

《論 文》

The Sociology of Signs in Culture and Everyday Life

The Thoughts of the Japanese Pragmatist Shunsuke Tsurumi

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1. Introduction

This paper aims to introduce the idea and the thought of Japanese pragmatist Shunsuke Tsurumi (1922–2015) and to reconsider these as the “sociology of signs” that is based on pragmatic theory, anarchism and his art theory.

Tsurumi is not well known at a global level, however, I believe that his thought contains rich hints and resources for studying human society and human culture¹⁾. Actually, in recent years, several researchers are trying to reconsider and to reevaluate his works in several field, for example philosophy, sociology, cultural studies, and comic studies in Japan (Iseda 2009, Yoshimi 2012, Matsui 2014, 2015, Kani 2015). These studies show Tsurumi’s works are in various fields and difficulties to get the general picture.

In my view, there are few studies to connect Tsurumi’s numerous interests and works to one general model and there are no studies to understand his thoughts as a variation of Symbolic Interaction (SI), which is a field focuses on human interpretations with our interaction. However, Tsurumi’s works are based on classical pragmatic theory, for example C. S. Peirce’s Fallibilism, J. Dewey’s

and G. H. Mead’s theory of art and communication. Tsurumi originally developed these ideas to analyze human creative activities, interpretations, and emotions in daily life and to understand the possibility to against the authorities and to change our society with using art things as the sign. I think it’s a kind of SI, probably Tsurumi unaware these possibilities.

I will show that an outline of Tsurumi’s biography, background and several his main ideas, especially his understanding of pragmatism and his works on Manga. Finally, I will give a model of his thoughts.

2. Tsurumi’s Biography and Background

2 – 1. Tsurumi’s Biography

I will introduce Tsurumi’s biography in this section, with referring to his autobiography (Tsurumi [1997]2008).

Shunsuke Tsurumi was one of the most famous and effectiveness thinker, philosopher, and critic in post-WW2 Japan. In academic, he introduced the general idea and history of pragmatism and developed pragmatic theory with researching popular culture in Japan²⁾. He organized several social movements, I will mention below. He also wrote a lot of paper

critiquing or reviewing elements of popular culture, such as Manga, radio programs, playing cards, songs, and comedy shows. We can see him as a public intellectual who tried to be on citizen's side, although he was from upper-class.

Tsurumi was born in 1922 in Tokyo into an intellectual and educated, upper-class family. His grandfather, Shinpei Goto³⁾, and his father, Yusuke Tsurumi⁴⁾, were famous politicians in their time. His sister, Kazuko⁵⁾, became a sociologist. And Tsurumi, was oppressed, as his mother was extremely strict.

The strictness of his mother affected his psychological development, as he noted in his recollections. According to Tsurumi, his mother's notion was, "must do, therefore can do," and she forced him to obey this rule. To resist her belief Tsurumi behaved badly. For instance, he shoplifted books after school, as a kind of "role - distance."

His mother's strictness and Tsurumi's avoidance and resistance formed the basis of Tsurumi's philosophical and sociological interests and thoughts. For example, he stated that books on anarchism made a deep impression on him when he was a junior high school student, because they demonstrated how to resist authority. For Tsurumi, his mother was an authoritative figure who was difficult to resist against, therefore, he was attracted by anarchism, describing himself as a "juvenile delinquent." This suggests that Tsurumi has toiled to find a way to escape from authorities and the varieties of meanings. Finally, in 1937, his father transferred him to the U.S. to get relax and to take receive

rehabilitation⁶⁾.

In 1939, Tsurumi enrolled at Harvard University and studied pragmatism with R. B. Perry and W. V. O. Quine as a tutee for three years. He studied G. H. Mead's communication theory with attending a class of by C. W. Morris, fortunately he was a guest professor in 1939⁷⁾.

In 1942, Tsurumi was arrested and detained by the FBI because he was suspected of anarchist. However, the university accepted his graduation thesis, "The Pragmatism of William James," and Tsurumi graduated from Harvard University⁸⁾.

In 1943, after returning to Japan, he served at the front with the navy as a signaler. On Tsurumi, he tried to not to kill people during serving in a war, so he prepared a lethal dose of opium for kill himself if he was ordered to kill some one⁹⁾ (Tsurumi et al. 2004: 52). Fortunately, such sad case didn't come, but the experience of battle front and the belief "no to kill" became the key concept of Tsurumi's philosophy and activities.

2 - 2 . Tsurumi's Activities and Interests

Tsurumi's status as a thinker started in 1945, after WW2. By this point, he had already been involved in various activities and fields. For example, he published, "Shiso No Kagaku" (= *The Science of Thought*) in conjunction with his friends from 1945 to 1996. *The Science of Thought* is a journal for introducing foreign thought to Japanese people at first and generally publishes essays, reviews, or papers on sociology, literature, history, and so on. One characteristic point of the journal is

that it has various writers. Several types of people, including intellectuals, non-educated people, housewives or children, were involved in the journal, therefore, it was a type of a platform for thoughts in post-war Japan.

Certainly, Tsurumi belonged to and taught at Kyoto University, Tokyo Institute of Technology, and Doshisha University and was involved in social movements such as the campaigns against the U.S./Japan security treaty and the Vietnam War in the 1960s and 70s.

Tsurumi published many papers in various areas of study. His first paper is “Kotoba No Omamoriteki Siyouhou Ni Tsuite (=Talismanic Use of Words)” (1945). In this work, Tsurumi analyzed the usage of words during wartime and indicated the importance of education for improving our literacy. This theme, the problem of education and language, is continually mentioned throughout his works.

Tsurumi is interested in popular culture, especially Manga. His first work on Manga was “Monogatari Manga No Rekishi (=The History of The Comics)” (1949) that is review on *The Comics* (1947) by Coulton Waugh. After published the paper, Tsurumi always mentioned Manga and wrote several articles on it. In addition to these critiques, he developed art theory to analyze popular culture in our daily life. That is “Geijutsu No Hattenn (=The Development of Art)” (1960). I will mention this article below, this work is based on Dewey’s pragmatic art theory, especially “aesthetic experience.”

We can see that Tsurumi is a versatile

intellectual. A character of his thought is indefiniteness and understructured, as he is a kind of pragmatist. Late in life, Tsurumi had tried to write a senile old man’s philosophy, wherein he attempted to realize a whole life philosophy through his life. Unfortunately, he died in July 20th, 2015, aged of 93.

The key to understanding Tsurumi’s thought is that 1) is based on pragmatist theory, 2) intends to against authorities by referring on anarchism, and 3) develops studies on popular culture with his original art theory which relies on pragmatism.

So I will show an outline of Tsurumi’s thoughts in the following sections.

3. Pragmatism in Tsurumi’s Thoughts

3 - 1. Fundamental Understanding on Pragmatism in Tsurumi

How does Tsurumi understand on pragmatist theory? In this session, I describe the fundamental attitude of Tsurumi’s thoughts that rely on his understanding of pragmatism.

First of all, Tsurumi has been interested in the meanings of things. This matches the attitude and subject of classical pragmatists such as C. S. Pierce and W. James. Tsurumi has studied the basic themes of pragmatism and developed them into the “sociology of signs.”

When you read Tsurumi’s works, you can recognize that he always thinks about the generation of meaning in interactions and our enjoyment of art or popular culture. Essentially, Tsurumi is a thinker, not a sociologist. However, his thought suggests

ways in which we can think about and understand relationships between interactions, interpretations or cultural things, and human behavior in daily life. In my opinion, this needs to refer to the understandings and applications of pragmatism, especially concerning C. S. Peirce and G. H. Mead.

Tsurumi stated that Peirce and Mead have rich suggestions and original ideas for pragmatist theory but that these ideas are not considered seriously among scholars. According to Tsurumi, Peirce's work attempts to understand how to clearly grasp the meanings of scientific terms. Additionally, Mead's thought concerns the communicative and cultural theory of meanings about ordinary language; therefore, his range of study is wider than that of Peirce. As Tsurumi presents this point, "Mead's works contain a lot of suggestions to establish the theory of sociology or history of sign in the future" (Tsurumi 1971: 311). I can say that Tsurumi understands that the main topics of pragmatist theory are 1) to consider the roles of interaction in interpretation and generation of the meaning with referring Peirce's work and 2) the way of study on the relationship of our communication and the cultural things for establishing the new field "sociology of signs." This is his fundamental attitude and understanding on pragmatism.

However, Tsurumi's introduction to Mead's thoughts does not reflect such the reason for such an understanding of Mead. For this reason, I will focus on Tsurumi's general discussion of pragmatism.

3 - 2. Sign and Freedom

Tsurumi said "pragmatism is originally the method of taking the meaning of things" (Tsurumi [1997]2008: 449). We can interpret or create the meanings of things or words and this is an interactive process. In other words, things have multiple meanings based on human interaction, thus, pragmatism is the methodology for grasping the process of the genesis of things. For example, in Tsurumi's first work, "Talismanic Use of Words," he analyzed how people are imposed to use unified terms during war. In nationalistic atmospheres, people had to use pro-national terms, because if they used anti-national terms or insisted on anti-war ideas, they would be attacked by nationalists or military policemen. Thus, the usage and interpretation of words are restricted in war time. Tsurumi named those terms that would protect against dangerous during war "Omamori Kotoba (=Talismanic Words)."

How, then, can we use words freely? Tsurumi referred to Peirce's pragmatism, especially his "fallibilism." He states that "fallibilism is the principle of pragmatism" (Tsurumi 1971: 38). This means that, for Tsurumi, pragmatism regards misunderstanding or instability of terms as important. Mistakes or exceptions are the basis of the development of human intelligence, and pragmatism, namely as the new way of thinking, places value on exception in science.

Therefore, Tsurumi criticizes the purification and systematization of thought or theory. In turn, he tends to emphasize the importance of

an unstable former and a misunderstanding of the latter. The instability of terms is the resource for the multiple meanings of things.

3 – 3. Tsurumi's Communication Theory

Tsurumi adapts this idea for our ordinary interactions with people, with criticizing of Dewey's communication theory.

Generally, the concept of communication or interaction is the way to communicate some information to another person and to share ideas with each other. Namely that the aim of communication is a mutual understanding. For the purpose of the process of democratic solving social problems, Dewey regarded such type of communication as important.

However, Tsurumi criticized Dewey's communication theory as optimistic and idealistic. According to Tsurumi's assertion, in our interactions, the phase of disagreement or misunderstanding is always contained. He calls this aspect "dis-communication" (Tsurumi [1952]1991: 258). Tsurumi said,

Communication has two aspects – communication and dis-communication –, so we should recognize these. Studies on communication have to consider the situations that communication is failed. (Tsurumi [1952]1991: 258)

This indicates that there are several areas of communication; one is the aspect of understanding each other using well-defined signs and another is an illogical jump with misunderstanding or the use of ambiguous terms. However, the latter aspect would be a

rich resource for the development of our thought or for scientific research. Furthermore, it would allow for being set free from the meanings of the things. In Tsurumi, the concept of "sign" is ambivalent, because it sometimes restricts the process of thinking and often provides us with a feeling of freedom. An important feature of Tsurumi's thoughts is to emphasize the latter point. Actually, Shun Inoue¹⁰⁾ evaluate that "the main point of Tsurumi's thought is to emphasize that the sign provides personal freedom" (Okumura 2015: 53).

Tsurumi sometimes mentions a useful case of "dis-communication." In war time, when Koji Kada, who was a picture-story show writer, suspected as a communist by the special political police, he evaded questions with the answer "I know, Karl Marx is a Russian!" This answer is a mistake, as Marx is a German. However, by answering "Marx is a Russian," Koji survived and stucked to his belief. Although Koji Kada was not an intellectual and not well-educated, he could use a smart trick for surviving.

Tsurumi emphasizes the possibility and ingeniously of the wisdom of the ordinary people. Actually, this wisdom is never systematic and sometimes include a lot of mistakes, then the most of the intellectuals would not accept such style of knowledge. But, it is a different type of wisdom from academic one, and we have to consider and focus on this field to cultivate the way of thinking to find and develop new types of knowledge.

We see the fundamental attitude and

understanding on pragmatism in Tsurumi in this section. Summarizing these ideas, 1) Tsurumi has been interested in the meaning of the things and words that are generated in our daily interactions, 2) he has emphasized “fallibilism” for supporting, and 3) he suggests a new communication theory, communication and dis-communication, with criticizing Dewey’s theory.

4. Anarchism in Tsurumi’s Thoughts

As I said above, Tsurumi had got familiar with anarchism theory. He often mentions the possibilities of anarchism theory. However, Tsurumi had never been anxious to realize a violent revolution and never agreed to the usage of violence way for changing or solving social problems.

In “Houhou Toshiteno Anakizumu (A Methodological Anarchism)” ([1970]1991). Tsurumi suggested a new anarchism idea: “peaceful anarchism”, not an “anarchism as terrorism” (Tsurumi [1970]1991: 4). He defined that “anarchism is, fundamentally, an ideal thought to long for the society based on mutual help, without controlling by authorities” (Tsurumi [1970]1991: 3). He named such anarchism as “calm anarchism” (Tsurumi [1970]1991: 4).

The root of a “calm anarchism” is, in Tsurumi, based on a culture and an individual personality. As examples of a “calm anarchism”, Tsurumi mentioned *The Teachings of Don Juan: A Yaqui Way of Knowledge* by C. Castaneda and *Walden* by H. Thoreau. The former is a case of steady lifestyle. That is a type of a tribal culture which has come down

in South America without fusion with modernism (Tsurumi [1970]1991: 11). Tsurumi regarded it as a culture against for the rationality and the authoritarian. It is a kind of a “calm anarchism” that is come from traditional culture in that local community, and it is the basis of a social customs for a social inhabitants.

The latter is a case of living an easy life without coercion. In *Walden*, Thoreau shows an example of an independent and autonomous life. To put some distance himself from a society is that would be able to reflex a system of modern society or our culture and to recreate and recognize our society. Tsurumi draws the possibility of realizing new ideas for reconstructing present society from Thoreau’s work. Tsurumi said,

The heart of Thoreau’s thought is that having a sense which living with enjoying leisure time is the most excellent thing in our lives. And he does inquire into the cause of unfeasibility of spending such enjoyable life. Enjoying a passage of the seasons. That would be a good inspiration for creating a new political thought by himself. It is the essential way of thinking in a “calm anarchism.” (Tsurumi [1970] 1991: 17)

Tsurumi mentions the way of thinking with enjoying our lives. Doing whatever I wanted. Or controlling themselves. These are the foundation of a “calm anarchism” in Tsurumi.

So Tsurumi emphasizes the significance of traditional, old, or tribal culture, but he is not

a nostalgist. He regarded these as a kind of an against culture, because these have been a tradition for a long time in local community. These cultures that have a kind of permanency would turn a solid foundation of protest.

Moreover, Tsurumi emphasizes the significance of freedom of opinion, life, the mental well-being and the expression of opinion, with referring Thoreau's work. "Personal" or "private" are a key of Tsurumi's thoughts. Actually, Tsurumi often mentions a significance of personal thought, independence of will, or a person's activities. Probably, he regards Thoreau's activity as an example of uniqueness of the "lived experience." Namely, his experience and life for two and a half years in the woods are specific for him. And such experience would be the source of Thoreau's unique thought. Then, Tsurumi insists that a private experience is a significant basis for our thought.

Summarizing Tsurumi's discussion on anarchism, he focuses on 1) a traditional or a tribal culture that is not stamped out by modernism and 2) private experience which would be a significant resource for creating a new idea. Especially, Tsurumi cares about the possibility or significance of our "private," which is a personal and unshared area of our mind and the basis of independence of will.

These ideas are readily applied, I assume, to his original art theory and his review of popular culture, especially Manga. We can see the practical application of pragmatism in his works and reviews of Japanese culture. I will demonstrate this aspect with an overview of his analysis of Japanese Manga.

5. Tsurumi's Discussion on Art and Everyday Life

5 - 1. The Basic Perspective on Art in Tsurumi

Tsurumi is the first thinker who treats Manga in a scholarly way in post-WW2 Japan. The first essay on Manga was published in 1949. It was a review of *The Comics* (1945) by Coulton Waugh. After that, Tsurumi showed interest in comics, Manga, wall paintings, and doodles on notes. Reviews or papers on Manga are one of the main types of work of him. Here it can not be overlooked that Tsurumi's perspective on reviewing Manga is based on the pragmatist theory, as mentioned above. Tsurumi displays the original art theory by referring to J. Dewey's work concerning "aesthetic experience." This theory is called the "Genkai Geijutsuron (=Theory of Marginal Art)."

Tsurumi classifies art into three types: "pure art," "popular art", and "marginal art." Pure art is created by an educated producer and enjoys an educated audience, examples include classical music or fine art. Popular art is produced by a business artist and is enjoyed by a non-educated person, such as a popular song or comic strip. Marginal art is produced and enjoyed by a non-educated person in everyday life, such as doodling, humming a song, or joking (Tsurumi [1960] 1991: 6-7).

The point of this idea is 1) to discuss an art form that is familiar to ordinary people, not professionals or scholars, and 2) to be

concerned with the phases of creativity and insensitivity within them¹¹⁾.

According to Tsurumi, marginal art is a fundamental art form that we can treat more easily than others because it exists in the field of daily life. From his discussion, every pure and popular art was developed from marginal art. Doodling can be a fine art or a comic, if it is sophisticated. Hence, we can display our creativity through performing artistic activities ; thus, this would make us feel happy, enjoyed, or fulfilled. Marginal art is going to provide the easiest way to archive an “aesthetic experience” in our lives. In short, it is an important concept of focus on ; it is the aspect that allows us to be involved in the process of creation and enjoyment of art in everyday life.

The role of “aesthetic experience” is, in Tsurumi, to be the accent on our lives. Tsurumi said that

As Dewey already mentioned, what we experience in everyday life is not to be “aesthetic experience.” … “Aesthetic experience” acts like a “punctuation” that turn a group of words into an intelligible sentence, so it is the valuable experience that might be a deep impression for ourselves and would segment our fluid and pointless casual daily life into the meaningful and memorable experiences in our own lives. (Tsurumi [1960]1991: 4)

That is, “aesthetic experience” plays an important role in realizing “lived experience,” that is a private one. For example, a memory

and taste of the best meal in own life is not be able to share with other people, probably we can share the dish with friends.

Enjoying meals, expressing our emotion, for example tediousness of lecture, with doodling on notes, or parodying the song would provide us a sense of pleasure or fulfillment. Naturally, these events are trivial things in our lives. But, often, that sense could be changed in the feeling of freedom or release from a present condition.

As I mentioned, marginal art provides a sense of enjoyment or freedom. Moreover, it is related on daily life, so we can see that in plays, interactions, or customs. And it is based on our understanding or interpretations of things. For example, when we parody the song, we already share the song and lyrics, and we “de-construct” these in a brand-new and in casual way. That is, enjoying and creating marginal art is that the act of recreating ready-made things with on our own interpretation and of giving new meanings for these things. Through the process, we can own original and private art from or art things.

5 - 2. Art as Sign, Manga as Sign

Tsurumi studies on Japanese popular culture, especially Manga. He often states that, “I love Manga.” He mentions various types of Manga, for example Manga in Japan, cave paintings, doodles, or caricatures. Tsurumi noted that “art is a sign which beings an aesthetic experience to us” (Tsurumi [1960]1991: 3). Thus, his Manga studies are based on his art theory, previously mentioned.

Tsurumi indicates two points in Manga: first is a laugh and second is a sign.

Firstly, he defines Manga as a “picture that calls for a laugh” (Tsurumi [1985]1991, [1987] 1991). According to him, laughing is a universal emotion for human beings among all ages and cultures. Then, Tsurumi regarded Manga as a universal cultural thing. Secondly, Manga is a sign that could be able to gain some insights into the nature of each era (Tsurumi [1985]1991: 421). Because, there are a lot of types of Manga in every culture and human has created and enjoyed Manga, as “marginal art,” among all ages. Simply, Tsurumi treats Manga as a key to study the development of human history, focusing on the positive feelings, laughing and enjoying Manga as sign.

Moreover, Manga would be cleared away in war time or totalitarian society, in Tsurumi's discussion. It is a kind of “a canary in the mine.” Tsurumi detects the nature of Manga that it could be a standard for analyzing the character of a society or a culture.

Tsurumi emphasizes and develops the notion of Manga as a possible source of resistance or protest against authorities. This aspect of Manga is related to a feature of it as a sign.

Tsurumi's understanding of semiotics is inspired by C. W. Morris. Speaking frankly, a sign is a stimulus to encourage our behaviors (Tsurumi [1951]1968: 228-229), and Manga is a picture that calls us to duplicate it or enact characters as drawn. As we can use a sign repeatedly, we can continually enjoy a picture in Manga. That is, a characteristic of Manga

is a picture that is easy to duplicate or mimic. According to Tsurumi, this relates to “resistance” against authorities. Simply, Manga could lead readers to act, and people could learn how to behave in the protester's way. Through enjoying Manga, we can change the way of thinking, perspectives, and behaviors. Namely enjoying Manga provides a new perspective and dissimilates the meaning of the object or the situation.

For example, a child under the control of high-pressure parents could escape this unpleasant reality through enjoying Manga. Manga is a type of familiar art form that can be separated from the secular world. It excites our imagination or interpretations, so that we can dream of another condition through appreciating it. Moreover, we can mimic the behaviors of the characters in Manga. Mimicking characters may be nonsense or coarse, because Manga describes own fictional characters or events. However, Tsurumi states that we can learn how to hold our own against authorities, for instance, parents or teachers for children, through enjoying such unrealistic and funny behaviors of Manga characters and reacting to or mimicking them¹²⁾.

The Japanese sociologist, Shun Inoue, said that humans can not only write stories but also be constituted their sense of self via enjoying stories (Inoue 2008). Tsurumi emphasizes the same point, that is, we not only consume Manga as an entertainment medium but interpret and apply it to “survive” hard conditions. Manga, for Tsurumi, is a type of “philosophical” book that cultivates local

knowledge prepared by the common man in daily life. Therefore, Manga is a “sign”, and it can stimulate our minds. Probably, Tsurumi applies Morris’s semiotic to the understanding on Manga. Enjoying Manga is a lead to cultivate our thoughts in daily life and to establish independent life without being controlled by authorities. I guess, Tsurumi thought that it is a basis of organizing Japanese civil society.

6. Conclusion

Straight for wardly, in Tsurumi’s understanding, Manga and other marginal art forms are the basis for acquiring wisdom for living. This claim is based on the human interpretation of works and human interactions with signs.

Tsurumi’s studies aim to grasp the ways in which we recreate the meanings of things or art works through enjoying and using cultural things, for instance Manga, as signs in our usual lives through human communication. The meanings are reinterpreted by people and recreated in usual interactions. It is likely that there are some illogical jumps or gaps in these new meanings. However, Tsurumi evaluates these gaps because they constitute new knowledge of how usual people can enjoy

their own lives and resist suppressive powers or authoritative figures.

The primary point of Tsurumi’s work is to realize the way to create personal thought or local knowledge by interpreting and enjoying art works as “sign”. Additionally, he has tried to demonstrate that signs can and do provide us with a feeling of freedom and a way of protest. Regarding that purpose, he focuses on and studies cultural things, especially, “marginal art” as a familiar art form and human interpretation and the interaction of art as a sign. Perhaps, his various activities, especially his works published in *The Science of Thought*, were his trial to cultivate and stimulate interchanges and exchanges among the common people.

I think that we can regard Tsurumi not only as a great public intellectual post-war Japan but as a kind of sociologist and symbolic interactionist. In addition, we can find the rich suggestion for the new development of the “sociology of sign” from his thought and works.

Moreover, we have to establish the connection or similarity between Tsurumi’s sociology and other sociological theories or ideas.

[Notes]

1) There are several books of Tsurumi in English translations, for example *A Cultural History of Postwar Japan: 1945-1980* (1987) and *An Intellectual History of Wartime Japan 1931-1945* (1987). L. Olson (1992) introduces Tsurumi’s thoughts in English.

2) *America Tetsugaku (American Philosophy)* ([1950]1971) is a typical example of his work. In this book, Tsurumi introduces the origin and a history of pragmatism and thoughts of pragmatists, C. S. Peirce, W. James, O. W. Holmes Jr, M. Otto, and G. H. Mead. On the first edition, he did not mention to G. H. Mead,

but he added another section on Mead in the later edition. At first, Tsurumi did not realize the significance and value of J. Dewey's works. However, he changed his opinion and published a book on Dewey in 1984.

- 3) Shinpei Goto (1857-1929) was the first president of Manchuria Railway (1906-1908), the mayor of Tokyo City (1923-1924) that Great Kanto Earthquake happened, and the first president of the Tokyo Broadcasting Station (1924-1926). He was referred to as the first politician who governed using the scientific method.
- 4) Yusuke Tsurumi (1885-1973) was a famous writer and a politician who acted an important role in Japan's policy toward the United States.
- 5) Kazuko Tsurumi (1918-2006) was a sociologist who belonged Sophia University. She studied on a method of Japanese folklorists such as Kunio Yanagita and Kumagusu Minakata. And she studied sociology at Vassar College (1939-1941) and received a doctoral degree from Princeton University in 1966.
- 6) At first in America, Tsurumi lived with the A. Shulesinger, Sr family.
- 7) According to Tsurumi, the title of Morris's lecture was "Pragmatic Movement" (Tsurumi [1997]2008: 33), and it was the first time to know G. H. Mead's theory. Tsurumi peeked T. Persons lecture on "frame of reference" 5th times, but he didn't take it. (Tsurumi [1997] 2008: 31).
- 8) Now 44 Japanese books that Tsurumi had owned are kept in Harvard-Yenching Library.
- 9) "I've never thought that I want to survive during the war. Not to kill—that was all I

thought." (Tsurumi et al. 2004: 52)

- 10) Shun Inoue is a Japanese sociologist who studies collective mentality, sociology of culture, sociology of youth and SI. He was a president of The Japan Sociological Society from 2006 to 2009. He had exchanges with Tsurumi and published several papers on *The Science of Thought*. There is a paper on SI in English, "Interactions and Interpretations in Everyday Life." (Inoue 1980).
- 11) We can see the same idea in G. H. Mead's work "The Nature of Aesthetic Experience" (1925-26). However, Tsurumi didn't mention the article.
- 12) Tsurumi prefers comics full of gags to serious story Manga, like *Gekiga*. He rates *Gakideka* by Tatsuhiko Yamagami very highly.

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