Edited by Wendy Smith, Hirochika Nakamaki,
Louella Matsunaga, and Tamasin Ramsay

Globalizing Asian Religions

Management and Marketing

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Globalizing Asian Religions

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GLOBAL ASIA 8

This volume is dedicated to
Professor Peter B. Clarke (1940-2011),
our colleague, mentor, and friend who sadly passed away
before the manuscript could be completed.

Table of Contents

Section 3 Empirical Investigations: Southeast and South Asian Religions

Section 4 Empirical Investigations: Japanese Religions in Europe and the Americas

Section 5   Future Perspectives: Globalizing New Religions in a Postmodern World

List of Figures and Tables

Preface

The idea for this book emerged from discussions between Nakamaki and Smith, both anthropologists who have done ethnographic studies of large corporations. Since 1988 Nakamaki has studied corporate rituals such as Japanese company funerals and company tombs (2002). Smith (1994) has studied a Japanese multinational operating in Malaysia. Equally, both have researched Asian new religious movements (NRMs) in depth: Nakamaki has studied the operations of Japanese NRMs in Latin America (2003) and Smith, the headquarters and local centres of a Japanese (2007) and an Indian NRM (Ramsay and Smith, 2008) in Australia and Southeast Asia. From these research experiences, they decided it would be worthwhile to examine the organizational aspects of Asian NRMs. They wished to explore the ways in which their systems of management allow Asian NRMs to meet the same operational challenges faced by multinational corporations (MNCs), while functioning in a global context across memberships with vast cultural diversity. Furthermore, they considered that it would be equally valuable to investigate how NRMs 'marketed' themselves, in the sense that they could attract followers in diverse cultural contexts.

Out of these discussions grew an international symposium on 'Management and Marketing of Globalizing Asian Religions' at the National Museum of Ethnology (Minpaku) in Osaka, Japan, in August 2009. Later, two more anthropologists were co-opted as editors: Louella Matsunaga, who studied the now bankrupt supermarket chain Yaohan, which had endeavoured to become a multinational Japanese company and which was closely and publicly linked with a Japanese NRM, Seichō-no-Ie (Matsunaga 2000, 2008); and Tamasin Ramsay, whose in-depth, longitudinal ethnography of the Brahma Kumaris (2009) and current historical and social inquiry into the organization, has included a posting as their NGO representative to the United Nations (New York).

The 'Management and Marketing of Globalizing Asian Religions' conference was jointly funded by the National Museum of Ethnography (Minpaku), in Osaka, Japan, and the Interntional Institute for Asian Studies (IIAS), in Leiden, the Netherlands, and organized by Nakamaki in 2009 at his home institution, Minpaku. Significantly, this institution, the National Museum of Ethnology, was inspired by a very early ethnological museum in Japan, the Tenri Sankōkan Museum, which was set up in 1930, in Tenri City, Nara Prefecture, by the earliest global Japanese NRM, Tenrikyō, (founded 1838) to aid missionary activity outside Japan. As its homepage states: 'The Museum

promotes understanding of the cultures of the world (not only from Asia, but from Europe, the Americas, and Africa) by focusing on artefacts that were in actual daily use (Tenri University 2010)'.

Tenrikyō had previously established a comprehensive library of religious texts, as well as a university (both in 1925) to teach foreign languages for that very same purpose: aiding missionary activity internationally by understanding the fundamentals of the cultures of the world. This shows an extraordinary global mindset in the early twentieth century, before our current globalization era, and, as we shall argue, attests to the fact that many NRMs are 'born global'.

Smith obtained the support of IIAS for this project, as she had previously edited a special issue of their newsletter (on New Religious Movements) in which she outlined its central idea. See Smith (2008: 3). The project also aligns strongly with two of the delineated research foci of IIAS, namely: *Global Asia*, that is, the central role of Asia as an agent of global transformation, and *Asian Heritages*, in this case, religious heritage, and its implications for social agency. For instance, a recent case where the influence of Asia extended well beyond the borders of Asia is the impact of the Japanese Management system (JMS), of which Confucianism is a central element. From the 1970s onwards, the JMS, with its disciplined workforce, quality control circles resulting in near zero-defect production, revolutionary production innovations, such as just-in-time, continuous improvement, and low levels of union conflict, captured the world's imagination and spread globally. Many of the core practices and values of the JMS were adopted into foreign management production systems, notably in the multinational automobile industry, and in cultural contexts as disparate as the U.S., U.K., Malaysia, and France. The JMS has been heavily researched in the management discipline, and is mentioned in all undergraduate management textbooks. In that the binding value system of the JMS is Confucianism, with its emphasis on learning, long-term relationships, harmony and diligence, this is a striking case of an Asian cultural heritage going global in an international management context.

Equally, Asian religions have had widespread influence around the world prior to the Japanese management boom and – apart from Zen Buddhism or Tibetan Buddhism – NRMs in particular gained a notable following in totally disparate cultural contexts.

This book is based on papers from the conference proceedings, at which the contributors were requested to recast their data on Asian religions in terms of the way the organizations are managed in an overseas or global context, by examining the structure, organizational culture, management style, and leadership principles of the religious organizations they have

hitherto studied from the perspective of the anthropology or sociology of religion or religious studies. A further important focus is how they market themselves in the midst of existing local religious traditions. The chapters focus on these issues to varying degrees. The difficulty of objectifying religious phenomena using an overtly etic analysis has proved to be difficult for some, as Arweck and Stringer (2002) point out. Uppermost in some scholars' minds is that, if the leaders and members of the religious organization that has been studied, read their scholarly and objectified analysis, they may find it distasteful – even critical – and scholars may hesitate to jeopardize the delicate collaborative relationships they have established with organizations. However, much of the detailed empirical data in the chapters implicitly reveal the management structures and marketing dynamics of the organizations studied.

The authors in this collection have revised their chapters to take into account changes since the date of the original conference in 2009. Indeed, since the International Society for the Sociology of Religion conference in Aix-en Provence in July 2011, a strong new direction in academic publishing has been established, which bridges the disciplines of religious studies, and management and marketing. See Gautier and Martikainen (2013) *Religion in Consumer Society*, which is based on a panel at that conference. Another noteworthy volume is Usunier and Stolz (2014) *Religions as Brands*. This new trend builds on a previous body of work; see for instance, the work of Finke and Iannaccone (1993) and monographs which examine religious organizations from an economic perspective in the era when Stark and Bainbridge (1987) applied the theory of rational choice in their theory of religious economy. At the time, this was a path-breaking paradigm in religious studies, much discussed and critiqued, including, among others, the entrepreneurial model of cult formation, which opened up the possibility of studying religious institutions and membership in novel ways. But the focus of these studies has been mainly on Christianity and Western societies, and has not generally been in the context of Asian religions, with the exception of Kitiarsa (ed.) (2008) *Religious Commodifications in Asia: marketing gods*. Nor, on the whole, has it been grounded in detailed anthropological studies. This is one of the first books to focus on globalizing religious movements of Asian origin from a management perspective, and one that has a predominant focus on new religious movements as opposed to established religions. For this reason, we are delighted that this will be published in the IIAS Global Asia series. This is also an important book in that it presents the work of a number of Japanese scholars in English including very eminent scholars in the Japanese religious studies world. The excellent work of Japanese scholars

of religion is difficult to access for non-Japanese speaking academics and this book will help to make their work accessible. Finally, and sadly, the book contains one of the last pieces to be written by the doyen of NRM studies in the West, Professor Peter B. Clarke, before his untimely passing in June 2011. This will be a reason for many people to access this book, and we dedicate it to him.

We wish to thank Minpaku and IIAS for supporting this project from the very beginning. Nakamaki especially wishes to thank Oyasato Institute of Tenri University who hosted a day during the conference. And we all thank Mieko Yoshimura for her help with the preparation of the manuscript.

We are also grateful to our families for their ongoing support of the time-consuming process of editing. Tamasin wishes to acknowledge fellow author, friend, and mother Barbara Bossert Ramsay whose warm intelligence and unflinching heart have been a profound support throughout this project. We also thank the countless members of the organizations in which many of the authors did participant observation or conducted in-depth interviews, for their time, sincerity, and willingness to share.

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1   Introduction

Wendy Smith, Hirochika Nakamaki, Louella Matsunaga, and Tamasin Ramsay

Abstract

This chapter delineates the context and aims of the volume as a whole. We begin by reviewing recent literature on religion and marketing, and the globalization of religion, and situate this within the broader context of theories of globalization. We then proceed to suggest the insights that may be drawn from re-examining religious organizations from the perspectives of the disciplines of management and marketing, and consider some of the ways in which the categories of 'religion' and 'business' may become blurred. In this volume, these issues are explored with reference to globalizing Asian religions, both new and established. This chapter also gives a summary outline of the structure of the volume, and the main points covered by the subsequent chapters.

Keywords: globalization, management, marketing, Asian religions, new religious movements

Religious organizations have long been at the forefront of the global movement of people and ideas (Rudolph and Piscatori 1997: 3). Missionary activity has preceded or accompanied trade and political domination across continents since well before the beginning of the Christian era, alongside less organized forms of dissemination of religious belief. Even today, religion is a key element in the development and intensification of globalization (Beyer 1994: 3).

The conceptualization of this process also has its own more recent intellectual history, which has become the object of academic scrutiny. The term 'world religion' only appeared in European writings towards the end of the nineteenth century, and initially in association with the universalizing claims of Christianity (Masuzawa 2005: 23). By the early twentieth century,

the term was taking on an expanded meaning to include a number of other religions that are now widely listed under this heading.[1]

The category of 'world religion' has oftentimes been conceptualized to mean large, established world religions with universal claims to relevance, in contrast to locally based religions. This assumed division has not gone unchallenged. Masuzawa (2005: 20-21) explains that this system of classification tends to operate within an Orientalist discourse, and elides specificities of locality and power relations among the so-called world religions. Another aspect of the dominant discourse of 'world religions' is that global relevance is seen as a marker of authenticity and status in the religious sphere.

There is now an extensive literature on the globalization of new religious movements (NRMs) founded since the 19th century (Beckford 1986; Hexham and Poewe 1997; Clarke 2006a) that are generally excluded from the world religions category (see Clarke 2006b: vi-xii). In the context of Asian religions, there has been particular attention to the globalization of Japanese religions, both new and established (Clarke and Somers 1994; Clarke 2000; Nakamaki 2003; Pereira and Matsuoka 2007; Dessi 2013, 2017; Amstutz and Dessi 2014; Matsue 2014) but none, with the exception of some papers in Nakamaki (2003) and papers by Matsunaga (2000) and Smith (2007) in these volumes, have taken a perspective of their overseas expansion from a management and marketing approach.

The striking thing about many of these NRMs is that they constitute themselves as global entities from the outset and they unify their followers globally, transcending their cultures of origin by replacing many of their day-to-day cultural practices with the ones practised within the movement. As is the case of long established religions such as Islam, in NRMs such as Brahma Kumaris and Sūkyō Mahikari, when followers meet each other at the pilgrimage place, a truly global culture is experienced, in which individual members' race, ethnicity and native language become less important than the common fact of membership in the organization. This 'born global' mindset is represented in their names: Brahma Kumaris World Spiritual University, Church of World Messianity, Perfect Liberty Kyōdan (a Japanese NRM with English in its name) (Smith 2008).

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1   Masuzawa (2005: 23-24) notes that the European discovery of Buddhism, and attempts to incorporate Buddhism in the conceptual framework of 'world religions' was an important influence on this process. Conversely, the attempts of followers of different strands of Buddhism in various parts of Asia to situate themselves within this framework in order to claim equal standing with Christianity itself had a very significant impact on the development of modern narratives of Buddhism (Ketelaar 1990, Snodgrass 2003). See also Michaud 2004.

This scholarship in turn can be situated within the broader frame of theorizing on globalization. Of relevance here, from an anthropological perspective, is Appadurai's now classic work (1990), in which globalization is conceptualized in terms of scapes and flows. Globalization has become further intensified in recent decades with technological transformations enabling much more rapid flows of both people and ideas across geographical boundaries with profound consequences both at organizational and individual levels.[2]

In this volume, while seeking to build on the existing scholarship on globalization more broadly, we have asked the contributors to reflect on the globalization of Asian religions from a fresh perspective: that of management and marketing. The links between religion, consumption, and marketing (including branding) have been explored recently by Einstein (2008, 2011), Gauthier and Martikainen (2013) and Usunier and Stolz (2014), however, these studies largely focus on Europe and the United States, with an emphasis on Christianity and new alternative spiritualties. Earlier scholarship in this field has also largely focused on Christianity and the new age (Finke and Iannaccone 1993; Moore 1994; Roof 1999; Stark and Bainbridge 1987; Huss 2007).

To date, there has been relatively little literature focusing on religion, marketing, and management in Asian religions. Exceptions are *Religion in Contemporary Japan* (Reader 1991: 194-233), *Marketing the Menacing Fetus in Japan* (Hardacre 1997), *Practically Religious: Worldly Benefits and the Common Religion of Japan* (Reader and Tanabe 1998), and *Religious Commodifications in Asia: Marketing Gods* (Kitiarsa 2008).

We seek to extend the insights of this research, taking as our focus Asian religions[3] broadly defined: that is, we have included religions originating in Asia but transplanted elsewhere (either in Asia or beyond) such as Jōdo Shinshū and the Brahma Kumaris, and also religions originating elsewhere that have established branches in Asia, like Pentecostalism. Our chapters focus both on established world religions such as Buddhism, Islam, and Christianity in revivalist forms akin to NRMs, and Asian NRMs themselves. The authors comprise scholars from a range of national and disciplinary backgrounds including anthropologists, sociologists, philosophers and

2   Harvey's (1989) 'time space compression' and Dessi's 'accelerated globalization' (Dessi 2017: 29) both address this phenomenon.
3   Turner (2015:3) notes that the terms 'Asian religions' or 'Religions of Asia' are both problematic given the diversity of religious practice within Asia, the migration of Asians worldwide, and the existence of large numbers of non-Asian adherents to 'Asian' religions. Here, we use the term in a loose and inclusive sense.

historians, from Japan, Malaysia, the USA, Australia, Brazil, and the UK. The inclusion of a high proportion of articles on Japanese religions outside Japan, and non-Japanese religions in Japan, distinguishes this volume from Kitiarsa (2008), which includes ethnographic examples from all over Asia, but does not include any studies of Japanese religions. This work is broader in scope than Reader and Tanabe's (1998) work on this topic, which focuses exclusively on Japanese religions. We also aim to bring the work of the distinguished Japanese scholars included here to a wider, non-Japanese speaking audience.

Why management and marketing?

Several of the authors whose work is included here have a long-standing interest in the parallels between companies and religions. Nakamaki (1979; 1991; 1995) and Matsunaga (2000, 2008) suggested parallels between multinational enterprises and 'multinational religions' at a time when the spotlight in the business world was on multinational enterprises. Since then, the emphasis has shifted to the global, with the perceived erosion of the significance of national boundaries in business terms. People, finance, and technology move across borders with increasing freedom (for the most part, although the resurgence of nationalism and attempts to restrict these flows have also recently become evident). At the same time, the growth of neo-liberalism has led to an increasingly pervasive discourse of the (global) market and the consumer, applied to a wide range of organizational fields, including for example, education and the medical field. In this context, it seems timely to critically examine at an etic level how notions of management and marketing might be relevant to the study of Asian religious organizations in the context of globalization. Multinational companies (MNCs) and NRMs as global organizations are comparable in size and global reach; both use a global geographic structure and frequently move key personnel across national boundaries. They are comparable also in terms of membership size, property holdings, and budget size. This is especially evident in several prominent Japanese NRMs. Operating cross-culturally in a global context, they have a need for a 'corporate culture' that binds them and unifies the purpose of the organization across disparate cultural contexts. In fact, corporate cultures of for-profit organizations have been studied in terms of the elements they share with religions: myths about the founder, rituals, symbols, sacred texts, dress codes, lifestyle norms, values, and shared purpose. Some Japanese NRMs use the same organizational terms as Japanese MNCs for

their organizational structures and key roles in the hierarchy (Nakamaki 2003: 191; Smith 2007: 67).

There have also been important changes in the situation of religious organizations in much of the world over the past hundred years or so. In many (though not all) countries, religion has lost its overarching and compulsory character, leading to a situation in which established religions cannot take the loyalty and support of their membership for granted. Many new religions and alternative spiritualties have also emerged, resulting in what some have called a 'spiritual supermarket'.[4] In this diversified landscape, if religious organizations are to attract and retain members, they find themselves in competition not only with other religions but also with secular alternatives. Against this background, analysing religious organizations in terms of management and marketing would seem to potentially offer some useful insights. However, some caveats are also in order.

Firstly, as Gauthier et al. (2013: 8) note, there is a danger that such an approach could be subsumed into a discourse in which religious organizations are conceptualized in neo-classical economic terms, simply as organizations that compete in the open market to maximize market share in terms of the time, commitment, and money of their members. This approach (often associated with neo-liberalism) makes a number of unsustainable assumptions both about the actions of individuals and the ways in which markets operate. Economic anthropologists have critiqued this model for some decades now on the basis that individuals always act within a framework of social and cultural constraints, and markets also operate within a social and cultural context.[5] In other words, the neo-classical model of the freely operating individual seeking to maximize his or her self-interest can be seen as a modern myth, closely linked with the discursive formations of capitalism.

Marketing in general, including the marketing of religious organizations is a much more complex, culturally and socially embedded phenomenon. As Gauthier et al. (2013: 9) point out, recent literature on marketing and branding is at pains to affirm that, 'companies today are not simply selling goods or services. From chewing gum to automobiles and insurance, companies are instead knowingly providing identity markers, ideals, experiences, and authenticity'.

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4   See e.g. Roof (1999) on the 'Spiritual Marketplace' in the context of American religion.
5   This debate goes back to the 1950s, with Paul Bohannan's classic (1955) work on exchange among the Tiv. For a more recent summary of anthropological approaches to the market see Dilley (1992) or Gudeman (2001).

Considering the complexity of marketing therefore, there are fruitful areas of overlap between religious organizations and corporations to explore. It is not just a case of religions taking on practices developed by secular organizations, but rather a case of boundaries between secular and religious becoming frequently blurred, so that secular organizations may also seek to enter areas that were previously the domain of the religious. For example, there is a growing recognition in the business world that it is indispensable to maintain good relations with stakeholders in order to ensure the enterprise's continued existence and growth. The importance of values that could equally well be associated with religions, such as goodwill, corporate social responsibility, and strong governance are key elements in corporate culture, and these themes feature prominently in many corporations' web pages.[6]

Much contemporary research on branding has explored parallels between religion and branding in terms of meaning making, the creation of community, and the transmission of values.[7] Danesi (2006: 25) argues that 'brands now offer the same kinds of promises and hopes to which religions once held exclusive rights – security against the hazards of old age, better positions in life, popularity and personal prestige, social advancement, better health, happiness, etc'. In this volume, therefore, we do not consider marketing in terms of the neo-classical model, or in terms of simply promoting a 'product', but rather in terms of influencing and engaging the target audience in a range of ways, both material and immaterial, within a particular social and cultural context.

Another potentially problematic area in examining religions through the lens of marketing and management is the frequent resistance (Usunier and Stolz 2014: 23) of both the general public and members of religious movements to the language of marketing when applied to religious organizations. Marketing may be seen as problematic for these and other reasons: what the religion offers is perceived as 'non-sellable' and marketing is associated with selling; marketing may be seen as manipulative; it may be seen as contradicting the central religious message of the group. Usunier and Stolz also note that marketing may be perceived negatively as associated with a consumer dominated capitalist society (2014: 23). This is indicative of the difficulty in integrating etic and emic levels of analysis in the study of

6   See BHP (2018) and GSK (2018).
7   See, for instance, Danesi 2006: 25; Sherry 2005: 42-44. For a summary of work on this topic, see Matsunaga 2015.

religion (see Arweck and Stringer 2002; Yong 2012: 27). Our motivation in this volume is largely to conduct an etic level of analysis, based on detailed ethnographic data gathered through field observation at the emic level.

Religious organizations widely view spiritual values as of a higher order than worldly concerns, and some may see worldly activities such as marketing as opposed to their values. Nevertheless, certain rituals, informal practices, and organizational structures may serve to attract new members and retain followers. Established religions often incorporate local deities and rituals in their global expansion into other cultures. For instance, Buddhist temples in Japan incorporate Shinto shrines and deities, and NRMs actively innovate to attract followers. Shōkō Asahara, the founder of Aum Shinrikyō, steadily added new elements of doctrine and rituals drawn from different religious and New Age contexts – Meditation, Yoga, Christianity, Early Buddhism, and Tibetan Buddhism – to stimulate members' interest and to obtain revenue from ritual offerings and purchases (Reader 2000: 131-132). Religious hybridity or the mixing of different religious concepts may be indicated here as one of the conspicuous features of globalizing religions, and indeed forms a key element in attracting new members, especially if they are told that they do not need to give up their former religious beliefs, as these are accommodated by the movement. For instance, Sūkyō Mahikari ('Sūkyō' means 'supra-religion') positions itself as higher than existing religions and able to enhance them, so that a Christian who becomes a Mahikari member becomes a better Christian (Smith 2007: 54). In this volume, Nakamaki discusses Seichō-no-Ie's compatibility with Roman Catholicism in Brazil (Chapter 16). Chapter 10 looks at the Brahma Kumaris, who subsume all the major religions within a doctrine of the Cycle of five ages. Syncretism is thus a powerful marketing device. In Chapter 2, Clarke argues that the appeal of Sekai Kyūsei Kyō (SKK) [Church of World Messianity] in Thailand is that the movement is not perceived as belonging to the Shinto-based family of new religions, but as a new form of Buddhism, a radical repositioning of the movement. *Jōrei*, the technique of transmitting healing energy through the upraised palm of the hand, practised by SKK members, is accepted in the Thai context as a practice of socially engaged Buddhism, and is interpreted as a route to encountering Maitreya Buddha.

At the emic level of analysis, believers' perception of what appeals to them in a religion, and why, is very dependent on cultural context. However, there are also religious organizations which have adopted explicit marketing and branding strategies with enthusiasm, and without this appearing to present a problem. In the UK, for example, the Church of England has actively encouraged churches to consider branding as a way of getting noticed (Church of

England 2017) and a number of Church of England cathedrals have either already rebranded themselves or have branding projects in hand.[8] There is also now an extensive literature on marketing in the context of American religion, in particular (although not exclusively) Christianity, a trend that seems entirely consistent with the generally positive attitudes towards consumerism and marketing in the United States.[9] And Clarke (1976) notes a similarly affirmative attitude to the market among the Ismaili Khojas.

Finally, a sticking point for many in the suggested application of a marketing perspective to the analysis of religion is the implication that marketing is all about generating profit. While religious organizations clearly need to generate cash flow in order to function and to provide service, the idea of creating profit as a guiding principle in religious activities is often seen as problematic. Usunier and Stolz's (2014: 6) suggestion that religious organizations may resemble non-profit organizations more closely than commercial organizations is useful here, as it enables a shift away from a focus on profit to other marketing goals. Another useful perspective is that of Peter Drucker, looking at the sphere of business, who asserts that the business objective of corporations is not the search for profits, but the creation of customers:

> Because the purpose of business is to create a customer, the business enterprise has two – and only two – basic functions: marketing and innovation. Marketing and innovation produce results; all the rest are 'costs'. Marketing is the distinguishing, unique function of the business. (Drucker 1954: 37).

Marketing and the creation of followers in religious organizations

If we apply this perspective to religious or spiritual movements, could we hypothesize that their objective, if seen in business terms, is the creation of followers through the development of innovative beliefs and practices and their successful marketing? The formalization of the notion of purgatory by the Roman Catholic church in the late twelfth century (Le Goff 1986) and the subsequent selling of indulgences to assuage people's load of sin, is one example of Drucker's principle in a religious organizational context. The

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8   For one interesting example, see the brand guidelines for Norwich Cathedral, made available on-line in the tongue-in-cheek form of a digital 'brand bible' (Click Design (N.d.). Accessed August 2014. http://www.theclickdesign.com/project/norwich-cathedrals-brand-guidelines).
9   See Moore (1994), Twitchell (2007) Einstein (2008), Cimino and Lattin (1998).

guarantee of this-worldly benefits by both new and established religions in Japan is another. In all cases, the creation of followers is a key point.

Another aspect of marketing is the creation of demand. Although for companies advertising through the mass media is a central aspect of this, for religious organizations the situation is more complex. A number of religious organizations are indeed well known for the use they have made of the mass media – examples range from televangelists in the United States (Moore 1994) to the use of mass media advertising, television, and door to door leafleting by new religious movements in Japan (Reader 1991: 218-219). The Internet also plays an increasingly important role in this respect, as discussed in the context of Japan by Baffelli et al. (2011).[10]

Management of religious organizations

In addition to considering marketing in the religious context, we also asked the contributors to consider the management of religious organizations. From a business perspective, management concerns include conducting business activities, planning strategy, setting up effective leadership and an organizational structure which incorporates control mechanisms, managing information, finance, and resources (including human resources). These are matters of concern for any large organization, including religious organizations, and they become more difficult in cross-cultural contexts. There is now an extensive literature on the anthropology of organizations, which has been explored through detailed ethnography topics including bureaucracy, industrial relations, corporate training programmes, meetings, and the structuring and daily life of organizations including both non-profit organizations and commercial enterprises.[11] Anthropological research on this area makes clear that the management of organizations, whether secular or religious, is always embedded within specific socio-cultural contexts, and involves processes of meaning making that cannot be understood solely with reference to formal economic models.[12]

10   See especially pages 26-29, and Reader's discussion of the Shikoku pilgrimage in the same volume.

11   An early influential work on this topic was Wright 1994. More recent contributions include the edited volumes by Gellner and Hirsch (2001) and Jiménez (2007). In 2017 a special edition of the Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute was devoted to 'Meetings: Ethnographies of Organizational Process, Bureaucracy, and Assembly'.

12   There are also cases of company involvement with, or inspiration by, the religious sphere, in existing ethnographic studies of some Japanese enterprises. See e.g. Nakamaki (1995, 2002)

As Iwai notes in Chapter 5 in this volume, it is also important to point out that management is not necessarily concerned with the pursuit of profit. The association with profit implies that the language of marketing and management may be alienating, and seen as inappropriate, by many members of religious organizations, as discussed above. However, for most religious organizations, donations from members (whether compulsory or voluntary) and the sale of religious goods (whether material or immaterial) are critical sources of revenue to fund their operations in terms of staff remuneration, infrastructure costs, and service programmes. Hence, attracting and retaining a membership size which guarantees sustainability is critical. It is also true that the management of a religious organization differs in some important respects from that of a business. Nevertheless, both are social organizations which commonly bring together large numbers of people most of whom are unrelated by ties of kinship or residence, and which may command considerable resources, which in turn need to be organized and allocated. As such, it is our hope that a focus on management in the context of religion may enable a closer examination of the organizational aspects of religious groups, including an examination of leadership, hierarchies, power, organizational structure, and the control of resources and information. These are all important aspects of religious as well as secular organizations, and are explored by in the chapters below.

Structure and chapter outline of this volume

The volume is composed of five sections. The first section gives a theoretical overview, and presents some general characteristics and models of management and marketing, based on the concrete examples of Japanese new religious movements and the Unification Church. The second section deals with East Asian religious movements in Japan, Korea and China. The third section looks at South Asia and Southeast Asia, specifically new religious movements in Malaysia, Thailand, and India, as well as Pentecostalism in Malaysia and Indonesia. The fourth section is concerned with Japanese religious movements in Europe and America. As we turn from the present towards the future, the final section presents a survey of what might be described as post-modern religion, a concept that research suggests is one future possibility.

Clarke (Chapter 2) offers a broad theoretical frame for the entire volume by highlighting the increasing permeability of the boundaries of religions,

and Matsunaga (2000). For a reverse perspective, see Smith (2002).

both in the sense of boundaries between religion and other spheres of activity, as well as economically and geographically. Clarke argues for a multi-directional view of globalization, in which no single centre can be identified (Appadurai 1990). Anticipating Turner's more recent comments on the problems associated with the label 'Asian Religions' (Turner 2015: 13), Clarke also notes that assigning geographical labels to religions has become increasingly problematic. The chapter goes on to examine the concept of globalization, and the management and marketing of religion, with particular reference to the expansion outside Japan of Japanese new religious movements in the post-WWII era. Clarke outlines the diversity of means by which religions market themselves – including, but also going well beyond, familiar methods used by commercial businesses.

Sakurai (Chapter 3) focuses on management in religious organizations through the lens of the Unification Church. In organizational terms, the structure of the Unification Church resembles that of a multinational conglomerate enterprise, while the source of information for their corporate culture binding together the disparate elements of the conglomerate is their sacred book, 'The Divine Principle' which sets out the theological ideas of the 'Messiah', Sun Myung Moon. According to Sakurai, those in the Church view Korea as the centre of the world because the 'Messiah' was born there, and Korea is the headquarters in terms of management of the Church. Sakurai presents a model of the development of the Unification Church in which in the early period it resembled a new religious movement, then, during the period of growth it became a conglomerate, and now it is emerging as a global enterprise. Economically, the Church offers unconventional religious activities such as 'spiritual' sales. These sales along with the high fees charged for participation in mass wedding ceremonies keep the Church in the black. Sakurai also predicts that under the pressure of legal restrictions the movement will be unable to maintain itself as a global conglomerate and will ultimately have to revise its pattern of business expansion. Sakurai's analysis illustrates some of the fascinating insights offered by a management perspective on religious organizations.

Global concerns that are of interest in the secular sphere are also important to religious groups. Shimazono (Chapter 4) opens the second section on East Asian religions with a chapter on the role of religions in the world peace movement in Japan. By exploring the world peace movement and the ways it manifested in the local context of Japan, with reference to particular nationally grounded discourses, Shimazono reveals ways in which value strategies are transformed in a process of glocalization. This relates to the broader argument made by Dessi (2017), that an important aspect of

globalization is the way in which global debates, such as those concerning the world peace movement, may have a transformative effect on local religious configurations, while at the same time becoming transformed in turn. Dessi also points out the role of nationalist narratives in this process, where global debates may be re-configured within a nationalist frame. The example Dessi (2017: 10) gives relates to environmentalism and the religious dimension of 'eco-nationalism' in Japan. Shimazono's chapter is also an example of this process, in which the discourse of the peace movement in Japan was initially strongly influenced by Japan's positioning as the only country to have suffered the dropping of the atomic bomb.

In Chapter 5, Iwai analyses the operations of SKK, a Japanese NRM with a global presence. He does this by reconsidering the word 'management'. He understands it not as a term to do with a commercial enterprise but rather the administration and operation of a social system. From this perspective, Iwai looks at the 'management of secrets' and the ways in which secrets may maintain hierarchies of power in religion, and act as a form of capital. A key question for Iwai is the relationship between the management of secrets and the proliferation of offshoots of SKK, both in South Korea and more widely. See also Matsuoka's chapter (15) for a focus on SKK in Brazil. The practice of *jōrei*, which gives the possibility of exercising spiritual power to ordinary members, with its potential healing and beneficial outcomes to the recipient, may be one of the attractive features of SKK which has led to its wide global membership. Ironically, the strong point of the organization in attracting followers leads to changes in its organizational structure as Iwai demonstrates.

Penny (Chapter 6) examines the transformation of Falun Gong following its suppression in mainland China in 1999 into a diasporic organization headquartered in New York, and with a new global audience. Since then, Falun Gong has re-marketed itself and subsequently gained some political traction. One of its main means of promotion and communication is now the Internet to such an extent, Penny argues, that 'Falun Gong really now exists primarily as a cyber-community'. Furthermore, since 2004 Falun Gong has performed its message through song and dance in a Chinese New Year Gala, which has been broadcast on a privately-owned TV station, and has also toured internationally. They use this creative form of marketing to communicate Falun Gong messages, and also messages about the suppression of Falun Gong in mainland China. Penny demonstrates that these performances also position Falun Gong as a guardian of Chinese culture, while the Chinese government accuses Falun Gong of distorting it. This new battlefield is thus not just about Falun Gong as a religion, but

is also a debate about Chinese national and cultural identity, played out outside national borders. The use of globalized media means that, from a marketing perspective, Falun Gong's message of governmental oppression remains alive, and they are able to reach new diasporic audiences and local audiences abroad.

Shamsul (Chapter 7) begins the section on religion in South East and South Asia with a study of an apparent failure, that of Arqam – an Islamic revivalist religion in Malaysia. Despite being an efficiently managed bureaucratic entity, Arqam's identity as a social and political movement exposed it to retaliation from the Malaysian Government which banned it in its existing form in 1994. In spite of this, Arqam was able to re-invent itself through managing itself as a business enterprise with an international reach renamed Rufaqa', that sells *halal* products to Indonesia, Brunei, and the Philippines. Shamsul notes that most of the employees of Rufaqa' in Malaysia and Indonesia are sympathetic to Arqam, suggesting that in this case adopting the identity of a business organization was a highly adaptive strategy for Arqam as a religious and political movement.

Yano's chapter (8) is a case study of a different sort of 'failure', that of Wat Phra Dhammakaya, a new Theravada Buddhist movement originating in Thailand. In the Dhammakaya temple in Japan, most of the followers are Thais living in Japan and there is little impact on the Japanese population. However, another Theravada Buddhist group in Japan has thousands of Japanese members. Yano looks at the management strategies of each to explain the different outcomes of these two Theravada groups in relation to Japanese recruitment, drawing on theories of business administration. He also draws specifically on domain strategy, arguing that a strategy that was successful for Wat Phra Dhammakaya in the Thai context has not so far been successfully adapted for the Japanese context. In a sharply contrasting study, Andaya (Chapter 9) employs the concept of 'glocalization' to examine how Pentacostal Christianity has been successfully marketed in Indonesia and Malaysia in ways that maintain a global style of evangelism while stressing local roots. Social media and a technologically sophisticated worship style have also brought a unique and novel religious modernity, creating tensions as 'local' elements recede in favour of global influences that are becoming increasingly dominant.

One form of marketing used by religious organizations relates to gift-giving. Giving discounts, freebies, two for one offers, and samples are common ways for corporations to draw in customers. Religions may also offer gifts: material and non-material. Andaya notes that Pentecostal Christians offer people the gifts of healing and spiritual prophecy, while Smith and

Ramsay in Chapter 10 describe the gift of '*toli*' (hand-made sweets cooked in God's remembrance) that are given to guests, often accompanied by a 'blessing' – a small card with an often-prophetic positive slogan.

While Pentecostalist Christianity has religious roots in the Occident, Smith and Ramsay's chapter (10) on The Brahma Kumaris World Spiritual University (BKWSU) examines a NRM founded in the Hinduistic context, in pre-Partition North West India. With a fundamental message of imminent global change, the call for absolute purity (including celibacy) and a radical reinterpretation of cyclic time, venturing into foreign countries required skillful marketing (Ramsay 2009). Smith and Ramsay look at BKWSU practices and principles that, examined through a management lens, demonstrate the organization's ability to appeal to and capture the interest of a mass global membership of spiritual inquirers, whose culture of upbringing may be very different from the ascetic practices of the organization (Smith 2015). From being a world-rejecting (Wallis 1984) movement that clearly went against social customs of the time, it has become a movement in the process of rapid change while still attempting to reaffirm important traditions, as the original members pass away.[13] The organization's recent overt management and structure change in Australia is designed to accommodate and appeal to an individualized, globalized and secular audience whilst attempting to hold on to its foundational roots. Ramsay, Smith and Manderson (2012) discuss some of these dilemmas.

A factor in the globalization of Asian religions is whether it occurs in the context of a diaspora, or whether it is due to a process of conversion by spiritual seekers despite the high degree of cultural distance between their culture of socialization and the culture and lifestyle of the Asian religion (Smith 2015). Section 4 on Japanese Religions in Europe and the Americas builds on research on the multi-nationalization religions brought by migrants to their new countries of settlement. However, one of the most significant features of contemporary globalizing religion is the phenomenon of religions moving beyond the framework of diaspora. The section begins with Matsunaga's chapter (11), focusing on Jōdo Shinshū (or Shin Buddhism), a form of Pure Land Buddhism in Europe. Jōdo Shinshū remains little known in Europe, despite the size and importance of this sect in Japan. The European situation is also very different from Jōdo Shinshū in the USA, where it became established from a base in the Japanese American community. In contrast, most of the very few members in Europe are locals. Matsunaga offers us

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13   For more on this phenomenon see the scholarly website brahmakumarisresearch.org administered by Ramsay (2018).

a case study of 'glocalization', and the way in which a globalizing Asian religion such as Jōdo Shinshū has had to adapt to a very specific context. She explores the reasons why Jōdo Shinshū has a significantly different profile in different regional settings, the challenges it has faced in Europe, and its subsequent adaptations and relationship with other Buddhist organizations.

Moriya (Chapter 12) takes up the expansion of Jōdo Shinshū outside Japan, this time in the context of the USA and Hawaii. She demonstrates that the process of religious expansion is not always driven by the religious organizations concerned, but sometimes by a demand created by the followers. Jōdo Shinshū expanded to the USA and Hawaii from the late nineteenth century onwards largely in response to the expressed needs of Japanese migrants. When Japanese immigrants who worked on the sugar cane plantations in Hawaii went on strike repeatedly in the early twentieth century for improvements in their working conditions, Jōdo Shinshū responded to this situation by offering active support to these migrants. The first Jōdo Shinshū bishop in Hawaii commented that the plantation workers 'are the first to be saved by Amida Buddha'. For the Shinshū missionary priests, the migrant workers were a new market through which to expand into the United States. It is notable that this expansion was largely in response to the expressed needs of the followers themselves.[14] Moriya's work also shows how the role of lay Buddhists was vital in its development, including the Buddhist social ethics that grew out of engagement with labour movements in pre-war Hawaii.

In Chapter 13 Yamada explores Tenrikyō, one of the earliest of the Japanese new religions, founded in 1838 in a farming village, and noteworthy in terms of its subsequent global reach and historical importance. It adopted a world focus from its earliest days and set up a library of sacred texts of world religions, an ethnological museum to facilitate missionary work, a publications department in sixteen languages and a university to teach these languages. Yamada discusses Tenrikyō theology, which considers that all beings and nature are placed within the divine body of God. Tenrikyō management philosophy places everyone within the nurturing reciprocity of a parent-child relationship. It is common for NRMs in Japan to place an emphasis on building personal human relationships, and offering guidance within a parent-child type of interaction. Yamada discusses the propagation

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14   To pursue the marketing analogy, there are parallels here with recent studies of branding, which suggest that some of the most effective marketing/branding is that which engages the consumer as co-creator of the brand (Schouten and McAlexander 1995; Muniz and O'Guinn 2001:427; Arvidsson 2005: 208).

of Tenrikyō in Brazil, where the movement emphasizes the parental love [*oya-gokoro*] between spiritual parent and spiritual child. Great significance is also attached to participation in cooperative activities such as the construction of group headquarters. Tenrikyō has established bases in most major continents, including the Americas. Yamada explores the aspects of Tenrikyō that have helped facilitate this expansion, and suggests ways in which this may be re-shaped in the future by increasing globalization.

Pereira's chapter (14) also focuses on Brazil, which, he notes, is the country with the largest expatriate Japanese community in the world. Pereira compares the experience of a number of different religions of Japanese origin in the Brazilian context. These religions show diversity not only in terms of doctrinal orientation but also their size and geographic spread of membership. Pereira examines extrinsic and intrinsic factors influencing the spread of religions outside their countries of origin, and argues that, since the extrinsic factors are the same in the case of Japanese religions in Brazil, we must look to intrinsic factors, 'the religious group's inherent characteristics and selected strategies' to understand the different outcomes experienced by the groups that he surveys. He examines Sōka Gakkai International (SGI) as a case study of leadership in a global context.

As Clarke points out in Chapter 2, marketing of religious movements extends beyond methods familiar from the world of business such as the use of mass media or leafleting. Other important means of engaging the public (and potential members) include educational and cultural programmes, sponsorship of the arts, volunteer programmes, and projects such as the construction of sacred sites. Sekai Kyūsei Kyō (established 1955) is a Japanese new religion which established its sacred site, 'Guarapiranga' in the outskirts of São Paulo in 1995. In Chapter 15, Matsuoka examines the significance of this gigantic and well-maintained sacred place in propagation and internalization of the doctrine by the followers, recognizing it also has an impact on the many non-devotional visitors. Matsuoka demonstrates that Guarapiranga is a cooperative enterprise which motivates followers through its planning, and increases their level of satisfaction with the movement. This sacred site is intended to be the realization in actual physical space of an earthly paradise or 'heaven on earth' which can be seen as fulfilling followers' (customers') needs. At the same time, the site is open to visitors who are not members of the movement, which also makes a significant contribution to the marketing of SKK.

In Chapter 16, Nakamaki looks at the more classical notions of marketing and management, and – through this lens – describes how religions such as Tōdaiji Temple and Tendai Mission in Hawaii and SGI in the USA, as well

as Perfect Liberty Kyōdan and Seichō-no-Ie in Brazil, have spread to the Americas. Using the analogies of habitat segregation and epidemicalization, Nakamaki looks at the concept of sharing and its notional value in the dissemination of religion and the ways in which religions may claim exclusivity within a field of competitive market share. Globalization does not necessarily emanate from the headquarters in Japan, as in the old multinational model. For instance, Japanese NRMs in Brazil move beyond the Japanese diaspora to indigenous communities largely due to their magical elements which resonate with the local culture, and then may springboard elsewhere through personal networks.

This illustrates Clarke's assertion (Chapter 2), that we must be aware of various routes to globalization: not only dissemination worldwide from a central hub, or from a particular starting point, but through proselytization or migration from one place to another. In the case of SKK, practices and beliefs which had spread among Japanese migrants to Brazil were subsequently transmitted to non-ethnic Japanese. Thus, not only did the movement acquire many followers among Brazilians who are not of Japanese descent, but now it has spread to former Portuguese colonies such as Angola and Mozambique, and members are even undertaking missionary work in South Africa. And, although the route of propagation is different, in Thailand the membership of SKK has grown to the incredible figure of 600,000.

On the other hand, in the final section on future perspectives, Inoue (Chapter 18), brings us back to broader issues of globalization such as the erosion of boundaries between religion and other social domains. He discusses the effects that globalization and new information technologies are having on religious activities in Japan. He argues that one consequence of this changing social context is the formation of 'hyper-religion', which shows little continuity with older domestic religious traditions, and draws our attention to the growing phenomenon of virtual religions – religious activity on the Internet. He argues that Internet-based religions incorporate religious concepts which are independent of the idea of a native country, or a native religious culture. One of their particular features is the active incorporation of practices from other cultures, and even non-religious elements, for example from psychology and science fiction.

Global religions, global concerns

Throughout this volume, the contributors engage with the ways in which globalization has transformed the religious landscape. Drawing on Appadurai

(1990), this volume explores the interaction of flows of people (ethnoscapes) and ideas (ideoscapes) – not only ideas in the sense of religious teachings, but also ideas from other domains. While our focus here is on the interaction between religious organizations and perspectives drawn from marketing and management, the engagement of religions with other globally circulating ideoscapes is also evident, from the environmental focus of SKK referred to by Clarke and the yogic farming of the Brahma Kumaris (Ramsay 2012) to the movement for world peace discussed by Shimazono. The influence of technoscapes, such as the Internet, is discussed by several contributors, including Penny and Inoue. We can also see an erosion of geographical and social boundaries – the comparison of contemporary religions to liquids flowing across borders is an appealing one here (Tweed 2006),[15] as is Bauman's (2000) notion of 'liquid modernity', a state characterized by mobility, change, and the erosion of certainty.

Part of what is at stake here is how religions seek to adapt and to establish their relevance in this changing environment. In this volume, we examine how religions, in order to gain members, 'market' themselves to a continually changing and shifting landscape of a hyper-mobile population and, having achieved a large, global membership how they structure and 'manage' themselves in order to remain relevant for a changing population of members in terms of size and cultural complexity. A particular consideration here is the cross-cultural implications for leadership and communication in a world where legal, financial, political and social structures are all asking new and different things of religion. Humans are reshaping the world at an astonishing rate (Deane-Drummond et al. 2017), This book encourages us to consider that an understanding of the marketing and management of globalizing Asian religions may help us to explore human beings' changing self-perception in relation to globalization and the imaginings of how we should now 'be' in our rapidly changing world.

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15   We also note, however, the unevenness of these flows, see Tsing (2000).

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