹⁹. If recognition is given to the different characteristics of New Religions and New New Religions, as well as New Spiritualism, another valuable index would have to be found to distinguish them, other than the content of their religious practice and teachings.²⁰

2. Definition of New Religion in Japan

I shall now turn to the agreements and disagreements of scholars concerning the emergence of the New Religions in Japan. In Japan, the use of the term New Religion is inconsistent among scholars and the definition of the word depends on the aim of the study being undertaken²¹. Most scholars agree that

New Religions emerged at the end of the Edo era, namely around the middle of the 19th Century. From this viewpoint, Nyorai-kyo is usually recognised as the first such religion. However, MacFarland, putting stress on social crisis as the necessary context for the emergence of New Religions, argued in '*The Rush hour of the Gods*' that New Religions actually began in the early 17th Century, when the Tokugawa feudal system was institutionalised. However, Shimazono has pointed out that MacFarland did not make it clear which New Religion came first, nor why it should be considered new²². At the same time, the contexts and causes of social crisis are vague and do not allow for the distinction of 'New' New Religions from other New Religions.

By contrast, there are a group of scholars who argue that New Religions (using the term *shinko-shukyo*) began around the early 20th Century, after the Russo-Japan War that ended in 1905. At this time, Japan had succeeded in its plans to become an industrial nation, and this had been accompanied by Modernisation. According to this analysis, Omoto is considered the first New Religion in Japan²³. Kozawa also agrees that Omoto should be considered the first New Religion, and that those New Religions that emerged before Omoto, such as Tenryi-kyo, Konko-kyo and Kurozumi-kyo should be labelled 'Popular Religions'²⁴.

Murakami, a historian of religion in Japan, also used the term Popular Religion to analyse New Religions such as Nyorai-kyo, Kurozumi-kyo, Konko-kyo, Tenri-kyo, Fuji-ko and Maruyama-kyo²⁵. However, Murakami also used the term New Religion to describe religions that emerged later than those listed above, such as Reiyu-kai²⁶, Rissho-Kosei-kai²⁷, Sekai-kyusei-kyo²⁸ and Soka Gakkai. In his book, he defined New Religions as: 'newly

established and arisen religions that started from around the end of the Tokugawa Shogunate and the beginning of the Meiji Restoration, namely, from the middle of the 19th to the end of the 20th Century²⁹. However, he did not make a clear distinction between New Religions and Popular Religions.

Thus, among the groups of historians who use the terms ‘Popular Religion’ and ‘New Religion’ there is no clear distinction in the definition of these two terms. Among these researchers, some recognised the significance of the Modernisation that began at the end of Tokugawa Shogunate when the feudal regime was weakened, while others regarded Modernisation as a phenomenon that began in the 20th Century when Japan entered the world market as an industrialised nation. There is agreement that New Religions emerged in historical sequence with the Modernisation of Japan but the clarification of modernity in each concept is still not clear.

Inoue, considering the relationship between Modernisation and New Religion in Japan, defined New Religion as follows: ‘A New Religion is a New Religious System that has emerged in modern Japan’³⁰. He has also suggested the use of the term ‘Modern Religions’³¹. Inoue proposed to analyse New Religions using what he called a ‘Religious System’³². Inoue’s ‘Religious System’ consisted of: first, the Subject (the Founder and User of the religion); second, the Circuit which he divided into the ‘Hardware’ (such as the buildings and holy places) and the ‘Software’ (the organisation itself); and third, the Information (dogma, practice and ritual, etc.). Through this ‘Religious System’, Inoue argued that the changes in religion in present day society could be analysed. This system is useful, not only for New Religions but for religions in general, as a tool to analyse how they have changed in accordance with other aspects of society. Inoue insisted that this

view point might clear up the controversy between the disputed terms *Shin-shin Shukyo* and *Shin-shukyo*. However, he has not yet applied this analytical tool to either New Religions or New New Religions and thus he has still to clarify the differences between the two.

Shimazono, acknowledging that New Religions in Japan were related to Modernisation, has identified four other factors in the definition of New Religions. He argued that a New Religion must be: first, a religious organisation; second, an established religion; third, independent from the traditional established religions; and fourth, people take an active part in its activities. The first factor, that a New Religion must be a religious organisation, separates it from other moral, martial or other artistic training groups that sometimes emphasise Spirituality or Salvation, like religion. In the strictest sense of this definition, it differs from New Spiritualism and New Age movements³³ that do not usually form religious organisations. Referring to Inoue³⁴, therefore I use the term ‘New Religion’ rather than ‘New Religious Movement’ in this article.

The second element in Shimazono’s definition distinguishes a New Religion from ‘Folk Religion’, which is based on folk belief, such as shamanism or ancestral rituals. A shamanistic healer may have many clients, but such a following cannot grow into a New Religion without a stable organisation and distinctive teachings. This group of people soon disappear if the charismatic leader goes. Therefore, a New Religion must be an established religion, even if its belief system is based on Folk Beliefs³⁵.

In relation to the third factor, Shimazono put stress on the fact that New Religions must be independent of the established and traditional religions. Although Soka Gakkai, before a schism in 1990, belonged to one of the ‘*ko*’ of the Buddhist schools of Nichiren-

shoshu, it maintained independence in both its organisation and activities. By contrast, Komyo-kai, founded by Bennei Yamazaki (1859-1920), a monk of the Jodo-shu ('Pure Land Sect') was not recognised as a New Religion despite the fact that the founder taught deviant teachings and was worshiped by members. This group did not insist on its uniqueness and remained a Jodo-shu faction.

The last factor, that these religious groups must be popular, highlights two other important points. First, popularity implies how New Religions spread among the people. At the heart of this expansion, a New Religion absorbs people by appealing to their 'this worldly' oriented needs, such as freedom from poverty, illness and social conflict. This salvation from people's distress was supported by the creeds of the New Religions and among these various dogmas a 'Vitalistic Salvation' can be seen³⁶. Concerning this popularity, Inoue, from an administrative point of view, has also pointed out that it is the result of the various and vigorous forms of evangelisation aimed at the greater enlargement of follower numbers³⁷. The popularity of the New Religions was their ability to appeal directly to people's 'this Worldly' oriented needs through their use of Vitalistic Salvation dogma.

Shimazono, as mentioned above, demonstrated the specific characteristics of New Religion in comparison with traditional, established religions and/or Folk Religions. Through Shimazono's explanation, it is possible to extract an index for New Religions as follows: first, New Religions emerged after the middle of the 19th Century in Japan; second, the New Religions are relatively independent from both folk and traditional, established religions; third, these New Religions are supported mainly by the people; and fourth, the teachings are 'this World' orientated with a 'Vitalistic' type salvation.

Nishiyama defined New Religions, both in a broad and narrow sense, using almost the same four elements as Shimazono. In the narrow sense, Nishiyama argued that New Religions emerged after the middle of the 19th Century, and in the broader sense, this definition expands to the New Religions that broke out across the world, at around the same time³⁸. Nishiyama pointed out that after 1970 the sect theory restricted to Christian culture³⁹ was not applicable to New Religions that were imported as a result of migration. Taking account of this broader definition of New Religions, Nishiyama defines them as follows:

New religions are non-institutionalised established religions composed of people, which emerged around the world after the middle of the 19th Century, and which aim at the resolution and compensation of the social contradiction caused by acute social change, through the evangelisation and the establishment of a new religious form (dogma, ritual and congregation) relatively different from present religion⁴⁰.

In this definition, Nishiyama stresses four points: first, the evangelisation, establishment and form of the New Religions; second, the religious response to Modernisation; third, the solution and compensation for the social contradiction between society and individuals; and fourth, New Religions arose around the world after the middle of the 19th Century.

Nishiyama and Shimazono, though their mode of expression concerning New Religions is slightly different, appear to share very similar views. For example, both mention that New Religion is an established religion independent from both traditional and Folk Religions. The difference between them can be observed in the novelty of religious form. Shimazono can be seen to support Nishiyama's second point, which the emergence of New Religions occurred in the middle of the 19th Century in relation

to Modernisation. Nishiyama's third point is also echoed by Shimazono's view that New Religions give their followers 'this World' oriented benefits based on the concept of a 'Vitalistic Salvation', which is a different approach from traditional, institutionalised religion.

One difference between their approaches is that Shimazono put stress on the popularity of New Religions, Nishiyama did not. However, Nishiyama implicitly agrees with this position when he points out that the New Religions offer compensation for and a solution to the suffering caused by social contradiction. Another difference between them is that Nishiyama believes New Religion to be a global phenomenon, applying it to Christianity, for example, when he argues that the Methodist movement should be understood as a New Religion in Britain because it spread among urban migrants from villages who had been suffering from acute anomie caused by rapid industrialisation⁴¹.

Furthermore, both Nishiyama and Shimazono point out the qualitative difference in the New Religions that emerged before and after the 1970s, namely the 'New New Religions' versus the 'Old New Religions'. In this article, I will follow both Nishiyama and Shimazono's view of New Religions, but I prefer to use Nishiyama's definition, as I believe it to be more articulate than Shimazono's.

To summarise, studies on New Religions have looked at religions in Japan from the middle of the 19th Century. The concept of a New Religion met with considerable agreement among scholars, although they often asserted slightly different factors in their definitions. Most scholars agree that New Religions emerged as a result of the Modernisation of Japan. However, differences in the arguments concerning the emergence of New Religions, as well as New New Religions, lie in how scholars

understand the context of Modernisation and Post-modernisation in Japan and how it developed. Therefore, it is important not to define New Religions in relation to the time at which they emerged, as both Shimazono and Clarke have pointed out.

So far I have chosen to define the concept of New Religion as proposed by Nishiyama in relation to the Modernisation of Japan. However, there is still no clarification of what Modernisation yield New Religion as well as Post-modernisation yield New Religion and Spiritualism is in practical surveys. I shall therefore now turn my attention to the people who followed New Religions, and observe the social characteristics of followers of New Religions through the results of empirical studies.

II. Rural-to-Urban Migration and Recruitment to New Religions in Japan

1. The Social Characteristics of New Religions after the Second World War

So far in this article, I have discussed the definition of New Religions, and selected Nishiyama's cross-cultural definition which takes account of the worldwide Modernisation that caused great social change in Japanese society⁴². According to this definition, New Religions provided the function of saving those who were suffering from the social contradictions inherent in an industrialised society. I shall now go on to consider how New Religions provide this kind of function, and what kind of people New Religions appeal to in Japan. Due to the fact that there is a lack of research into the followers of New Religions before the Second World War,

because of the lack of New Religious studies at that time, I will concentrate on the social characteristics of followers after the War.

The development of New Religious studies after the War, based on Sociology and/or Anthropology of Religion, sought to explain the successful recruitment of members to New Religions in relation to social change. Soon after the war, New Religions such as Tensho-kotai-jingu-kyo, Jiu, Zenrin-kai⁴³, Nenpo-shinkyō⁴⁴, and Bussho-gonen-kai-kyodan⁴⁵ emerged in a context of a new democratised Japan. At the same time, Tenri-kyo, Konko-kyo, Kurozumi-kyo Reiyu-kai and Rissho-Kosei-kai - religions that started before the War - re-emerged. Those suppressed by the military government, such as Omoto, Soka Gakkai, Jehovah's Witness and Hitonomichi Kyodan were reorganised. Some of these New Religions changed their names in order to give themselves a new image; Hitonomichi became PL (Perfect Liberty), Omoto dropped its original name of Omoto Aizen-en, Sekai-kyusei-kyo dropped Nihon-kannon-kyodan and Todai-sha became Jehovah's Witnesses. It was towards the end of the 1970s, that, among all these New Religions, particular religions achieved enormous expansion; Reiyu-kai, Risho-kosei-kai and Soka Gakkai each reaching a membership of more than 1,000,000.

There are three explanations for the rapid growth of these New Religions. One is, from a judicial point of view, the freedom of belief and membership after the War which made it easy for religious leaders to establish organisations. As Ikado has pointed out, ten years after the War more than 600 religious bodies were registered at the Ministry of Education (the present Ministry of Science and Education) and regional government. This judicial freedom affected not only New Religions but also the established

religions, such as Buddhism, Shintoism and Christianity as well. It is, therefore, not sufficient to explain the growth of New Religions after the War from this legal viewpoint only.

The second explanation for the expansion of New Religions was the stagnation of the approved religions that had supported the War and took time to reform their attitude towards a democratised, post-war Japanese society. After the defeat of the war, Shinto shrines lost their influence because of the destruction of State Shintoism. Most Buddhist denominations also supported the military government, thus losing influence in a similar way and Christian sects had not been in a position to protest strongly about the War and had thus tolerated it. As a result, the traditional religions of Shintoism, Buddhism and Christianity took time to examine their attitude towards the Japanese military government, and could not start evangelising in the post-war period⁴⁶.

Some New Religions, such as Tenri-kyo, Reiyu-kai, Seicho-no-Ie⁴⁷ and Risho-Kosei-kai had deliberately adapted their activities to appeal to the militant milieu during the war, and as a result they had managed to increase their membership at a time when membership of many other New Religions had waned. Despite this wartime support however, after the defeat of the War, Reiyu-kai and Rissho-Kosei-kai both managed to increase their membership during the 1950s, even though they shared the same disadvantages as the traditional religions that had supported the war. By contrast, the New Religions that had been suppressed, such as Soka Gakkai, Omoto and Jehovah's Witnesses, and that should have had an advantage after the War because they did not need to spend time re-examining their attitude towards the Japanese military government, did not

find it so easy to expand. Only Soka Gakkai managed to recover its membership numbers, although it only achieved this at the end of the 1950s when the Second President, Josei Toda (1900-1958), implemented his *Shakubuku* plan in 1951. Omoto never recovered its membership and activities to its pre-war levels. Moreover, Todai-sha (The Watch Tower Association, or present day Jehovah's Witnesses) refused to co-operate with a missionary sent from the United States headquarters, when its Japanese leader, Junzo Akashi (1885-1965), realised that the organisation in the States had not opposed the War but had somehow co-operated with it. Thus, the adaptation of the New Religions to the War context did not affect their post-war development in a consistent manner.

The third explanation offered for the emergence and expansion of New Religions in Japan after the War was, from a journalistic point of view, not only the context of judicial freedom, but also that of social insecurity. Because of the defeat of the war, people felt socially insecure and: 'truly felt there was neither Kami nor Buddha'⁴⁸. People turned to the New Religions in order to compensate for their insecurity. However, this explanation is not sufficient. Analysing the statistical data of religious bodies and followers collected by the present Ministry of Science and Education, Ikado discovered that, before 1950, the higher numbers in the statistics did not reflect membership but the number of registered religious bodies. Ikado showed that Tenri-kyo did not increase its membership during this time, and even Reiyu-kai, the most active New Religion after the war, only increased its membership by 300,000 households. Moreover, Soka Gakkai had a membership of about 5,000 households when Rissho-Kosei-kai was formed. Ikado concluded that it was Urbanisation, which resulted in both the

disorganisation of the rural village communities and urban migration, that made it possible for New Religions to flourish⁴⁹.

Ishii and Iooka agreed with the argument that the expansion of New Religions was related to Urbanisation after they had analysed the demographic data of Tenri-kyo, Rissho-Kosei-kai and Soka Gakkai and the growth in their membership across various regions. Ishii compared the demographic data of Tenri-kyo in 1911, 1925, 1945, 1965 and 1988. As mentioned above, Tenri-kyo was founded in Nara Prefecture in 1838, and the early data indicated that its membership spread around the surrounding Kinki region. From the 1925 data, it is possible to trace the gradual spread of its membership over the whole of Japan. Interestingly, there were some prefectures where its evangelisation was not effective, namely the Tohoku region (Iwate, Akita and Fukushima Prefectures), the Hokuriku region (Toyama, Ishikawa and Fukui Prefectures), the San-in region (Shimane and Tottori Prefectures) and the Kyushu region (Saga and Miyazaki Prefectures). However, its membership grew in places like Osaka, Tokyo, Hyogo and Nara Prefectures until the end of the war, when in 1941 its membership declined; it appears that the War caused the decline of its membership in big cities like Tokyo. However, after the War it recovered and increased its membership again. By comparing Tenri-kyo's demographic data between 1911 and 1988 (before and after the war), Ishii concluded that the religion was still dominant in the Kinki area - which had 30.7 per cent of all members in Japan in 1988 (20.8 per cent in 1911) - and that the development of the membership was strongly related to the density of the population as a result of Urbanisation⁵⁰.

Iooka, like Ishii, also carefully analysed the demographic data from a New Religion, when he

looked at the second wave New Religion Rissho-Kosei-kai. Isooka demonstrated that the expansion of membership related to Urbanisation, but in a different manner to that seen in Tenri-kyo. Rissho-Kosei-kai was established in Tokyo in 1936 and by 1945 its membership was made up of only 1,277 households. Almost all of these households were located in Tokyo, but the religion made great progress after the War in accordance with the migration of the population. Although the membership in Tokyo increased from 55,000 to 99,000 households from 1951 to 1960, the percentage of the Tokyo membership reduced from 60 per cent to 25 per cent. Isooka carefully analysed the changes in membership among prefectures and discovered that Rissho-Kosei-kai gradually percolated from Tokyo into neighbouring prefectures in the Kanto (Eastern Japan) region, and from the Kanto region it spread across the whole of Japan. He concluded that the membership spread from Tokyo to the Kanto region by means of Sub-urbanisation, and that it spread across the rest of Japan through the urban migrants who evangelised in their mother villages⁵¹.

The membership of the New Religion Soka Gakkai was also analysed by Ishii, using the number of votes obtained by their political movement, the Komei Party ('The Fair and Clean Party') in nationwide elections. Ishii compared the number of votes obtained by the party in 1965 and 1986. He calculated which prefectures had shown the biggest increase in votes and which the biggest decrease, and listed the top 10 prefectures in both categories. The top three prefectures which had seen an increase in votes were Osaka, Fukuoka and Kanagawa; locations with or near large cities. By contrast, the top three prefectures which had shown the biggest decrease were Tottori, Gifu and Shizuoka Prefectures. He

concluded that the Komei Party, in other words the membership of Soka Gakkai, had shown rapid growth in big city areas but had not made great progress in rural areas⁵².

I mentioned above that Ikado had argued that the rapid growth in membership in Soka Gakkai, Rissho-Kosei-kai and Reiyu-kai was caused by Urbanisation during the period of rapid economic growth in Japan, rather than to the growth of the number of registered organisations soon after the war. Ishii and Isooka thus demonstrated what Ikado had argued by analysing demographic data from Tenri-kyo, Rissho-Kosei-kai and Soka Gakkai. It is possible to conclude from this that Urbanisation and Sub-urbanisation contributed to the growth in membership in New Religions during the period of rapid economic growth in Japan. Also, according to an analysis of data concerning Tenri-kyo, a correlation between Urbanisation and the decline of membership in New Religions can be observed before the Second World War. I shall now go on to discuss how Urbanisation affected the growth of membership in New Religions.

2. The Study of Urbanisation and Recruitment of New Religions in Post-War Japan

Fujii looked at the effect of Urbanisation on both New and established Religions. In Japan, industrialisation and Urbanisation burst forth after the Korean War in 1951, and thus gave birth to Rural-to-urban migration. As a result, the proportion of the population living in rural and urban areas in Japan shifted from a ratio of seven to three in 1946, one year after the end of the Second World War, to a ratio of three to seven in 1960. Fujii also recognised this migrated populace that had moved from the rural

to urban areas, the *Shukyo-fudo-jinko* ('The population free from their village community and native religion') that Ikado had pointed out⁵³. It was this religiously independent population in the urban areas that fertilised New Religions during this period. While the depopulation of the rural areas caused an economic crisis for the temples in the villages⁵⁴, Fujii's research also revealed that urban temples benefited from the Rural-to-urban migration. The new religiously independent population provided new clients for the traditional Buddhist temples in the urban areas, but only when they needed tombs and the performance of ancestral rituals⁵⁵. By contrast, New Religions supported the socially isolated urban migrants by offering them help with the new and difficult challenges they faced in their day-to-day lives after their detachment from their mother villages.

Morioka also examined the relationship between Urbanisation and religions through empirical research in both rural and urban temples, shrines, churches and the regional halls of New Religions. Morioka concluded that Japanese religions could be classified into three categories: those based on local groups; those based on institutional households; and those based on individuals. In traditional society before Industrialisation, most people lived in patri-lineal families from generation to generation in the same village community. Usually, Buddhist temples, with the support from the Shogunate government, as mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, provided death rituals and ancestral rituals for the traditional households in their local parish. The local Shinto shrine functioned to integrate and stabilise the village community through various annual rituals held for the village community as a whole. Thus, Shintoism and Buddhism co-existed like a concentric circle. Individuals in the village communities became

followers of both Buddhism and Shintoism through his/her family birthright and so took this religious identity unconsciously, without any inner or outer conflict.

Morioka, then, considering two cultural and social characteristics in Japan, formulated the following general proposition:

When there is an absence of a social network cutting across the different groups and when syncretic religious belief is present, the magnitude of the physical movement of the population (an independent variable) will cause changes in the underlying social foundations (intervening variable) that will, in turn, affect changes in religious institutions (the dependent variable).⁵⁶

Around 1955, rapid Industrialisation caused Rural-to-urban migration. As a result, the younger generations poured out of the villages and into the cities. While Fujii pointed out that the urban Buddhist temples could have benefited from this religiously free population and their need for ancestral rituals in their new location, Morioka has demonstrated that this was unlikely. Nuclearisation of family and the disruption of the village community eroded the social foundation of the traditional, established religions of Buddhism and Shintoism. Instead, Morioka argued: 'Religion based on the individual benefited from the migration trend' and this movement of population 'stimulated the emergence of New Religions based on individual values'⁵⁷. Morioka also suggested that this hypothesis was applicable to any developing countries that shifted from a traditional society to an industrialised one. Morioka's argument also supports Nishiyama's definition of New Religion, which implies that it is applicable to other countries facing Industrialisation and/or Modernisation.

Morioka, on the one hand, clarified the effect of Urbanisation on religious organisations in relation to

Population migration⁵⁸. On the other hand, he also explained how an individual becomes a member of a religion and the function of that religion for the member⁵⁹. For Morioka there are four social conditions which incline people to join New Religions. Among these four, Morioka believed that the most effective condition is a context of great change. The second condition is migration of the population, and the third is a potential believer's social stratum: people in the lower strata are more likely to be recruited to New Religions. The last condition is the political attitude towards religions; during a period of religious oppression it is difficult to become a member.

Taking these four social conditions into account, Morioka shared premise that 'Deprivation was a necessary condition for the rise of New Religions'⁶⁰, and went on to analyse the process by which individual conversion takes place in relation to Deprivation. According to Morioka, there are four types of Deprivation, that is, Basic, Downward, Upward and Secondary Deprivation. Basic deprivation occurs when a person's basic social existence is made insecure through such things as poverty, sickness, conflict and death. Downward deprivation can be observed when someone loses his or her social status through downward social mobility. The opposite of this, Upward social mobility, can also yield frustrations when a 'glass ceiling' (invisible social obstacles) is achieved through higher social status. Both the Second and Third type of Deprivation are relative, in contrast to the first, which is absolute. The fourth type of Deprivation can appear when conditions are such that all basic needs are met; here, people sometimes join religion in order to find the meaning of life. In contrast to the First deprivation, this type is Secondary Deprivation.

Morioka suggested that as a result of these various Deprivations people turned to religion in order to solve their problems and compensate for their deprived situation. When people faced these various types of Deprivation, they displayed three different attitudes in order to overcome them. One is a violent attitude, another is escapism and the last is a shift in attitude toward the problem, or in other words, a change in the 'Frame of Reference'. In the last case, religious values are extremely efficacious in bringing about this change. Through missionary zeal, the practice of rituals and belief in dogma and its benefits, potential believers can change their Frame of Reference concerning the difficulties they find themselves in as well as their lives in general. New religious values sometimes re-enforce and re-order a previous Frame of Reference, or sometimes shift it drastically. Morioka distinguished these two, and named the former 're-enforced changed Frame of Reference' and the latter 'converted changed Frame of Reference'⁶¹.

Following the premise of Glock & Stark's Deprivation theory and with reference to Morioka's theory, Watanabe surveyed the followers of Rissho-Kosei-kai, Tenri-kyo and Soka Gakkai, as well as non-believers, living in local towns in relation to family crisis⁶². Watanabe put stress on the household as a unit of religious recruitment and also on the role of women in the family as *Haha* ('Mother'), *Tsuma* ('Wife') and *Yome* ('Housewife of the first son's extended family'). She demonstrated that all the New Religions solved family crises through changing their members' views of the 'meaning of a family crisis'⁶³. At the same time, the new networks provided by a religious group supplied new resources for members to help them solve their crises.

Both Morioka and Watanabe analysed the recruitment for New Religions through the Deprivation theory. While Morioka observed religious conversions from an individual point of view, Watanabe put stress on the individual as a family member. However, Morioka, as mentioned above, takes account of the social changes within the family and the community as well as on the individual level. Morioka emphasised that Urbanisation caused by Industrialisation, including Rural-to-urban migration and Nuclearisation of the family, fertilised the recruitment for New Religions because the Disorganisation of the local community and extended family meant that they could no longer supply any benefits to the urbanised population free from the extended family and local community. New religions, thus, functioned as a replacement for their mother village community for the uprooted urban migrants.

Morioka took account of the individual, the family and the local community in order to explain religious recruitment. Watanabe, by contrast, confined her study to the family and religious groups. She did not always classify the relationship between different types of Deprivation and family crises but focussing on family crises, she analysed how New Religions helped to solve them. As mentioned above, Morioka extended the scope of his analysis concerning religious recruitment by taking into account the individual, via the family and also the local community and the effect of Deprivation caused primarily by social change and/or social mobility. He clarified the function of New Religions for uprooted, modern individuals as a substitute for their local, mother village community⁶⁴. For Morioka, this substitution supplied individuals with several functions: an instrumental function (resources for labour); an expressional function (to supply the need

for care); and a remedy function (to recover from suffering and provide relaxation). Morioka suggested that one of the important roles of New Religions for the isolated nuclear family living in the city was to achieve stability in their new lives in urbanised society.

There is another study concerning Urbanisation and New Religion. Hiroshi Suzuki, Professor of Urban Sociology, surveyed Soka Gakkai members in Fukuoka City in 1967⁶⁵. First, he carefully examined the distribution of the membership through the number of votes obtained by the Komei Party in 1956, 1957, 1962 and 1965. He demonstrated what Saki & Oguchi had discussed concerning the characteristics of Soka Gakkai members through the distribution of their membership⁶⁶. He found that Soka Gakkai had developed its membership in big cities such as Tokyo, Osaka, Kobe and Fukuoka since 1951. Then, taking an area of Fukuoka City, Suzuki carried out research to discover why and how potential believers became involved in Soka Gakkai, and how they changed as a result of that involvement. The results of his questionnaire survey revealed the following characteristics concerning the respondents' social backgrounds: first, there was a relatively high proportion of 40 to 50 year-olds; second, there were more women more than men; third, relatively few had an academic career; four, the occupation and social strata was lower middle class and lower class, non-skilled manual labourers, five; residency was in the big cities; and six, the year of joining was after 1955. These characteristics were also reported by White⁶⁷.

In relation to the first point, the age distribution of the followers of Soka Gakkai in Fukuoka did not match that of another report on Soka Gakkai undertaken by Todai & Tojo in 1963. In their report, younger members occupied almost half the total

membership; members aged from 20 to 29 years old made up 47.7 per cent of the membership, and members less than 35 years old made up 65.3 per cent of the total population. Suzuki's research revealed that young members had different reasons for joining Soka Gakkai; those under 29 listed sickness, psychic and personal mental problems as their reasons for joining while, by contrast, their families cited the problems of poverty, sickness and social conflict. Suzuki defined young people who were among potential converts to New Religions in this period as the 'Generation in Mobility'; those who were typically single, healthy, and within the labour market, yet who were psychologically isolated and suffering from the problem of a lack of 'Values' in human relationships, rather than the family problems caused by poverty, sickness and social conflict⁶⁸.

Suzuki insisted that Soka Gakkai was 'not an urban religious group but an urban lower class religious group'⁶⁹. From Suzuki's point of view, the urban lower class consisted of temporary employees, loaned and part-time labourers, money collectors, door-to-door salespersons of big farms, employees (including domestic labourers) and employees of all kinds of middle and small class enterprises - day labourers, peddlers, storekeepers and the unemployed. Their employment was typically irregular and unstable with low wages in comparison with the relatively higher classes. The unsuccessful urban settlers and the migrants from local villages formed this urban lower class.

The results of Suzuki's research into the members of Soka Gakkai in Fukuoka led him to characterise members of Soka Gakkai as: 'people who were born into farming families (or merchant houses) and who

experienced dramatic vertical and horizontal social mobility during and after the war'⁷⁰.

While Suzuki agreed with Hori's argument that 'Acute Anomie' generates and develops New Religion⁷¹, he paid particular attention to the anomie caused by both vertical and horizontal social mobility. Most of the Soka Gakkai members in Fukuoka experienced downward social mobility. In the process of migration to big cities, they also faced 'Disorganisation of Community'⁷². He called this the 'Effect of Social Mobility', which made people feel both Deprivation and the loss of their home community. The end product of this social movement was the isolation of the urban lower classes and the loss of stability in their lives. It was their isolation and the experience of being cut off from their home community that made the urban lower classes join Soka Gakkai.

III. Concluding Remarks

In summary, from the discussion of the emergence of New Religions as well as New New Religions in Japan, it is clear that they are integrally related to the Japanese historical context of Modernisation and post-Modernisation. In the context of Japan industrialisation was related to Urbanisation in society, and rationalisation or secularisation in religion to Post-modernisation and consequential Globalisation. Even though Inoue emphasizes the fact that New Religions were the result of social change, his definition of New Religions is related to Modernisation and its sequence of post-Modernisation; the difference in the understanding of the emergence of New Religions among scholars relates to the historical context of when Modern or Post-modern Japan began. For example, MacFarland argues that the forerunners of New Religions can

already be observed in the beginning of the Edo period, when large cities began to emerge in Japan as a result of trade, such as Edo (present day Tokyo) and Osaka. By contrast, those who support the theory that the emergence of New Religions occurs much later at the beginning of the 20th Century, I argue that Japan modernised rapidly when it began to be involved in international trade and involvement in the Second World War. In this article, I have proposed that New Religions began to emerge from the end of the Edo era, namely, the early 20th Century.

Among the various definitions of New Religion, I endorse the one recommended by Nishiyama, which incorporates the criteria of New Religions put forward by Shimazono which incorporates pivotal cross-cultural implications. However, it is important to recognise that the context of Modernisation as well as Post-modernisation in Japan is not a clear cut one. It is therefore important to clarify this context of modernity, that is, Rural-to-urban migration. Suzuki, Morioka and Watabe demonstrated that urban migrants from the mother village were recruited to New Religions such as Soka Gakkai, Rissho-Koseikai in order to compensate for the Deprivation caused by social mobility. This shows that New Religions serve to function for the urban migrants as a substitute or replacement mother village community like a safety net for their daily lives which had formerly been woven by their relatives, neighbours and peer groups.

In contrast to New Religion, most Japanese scholars agree that newer types of emerging New Religions and Spiritualism that appeared after the 1970's are different and hence refer to this new social phenomenon as 'New New Religion.' The typical style of these movements is to lure relatively younger adherents with higher educational backgrounds. Characteristically the membership in these New New

Religions is loosely organized and a bit isolated from society. Hence, these newer types of religious movements differ from the former types particularly regarding a lesser emphasis on interpersonal relationships; the former types of New Religions supplied the urban migrant adherents with a tighter human bonding equivalent to the function of mother village community.

Research conducted by Tani, a sociologist of religion, demonstrated that most followers of Mahikari, which is categorised in the genre of a New New Religion, consisted mostly of the second or third generation of urban migrants⁷³. His findings confirm that because the sons or daughters of the urban-migrants from the village may have been brought up in urban settings, therefore these second or third generation migrants have had no hands-on intimate experience with the mother village community and their needs are different. For instance, they have no need to seek a replacement community within the religious organisation. Rather, some of the second or third generation of urban migrants seem to seek out a more magical or transcendental experience in the new religious movements than a communal one.

Conclusively it is important for the sociologist of religion to analyse the social character of New Religions or New New Religions or Spiritualism as experienced by their followers. My research has focused on using Rural-to-urban migration as pivotal criteria for helping to distinguish effects of New Religions from traditional ones, and New Religions from New New Religion, as well as Modern from Post-modern society.

Notes

The contents of this article is partly based upon Chapter 1 of the author's successfully defended doctoral thesis 'An Anthropological Study of the

Religions of Urban Migrants from the Amami Islands with Special Reference to Omoto, Soka Gakkai and Catholicism' (unpublished) from King's College in London, circa 2007. This article is also partly based on my presentation at the International Conference: Sociology of Religions at the University of Hong Kong on 19th of February 2011

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¹ See Murakami, Shigeyoshi: Konko-taijinn to Konko-kyo, Murakami, Shigeyoshi & Yoshio Yasumaru ed., *Minshu Shukyo no Shiso*, 571-568, Tokyo: Iwanami-shoten, 1971 (Japanese).

² See Murakami: *Ibid*, 556 and Yasumaru, Yoshio: *Ibid*, 634-645.

³ A scholar of Japanese classical culture (*Kokugaku-sha*) named Nakaba Shishino (who died in 1884) reformed the Mt. Fuji cult and organised it into a group called Fujisan-ichi-ko in 1873. The following year it was approved as a Shinto faction by the government.

⁴ This religious body was founded by Rokurobei Ito (who died in 1894) whose family had been in charge of one of the Fuji-ko called Maruyama. Initially, in 1875, Maruyama was a sub-group of Fuji-ichisan-ko (the former Fuso-kyo mentioned above) and when it gained approval as one of the Shinto factions called Fuso-kyo, Maruyama-kyo was still under the umbrella of this religious body. However, in 1885, one year after the founder of Fuso-kyo died, Maruyama-kyo became an independent religious body.

⁵ Hanamori Shibata (1805-1890), the 10th successor of Fuji-ko, a New Religion based on the Mt. Fuji cult that was organised in 1878, later gained approval in 1882 as Jikko-kyo, one of the Shinto factions.

⁶ See Murakami: *Ibid*, 568-569 and Hardacre, Helen: *Kurozumikyo and the New Religions of Japan*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986.

⁷ See Shimazono, Susumu: 'Konko-kyogaku to Ningen-kyoso-ron, *Tsukuba Daigaku Tetsugaku/Shisogakukei Ronshu* 54, 101-128, 1979 (Japanese): Shukyo no Kindaika, Gorai et al. ed., *Koza Nihon no Minzoku-shukyo Vol.5*, 323-340, Tokyo:Kobundo 1980 (Japanese): and 'Minzokushukyo no Kozotekihenndo to Shinshukyo', *Tsukuba Daigaku Tetsugaku/Shisogakukei Ronshu*, 55, 85-102, 1981, (Japanese)

⁸ See Tanaka, Yoshiyuki: *Shinto Jyu-sam-pa no Kenkyu*, Tokyo:Daichishobo, 1987 (Japanese) and

Inoue, Nobutaka : *Kyoha Shinto no Seirirsu*, Tokyo:Kobundo, 1990 (Japanese)

⁹ Tokuharu Miki (who died in 1938) started Hitonomichi Kyodan in 1931 under the umbrella of Fuso-kyo. However, this religious body was forced to dissolve by the authorities in 1938, and then, in 1946, two years after the Second World War, it was re-established with the name of PL Kyodan.

¹⁰ This word is composed of French, *après le gare* ('after the war') and Japanese, *Shukyo* ('religion') and highlights the period of post-war social upheaval in Japan. See Oya, Soichi: *Oya Soichi Zenshu Vol.4 Shukyo wo Nonoshiru*, Tokyo: Soyosha, 1981 (Japanese)

¹¹ See Shimizu, Masahito et al. *Shin Shukyo no Sekai*, 2 and 192, Kyoto: Daizo Shuppan, 1979 (Japanese)

¹² See Ikado, Fujio (1970) Toshika Gensho nonakano Shukyo Jijyo, F.Ikado & M.Yoshida (ed.) *Sekai no Shukyo 12*, 57-81, Kyoto:Tankosha,1970 and Inoue, Nobutaka et al : *Shinshukyo Jiten*,195, Tokyo: Kobundo,1990 (Japanese)

¹³ See *Shinshukyo Jiten*, Tokyo:Kobundo 2-22 (Japanese) and Shimazono, Susumu (1992a) 'Seikatsuchi to kindai-shukyo undo ' in Hayao Kawai ed. *Iwanami Koza Shukyo to Kagaku 5 Shukyo to Shakaikagaku*, 213-244,Tokyo:Iwanami-shoten, 1992a(Japanese): *Gendai Kyusai Shukyoron*, Tokyo:Seikyusha 1992b, (Japanese) ; *Seishin Sekai no Yukue (New Spirituality Movements in the Global Society)*, Tokyo:tokyodoshuppan, 1996 (Japanese) and *From Salvation to Spirituality*, Melbourne: Trans Pacific Press, 2004.

¹⁴ See Nishiyama, Shigeru: 'Shinshukyo no Genkyo', *Rekishikoron*, Vol.5, No.7, 36,1979 (Japanese)

¹⁵ See Nishiyama, Shigeru : Kegare Shakai no Jikkan Shukyo, *Toyo Gakujyutsu Kenkyu*, Vol.35, No.1, 116-143, (Japanese)

¹⁶ The Meiji (1868-1912) and the Taisho (1912-1926) eras employed a policy designed to develop the wealth of the nation and establish a strong Army.

- ¹⁷ See Nishiyama, Shigeru: Gendai no Shukyo Undo, Eisho Ohmura & S. Nishiyama (ed.) *Gendaijin no Shukyo*, 169-210, Tokyo:Yuhikaku,1988 (Japanese)
- ¹⁸ See Inoue, Nobutaka: Shin-shin Shukyo' Gainen no Gakujyutsuteki Yukosei nituite, *Religion & Society*, Vol.3, 3-24, 1997 (Japanese)
- ¹⁹ See Clarke, B. Peter & Jeffrey Somers ed. () *Japanese New Religions in the West*, 2-3, Kent:Japan Library 1994.
- ²⁰ The disputes among Inoue, Nishiyama and Shimazono concerning the concept of 'New New Religion' can be found in detail in *Religion & Society*, Vol.3, 1997.
- ²¹ See Inoue, Nobutaka: a) 'Shinshin Shukyo' Gainen no Gakujyutsuteki Yukosei nituite, *Religion & Society*, Vol.3, 3-24, 1997 (Japanese)
- ²² See Inoue, Nobutaka et al. : *Shinshukyo Jiten*, 8, Tokyo:Kobun-do1990 (Japanese)
- ²³ See Saki, Akio: *Shinko Shukyo*, 84, Tokyo: Aoki Shoten, 1960 (Japanese)
- ²⁴ See Kozawa, Hiroshi: *Ikigami no Shisoshi*, Tokyo:Iwanami-shoten, 1988 (Japanese)
- ²⁵ See Murakami, Shigeyoshi & Yoshio Yasumaru ed.: *Minshu Shukyo no Shiso*, Tokyo: Iwanami-shoten, 1971 (Japanese)
- ²⁶ This New Religion is one of the lay Buddhist religions based on the Lotus Sutra, and was established by Kakutaro Kubo (1892-1944) and Miki Kotani (1901-1971) in 1930.
- ²⁷ This New Religion was established by the head of the branch offices of Reiyu-kai, Nikkyo Niwano (1906-1999), in cooperation with a medium called Myoko Naganuma (1889-1957). They developed an independent religion from Reiyu-kai and established Rissho-Kosei-kai in 1938.
- ²⁸ Mokichi Okada (who died in 1955), who had once been a member of Omoto, experienced a revelation in 1931 and one year later established Dai-nihon Kanon Kyodan ('The Great Japanese Kannon').
- ²⁹ See Murakami, Shigeyosi: *Shin Shukyo-Sono Kodo to Shiso*, Tokyo:Hyoronsha 1980a (Japanese); *Kindai Nihon no Shukyo*, Tokyo:Kodansha, 1980b (Japanese); and *Japanese Religion in the Modern Century*, translated 1980b by H.Byron Earhart, Tokyo:University of Tokyo Press, 1980c.
- ³⁰ See Inoue, Nobutaka: *Shinshukyo no kaidoku*, 11, Tokyo:Chikuma Shobo, 1996 (Japanese)
- ³¹ See Inoue, Nobutaka: 'Global-ka no Process kara mita Shinshukyo' in Tsuneya Wakimoto & Noriyoshi Tamaru (ed.) *Asia no Shukyo to Seisin Bunka*, 189-210, Tokyo:Shinyosha, 1997(Japanese).
- ³² See Inoue, Nobutaka: *Shinto*, Translated by Mark Teeuwen and John Breen, 11, London:Routledge Curzon. 2003, which was first published in Japanese by Tokyo:Shinyo-sha 1998.
- ³³ See Shimazono, Susumu: New New Religions and This World: Religious Movements in Japan after the 1970s and their Beliefs About Salvation, *Social Compass*, Vol.42, No.2, 193-206, ISSR/SISR, 1995; *Seishin Sekai no Yukue (New Spirituality Movements in the Global Society)*, Tokyo:Tokyo-do-shuppan, 1996 (Japanese) ; and *From Salvation to Spirituality –Popular Religious Movements in Modern Japan* , Melbourne: Trans Pacific Press, 2004.
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- ³⁷ See Inoue, Nobutaka: *Shinshukyo no kaidoku*, 177-196, Tokyo:Chikuma Shobo, 1996 (Japanese)
- ³⁸ See Nishiyama, Shigeru: Shin Shukyo no Tokucho to Ruikei, 147, Toyo Daigaku Hakusan Shakai Gakkai (ed.) *Nihon Shakairon no Saikento*, Tokyo:Miraisha, 1995 (Japanese)
- ³⁹ About the concept of sect, See Willson, Bryan. R.: *Sects & Society – A Sociological Study of the Elim Tabernacle, Christian Science, and Christadelphians*, University of California Press, 1961 and also see 4. The Sociology of Sects, *Religion in Sociological Perspective*, 89-120,Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press, 1982
- ⁴⁰ See Nishiyama, Shigeru: Shin Shukyo no Tokucho to Ruikei, 149, Toyo Daigaku Hakusan Shakai Gakkai (ed.) *Nihon Shakairon no Saikento*, Tokyo:Mirai-sha, 1995 (Japanese)
- ⁴¹ See Nishiyama, Shigeru: Shin Shukyo no Tokucho to Ruikei, 147, Toyo Daigaku Hakusan Shakai Gakkai ed., *Nihon Shakairon no Saikento*, Tokyo:Mirai-sha, 1995 (Japanese)
- ⁴² See Nishiyama, Shigeru: Shin Shukyo no Tokucho to Ruikei, Toyo Daigaku Hakusan Shakai Gakkai ed. *Nihon Shakairon no Saikento*, 149,Tokyo:Mirai-sha, 1995, (Japanese)
- ⁴³ Zenrin-kai was founded by Tassai Rikiishi (who died in 1977) in 1947 in Saga Prefecture. His father was a local medium and became head of a branch office of Jikko-kyo. For 20 years after his father's death, Tassai trained using his original ascetic practices, and then established a New Religion.
- ⁴⁴ Nenpo-shikyo was founded by Ogura Reiogen (1886-1982) after he dreamt that Amida-nyorai ('Amitabha Buddha') had revealed to him that he must reform the country and save the people in 1925. In 1939, he organised a church of Kongo under the

umbrella of Tendai-shu, and then, in 1947, the group became independent.

⁴⁵ The founder, Kaichi Sekiguchi (1897-1961), joined Reiyu-kai in order to save his son after he had lost his daughter in 1933. In 1943 he became the head of a branch church which broke away from Reiyu-kai and was organised into a New Religion in 1950.

⁴⁶ See Murakami, Shigeyosi: *Kindai Nihon no Shukyo*, 121-128, Tokyo:Kodansha,1980 (Japanese)

⁴⁷ In 1919, soon after Omoto was oppressed by the government, Masaharu Taniguchi (1893-1985) left the New Religion. In 1929 he received divine inspiration and established a New Religion called Seicho-no-Ie in 1930, in order to enlighten the people of the world. In 1940, it was approved as a religious organisation by the authorities.

⁴⁸ See Murakami, Shigeyosi: *Kindai Nihon no Shukyo*, 121, Tokyo:Kodan-sha,1980 (Japanese)

⁴⁹ See Ikado, Fujio: Toshika Gensho nonakano Shukyo Jijyo, 57-8, F.Ikado & M.Yoshida ed., *Sekai no Shukyo 12*, Kyoto:Tanko-sha, 1970 and also see Ikado: Trends and Problems of New Religions: Religion in Urban Society, Kiyomi Morioka & W.N.Newell (ed.) *The Sociology of Japanese Religion*, 101-117, Leiden:E.J.Brill, 1968

⁵⁰ See Ishii, Kenji : 2.Shinjasu no Suii, Inoue, Nobutaka et al., *Shinshukyo Jiten* ,42, 1990 Tokyo:Kobun-do 1990 (Japanese)

⁵¹ *Ibid*, 42

⁵² *Ibid*, 48

⁵³ See Ikado, Fujio: Toshika Gensho nonakano Shukyo Jijyo, 57-8, F.Ikado & M.Yoshida ed., *Sekai no Shukyo 12*, Kyoto:Tanko-sha, 1970

⁵⁴ See Fujii, Masao: *Gendai-jin no Shinko-kozo*, 74-75,Tokyo: Hyoron-sha, 1974 (Japanese)

⁵⁵ *Ibid*, 207

⁵⁶ See Morioka, Kiyomi: *Gendai Shakai no Minshu to Shukyo*, 166, Tokyo:Hyoronsha, 1975 (Japanese)

⁵⁷ *Ibid*, 167

⁵⁸ See Morioka, Kiyomi: 80nendai niokeru Shukyo Kyodan no Yakuwari to Kadai, *Shinri to Sozo* (Truth and Creation), No. 15, 178-192, 1980 (Japanese) ; Seikatsu Kyoten toshitenno Gendai Shukyo', *Jurist Sogo Tokushu*, 18, 144-149, (Japanese); and Kyodan Soshiki to Bunka no Kata, *Bungaku*, Vol.51, No.11, 102-111, 1983(Japanese)

⁵⁹ See Morioka, Kiyomi: *Gendai Shakai no Minshu to Shukyo*, 17-27, Tokyo:Hyoron-sha, 1975 (Japanese)

⁶⁰ See Glock, Charles Y. & Rodney Stark: *Religion and Society in Tension*, 245, Chicago: Rand Mc. Nally & Company, 1965

⁶¹ See Morioka, Kiyomi: *Gendai Shakai no Minshu to Shukyo*, 33, Tokyo:Hyoron-sha, 1975 (Japanese)

⁶² S Watanabe, Masako: Kazokukiki tono taiouniokeru Shinshukyo no Igi, *The Journal of Social Science* No.17, 201-225, 1979 (Japanese)

⁶³ *Ibid*, 234

⁶⁴ See Morioka, Kiyomi: 80nendai niokeru Shukyo Kyodan no Yakuwari to Kadai, *Shinri to Sozo* , No. 15, 144, 1980 (Japanese)

⁶⁵ See Suzuki, Hiroshi: *Toshiteki-sekai*, 259-335, Tokyo:Seishin-shobo, 1970 (Japanese) which is first published in 'Toshi Kaso no Shukyo Shudan Jo', in *Shakaigaku Kenkyu*, No.22, 81-102,1963 and 'Toshi Kaso no Shukyo Shudan Ge', *Shakaigaku Kenkyu*, No.23, 1964 both in Japanese.

⁶⁶ See Saki, Akio et al. *Soka Gakkai*, Tokyo:Aoki-shoten, 1957 (Japanese)

⁶⁷ See White, James W: *The Sokaggakkai and Mass Society*, California: Stanford University Press, 1970.

⁶⁸ See Suzuki, Hiroshi: *Toshiteki-sekai*, 300, Tokyo:Seishin-shobo, 1970 (Japanese)

⁶⁹ See *Ibid*. 276

⁷⁰ See *Ibid*, 294

⁷¹ See Hori, Ichiro: *Nihon Shukyo no Shakaiteki Yakuwari*, 41, Tokyo:Mirai-sha, 1962 (Japanese)

⁷² See Suzuki, Hiroshi: *Toshiteki-sekai*, 294-295, Tokyo:Seishin-shobo, 1970 (Japanese)

⁷³ See Tani, Tomio: Shinpi kara Shukyo he – Mahikari ni Tsudou Wakamono-tachi no Sekai, Sachiko Hatanaka ed. *Gendai no Kokoro – Sukyo Mahikari* 1987