

## ◆ 論文

## Japanese Reflexivity and the Japanese Market

Machiko Nakanishi (Professor, Chukyo University)

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## 1 Introduction

There has been discussion about the concept of reflexivity or reflexive modernization by many authors in Western society. The purpose of this paper is to discuss the transformation of reflexivity, to find the character of Japanese reflexivity and to study the relation between reflexivity in Japan and the Japanese market.

## 2 Reflexivity according to Social change

Initially, I will discuss the transformation of reflexivity from a theoretical point of view.

Reflexivity is the concept of reflecting oneself to others, and thus determining oneself by the reflection of others upon oneself. By repeating this process, we reflect and consistently change what we are. In self-reflexivity, the agent reflects upon their agency. For example, if I am considered to be good natured, I must be good natured. In structural-reflexivity the agent reflects upon the social condition of the structure. Please refer to figure1 of self-reflexivity and institutional reflexivity presented as a double helix in DNA. Reflexivity also reflects on our knowledge and therefore on reflexivity itself.

Firstly Anthony Giddens suggests it is very important for reflexivity to be based on sociological (linguistic) foundations (Giddens 1976). Giddens relates the sociological method and modern society closely with 'reflexivity' (Nakanishi 1998, 2007). He suggests that many personal habits effectively become collective as they are shaped by commodification, or as a result of the influences of institutional reflexivity. He appears to be optimistic about reflexive modernization; as an actively social process.

Secondly Ulrich Beck distinguishes reflection as self-consciousness and reflexivity as autonomous (Beck, et al. 1994). He defines the autonomous, undesired, and unseen transition from industrial society to risk society as reflexivity in contrast to reflection. Beck argues that reflexive modernization automatically leads us to a risk society.

In addition, Niklas Luhmann pursues reflexivity so completely that there is no distinction between subject and object. This system of reflexivity is called self-reference (Luhmann 1990). He

replaces this self-reference system with the subject in late modernity. Any codes become paradoxical if they apply to themselves.

Conversely, Scott Lash and John Urry suggest reflexive modernization is a theory of the ever-increasing powers of social actors or agencies in regard to structure (Lash, Urry 1994). Lash draws attention not to the cognitive but to the aesthetic dimension of reflexivity (Beck, et al. 1994). He suggests that capitalism opens up possibilities not only for cognitive but also aesthetic reflexivity in late modernity. Aesthetic reflexivity is fundamentally mimetic in nature, and as such is very much in the tradition of European modernism in the Arts. Indeed it can be seen in the expressive individualism in everyday contemporary consumer capitalism.

Lash also discusses hermeneutic reflexivity and reflexive community (Beck, et al. 1994). He suggests some fundamental thinking about the 'we' is surely needed. He says that to have access to the 'we' of the community, we must not deconstruct but instead hermeneutically interpret it, giving us some understanding of the shared meaning of community. What may well be needed is a hermeneutic revival, that will modestly look beneath to a shared meaning of the conditions of existence, the very existence of the 'we'. He says the notion of caring for others is crucial in the present context. He emphasizes that the thrust of his argument is in support of hermeneutic reflexivity and community and over and against the individuality of both aesthetic and cognitive reflexivity.

Interestingly Lash criticizes the reflexivity described by Beck and Giddens, in that they presuppose reflexivity is essentially cognitive and institutional. He says that it is only when the relationship between agents break down, that we move into the 'subject-object' mode. Beck's reflexivity mainly concerns the critical changes in social structure, while Giddens' notion mainly functions to reproduce this structure. His agency is increasingly self-reflexive. However, Lash criticizes Giddens' association from a certain point of positivism, associated with ego-psychology. His core assumption of human conduct leads to an instrumentally rational understanding almost uncritical of the role of the expert system. Lash says there is a displacement of reflexivity from production to consumption, in which personality is instead invested in clothing style, sport, dance, music, recreational drugs, and even borderline criminal activities (Lash, Urry 1994).

Further to this, in a global information society, reflexivity changes the reflexive tying together of knowledge and action, so that there is no distance between knowledge and action, which Lash terms phenomenological reflexivity (Lash 2002). What is reflexive are the practices of accountability. In a global information society, reflexivity is outsourced and becomes communicational.

Lash positions Pierre Bourdieu as a post-modernist, because he is against the science of modernity and focuses on attention to the power of politics. For Bourdieu, the main object of reflexivity is the social and intellectual unconscious, which is embedded into instruments or operations. He insists such an unconscious supports the objectivity of sociology as providing a cognitive insurance (Bourdieu, Wacquant 1992). The concept of reflexivity Bourdieu suggests is close to that which Lash also suggests. However, the reflexivity of Bourdieu depends on place or association. While, the reflexivity of Lash depends on nothing but change, constant change.

To review up to this point, according to Lash, the character of reflexivity changes according

to social change. It changes from cognitive reflexivity (self-reflexivity and structural reflexivity as suggested by Giddens and Beck) affected by rational modernization, to aesthetic and hermeneutic reflexivity (as suggested by Lash and Urry) affected by modernization of aesthetics. It again changes to phenomenological reflexivity in the information society. The theoretical concept of reflexivity is changing and extending. Please refer to table1.

How will the reflexivity change in the future?

Pieropaoro Donati (2011:192-210), who suggests relational sociology criticizes in Beck, Giddens and Lash that they ignore the semantics of reflexivity as an activity of what will be termed relational reason. As they do not distinguish the role of socio-cultural structures and the role of personal and social reflexivity in producing system differentiation; furthermore, they do not distinguish between the different semantics of reflexivity. He concludes that the theory of reflexive modernization is replaced by a theory of relational differentiation through reflexivity. He suggested 4 types of reflexivity, first, communication reflexivity, which reflected tribe and primitive family forms, second, autonomous reflexivity, which reflected state and hierarchy bureaucracy, third, autonomous reflexivity, which reflected market, and fourthly, meta-reflexivity, which reflects third sector, social private, spheres, new civil society. He termed contemporary not as postmodern but after-modern, since it is generated by discontinuities which over-override the continuities. Meta-reflexivity and relational differentiation go beyond what call reflexive modernization, since they are discontinuous with regard to the kind of modern reflexivity. He concludes that the successful outcome of global contextualization depends more upon our becoming relationally reflexive.

Giovanni Boccia Artieri (2012) suggests that media contents seem to initiate wider processes of reflexivity. By reflexivity in the connection, we can understand the observation of how others observe us through media contents. He explains by reflexivity in the connection, we mean a mode of reflexive reference to the social relationship. Reflexivity on the connection develops in relation to the sense of social relationships that are built through participation in media content. Those processes, which may be considered as a truly collective form of thought, seem to link the specific media product to a wider and shared 'we sense'. It is the feeling of something shared, assumed to be common, because of sharing of specific media product or of specific time in media history. He suggests in network publics, everyone is the potential subject of a mix between interpersonal and communication forms. The 'we sense' is the awareness to share a common background of belonging in terms of experience that are shared and felt by the other members that we place in our close connection. Before the possibility of activating mechanisms of collective reflexivity, that produce, circulate and consume symbolic forms culturally, most cases are stimulated or co-generated with corporations, collective ethos and common 'we sense.' He suggests we should speak of these not only as participatory communities but as cultures. It is appropriate to term this connective reflexivity.

Anthony Elliot (2010, 2010) suggests that new individualism, that it comprises four core dimensions: relentless emphasis on self-invention; an endless hunger for instant change; a fascination with social acceleration, speed, dynamism; and a preoccupation with short-termism, and episodicity. From self-help to therapy culture, from instant identity to plastic surgery, they purchase new realities. He expresses that today, the consumerism of 'want now' is progressing

the fantasy of being able to change self infinitely. The emphasis of continuous self-invention means that everything is only until next time. He criticizes Giddens' reflexive individualisation is that it gives a privileges to cognitive more than feeling and of rationality more than emotion. Elliot says that Giddens' reflexivity is not extended to imaginative counters of reinvention. He focuses on reflexivity which progress of the fantasy of consuming impulse more and more.

Further to this, Yoko Ogawa (2007, 2010) suggests the hyper-reflexivity. She demonstrates that in reality sustainable time and nonlinear time are closely tied and even interwoven in relation with narrative and global environmental risks, which have become more prevalent in everyday life. She concludes that the double helix of time can be best understood if we hypothesized that hyper-reflexivity is a core around which the double helix of time develops as an emerging expression of collective life in response to globalization. Her hyper-reflexivity is sustainable, avoiding risk by itself, with transformation of reflexivity by itself.

As mentioned above, many reflexivities are born and transform in the future. Various kinds of reflexive modernization can exist in accordance with the change of reflexivity. Thus we are likely to continue to change in accordance with the change of reflexivity.

Following the suggestion of Lash and Urry, referring to Donati (2011), Artieri (2012), Elliot (2009, 2010) and Ogawa (2007, 2010), as one of the case of direction of reflexive modernization, I would like to attempt to discuss *market reflexivity*. I argue that senses of sight, hearing, taste, smell and touch are changed by markets; globalized by commodification, yet they themselves also change markets, which I would suggest is *market-sense reflexivity*. In addition to the senses, emotions, consumer behaviours, consumer ethics etc., new reflexivities can be born and transform themselves in accordance with markets. This is what I believe should be referred to as *market reflexivity*. It is sense, emotion and society which are exchanged by the market. The market also reflexively changes by the mediation of such a consumer behaviour. Market can be both the subject and object of reflexive change. In addition, new reflexivities can be born and transform themselves in accordance with the transformation of markets. Please refer to table 2.

### 3 Reflexivity in Japan

Now moving from theoretical background to discuss specific examples in Japanese reflexivity.

Lash and Urry (1994) also suggest that substantial economic growth after organized capitalism must be based on processes of reflexive accumulation. They argue specialized consumption and flexible production entail knowledge-intensive production. Reflexivity in reflexive accumulation comprises not only production but also reflexive consumption. Non-material products are increasingly involved in the reflexive economy as service, communication, and information. They address three ideal reflexive accumulations: Japanese, German, and Anglo-American reflexive accumulation. Japanese systems involve collective reflexivity. The strong ties of Japanese obligatory contracting involve collective reflexivity in the sense of information-sharing, risk sharing and collective decision making. While the German system is grounded in a more material sort of self-monitoring, known as tectonic or practical reflexivity. The German system largely operates via the notion of as said in German *Beruf* in incorporating profession and trade, and resemble the idea of craft. The Anglo-American system involves discursive reflexivity. Discursive reflexivity

means a greater centrality of an expert system, especially of abstract knowledge. Lash and Urry focus upon the fact that though reflexivity is cultural, and accumulation is economic, the economy is increasingly culturally: infected and that culture more and more is economically inflected. They argue that reflexive production has for its precondition the existence of a particular set of information and communication structures.

Lash also suggests in postmodern society, the sensibility to nature in post-traditional communities is already individualized, already set free from traditional and early modern institutions. It comprises not just knowledge but affect, that is formed not just by science but poetry, film and music. He emphasizes it is not a matter of man and the environment but the systemic balance of ecology and social ecology. We Japanese relate to the nature not just 'out there' but the metaphors through which we relate to the nature. He focuses in this sense, the hermeneutic sensibility towards nature resembles less the Western traditionalist ideal-type and more the Japanese 'subject-subject' understanding of the human relation to nature described by Augustin Berque (Beck, et al. 1994).

In Western society, traditionally including the 'I' is most important. While in Japan, the 'we' is more important than the 'I'. Giddens shows that in conditions of high modern society, shame rather than guilt tends to come to the fore as a feature of psychic organization. Likewise, in Japanese traditional society, shame was a more important factor than guilt. If western boy sees nude, he will feel guilty in a church, however Japanese boy feels ashamed with reputation of his seeing nude. Guilt was an imported concept from the West to Japanese. In Western society, the 'I' was the individual confronted by God. While in Japan, the 'we' was not the individual confronted by God, but expressed in informal society as said in Japanese 'Seken', and in German 'Gemeinschaft'. We worry about reputation very much. We live with collective reflexivity as Lash suggests.

For Example, Kuuki means air, atmosphere, emotion, pressure, which is formed in a community without the need for explanation. In Japan a person who is unable to understand the Kuuki finds it difficult to integrate. And indeed people would be somewhat offended should they be accused of being unable to sense this unspoken feeling. This is the hermeneutic reflexivity which Lash discusses. The existence of this Kuuki, which benefits group relation is manifest in the Japanese tendency toward social activities and team work. Conversely it may be difficult to accept difference or unique talent. In particular it is difficult to accept foreigners, because it is difficult for them to understand the idea of Kuuki.

In addition, nature is not only objective but also subjective in Japan. 'We' live with nature. As Lash discusses, the Japanese 'subject-subject' understanding of the human relation to nature is in distinction to Western traditionalist ideal-type wherein the 'I' subjugates nature to its will.

For example, the European garden is artificially made and symmetrical. On the other hand the Japanese garden imitates natural landscape of mountains, rivers, flora etc.. In spring, Japanese would listen to young birds sing in the same way that they would encourage young child to start talking. In autumn, Japanese listen to insects singing much as were audience would listen to a classical orchestra.

In Japan we can learn much from reflexive modernization in the West. In the traditional Japanese society, collective reflexivity works well as Lash and Urry suggest. Hermeneutic re-

flexivity, which means understanding of the shared meaning of community, works well. Phenomenological reflexivity, tying together of knowledge and action, so that there is no distance between knowledge and action, also have the place. In traditional Western society, reflexivity remains limited, while even in traditional Asian society, including Japan, collective, hermeneutic and phenomenological reflexivities work well. In addition various kinds of other reflexivities for the future can work better than these currently in Western society. I believe another reflexive modernization from Western society can be possible in Japan.

#### 4 Reflexivity in Japan and Japanese Market

Considering the character of Japanese reflexivity, I would like to discuss the relationship between Japanese reflexivity and the Japanese market.

Japanese collective reflexivity and hermeneutic reflexivity are so effective for the increase in consumer satisfaction that goods and services in Japan in themselves are produced and encouraged by such a reflexivity. For example, the Japanese word ‘Omotenashi’ has become so widely understood due to the Tokyo Olympic games of 2020 inviting worldwide, interest in the Japanese concept of the Kuuki or ‘unspoken’. If you check into a Japanese inn, you will be served Japanese tea. This is not merely custom or habit, but express of genuine sympathy for the customers well-being. Again when you take a bath, your dinner is prepared in your room without ever having been orderd. Such is the nature of this hermeneutic reflexivity.

The Japanese brand ‘Muji’ which means ‘nothing and the substraction of aesthetics’ has its origin in the Japanese traditional tea ceremony .They focuses on Japanese aesthetic reflexivity.

Further more Japanese relation to the world is through their behaviour in confronting nature.

As discussed before about Japanese nature, It is not only the object but also the subject. Interestingly my grandmother would always buy soy-source in a bottle, she took to the store herself wrapped in large handkerchief which would be used many times, called ‘Furoshiki’. We currently try to use ‘Furoshiki’, and a returnable bottle at present. The phrase ‘Mottainai’, which means we should not waist our resources, food, water energy, etc., is a worldwide concern of Wargari Muta Maathai.

Additionally, the robot in Japan, which cleans our houses, takes care of senior citizens, and has become essential members of the family to some, our subjective nature.

Indeed the idea of Cool Japan was born of such a culture. A closing ceremony of Olympic games in Rio, is introduced with Prime Minister Abe dressed a Mario as the symbol of Japan. Animations and gaming characters are very popular in Japan with aesthetic reflexivity.

On the other hand in Japan, greater and greater levels of the comfort of consumer demand, it is resulting in over consumption of resources. For example, even the softness of tissues , which are ubiquitous to most Japanese households, are being pushed to greater and greater levels of comfort for the user, with names such as Nose Celebrity Tissue or Cashmere Platinum. As we request more comfort, a company develops their quality. As they produce better quality tissues, our sense of touch requests more comfort. A changed sensibility towards touch requires the increasing production of more comfortable products. It is the resulting cycle producing the over-

consumption of paper.

In Japan, market reflexivity brings us changes without our realizing it, which actually does not work well in the West. Communication between producer and consumer will be not only rational discussion but also unspoken sympathies of our feelings, emotions etc., in which collective reflexivity, hermeneutic reflexivity and phenomenological reflexivity work well in Japan.

## 5 Conclusion

I conclude that in a global information society, market reflexivity will change us more radically and quickly than at present. Reflexive modernizations, as transformations of reflexivity in the global market (including virtual space), automatically transform by themselves, which has already begun without our realizing it all over the world. In particular in Japan, we unconsciously encourage this market reflexivity which works well by consuming goods and services, at the same time, we are reflexively changed by the market reflexivity as global capitalism dictates.

Finally I suggest it is important for us, and in particular for Japanese, that collective reflexivity, hermeneutic reflexivity and market reflexivity always work well, as both consumer and producer, to be conscious of market reflexivity in order to predict more accurately its future affects and other reflexivities that may arise.

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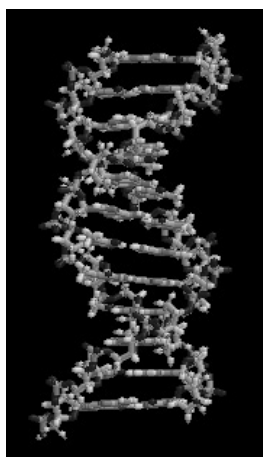


Figure 1. Reflexivity  
as DNA double helix

Table 1: The transformation of reflexivity

Type of reflexivity	Who suggests	Character	Period
Self -Reflexivity	Giddens, Beck	agency reflects on itself	late modernity high modernity
Institutional Reflexivity	Giddens, Beck	agency reflects on the social condition of its structure	late modernity high modernity
Cognitive Reflexivity	Giddens, Beck	agency reflects on itself by the mediation of cognition	late modernity high modernity
Reflexivity Self Reference	Luhmann	self-reference pursue reflex- ivity completely as no distinction between subject and object	late modernity,
Collective Reflexivity	Lash, Urry	agency reflects on itself by the mediation of collectives	Japan pre-modern and modern society
Practical Reflexivity	Lash, Urry	agency reflects on itself by the mediation of praxis -ori- entation	German pre-modern and modern society
Discursive Reflexivity	Lash, Urry	agency reflects on itself by the mediation of knowledge- intensiveness	UK, US information society
Aesthetic Reflexivity	Lash, Urry	agency reflects on itself by the mediation of image and mimesis, talk mode; decon- struction	post-modern informa- tion society
Hermeneutic Reflexivity	Lash, Urry	agency reflects on itself by the mediation of community, talk mode; silence	post-modern informa- tion society
Phenomenological Reflexivity	Lash	reflexive tying together of knowledge and action, no distance between knowledge and action	global information so- ciety
Unconscious Reflexivity	Bourdieu	reflexivity of unconsciouness embedded instrument or op- eration	postmodern society

Table 2: Reflexivity by various authors in a Future

Type of reflexivity	Who suggests	Character	Period, Background
Autonomous Reflexivity	Donati	market reflexive	open modern society
Meta-Reflexivity	Donati	third sector reflexive logic of opportunity rational	after modern global society
Connective Reflexivity	Artierei	reflexive reference to the social relationships, participation as we sense	transmedia participation society
Consuming Reflexivity	Elliot	spiral re-creation of self and commodity with mediation of consumers fantasy	consuming society
Hyper- Reflexivity	Ogawa	global reflexivity, global society changes by the mediation of communication strategy, sustainable and nonlinear	global society
Market Reflexivity	Author (refer to Lash, Urry, etc.)	market change by the mediation of human and society, transformation of reflexivity by itself	future society