

令和 5 年 6 月 2 9 日現在

機関番号：3 2 6 9 0

研究種目：基盤研究(C) ( 一般 )

研究期間：2020 ~ 2022

課題番号：2 0 K 0 1 4 8 6

研究課題名 ( 和文 ) The significance of community relations in democracy and peace-building: the case of Komeito-Soka Gakkai in realising SDG16

研究課題名 ( 英文 ) The significance of community relations in democracy and peace-building: the case of Komeito-Soka Gakkai in realising SDG16

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交付決定額 ( 研究期間全体 ) : ( 直接経費 ) 1,600,000 円

研究成果の概要 ( 和文 ) : 沖縄と東京の創価学会員、そして公明党の政治家や創価学会関係者との直接のフィールドワークと詳細な民族誌的インタビューに基づいた 3 本の記事が出版された。新型コロナウイルス感染症のパンデミックの状況は、これまでとは異なる生き方を浮き彫りにした。この研究では、変化を促すSDGsの枠組みによって、ジェンダーの観点からさらに深い世代交代が起きていることも明らかになった。研究の第三部では、歴史的に宗教に関する言説がどのように社会的に生産的であったかに焦点を当て、創価学会が個人および集団の行動に影響を与える対抗認識を提供していると指摘した。

研究成果の学術的意義や社会的意義

First hand fieldwork and in-depth ethnographic interviews show how Soka Gakkai approached the COVID-19 Pandemic, revealing a deeper generational transformation in terms of gender. The research also showed how the discourse on religion point brought to bear on individual and collective action.

研究成果の概要 ( 英文 ) : Three journal articles based on first hand fieldwork and in-depth ethnographic interviews with Soka Gakkai members in Okinawa and Tokyo, and with Komeito politicians and officials in Soka Gakkai were published. The situation of the COVID-19 Pandemic illuminated a different mode of being. The response was not populist but actively used digital media communication tools to provide the latest science-based WHO information to its membership and supporters, while also combatting the rapidly emerging social issues such as discrimination directly. The research also revealed a deeper generational transformation occurring in terms of gender, where both young women and men seek a less gendered lifestyle, using the SDGs framework to push for change. The third part of the research focused on the way historically, the discourse on religion has been socially productive, pointing to Soka Gakkai as providing a counter-episteme that is brought to bear on individual and collective action.

研究分野：Religion, Politics, Gender, Soka Gakkai, Komeito

キーワード：COVID-19 Gender Religion-politics Soka Gakkai Civil Society Okinawa Youth SDGs

## 1 . 研究開始当初の背景

The research aimed to investigate a different political logic to the kind of populism recently dominating public debates. Populism is not one thing, but rather a style of thinking or mobilization rooted in a new-found logic of supposedly moral assessment based on identity politics. The research built on my long-term research on Soka Gakkai and its support for Kōmeitō that shows a different kind of cultural-political logic for engagement with contemporary social issues. For example, I showed how in the case of Japan's security legislation debates of 2014-15 how the polarized moral language of the 'ethnic-nation' employed by opposition parties typically obscured the many contradictory positions within in order to mobilize divergent groups under simplified slogans (see Fisker-Nielsen 2016). Using the suggestion from Illouz to consider applying an 'impure' critique and look 'sideways', not simply from a perspective of opposition or criticism, but from a position of complexity of often contradictory politics. Anthropology has long looked at the cultural-social embeddedness of logics and emotions, and how through emotions we enact cultural definitions of personhood as they are expressed in concrete and immediate but always culturally and socially defined relationships (Illouz 2007: 3). The logics of politics as 'moral absolutes' is not a new phenomenon but was rising as I began this research, where positions of 'pure criticism' dominated oppositional politics as the primary lens for judging reality. In relation to the case under study Soka Gakkai and youth members support for Kōmeitō, and in the context of youth in contemporary Okinawa that was taken as a case study, brings up the idea of this being a 'religion' influencing 'politics', a 'world' seen as typically one of 'moral absolutes'; yet, here oppositional politics more precisely were found to be about 'moral absolutes' through its binary logic, a new kind of 'psychology of purity' (Robert Putnam). Given the situation during the latter part of the 2010s, fieldwork had revealed that at the grassroots level also in places such as Okinawa where emotions ran high under the ALL OKINAWA political mobilization, there in reality was not a simply 'for' or 'against' position even towards the presence of American bases.

## 2 . 研究の目的

My previous research had elucidated that whilst divisive political rhetoric dominates contested areas such national security, Kōmeitō's "middle-ground" politics played a significant role in policy outcomes. Therefore, the deeper question arose as to how this political approach and logic that focused less on 'purity' politics and 'moral absolutes' and on moving political debate towards consideration of the complexity of the political arena of competing interests; how to move forward with some form of acceptable agreement that both responded to contemporary security or other social issues not only driven ideology whether on the left or the right. The purpose was to investigate how to interpret this as enabled by a long-term engagement and support from a so-called 'religious' or Buddhist organisation. From long-term observations, this also related to the nature of community relations which allowed Soka Gakkai members to function as a civil society were active members also engaged in fostering a social dialogue that could somewhat enable deeper thinking about complex socio-political realities both for its own members but also beyond. Seeking a social logic that was less binary that a more politically 'pure' approach often enabled through long established friendships, these grassroots relations to serve as indirect forces for solidarity, and human security on a broader level. Considering these deeper everyday relations and human interactions simultaneously seemed to demand a re-evaluation of the Western imposed 'secular-religious' binary to better comprehend the significance of contemporary grassroots relations, and how this might link up to statecraft, and essentially the realization of SDG16 (objective of peace, justice and strong institutions). The key research question focused on how politics rooted in long-term community relations and support for a party that focuses on building common ground and incorporate complexity into its policies can help to deliver fairly successful, moderate policies that move politics beyond divisive left-right ideological positioning that proved the undoing of oppositional politics since the security debates of 2014-15.

## 3 . 研究の方法

Scientific significance of this research lies in drawing on micro-level case studies, fieldwork and ethnographic interviews in contested political arenas such as for example that surrounding the Futenma Airbase relocation to Henoko where the central Japanese government plans to build a new US Airbase. First-hand research demonstrates the need to move beyond the headlines and explore in more in-depth ways the fluctuations in, and complexities of socio-political processes. My preliminary research had pointed to a binary political discourse and position as holding true only on a very superficial level; This is expressed here by a Soka Gakkai member, a

retired Okinawan male in his sixties who explains in an interview the common sentiment found in research that: “all those polls that demonstrate how many people are ‘for’ or ‘against’ Henoko tell us nothing about how Okinawan people really feel, they are useless as an indicator of what is going on for Okinawan people”(August 31, 2019). This point to the merit of more in-depth approaches to social studies to go beneath quantitative statistical data typically used to represent ‘facts’. The continuation of fieldwork in Okinawa was unfortunately interrupted by the COVID-19 Pandemic during 2020-21, which made me continued fieldwork and interviews with young Soka Gakkai members in Tokyo during this time. Many interviews were held online in the early period of the pandemic. On the other hand, thinking through a social anthropological approach that try to capture as far as possible the complexity of reality, the new situation of the pandemic was indeed the reality for people during this time. Thus observing and capturing first-hand the actual life situation of people who were Soka Gakkai members and their organizational responses to this unrepresented and challenging social situation became part of the research. Returning to Okinawa in 2021 I continued to conduct interviews and fieldwork. Some of this later research is still being written up for another paper.

#### 4 . 研究成果

An ethnographic and social-anthropological lens revealed through ethnographic interviews with young Soka Gakkai members, local politicians and Soka Gakkai regional and national leaders in Tokyo and Okinawa that they present a significant social force in Japanese society, spaces that try to navigate and negotiated social issues with a mindset and attitude towards seeking understanding of the complexity of current socio-political realities; this included the recent COVID-19 situation that brought as well as national security issues that directly is present in places such as Okinawa. How do people at the grassroots navigate these global, national and socio-cultural issues with multiple stakeholders, dividing interests, and larger geopolitical tensions at play. The research investigated the extent to the complexity of reality can be incorporated over more ‘pure oppositional’ politics and the way this leads influencing the Japanese government, albeit in perhaps limited ways, to maintain an internationalist outlook. Due to the COVID-19 situation the research place and foci inevitably had to change somewhat.

The first paper published investigates how Soka Gakkai members supported the political party known as Kōmeitō, or Clean Government Party in Japan for over half a century. SG members have often been criticized as ‘impure’ political actors, undergoing frequent public questioning of their motivations for engaging in electoral politics in light of their ‘religious’ status. The paper shows how the SG members’ support for Kōmeitō at a qualitative level indeed transcends the typical demarcations of the ‘secular-religious’ binary system. Yet, they also simultaneously challenge the term ‘religion’ showing how it also functioned as an ideology as part of statecraft in the competition for legitimacy, and for the state to establish itself as ‘secular’ and thus legitimate. Based on long-term and continues fieldwork, extensive interviews, and doctrinal analyses the social productive nature of the discourse on religion was explored. The paper shows how a counter-episteme, rooted in Nichiren’s theory of the *Risshō Ankoku Ron* and the idea of *kōsen-rufu*, sought to bring a ‘Buddha’ consciousness to bear on individual and collective action as a model for alternative ‘politics’. Contrary to many claims, this did not entail contesting the modern institutional separation of ‘church’ and ‘state’, but rather attempted to find legitimacy for participating in ‘Japan-making’ in ways that cannot easily be understood or confined to explanations framed within the ‘religious-secular’ binary system.

The second paper published investigates how young Japanese women in contemporary Soka Gakkai (SG) navigate Japan’s continuous gender stratified society that remains culturally rooted in the ‘salaryman-housewife’ ideology. How are young SG members reproducing or contesting these hegemonic gender norms that few seek to emulate? While SG has long proclaimed that it stands for gender equality, its employment structure and organization in Japan until recently reflected the typical male breadwinner ideology that came to underpin the post-war Japanese nation-state and systemic gender division of labor. As shown here, this did not mean that SG women were without power; in fact, in many ways they drove organizational developments in the Japanese context. The recent imposition of the global framework for Sustainable Development Goals of 2015, however, enabled younger SG leaders to more substantially challenge its own patriarchal public front. Based on long-term and continues fieldwork, in-depth interviews and multiple group discussions with SG members in their 20s, this article explores how SG-Japan is being challenged to follow its own discourse of ‘globalism’ and ‘Buddhist humanism’, promoted by Daisaku Ikeda since the 1990s. Using Bourdieu’s analysis of symbolic power, the research shows how Japan’s powerful doxa of ‘genderism’ that held sway over earlier generations is currently being challenged by a globalized Buddhist discourse that identifies Nichiren Buddhism as ‘humanism’ rather than Japanese ‘genderism’.

The third paper published from this research, explores responses to COVID-19 by the Buddhist organisation Soka Gakkai in Japan. Sōka means ‘value-creation’, but what kind of ‘value’ was created amidst a global pandemic? So-called ‘new religions’ in the context of Japan are typically presumed to embody a ‘flight from the human world’ into the exotic and remote. SG’s response, however, encouraged people to stay very much within a ‘human-bound world’. How SG differed compared to other popular responses in Japan that drew on *yōkai* (or ‘spirits’) for

comfort in defeating the soon objectified virus ‘monster’ is here explored. SG may be well-built for responding to disaster in its extensive grassroots networks and its daily newspaper to provide information. Responding with a renewed focus on study, chanting and outreach also highlights, however, how the meaning of ‘hope’ and ‘well-being’ were generated by internal change while structurally working to realise the SDG s as part of more long-term solutions.

Papers based on other research issues directly related to Okinawa were also presented as several internal conferences, highlighting the different local work-cultures, attitudes and experiences even within the relatively small area of Okinawa that directly relate to proximity to the American bases. Another article is currently being written up.

5. 主な発表論文等

〔雑誌論文〕 計3件（うち査読付論文 3件／うち国際共著 3件／うちオープンアクセス 3件）

1. 著者名 Fisker-Nielsen, Anne Mette	4. 巻 13
2. 論文標題 The Soka Gakkai Practice of Buppo and the Discourse on Religion in Japan	5. 発行年 2022年
3. 雑誌名 Religions MDPI	6. 最初と最後の頁 1-27
掲載論文のDOI（デジタルオブジェクト識別子） 10.3390/rel13020167	査読の有無 有
オープンアクセス オープンアクセスとしている（また、その予定である）	国際共著 該当する

1. 著者名 Fisker-Nielsen, Anne Mette	4. 巻 13
2. 論文標題 'Genderism vs. Humanism': The Generational Shift and Push for Implementing Gender Equality within Soka Gakkai-Japan	5. 発行年 2022年
3. 雑誌名 Religions MDPI	6. 最初と最後の頁 1-34
掲載論文のDOI（デジタルオブジェクト識別子） 10.3390/rel13050468	査読の有無 有
オープンアクセス オープンアクセスとしている（また、その予定である）	国際共著 該当する

1. 著者名 Fisker-Nielsen, Anne Mette	4. 巻 1
2. 論文標題 Refocusing Body, Mind and Community Interconnections: Soka Gakkai's "Mission" and "Human Revolution" amidst the Biosocial Crisis of COVID-19	5. 発行年 2022年
3. 雑誌名 Social Sciences and Missions, Brill	6. 最初と最後の頁 1-34
掲載論文のDOI（デジタルオブジェクト識別子） 10.1163/18748945-bja10063	査読の有無 有
オープンアクセス オープンアクセスとしている（また、その予定である）	国際共著 該当する

〔学会発表〕 計5件（うち招待講演 2件／うち国際学会 3件）

1. 発表者名 Fisker-Nielsen, Anne Mette	
2. 発表標題 Soka Gakkai responses to COVID-19: Suffering, Hope, and a Civil Society in Crisis Mode	
3. 学会等名 Resilient Religion, 18th annual Conference of the European Association for the Study of Religions (EASR), Piza, Italy (国際学会) (国際学会)	
4. 発表年 2021年	

1 . 発表者名 Fisker-Nielsen, Anne Mette
2 . 発表標題 Courage as a source of relational creativity in the everyday when the “enemy” is less clear: living in proximity to the US-Japan military complex in Okinawa and the failure of the future
3 . 学会等名 European Association Social Anthropology Conference 2022: Transformation, Hope and Commons ( 国際学会 ) ( 国際学会 )
4 . 発表年 2022年

1 . 発表者名 Fisker-Nielsen, Anne Mette
2 . 発表標題 Soka Gakkai 's Approach to Human Security: Fostering substantial human security through cultivating an inner transformation in attitude and cultural outlook
3 . 学会等名 UNDP Annual Symposium on the Role of Religion and Faith-based Organizations in International Affairs: (2023 Theme) Framing Human Security as Shared Security for People and the Planet ( 招待講演 )
4 . 発表年 2023年

1 . 発表者名 Fisker-Nielsen, Anne Mette
2 . 発表標題 Buddhism as knowing oneself as ‘greater’ than the normative socio-cultural affects assembled
3 . 学会等名 Institute of Oriental Philosophy Symposium 2023: War, Peace, Dignity ( 招待講演 ) ( 招待講演 )
4 . 発表年 2023年

1 . 発表者名 Fisker-Nielsen, Anne Mette
2 . 発表標題 Negotiating Historical Memory in an Era of Purity Politics: The case of Komeitos paradoxical position in Okinawa
3 . 学会等名 Contesting Memorial Space in the Asia Pacific, Kyushu University Border Studies, British Association of Japanese Studies ( 国際学会 )
4 . 発表年 2020年

〔図書〕 計0件

〔産業財産権〕

〔その他〕

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6. 研究組織

	氏名 (ローマ字氏名) (研究者番号)	所属研究機関・部局・職 (機関番号)	備考
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7. 科研費を使用して開催した国際研究集会

〔国際研究集会〕 計0件

8. 本研究に関連して実施した国際共同研究の実施状況

共同研究相手国	相手方研究機関
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