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\*Corresponding author: Yueh-po Huang,  
Institute of Ethnology, Academia  
Sinica, 128 Academia Road, Section 2,  
Nankang, Taipei 115, Taiwan  
E-mail: [qehwikacin@gate.sinica.edu.tw](mailto:qehwikacin@gate.sinica.edu.tw)

Reviewing editor:  
Albert Sabater, University of Saint  
Andrews, UK

Additional information is available at  
the end of the article

## SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGY | RESEARCH ARTICLE

# The methods of propagation of a Japanese new religion in the UK—Tenrikyo

Yueh-po Huang<sup>1\*</sup>

**Abstract:** This paper aims to explore the way that a Japanese new religion, Tenrikyo, has been spread, suspended, and re-established through different historical stages in the UK. The article will first examine the previous works on Japanese new religions' outward expansion to other countries and the accompanying issues involved. Then it will focus on one Japanese new religion (Tenrikyo) and explore the propagation strategies it has employed to establish its foothold in the UK. The research adopted an ethnographical approach, employing participant observation and structured interviews for understanding and eliciting respondents' views on central themes such as methods of propagation. In conclusion, this study manifests its value in several ways. It provides recommendable suggestions for understanding the complex circumstances in which a Japanese new religion is localised in European soil. In addition, further research may extend to explore how far Tenrikyo might spread its teaching principles on the European continent.

**Subjects:** Japanese Religion; Religion; Globalisation

**Keywords:** Tenrikyo; Japanese new religious movement; immigration; overseas propagation strategies

### 1. Introduction

In Japan's religious history, Japanese new religions<sup>1</sup> emerged during periods of social disintegration, urbanization, and global war (such as the late Tokugawa period, the 1920s–1930s and World War II). There has been a large body of English and Japanese literature on Japanese new religious movements and the subject can fall into two parts: its domestic development and world propagation. The former involves a number of conceptual frameworks pertinent to the birth and development of

### ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Dr Yueh-po Huang is an assistant research fellow at the Institute of Academia Sinica, Taiwan - a post he has held since 2005. His current research and writing focuses on the development of Japanese new religious movements such as Tenrikyo in Taiwan and other countries.

### PUBLIC INTEREST STATEMENT

The study of the growth and expansion of Japanese new religious movements has been of interest to academics for some time. Tenrikyo, like many other Japanese new religious movements, has extended its influence beyond Japan and engaged in a process of world propagation. This article focuses on Tenrikyo's expansion to the UK and the circumstances around this growth. For example, while the UK has become a melting pot of many world religions as a result of immigration and religious diffusion, Tenrikyo's growth remains relatively weak in comparison with other countries such as Taiwan.

Tenrikyo in Japan, including millenarian movement (Blacker, 1971; Morishita, 2001; Ooms, 1993), crisis explanations based on sociological and historical views (Anesaki, 1930; Inoue, 1994; McFarland, 1967), charismatic authority and leadership (Stalker, 2008), and shamanism-based or salvation-oriented movement (Hori, 1968; Shimazono 1979, 1992, 2004). The latter is devoted to various aspects concerning push factors such as religious execution, economic expansion, livelihood, demographic pressure and political motivation (Clarke, 2000; Nakamaki, 1991; Pereira & Matsuoka, 2007; Shimazono, 1991).

Diverse though their ideas might be, these conceptual frameworks all provide analytical tools for understanding the background relevant to the formation of Japanese new religions within Japan and their subsequent world propagation. This paper will present an ethnography of the overseas missionary activities of a Japanese new religious movement known as Tenrikyo, a religious community first emerging in Tenri City in Japan at the time of the late Tokugawa period (1838) and spreading overseas to countries such as the UK.<sup>2</sup> It will focus on the propagation strategy employed by the Tenrikyo organization to establish itself in the contemporary UK and also on the challenges encountered through different historical stages since 1910 when Tenrikyo first set foot in that country.

## 2. A review of previous works on Japanese new religions outside Japan

The issue concerning the overseas missionary activities of Japanese new religious movements, and the following interpretations, were first addressed in the edited work by Mullins and Young (1991), who in their Editors' Introduction suggest that when considering the transplantation of religions to other countries, caution must be taken in assessing how religions overcome ethnic and language boundaries and take root in foreign soil. Other key questions such as the soteriological concerns of those religious movements, the motivation behind their world propagation, any transformation they have undergone during the transplantation process, the definition and evaluation of their success or failure and so forth were also raised. The authors also pointed out some research limitations in terms of geographical coverage (not including Africa and only covering very few studies in Europe and Southeast Asia). The edited articles provide various expositions of the expansion of Japanese new religions overseas.

When considering the success of Japan's new religions abroad, Shimazono (1991) took into account the extension of Japan's economic power in the world economy and other major factors: the socio-political conditions of those foreign countries (urbanization, industrialization, tolerance and freedom of religion), the degree of effort to promote Tenrikyo in local settings and the appeal of certain Japanese beliefs and practices to local residents.<sup>3</sup> However, Catherine Cornille (1991) did not apply Shimazono's approach in her argument for the expansion of Japanese new religions in Europe. Instead, she saw the unsuccessful inculturation of Mahikari (one Japanese new religion) in the UK as the major reason behind that group's stagnation.<sup>4</sup>

Inoue (1991) remarked on the development of studies concerning Japanese new religion, including factors such as the recognition of the term "new religion" (*shin shukyō* or 新宗教 in Japanese) in academic use, a growing interest in the study of new religions among Japanese scholars, the history of the groups' founders as well as the development of those organizations widely seen as the preferred research subjects, an interdisciplinary approach to the study of new religions, research on certain thoughts and doctrines such as "vitalistic salvation" or "living deity", and a gradually increasing concern about overseas mission activities in regions such as Hawaii and North America. Several years later, Inoue (2007) suggested that we attribute the expansion of Japanese religions to four underlying and interrelated causes: missionaries, the geographic relationship between neighboring continents, colonial circumstances, and immigration.

With the implication of Inoue's historical-sociological approach to the world propagation of Japanese new religions, Takahashi (2008) adopts an organizational perspective by looking at the way in which sub-groups enhance the strength of a Japanese religious group (such as Tenrikyo). He found that grand churches and branch churches have been crucial to the consolidation of followers'

allegiance to religious unity as well as the growth of Tenrikyo in Hawaii. Fujii (2006, 2007b) locates Tenrikyo's development in Manchuria (1910–1945)<sup>5</sup> and Taiwan (1895–1945) during the Japanese colonial administration and employs a comparative analysis of Tenrikyo's outward expansion to these regions. What he found in common is that Tenrikyo's inculturation policy has been an effective strategy in sustaining this Japanese new religion's position. This inculturation policy, still evident today, includes a continued cultivation of local human resources and the combining of different religious idioms in ritual and healing in those countries.<sup>6</sup>

Peter Clarke (2000) considers the role of globalization to be of importance to the spread of Japanese new religions. Clarke suggests that the globalization process, be it economic, technological or cultural, should not be seen as originating in the West and spreading elsewhere. Instead, it should be considered as a “reverse influence”, by which non-western societies can also make a positive social and religious contribution to modern and global society. In the case of Japanese new religions spreading to North America and Europe, both immigration and economic and legal factors have been crucial for their establishment and development. This has been followed by a gradual process of assimilation and accommodation by the first and later generations of those religious groups, making possible the increasing acceptance of Japanese new religions across the world.

Ronan Pereira suggests that the religious environment in the host society is crucial to the introduction of new creeds. In Brazil, the legal freedom of religious choice opened up new possibilities for Soka Gakkai in the 1960s (Pereira, 2007). In addition, certain key ideas of Buddhism such as karma and reincarnation took root in Brazil before the arrival of Soka Gakkai. Brazil has the largest Japanese expatriate community in the world, and this creates a social and cultural position of advantage for Japanese new religions in general and Soka Gakkai in particular. Lastly, the advent of modernization and urbanization in the 1960s heralded a growing demand for new creeds and gave rise to Japanese new religions in Brazilian society. Propagation strategies of Soka Gakkai, they include marketing, conjoining political activities and public festivals, recruiting local staff, and using the Portuguese language, all of which have proven to be successful strategies.

Barshay (2007) book entitled *Japanese Religions in and beyond the Japanese Diaspora* included contributions from many scholars as a result of their own fieldwork conducted in countries such as Brazil, America, and Australia. In the Introduction, Barshay notes that the main reasons behind the successful expansion of Japanese new religions overseas are as follows: the new religions' dynamic features, associated with their ability to communicate with modern people and gain the militant strength of individuals from all walks of life; their syncretistic practices, blending modernity and tradition; religious and nonreligious elements; their focus on the here and now, on simple rituals, on the individual and so forth.

In the particular case of Tenrikyo, Keisuke Kaneko (2000) explored the issues concerning the overseas expansion of this new religion. Kaneko attempted to distinguish the features of Tenrikyo's overseas expansion, which he suggested was divided into four periods. The first was the period of initial overseas activity, which started with Tenrikyo's missionary expansions to Korea in 1893 and Taiwan in 1897. In its mission to Korea, the Tenrikyo organization relied on its members' individual commitment to the saving mission. In Taiwan, Propagation was mainly driven by structural constraints (official suppression) within Japan. The second phase was the period of establishment, during which the Tenrikyo authorities launched into a new enterprise by setting up the Tenri School of Foreign Languages in 1925. They targeted overseas citizens of Korea, Manchuria, China, and Taiwan, mostly in East Asia, with a view to cultivating local administrators in these countries. In the third phase, the Tenrikyo organization became more world-oriented after the second Shinbashira (Tenrikyo's administrative and spiritual leader) made a tour around East Asia in 1926 and another tour in the United States and Hawaii in 1933. The last phase was said to begin when the third Shinbashira assumed his leadership in 1967. This leader made a change in the world propagation policy, which was intended to proselytize both Japanese immigrants overseas and foreigners.

Morii (2008) provides more detailed information about the history of Tenrikyo's overseas expansion. Morii's archive-based research, coupled with several field trips to Tenrikyo overseas offices in many countries, gave him firsthand information about Tenrikyo's world propagation not available in the academic works. According to Morii, Tenrikyo has reached most continents through various routes with characteristic outward expansion: geographically, it moved to East Asia first, then to North America, to Southeast Asia, Europe and South America and to Africa; in the social context, the geographical movement of Tenrikyo to international communities has been associated with its followers' immigration to overseas territories and the Japanese colonization of foreign countries in East and Southeast Asia during the Second World War.

In the context of the UK, Somers attributes the appeal of Japanese religions to British people to several aspects: an emphasis on this-worldly benefit, a syncretic approach to religion, the practice of magical healing and skilful use of advertising (Somers, 1994). What Japanese new religions can offer to the UK public, says Somers, is their promise of this-worldly paradise. The appeal of these Japanese religions is multifaceted. Seicho-no-Ie, for example, is congruent with Christianity as it is a mixture of Buddhism and Christianity. Sekai Kyuseikyo is also a synthesis of Shinto, Buddhism, and Christianity but it lays great stress on advertisement through the teaching of the Japanese language and flower arrangements and the sponsorship of artistic and cultural events. Kofuku no Kagaku adopts a syncretic approach to religion, which also gives it a definite advantage.

Wilson and Dobbelaere also offer some insightful observations (Wilson & Dobbelaere, 1994). According to their research, the old economic order which relies on production-oriented activity in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was superseded by a new order focusing on the consumption-oriented economic regime. The old ascetic ethic of Christianity, with its role model of self-restraint, thrift, capital accumulation, postponed economic gratification, and so forth, was ill-attuned to this advanced society. Scientific explanations of life and the universe become less plausible. All of this gave rise to the emergence of new religions in Western society from the 1960s onwards. Also, Wilson and Dobbelaere draw attention to the factors crucial to the development of Soka Gakkai in the UK. They point out that the ethics of this new religion—its endorsement of the search for personal happiness, its emphasis on personal fulfilment, and its request for adherents to discover their own form of “taking responsibility”—are in tune with the secular ethos of the UK, where those engaged in the mass media, entertainment industries and artistic pursuit for personal freedom and self-expression are most likely to be members of this movement. To achieve mastery of one's life, to alter one's karmic state, and to influence external objective forces, Soka Gakkai recommends chanting (the *daimoku* and *gongyo*) to people in all walks of life. Soka Gakkai sees chanting not as a passive mode of prayer but as a more interactive, conscious, and deliberate endeavor to enhance self-awareness, with its ultimate goal of creating a positive attitude towards one's life.

The characteristic of Japanese new religions' growth and global development calls for a more comprehensive study of these movements, particularly when applied to one single religious organization such as Tenrikyo. Other scholars have turned their attention to Tenrikyo's propagation to countries such as Brazil, Singapore, and Taiwan, with a view to understanding whether Tenrikyo's overseas expansion follows the same pattern as Japan. The work of Watanabe (2008) on the development and propagation of Japanese new religions such as Tenrikyo in Brazil gives us new insights into this type of research. Watanabe identified four important tasks relating to the promotion of religion overseas: expansion tasks including ethnic and linguistic range expansion, adaption tasks such as surmounting the language barrier, establishment tasks like understanding the Brazilian character, and organizational tasks including appointing local ministers to organizational positions. However, Watanabe provides very little information about Tenrikyo's strategies relating to these tasks, much less the relationship between Tenrikyo's organizational model (parent-child system) and its propagation model (laity-focused propagation).

Equally interesting is Hamrin's (2000) essay on the presence of Tenrikyo in Singapore, an old Japanese colony in Southeast Asia (1942–1945) and now a city state in which approximately 250

people were affiliated with this Japanese new religion as of 1997. Hamrin shows that Tenrikyo manifests a vital social movement in the public sector despite its small size and power. For instance, *hinokishin*, Tenrikyo's term for sacred labour or community service, has both an instrumental and a symbolic meaning. According to Hamrin, *hinokishin* represents not only social practice in action but also a repairing *karma* in cosmology—to banish the shadows of the past and re-establish a new set of social relations with the Singaporean. Despite this, Tenrikyo gained little strength in Singapore compared to Soka Gakkai, which expanded its membership from the Japanese expatriate community to the Singaporean Chinese community, largely through attractive cultural events, charitable relief and development activities, a complex island-wide organizational structure, high-level political contacts and a commitment to universalist programs of world peace, intercultural communication and friendships between peoples and most importantly, a strategy to downplay its Japanese origins.

The next section turns to Tenrikyo's outward expansion to the UK, with a view to examining the history and development of Tenrikyo in that country. The author notes that the issue of Tenrikyo's missionary activities in the UK is inextricably linked to the historical development of Japanese religion itself as well as that of British religion, the immigrant-oriented features of Tenrikyo in the UK, and the complex matter of the process of inculturation of Tenrikyo in the globalizing context of the UK.

I adopted ethnographic observation and interviews, coupled with literature analysis and field notes, as the methods for carrying out fieldwork in the UK. Based on my ethnography, I will explore Tenrikyo's attempt to promote its teachings by initiating certain programs and practices. To this end, I selected the Tenrikyo UK Centre located in north London as the major fieldwork site. I chose this place for several reasons: firstly, most Tenrikyo followers are Japanese expatriates currently concentrated in London, with the highest percentage of Japanese immigrants living in north London; secondly, located in this urban area is the politico-economical center in which Japanese expatriates embark on careers of entrepreneurship, shop-ownership, studying and so forth; thirdly, the Tenrikyo UK Centre is located in a relatively safe and middle-class area; fourthly, in religious-sociological terms, the Tenrikyo UK Centre is a vital place for regular religious and cultural activities, in which I could meet with many Tenrikyo followers.

My fieldwork study of Tenrikyo's overseas propagation activities in the UK ran from September 2011 to September 2012. Fieldwork consisted of document analysis, interview and participant observation, a qualitative approach having the advantage of revealing the social reality in various religious settings, from the Tenrikyo UK Centre, through several Tenrikyo mission stations in different local districts, to a public hall in the City of London. For instance, regarding the theme of propagation strategies, an observation, rather than a survey, proved to be more useful in understanding the part played by cultural, religious, and social forces (i.e. Japanese cultural activities, ritual ceremony, or public lectures) in shaping followers' perception of Tenrikyo (i.e. a religion of self-purification, world-salvation, or leading a joyous life). Similarly, the use of the interview as a way of revealing Tenrikyo adherents' evaluation of their religion may sometimes have been more effective than a survey.

### 3. The ethnographical account of Tenrikyo in the UK

#### 3.1. *The religious condition of Britain in the Twentieth Century*

Today, Tenrikyo has established five home-based missionary centers in the UK, four in the outskirts of London and one in Leeds (Tenrikyo UK Tenrikyo UK Centre, 2010). However, it should be noted that Tenrikyo's missionary activities in the UK are inextricably linked to the historical development of religion in that country. In other words, a significant change in the religious landscape of Christianity in Britain in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries is crucial to the birth and development of Tenrikyo in the contemporary UK.

Brown (1991) states that British society was under the sway of the Church of England in 1800 but this situation began to change in the first half of the nineteenth century. The established church was under pressure and engaged in social reconstruction as Britain was fumbling her way out of

economic and social crisis during the nineteenth century, notably between 1845 and 1851. Citing Horace Mann's data from the 1851 Religious Census, Brown identified the main reason behind a widespread religious apathy among the working class, that is, the weakness of the established church in the face of critical social conditions such as industrialization and the ensuing secularism.

Stiles (1995) traces the history of Christianity in the UK from 1800 to 1914 and attributes the decreasing power of the established churches—Anglican in England, Wales and Ireland and Presbyterian in Scotland—to several underlying and interrelated causes, including indifference towards God, and secularism. Christianity had been the dominant religion in the Victorian Age (1837–1901) and had had a marked impact on certain aspects of British society, but it no longer assumed a prominent place in social and educational policy. Rather, it was the state, through social and educational reform, which made herself and her message most relevant to the general populace. Since 1820, a number of social reforms had culminated in an age of industrialization that foreshadowed the upcoming massive transformation taking place in British society, most notably shorter working hours and more leisure available to everyone. It was in this context, according to Stiles, that secularization came to prominence in 1914, despite the fact that organized religions still endured and existed in Britain in the period 1800–1914 in both the industrialization and post-industrialization contexts. However, in Stiles' account, it is unclear whether the established religions' loss of power as a result of secularization triggered the mushrooming of new religions within British society.

Davie (1994) locates new religions' development in postwar Britain within the framework of religion's relations with societal evolution, for example, modernity and British peoples' attitudes towards religious organizations—believing without belonging. Davie suggests that British society was “unchurched” rather than secular in the late twentieth century, due to a rapidly changing social context, that is, from modernity to post-modernity. Thus, a lack of attachment to specific religious organizations implies a change in spiritual orientation or being open to the diverse forms of the sacred.<sup>7</sup> In addition, an expanding economy compelled Britain to acquire alternative human resources (entrepreneurs and labors) from overseas, introducing significant other-faith communities into that country. In principle, Davie (1994, pp. 30–43) concludes that the post-war religious development of Britain can be characterized by several main stages: Post-war Reconstruction (1945–1960), a Desire for Relevance (the 1960s), the Re-emergence of the Sacred (1970–1990), New Formulations of the Sacred Including Religion in a Consumer Society and the New Age (the 1990s).

### **3.2. Tenrikyo activities and propagation strategies in the UK**

The history of Tenrikyo in the UK can be traced to several waves of earlier missionary activities during the twentieth century, particularly the overseas expansion by Senba Grand Church in Japan (Sotani, 1991). The first significant attempt to extend the influence of Tenrikyo to England was in 1908 by T. A. Rose, a Londoner whose earlier career in Japan had been as an employee in an electrical company in Osaka (Tenrikyo Doyusha, 1987). Rose's impression of Tenrikyo was influenced by two factors: firstly the similarity between Tenrikyo and Christianity, both of which suggest that sickness originates in people's minds; secondly, the miraculous healing effect that he witnessed, following a three-day collective session, on an eye problem suffered by his mother, Joanna Rose (Sotani, 1991). The efficacy of healing (*sazuke*) prompted T. A. Rose to consider enabling the expansion of Tenrikyo's worldwide influence into the UK. On 21st June 1909, after returning to London, Rose made a request to the second head of Senba Grand Church that higher priority be given to spreading Tenrikyo's teaching to Europe and to planning the establishment of a Tenrikyo outpost in London.

By 1910, a European missionary center was officially approved by Tenrikyo Church Headquarters. For Tenrikyo, the first pioneering voyage outside Asia to Europe marked an era of globalization for their religion, and the missionaries to the UK were thrust into the limelight of public attention in Japan. Thousands of Japanese, mainly Tenrikyo followers, assembled on the quayside to bid farewell to three ministers, Akagi Tokunosuke (44 years old), Masanobu Tojiro (34 years old) and Takami Shozo (25 years old). Below is an extract from an article about the missionary voyage, published during the embarkation by a local daily newspaper called the Kobe Yoshin Daily News: “In accordance

with the central tenet of Tenrikyo's founder, Oyasama, who advocated universal salvation as the strongest reason for missionary work, Tenrikyo's development has been phenomenal. In Japan, hundreds of thousands of people have received salvation. However, we still need to expand our mission work by embarking for Europe" (Tenrikyo Doyusha, 1987).

During the first ten years of Tenrikyo's Western expansion, the three Tenrikyo ministers worked at their arduous task and gradually reaped a reward. Despite initial hardships, they later made significant achievements which they attributed to activities such as administering ritual healing and recruiting local converts for their assistance in holding public ceremonies and collecting funds (Sotani, 1991). However, in 1920, the Tenrikyo community suspended their missionary activities in the UK until the 1970s. This termination of missionary work in the UK has been associated with mismanagement by F. H. Davidson, an English Tenrikyo convert who was assigned by Tenrikyo Church Headquarters to be the second head of the London Missionary Centre. During the following decades, Tenrikyo authorities continued their attempts to present Tenrikyo as a religious organization, despite the fact that tensions with Japan during the first and second world wars had prevented it from staying abreast of other religious organizations.

It was not until 1977 that the Tenrikyo Overseas Department established a missionary center in Paris and resumed its evangelical activity in the European region. Since then, Tenrikyo followers have continued to bring the teachings back to the UK and the dissemination of Tenrikyo teachings has remained steady. With an increase in Tenrikyo followers and the establishment of other home-based units in London during the 1990s and Leeds in 1995, the Tenrikyo Church Headquarters authorities were able to re-establish the Tenrikyo UK Centre in London in 2000. On 6th June 2010, the head of the Tenrikyo UK Centre made a few brief remarks about Tenrikyo's 10th anniversary, believing that the occasion had three particularly significant aspects: it was a chance to mark the events and activities that had occurred over the previous decade, it was a chance to raise awareness of the history of Tenrikyo in the UK prior to its successful establishment, and it was a chance to embrace the opportunity to consider future missionary tasks in this country (Tenrikyo UK Centre, 2010).

### 3.2.1. *Tenrikyo UK centre*

Although Tenrikyo has been established in the UK since 1910 (Morii, 1992; Tenrikyo Doyusha, 1987), it has a relatively small number of followers within multicultural British society, compared to other countries such as Taiwan. At present the geographic distribution of Tenrikyo missionary headquarters, centers, and home-based units covers continental areas including East Asia, Southeast Asia, South Asia, Africa, Eastern Europe, and Western Europe. In Europe, France has the highest number of Tenrikyo groups and the largest follower population compared with other European countries such as the UK, Switzerland, Italy, and Spain. According to statistics from 2004, the number of Tenrikyo missionary headquarters, centers and home-based units in Western Europe was 13, with European headquarters in Paris, a missionary center set up in London, and other home-based units scattered among other countries as follows: UK (4), France (4), Italy (1), Switzerland (2) and Spain (2) (Morii, 2008, pp. 839–848). Statistically, the total population of Tenrikyo followers in Western Europe was estimated as 351, most residing in France (188) or the UK (41). The actual number of followers is still uncertain.

In the course of my fieldwork in the UK, from September 2011 to September 2012, I visited the Tenrikyo UK Centre from time to time, mostly on a Sunday, when the monthly service is normally held from 10 to 12 o'clock. Situated in a suburb of north London, the Tenrikyo UK Centre is currently an overseas office under the supervision of the Tenrikyo Overseas Department. At first glance, its outward appearance is no different from that of a typical British house in the area. However, behind the façade of this building lies Tenrikyo's core practice—rites for universal salvation. As a basic unit within Tenrikyo's bureaucratic system, the fundamental purpose of establishing the Tenrikyo UK Centre—and other Tenrikyo offshoots throughout the world—is to arrange and organize a series of regular salvation rituals for humankind. In Tenrikyo, numerous rituals are performed within a cycle. *Otsutome* (Salvation Service) is a central ritual. It is performed in order to sweep away the dusts from

the mind and perform rituals for universal salvation. *Otsutome* is also called the *Mikagura Uta* (the Songs for the Service). Apart from the annual cycle, there are monthly and daily cycles for the performance of rituals. In the case of the Tenrikyo Church Headquarters for example, on the 26th of every month a service takes place on the Kanrodai (the Stand for Heavenly Dew), also known as Jiba (the birth place of human beings), in commemoration of the Founder who passed away, or in manifestation of God's (or God the Parent's) work at the time of the creation. In grand churches and other mission headquarters, the service is usually held on the first or third Sunday of every month. Secondly, *Otsutome* can be divided into two time-based activities: diurnal and monthly. The daily services, which are shorter, include a morning service at dawn and an evening service at dusk.

In the Tenrikyo UK Centre, there is no regulation prohibiting a visitor's attempt to participate in any scheduled activity. Any newcomer is categorized as either a non-Tenrikyo follower or a Tenrikyo follower. This classification is nicely demonstrated by comparing vestments: a Tenrikyo devotee would dress in a black robe, whereas the non-devotee would be dressed in their ordinary clothes. Whether a Tenrikyo follower or not, the first-time visitor must briefly explain his motive for attendance, the church he is affiliated to, and the name of the spiritual father who introduced him to Tenrikyo teachings and practices if appropriate.

The other traditional view held by the Tenrikyo UK Centre emphasizes mutual cooperation and exchange among home-based units across Britain. In Tenrikyo, each local mission station within British territory is subordinate to its own branch church in Japan. However, the Tenrikyo UK Centre is worthy of special status, not simply as an overseas outpost of Tenrikyo Church Headquarters but also as the locus of religious allegiance evidenced in followers' practices over the progression of time. For the minister, missionary work in an overseas country is a matter of sharing and exchange, not of competition and non-cooperation. The ideal scenario of religious expansion is therefore created through collective contribution and disengagement from group rivalry.

### 3.2.2. *The monthly event*

In the Tenrikyo UK Centre, the monthly service is held in simple fashion. Like other Tenrikyo institutes around the world, the daily act of paying tribute to, and the monthly worship of, the *kamidana* (altar) is a central practice in the quest for self-purification and universal salvation. The daily service is divided into two parts, the first starting at dawn (at half past six) and the second at dusk (half past five). Both last roughly half an hour, because they contain only the first three sessions of a full service. As regards the monthly service, this event takes place at noon on the Sunday of the first week of every month and takes less than two hours. During the monthly service, six dancers (three male and three female) or ten dancers (five male and five female) are responsible for performing the *Mikagura Uta*,<sup>8</sup> whilst attendees prefer to remain seated and watching (See Figure 1). After performing the *Mikagura Uta*, there are usually a few demands for *sazuke*.<sup>9</sup> When *sazuke* is requested, the people who receive it are usually Japanese expatriates. For these Japanese followers, the healing appeals to the extent that they are willing to travel to the Tenrikyo UK Centre.

In principle, practices in the UK are identical to those performed in other Tenrikyo institutes around the world, albeit slightly different in terms of the time of the monthly service. However, in practice, ritual performance in the UK is in stark contrast to that in Japan, the other country where I conducted PhD fieldwork research. In Tenri City in Japan, most local Tenrikyo followers who join the monthly service are involved by actively following the bodily movements of the dancers, as opposed to the observers in the UK services. Even the old and sick people who cannot but seat themselves in a chair move their hands in a relatively slow motion. What I found interesting in Japan is that perhaps the *Mikagura Uta* is more associated with a mind-purifying or self-healing activity and more importantly, it is perceived as a precedent condition to the following activity—*sazuke* (healing ritual).



**Figure 1. Tenrikyo monthly service, Photographed on 16 December 2011.**

Sources: Photo courtesy of Yueh-po Huang.



### 3.2.3. The implementation of propagation

There are several features of missionary activities in the Tenrikyo UK Centre. Firstly, although the monthly service is regularly held on the first Sunday between 10 am and 12 noon, and the congregation is predominantly Japanese expatriates, English is the major medium for communication. British Tenrikyo followers appear to be most attracted to the public lectures or seminars. Secondly, it is usually the Japanese followers performing *Mikagura Uta* during the service.<sup>10</sup> After the service, few people make demands on ministers' time to perform *sazuke*. Perhaps for non-Japanese followers, the emphasis in Tenrikyo is not so much on orthodoxy as on orthopraxy. Tenrikyo UK spread their teachings with a mixture of methods that include the use of English, the promotion of Japanese culture by holding public lectures and the dependence on circulation of print technology, mass media, and social networks.

In the UK, Tenrikyo's missionary activity is associated with the following factors: (a) the flexibility of language interchange between Japanese and English; (b) the steady flow of monetary support; (c) the introduction of Japanese cultural elements; and (d) the wise use of marketing and advertising.

(a) Japanese and English are the main means of communication, with the former associated more with mysterious, ritual, and solemn occasions and the latter more with informal, natural, and secular affairs. Tenrikyo followers must employ Japanese to engage in a spiritual dialogue with the transcendental entity while chanting and performing the *Mikagura Uta*, whereas both before and after the ceremonial period, they can communicate their knowledge and feelings to each other in either Japanese or English.

(b) The Tenrikyo UK Centre is regularly funded by Tenrikyo Church Headquarters in Japan because of its status as an overseas missionary outpost. Two funding streams exist in Tenrikyo. The first is monthly support from Tenrikyo authorities to their official domestic and international satellites, including the small organizational unit in the UK. The second is ad hoc donations by grassroots followers to the specific Tenrikyo church with which they are affiliated, be it a Grand Church, a branch, or a local one, both within and beyond the territories of Japan.

(c) Another important strategy that Tenrikyo employs to facilitate its propagation in the UK is the tactic of adding Japanese cultural activities to its annual schedule and of running regular advertisements and newsletters. The recognition that Japanese culture may play a central part in attracting and converting non-Tenrikyo believers stretches back to 1971, with the establishment of a Tenrikyo-affiliated civil organization—The Cultural Association between France and Japan (Morii, 2008). Tenrikyo’s worldview and theology have been promoted in the form of secular activities such as public lectures, academic seminars, and various Japanese cultural activities such as calligraphy, judo, and sushi, thus being tactically incorporated into modern public life. In the UK, for instance, public lectures and seminars are annually held at the Grafton Hotel in London or in a mission station.

(d) Mass media and electronic communication also play vital roles. *Tenrikyo*, the official monthly newsletter issued by the Tenrikyo Overseas Department, has been printed for the last 492 months—41 years. Books, video tapes, DVDs, newsletters of different sorts, and so forth are displayed on bookshelves in the guest room of the Tenrikyo UK Centre, as visual media for promoting the dissemination of theological and missionary information about Tenrikyo events around the world. Electronic media such as the website *Tenrikyo on-line* (<http://www.tenrikyo.org.uk/publications.html>). have also become indispensable means for spreading Tenrikyo’s teachings. In addition, the Centre posts a monthly English newsletter to every member of Tenrikyo’s community in the UK, and usually provides a sheet of paper detailing Tenrikyo followers’ personal stories of how they meet and overcome life’s challenges, seeking spiritual assistance by praying to the Founder, performing the daily ritual, and reading Tenrikyo Canons.

The UK Centre’s other main activities include the Weekend Seminar, the Ladys’ Meeting and the Children’s Fun Day. As regards the Weekend Seminar I attended, it is a two-day event including seminars and discussions designed to help people learn more about Tenrikyo’s teachings and gain a better understanding of the religion. In the yearly schedule of the Tenrikyo UK Centre, *hinokishin* Day is an event observed by local followers through a form of community service such as litter-picking in a public area like Hyde Park (see Figure 2).<sup>11</sup> The volunteer participants of such activities are mostly Japanese, normally less than 20 people. There appears to be no gender difference between

**Figure 2. Tenrikyo monthly service or *hinokishin*, Photographed on 24 April 2012.**

Source: Photo courtesy of Yueh-po Huang.



volunteer participating in the community service. The aim of this sacred labor is to draw public attention to the ultimate principle in the spirit of *hinokishin*, pointing to the tenet of reciprocity that turns Tenrikyo followers' appreciation of the blessings of God the Parent in everyday life into a work of collective labor. It also makes the religious realm and secular sphere interchangeable, advertising the message that Tenrikyo is a religious enterprise of openness, fraternity, this-worldly orientation, and altruism. Moreover, it is in effect a self-marketing strategy that not only exposes Tenrikyo to the public but also marks this religion as an alternative source of spiritual guidance for those people who may show an interest.

In summary, there are several characteristics of Tenrikyo's expansion to the UK. Firstly, as is the case with the overseas mission of most Japanese new religions (Cornille, 1991; Pereira & Matsuoka, 2007; Shimazono, 1991; Smith, 2007; Watanabe, 2008), today Tenrikyo's mission to Western Europe is more associated with a consequence of the economic expansion of Japan, particularly in the 1970s. This finding parallels what other scholars have found in their studies of Japanese new religious movements overseas. For instance, scholars have suggested that the pattern of Japanese new religions' geographical expansions began from as early as the Meiji period (1868) and employed strategies in the implementation of missionary activities in foreign continents such as Latin America, North America, Australia and so forth. The primary focus of their academic works is on Japanese immigrant communities in the preservation of ethnic religions, with a specific reference to non-Japanese ethnic groups for their conversion to Japan's new religions, particularly from the 1960s onward (Clarke 1999, 2000; Pereira & Matsuoka, 2007; Shimazono, 1991).

Secondly, non-Japanese followers appear to be reluctant to perform the *Mikagura Uta*, spending relatively more time playing musical instruments, seated or watching. On several occasions such as seminar activities held in September and the seminar meeting held by a mission station in April, there were a number of English people, who I seldom met in the event of monthly services. Yet, the public events such as Tenrikyo's *hinokishin* Day, Women's Meeting, Children's Fun Day and Japanese culture-oriented activities attract very few, if any, non-Japanese people. As regards *sazuke*, it is uncommon to see attendees in the UK Centre request the minster to perform the healing ritual. However, the Japanese Tenrikyo followers I interviewed told me that in other places such as hospitals or care homes there was always a demand for *sazuke*.<sup>12</sup>

I went to hospitals to help UK citizens by performing *sazuke* for them on a weekly basis. If they found it useful, they would request me to administer another *sazuke* to them later. I used to visit local hospitals in the past but now I find it hard to have access to the patients, with the exception of care homes.<sup>13</sup>

I visited hospitals on a regular basis, in order to provide *sazuke* for the patients, particularly those with severe illness such as cancer. I always did my best to help them recover their health. If they thought it (*sazuke*) works, they would ask me to do the healing practice once more. Some of them would recommend *sazuke* to other people.<sup>14</sup>

### 3.3. The challenges and prospects ahead

#### 3.3.1. The Japanese expatriate-based congregation

The propagation of Tenrikyo in the UK is concentrated on the Japanese expatriate community. Although it has been over ten years since Tenrikyo's establishment in London (in 2000) and 100 years since expansion to England (in 1910), the followers who join monthly events in the Tenrikyo UK Centre are mostly of Japanese ethnic origin. The nature of Tenrikyo's monthly congregation and the condition of its propagation in the UK are similar to patterns in Brazil (Clarke, 1999; Nakamaki, 1991; Pereira, 2007, p. 201) but different from those in Taiwan, Korea, and Singapore (Hamrin, 2000; Shimazono, 1991). In Brazil, Tenrikyo concentrates on people of Japanese descent (Nakamaki, 2003), whilst in Taiwan, Korea, and Singapore it concentrates on non-Japanese local communities. In this sense, this religious organization clearly senses a formidable prospect ahead and is aware of the herculean task involved in spreading their teachings across the UK.

Other Japanese new religions such as Soka Gakkai, Mahikari, Sekai Kyuseikyo, and Shinnyoen have taken root in the UK (Somers, 1994; Wilson & Dobbelaere, 1994). Somers reveals that most of the Japanese new religious movements in the UK are relatively small in size compared to Soka Gakkai, with the overwhelming majority of followers being Japanese expatriates (Somers, 1994). This result runs counter to what Wilson and Dobbelaere discovered in their quantitative research on Soka Gakkai in the UK, where the residents they predicted comprised 87.4% of the sample selected (Wilson & Dobbelaere, 1994).<sup>15</sup>

### 3.3.2. Cultural and language barriers

When the phoenix flies west,<sup>16</sup> as Cornille reminds us, problems concerning the inculturation of Tenrikyo in Western society are bound to occur. Cornille points out several aspects of Mahikari that render Westerners less involved: theocracy and leadership, the conception of salvation, the category of purity, the belief in spirit, ancestors and reincarnation, the perception of the divine leader, and Japanese nationalism. Cornille's (1991) findings were sixfold, as follows. Firstly, there is a conflict between Mahikari's notion of authority and its centralized organizational structure, and the European idea of democracy in matters of organization, missionary strategies and teaching. This sometimes leads to European religious leaders' withdrawal from this group. Secondly, the Christian idea of salvation, a more ambivalent attitude toward magical healing, and the question of the rationality behind *okiyome* or ritual healing are unable to square with Mahikari's vitalistic and this-worldly orientation. Thirdly, the religious idioms and practices of Mahikari such as *Goseigen* (baptism of fire), *okiyome* and *omitama* (amulet) are grounded in Japanese tradition, which European peoples find themselves unfamiliar with. Fourthly, for the European, a belief in reincarnation is in conflict with Christian eschatology, the notion of spirit is based on a functional rather than rational aspect and ancestor worship is not a traditional practice. Fifth, while the idea of living *kami* is attractive and prevalent in Japan, it appears to be incompatible with the uniqueness of Christ within a predominantly Christian context. Lastly, European peoples are reluctant to conform to the hierarchical rules that apply to Japanese people and to accept the notion of Japan as the center of the world or as the original place of human beings.

Language is also an important issue for Tenrikyo in the UK. One senior male Tenrikyo priest, Mr Kato, told me of the problems that have been frustrating him while campaigning for Tenrikyo's expansion in Leeds over the past years. The issue surrounds the translation of words such as church, God the Parent, salvation, saving, service, and doctrine, since these words and the concepts behind them are not only borrowed from Christianity but also perpetuate many theological misconceptions of the past. The lack of a proper vocabulary for Tenrikyo in that area makes Tenrikyo appear similar to, or no different from, Christianity and also gives it less explanatory power. Mr Kato also pointed out that the language barrier is the main reason why some non-Japanese followers show reluctance to perform the *Mikagura Uta* during the monthly service. The Japanese man said:

Though the *Mikagura Uta* is translated into English, one cannot sing it in English, because it is not a singable translation in English. As you observe at the UK Centre, they all sing the *Mikagura Uta* in Japanese. Since they do not understand the *Mikagura Uta* in Japanese, I think it is so hard for non-Japanese to perform *Mikagura Uta* while singing and dancing in Japanese.<sup>17</sup>

Another unresolved matter in the UK relates to the interpretation of Tenrikyo's association with Japanese-ness and foreign-ness. Despite the Tenrikyo UK Centre's cultural events being designed to satisfy non-Tenrikyo followers' curiosity about Japan, most people realize that these mission-based activities are simply a means to make them accept Tenrikyo. Their perception of Tenrikyo's rituals such as the *Mikagura Uta* as a typical foreign practice usually makes them hesitate to take part. For non-Tenrikyo followers, Tenrikyo is identified more as a "Japanese" religion and less as a universally recognized religion such as Christianity.

In addition, Tenrikyo has developed overseas propagation strategies paralleling those that other Japanese new religions employ today. The main aspects that underpin Tenrikyo's presence are as follows: firstly, multiple affiliations are not prohibited in Tenrikyo. In other words, British Tenrikyo followers may retain their original religious status while joining Tenrikyo. Mr Taka, the Tenrikyo minister in the UK Centre, expressed this view in the interview:

They are converts. Because Tenrikyo are not against those people who have other faith at the same time, I think. Of course, we do not recommend them. We don't want to force them, you know. Of course they are Tenrikyo members, that is, Tenrikyo followers. They return to Japan, take lecture and become Yobuku ... But then, I am not quite sure, they still go to Christian church, as far as I know, not regularly as a custom but just occasionally. I heard that when one of their relatives passed away several years ago, the funeral is conducted in a church. It was practised in the church, following the custom of Christianity.<sup>18</sup>

Finally, the world-view in Tenrikyo's doctrine may encourage followers to carry their teachings to the world. In her study of Kurozumikyō, Hardacre (1986) notes that the similarity between the world-view of Neo-Confucian thought and that of new religions is striking. According to Hardacre, the concept of self (*shin*) in Neo-Confucianism is socially embedded, and it can be fully realized in terms of human relatedness in the spirit of reciprocity. Self is not situated within the confines of the individual, but can extend itself through the body, to the family, state, and cosmos. Thus, society, in the Confucian view, is seen as an extended self, which can be transformed through self-cultivation by practising a number of virtues. Furthermore, Hardacre turns to explicate the idea of *kokoro* (self) and *ki* (vital force), which are the essential elements of the world-view of new religions.<sup>19</sup> The *kokoro* is associated with spirit (*seishin*), not with flesh (*nikutai*). It includes the soul (*tamashii*). After death, *kokoro* ceases to exist, but not so *tamashii*. *Kokoro* also includes *ware* and *ga*, both of which refer to ego and convey a negative nuance. *Kokoro* is in essence positive. What is essential in the meaning of *kokoro* is that it is possessed by sentient beings. With *kokoro*, humans hold the real source of power and they are in control, whether in good or bad circumstances. By cultivating *kokoro* and exercising that power, mostly through self-cultivation, one may change external persons and events. The notion of *ki*, according to Hardacre, refers to the dynamic principle vitalising all life, including the *kokoro*. Without *ki*, living things become inanimate and die. If humans cultivate their *kokoro*, they can attain the status of *yoki* and thus lead a bright and joyful life called *yokigurashi*, which is a state that Tenrikyo upholds as its central tenet.

On this subject, Huang (1989) cites the work of one Tenrikyo scholar, Ueda Yoshinaru,<sup>20</sup> and argues that the world-view of Tenrikyo, which is embodied in *Ofudesaki* and the *Mikagura Uta*, with the former mentioning the words *yo* (world) and *sekai* (world) 250 times and the latter mentioning them 21 times, plays a part in encouraging Tenrikyo to expand overseas to countries such as the UK.

### 3.3.3. *The competing and consumerist dimension of religiosity*

With the emergence of pluralism in Western society as well as the loss of faith in rationality and an emphasis on the consumer dimension of religiosity, Hunt (2002) suggests that the future of religion in Western society is as a resurgence of religiosity. He sees the prospect of religiosity in the West as encouraging, in that in a new era of religion, spiritual fervour is spreading throughout the world, and such development makes the faiths of ethnic groups desirable and appealing to the general populace, making the doctrines and practices of many world religions continue to have an impact on religious life in the West.

Also, DuBois (2011) draws some inspiration from Van der Veer's work (2001), saying that as the world became smaller, Asian immigrants carried their religions throughout the world, and that this was not a one-way exchange but included two-way factors: when British citizens looked at places like Japan, they considered the spirituality of Japan as something they lacked in their own culture. This view leads DuBois to believe that due to globalization, people in Europe might be willing to incorporate Asian ethical philosophies into their daily lives. In this sense, European people may seek in

Asian religions a simple attraction of the exotic elements, but today concepts such as karma and enlightenment appear to be rooted in European or American consciousness, not as “foreign”, “oriental”, or “eastern” any more. In other words, the forces of globalism, rather than a popular interest in the East as the principle critics of orientalism (Abdel-Malek, Tibawi, Said, and Turner) would have us believe,<sup>21</sup> play a significant part in facilitating the acceptance of Tenrikyo in Western society.

An earlier study by Somers has mentioned a number of Japanese new religious movements and the various times at which they entered the UK: Seicho-no-Ie in the 1980s; Soka Gakkai in the early 1960s; Sekai Kyusaikyo in the 1980s; Iesu no Mitama Kyokai in 1984; Mahikari in 1984; and Kofuku no Kagaku in the 1990s (Somers, 1994).<sup>22</sup> In the increasingly changing and religious landscape of the contemporary UK, the Tenrikyo UK Centre is continuously under pressure to compete with other Japanese religions. This has become an issue for the Tenrikyo UK Centre, as followers may lose their interest in this religion as soon as they realize that membership of Tenrikyo does not necessarily bring unique benefits.

#### 4. Conclusion

The foregoing sections have described the ways in which Tenrikyo has engaged in geographical expansion to the UK through different historical stages, including the earlier tense political circumstances in Japan that motivated this new religion to set foot on European soil en route to the United Kingdom, the following missionary period during which it experienced a religious globalization that has waxed and waned over the past decades, and the latest developments that enable the Tenrikyo UK Centre to thrive in present-day British society. Considering the general picture of Tenrikyo’s expansion into the West, it is necessary to deal with the issues in relation to Tenrikyo’s experiences of reaping missionary success and encountering obstacles.

This overseas missionary motif is based on an ethical consideration, the Tenrikyo world view that hastens the realization of universal salvation. In addition, in Western Europe, Tenrikyo entered a period of resurgence in the late 1960s as a consequence of the presence of the industrial and economic power of post World War II Japan.

Today, there are several factors crucial to Tenrikyo’s development in the UK. In theology, despite the similarity between Tenrikyo and Christianity, some of Tenrikyo’s religious concepts and terms such as “this-worldly paradise” and “pass away for rebirth” are not compatible with Christian values and tradition. Religious practices such as the *Mikagura Uta*, *sazuke* and *ojibagaeri* (pilgrimage) fail to command considerable public sympathy due to practical problems. While these issues remain unresolved, Tenrikyo continues to encounter many challenges in the UK, not to mention the fact that it has had to compete against other new religious movements in attracting non-Japanese followers.

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#### Author details

Yueh-po Huang<sup>1</sup>

E-mail: [qehwikacin@gate.sinica.edu.tw](mailto:qehwikacin@gate.sinica.edu.tw)

<sup>1</sup> Institute of Ethnology, Academia Sinica, 128 Academia Road, Section 2, Nankang, Taipei 115, Taiwan.

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#### Notes

1. The term “new religions” in the Japanese context has been submitted to various interpretations since the prewar period (Astley, 2006; Clarke & Somers, 1994).

- Astley (2006) points out that in current academic usage, new religions can be referred to by other terminologies such as new-arisen religions, newly-established religions, new-born religions etc. However, the term “new religions” is the most accepted among scholars in the field (Offner & Van Straelen, 1963). Chronologically, Astley states that old new religions (Thomsen, 1963) are those arising from the mid-nineteenth to the late nineteenth century, while the “new” new religions are those emerging from the latter half of the 1970s. The new religions, in Astley’s opinion, are those springing up between the old new religions and the “new” new religions. Many scholars agree that the nineteenth century was the starting phase from which Japanese new religions sprang up and thrived, and most point out the mid-nineteenth century and the end of World War II as the two crucial periods during which these new religions arose (Anesaki, 1930; Astley, 2006; Blacker, 1971; Clarke & Somers, 1994; Earhart, 2004; Hardacre, 1986; Hori, 1968; Inoue, 1991; Inoue, Komoto, Tsushima, Nakamaki, & Nishiyama, 1990; Matsuoka, 2007; McFarland, 1967; Murakami, 1980; Offner & Van Straelen, 1963; Reader, 1991; Shimazono, 1979; Thomsen, 1963). However, researchers have put different interpretations on the periodisation issue. For instance, Offner and Van Straelen (1963) sympathised with the opinion of Oguchi and Takagi (1956) on the three particular historical stages in which Japanese new religions emerged and thrived, first around the beginning of the Meiji era (1868), secondly around the beginning of the Showa era (1926) and thirdly after the end of World War II (1945).
2. Tenrikyo originated from divine revelations given to a Japanese farmer’s wife named Nakayama Miki (1798–1887), known by Tenrikyo’s followers as Oyasama. On 26 October 1838, Miki, aged 41, was offered to an unknown supernatural power, a god termed in Tenrikyo as *Tenri-O-no-Mikoto* or *Oyakamisama* (God the Parent) (Tenrikyo Church Headquarters, 1996). Some sources concerning Nakayama Miki depict her as a person with a charismatic personality (Ellwood, 1982; Ikeda, 1996; Tenrikyo Church Headquarters, 1996; Tenrikyo Doyusha, 1993). Yet in Hori’s (1968) work, there are a few words with iconoclastic tincture. The teachings of Tenrikyo are founded on three major original sources: *Mikagura Uta* (the Songs for the Service), *Ofudesaki* (Tip of the Writing Brush) and *Osashizu* (the Divine Directions). Since these three teachings are fundamental canons and believed by the Tenrikyo community to give instructions for leading a joyous life, Tenrikyo provides instructional courses for spreading the teachings in the Tenrikyo Church Headquarters from time to time. Tenrikyo also have religious and healing practices such as *Otsutome* (Salvation Service) and *sazuke* (healing ritual), which are central to Tenrikyo and crucial to the development of the religious community.
  3. While Shimazono drew our attention to factors outside Japan, many scholars suggested that the strict policy on religion in the early Meiji period is the other underlying cause for the overseas spread of these new religions (Inoue et al., 1990; Kaneko, 1996). In the case of Tenrikyo’s mission to Taiwan, a secret order issued by the Home Ministry of Japan in 1896 exerted considerable influence on the thinking of the Tenrikyo community, leaving little opportunity for this new religion to continue their missionary activities.
  4. Cornille (1991) discovered that Westerners who belong to Mahikari still consider the world view, values, rationality, the belief in spirits, ancestors, reincarnation and the idea of a divine leader more or less exotic.
  5. Manchuria is a geographical region located in Northeast Asia that includes modern China (Heilongjiang, Jilin and Liaoning provinces), Inner Mongolia, and Russia.
  6. Also see Fujii (2007a).
  7. It is estimated that there was a change in the religious constituencies in Britain between 1975 and 1995: first, the total religious population was in decline, from 72% in 1975 to 71% in 1995; second, the percentage of population in Trinitarian churches such as Anglicans decreased from 68% in 1975 to 64% in 1995; third, the percentage of ono-Trinitarian churches and other religions increased, from 4% in 1975 to 7% in 1995 (cited in Davie, 1994).
  8. The *Mikagura Uta* Canon is deemed normative since it was composed by Nakayama Miki during her preachings from 1866 to 1875 (Hsu, 2008).
  9. In Tenrikyo, *Sazuke* was originally a magical power devised and performed by Nakayama Miki for healing those suffering from very serious illnesses (Tenrikyo Church Headquarters, 1996). *Sazuke* is a healing ritual and it plays an important part in facilitating Tenrikyo’s propagation (Blacker, 1975; Hori, 1975; Kitagawa, 1987; Shimazono 1979, 1980). In terms of healing, Nakamaki (1991) sees the *sazuke* of Tenrikyo, the *jorei* of Sekai Kyuseikyō, the *okiyome* of Mahikari and the *oyashikiri* of Perfect Liberty Kyodan as contributory factors to their rise.
  10. There are very few UK citizens able to perform the sacred dance.
  12. *Hinokishin* can be put into practice in various forms and at various times. For instance, one can practise *hinokishin* any time such as smiling to people and giving a hand to others. In the Tenrikyo UK Centre, *hinokishin* is normally held as an annual event in the form of litter-picking.
  12. This is consistent with Somers (1994, p. 75) early work on the idea that healing constitutes a significant part of the appeal of Japanese new religions in the UK.
  13. Mr Kato, interview by author, London, 13 February 2011.
  14. Mr Takeuchi, interview by author, London, 5 February 2012.
  15. In this study, Wilson and Dobbelaere procured a listing with 3,673 names.
  16. The phoenix is a symbol of the divine emperor or the leader of a Japanese new religious movement (Cornille, 1991).
  17. Mr Kato, interview by author, London, 13 February 2011.
  18. Mr Taka, interview by author, London, 28 November 2009.
  19. The translation and interpretation of the two terms are based on Hardacre (1986, pp. 18–20).
  20. The book is entitled “Tenrikyo kyoso no seikaikan” 天理教教祖の世界観 (literally, *The World-view of the Founder of Tenrikyo*) (1976).
  21. See Macfie (2002).
  22. According to Somers in 1994, the number of followers in these Japanese new religions are as follows: Soka Gakkai, more than 5,000 registered members; Iesu no Mitama Kyokai, 20 members; Mahikari, 300 members; Kofuku no Kagaku, 60 members.
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