

Chapter 2

Enterprise as Cultural Community

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Abstract A company operates a business and engages in profit-making activities, though it has as its face a cultural community. As an organizational structure, a company is a group which shares particular values and ways of behavior. Taking Sony as an example, this chapter explores initiation process into a company. It identifies Sony's distinctive features and discusses its character as a cultural community in relation to the lifetime employment. History of the initiation ceremony is introduced first, and then seating rules and dress codes are analyzed. Welcome speeches by CEOs are discussed in the light of a community, bound together by common fate. In the end, van Gennep's theory of *rites de passage* is applied to interpret company rituals.

2.1 Introduction

A “company” operates a business and engages in profit-making activities. The Japanese word *kaisha* is a translation of “company” in English, *société* in French, or *Gesellschaft* in German. It has been used in referring to a corporate body having the purpose of making profits. It is therefore similar to the British company limited by shares or the American corporation.

A company, however, has as its face a cultural community, which is different from the juridical body defined by laws. As an organizational structure, one aspect of the company is a group which shares particular values and ways of behavior. Japanese companies are organizations which pursue rational, functional, and efficient activities, but at the same time, they are groups of people who share foundation stories, chant company mission statements and mottos, and conduct company initiation ceremonies and funerals.

This chapter focuses on the fact that the “company” is a cultural community as well as an economic organization. An ethnic group is an example of a cultural community characterized by a particular language, common myths and rituals, and

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similar ways of living and production. It shares a “we” consciousness and a sense of exclusivity. A company also has cultural standards which separate its own identity from others. Organizational integrity is sought by the internal and common sense of belongingness. To this end there exist company myths and rituals, as well as a unifying philosophy (business creed) and a museum facility, which is comparable to a shrine or temple.

If it is possible to conceive of a company as cultural community similar to an ethnic group, we must be able to write *companography* patterned after ethnography. A *companography* is described in a different style from the company’s history. It pays attention to the synchronic structure and function of company activities rather than diachronic sequences of events. And questioning the meaning is the bulk of a *companography*.

People who appear in a *companography* are mainly employers and employees. Constituent members of a company have been classified as capitalists and workers, bourgeoisies and proletariats, and white collar and blue collar. In Japan, however, a new term *salaryman* was invented in the 1910s and has been used in referring to employees as a whole. More recently the term OL, which signifies office lady, is widely in use. It is not unusual to find a “*salaryman* president” who is not a capitalist.

Moreover, around a company, there exist other companies, like other tribes. There is also a trade circle which speaks in common technical terms that serve to differentiate its business from others. Separation of one’s own culture from others is applied not only to a company but also to a trade circle. Companies culturally construct themselves through complicated relations and endeavor to behave properly in the business world.

In this manner, a company can be seen as a cultural community which is obliged to behave culturally in the business world. Cultural phases are taken into account in management and are also expected to exert a positive influence on the company’s business. An anthropological study which focuses on company management is said to have stimulated the birth of *keiei jinruigaku* (anthropology of administration).

2.2 *Keiei Jinruigaku*: Fusion of Business Administration and Anthropology

There are two origins of the term *keiei jinruigaku* (similar to business anthropology, but literally meaning management/administration anthropology) in Japan. One was created and fostered in The Academy of International Management Cultures and Transdisciplinary Studies, led by Motofusa Murayama, professor at Chiba University, and is sometimes referred to as the Chiba School of *keiei jinruigaku* (Murayama and Ogashiwa 1998).

Another group originated in the National Museum of Ethnology (commonly referred to as Minpaku) as an interuniversity research project called “The Cultural Anthropological Study of the Company and *Salaryman*,” starting in 1993. It was

organized by two persons: Koichiro Hioki and myself, scholars of business administration and the anthropology of religion, respectively. Six books have been edited by these two scholars and published by Tōhō Shuppan, in Osaka, under the same title of *keiei jinruigaku* (but rendered into English as “the anthropology of administration”). Two other books were also put out by this group through the same publisher, with the title of “company [or corporate] anthropology” (*kaisha jinruigaku*), consisting of collections of short essays on company life.

Now the question is: what has happened during the course of this fusion of two major disciplines? On the one hand, anthropologists began to study their own culture, instead of other cultures, and moreover focused on highly systematized organizations such as the company and bureaucracy. On the other hand, scholars of business administration also took part in fieldwork – something that they had not previously done.

The first common target of research was the company museum. Over the years, we visited more than 100 such museums together or individually throughout Japan. Hioki, for instance, looked at the veneration of company founders in museum displays and wrote about their legitimacy. Nakamaki, on the other hand, regarded the company museum as a pantheon and compared displays of history and business as analogies of the Buddhist temple and Shinto shrine, respectively, in that the former mainly concerns ancestor rites and the latter promotes mundane prosperity.

Our next project was to tackle company funerals. These funerals flourished during the period of rapid economic growth (1960s and 1970s) and continue to be observed in Japan, although nowadays hotels are preferred over Buddhist temples as ritual spaces. A company funeral is financed and managed by the company itself in honor of its VIPs and is usually held at a much later date on a large scale, while the bereaved family has a smaller private funeral immediately after the deceased has passed away. We analyzed this peculiar phenomenon of a social event which represents the change of human and corporate relations in company life (Chap. 10 by Yamada).

More recently, we have challenged company mythology. Hioki assumed three types of mythology: the founding myth, hero myth, and brand myth. Members of the group contributed papers in which they tried to decipher mythological themes in the business world. In the founding myth, for instance, the founder of a restaurant, who had had experience in a Zen temple in his youth, established a training course for his employees to enhance their service with a “Zen mind.” In the hero myth, there is a paper about an employee who was about to be punished as a scapegoat, but who suddenly became a hero through practicing the logic of “making gain after loss.” In the brand myth, a company history was treated as a mythological text and analyzed as a process of mythification in which an anecdote from the founder’s discourse, “Try to do it,” became a company style of business. Others among us have asserted that cultural organizations such as public museums and orchestras also produce myths (Chap. 3 by Hioki and Nakamaki).

If there are distinguishing features of our group’s approach to *keiei jinruigaku*, they may be seen as follows. One is that we look at the company not only as *Gesellschaft* but also as *Gemeinschaft* – in other words, as cultural community, which

has already been mentioned. Each company has its uniqueness as an “ethnic group” and possesses rituals and myths. Our efforts have been to decipher the meanings of corporate rituals and company myths. The company history registers its diachronic occurrences in its commemorative volume but also is reflected in the company museum where its most valuable persons and items are displayed. The company is a cultural entity which is productive and creative in its “company climate,” which can be described in *companography*. As a whole, our approach is not purely scientific, nor objective, but rather hermeneutic in the sense that we try to decipher “story making” and “ritual practice.”

In July 2010, an international forum was held by the leading members of the *keiei jinruigaku* research group at Minpaku and was entitled “The First International Forum on Business and Anthropology.” The term “Business Anthropology” (without the “and”) was carefully avoided on the grounds that we feared that we might lose the participation of some scholars of business administration. Distinguished scholars of business anthropology were invited, including Brian Moeran, Ann Jordan, Tomoko Hamada Connolly, Mitchell Sedgwick, Dixon Heung Wah Wong, Han Seung-mi, and Zhang Jijiao, to name some of those who attended from abroad.

Note: the revised papers presented at the conference were published in English (Nakamaki 2013). The IFBA was subsequently held at Hong Kong University in July, 2011, the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences in December, 2012, and Yongsei University in December, 2014.

2.3 Initiation into a Company as Cultural Community: Sony

Those who enter a school or company in a same year are called “*dōki* (contemporaries).” The military song of “*Dōki-no-Sakura*” is a song about those who joined the former Army Aviation Corps at the same time. The initiation ceremonies for the “corporate warriors” are generally held on the first day of April in Japan. Lately, however, some companies hold their initiation ceremonies before graduation ceremonies in March for early training and education. Some leading companies perform no simultaneous initiation ceremonies. Usually, some addresses at welcome ceremonies for new employees by famous presidents reflecting social conditions are reported in newspapers on the second day of April.

These fellow workers who joined the company simultaneously participate in sweet and bitter aspects of company life with each other as both “*dōki*” and rivals. The ties of the age group in a company are based on joining a company simultaneously in April. From the anthropological viewpoint, such a “*dōki*” system overlaps with the age-set initiation into warrior groups in the Oceanic islands, the Amazonian rain forest, and Africa.

The age-grade system was developed in fishing villages in Japan. *Wakamono* (*Wakashū*)-*yado* for young men and *musume-yado* for young women are cases in point. Young men lived together in a house (called *wakamono-yado*) owned by a person who

acted as de facto parent; they engaged in labor and guarding. Relations within the *wakamono-yado* developed into bonds of mutual aid regardless of territorial affiliation or blood ties. The young men enjoyed themselves there and visited women under cover of night. It was natural to form a love relationship between a young man and a young woman through the relationship between *wakamono-yado* and *musume-yado*. The *wakamono-yado* tradition has become obsolete. In modern times, however, a company hostel for bachelors assumes a role similar to that of the *wakamono-yado*.

The grade system of *dōki* and seniors/juniors in a school has been maintained to some extent in the company. Though the solidarity and the sense of rivalry of *dōki* and seniors/juniors are less strong than those of *dōki* and academic cliques in the bureaucratic system, the above imperfect grade system has functioned as a “*seken*.” This “*seken*” refers to the group to which one considers himself affiliated. In this sense, a new employee is placed into a unique *seken* consisting of seniors, *dōki*, and later juniors.

Entering a company simultaneously in April is a Japanese custom which is rare in the world. Although the age-grade system is the basis for entering a company simultaneously in April, the direct model is the school entrance ceremony. From the viewpoint of a salaried worker, the initiation ceremony is a dreamful and hopeful ceremony at the start of his career as a company employee. On the other hand, from the viewpoint of the employer, the initiation ceremony is held to start applying what is called a lifetime employment system.

The lifetime employment system combines entering a company with retiring from it. However, not every new employee continues to work for the same company until retirement age, nor does the company necessarily ensure continued employment of the new employee to retirement age. The lifetime employment system is limited to male regular employees in large enterprises. Some employees are sent on loan to subsidiary or affiliated companies along the way, and only a few employees remain at the same company to retirement age. By the same token, the company makes no agreement with new employees to ensure employment to retirement age. The company may invite voluntary retirement and may advise early retirement. Nevertheless, it is thought that the lifetime employment system took root in Japan during the period of rapid economic growth after World War II, and it is understood that the system faced a crisis of collapse in the 1990s when the restructuring storm raged.

This section focuses on the initiation ceremony of Sony and, along with introducing its actual conditions, identifies its distinctive features and discusses the character of Sony as a cultural community in relation to the lifetime employment system and initiation.

2.4 Initiation Ceremony of Sony

Sony was established immediately after World War II and has greatly expanded into a global enterprise. Sony is always ranked high in the lists of favorable companies for employment for college graduates (both males and females.)

Sony's characteristic initiation ceremonies are analyzed here with reference to the house organs, videotapes, and interviews at the Head Office. The focus is placed on Akio Morita. Morita and Masaru Ibuka are the founders of Sony. The period under consideration is from 1960 to 1993.

2.4.1 Place and Program of the Ceremony

During the 1960s, the initiation ceremony was held in the lecture hall at the Head Office. According to an employee who entered in 1961, 300 or more new employees sat in chairs while the president, vice president, and directors stood on the platform in a horizontal line.

The initiation ceremony in 1976 was held in the lecture hall at the Head Office on the first day of April. The president handed a new employee representative a written appointment as a trial employee after Chairman Morita gave an address.

However, the program order was changed in 1980. First of all, the president handed a written appointment as a trial employee and gave an address to finish the initiation ceremony. Then Chairman Morita, the Personnel Department Manager, and the Labor Policy Division Manager gave addresses in order. In 1983, the place was moved to the Green Center in Osaki Plant, where the president handed a written appointment as a trial employee and gave an address, then Chairman Morita, the Personnel Division Manager, and the Labor Manager talked in order. The place was returned to the lecture hall at the Head Office in 1984. Chairman Morita handed a written appointment and gave an address in place of the president, who was abroad on a business trip. In addition, Honorary Chairman Ibuka gave an address. In 1985, the ceremony was held in the lecture hall at the Head Office. After the President handed a written appointment and gave an address, Chairman Morita and Honorary Chairman Ibuka gave addresses of instructions. The next year, the location of the ceremony was moved back to the Green Center in Osaki Plant, and the president and chairman gave addresses. In 1987, the president, the chairman, and the honorary chairman made addresses. In 1988, the place was returned to the Head Office, and the *Jumbo Tron*, a large-scale television (VFD) display for concert venue and sports stadium developed by Sony, was used. The president, honorary chairman, and chairman gave addresses in order. In 1990, the initiation ceremony was held at the former Tokyo Yubin Chokin Kaikan (Mielparque) at Shiba. Addresses were given in the original order of the president, chairman, and honorary chairman. In 1991, the ceremony place was changed to "Youport" at Gotanda. These halls had capacity to hold 1,500–1,800 people. Addresses were made by the president, chairman, and Managing Director Tsunao Hashimoto. Michael P. Shulhoff, president of Sony Software, sent a video message. The next year, the place and the order of giving addresses were unchanged. However, the vice president gave an address instead of the managing director. No video messages were referred to. The initiation ceremony in 1993, which was the last ceremony for Chairman Morita, had no changes in place or program from the previous year.

The date of the initiation ceremony is fixed for the first day of April. If this date falls on a Sunday, the ceremony is held on the following Monday, the second day of April. The time was recorded only in 1980 as 9 o'clock in the morning.

2.4.2 Seating and Dress

It is one of the characteristic features of the initiation ceremony that men and women take their seats separately. Though women take seats on the right as they face the platform, while men constitute the majority and their seats are located toward the back on the right.

In the photograph taken during the initiation ceremony in 1976, both new employees and management were shown wearing uniforms. In the 1980s, all of the new male employees were wearing personal business suits and ties, while most of the female employees were wearing suits.

Top managers giving addresses and instructions, on the other hand, were wearing uniforms. Top management continued to wear uniforms up until 1988 and changed to business suits at last in 1990. Vice President Morita had worn a business suit in 1960, so the style of dress for managers returned to those days. Though, in fact, the employees had been provided with uniforms for work up to 1990 approximately, the number of employees wearing uniforms decreased gradually.

Wearing uniforms plays a role in fostering a sense of closeness and community among new employees and top management. Morita in a uniform called the company "a community bound together by common fate" and his address must have been greatly persuasive. The president and chairman had been wearing uniforms for a long time, probably, to purposely lessen the distinction between themselves and the new employees. Wearing a uniform may have been suitable to show that the president and new employees were equal.

Uniforms make the collective identity and rank of a group clear. They are the symbolic clothing of collective activity. Typical types are military uniforms, dress uniforms, and uniforms for nurses and cabin attendants. There are no voices against such uniforms. It is rather an object of envy that Air France cabin attendants can choose a favorite design of six uniforms. On the other hand, working uniforms in the manufacturing industry, uniforms for store clerks, and school uniforms may often raise serious questions of whether wearing uniforms should be continued or not. Various circumstances – including pride, gender, discrimination, distinction, restriction, expense, careless freedom, and easiness to work – are entangled in the matter to cause heated controversies occasionally.

There seems to be a tendency that opponents command the majority in companies lately. Companies that traditionally bear antipathy toward restraint and respect originality may get rid of uniforms more quickly. Views on uniforms differ with the job site. Generally people wear working uniforms in factories. Office women are expected to work in uniforms, while business personnel work out of uniform. In addition, views on uniforms differ with the times. In Sony, which is famous for its

tradition of freedom, uniforms disappeared from the 1980s to 1990s. In those days, the phrase “new breed of humans” was current and contrasted with “archaic humans” as represented by “company persons” and “gung-ho corporate persons.” Prior to this, Sony discontinued manufacturing the company badge. Sony had not attached great importance to the way of fostering a sense of belonging to the “group sharing a common destiny” with uniforms and badges.

Though it was a universal trend, including at Sony, to discontinue wearing uniforms, there were still some companies where wearing uniforms continued. Especially during the 1980s, designs of uniforms were renewed as a part of corporate Identity (CI) activities to place emphasis on status and differentiation. Uniforms were closely associated with the image of the company or school.

2.5 History and Spirit of Establishment

The history of Sony since its establishment in 1945 was stated generally in the instructions by Akio Morita, vice president, in 1960. He explained that the company began with only 20 members in all, with president Masaru Ibuka as the central figure. But by manufacturing recording tapes and transistors, then expanding into selling tape recorders, radios, and televisions, it grew from a small local factory to be ranked among world’s leading companies. At that time, Morita was very emphatic about the Sony spirit having supported Sony’s growth and development. Simply put, it is the spirit of “do what others do not.” It may be the same as the present venture company. Its originality was displayed fully not only in the manufacturing departments but in cultivating a market to establish a unique distribution system. The company name was changed to Sony to establish the potential for manufacturing airplanes, cars, or any other products, Morita explained. He remonstrated with the new employees for their moods in a small factory in town when the company was established and implored them to think uniquely in taking the lead in the age. In addition, Morita revealed his opinion in relation to the later “no need for school career.” In other words, he renounced discrimination in promotion depending on age or school careers in favor of a merit system depending on contribution to the company.

In this connection, at the initiation ceremony in 1961, President Ibuka explained the spirit of the establishment of Sony and emphasized that Sony sends out products that are different from others. Vice President Morita was very emphatic about the meaning of working as a crew member of the ship “*Sony-maru*.”

Morita, at this time, only developed the subject based on the “progressive view of history and elements of competition.” The topic of “early retirement during the period of trial employment,” which developed later, had not been given yet. However, the view of “a community bound together by common fate” seems to have already existed.

During the 1970s, however, top management did not mention the spirit related to the history of the establishment of Sony. It is supposed that the details and the spirit of the establishment of Sony have become generally known through books introducing Sony. Instead, Morita gave addresses generally including the pursuit of indi-

vidual happiness, demonstration of abilities, company technologies, and marketing competitive power.

2.6 Advice Toward Early Retirement

As mentioned before, a written appointment as a trial employee is handed by the president only to a representative of new employees at an initiation ceremony. The period of trial employment is the process of initiation in transition. New employees are in an unsettled condition and a line is drawn between them and the regular employees. After completing a 2–3 week training course, each new employee is assigned an actual position. During this period, new employees wear green badges.

Morita advised the employees to retire as soon as possible if they felt themselves not suited to the Sony company or found their lives at Sony not worth living or their jobs not rewarding. This advice was given based on the judgment that early retirement is helpful for individual happiness and company management. This point was invariably included in Morita's address at the initiation ceremony.

In his last address in 1993, Morita even characterized the period of trial employment as the "period when you make a trial of the company." Though this expression was sometimes used prior to this instance, an individual-centered viewpoint as opposed to a company-centered viewpoint is distinctive. In addition, he repeated his opinion: good fortune must be generated for yourselves. A wrong choice must be corrected so as not to be regretted later. You should change your job early even though re-employment is difficult.

Morita paradoxically advised to retire early for the reason that only those employees who found their lives at Sony worth living and their jobs rewarding should remain. Of course, it is natural for Sony in a highly competitive industry of rapidly advancing technology to require a person who has a good mind to work to defeat its rivals. His advice is characterized by giving priority to personal choice over the company.

Morita said that he was anxious for a person at retirement to judge that it was fortunate to have devoted the most valuable days in his life to Sony. Morita's desire was that a new employee will not regret his/her personal decision to work for Sony until retirement as a choice in life. Attention should be paid to the fact that Morita referred to retirement but not to retirement under the age limit.

2.7 A Community Bound Together by Common Fate

It is unknown when Morita began to emphasize the company as a community bound together by common fate. He had expressed such a view at least as early as the 1960s, as shown in the *Sony-maru* paragraph above.

Morita stated in 1986: "The company is a community bound together by common fate. You are, so to speak, the crew of the ship, *Sony-maru*. If the ship sinks under the

water due to a serious error by one of the crew members, all of the crew members are immersed in the water. You should be a person sharing a common destiny with us.”

Morita urged the new employees to be aware of being a crew of the *Sony-maru*, which is a community bound together by common fate, and called their attention to the hard fact that an error by a member may cause a big loss affecting the life and death of the crew. “School tests give marks from 0 to 100, but company tests may result in tens of thousands or minus tens of thousands.” He requested them strongly to change their sense of value.

This is backed by the understanding that the company may make a profit and is always in danger of passing out of existence. As an enterprise is exposed to competition, he pointed out, “Even though you do your best and succeed, the company loses in a competition if someone else made stronger efforts to succeed early.” He sometimes named competitors such as Matsushita, Toshiba, RCA, and Phillips. Morita made the new employees keep in mind that the company in the free economy structure cannot endure except through victory in competition.

A lot of young people have yearnings toward Sony’s atmosphere of freedom and hope and aspire to become members of the company. However, Morita’s reference to a community bound together by common fate may have been confusing for many new employees. No matter what they thought, Morita urged each to work for all on his/her own responsibility. Each cannot have his/her own way in everything in the company. It was strongly requested that they each position themselves as a company fighter sharing a common destiny.

In 1983, Morita spoke about the roles of top management and employees in the community bound together by common fate. “The chairman plays the role of a Russell snowplow to map out the company’s future course and open the way. Once the way is opened, the president and all of the members of the company have to go forward at full speed so that the company may not lose in the competition. You should be trained to participate in the competition, absorb what you have learned and dash forward to become a strong business soldier for Sony.”

Morita compared the company to a ship and a Russell snowplow and positioned the company as a community bound together by common fate, where long-term employment was a premise and the roles of upper and lower were definitely assigned even though they wore the same uniforms. The first consideration was that each individual shared a destiny with the company. Even Sony was not free from the principle of community, and furthermore Sony rather tried to foster the consciousness of such a community. This is clearly evident.

2.8 Training of New Employees and Initiation

Initiation is a typical rite of passage consisting of the three stages of separation, transition, and reintegration, as formulated by A. van Gennep (1909). The initiation ceremony and the new-employee training system in Japanese companies are characterized as follows:

1. A new employee is separated and isolated from the student-like state.

2. During the period from the initiation ceremony to the end of training of new employees, a tidily dressed new employee lives in an orderly manner confined at a training center. A new employee says goodbye to the students' way of thinking, tries to take responsible action as a full-fledged member of society, becomes conscious of being a member of the company, learns to pay respect and be obedient to superiors and the president, and acquires manners and knowledge as a member of the company. A new employee memorizes the company philosophy, the motto of company, the company song, and proper speech for dealing with customers; learns the company history; vows to be punctual; adapts himself/herself to the company rules; and gets training to work according to higher targets and carefully thought-out plans. In addition, a new employee undergoes severe trials including labor service cleaning a rest room, sitting in religious meditation at a *Zen* temple, and survival training in an uninhabited island. Lately, the ties of community are strengthened through sports for handicapped persons. Male and female employees must wear typical dark suits and uniforms respectively. Men are instructed to remove mustaches and beards, long hair, and sideburns; women are prohibited from wearing bangs and long fingernails.
3. A new employee gets posted as a regular employee after completing the initiation training and is included in the regular duty structure.

As described above, it can be well understood how the initiation ceremony and training of new employees are systematized and follow tradition as a modern initiation. Indigenous Amazonian males preparing for intertribal struggles and Sony employees being absorbed in business competitions are in a similar position.

However, there are some major differences between company initiations and those conducted in traditional societies. The principle of equality at the company initiation ceremony relinquishes its seat to the principle of inequality. There is a difference in promotion. There are some possible cases of early retirement and change of job, that is, dropping out.

Akio Morita with Sony is well known as a controversial figure who emphasized "no need for a school career." "Advice toward early retirement" is also spiced up with his direct tone of argument. The logic is, however, paradoxical. Sony seems to have consciously wedged into "the lifetime employment system" by emphasizing "trial employment" and offering "the advice toward early retirement." While it is a government employment ideal to serve faithfully until retirement age without committing any serious errors, the Sony case may be appropriately referred to as a venture business type going in the opposite position. The message that only fit persons being conscious of happiness should remain to the last is inversely related to the feeling of happiness at retirement, which does not necessarily mean retirement age. It is not advice toward long-term employment. Of course, there are no words securing employment to the retirement age. Rather a sense of growing crisis is stimulated by emphasizing that the company may fail unless it is victorious in competition.

Morita told new employees that they should leave Sony if they disagreed with the Sony spirit and the view of "a community bound together by common fate." He

urged new employees to change their values. This coincides with the theme of “death and rebirth” common to initiations.

Note that Kazuo Hirai, president and CEO, who took his post on April 1, 2012, emphasized, “I will do my best to change Sony together with you.” Compared with the days of Morita, there is obviously a large difference.

2.9 Concluding Remarks

If we consider the company as a cultural community, the initiation ceremony for joining a company bears an important meaning. In the case of Sony, major emphasis is put on biller trials, as well as readiness to share fate and destiny. Novices gradually become members of a cultural community named Sony, inspired by the Sony Spirit. The Sony Spirit is nothing more than the mental projection of company culture, and its practices are put into ordinary work. In other words, daily *salaryman* life is molding the company culture of Sony. In contrast to the initiation ceremony, a corporate funeral functions as a major separation ritual from the cultural community of Sony.

In the following chapters, companies will be considered cultural communities, as illustrated by concrete items such as corporate funerals and corporate museums. As a devise, enterprise is also a cultural community which frames the company life of the *salaryman* and OL. It is hoped that this volume will be read from these perspectives.

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